

**Sankofa: Recovering Montreal's
Heterogeneous Black Print Serials**

by

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Canada

Sankofa is a proverb of the Akan people of West Africa expressed in the Akan language as "se wo were fi na wosan kofa a yenki". Literally translated it means "it is not taboo to go back and fetch what you forgot" or, in the shorter adaptation, "go back and fetch it." Sankofa teaches that people must go back to their roots to move forward and that whatever they have "lost, forgotten, forgone or been stripped of can be reclaimed, revived, preserved and perpetuated."

Jeannette Allis Bastian, *Owning Memory How a Caribbean Community Lost its Archives and Found its History*

Abstract

Using the sankofa archival praxis, this thesis seeks to recover the unknown periodicals of Quebec's largest urban area and Canada's second largest. This qualitative research examines 196 Black periodicals published in Greater Montreal, from 1934 to the present. As a case study of Black-controlled serialized literature it includes: journals, newspapers, magazines, directories, bulletins, and newsletters. This thesis seeks to capture, organize, and catalogue a comprehensive checklist of Montreal's Black serials.

Despite the scores of Black publications produced in the last seventy years, the vast majority of the 196 titles located are unknown to Black readers within Montreal, Quebec. While this thesis assumes that the silence of these documents is intricately linked to the marginalized status of Blacks within Canada as a whole, and Quebec in particular, it focuses upon the context of the serials' evolution, their concomitant invisibility within the Black community of Montreal and the national and urban context of these documents. The research does not ask why this body of literature is unknown to the general populace, but rather, why Blacks themselves, as creators, that is, the Black owners, journalists, and editors of the serials, are unaware of the existence of these serials. This dissertation explores the extent to which four factors may have contributed to the invisibility of these serials in Canada and in particular in the unique setting of Montreal: language, ethnicity, orality and the treatment of documents.

These factors are framed from two general perspectives. The first perspective comprises the social effects of language and ethnicity. This focus looks at the way in which language and multi-ethnicity make up, and yet divide the community, spatially and demographically. The heterogeneity of the Black diaspora is enhanced in Montreal under provincially-imposed linguistic constraints, such as the language of education, and of public discourse. This lack of homogeneity has contributed significantly to the marginalization of Black print culture by isolating clusters

of Blacks within distinct linguistic enclaves. This thesis explores how the owners, editors, and journalists of Black serials perceive how the Black community's heterogeneity may have contributed to the obfuscation of their serials.

The second perspective examines the community's internal orality, and the treatment of documents is an internal analysis of how Blacks treat print culture in general, and their own print culture in particular. Their diasporic presence in Montreal is still framed by traces of its African oral tradition, or orality, the third factor. The thesis explores the extent to which this oral tradition has led to the belief within the Black community that printed documents, including periodicals, may not be the best cultural representation to express the Black presence. The treatment of the documents is an extension of orality in that, if serials are not deemed as valued storehouses of Black culture, they may be then treated with neglect and discarded without regret by their own people.

The results of these four factors-language, ethnicity, orality, and the treatment of documents-can be readily seen in the pervasive ignorance that surrounds Black serials within the Black community. The invisibility of these serials is examined and reveals to the Black communities in Montreal, for the first time, their literary contribution to the city. Only by recognizing that these serials are important repositories of the cultural, social, political, and historical evidence of the Black presence in Montreal, will there be a collective response to their collection and preservation. This thesis presents to archivists and to librarians a first glimpse of Montreal's Black serialized literature, as well as several avenues for engagement with Black collectors, historians and with the creators of this medium.

Résumé

À l'aide de la praxis archivistique sankofa, cette thèse a pour but de retracer les périodiques inconnus dans la plus grande zone urbaine du Québec. Ma recherche qualitative examine 196 périodiques destinés aux Noirs et publiés dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal, de 1934 à ce jour. Cette étude de cas portant sur des documents sérialisés contrôlés par des Noirs comprend des revues, des journaux, des magazines, des annuaires, des bulletins et des nouvelles. Cette thèse tente de saisir, d'organiser et de cataloguer une liste exhaustive de contrôle des séries d'imprimés publiés par des noirs dans la région de Montréal.

Malgré la foule de publications pour Noirs produites au cours des soixante-dix dernières années, la vaste majorité des 196 titres que j'ai répertoriés sont inconnus des lecteurs noirs à Montréal, au Québec. Bien que cette thèse assume que le silence de ces documents est étroitement relié au statut marginalisé des Noirs dans l'ensemble du Canada, plus particulièrement au Québec, je mettrai l'emphase sur le contexte de l'évolution des séries, leur invisibilité concomitante au sein de la communauté noire de Montréal, ainsi que le contexte national et urbain de ces documents. La recherche n'explique pas pourquoi cet ensemble de documents est inconnu du grand public, mais plutôt pourquoi les Noirs eux-mêmes, en tant que créateurs, soit les propriétaires, les journalistes et les éditeurs noirs des séries, ne soupçonnent pas l'existence de ces séries. Cette dissertation explore l'étendue des quatre facteurs qui ont contribué à l'invisibilité de ces séries au Canada et particulièrement dans le milieu unique de Montréal: la langue, l'ethnicité, l'oralité et le traitement des documents.

Ces facteurs sont encadrés par deux perspectives générales. La première perspective comprend les effets sociaux de la langue et de l'ethnicité. Cet éclairage examine la façon dont la langue et la multi-ethnicité représentent la communauté tout en la divisant, spatialement et démographiquement. L'hétérogénéité de la diaspora noire est plus grande à Montréal en raison des contraintes linguistiques imposées par la province, comme la langue de l'éducation et du discours public. Ce manque

d'homogénéité a contribué de façon significative à la marginalisation de la culture imprimée noire en isolant les groupes de Noirs dans des enclaves culturelles distinctes. Cette proposition explore, au moyen d'une étude, comment les propriétaires, les éditeurs et les journalistes des périodiques de la communauté noire perçoivent la contribution de l'hétérogénéité de la communauté noire aux faux-fuyants de leurs séries.

La deuxième perspective examine l'oralité interne de la communauté, et le traitement des documents est une analyse interne de la façon dont les Noirs traitent la culture imprimée en général, et leur propre culture imprimée en particulier. Leur présence diasporique à Montréal est encore délimitée par les traces de la tradition orale africaine, ou l'oralité, le troisième facteur. Je cherche à comprendre l'étendue à laquelle cette tradition orale a entraîné au sein de la communauté noire la croyance à l'effet que les documents imprimés, incluant les périodiques, ne constituent pas la meilleure représentation culturelle pour exprimer la présence des Noirs. Le traitement des documents est une extension de l'oralité, à savoir que si les séries ne sont pas considérées comme une mine de renseignements sur la culture noire, elles peuvent être traitées avec négligence et écartées sans regret par ses propres représentants.

On remarque facilement les résultats de ces quatre facteurs, soit la langue, l'ethnicité, l'oralité et le traitement des documents, dans la profonde ignorance entourant les périodiques noires au sein de la communauté noire. J'examine leur invisibilité et je révèle, pour la première fois, aux communautés noires de Montréal, leur contribution littéraire à la ville. Le manque d'intérêt pour ces séries doit cesser. Je soutiens qu'en reconnaissant que ces séries sont d'importantes références à des témoignages culturels, sociaux, politiques et historiques de la présence des Noirs à Montréal, il en résultera une réponse collective à leur collecte et à leur conservation. Par conséquent, avec le développement des études sur le livre au Canada et l'examen de l'impact des publications sur la vie culturelle des Canadiens, les preuves bibliographiques que représentent ces périodiques noires ne doivent pas être ignorées par les gardiens du savoir. Cette thèse présente aux archivistes et

aux bibliothécaires un premier regard sur les publications sérialisées de la communauté noire de Montréal et propose plusieurs pistes d'intérêt pour les collectionneurs noirs, les historiens et les créateurs de ce média.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Depositories:

ARI = Alfie Roberts Institute and Archives
BNQ = Bibliothèque nationale du Québec
BSC = Black Studies Centre
CA = Centre Afrika
CCC = Centre communautaire Coumbite
CIDIHCA = Centre International de documentation et d'information Haïtienne,
Caribéenne et Afro-Canadienne
CLSCL = Southern California Library for Social Studies & Research, Los Angeles
ConU = Concordia University (Loyola)
BCRC = Black Community Resource Centre
Guelph = University of Guelph
Images = Intermage Communications
LavU = Université Laval/Laval University
MM = McMaster's University
McGill = McGill University
NA = National Archives of Canada
NL = National Library of Canada
Schomburg = Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public
Libraries
UOO = University of Ottawa
UQAM = Université de Québec à Montréal
UT = University of Toronto
VM = Ville de Montréal Public Libraries
Windsor = University of Windsor
YK = York University

Frequency:

ann= annually
bi-ann = bi-annually (twice yearly)
bi-enn = bi-ennally (every two years)
bi-mth = bi-monthly (every second month)
irr = irregularly
mth = monthly
q = quarterly (every third month)
s-mth = semi-monthly (twice monthly)
tri = trimesterly (every fourth month)
wk = weekly
u= unknown

Publication data:

org. = the organization's business
Lang(s) = languages
Freq = frequency

Private Collectors:

Jones = Robert Jones, Brockville, Ont.
Best = Richard Best, Montreal
Blackman = Margot Blackman, Montreal
Leloup = Raynald Dauphin, Montreal
Packwoods = Lucille Cuevas, Ottawa; Mai-Ruth Sarsfield, Victoria, BC
Williams = Dorothy Williams, Montreal

Languages:

creo = Creole
fre = French
eng = English
spa = Spanish
por = Portuguese

Sources:

BDQ = *Bibliographie du Québec*
CCE = *Matthews CCE Directory, January 2001 Edition*
CBNQ = *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec: revues québécoises*
CEPG = *Canadian Ethnic Press Guide, March 1, 1992 Edition*
GPN = *Guide to Periodicals and Newspapers in the Public Library of Metropolitan Toronto*
NST = *New Serial Titles*
ULCN = *Union List of Canadian Newspapers Held by Canadian Libraries/Liste collective des journaux canadiens disponibles dans les bibliothèques canadiennes*
Woods = *The 'Alternative Press' in Canada. A Checklist*

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Now as writer, I have nurtured many children too, and this one, this thesis, has perhaps been the most difficult, because it was not just mine. Many others, far too numerous to mention, made this happen--this is your child too. It would not have been possible if you had not responded to my phone calls, or if you had not searched for that one last newspaper copy tucked in a box under your beds or in your garage. This project has borne fruit because you were willing to cull those 20 year old files for a copy of a forgotten newsletter, or to talk to me in the midst of your busy workday. I cannot forget those “villagers” who trusted me enough to let me hold on to dozens of titles for months or years--just on my word that I would return them.

This community effort has been augmented by the patience and earnest direction of my supervisor, Peter McNally, at the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies McGill University. His guidance was augmented by the advice and the open doors of others within McGill’s Faculty of Education, and in particular the members of my committee from the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies, Professors Large and Leide, and Professors Brian Young of McGill’s History Department, and Mary Maguire of the Faculty of Education.

I was also fortunate to have had encouragement and assistance from helpful staff and librarians in the McGill Library system, from Inter-library Loans to Technical Services. This would have been a different project without the knowledgeable input from the librarians at the National Library of Canada, at the Bibliothèque nationale du

Québec, and from the many archivists and technicians who valiantly try to keep the Black community's own archives a going concern.* Like me they know that our history, in all its forms, needs to be preserved.

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I hope that this study encourages others to give birth to new ideas so that the African diasporic community in Montreal will continue to grow anew in the knowledge that it is an integral part of Africa, of the Americas, of Canada, and of course, since 1628, an integral part of Quebec.

*Note that during this research, The National Library and the National Archives merged into one institution creating Library and Archives Canada. For consistency I have chosen to continue to use their separate designations throughout this thesis.

Prologue

I have never been comfortable with invisibility. My adult life has been dedicated to raising the veil of obscurity and illuminating the historic Black presence in Quebec. This commitment has resulted in five endeavours that are listed in the references of this thesis. This study is a continuation of my past 15 years of research on the documentary evidence of the Black presence. In 1989, the Quebec Human Rights Commission published *Blacks in Montreal 1628-1986: An Urban Demography*, my study on the historical demography of Blacks in the city.¹ This was followed up in 1997, with a chronological analysis of the Black community in the Montreal region, *The Road To Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal*.² In 1998, VLB Éditeur released a French translation of *Blacks in Montreal*, titled *Les Noirs à Montréal 1628-1986. Essai de démographie urbaine*.³ Since 1989, I have continued to write in various fields including, "Slavery 1628-1834" in the anthology, *Boundaries of Identity: A Quebec Reader*, and my most recent demographical analysis of the 1996 census was in 2000 with the release of *N.D.G. and Poverty: Looking Through the Census*.⁴ My most recent publications can be found in an article in *Feliciter*, the official magazine of the Canadian Library Association, or in a textbook, *Acting on Words*, or in the conference proceedings of "History in the Making VII", Concordia

¹ Dorothy W. Williams, *Blacks in Montreal 1628-1989, An Urban Demography*, Cowansville, PQ, Les Éditions Yvon Blais, 1989.

² Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal*, Montreal, Véhicule Press, 1997.

³ Dorothy W. Williams, *Les Noirs à Montréal 1628-1986. Essai de démographie urbaine*, P. DesRuisseaux, trad. Montreal, VLB Éditeur, 1998.

⁴ Dorothy W. Williams, "Marks of Identity 'Slavery 1628-1834'" in *Boundaries of Identity: A Quebec Reader*, Bill Dodge, ed., Toronto, Lester Publishing Ltd., 1992; Dorothy W. Williams, *NDG and Poverty: Looking Through the Census*, Montreal, The N.D.G. Anti-Poverty Group of Montreal, May 2000.

University, published in 2002.⁵

In 1998, curious about the range of sources available for the study of Blacks in Canada, I began to compile a comprehensive bibliography. My bibliography now has 10,000 items including: biographies, bibliographical studies, correspondence, legislation, films, monographs, association and government reports, journals, newspaper articles, and scholarly research. Having access to this bibliography has given me a unique awareness of available sources that pertain to Blacks in Quebec and helped me to understand the state and status of Black literature in Canada. I was eager to examine the phenomenon of the Black newspaper and look at its ascendancy in Montreal's Black history. I was aware of the importance accorded to the "newspaper,"⁶ because, the newspaper has been an oft-studied element in book history, and through my work and avocation, I had become a student of book history.

Robert Darnton likens book history to a communication circuit that "transmits messages, transforming them en route, as they pass from thought to writing to printed characters and back to thought again."⁷ The newspaper is influenced by this communication circuit as the reader, influences the publishing of the work, its printing, distribution and eventual dissemination back to the reader, who may be the author. Book history, indeed, the newspaper itself can be studied from any of these points in the circuit. The convergence of my interests in bibliography, Black history and

⁵ Dorothy W. Williams, "Educating the LIS Profession: Why is it important to Recruit More African-Canadian Librarians," *Feliciter* 47 (2) 2001, p. 85-86; Dorothy W. Williams, "The Quebec Experience: Slavery 1628-1834," in *Acting on Words: An Integrated Reader, Rhetoric, and Handbook*, David Brundage & Michael Lahey, eds., Pearson Education Canada, 2004, p. 90-99; Dorothy W. Williams, "Black Media in Montreal: In Defence of Abyssinia," in *History in the Making VII: History and the Media. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference for Graduate Students of History at Concordia University*, Matthew Barlow & Anna Ginter, eds., Montreal, Concordia University, 2002, p. 129-151.

⁶ For a discussion of the rise of the newspaper and subsequently the journal format, see: Karl Schottenloher, "New Literary Forms in the Journal and Newspaper," In *Books and the Western World: A Cultural History*, translated by William D. Boyd and Irmgard H. Wolfe. Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Co., 1989, p. 239-242.

⁷ Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," in *The Book History Reader*, David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds., London, New York, Routledge, 2002, p. 11-11.

book history coalesced with my entry into the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies at McGill University in 1999.

Thus, my interest in periodical literature and the Black community began to take shape during a visit to Ottawa in spring 2000. At that time, I visited with the stepchildren of Edward Packwood, a Black entrepreneur, visionary and publisher of the newspaper *The Free Lance*, Montreal's first Black newspaper. *The Free Lance* was launched in 1934 in the midst of the Depression, in the district known today as Little Burgundy. This was the historical home of the Black community up until the 1960s, and it was where I grew up. *The Free Lance* contained news about the local Black community, about Blacks across the country, Blacks in the United States and in the Caribbean; it also had a strong focus on Africa. I found it a fascinating read, and I was even more intrigued to discover that this newspaper is not archived anywhere, but remains with the Packwoods.

In the fall of that same year, 2000, I agreed to participate in the History in the Making Conference at Concordia University, Montreal, in Spring 2001. This conference specifically addressed the relationship between media and cultural communities. The theme fit in with my desire to look at Black history from the perspective of book history. Thus, I decided to write about *The Free Lance's* reporting of the Abyssinian conflict in September 1935-1936.⁹ With the permission of the Packwoods, I returned to Ottawa and retrieved copies of *The Free Lance* which focussed on the conflict.

In Spring 2001, I put together a proposal for the study of Quebec's earliest newspapers: "The Representation in Print of Blacks and Slavery in Lower Canada, 1764-1834." I desired to investigate the views of early Quebecers about the Blacks in their midst, and about their use of the Black image in print sources. I searched through early newspaper directories and checklists in order to compile a list of the first newspapers between 1764 and 1834. This covered the period of time between the first introduction of the printing press to Lower Canada, (1764) to

⁹ The text can be found in: Williams, 2002, p. 129-151.

August, 1834 when slavery officially ended in Lower Canada.⁹ Compiling a preliminary list was time-consuming, and after consultation it was agreed that the entire project would perhaps require an additional investment of two to three years of archival research.

Without definite funding for a study of that magnitude, I began to look into other possibilities. In Fall 2001, I began an in-depth analysis of *The Free Lance*. My examination was to include interviews with Blacks who remembered either the paper or the people involved. Though the proposal, "The Black Community and Print Culture: The Free Lance 1934-1941, A Case Study," was well-received, it was decided that 20% of *The Free Lance* was not sufficient primary material to support a doctoral dissertation.

On the advice of my committee, I set out to uncover exactly what constituted the body of Black serials in Quebec. This I assumed would be a fast and simple task as I had already written monographs on Montreal's Black history. Also, I had grown up in the radicalization of the 60s and 70s, and had considered myself to be quite familiar with many documents on Montreal Blacks which were found in the various libraries and repositories. Thus, it came as a surprise when I began to uncover a large range of titles. I had expected to find only 20 periodicals. Yet within months, the number of titles doubled and then quintupled. It became evident that the serialized print culture within the Montreal Black community was significantly richer and far more complex than I first imagined.

Identifying these serials was first achieved by sifting through my personal document collection. After reacquainting myself with serial titles I owned, I then searched the web-based OPACs of the city's four local academic libraries: Concordia University, McGill University, Université de Québec à Montréal and the Université de Montréal. I used their subject links to identify other Black/noir serials in their collections. McGill University, through its Roy States Collection in the Rare

⁹ Bruce Whiteman, *Lasting Impressions: A Short History of English Publishing in Quebec*, Montreal, Véhicule Press, 1994.

Book Department, had obtained several issues of 1960s and 1970s titles.¹⁰

As the bibliography expanded, contact was made with several of the journalists and editors identified in the serials. Many of these individuals were familiar with my publications and willingly helped me to locate other potential collectors or others who had contributed to the serials. These subsequent phone calls put me in touch with individuals who were willing to lend their serials for the duration of this study. Two of these calls led to trips outside of Montreal. The first was to Brockville to interview Robert Jones. I borrowed several dozen copies of *Afro Can Communications* and other serials. Then, in Ottawa I connected with the stepdaughter of Edward Packwood and obtained several issues of *The Free Lance*.

My search expanded from the universities and I visited the community-based repositories in Montreal, Centre Afrika, the Black Studies Centre (BSC). I also gathered information at the Centre International de documentation et d'information Haïtienne, Caribéene et Afro-Canadienne (CIDIHCA). This is essentially a Special Library and an archive of the French-speaking Haitian community in the city.

In my quest for the Black newspaper, I discovered in informal interviews that the Black newspaper should not be considered as a primary vehicle of communication and exchange amongst Montreal Blacks. This was a revelation for me. In a discussion with Dr. Clarence Bayne, Concordia University Professor and President of the Black Studies Centre, I was told that Blacks of the 1960s and 1970s seized upon the newsletters and bulletins put out by community associations, rather than on any newspaper for their information. Therefore, I found only a few copies of Black newspapers from that era. While at the BSC I also took the opportunity to collect copies of the newsletters and bulletins they had on hand.

The idea that newspapers were not used significantly in the Black community was echoed about a month later when I spoke with Frantz Voltaire, founder and

¹⁰ The community documents and personal papers of Roy States, teacher, historian, and collector, were given to McGill University Archives at his death. It contains the single largest collection of Black memorabilia in Montreal, with items pre-dating the sixties.

Director of CIDIHCA. He volunteered that the newspaper was secondary to the 'revue' or journals put out in the Haitian community. This was, he posited, because journals allowed for the opportunity to write essays and polemics, perfect vehicles for the heated discourse among the Haitian revolutionary elements in Montreal. Armed with that information I began to study the magazines, revues and journals at CIDIHCA. A thorough study of CIDIHCA's periodical lists, the storage boxes, shelves and serial containers housed in this archive confirmed Voltaire's contention. The six Haitian newspapers published in Montreal only made up 13% of the 45 Black newspapers at CIDIHCA. The remaining 87%, although circulated within Montreal's Haitian community, are newspapers from the Haitian diaspora in France, New York, Miami, or the Caribbean.¹¹ Several trips later, I had amassed over 40 serial titles from Montreal. At this juncture, intrigued by the discovery of these unfamiliar serials, it was decided to expand the Checklist to include all types of Montreal Black serials owned and managed by people of African descent.

Time was also spent searching the National Library database, AMICUS and titles of the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec (IRIS). These catalogues had numerous titles but held incomplete runs. It has been fortuitous that the National Archives of Canada has within the past ten years acquired the papers, serials, and ephemera of two Montreal Black community activists (Dr. Dorothy Wills, and Dr. Clarence Bayne) from the 1960-1980s.¹² These early activists were willing to be interviewed and gave me permission to examine their records at the National Archives.

In the hopes of locating more Montreal Black titles, I broadened my search to the catalogues of other Canadian universities: Ottawa, Toronto, York, Dalhousie,

¹¹ CIDIHCA, "Liste des titres de journaux," Montréal, 9 septembre, 2000; CIDIHCA, "Liste des revues et magazines," Montreal, 8 novembre, 2000; CIDIHCA, "bulletins," Montréal, 9 décembre, 2000. Only 13% of the newspaper titles were from Montreal.

¹² "Dorothy Wills MG31, H 179 Finding Aid no. 1832," TMs., Lawrence F. Tapper, comp. Multicultural Archives Program, 1990, p. 12-14; "Bayne, Clarence S. MG31, H 181 Finding Aid no. 1884," TMs., Lawrence F. Tapper, comp. Multicultural Archives Program, 1991, p. 12-14. Dr. Bayne and Dr. Dorothy Wills are respected educators in Montreal and both were activists and also journalists in several publications. With their permission I accessed their National Archives fonds.

Saskatchewan, British Columbia, etc.--universities located within or near to significant Black populations.¹³ The aim was to determine whether any Quebec/Montreal titles had wound up in their collections. Such a search was a long shot, but it was based on the fact that the distribution of several titles had been inter-provincial. I had hoped that Blacks in these provinces had kept these copies and that perhaps these same copies had been deposited in the archives or libraries of their local community.

Tracing *The Free Lance* in particular was the impetus for an international search. This serial had regularly been sent to Blacks in the United States, and to South America, as far away as Guyana (British Guiana). Inquiries outside of Quebec, however, yielded no new issues of *The Free Lance*.

The locating and collecting of Black serials has been time-consuming and could have continued indefinitely. In fact, by March 2005, in order to meet thesis deadlines,, I had to cease data collection, despite receiving new titles, even during and after the interview phase.

In examining and organizing these serials, several questions came to the fore. The first question was one which I have asked myself repeatedly: "Why haven't I heard about many of these serials before?" This question became part of my discourse with other Blacks in the city. They too, expressed surprise that this Black print culture, reaching back to 1934, had not been captured, and they were mystified how such a large legacy existed without their knowledge. Thus, this thesis, my journey here, was to try to understand why this voluminous print culture, through the years, had remained so silent, even invisible to the community to which it was speaking. The result was this research.

¹³ Over the past year, I had the opportunity to examine the catalogue of Ryerson University because I had hoped its journalism school had acquired some titles. No copies were located however Ryerson had several Canadian serial directories not found elsewhere.

1. Introduction

Background to Study

A. The Global Picture

Black Serials in the United States

In the slave-free states of the North, mainstream media were no friends to the freed Black. The rise in the number of freed Blacks and their offspring created a backlash that was played out through the negative and harmful reporting of the white-controlled daily press which “rarely spoke in the basic interests of--from the perspectives--[of] the darker brothers...[rather, their] presence had become fuel for polemics of religion, literature, politics and science; and [for] a uniform acceptance of the biological inferiority and divinely ordained subjugation of black people....”¹⁴ Dehumanizing Blacks led to increased intolerance and discrimination, and perpetuated a climate of fear.

In 1827, to counter these hostile media, the Black press in the United States began a New York publication entitled *Freedom's Journal*. It was a race paper, totally owned and managed by Blacks. Its goal was “to guide, counsel, educate, help [Black] people in trouble and through its columns suggest solutions to problems and means of correcting injustices.”¹⁵ In the midst of a slave-driven economy, the owners of the *Freedom's Journal* intended their newspaper to be a “medium of expression for news about activities among African Americans and as an editorial defence against attacks.”¹⁶ For over 170 years, news about Blacks,

¹⁴ Gloria Blackwell, “Black-Controlled Media in Atlanta, 1960-1970: The Burden of the Message and the Struggle for Survival,” Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1956, p. 3.

¹⁵ Armistead S. Pride, & Clint C. Wilson, *A History of the Black Press*, Washington. Howard University Press, 1997, p. 133. See definitions for an explanation of the racial/ethnic terms used here.

¹⁶ Walter C. Daniel, *Black Journals of the United States*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1982, p. ix.

“together with creative writing, has remained essentially the material of the Afro-American press.”¹⁷ Blacks, who were either denigrated or rendered invisible by their absence in the mainstream press, turned to the alternative voice of the Black press. Cornish and Russwurm, *Freedom’s Journal* co-editors, stated their mission in the first issue, “We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the publick been deceived by misrepresentations in things which concern us dearly...whatever concerns us as a people, will ever find a ready admission into the Freedom’s Journal, interwoven with all the principal news of the day.”¹⁸

The launch of *Freedom’s Journal* was a significant Black event that reverberates today. In the 177 years since the launch of *Freedom’s Journal*, the Blacks in 48 states have produced over 4,000 newspapers and several thousand other periodicals.¹⁹ Today, the African-American population in the United States is over 35 million, served by 140 Black newspapers in 28 states.²⁰ When other serials such as Black magazines and journals are included this figure climbs over 200; currently 225 Black serials are being published in 31 American states.²¹

Black Serials in Canada

The distribution of Black serials within Canada has mirrored the demographic concentrations of Blacks. Over 92% of all serials ever published in the

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ Sharon Murphy, *Other Voices: Black Chicano, and American Indian Press*. Dayton, OH. Pflaum/Standard, 1974, p. 79.

¹⁹ James Danky and Maureen Hady, *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals: A National Bibliography*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1998.

²⁰ “African American, Black,” *Bowker’s News Media Directory*, 54th ed., New Providence, N.J., R.R. Bowker, 2004, p. 6-1-6-14.

²¹ “Black Publications,” *Gale Directory of Publications and Broadcast Media 138th ed, v.3. United-States and Canada*, Detroit, Gale Research, 2004, p. 2747-2749.

country have come from Ontario, the Maritime regions and Quebec.²² These areas contain over 88% of Canada's Black population.²³

Black serialized printing within Canada began in the mid-19th century with the emergence of race papers, most notably *The Voice of the Fugitive* and the *Provincial Freeman*. These papers operated in the ex-slave communities of southwestern Ontario in the 1850s, at the height of the fugitive slave period in Canada.²⁴ Other Black newspapers were published in Chatham, London, and Windsor, Ontario, right into the 20th century. Ontario has played a significant role in the development of Black serials in Canada; since 1849, fully 58% of the known Black serials published in Canada have originated in Ontario. Most of this publishing activity was centered in Toronto, accounting for 68% of all of Ontario's Black papers.²⁵

Neith: A Magazine of Literature, Science, Art, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, Criticism, History, Reform, Economics operated out of St. John, New Brunswick in 1915 and was significant because it was Canada's first Black literary magazine. Despite its large indigenous Black population, whose roots go back to 1604, Black Nova Scotians did not get a race newspaper, *The Clarion*, until after the Second

²² This percentage, and the figures to follow, are based on the lists compiled from two of the most recent Black bibliographies in Canada: George H. Junne, Jr., *The History of Blacks in Canada: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 2003, passim 367-371 and George Elliott Clarke, *Odysseys Home: Mapping African-Canadian Literature*, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto Press, 2002, passim 437-442.

²³ Statistics Canada, *Visible Minority Groups, 2001 Counts, for Canada, Provinces and Territories, -20% Sample Data*, 2004.

²⁴ For further analysis of the impact of the press in Canada West at that time. See: Jane Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press And Protest in the Nineteenth Century*, Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press, 1998; The National Library of Canada, "Canadian Confederation: Black Newspapers" <http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/confed/blacks.3.htm>. Accessed August 4, 2000. For *The Voice of the Fugitive*, see: Peggy Bristow, "Black Women and Work in Nineteenth Century Canada West: Black Woman Teacher Mary Bibb," in *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up: Essays In African Canadian Women's History*, Toronto, ON, University of Toronto Press, 1994, p. 143-170.

²⁵ Junne, p. 367-371.

World War.²⁶ Since *Neith*, approximately 20% percent of Canada's Black serials were launched in the Maritimes, most in Halifax.²⁷ The Maritime serial print culture is essentially a recent phenomenon, proliferating since the 1980s, when 71% of the Black publications were published.²⁸

Black periodical publishing in Quebec began with the launch of *The Free Lance* in 1934 in the heart of Montreal's Black district, Little Burgundy.²⁹ At one time, (see Prologue) Little Burgundy, in the southwest sector of Montreal, was home to the largest concentration of Blacks in Quebec. For seven years, *The Free Lance* was the only Black news and information periodical in Montreal.³⁰ Other forms of printed serials did not appear in any great number until the mid-1950s, which coincided with the massive arrival of new West Indian immigrants to the city. These immigrants entered Canada from countries where Blacks made up anywhere from 85% to 99% of the population. In many of these countries of origin, Blacks had owned and managed their own presses. Literacy was high, particularly among the middle-class and upper middle-class West Indians who chose to come to Canada. They had come from a culture where education for Blacks was expected and valued. These same Blacks then brought a tradition of serial literacy into Canada's Black communities. After the launch of *The Free Lance*, the overwhelming majority of editors, journalists, and owners were West Indians. In the 70 years since *The Free Lance*, these West Indians have established nearly 200 periodicals in the city.

²⁶ Dr. Carrie Best launched this paper in New Glasgow, NS. R. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, 2nd. ed., Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, p. 405-6; Rosemary Sadlier, "Carrie Best," *Leading the Way: Black Women in Canada*, Toronto, Umbrella Press, 1994, p. 25-32.

²⁷ Junne, p. 367-371.

²⁸ Clarke, passim 437-442.

²⁹ For more background on *The Free Lance* see: Williams, "Black Media," p. 129-151.

³⁰ George Elliott Clarke lists *The Outcome* as another Black periodical that was published in Montreal in 1935. The author has been unable to locate any issues. "Africana Canadiana: A Primary Bibliography of Literature by African-Canadian Authors, 1785-1996/1997, in English French and Translation," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 28 no. 3 (special issue) (1996): 195.

In summary, 90% of the Black periodicals in Canada have been produced by Blacks living in and around three of Canada's major urban centers: Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. The 19th century Black press in Canada was concentrated in Ontario. Today Ontario continues to be at the forefront of Black serial publishing, since it is home to 62% of all Blacks living in Canada.³¹ Based on Clarke's enumeration of the in-print serials across the country, Ontario, it would appear, produces over 66% of all Black publications in the country.³² However, this dominance by Ontario does not take into account the 28 serials currently being published in Quebec (see Appendix 3).

Quebec's Black Serials

In the course of my bibliographic searching for Montreal periodicals I discovered that Quebec Blacks, outside of the Montreal area, have also published serials (see Appendix 4). I have located eight serials published by Blacks in Hull, Québec City, Gatineau, and Trois-Rivières. This list is not complete and no follow-up was undertaken regarding any of these titles. Unable to explore the extent of Black serialization elsewhere in Quebec, I cannot estimate whether these eight serials represent the entire number of titles or just a fraction of the Black serials in the rest of the province.

The oldest of these publications was a journal titled *Étincelle*. It was published in Ste-Foy in the Quebec City area in 1971 by the Quebec chapter of the Comité haïtien d'action patriotique (CHAP). CHAP was a political liaison group with chapters in North America and the Caribbean, whose aims "continuera à informer Haïtiens et Amis d'Haïti sur la collusion des intérêts économiques et politiques étrangers avec le régime Duvalier..." and "continuera d'une part à démythifier la situation politique en Haïti...."³³

³¹ Statistics Canada, *Visible Minority Groups*, 2004.

³² Clarke, 2002, passim 437-442. His serial list indicates that 18 of 27 serials are in-print.

³³ "Présentation," *Étincelle* 1(1) (juin 1971): 1.

The most recent publication, *Echo du Sahel: Nouvelles d'Afrique, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger*, was launched in Joliette, Quebec in 1993. This magazine allowed foreign journalists to report on the Sahel concerning the social and economic development, environmental concerns, and health of the region. It also included articles from, and about, Quebecers living or working in the African Sahel.

It is to be expected that both *Etincelle* and *Echo* are French language periodicals, because while 53% of Montrealers are bilingual, other areas of the province are significantly unilingual French.³⁴ Despite the immigrants' preference to settle in Montreal, French-speaking Africans or Haitian immigrants have settled elsewhere in the province, at the government's encouragement, over the past two decades. Although I was aware that Blacks had settled in various regions of Quebec, it was a revelation that by 1971 Haitians had developed networks sufficient to support their own serials in Quebec City.

In conclusion, I cannot, with certainty, paint a picture of Black serials in Quebec. It is not known how many serials have been published, in what regions, or who the creators are. None of the Quebecois literature, directories, bibliographies, or checklists explored in Chapter 3 include the names of serials published by Black communities outside of the Montreal area. Thus, these serials are invisible to me and most would be unknown to Black Montrealers.

What's in a Name?

How does one define Montreal's Black serials? Clearly not mainstream, for they are not in control of, nor in accord with, societal structures. Are they, collectively, 1) an underground press? 2) an alternative media? or 3) an ethnic media? Each term is examined to determine the extent to which it excludes or includes Black serialized literature.

³⁴ Gouvernement du Québec, Institut de la statistique, "Population by knowledge of official languages, Québec Census Metropolitan Areas, 2001," www.stat.gouv.qc/regions/rmr/rmr_index_an.htm. Accessed May 1, 2004.

Quebec Black press as underground

James Danky, in his definitive bibliography on underground periodicals, defined underground papers as, “a publication that expresses views not normally presented in the daily press.”³⁵ This definition is similar to one put forth in Anne Leibl’s journal article, “Canada’s Underground Press,” which was written four years earlier and targeted serial librarians in Canada.³⁶ According to Leibl, the underground press claims “to present a voice in opposition to the mass media, a voice of the free...A voice for those who have no voice...a forum for those who have no voice...They claim to offer an alternative to the society in which we live.”³⁷ Leibl does not include in her definition only those papers that are ‘underground’, or hidden; she recognizes that although some presses “publish from a suitcase, others are so well established that newer alternative papers look on them as establishment press.”³⁸ Another element, she declares, that differentiates the underground press is that “they do not exist to make money...Their staffs are more devoted than well-fed. Some seriously want to convey a message.”³⁹

Leibl lists 25 underground serials in Canada, but does not include any Black papers from Montreal. *Black Liberation News* and *Contrast*, which are Toronto-based papers, are the only Black serials named. Given the conservative, assimilative editorials and the profit agenda of *Contrast*, can the Black press be labeled as an underground press? In one sense the Black press could be defined as “underground” because as outlined previously, its raison d’etre is to be “a forum for those [Blacks] who have no voice.” Like an underground paper, the Black

³⁵ James Danky, *Undergrounds: A Union List of Alternative Periodicals in Libraries of the United States and Canada*, Madison, WI, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974, p. vii.

³⁶ Anne Leibl, “Canada’s Underground Press,” *Canadian Library Journal*, 1970, p. 16-20.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 18.

press does exist “to present a voice in opposition to the mass media.” In addition, I do agree that Black underground publications, at least those created in crisis, do not exist to make money. Here the similarity ends, however, as Leibl’s definition of the underground press is far too all-encompassing to assume that all Black publications are underground presses. Anne Fabbro, on the other hand, in “Canadian periodicals of dissent” divided the Black press into two separate categories: Underground Press and Black Power.⁴⁰

I would suggest that perhaps the most salient elements of an underground press are that they are clandestine in organization and distribution, and promote ideas considered offensive or inflammatory to the society at large. They may even flirt with ideas or strategies to subvert the established order and thus challenge (in varying degrees) specific elements of society that prop up the undesirable power structure.

Using my definition, only certain Black serials in Montreal would be termed as definitively “underground” (Appendix 9). They include:

- 1) the early publications of the Haitian community, when many lived in fear of the tonton-macoutes, the secret agents of Duvalier living in Montreal
- 2) the publications after the Sir George Williams University Affair,⁴¹ when many felt that the mainstream press had either sided with, or had not properly reported on, the event at the university or in the courts; and
- 3) the initial papers put out by the early Africans who had fled to Canada due to political repression. Their papers were established so that they could maintain contact and give information to each other about what was occurring in their homelands.

These papers were secretive in that almost all editorials and articles were unsigned for fear of (personal) arrest or reprisals (against family or friends ‘back

⁴⁰ Anne Fabbro, “Canadian periodicals of dissent,” *Ontario Library Review* 56(3) (1972): 171.

⁴¹ This affair was a much publicized anti-racist student protest that took place in 1969 at Sir George Williams University. The arrests, incarcerations and deportations of Black foreign students involved at once polarized and galvanized Black activism in Montreal at that time. See Dorothy Eber, *The Computer Centre Party: Canada Meets Black Power at Sir George Williams University Affair*, Montreal, Tundra Books, 1969; *Let the Niggers Burn: The Sir George Williams University Affair and its Caribbean Aftermath*, Forsythe, Dennis, ed., Montreal, Black Rose Books-Our Generation Press, 1971.

home'). They were known only to a few, and without any single point of distribution, usually only giving a post office box for contact purposes. Underground, they were "never really intended for consumption by the wider public..."⁴² They were passed around in secret, in community centers, in homes, on the street, or in restaurants, bars, and cafes fraternized by like-minded people. And finally, these underground papers would have been seen as dangerous (to some of the powers that be) simply because they espoused ideas and strategies to subvert specific political structures. Sometimes, the ideas were as "revolutionary" as promoting democracy over dictatorship, free votes over rigged elections, and fair trials over kangaroo courts.

Quebec Black press as alternative

Michael Albert, in his essay about the Federation of Alternative Media Activists and Supporters, presents a comparison between mainstream and alternative media that clearly delineates their differences:

Being alternative can't just mean that the institution's editorial focus is on this or that topical area. And being alternative as an institution certainly isn't just being left or right or different in editorial content. Being alternative as an institution must have to do with how the institution is organized and works.

A mainstream media institution (public or private) most often aims to maximize profit or sells an elite audience to advertisers for its main source of revenue. It is virtually always structured in accord with and to help reinforce society's defining hierarchical social relationships, and is generally controlled by and controlling of other major social institutions, particularly corporations.

In contrast, an alternative media institution (to the extent possible given its circumstances) doesn't try to maximize profits, doesn't primarily sell audience to advertisers for revenues (and so seeks broad and non-

⁴² Jon Vanden Heuvel, *Untapped Sources: America's Newspapers Archives and Histories*, Craig La May and Martha FitzSimon, eds., Brussels, Gannett Foundation Media Center, 1991, p. 16.

elite audience), is structured to subvert society's defining hierarchical social relationships, and is structurally profoundly different from and as independent of other major social institutions, particularly corporations, as it can be. An alternative media institution sees itself as part of a project to establish new ways of organizing media and social activity and it is committed to furthering these as a whole, and not just its own preservation.

Of course, there may be mitigating circumstances...Social and particularly market pressures may make it hard...to push in alternative directions on all fronts at all times. But surely trying to make progress on these fronts should be a condition of being alternative...⁴³

Like 'underground press', the term 'alternative media' can only be loosely applied to Montreal's Black media. Black serials diverge from this definition in two major areas. First, the need to earn a profit is an overarching concern particularly for Black newspapers; research undertaken on the Black press has underscored this point. Gloria Blackwell, in her history of the Black press in Atlanta, notes that "there was seldom enough money to keep the papers going."⁴⁴ Asante and Cassata, in their study of the mass media, discuss the meager revenues of the nation's Black press, noting that there is strong evidence that non-Black advertisers disregard the Black press. For example, in 1974, the top 10 advertisers spent 1.54 billion in advertising, yet less than \$750,000 went into advertising in the Black press.⁴⁵

The second point of divergence is the issue of the relationship between corporations, social institutions, and the Black media; there is no clear-cut separation in each instance in Montreal. Even in the history of the African-American press in the South, there were no clear divisions. In fact, often during election periods, the appearance of a new local Black newspaper came about through the patronage and

⁴³ Michael Albert, "What Makes Alternative Media Alternative? Toward a Federation of Alternative Media Activists and Supporters-FAMAS," www.mctc.mnscu.ed/Library/pages/altpress.htm. Accessed May 1, 2004.

⁴⁴ Blackwell, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Mary B. Cassata & Molefi K. Asante, *Mass Communication Principles and Practices*, New York, MacMillan Pub. Co., 1979, p. 197.

direct funding of the political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. The political machinery of these powerful parties supported these short-lived presses because they could be used to influence Black votes.⁴⁶

In Montreal it is not unusual to find that serials are supported by partnerships with other social institutions. This is particularly the case with some African publications who partner with either multi-national corporations investing in Africa, or with the consulates of their countries of birth in order to promote African investment and trade.⁴⁷

Quebec Black press as ethnic media

The majority of Black serials in Quebec are written in French; yet Black serials published in Montreal are rarely included as part of Québécois literature, where Québécois is defined as the province's French-speaking white majority, (those whose ancestors came from France). Though many serials, including the first, were written in English, Black serials published in Montreal have rarely been included as part of English or "Anglo" literature, where Anglo is defined to mean the province's English-speaking (sometimes white British) minority.⁴⁸

"Ethnic" as a category is not any more inclusive, because in Canada, "ethnic" does not automatically include "race." Rather, ethnicity is used most often to define those whose culture, or particularly whose language, is not one of the country's charter languages, English or French, but rather Chinese, Greek, Lithuanian, Italian, Hindi, etc. This foreign language definition would lead to the omission of Blacks except for the occasional Black individual who enters the country without knowledge of either English or French. The vast majority of Black serials in Montreal, with the

⁴⁶ Murphy, p. 81.

⁴⁷ *Transatlantique, Afrique Expansion Mag, Vents Croisés* are some examples.

⁴⁸ I recognize here that "Anglo" would include those whose ethnic origins are from Wales, Ireland(s), Scotland, England, Australia, South Africa, etc., the individual's mother tongue is English and they are of White European descent.

exception of the two Creole serials, would not fit this definition of “ethnic since they are published in either English or French.”⁴⁹ In Canadian popular culture, “Black” is an ethnic identifier, and often Black cultural commodities, such as jazz, blues, soca, and rap, are considered ethnic in the mass media.

Given the diasporic experience of Blacks in Canada, the ethnic minority categories of Canadian sociologists do not easily define what it is to be Black in Canada, and therefore how the media of this community can be understood. Stephen Riggins, in his essay titled, “The Media Imperative: Ethnic Minority Survival in the Age of Mass Communication”, states that there are four ethnic categories: 1) indigenous people committed to traditional values, 2) indigenous people committed to modern values, 3) voluntary immigrants with modern values, and finally, 4) voluntary immigrants with traditional values.⁵⁰

Though most Blacks in Canada today were voluntary immigrants, they have entered into a racialized environment whose antecedents were based on involuntary African slavery. This fact is not known to most Blacks when entering the country; many believe that Canada never had slavery.

Are Blacks, and by extension, their media, ethnics within Canada? The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1970 defined the ethnic press as “all private publications designed to appeal to cultural groups other than the British and French. These need not be in a language other than English or French; what matters is their content and readers.”⁵¹ Black readers, for the most part, read English or French but in either case remain minorities within minorities.

In 1988, a national survey of the 280 ethnic presses was undertaken that

⁴⁹ *Bilten Koukouy: Lang ak literati, & journal Kjnapé: Koumbit èn ayisyin nan péyi étranjé* are two Creole-only serials. Several serials are bilingual meaning French/Creole. Jean-Michel Lacroix, *Anatomie de la presse ethnique au Canada*, Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1988, p. 9.

⁵⁰ *Ethnic Minority Media: An International Perspective*, Stephen Harold Riggins, ed., London, UK, Sage Pub., 1992, p. 4-5.

⁵¹ Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism/Rapport de la Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, vol. 4., *The cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups*, Ottawa, 1970, p. 172.

included two French-language Black periodicals from Montreal, *La Lettre Africaine* and *Diaspora*.⁵² This survey was one of the first to include Canada's Black publications within the definition of "ethnic media." Ethnic media operated in Canada, this report suggested, with competing, almost contradictory goals. The report defined ethnic media by its function instead of its affinities, language, or editorial perspective. Machalski suggested:

a) That the ethnic media facilitates the new arrival's "incorporation" into the society by acting as an effective agent through which Canadian customs, standards of citizenship and behaviour are transmitted, and therefore is the most important source of information pertaining to the host society.

b) Alternatively, that the ethnic media have an opposite effect, acting as a brake on immigrant integration... Their existence not only contributes to the maintenance of ethnicities, but is itself evidence of the persistence of such ties.⁵³

Yet despite the earlier government recognition and this contemporary functional definition, many Black serials are not often listed in regional or ethnic bibliographies or in the pages of Quebec serial directories. Thus, left outside of the definition of 'Québécois,' 'Anglo,' or 'ethnic,' Black serials, like the community they emanate from, are not visible to non-Blacks.

Quebec Black serials: A Black media

The Black print media in Quebec did not arise out of the need to earn a profit. Since 1934 in Montreal, with the launch of *The Free Lance*, "the two primary, and often opposing pressures upon black-controlled media are the obligation to address the particular needs of [blacks] and the struggle to stay alive."⁵⁴ Montreal's first Black

⁵² Andrew Machalski, "The Ethnic Press in Canada," Toronto, ON., The Hilda Wilson Group, 1988. The authors include *Haïti Observateur*, however, though widely read this paper was never published in Montreal.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Blackwell, p. 1.

newspaper, *The Free Lance* took its championing role seriously and had proclaimed itself on its masthead as 'The People's Advocate--Inspiration for every Home. Read from Coast to Coast. Dedicated to the Cause of Social Justice, Racial Understanding, National Progress, World Peace.' Moreover, *The Free Lance* sported a distinctive logo, a beaver in the heart of a maple leaf, and it called itself an 'Afro-Canadian Weekly.' *The Free Lance* was significant in this regard--Its Afro-Canadianism set it apart from the journalistic approach of other race papers in Canada at that time.⁵⁵

The establishment of an African-Canadian paper in the midst of Montreal's Black community, now ravaged by the Depression, was not a random occurrence. The editors of *The Free Lance* in 1934, like editors of the race papers in the United States in 1827, had deliberately come together in order to counter the pervasive negative portrayals of Blacks in their city's media.⁵⁶

Decades later, the situation for the Black press in Montreal remained without remedy. In reaction to a spate of particularly racist stereotypical cartoon portrayals in *La Presse* and *Le Journal*, *The Afro Canadian* was forced to react,

Because of the pervasiveness and dominance of the media, one can state, with little fear of contradiction, that no single facet of society has contributed more to the oppression of Blacks than the media. And, here in Montreal, this is particularly true. Here, the newspaper oscillates between haughty neglect and the open racism depicted in some cartoons...where Blacks are regularly portrayed with all the repugnant and racist baggage of the bygone slave age: the rolling, moon-like eyes and the saucer-like lips that seem to constitute a significant portion of their body weight. It's the silly Sambo image concocted by the slave owners and their lackey cartoonists.⁵⁷

This castigation of the 'haughty neglect' of Blacks in Montreal's broadcast media is also what spurred a local Black TV producer to initiate the first wholly Black owned and Black-produced television show in Montreal. Betty Riley founder of "Black Is," recalls in a 1973 interview, that "I was working...and saw that there was a

⁵⁵ Winks, p. 404.

⁵⁶ Williams, 2002, p. 135.

⁵⁷ Franco, "The Media and Black Oppression," *The Afro Canadian*, May 1989, p. 9.

lot being done for other ethnic groups but nothing concerning blacks...I'm sick and tired, and I don't mean this in a militant sense, but I'm sick and tired of blacks being thought of as invisible people. We've got a history and culture."⁵⁸ The need for Black-owned media has persisted through the decades because of the belief that "a strong Black media...will...give expression to our hopes and aspirations."⁵⁹

What is this institution we call the Black press? Canadians have not yet grappled with this question. However, in the United States' historiography of the Black press, Roland Wolseley (1971) defined how and under what conditions a serialized publication could be called Black. He argued that:

- 1) Blacks must own and manage the publication
- 2) the publication must be intended for black consumers
- 3) the paper must serve, speak for and/or fight for the black minority.⁶⁰

Blackness, in Wolseley's definition, involved the producers of the media, the readers of the media, and the message of the media.

Subsequent researchers have used Wolseley's definition as a benchmark, and it was, in my initial research, my own frame of reference for determining which serial was acceptable for inclusion in this study. However, it became evident that trying to determine the intent of a serial readership would prove to be difficult. Gauging whether a serial does "serve, speak for and/or fight for the black minority" would require an analysis of the content. In addition, I was not so much interested in deciding whether a serial's message was "Black enough;" instead I wanted to understand the depths to which Blacks had used serials to express their views and to communicate. Moreover, it did not matter to me to whom they were communicating; rather, and this is the crux of my criteria, that they had chosen to communicate using print.

⁵⁸ Dennis McGann, "Black Is: three years and still more," *The Black Voice* 2(4), November 1973, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Simeon S. Cox, "The Black Community Needs its Own Media," *The Afro Canadian*, May 1988, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Roland Wolseley, *The Black Press, USA*, 2nd edition, Ames, Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990, p. 3-4.

Subsequently I modified Wolseley's definition; neither readership nor the message was considered in my choices. My initial criterion was that a Black serial should be edited and managed by Blacks. To this I added a geographical parameter: a Black serial must be from Greater Montreal, either on the island proper or from the suburbs immediately to the south and north of the island.

My choice to include the areas in the immediate suburbs had to do with the popular conception of Montreal. Up until 2002, the City of Montreal shared the island of Montreal with 14 other municipalities, each with its own mayor and civic administration. Today after the demerger law of the provincial government, Montreal now includes all independent cities and towns. The MUC or the Montreal Urban Community was responsible for larger regional issues such as public transportation and encompassed a much larger area including the suburbs on the south-shore and ending on the north-shore linked to Montreal by bridges. Many of the citizens of Dorval and Anjou work and play in the City of Montreal as a result of these historic and physical connections. This also holds true for many citizens who live in the bedroom suburbs off-island. Serials produced by Blacks outside of the City of Montreal are distributed on the island. Therefore the choice to include serials produced off the island reflects the ease of mobility in the greater Montreal area.

Conclusion

The Black serials in Quebec could not be called underground; only a few serials were truly underground in that the owners of the serials believed for one reason or another that they were threatened. This forced them to operate clandestinely; the serial was conceived, designed, printed and distributed in secret.

Black media have some elements that are similar to the alternative press. The message of the Black press is similar to the goals of other alternative presses in that it does attempt to evoke change in those hierarchical and negative societal relationships supported by the mainstream media. Finally, my case is that the Black press is an ethnic enterprise that operates in the margins, unknown to those outside

of the community. Thus, my goal has been sankofa, or to recover those serials that were lost. I do not necessarily mean lost to the individuals or to the archives that held them, but lost to the collective memory of the community.

The Local Picture

Montreal's Black Demographics

Montreal's Black community has always been culturally diverse.⁶¹ The interplay of race, ethnicity and language has been a key factor affecting the identity, acculturation and culture of Blacks in Montreal.

Beginning in 1628, African slavery was a part of the economic and social makeup of early Montreal.⁶² Montreal was one of three slave trading centers in New France. In New France there were not enough people to clear the land and to perform many of the basic tasks that the colony needed. After unsuccessful and limited attempts to use indentured Europeans, and then local Aborigines, Africans were enslaved in Montreal. The need for African labour did not end when the British took over Quebec; in fact it grew. The *Articles of Capitulation*, the document that ceded Quebec to the British, guaranteed that the French could keep their slaves along with their cattle and furniture.⁶³ By the end of the 18th century, social practice, judicial manipulation and a crusading press eventually shifted public opinion away

⁶¹ For in-depth study of the demographic evolution of Montreal's Black communities see: Williams, 1989; Williams, 1997; and Williams, 1998. A summary is available in: Dorothy Williams, "History of Blacks in Montreal: A Summary," in *The Evolution of the Black Community of Montreal: Change and Challenge*, James Torczyner, & Sharon Springer, eds., McGill Consortium for Ethnicity & Strategic Social Planning, 2001, p. 7-14; Mary Robertson, "The Black Presence in Quebec Society," *Afro-Can* July 1983, p. 14.

⁶² Aboriginal slaves were actually enslaved in greater numbers. See Marcel Trudel, *Dictionnaire des esclaves et de leurs propriétaires au Canada français*, Montréal, Hurtubise, 1990; Winks, pp. xv-xxiv.

⁶³ Quebec Board of Black Educators, *Some Missing Pages: The Black Community in the History of Québec and Canada Primary and Secondary Source Materials*, rev. ed., Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1986.

from slaveholding. Nonetheless, it was not until 1834 that the Emancipation Act passed by England's Parliament categorically ended legal slavery in Quebec.⁶⁴

The Black slaves from Africa, the Caribbean and the United States had differing origins and languages, such as Portuguese, French, English, Creole, and diverse African mother tongues. The practice of enslavement in Quebec set in place the racial legacy that "produced a low status for Blacks, and an ideological heritage unfavourable to them."⁶⁵ Despite education or skills, they were often forced into manual labour. Seen as cheap labour, Blacks were generally paid less than subsistence wages, "often averaging one-fourth those of whites."⁶⁶ In the 19th century, it was expected that because of their race, Blacks should receive less.

In the 20th century, little had changed--even for the Canadian government. In 1918, W. D. Scott, Superintendent of [Canadian] Immigration wrote that "Coloured labour is...not only regarded as the lowest grade, but it is the last to be taken on and the first to be discharged in most cases."⁶⁷ This pervasive attitude in the practices of Canadian employers, dampened attempts to gain economic security for decades. As recently as 1984, the Canadian Royal Commission on Equality in Employment, looking at Canada as a whole, documented that Blacks faced discrimination in employment and promotion, and often received lower income for doing the same work.⁶⁸ The most recent evidence demonstrates that little has changed in subsequent years. Almost 20 years later, Torczyner & Springer's research at

⁶⁴ Winks, p. 99-113, *passim*.

⁶⁵ B. Singh Bolaria & Peter S. Li, *Racial Oppression in Canada*, 2nd ed., Toronto, Garamond Press, 1988, p. 185. For a detailed history of how this evolved in Canada see John Boyko's chapter, "Black Canadians 1791-1970 Slavery, Segregation and Evacuation," in *Last Steps to Freedom. The Evolution of Canadian Racism*, 2nd ed. rev., Winnipeg, MB., J. Gordon Shillingford Pub. Inc., 1998, p. 156-185.

⁶⁶ Walker, 1980, p. 32.

⁶⁷ PAC, RG76, Vol. 566, file 810666, W. D. Scott to W. W. Cory, April 25, 1918.

⁶⁸ Lorna Lampkin, "Visible Minorities in Canada," in Canada, Royal Commission on Equality in Employment. *Research Studies of the Commission on Equality in Employment*, Ottawa, Canadian Govt. Publishing Centre, c1985, p. 651-681.

McGill University also came to the conclusion that despite their employment diversity, in Montreal,

1. on average, Blacks...still earn only 30%of that earned by Whites
2. only 21% of working Blacks were in full-time jobs whereas, the rate of the total working population was 33%
3. salary for part-time Black workers was 25% less than that earned by part-time White workers.⁶⁹

The unfavourable heritage of racism in Quebec perpetuated the marginalization of Blacks in Montreal's segregated labour market, particularly in the first half of the 20th century.⁷⁰ Black doctors and lawyers lived and often worked beside Black labourers, shoe shiners and porters. African Americans and West Indians worked side by side, building community institutions.⁷¹ However, with the 1929 Depression, this African-American population diminished, as many returned to the urban centers in the northern United States and to the rural southern states from which they hailed.⁷² Canadian Blacks from the Maritimes, uprooted by the 1930s Depression, began to fill the void left by the Americans' departure. A close-knit

⁶⁹ Torczyner & Springer, p. 53-56.

⁷⁰ Irish, Catholics, French, etc. were also affected by ethnic, religious and racial demarcations in the city's job markets. For more information on Montreal's split-labour market and its effects on Blacks see: Williams, 1997; Agnes Calliste, "Sleeping Car Porters in Canada: An Ethnically Submerged Split Labour Market," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 29 (1) (1987): 1-20.

⁷¹ This ethnic competition is treated in Wilfred Israel, "The Montreal Negro Community," M.A. McGill University, 1928; Calliste, (1993-94): 131-148. For more about working conditions on the railroads see: Sarah-Jane Mathieu, "Jim Crow Rides This Train: The Social and Political Impact of African American Sleeping Car Porters in Canada, 1880-1939," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2001; Stanley G. Grizzle, *My Name's not George: the Story of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in Canada*, Toronto, Umbrella Press, 1998.

⁷² African-American southern porters had been aggressively recruited decades earlier by the railroad companies, because these men were seen as the most servile Black population and therefore would be more malleable and accommodating to the passengers' whims. Sarah-Jane Mathieu, "North of the Colour Line: Sleeping Car Porters and the Battle against Jim Crow on Canadian Rails, 1880-1920," *Labour/Le Travail* 47 (Spring 2001): 9-41.

community of Blacks, numbering between 3,000 and 5,000 people, emerged.⁷³ Over 90% of all Blacks in Montreal continued to live and work in the St. Antoine district right up to the mid-1960s.

At this juncture, external events irrevocably altered the demographics in the close-knit St. Antoine community. In time for Canada's World Fair, Expo 67, a massive urban renewal in Montreal, and specifically in the St. Antoine district, led to the expropriation of residential property and to the forced eviction of thousands of residents. At the same time, in response to internal and international pressure, the restrictive federal immigration policies were ameliorated and Black English-speaking West Indians flocked to Montreal.⁷⁴ However, unable to settle in the southwest due to this urban renewal, they fanned out across the Montreal Urban Community, particularly in districts west of the downtown core, into other districts once regarded as off-limits. From a community of about 5,000, the numbers swelled into the tens of thousands in a less than a generation. After the installation of the Parti-Québécois in provincial government, this spectacular growth was muted somewhat by the large inter-provincial exodus of unilingual Blacks.⁷⁵

Nonetheless, the Black population in Montreal continued to grow as a percentage of visible minorities in Montreal because this demographic loss in the English population was replaced by the large wave of Haitian "boat-people of the air" in the late 1970s and early 1980s.⁷⁶ The term "boat-people of the air" was

⁷³ With the effects of World War Two, and the fluid in- and out-migration patterns, the total population stayed fairly constant over the next decades. However, the gender imbalance did shift the ratio of males to females. For a description of the Depression community: Williams, 1997, p. 81; and June Bertley, "The Role of the Black Community in Educating Blacks in Montreal from 1910 to 1940, with Special Reference to Reverend Dr. Charles Humphrey Este," M.A., McGill University, 1982.

⁷⁴ Grizzle, 99-102.

⁷⁵ "Quebec Black Shift to Ontario seen," *Windsor Star*, May 21, 1977.

⁷⁶ Paul Dejean, "Les "Boat-People" de l'air," *Le Devoir*, 30 octobre, 1979, p. 4; Clément Trudel, "Les Haïtiens de la mer," *Le Devoir*, 5 mars, 1983; Charles David, "Entre ciel et mer: réfugiés Haïtiens: les damnés de la mer," *La Presse*, 11 juin, 1980, p. 8; Françoise Morin, "Entre visibilité et invisibilité: les aléas identitaires des haïtiens de New York et Montréal," *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 9(3) (1993): 154.

applied to several thousand Haitians who had flown into Dorval Airport and became stranded at the airport due to sudden changes in the immigration rules which no longer allowed visitors, refugees or tourists to apply for residency from within Canada. The application now had to be made within their country of origin. Unaware of these changes, and abandoned by private and unscrupulous immigration firms who had brokered their passage, these Haitians were left on their own for days in Dorval Airport, while federal and provincial authorities discussed ways to handle the influx. Their presence provoked much debate in Quebec regarding the type of desirable immigration and regarding Quebec's need to control its own migration. The debate over those stranded at Dorval highlighted the plight of 4,000 other illegal Haitians already underground in Quebec. By 1980 the rules were relaxed to allow the "boat-people of the air" to remain in Quebec and a general amnesty was given to thousands of illegal Haitians already living in the country.⁷⁷

Encouraged by Quebec's immigration policy that favoured French speakers, the entrance of large numbers of Creole and French-speaking Haitians changed the cultural and linguistic balance within the Black Montreal community and accentuated the Black dispersal pattern across the eastern end of the island into the districts of St. Michel, Ville d'Anjou, Montreal-East, and others east and north of the downtown. By the 1991 census, Haitians numbering 21,635 accounted for eight out of 10 West Indians in Montreal, making Haitians the largest Black ethnic group in Montreal.⁷⁸ Although those classified as 'Black' numbered 39,065, this figure conceivably included Blacks from all over the diaspora and Africa, who would have identified themselves in the single category of 'Black,' rather than listing themselves by their ethnicity. By the 2001 census, the population of Haitians surpassed the ethnically diverse English-speaking Blacks. Upwardly mobile, Haitians followed the new mobility patterns of the French majority and can now be found on the West-Island, in Notre-Dame-de-Grace (NDG), to the north in Laval, on the south shore, and in the

⁷⁷ Morin, p. 154.

⁷⁸ Statistics Canada. Census Division. Ministry of Industry, Science and Technology, *91 Census Recensement: Ethnic Origin, The Nation*, Statistics Canada, 1993, p. 24.

southwest areas of Montreal, once exclusively home to English-speaking Blacks.⁷⁹

In recent years, the Caribbean population has been augmented with a growing number of French-speaking Africans. Initially, a few Africans immigrated as students; they lived on the fringe of the city's Black community in the student ghetto and in the downtown core. There was very little social intercourse between this transient African population and the city's permanent Black residents.

Africa, a continent of 59 countries, has over 2,000 distinct native languages. Of consequence to Quebec are the official administrative languages imposed under European colonial rule in Africa, whereby most Africans have a second (European) language. In Quebec therefore, the African community is comprised of four large linguistic groups: English speakers, Latin speakers (Spanish, French, Portuguese), Arabic speakers, and a plethora of various indigenous African tongues. Quebec government policy in the 1980s and 1990s, seeking to attract highly educated French speaking immigrants, encouraged increased African settlement. Subsequently Ghanaians, Nigerians, Congolese, Ethiopians, etc., have adopted Montreal and are concentrated in Côte-des-Neiges, Notre-Dame-de-Grace, and New Bordeaux.⁸⁰ Today the African-born are the fastest growing ethnic population of Black immigrants to the Montreal area, now making up 32% of all Blacks entering the city.⁸¹

Each successive wave of Black immigrants has added to the city's diversity. Torczyner & Springer note,

...through this process, the Montreal and Canadian Black experience has been transformed. The centuries rooted Canadian born Black population has become a minority within the Black community. The majority and dominant motifs in Black Montreal life today reflect the Francophone and Anglophone Caribbean immigrant experience, and these motifs are

⁷⁹ Torczyner & Springer, p. 91-106.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p. 36. Approximately 45% of Montreal's Africans lived in these three areas.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 34.

reshaping Black identity in Quebec.⁸²

Today Montreal, home to 18% of Canada's immigrant population, has been conservatively estimated to have 139,305 Black residents.⁸³ Twenty-one percent of all Blacks in the country live within the greater Montreal area, which means that Blacks are the largest visible minority group, forming approximately 30% of all visible minorities in the city.⁸⁴ Blacks hail from scores of countries--from almost every continent and hemisphere whether from Trinidad, Ethiopia, or Philadelphia. Their cultural frameworks, however, are vastly different. Collectively, they have a significant economic and social impact and Blacks appear, to a certain extent, to be integrated within Quebec society, particularly in Montreal where there are no ghettos or places where Blacks are forcibly confined. Instead, Blacks live and work throughout the island of Montreal and though they are densely concentrated in some residential communities, no single borough contains more than 20% of the Black population.⁸⁵

In some boroughs, Blacks hold the political balance of power during election time due to their residential clusters.⁸⁶ This political influence and prominence during election periods is mitigated during other periods due to their relatively small

⁸² *ibid.*, p. 32.

⁸³ Statistics Canada, *Visible minority population, census metropolitan areas*, Ottawa, April 24, 2003. Community estimates put the figure closer to 250 thousand. Historically, census methods have deliberately led to undercounting Blacks. Winks argument in 1971, holds true today, given the continuous problem. See Winks, 1979, p. 481-496; Wally Boxhill, "Defining "Blacks" in Census Terms. Underlying factors, logic and choices behind the generation of Census (hence official) counts of Blacks in Canada," in, James L. Torczyner, *Diversity, Mobility & Change: The Dynamics of Black Communities in Canada*, Montreal, McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning, Canadian Black Communities Project, Preliminary Findings, 1997, p. 11-21.

⁸⁴ Torczyner & Springer, p. 18.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 91-106.

⁸⁶ "Blacks courted by Montreal candidates," *Afro-Can*, November-December 1986, p. 1; Winston Nicholls, "Candidates Seek the Black Vote," *Afro-Can*, August 1984, p. 9, 10-11; "Crucial Election: Time for a Change," *The Afro Canadian*, October 1986, p. 1, 5; Winston Nicholls, "Minister Meets Montreal Ethnic Media," *The Afro Canadian*, July 1988, p. 9.

population overall, the lack of a homogeneous or unified leadership and their diverse ethnic affiliations. In this city, where Blacks make up less than 4% of its total populace, Black concerns expressed or analyzed in the press during electioneering are usually lost in the euphoria or defeat of candidates.⁸⁷ Black concerns are muted by the political necessity to address the overarching issues within the greater political landscape of Quebec. To many Quebecers, Blacks are invisible.⁸⁸ Indeed, to many, the Black community represents an invisible visible-minority whose concerns are unknown or remain silent until sensationalized by mainstream media reaction to stereotypical negative events such as police incidents, so-called "Black-on-Black" crime, gang violence, or to stereotypical positive events such as successful Black athletes, gospel choirs, jump-ups, or Black after-school programs.

Print Mass Media

The mainstream press is not an alternative for Montreal Blacks because the city's print media are equally unconcerned about the views and opinions of Montreal's Black communities; what happens to Blacks has "relatively low news value to white people, and even the most well-meaning editor will have to stop far short of what blacks demand if he wants to satisfy his white public. Increased reporting of black activities in the white press has never been a substitute for the black press."⁸⁹ This lack of relevant information is exacerbated because, unlike the large urban areas in the United States, Blacks in Montreal do not have the population to sustain subscriptions, nor do Black businesses have enough income to generate the advertising needed to support a daily Black newspaper. Therefore,

⁸⁷ Torczyner & Springer, p. 18-19.

⁸⁸ Clifton Ruggles, "Black...and invisible; Blacks have been part of Montreal for hundreds of years. Why weren't they included in a major exhibit marking the city's 350th anniversary?" *Montreal Gazette*, (17 October, 1992): B6.

⁸⁹ Flora Ann Caldwell McGhee, "Mississippi Black Newspapers: Their History, Content, and Future," Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Mississippi, 1985, p. 2.

without a community-wide press, Blacks in Montreal have to rely upon the print media of the general population for their news and information.

Mainstream Dailies

This dependence is not a desirable situation for Blacks, as the print media in Montreal tend to reflect both the visibility and the invisible characteristics of the city's Blacks. However, the invisibility that the city's media perpetuate is not unique. In fact, a comprehensive study on the role of the mass media throughout Canada concluded that the "mainstream mass media have tended to ignore ethnic minorities or to present them essentially in terms of the social problems they create for the majority."⁹⁰

Print media in Montreal are dominated by four mainstream dailies, monthly community presses highlighting borough or local news and several alternative weeklies and monthlies focussing on alternative lifestyles and interests. More recently, Montrealers have had access to two daily metro presses. Information about the Black community disseminated through the mainstream media, has been spotty. When Black news has been covered in the press, criticism has been leveled at the negative and stereotypical portrayals of the city's Blacks and their problems.⁹¹

⁹⁰ This is the typical treatment accorded to marginal groups around the world. For a discussion of the media's practices of exclusion: *Ethnic Minority Media.*, 1992; Beulah Ainley, *Black Journalists, White Media*, Oakhill, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire England, Trentham Books, 1998, tackles the biased and discriminatory reporting of Blacks in England by the media.

⁹¹ M. Rosenfield & M. Spina, *All the news that's fit to print?: A Study of the Toronto Press Coverage of: Racism, Immigration and Ethnic Communities*, Toronto, Cross-cultural Communication Centre, 1977; Carl E. James, "The Distorted Images of African Canadians: Impact, Implications, and Responses," in *Globalization and Survival in the Black Diaspora: The New Urban Challenge*, New York, NY, Albany State University of New York Press, 1997, p. 307-327; Janin Hadlaw, "Locating Crisis: Representations of Race and Space in the English Media. Montreal, 1987-1992," M.A., Concordia University, 1996.

Subscription

The city's daily mainstream press includes *The Gazette*, *La Presse*, *Le Journal de Montréal*, and *Le Devoir*. *La Presse*, and especially, *Le Journal de Montréal* and *The Gazette*, have featured occasional series on Black issues: employment discrimination, police brutality, racism in schools, Black gangs, etc. *The Gazette*, with its reliance on a smaller ethnic English-language readership, has been quick to include Black History Month events in its coverage. The French press *La Presse*, *Le Journal de Montréal*, and *Le Devoir* with access to millions of readers in Montreal and its environs, tends to highlight regional or provincial concerns of the province's Quebecois majority. *Le Devoir* has the least coverage on the Black community within the Montreal area. In keeping with its sensational bold headlines and graphic full-page coloured photos on its front page, the tabloid, *Le Journal de Montréal* has the most coverage.

Free Dailies

Free newspapers are now available in Montreal's extensive metro system. To augment low revenues in July 2003, the Transit Commission allowed the distribution of free tabloids inside the Metro. Initially there was one tabloid, but within a few weeks, riders were able to choose between two papers. Millions of commuters now have access to encapsulated news coverage while on the metro system. In keeping with provincial language laws and the city's demographic make-up, both metro papers are offered only in French. Usually only 10 or 12 pages in length, they have sensational headlines, lots of colour and are designed for quick reading. On certain days, *The Montreal Gazette* has passed out free issues to commuters, immediately outside the entrances of select metro stations. Black readers, like other commuters, readily read these daily papers for news coverage.

Alternative Press

Weeklies

There are four free weekly tabloids distributed throughout the city: *Voir* (French) and *Hour* (English) both owned by Communication Voir, and *Mirror* (English) and *ici* (French) both owned by the media giant, Quebecor. With separate language editions these media companies have the potential for full saturation of the “alternative” market. They are funded through both national and local advertisers, and can be picked up in numerous outlets including most entrances of the city’s metro system.

All four tabloids are five column spreads, but *Voir* has the most pages, usually between 60 and 70, whereas the smallest is *Hour* with only 40 pages per issue. In direct competition with each other for the weekend market, all four are issued weekly on Thursdays. These tabloids cover the city’s nightlife, the restaurants, the sex industry, drugs, music and counterculture events. In addition, they have complete cinema and theatre listings. All four allow graphic advertising for escort services, personal ads, and gay nightclubs.

These Montreal alternative newspapers promote alternative music such as gangsta rap, the hip hop scene, heavy metal, and technofunk. They track who is coming to perform and what films are being made in Montreal, and will often have interviews with many obscure performers who have a small but loyal fan base in the city. They also attempt to offer thought-provoking analysis of the city’s counter-culture, the youth scene, minorities and other marginalized groups.

Front page stories include a host of issues that would not be covered in the mainstream press without a furor or backlash, i.e., the sex industry, crime, gays,

student issues, labour, feminist and environmental issues.⁹² The content of the stories is similar to each other, but not totally identical, as there is different coverage for English and French items. Sometimes *Voir* and *Hour* will have the same article translated; however, the face of Blacks in these weeklies appears to be linguistically determined. *Voir* and *ici* cover stories relating to the Haitian community; the *Hour* and the *Mirror* feature articles about the English Caribbean community and local hip-hop artists. Due to this emphasis on entertainment, arts and culture, it is not unusual to read articles about, or interviews with, African-Americans performers coming to Montreal. Nor is it unusual to find the occasional article on Blacks of Montreal who have made an impact in certain fields. However, given their emphasis on the city's sex industries, its drugs and alternative culture, none of these tabloids would be considered representative of Black concerns within Montreal.

Borough Presses

The monthly community presses such as *The Suburban*, *L'Express D'Outremont*, *NDG Actualités CDN*, *Nouvelles Parc-Extension News*, *La Voix Populaire: Côte St-Paul- St-Henri-Ville-Emard*, *l'interligne: Côte-des-Neiges, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce*, *Place Publique: Plateau Mont Royal-Jeanne-Mance-Mile-End-Centre-Ville*, *The TMR Post*, *Les Nouvelles Saint-Laurent News*, *Échos: Vieux-Montréal et Centre-Ville* and *Journal de St-Michel*, etc. serve one or two boroughs. These papers assist in the process of acculturation and assimilation in that besides the borough news, they inform residents about government services, details about voting, holidays, important bulletins related to immigration, welfare, and the like. They offer information about events and town hall meetings. Because they often operate within ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, Black concerns are among several that are addressed.

⁹² For example see: Steve Proulx, "La païenne communauté à Montréal: L'aura secours," *Voir*, 29 avril 2004, p. 10-11. [paganism in Montreal]; Chris Barry, et al., "Montreal porn from A to Z: The *Mirror's* exclusive alphabetically accurate guide to the world of adult fun in the city," *Mirror*, April 29, 2004, p. 7-10.

Ethnic Media

Montreal's ethnic diversity has encouraged the flowering of foreign language or ethnic presses. A recent article on ethnic presses in Montreal in *La Presse* in April 2004 estimates that the city boasts about a dozen presses.⁹³ These include *Corriere Italiano* and *La Voz de Montréal* of the Italian community, *La presses chinoises*, *The Canadian Slovak*, *L'astre roumain*, *La Voz de Portugal*, *L'Echo communautaire du Canadien-Allemand* and *Femmes arabes*. Interestingly, the only Black publication included was *Mille Visages*, a tabloid specifically intended to

Table 1. Partial Listing of In-Print Ethnic Serials Published in Montreal

Ethnic Community	Found	Serial Titles
Pakistani	2	<i>Pakistan Post, Weekly Times Mag</i>
Bulgarian	1	<i>Forum</i>
Chinese	2	<i>The Epoch Times, The Chinese News</i>
Italian	2	<i>Italo, Nueva Prensa Libre</i>
Romanian	2	<i>Pagini Romanesti, Actualitatea Canadiana</i>
Russian	2	<i>MK Nasha Gazeta, Russian Canadian Info</i>
Korean	2	<i>Korean Newsweek, HancaTimes</i>
Greek	1	<i>Info</i>
Latino	4	<i>La Latina Farandula, el Chosqui, punto y aparte, Alternativa</i>
Lebanese	1	<i>An-Nahar</i>
Egyptian	2	<i>El-Masri, El-Mahroussa</i>
Indo-Canadian	2	<i>Bharat Times, Pragati, Punjabi Suneha</i>
Iranian	2	<i>Bazar, Tavand</i>
Iraqi	1	<i>Paivand</i>
Filipino	1	<i>The Filipino Forum</i>
Moroccan	1	<i>Atlas.Mtl</i>
Maghrebian	3	<i>Alfa, L'Orient, Maghreb Canada Express</i>

⁹³ Sylvie St-Jacques, "Des nouvelles de leurs mondes," *La Presse*, 21 April 2004.

promote acceptance of the city's ethnic diversity. *Visages'* editor, Jean Distil notes; "Mon approche éditoriale est d'apprendre à connaître mon voisin et permettre à mon voisin de me connaître, pour que nous puissions mieux cohabiter ensemble."⁹⁴

Table 1 is a partial listing of non-Black, ethnic serials publishing in the Montreal area in 2004. The range of titles speak to the strength and diversity of the ethnic groups in the city.

Montreal's Black Serials Publishing in 2005

Since 1934, and especially intensifying from the seventies until today, Blacks have attempted to redress the issue of media invisibility by the production of printed serials within their communities. Currently, Montreal's Black community has access to 28 publications (see Appendix 3), which represent 13% of the Black serials ever produced in the city. One quarter of these have been launched since the beginning of 2004.

The formats available are varied. The African community boasts the highest number of publications with nine: three magazines, five newspapers and one newsletter. The eight Haitian serials include five newsletters, one newspaper and two magazines. The English Caribbean community's seven serials includes four newspapers, two newsletters and one journal. Despite their transatlantic focus, there are no African magazines or newsletters published on the Web. Three Haitian e-zines are in operation and the English community has produced one newsletter on the Web.

Unilingual serials predominate, with French being the most common language. Only one of the English Caribbean serials is bilingual. Seven of the Haitian serials are French with the eighth publishing in English. The nine publications within the African community have the most linguistic diversity: seven are in French and two are in English.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

The English newspaper, *Community Contact*, has published continuously since 1992, making it the oldest in-print serial. The most recent serial got its start on April 8, 2004 with the launch of Quebec's first Black women's magazine, *Avril*. Most of these in-print publications have only come into existence since 2000.

A search at the BNQ (the provincial legal depository library) conducted March 30, 2004, revealed that only nine of these titles were listed. After eliminating the four web-based titles, as well as *Avril*, which had not been launched at that time, the BNQ had on-hand just 45% of the Black serials circulating in Montreal at that time. The National Library, which holds Canada's legal deposit for the entire country, had only seven titles or 35% in their collection.

Overview

This thesis is organized into nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides the background for my research. Chapter 2 examines the theoretical basis of this research. The theoretical concept of invisibility has been utilized in previous studies of sociology, literature, diasporic and ethnic studies, generally in analyses related to marginality and status. Sankofa has been incorporated most frequently in educational praxis, as a method for pedagogy and curriculum. Sankofa has been developed in literature, film studies, and as an offshoot of African, and African-American studies. Here I discuss the problem, the research questions, limitations, beliefs, and assumptions.

Chapter 3 examines the evolution of literature on Black media in North America. With the paucity of national analyses in Canada, in the first half of this chapter I focus on the historiography of African American serials of the 1980s and the 1990s. The second part of the chapter I devote to the state of Canadian writings on Black print media in Quebec.

Chapter 4 is a discussion of the various research methods and methodologies employed in this study including: the interviews, case study, book history and critical ethnography. Part one of Chapter 5 contains the methods or

procedural steps used for the collecting and analysis of the serials. Part two discusses the methods of the survey and gives a detailed overview of the survey design, and the data analysis techniques.

Chapter 6 presents the findings based on the data generated from the Checklist. In this chapter, the data generated from the serials' Checklist (in Appendix 1) is discussed, ranked and then presented visually using lists, charts and/or graphs. This contains aggregate data based on the template initially created for the checklist, which was to record each serial's run, language, frequency, price, holdings, circulation, inauguration date, ethnicity, and where it was cited in the literature. The final section includes the mission statements of the serials.

Chapter 7 comprises the interview results, and the follow-up to the taped interviews with the participants, i.e., the journalists, owners and editors of the serials.

Chapter 8 explores the ways in which this study could assist library practice and archival research, and discusses the implications arising from the study. A third section contains the recommendations based on the findings. These recommendations are addressed to librarians and archivists in Montreal who desire to assist in recovering, cataloguing and preserving Montreal's Black serials. In Chapter 9, I reflect on the findings and assess the study.

2. The Problem

Invisibility

Blacks in Montreal have published an array of printed serials. More than 190 serials have been found thus far; yet the silence of these documents is deafening. Black serials published in Montreal are rarely found in the city's public spaces.⁹⁵ They are not to be found on the bookshelves in the main retail stores or on the shelves of the city's public libraries. The librarians, archivists, and indeed, the general population of Montreal are not aware that these serials exist.

Awareness about Black serials amongst Blacks within the Black community is only marginally better. Drawing upon my personal research and that of others, the average Black person I have spoken with, indeed even other researchers of African-Canadian culture in Quebec, are hard-pressed to name a half-dozen titles. Unbeknownst even to its own members, the Black serials produced by this community over six decades reveals the existence of a rich print culture that continues to be renewed in new forms today --even on the worldwide web.

As a Black woman, I have researched and disseminated Montreal's Black history across the country and in the United States for over a decade. Though I had intimate knowledge of many Black sources in the city's libraries and repositories, the range of titles that I found was unexpected. As a result of my dogged research, endless questions and numerous phone calls, I was able to create a checklist of titles that was significantly richer and more complex than I first imagined. Yet, despite its richness, Montreal Black serials are invisible to Blacks in Montreal. This is the problem that needs to be understood. It engenders the question that this thesis

⁹⁵ *Community Contact* and *Caribbean Camera*, in English and *Diaspora* and *Presence* in French are notable exceptions. Because their distribution is intended for maximum penetration, it is not unusual to find copies of these free serials in Black-owned businesses and retail stores with significant foot traffic, in local Black community centres, churches with a large number Black adherents, and even at government offices where civil servants or ministries directly serve Black clients.

explores: Why have these local Black serials remained unknown for so long within the Black Montreal community? I suggest that there may be many factors that have contributed to the lack of visibility of Black serials in Montreal. Could the following factors be part of the explanation: language, ethnicity, lack of conservation, and/or orality?

Language

Language has played a significant role in the development of the Black solitudes in Quebec, because the linguistic divide has historically reduced cultural interaction within the Black community. As described previously, Blacks are quite scattered throughout the greater Montreal area. This spatial dispersion has been further affected by the linguistic barriers that hamper communication in day-to-day community life.

At one time, during the 1960s, the majority of the Black community lived in one area and spoke just English.⁹⁶ Things have changed significantly. Today, over 35% of the population comes from the Creole- and French-speaking country of Haiti.⁹⁷ In one generation, this concentration of French-speaking immigrants has drastically altered the daily social relations within the Black population. Since only one in three English-speaking Blacks is bilingual, exchanges in the official and in the informal arenas must always take into account linguistic obstacles. With the primacy of French assured in law, Black conferences, seminars, and meetings that are targeted for the entire community either have to adjust for a bilingual audience or opt to function solely in French.⁹⁸

Torczyner and Springer note that the language agenda has serious consequences for Blacks in Quebec; they argue that increased “hardship for Blacks

⁹⁶ Williams, 1997, p. 116.

⁹⁷ Torczyner and Springer, p. 33.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 26-28.

to find employment and to be included as full participants in Quebec life could result from lower rates of bilingualism and fluency in French. Language divisions made community cohesion more difficult and also divide the Black community geographically...⁹⁹ Torczyner and Springer ask, "What are the implications of the emergence of two somewhat distinct Black communities in Montreal who are not often bilingual enough to speak the language of the other?"¹⁰⁰ One of the implications of this language bifurcation has been the invisibility of the cultural products of each Black community. Cultural products such as the literature and, of course, the community's serials in one language are not accessible to the individual in the other.

Ethnicity

This linguistic heterogeneity is further accentuated by the diverse ethnicities within each language group. People of African descent in Montreal have come into this city, first involuntarily as slaves, then as voluntary immigrants from other nations and migrants from other Canadian provinces. At one time, African-Americans made a significant cultural and demographic impact in the community, today they are on the fringe. Africans, once few in number and influence, are increasingly becoming significant players; today, one in three recent Black immigrants to the city was born in Africa.¹⁰¹ Ethnicity within the city's Black francophonie is also diverse. Haitians are overwhelmingly the largest group of French speakers. Three out of four of Montreal's total Black Caribbean immigrants were born in Haiti.¹⁰² Francophones from Africa have made some impact, with the recent rise in the number of African organizations, new restaurants, and a growing number of serials produced for

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, 22-34.

Africans living in Montreal.¹⁰³ Still, with Haitians accounting for over 80% of French-speaking Blacks, the French-speaking West Indian Haitian population, their ethos, culture, and agenda predominate.

Caribbeanness, whether in French or English form is a cultural reality for all Blacks in Montreal. Even fourth or fifth generation Canadian Blacks are influenced by this cultural hegemony where Black(ness) becomes equated with things “West Indian.” This is a North American phenomenon, impacting even the once homogeneous African-American population. Cultural theorist Professor Stuart Hall explains this emerging Caribbeanization thus,

...our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as “one people,” with stable, unchanging, and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions, and vicissitudes of our actual history. This “oneness,” underlying all the other, more superficial differences, is the truth, the essence, of a “Caribbeanness,” of the black experience. It is in this identity which a Caribbean or black diaspora must discover, excavate, bring to light, and express...¹⁰⁴

Torczyner and Springer argue that in Montreal, this, “Caribbeanization’ gains expression culturally through links to homelands, restaurants and music which increasingly reflect Caribbean influences...scores of Black organisations linked to particular countries of origin...and numerous island associations whose activities include social, cultural and recreational events have taken root...”¹⁰⁵

Treatment of Documents

Ignorance between the two linguistic groups is just one of the factors contributing to the obfuscation of Black serials. Another problem is the lack of a Black community archive. Without an archive, there is no awareness regarding the

¹⁰³ See Chart 6.

¹⁰⁴ Stuart Hall, “Cultural identity and diaspora,” in *Theorizing Diaspora: a reader*, Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, eds., Malden, MA, Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p. 234.

¹⁰⁵ Torczyner & Springer, p. 37.

conservation and collection of Montreal Black documents; this has led to a wholesale loss of materials and the destruction of Black serials by Blacks in Montreal. Many Blacks who had collected serials over the years, particularly during the seventies and eighties, are now set to retire. Some of the material they have stored in attics, garages and basements is threatened because as the paper has aged and yellowed, other documents are at peril as they are assumed to have lost their value. Some serials have been lost or inadvertently destroyed when people have moved to smaller premises and a decision was made to junk the serials. For those who have died, the wealth of ephemeral and published documents which they have kept for decades is often simply discarded by their estate. These stories are increasing in number, and there is a real possibility that these documents will be gone forever.¹⁰⁶

Orality

Having amassed these serials, I was intrigued by the very existence of this body of material because their existence of challenged my notions of Black orality in Montreal.

The oral culture of peoples of African-descent in the Americas was one of the few elements that was not erased under 500 years of slavery. As Randall Miller and John Smith point out, "a wide variety of African cultural traits were transported to America, took root...and evolved into a distinct Afro-American culture that incorporated features of the mix of cultures present in the colonies."¹⁰⁷ In the midst of slavery, orality or non-print forms of aural communication were used extensively in beat, rhythm, drums, spirituals, anansi stories, folk tales, homilies and poetry. Deliberately kept illiterate, aural communication among the enslaved helped to retain

¹⁰⁶ These conclusions are based upon conversations held with several individuals between 2002 and 2005 (highlighted in Appendix 10) who indicated they no longer had serials, or were aware of others who had discarded them.

¹⁰⁷ Randall M. Miller & John David Smith, "Culture, Slave," *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery*, Westport, CT, Praeger, 1997, p. 162.

their pre-slavery African expressions.¹⁰⁸ This was evident in the development of creoles, pidgins, and the marriage of African words with the European tongues.¹⁰⁹

After Emancipation and the collapse of Reconstruction, Jim Crow segregation effectively quashed African-American aspirations for quality education. Therefore, Blacks continued to develop their non-print communication, and many forms became part of the mainstream culture. Once Black urbanization began in earnest, literacy slowly improved, but the attitude and tradition of orality has remained. Cultural expression is demonstrated in the dance, the elocution and oratory of the elders, and the call and response of the congregation to the evocation of the fire-and-brimstone minister.¹¹⁰ The African roots of music in the Americas have long been analyzed, from spirituals and gospel to blues, jazz, rock 'n roll, up to rap music; all these forms were originally improvised, and passed from one innovator to the next.¹¹¹ It was only when appropriated by mainstream culture that the original form were captured on paper. It was at that juncture that these African roots no longer belonged to the

¹⁰⁸ Slave literacy, a mere 5%, was a deliberate tactic used to control hundreds of thousands of slaves in the Americas. Slaves, and even their teachers, often faced imprisonment, torture, maiming, or death if they were taught to read. Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, New York, NY, Vintage Books, 1974, p. 563.

¹⁰⁹ Peter A. Roberts, *From Oral to Literate Culture: Colonial Experience in the English West Indies*, Kingston, Jamaica, The Press University of the West Indies, 1997. The Haitian creole spoken in Quebec is a marriage of the African language Ewe and French. See Claire Lefebvre, *Issues in the Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, Philadelphia, John Benjamins Pub., 2004; "Creole Language," <http://11c2.com/cgi/wiki?CreoleLanguage>, Accessed January 24, 2005.

¹¹⁰ To understand the extent and impact of African aural expressions in the Americas see: Genovese, 1974; Omofolabo S. Ajayi, *The Semiotics of Movement and Body Attitude in a Nigerian Culture*, Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press, 1998; Molefi Kete Asante & Kariamu Welsh Asante, *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity*, Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press, 1996; Randall M. Miller & John David Smith, "Preachers, Slave," *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery*, Westport, CT, Praeger, 1974, p. 583-86; Ronald Segal, *The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the Black Experience outside Africa*, New York, NY, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995, p. 375-440.

¹¹¹ John Gilmore, *Swinging in Paradise: The Story of Jazz in Montreal*, Montreal, Vehicule Press, 1988; Arthur C. Jones, *Wade in the Water: The Wisdom of the Spirituals*, Mary Knoll, NY, Orbis Books, 1993; Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Yoruba Songs of Trinidad with Translations*, London, Kamak House, 1994; *Diss/ed banded nation*, Victoria, BC, Polestar Book Publications, 1998; George Nelson, *Hip Hop America*, Toronto, Penguin Books, 1998; Segal, p. 375-395; Tawanda R. Shannon, "Catch the Beat: The Transformation from African Drumbeats to Hip-hop Synthesized Basslines," www.a.parsons.edu/~tawanda/thesis/roughresearch.html. Accessed May 16, 2004.

community. The persistence of the values found in the original African music, was exceptionally strong in the cities, especially among the less-educated and those from the rural classes.

In Canada, in the midst of my own Montreal upbringing, I experienced the effects of this cultural preference for the non-print expression. Although I loved to read, I was often reminded that books and reading were for “those people.” Despite my requests, my grandmother refused to commit to paper her stories, and so I sat beside her and heard about where my family had come from. Intuitively aware of this preference for the oral over the printed communication, and cognizant of the esteem in which orality is held, I had assumed that Black print serialized literature in Montreal would be limited. Quickly I realized this was not the case; indeed, Montreal’s Black serial culture does have depth and scope. The issue, and the focus of this study, then, is to understand why Black print serialized literature is an invisible medium to Blacks in Montreal.

Theoretical Framework(s)

Invisibility: On a personal level, the feeling that one is invisible has severe consequences leading to “an inner struggle with the feeling that one’s talents, abilities, personality, and worth are not valued or even recognized because of prejudice and racism.”¹¹² Moreover, invisibility is a concept that resonates within the literature of the African peoples in the Americas; it is a concept with global dimensions for race and culture. Invisibility “must be understood both within and outside a historical or contemporary American context. Invisibility is a global phenomenon for African people, particularly in places where remnants of European colonization exist or

¹¹² Anderson J. Franklin, “Invisibility Syndrome and Racial Identity Development in Psychotherapy and Counseling African American Men,” *The Counselling Psychologist* 27(6) (November 1999): 761.

continue to exert influence over people of African descent."¹¹³

The literature is replete with references to the invisibility or silence of Blacks.¹¹⁴ Norman Simms, in his two books on the literature of those outside the western canon, states that there are three types of invisibility.¹¹⁵ The first two types of invisibility describe a literary nadir and discovery. First, invisibility is not being aware of those...aspects of experience and viable literary alternatives long suppressed or even unknown to Western civilization...."¹¹⁶ This definition is utilized by many Canadian Blacks dealing with the absence of Blacks in Canadian history and the relegation of Black literary style to the realms of "exotic," "ethnic," or "marginal."¹¹⁷

Second, as Simms continues, [invisibility is not being aware of those] "...new texts, words and images...we had not before noticed. Not because they were distorted, repressed, or denied parts of an unconscious necessarily created in the formation of our conscious Europeanized selves, but because, until we came into confrontation with men and women of other mentalities, we could not have had these historically real experiences at all."¹¹⁸ Certainly, these two literary elements that Simms utilizes can provide an understanding of how Black literature in Montreal has been rendered invisible.

However, the third type of invisibility that Simms elaborates upon is one that

¹¹³ Thomas A. Parham, "Invisibility Syndrome in African Descent People: Understanding the Cultural Manifestations of the Struggle for Self-Affirmation," *The Counselling Psychologist* 27(6) (November 1999): 796.

¹¹⁴ Sheridan Hay, "Blacks in Canada: The Invisible Minority," *Canadian Dimension* 30(6) November 12, 1996, p. 14-17.

¹¹⁵ Norman Simms, *Silence and Invisibility: A Study of the Literatures of the Pacific, Australia, and New Zealand*, Washington, DC, Three Continents Press, 1986; Norman Simms, *Points of Contact A Study of the Interplay and Intersection of Traditional and non-Traditional Literatures, Cultures, and Mentalities*, NY, NY, Pace University Press, 1991.

¹¹⁶ Simms, 1986, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Rinaldo Walcott, "Who is she and what is she to you? Mary Ann Shadd Cary and the (im)possibility of Black/Canadian Studies," in *Rude: Contemporary Cultural Criticism*, Insomniac Press, 2000, p. 27-47; Williams, 1997, p. 13-15; Joseph Mensah, *Black Canadian: history, experiences, social conditions*, Halifax, NS, Fernwood Publishing, 2002.

¹¹⁸ Simms, 1986, p. 2. This second definition is the crux of Simm's research.

speaks of the erasure and denial of Black selfhood. This invisibility, one that is appropriate, is reflected most acutely by Ralph Ellison, who explored his own invisibility in his 1952 semi-autobiographical novel, *Invisible Man*.¹¹⁹ On the one hand, the book is about a Black individual's search for his identity or place in society. On the other hand, *Invisible Man* is about how in America, Black "literary achievements are unseen and unheard in the dominant white European culture."¹²⁰ In other words, *Invisible Man* "is deeply framed and informed by the issue of 'canonicity,' [and] of how to speak from invisibility..."¹²¹ At the time that Ellison wrote *Invisible Man*, African-American literature was considered outside the American canon, and certainly not to be elevated to the same literary critique and praise.

Writer Alan Nadel argues that the publication of *Invisible Man* fundamentally challenged the assumptions of the American canon because it sought to uncover "the voice which had been encoded into silence, excised from the canon." This silence, he continues, was the result of "a complicated interaction of historical and critical events which effected the erasure of the black's role in crucial parts of American history and of literary history." *Invisible Man* made the point that "this history--be it social, political, or literary--belongs to whoever owns the erasers..."¹²²

Despite its graphic violence and isolation, *Invisible Man*, in the tradition of Melville and Twain, was and is considered a literary triumph and is now part of the American canon. Specifically, *Invisible Man* concerns a young Black man who

¹¹⁹ Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man, Special 30th Anniversary Edition with an introduction by the author*, New York, Random House, 1982.

¹²⁰ Simms, 1986, p. 2.

¹²¹ Alan Nadel, *Invisible Criticism: Ralph Ellison and the American Canon*, Iowa City, IA, University of Iowa Press, 1988, p. xii.

¹²² *ibid.*, p. xii-xiii. For a very detailed analysis of the historical factors that lead to Black invisibility in the United States, see Nadel, "The Origins of Invisibility," *Invisible Criticism*, p. 1-26. Toni Morrison's book, *Playing in the Dark*, as late as 1990, illustrates that the battle for inclusion of Black literature within America's exclusive and hierarchical canon continues. Her book examines the presence and absence of images of Africans and African-Americans in the adult American literary canon. Jean Mendoza & Debbie Reese, "Examining Multicultural Picture Books for the Early Childhood Classrooms: Possibilities and Pitfalls," www.ecrp.uiuc.edu/V3n2/mendoza.html. Accessed May 17, 2004.

comes to recognize that he was invisible by virtue of how others react to him; because they do not accept his reality, they live as though they do not see him. In reflection upon the novel's explicit and implicit meaning, the novel represents how Black America must recognize that it is invisible by virtue of how White America has reacted to it.

Being invisible is more than an intangible concept. Being invisible to someone or to society as a whole has historically been a part of the lived reality for Blacks, and is in part responsible for the simmering racial conflict that frames American life. The Narrator, the main character in Ellison's *Invisible Man*, illustrates this invisibility: "by explaining how he almost killed a white man whom he bumped into on the street. He continued to attack the white man as long as the man refused to apologize and kept insulting him. [He] then realized that the [white] man does not see him as an individual and the narrator walked away laughing at the thought that the man was almost killed by a "figment of his imagination."¹²³

This idea that Blacks are invisible in the consciousness of whites is one that is repeated over and over again by Black scholars in their historiography of Black media. On a personal level, one journalist, Phyl Garland, in explaining why he remained in the poorer paying Black newspaper, writes, "As an over-thirty black journalist...our constant awareness of the fact that we were systematically excluded from the daily papers and general circulation magazines had served to reinforce our commitment to the racial struggle."¹²⁴

In her thesis on the absence of Blacks in the print media and the impact that being invisible in society has on an individual's formation of self, Geraldine Hailstolk equated invisibility with the absence of seeing:

¹²³ This is a paraphrase of Ellison, 1982; for the complete text of this section see Appendix 11.

¹²⁴ Phyl Garland, "Staying with the Black Press: Problems and Rewards" in *Perspectives of the Black Press: 1974*, Henry LaBrie III, ed., Kennebunkport, Maine, Mercer House Press, 1974, p. 167-177.

What is the impact of the seeing of something? What is the impact of the not seeing of something? Just as by not making a decision, a decision is being made...the not seeing of something is the seeing of something...It is true that what is seen is the absence of something. But absence is, nevertheless experienced and at least subconsciously "seen". If Johnny doesn't come to school one day, he is absent. He is not seen. Will my opinion about Johnny be affected by not seeing him? Yes.¹²⁵

Hailstolk goes on to explain that in Black society in America, cognitive dissonance occurs because "when I consistently do not see myself my perception of myself as a being who exists is constantly being attacked. The vile subtleties of invisibility become much less subtle and much more vile...The effects of the unseen can be remarkable indeed. How much more devastating...is the unspoken notion that an entire people don't exist at all?"¹²⁶

Hailstolk's thesis, clearly the best analysis of the impact of invisibility on Black society in America, is also a personal journey. She asks, What does it mean when people don't remember my face because all Black people...look alike? I, as an individual, cease to have a face, a body, a distinguishing space in this world. What does it mean that "all black people have rhythm" and I can not dance?...What does it mean when every page in a beauty magazine has pictures not of me, but of women whom I will never look like? Am I never to be beautiful? Am I never to be seen? Am I never to exist?"¹²⁷

And again, another author, Charles Husband, in addressing the invisibility of Blacks in the mainstream spaces, such as mass media, writes, "it is clear that ethnic minorities are marginalized not only through media images but through their exclusion from full and equitable participation in media."¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Geraldine Hailstolk, "Invisibility of people of color in the print media and the impact of that invisibility on the self," Ph.D. diss., Union Institute, 1990, p. 32.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 38.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹²⁸ Charles Husband, *A Richer Vision; the Development of Ethnic Minority Media in Western Democracies*, London, England, UNESCO Publishing and John Libbey, 1994, p. 14.

Canadian studies have also addressed the media's marginalization of people of colour. Henry and Tator wrote *Discourses of Domination* in order to "show how some members of the Canadian press give voice to racism, and how the media marginalize, denigrate, and silence ethnoracial minorities."¹²⁹ Although the book deals effectively with media systems of (mis)representation, the book's analysis of invisibility is focussed upon the absence of minority men and women in the Canadian media. The case studies presented in *Discourses of Domination* demonstrate that "the press often cannot imagine non-dominant peoples as part of the 'imagined' community of Canada."¹³⁰ Black people in Canada are non-dominant. The invisibility that their Blackness or marginal status confers means that they have been ignored and even erased from the national narrative. This erasure of Blacks in Quebec goes back almost to the beginning of the province's historiography.

In the 1840s, just a few years after the emancipation of Quebec's slaves, the French-Canadian historian, François Garneau in his epic three-volume, *Histoire du Canada*, wrote that slavery had never existed in Quebec. Several years later Garneau eventually did retract this statement, but it was too late, because by this time, for a number of reasons, Canadians believed that their history had been slave-free.¹³¹ Today, historians and sociologists write of a glorious age in New France—one where slavery is not even mentioned.¹³²

This slave-free myth was accentuated in the Canadian narrative through the story of the Underground Railroad. In the classic version of the story, Black and White conductors ferried Black runaway American slaves across the American-Canadian border, where the fugitives were protected by the supposedly more

¹²⁹ Frances Henry & Carol Tator, *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002, p. 4.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 226.

¹³¹ F. X. Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*, 1st ed., Quebec, PQ, P. Lamoureaux, 1846, p. 2, 447.

¹³² For two examples of this erasure see: R. Cole Harris & John Warkentin, *Canada Before Confederation*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1978; Cameron Nish, *The French Régime*, Scarborough, ON, Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1965.

humane and beneficent British law.¹³³ Subsequently, government ministries, the press, and historians have used the existence of this underground railroad to demonstrate the attractiveness of Canada, its land, its people, its laws. The Underground Railroad movement began as early as the 1820s; yet the irony is that de facto slavery still existed at that time in Ontario and indeed in other parts of British North America, Nova Scotia, and Quebec. So freed American fugitives lived side by side with hundreds, perhaps thousands, of enslaved brothers and sisters in Canada. Yet, as Canadians imagine the fugitive slave who kissed Canadian soil, thankful for his freedom, they do so without awareness of their own slave past.

After the American Civil War, at the same time that the story of the underground railroad was being perpetuated, harassment of Blacks in Canada was on the rise, and the official government stance toward Black immigration was increasingly negative.¹³⁴ Yet, Canadians embellished the story of the underground railroad because it established that they were different, rather morally better, than Americans. Canadians exploited the story so that they could offer a humane, charitable Canada as a better place for the White American settler. However, they did not want African Americans to see Canada in the same light and tried to discourage them from emigrating.

Professor James Walker described how the mythology surrounding the underground railroad was used by Canadians to stifle criticism and national reflection:

The Underground Railroad fostered a myth that the North Star lead not just out of slavery, but into freedom, equality and participation in Canadian life...The North Star myth entered the Canadian identity and became a major feature distinguishing Canadians from Americans: only south of the border were Blacks subjected to violence, denied

¹³³ Winks, p. 11-17; *Underground Railroad*, Washington, DC., U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998, p. 68-71; Roger Riendeau, *An Enduring Heritage: Black Contributions to early Ontario, With a Foreword by the Honourable Susan Fish Ontario Minister of Citizenship and Culture*, Toronto, Dundurn Press Ltd., 1984.

¹³⁴ Winks, p. 288-336. [passim]; Trevor Sessing, "How they kept Canada almost lily white: The previously untold story of the Canadian immigration officials who stopped American Blacks from coming into Canada," *Saturday Night* 85 (September 1970): 30-32.

their citizenship rights, forced into residential ghettos...The North Star myth was a liability for Canada for it prevented any sincere examination of the situation faced by Blacks and other "visible minorities." It allowed Canadians to believe that Canada had no "race problem" that Canadian Blacks were satisfied with conditions here, that there was no cause for concern or for corrective actions.¹³⁵

The inherent goodness of White Canada has always been a part of Canada's mythology. Therefore, it was assumed that the Canadians who treated American Black slaves so benevolently surely did not have a slave past. The history of slavery in Canada was swept away to preserve this myth. The history of the underground railroad from 1820 to 1865 is taught in schools, whereas the slave past of New France and British North America, from 1628 to 1834, is ignored. And so the myth remains and is reinforced.

Looking at the multi-ethnic urban landscape today, few Canadians can imagine that Canada had severely curtailed non-White immigration by the 'White-if-possible' policies of successive federal governments from Confederation right into the 1950's.¹³⁶ Once erased from Canada's early history, Canada's Black population is regarded as immigrant, i.e., not Canadian. This perception is reflected in the complete disregard of Black achievements and of their cultural products, such as their serialized literature; thus invisibility remains unaddressed.

Blacks in Montreal, indeed may I say, in Canada, have been affected by the invisibility that their invisible status has conferred. In Canada the institutions, such as academia, have had a role in perpetuating this obfuscation. Author, poet and professor George Elliott Clarke in his essay, "Embarkation: Discovering African-Canadian Literature," addresses this erasure and the concomitant cultural distortions

¹³⁵ James W. St. G. Walker, *Racial Discrimination in Canada the Black Experience*, Historical booklet (Canadian Historical Association) no. 41, Ottawa, ON, Canadian Historical Association, 1985, p. 6-7.

¹³⁶ A topic covered repeated in Canadian historical literature: Winks, 1971; Daniel G. Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers Blacks in Early Canada*, Agincourt, ON, The Book Society of Canada Ltd., 1981; R. Bruce Shepard, *Deemed Unsuitable: Blacks from Oklahoma Move to the Canadian Prairies in Search of Equality in the Early 20th Century only to find Racism in their New Home*, Toronto, Umbrella Press, 1997; Bolaria & Li, 190-191.

which have arisen as a result:

The pure problem I seek leave to address...is that the Academy too often dismisses--or distorts perceptions of--those populations it can hold at its mercy, those whose histories parrot narratives of defeat. Thus, the study of African-Canadian literature, culture, and history too often reflects a master discourse of black inadequacy, inferiority, illegality, *et cetera*. Glancing at criticism of African-Canadian existence, one may say that, perhaps as a consequence of 'an imprisonment within an eccentric totality, a sort of private language has grown up within a professional circle,' to borrow an apt phrase from Martin Kayman. Black creativity in Canada is denounced with bellicose ignorance or rebuffed with bellowing ripostes. Some scholars promulgate aberrant interpretations that mock the facts they feed upon. Others compose lyrical operas of errors. African-Canadian scholar Peter Hudson observes that 'the absence of black literary production in the writing of Canadian cultural histories has created a critical wasteland for African Canadian literature.'¹³⁷

The wasteland that Hudson refers to has occurred in Canada's Black serials' history, which to date has yet to be written. Thus, Canada today is not unlike 30 years ago, when African-American Roland E. Wolseley lamented that being invisible had retarded the investigation of Black knowledge in the United States.

Wolseley pointed out:

There is not, to the date of writing this...a published, full-length, up-to-date history of the black press of this country. Yet that press is a segment of U.S. journalism that is about 150 years old. Nor are there even partial histories, say of newspapers or magazines, or by states or other regional areas, in generally available form. Yet some publications are more than a century old; several large newspapers are half a century or more in age.¹³⁸

These statements, iterated repeatedly, underscore how the invisibility of Blacks is played out in many direct ways and has an impact upon the voice of the invisible members in society, and consequently upon their art, space, literature, knowledge and media.

¹³⁷ George Elliott Clarke: "Embarkation: Discovering African-Canadian Literature" in *Odysseys Home: Mapping African-Canadian Literature*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002, p. 8. See Kayman and Hudson as quoted in Clarke, 2002, p. 461, 462.

¹³⁸ Roland E. Wolseley, "Why Research the Black Press?," in *Perspectives of the Black Press: 1974*, Henry LaBrie III, ed., Kennebunkport, ME, Mercer House Press, 1974, p. 1-16.

Sankofa: Sankofa, or, “go back and fetch it,” is the concept that Black documents, once lost to archives and libraries, can be reclaimed. In Ghana, home of the Akan peoples, Sankofa is a “visual clue” that is represented as a bird with an egg in its beak moving forward but looking back at its tail. This ancient symbol was often stamped on gold coins, woven into fabrics, carved into staffs and pipes, and on royal paraphernalia.¹³⁹ It is the understanding that “in order to know where you are going you have to know where you have been.”¹⁴⁰ Sankofa originated in Akan oral cultures that use memory to recover oral documents.

Oral societies are just that, oral. African archivist Bolanle Awe notes, “Cases of land, marriage, divorce and so on are often determined on the basis of oral evidence.”¹⁴¹ Even their laws are held in the collective memory of the society. The following illustration shows how sankofa is used in West African practice. Sankofa is

applied to unrepentant individuals during adjudication to urge them to own up to their wrongdoing: that is, there is nothing wrong, in saying one is wrong. In this way the individual’s sentence is reduced considerably. Again, during deliberations an elder may err in protocol, and when reminded of it would quickly correct himself in order to avoid paying a penalty. From the socio-historical and political standpoint, it is incumbent on the Elders to correct or undo a past injustice within the context of sankofa. The point is, it’s perfectly legal for the elders--in fact, it is their moral and civic duty--to review the past in the hopes of ameliorating the present and the future.¹⁴²

Sankofa teaches that people must go back to their roots to move forward and that whatever they have “lost, forgotten, forgone or been stripped of can be reclaimed,

¹³⁹ Sylvie Kandé, “Look Homeward, Angel: Maroons and Mulattos in Haile Gerima’s Sankofa,” *Research in African Literatures* 29(2): 128-147; Steven J. Salm & Toyin Falola, *Culture and Customs of Ghana*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 2002, p. 89.

¹⁴⁰ Grenaé D. Dudley & Carlyle Fielding Stewart III, *Sankofa: Celebrations for the African American Church*, Cleveland, OH, United Church Press, 1997, p. 9.

¹⁴¹ Bolanle Awe, “The Concept of Archives in Africa: A Preliminary Survey,” *Janus* 1 (1996): 74, quoted in, Jeannette Bastian, *Owning Memory How a Caribbean Community Lost its Archives and Found its History*, Westport, CT, Libraries Unlimited, 2003, p. 10.

¹⁴² Anthony Ephirim-Donkor, *African Spirituality On Becoming Ancestors*, Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press Inc., 1997, p. 11.

revived, preserved and perpetuated.”¹⁴³ Author Bruce Willis writes that “sankofa is symbolic of the spiritual mindset and cultural awakening African people are experiencing in the decades after independence on the African continent.”¹⁴⁴

Outside of Africa, sankofa was originally known to a few Africanists; this principle was introduced to American audiences through the 1993 film of Ethiopian Haile Gerima, titled, *Sankofa*. The story Gerima crafted is about a present-day Black American model, Mona, who is posing for a white photographer on the ramparts of Elmina Castle in Ghana. While filming proceeds she follows a group of tourists into the castle’s infamous dungeon, where Africans had been incarcerated after their kidnapping. Accidentally shut in the dungeon, she is transported back to America as a slave. Now renamed Shola, she is a house slave on a sugar plantation. She falls in love with Shango, a rebel leader originally from the Caribbean. Assaulted by her master repeatedly, Shola begins to help the field slaves to escape. Unsuccessful attempts are made by those around her; however, Shola makes her escape after she kills her master when he threatens to rape her again. Shola runs through the woods until she dies. At this point in the film, Mona emerges naked from the dungeon and one of the women clothes her in traditional dress. Mona spurns the photographer and begins her own journey of self-contemplation.¹⁴⁵

Africans, African-Americans, and Africans in the diaspora quickly embraced the message of restoration in the film *Sankofa*. Several books and articles have been published about how the sankofa principle could be integrated within African-American ceremonies like Kwanzaa,¹⁴⁶ and in celebrations and rituals of the Black

¹⁴³ Bastian, p. 75.

¹⁴⁴ W. Bruce Willis, *The Adinkra Dictionary: A Visual Primer on the Language of Adinkra*, Washington, DC, The Pyramid Complex, 1998, p. 189.

¹⁴⁵ Inez Hedges, “Black independent film: an interview with Haile Gerima,” *Socialism and Democracy* 10(1) (Summer 1996): 119-1927; Ben Thompson, “Sankofa,” *Sight and Sound* 4(7) (July 23, 1994): 53-54.

¹⁴⁶ Kwanzaa is an Afrikan-American eight day ritual celebrated between Christmas and New Year’s Day. See definitions for a more detailed explanation.

church.¹⁴⁷ The sankofa perspective is Afro-centric, in that Africans are expected to look for answers in Africa; it is a centering of African values, rather than of European values. Sometimes translated as “look to the past to inform the future,” the sankofa concept hearkens back to the era before slavery in the Americas, when Africans drew upon the wisdom of their village elders, and upon collective rather than individual responsibility. The adage, “it takes a whole village to raise a child” has implications for sankofa in education.

Black educators today ask how post-modern African-American communities can reverse the negative effects that education has had on Black youth. In their Eurocentric education, Black children learn that knowledge like philosophy, theology, etc., all emanate from Europe. They are taught either directly in their texts or indirectly by omission that their origin, Africa, has contributed little to the world and consequently can be ignored.¹⁴⁸ By extension, they as Africans can be ignored. Sankofa pedagogy centers Africa, its values and history into a curriculum which underscores Africa's contribution. Practitioners are applying the principle to educate children in sankofa schools, and doctors and counsellors are utilizing this concept to help heal the damaged psyches of Blacks, particularly troubled youth, in their racialized environments.¹⁴⁹ Sankofa has sparked a renewed interest in African orality, history, philosophy, theology, and existentialism.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Dudley & Stewart, p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ This is the crux of the books: V. Y. Mubimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the order of knowledge*, Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press, 1988, and of, Ama Mazama, *The Afrocentric Paradigm*, Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press Inc., 2002.

¹⁴⁹ Discouraged by the failure of Euro-centric educational praxis, Africans and African-American education has been increasingly affected by sankofa and indigenous African models. Elleni Tedla, *Sankofa: African Thought and Education*, New York, NY, Peter Lang, 1995; Shariba W. Rivers & Freya A. Rivers, “Sankofa Shule spells Success for African American Children” in *Black Children: Social Educational, and Parental Environments*, Harriette P. McAdoo, ed. 2nd. ed., Thousand Oaks, CA., Sage Pubs., Inc., 2002, p. 175-189; Joe Attah, “The Principle of ‘sankofa’ Elementary Music Instruction in Southern Ghana: Selected School Personnel’s Views of and their Role in its Implementation,” Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1991.

¹⁵⁰ Stephanie Mitchem, “Sankofa: Black Theologies,” *Cross Currents* 50 (1-2) (Spring 2000): 177-184; Gbonde Ina Ma Wase, *Maat: The American African Path of Sankofa*, Denver, CO, Mbadu Pub., 1998.

For example, Niangoran-Bouah, in analyzing ancient Akan royal symbols, suggests that sankofa represents “the quest for knowledge and as well as a return to the source...the ideogram implies that the resulting knowledge is the outcome of research, of an intelligent and patient investigation.”¹⁵¹ In the past, then, the recovery of history and the recapturing of traditions, laws, and the like through memory was not taken lightly.

Libraries, archives and museums in North America have felt the impact of the African principle of sankofa. In 1991, the Smithsonian Institution held a conference in the U.S. Virgin Islands titled, “Go Back and Fetch It.” Sankofa was the theme of many papers as participants focussed “on defining the values of the past and demonstrating their relevance for the present.”¹⁵² Papers given at this conference were concerned with artifacts, folkways, and traditions of the past and they acknowledged the necessity of

having control of the past to shape a viable future. In its emphasis on the importance of remembering, possessing, and transforming culture and tradition, the dictum ‘go back and fetch it’ offered a particularly apt and fitting way to explore the nature of history in this Caribbean community, where oral traditions are more accessible than the written word.¹⁵³

The theme of Jeanette Bastian’s book, *Owning Memory* is the meeting of oral cultures with the printed culture in Black society. Bastian, then Director of Libraries, Archives and Museums U.S. Virgin Islands, explores 1) how “Virgin Islanders forged their collective memory 2) how the absence of historical records impact on the process [of creating collective memory]...and 3) the effect of...orality on the creation of records...[*Owning Memory*] is ultimately about archives, it also

¹⁵¹ G. Niangoran-Bouah, *The Akan World of Gold Weights: Abstract Design Weights*, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines, 1984.

¹⁵² Bastian, p. 75.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 10, 77.

examines archival principles..."¹⁵⁴

The conference, "Go Back and Fetch It," queried the notion that the official historic past was immutable--that only the written records of the slave owners, the colonists, bureaucrats and clerks were accepted or reliable. Documents in colonial archives usually include three types:

- 1) the official records: the records of sales, trade, taxes, property, and mercantile exchanges, typically generated by the financial activities of the bureaucrats,
- 2) the personal records, such as scrapbooks, diaries, and letters of the colonists,
- 3) the official government publications, laws, regulations, edicts, and the like, and the serials, newspapers that cover political news or that promulgate laws, official gazettes, and so forth.

These written records of 2% of the population tended to include just occasional references to the other 98% of the population that was made up of illiterate slaves and freeborn Blacks. The voice of the illiterate masses would be silent in these documents except where they were recorded in an official capacity such as in the court documents. Thus, as Bastian was to discover in her position as Archivist and Director, the bulk of the written documents in the archives of the U.S. Virgin Islands reveal little about the history of the mass of people who have lived on the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Bastian writes that this silence is a kind of 'historylessness' because the Eurocentric notion is that history is connected to the written document. The unequal power relationship between colonizers and colonists meant that the bureaucratizing process which involved the selection of "producers, selection of evidence, selection of themes, selection of procedures [would lead to the exclusion] of some producers, some evidence, some of themes, some procedures" in archival provenance.¹⁵⁵

During the slave era, this selection process had a direct, and sobering effect on the slaves. For example, Bastian recalls that the birth of a slave's baby was not immediately recorded until the slaveowner was convinced that the baby would live.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 37.

Once assured, the owner would then commit his human property to paper.¹⁵⁶ This was a significant act, and one that is noted in archival records. However, Bastian argues that in the area of provenance, context and community, it was just as significant when an event, such as the birth of a human being, was not committed to paper. The absences and silences in the records should also be noted by the archivists' notations.

Bastian was not the first to acknowledge that the colonial archives of the West Indies were often filled with the silences of those colonized. In 1995, Caribbean historian Michel Rolph Trouillot noted that "silences are inherent in the creation of sources, [at] the first moment of historical production. Unequal control over historical production obtains in the second moment of historical production, the making of archives and documents...the silence did not occur through negligence, nor through the wish to conceal anything; rather...for a combination of practical reasons inherent in the reporting itself."¹⁵⁷

Five years later, Derek Walcott, a noted Caribbean writer, also observed that "what is archival in the Caribbean...is what got lost in the annals of sugar cane burned every harvest like the library of Alexandria, what disappeared in spray in the wake of the slaves. A huge amnesia rather than a history."¹⁵⁸ For Trouillot and Walcott, searching for evidence that Blacks existed, lived, and died is frustrating even in (e)states where they formed 95% of the population. Bastian notes that this was not so much a "memory loss but a historical hole where the history of a whole segment of the population never existed. Not a history forgotten, but one that was never recorded and therefore not remembered."¹⁵⁹

Silenced in history, at least in the printed documents of the past, today the

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ Michel Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Boston, MA, Beacon Press, 1995, p. 51.

¹⁵⁸ Derek Walcott, "A Frowsty Fragrance," *New York Review of Books*, June 15, 2000, p. 61.

¹⁵⁹ Bastian, p. 9.

residents of this American territory have set out to recover their past in a variety of ways that interconnect and complement the restoration of culture and historicity. These sources are “witnesses in spite of themselves, sources never intended to be part of the historical record.”¹⁶⁰ Sankofa practice, through orality, community, memory, individual reminiscence and commemoration, is assisting archivists to rebuild the Virgin Island archives with these new documents and artifacts. Community archivists now encourage oral recordings, and seek to understand the nuances of rituals, marriages, naming ceremonies, as well as the origins of local stories and sayings. They look for provenance in the material culture of quilts, of furniture, crafts, of recipes, of commemorations like parades, festivals, music and dance.

Yet, archivists in the Caribbean have not abandoned the narrative of print sources. They search for written documents, mostly the non-official, ephemeral print documents, produced in the villages and towns--often produced without sanction or knowledge of the state apparatus. They find letters and diaries written in the islands’ Dutch Creole, and encourage residents and researchers to go back to the written archives in the United States and Denmark and listen to the silences.¹⁶¹

The U.S. Virgin Islands has not been the only place to understand how sankofa can be utilized by the voiceless to speak. The State Black Archives Research Center and Museum at the University of Alabama has the sankofa bird as its logo, signifying “the role that this repository plays in “providing a dialogue between the present and the past.”¹⁶² This is a very active program of highlighting African-American architecture, genealogy, collecting information regarding cemeteries, photographs, providing exhibit space for artifacts such as stones, pottery, crafts, as

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 76-80.

¹⁶¹ Once the Danes had sold the islands to the United States in 1917, the colonial records were shipped to Denmark. Then the remaining colonial records, produced by the American colonists, were eventually removed to the mainland U.S. Consequently, there are no archives on the Virgin Islands of the two colonial periods. Researchers must either go to Denmark or fly to the U.S. mainland to examine the printed culture of their past. Bastian, p. 6-8.

¹⁶² The State Black Archives Research Center and Museum, www.archivemuseumcenter.mus.al.us/aboutus/meanings.html. Accessed May 10, 2004.

well as biographical information on Blacks of significance in the community's history.

Statement of Problem

In 1934 the first Black newspaper was launched in Montreal. Over 200 serials have since been published. Nevertheless, Black serialized print media in Montreal are not generally known, not known within greater Montreal, nor known to Blacks in general. More specifically, these serials are unknown even to the Black creators: the journalists, editors and Black owners of the serials. Why? This thesis presents interviews with 13 creators in order to glean from them their own understandings the extent to which language, orality, ethnicity and the treatment of documents may have contributed to the invisibility of serials within the Black community of Montreal.

Research Questions

The questions that I have set out to answer are in two separate parts. The first group of questions are those related to the collection, categorizing, and development of the serials checklist. These questions illuminate the intertwining of language and ethnicity. The questions and issues around the checklist have been an on-going process, which began with the initial discovery of *The Free Lance* over three years ago. Some of the questions have been addressed while collecting and enumerating the serials. The answers reveal and describe a significant aspect of the Black serialized print culture in Montreal.

Part 1

1. How many Black serials have been published in Montreal?
2. When did the first Black serial publish, and what has been the chronological development subsequently?

3. What serials continue to be published in Montreal at this time?
4. Can the ethnicity of the serials' intended readers be ascertained?
5. Which Black ethnic communities are publishing serials?
6. In what language are the serials being published?
7. Is there a preferred format for Black serials?
8. What is the most common frequency for the issuing of Black serials?
9. Where are these serials stored?
10. What serials can be found in serial directories and other bibliographical material?
11. What is the stated mission of the serials?

Part 2

The second set of questions pertains to the interviews undertaken with the journalists, editors and owners of the serials. These questions may provide us some insights into the possible factors that have contributed to the invisibility of the serials that I have uncovered from the perspective of the journalists, editors, and owners of the serials:

1. To what extent have the dual languages in Black Montreal impeded awareness of the Blacks periodicals in the city?
2. To what extent has the diversity of heterogeneous cultures within Black Montreal impeded awareness of the Blacks periodicals in the city?
3. Does the presence of oral culture affect how members of the Black community perceive print material, and in particular the periodicals issuing from their own community?
4. To what extent do members of the Black community maltreat or discard the serials? Why does this occur?

Beliefs

1. It is my belief that the bibliographic details extracted from the serials

demonstrate that the Black serials of Montreal are quite varied in format, frequency, language and intended readership.

2. I also expect that, because these serials are driven by specific ethnic or socio-cultural needs, their evolution will mirror the demographic pattern of Black settlement in the city.
3. I believe that language is the most significant factor in explaining the invisibility of the serials.
4. It is my belief that due to the invisibility of the serials within the Black community, none of the serial producers will be aware of
 - a) the chronology of the serials, or,
 - b) the number of serials within the community.

Assumptions of study

1. This thesis begins with the notion that Canada is a racialized landscape. Some Blacks are descendants of the slaves brought into the Americas from Africa--they did not have a choice. Some Blacks are voluntary immigrants, choosing to come to Canada for a host of reasons. Regardless of their origins, all Blacks now live within a colonized environment that to varying degrees, renders them invisible. One corollary of that invisibility is the obfuscation of the Black presence within Canada's history. The silence of the Black serials in Montreal comes from that erasure in history and from the rootlessness that has occurred as a result.
2. Blacks in Quebec exist in a very unique space within Canada. French-speaking Blacks are a minority within the majority French-speaking Quebecois population. English-speaking Blacks are a minority of the minority

Anglophone population and a minority of the total Black community. These Black communities are culturally and linguistically distinct from each other. The Black serials reflect this heterogeneity.

Scope of the study

- This thesis reveals in broad terms some of the patterns that may arise while creating a methodology for the study of Black serials.
- This thesis explores the relationship between differing Black cultures of “ethnicities” living in Montreal.
- This thesis is an exploration of ethnic media. I do not intend to examine the ethnicity of Blacks in Montreal, vis-a-vis the larger society, because that would entail a discussion of the power dynamics between ethnic groups, group and personal identity, race/racism, discrimination, violence, class, and a host of other elements beyond the scope of this thesis.
- This thesis is a case study analysis.
- This thesis is influenced by American terminology; while recognizing that there are connections between the birth of the Black press in the United States and of the Black press in Canada.

Definitions

Anglo: This term has several meanings in Quebec which renders it fundamentally ambiguous. Anglo sometimes is a linguistic marker, referring to speakers of the English language of all origins. It is sometime synonymous with the term anglophone. Generally, though when I use this term, I am referring to the ethnic group comprised of English speakers of Anglo-Saxon, British, or Anglo-Celtic origin.¹⁶³ Though English speaking Blacks are considered anglophone, they are not

¹⁶³ Martha Radice, *Feeling Comfortable? The Urban Experience of Anglo-Montrealers*, Québec, PQ, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000, p. 3.

necessarily “Anglo”.

Anglophone: An individual whose mother tongue in Quebec is English, as defined in the language legislation, Bill 101.

Akan: The Akan people are from Ghana, ‘the Gold Coast’ of West Africa, and comprise the Twi, Fante, Akim, Ashanti, Juaben, and Agona peoples. As a result of the Akan slave trade many of the Africans in the diaspora are direct descendants of these tribes.

Aural communication: This form of communication comes from the concept that humans communicate using more than their voiced words. It is how sound is produced by humans and heard or interpreted by another human. Aural communication includes drumming fingers and hands, clapping hands, tapping hands, tapping feet, whistling, finger snapping, clicking or popping sounds, screeching, humming, etc. In literature, particularly in poetry, in addition to the words aural symbols are meant to produce added sounds to the recitation. Some cultures use aural forms as part of their speech; others incorporate them only in specific contexts.¹⁶⁴

Blacks: In this thesis the term 'Black' is used as a racial term denoting Black African ancestry. For the most part this includes Blacks from the Caribbean basin, South and North America, Europe and Africa, who came to Canada either as slaves or as immigrants. Negro and Coloured are synonymous terms that were used by earlier writers. West Indian is a cultural/ethnic term, and refers to Blacks specifically from the Caribbean basin and from South America. African is used to identify Blacks born in present African nation states. The following: Afro-Canadian, African-Canadian,

¹⁶⁴ Yaw Adu-Gyamfi, “Orality in Writing: Its Cultural and Political Function in Anglophone African, African-Caribbean, and African-Canadian Poetry,” Ph.D. diss., University of Saskatchewan, 1999.

African-American, are used to define Black nationality according to birthplace and/or citizenship.

Emancipation Act: A law of the British Parliament that was passed on August 28, 1833 and came into force on August 1, 1834, to give reparations to slaveowners and to emancipate all slaves within the British Empire. Canada was not specifically mentioned in the Act and it appears that no reparations were paid to Canadian slaveowners.¹⁶⁵

Emic perspective: The emic perspective focuses on the intrinsic cultural distinctions that are meaningful to the members of a given society. The native members of a culture are the sole judges of the validity of an emic description. Field researchers who perform analyses within their own culture are said to be emic, they understand the culture and describe the phenomenon or behaviour as an insider.

Etic perspective: The etic perspective is an outsider's viewpoint, sometimes seen as the objective criteria because it imposes a scientific based construct upon that society. Field researchers who are outside of the community they are examining, are said to be etic, or to be coming from a non-native perspective.¹⁶⁶

Gatekeepers of knowledge: Individuals within organisations who are connected to the outside sources of knowledge and, to a certain extent, control the flow of, and access to, information. Librarians are gatekeepers of knowledge as they collect, organise, store, distribute, control access and create information.

Griot: Originally from the Songhay peoples of Western Africa, the griot perpetuated the oral traditions of a family or village. The term has been adopted

¹⁶⁵ Winks, p. 111.

¹⁶⁶ James Lett, "Emic/Etic Distinctions." <http://faculty.ircc.cc.fl.us/faculty/jlett/Article%20on%20Emics%20and%20Etics.htm>. Accessed September 1, 2005.

throughout West Africa. A griot was once a musician and storyteller, genealogist, tribal historian, and elder of repute. Among North American Blacks the term has been revised in recent decades. However, the griot is no longer a musician or genealogist, rather the griot is often a respected elder and the community's historian.

Kwanzaa: A week-long (December 26 to January 1) African-American holiday is an alternative to the growing commercialism of Christmas. Kwanzaa is not a religious holiday but a cultural one, a syncretic festival based on various elements of the first African harvest celebrations. Derived from the Swahili phrase 'matunda ya kwanza,' meaning "first fruits," Kwanzaa, has Seven Principles, or Nguzu Saba, of Blackness: Umoja (Unity), Kujichagulia (Self-determination), Ujima (Collective work and responsibility), Ujamaa (Cooperative economics), Nia (Purpose), Kuumba (Creativity), Imani (Faith).¹⁶⁷

Orality: Non-print forms of aural communication, used extensively in beat, rhythm, drums, spirituals, anansi stories, folk tales, homilies and poetry.

Oral tradition: Oral testimonies concerning the past which are transmitted from one person to another. The classic definition of orality by Vansina is "verbal messages (spoken, sung, or called out on musical instruments only) which are reported statements from the past beyond the present generation. There must be transmission by word of mouth over at least a generation."¹⁶⁸

'Race paper': These serial publications are totally owned and managed by Blacks. Their goal is: "to guide, counsel, educate, help [Black] people in trouble and through...columns suggest solutions to problems and means of correcting

¹⁶⁷ Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. "Kwanzaa," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kwanzaa>. Accessed June 8, 2005.

¹⁶⁸ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, Madison, WI, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, p. 27-8.

injustices."¹⁶⁹

Race: It is defined as a human population distinguished on the basis of socially perceived physical traits such as skin pigmentation, hair texture, and facial features. In reality however, one's racial group membership depends primarily on how society classifies him or her--it is a social construct, a social myth; biologically speaking, there is only one race--the human race.¹⁷⁰

Serials: The National Library of Canada website defines a serial as, "a publication, in any medium, issued in successive parts and intended to be continued indefinitely...includes periodicals, newspapers, annuals (reports, yearbooks, directories), journals, memoirs, proceedings, transactions of societies, monographic series, and unnumbered series."¹⁷¹

My operational definition of serials is more specifically limited to newspapers, (broadsheet or tabloid), magazines, revues and journals, directories, bulletins, and newsletters. I have included both serialized, printed materials and digitized serials (web-based or e-mail).¹⁷²

Tonton-Macoutes: Trained by the American CIA, this was the name of the personal police force of dictator François Duvalier (Papa Doc) of Haiti. The tonton-

¹⁶⁹ See terms used in more recent histories since 1980's: Wolseley, 1990; Pride & Wilson, 1997.

¹⁷⁰ Mensah, p. 13; for a discussion on race in Canada: Jean Leonard Elliott & Augie Fleras, *Unequal Relations: Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada*, Scarborough, ON, Prentice, 1992.

¹⁷¹ Canada, National Library of Canada. Definition of a serial. <http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/issn/s13-201-e.html>. Accessed January 5, 2004.

¹⁷² Other types of serials have been produced in the Black community. There have been monographic serials, for instance, in 1976-77, the Montreal chapter of the National Black Coalition published a six-part series specifically to educate Black immigrants about Canada's system of government, laws, Black history, etc. It was titled, *A Key to Canada*. As well, ephemeral serials, such as the annual *Black History Month Calendar*, each February, remains quite popular. I have chosen to omit these two types.

macoutes were unpaid volunteers given virtual license to torture, kill, and extort. They murdered hundreds, sometimes publicly hanging the corpses as warnings. After Papa Doc's death (1971), his son Jean-Claude Duvalier (Baby Doc) changed their name to the National Security Volunteers, though they continued to terrorize. After Baby Doc 's overthrow in 1986, although officially disbanded, the group continued to spread terror. In Montreal many Haitians believed that tonton-macoutes had secretly immigrated to Montreal in order to spy on those who were leading the Haitian revolution from Montreal.¹⁷³

Visible minority: The government of Canada created this unique Canadian category in its 1986 *Employment Equity Act*. The Act grouped all "persons, other than Aboriginal people, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour" together.¹⁷⁴ Visible minorities in Canada now include Chinese, South Asian, Blacks, Arabs and West Asians, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans, and Pacific Islanders. Black is a unique term among this list because it is the only one that is based on skin colour and not on geographic location. Blacks could conceivably come from any of these regions. This term does not take into account the thousands of Blacks born in Europe in countries such as Germany, Italy, or Britain, who would lose their nation-state status once they arrive in Canada. Instead of being classified as German, Italian, or British, they become visible minority "Black" for census and other statistical purposes.

¹⁷³ The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, 2001. www.bartleby.com. Accessed May 17, 2004; "Liberté où la mort: Nous vaincrons," *Makandal*, July 1971, p. 13.

¹⁷⁴ Mensah, p. 22.

3. Literature Review

Why the Black Serial? An Historical Overview

After the American Civil War, the influx and high visibility of southern Blacks, coupled with the iteration of destructive views in the mainstream daily presses, fostered the growth of urban Black newspapers in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois, and Michigan. These Black presses “emerged as a...medium for...communicating the peculiar reality of a disparate and dispossessed people.”¹⁷⁵ The need was great and Black publishers responded. Between 1865 and 1927, across the country, over 2,000 Black newspapers were inaugurated.¹⁷⁶ Still, newspapers did not satisfy the need for Black-focussed print materials. With their focus on hard news, current affairs and social events, “most of the critical discussions...took place in [other] black periodicals,” rather than in Black newspapers.¹⁷⁷ In many Black communities in America the ephemeral serials, e.g., newsletters, magazines, journals, and bulletins occupied a significant position, for it was in this serialized literature that Blacks contributed essays, polemics, poetry, and stories not readily accepted in Black newspapers. In a Black community buffeted by censure, made invisible by the effects of slavery, of Jim Crow, of segregation, and of racial discrimination, serials as well as newspapers served a common purpose:

Because they were frequently denied a forum in white-owned magazines, newspapers, and publishing houses, African-American writers...found a market for their work in their neighborhood black periodicals...Much of the periodical literature was also written at the urging of newspaper editors and other black leaders who hoped that black literature, by demonstrating blacks' intellectual prowess, would erode racial

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁶ Armistead Pride, “A Register and History of Negro Newspapers in the United States; 1827-1950,” Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1950, p. 406.

¹⁷⁷ Danky & Hady, p. x.

prejudice.¹⁷⁸

Sankofa: Recovering America's Invisible Black Press

Despite the significant role these diverse periodicals played in America's Black print culture, when scholarly studies of Black periodical literature began to appear in the 20th century, "most scholarly works on communications media among blacks in America focus[ed] on the weekly newspaper."¹⁷⁹ By the 1970s, a few theses were published on Black magazines: Dorothy Deloris Boone (1970), Mary Fair Burks (1975); and Abby Arthur Johnson & Ronald Maberry Johnson followed with a major study (1979).¹⁸⁰ These were the exceptions, though, as it was rare to find scholarly studies that incorporated both the news presses and serial literature. One notable exception was the doctoral research of Penelope Bullock that looked at the holdings of 19th century Black serials throughout the U.S. Her thesis centered on identifying the issues affecting the accessibility of Black journals, newspapers, journals and magazines that had been published between 1838 and 1909. Bullock makes the case that her study is critical to Black research because very little information [at that time] was available as to which 19th century serials were being housed and where they were located.¹⁸¹

For the most part, though, initial groundbreaking academic studies simply centered upon identifying and locating the unknown Black newspapers of individual states. For early researchers, recovery was in itself a monumental task that often

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Daniel, p. ix.

¹⁸⁰ Dorothy Deloris Boone, "Historical Review and a Bibliography of Selected Negro Magazines, 1910-1969," University of Michigan, 1970; Mary Fair Burks, "Survey of Black Literary Magazines in the United States: 1854-1940," Ed.D., Columbia University Teachers College, 1975; Abby Arthur Johnson & Ronald Maberry Johnson, *Propaganda and Aesthetics; the Literary Politics of Afro-American Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, Amherst, MA, University of Massachusetts Press, 1979.

¹⁸¹ Penelope Laconia Bullock, "The Negro Periodical Press in the United States, 1838-1909," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1971.

involving statewide investigations spanning both the 19th and 20th centuries.

In 1956, Rushey Burnel Moten in his Master's thesis examined the Negro press in Kansas because in the two previous scholarly studies of the press in Kansas, "neither...[had] made mention of the Negro press in detail."¹⁸² Incomplete documentation of the state's Black press propelled him to attempt this systematic study and "to collect all available information concerning the Negro press of Kansas from the establishment of the state to the present time."¹⁸³ Culled from the collections of all Black papers in the state's historical societies, its archives and the libraries of Kansas, the author's analysis covered demographic evolution, the state's unique political and historical contexts, general characteristics of the Black press in the state, the distinct features within Black papers, advertising, circulation, pioneer and special publications, and a final section on present trends in Kansas' journalism.

Six years later, Charles Behling completed a thesis on the Black press in South Carolina. in order to inform Blacks and whites about the Black press in the midst of a rising civil rights movement. This was a difficult task Behling notes, because Blacks are unaware of their own history, and though there had been a relatively large number of Negro newspapers founded in the state, "much of the history of the Negro press in South Carolina has been lost..."¹⁸⁴

As other researchers made similar attempts to examine the Black press, their conclusions were often similar. For instance, in his doctoral dissertation in 1972, Charles William Grose attempted to analyze the historical development of Texas' Black press.¹⁸⁵ Using a similar methodology as Moten, Grose scoured the Library of Congress, the Texas State Library, state colleges and archives. Evidently the state's repositories did not actively collect Black serials; Grose was left to conclude

¹⁸² Rushey Burnel Moten, "The Negro Press of Kansas," M.A. University of Kansas, 1956.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁴ Charles F. Behling, "South Carolina Negro Newspapers: Their History, Content, and Reception," M.A., University of South Carolina, 1962, p. 243.

¹⁸⁵ Charles William Grose, "Black Newspapers in Texas, 1868-1970," Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1972.

that "very little information regarding black papers was available."¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately Black publishers in Texas fared little better in the treatment of their serials. Grose expanded his search for extant copies and visited Black newspaper plants, but he found that either the newspaper files had been destroyed by fire, flood or neglect, or that a newspaper morgue had never been established.

That same year, 1972, Frankie Pauling Hutton's Master's thesis titled "The Development and Aspirations of Five Black-owned Newspapers in North Carolina," focussed on the invisibility of the Black press in that state.¹⁸⁷ Hutton states in the first paragraph of his thesis, "it is clear that a limited number of historians who have completed work on the black press have practically ignored or overlooked black journalists and newspapers in North Carolina...This is the paramount reason why these newspapers had to be examined. This study proposes to introduce these...papers because they have not been introduced together before to any extent."¹⁸⁸

In the following year, this theme is iterated and then expanded. In 1973, Gloria Blackwell's doctoral dissertation on Black-controlled media in the city of Atlanta, GA, discussed at length the general lack of awareness about the Black press in the press history of the United States.¹⁸⁹ Blackwell writes that one of the key "purposes of this study [is] to focus on the history that has been generally ignored, neglected, or else superficially investigated...."¹⁹⁰ Blackwell attempted to make the case that Black press played a key role in the socio-economic development of Black communities in the United States; thus ignoring the Black press was tantamount to ignoring a significant element to understanding America's press history.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. v.

¹⁸⁷ Frankie Pauling Hutton, "The Development and Aspirations of Five Black-owned Newspapers in North Carolina," M.A., University of South Carolina, 1972.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁹ Blackwell, 1956.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. iv.

In 1982, Karen Fitzgerald Brown at the University of Tennessee made the same case by tracing the development of the press in Tennessee in relation to the evolution of the national Black press.¹⁹¹ At the time of Brown's thesis, there had been no other studies of the Black press within Tennessee. In order to uncover this history, Brown developed a chronology, located the newspapers, presented bibliographic information about them and contextualized the newspapers within the history of Tennessee. The scope of Brown's dissertation extended beyond the state boundaries. Ultimately her goal was to continue "the idea of exploring the black press in one state as a means for adding to the total literature on press history in the United States."¹⁹²

This pattern of statewide research continued throughout the eighties and into the early nineties. In the introduction to her dissertation, Flora Ann Caldwell McGhee typified the rationale for scholarly investigations into the Black press:

- 1) Blacks, as well as whites, have little or no knowledge about the black press
- 2) scholarly interest in the subject...has been lacking
- 3) publication(s) on the...Black press will help create interest among Blacks in their own press
- 4) no comprehensive history of the black press...is [as yet] available.¹⁹³

Generally, though, theses are not well suited for large multi-state, or broad national studies, which has meant that comprehensive surveys have been undertaken in popular publications.

Popular studies on the American Black press began in 1891 with Garland Penn's book, *The Afro-American Press and its Editors*.¹⁹⁴ Frederick Detweiler's 1922 monograph, *The Negro Press in the United States* continued the research focus on

¹⁹¹ Karen Fitzgerald Brown, "The Black Press of Tennessee: 1865-1980," Ph.D. diss., The University of Tennessee, 1982.

¹⁹² *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁹³ McGhee, p. 3.

¹⁹⁴ Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and its Editors*, Springfield, MA., Wiley & Co., 1891.

the newspaper in the Black community.¹⁹⁵ Detweiler revisited the work of Penn, tracing the evolution of Black newspapers from 1827, through the Great Migration and into the lynching era of post-war urban America. Detweiler's work was primarily written to counter the ignorance that White America had toward the Black press. Moreover, *The Negro Press in the United States* was a salute to Negro life, where he writes that the Black newspaper

is a unique social instrument...Through it, individual experiences are shared over wide areas and the group comes to know itself. The press, supported by the Negro, comes in this way to be a means for making his life significant to himself. The long years of slavery resulted in the impression that the black man did not count in the world. but now, on the printed pages...the whole race seems to become articulate to mankind. Instead of merely reflecting "life" the newspaper is setting themes for discussion and suggesting the foci of attention, helps powerfully to create that life...if the racial issue enters in, [it] stiffens the whole line of conflict and sounds the call to a holy resistance. The advertising pages play their part in influencing the standard of living. And so the press, ephemeral as it is, keeps moving on the main currents of interest, and helps to bring into being the life that its pages report.¹⁹⁶

For the next 49 years, these two surveys of Black newspapers, *The Afro-American Press and its Editors* and *The Negro Press in the United States*, were the standard guides for African-American newspaper research.

In 1971 author Roland Wolseley's landmark study, *The Black Press, USA* was published. The impact of this book remains considerable because it was the first nation-wide chronological survey since 1922 and it was the first to bridge the divide between newspapers and ephemeral serials. Wolseley was cognizant of the fact that the

...difficulty black writers faced in getting published made them work creatively to broadcast their ideas in a variety of mediums...Black authors wrote for newspapers and magazines, self-published in pamphlets, and...struggled to

¹⁹⁵ Frederick G. Detweiler, *The Negro Press in the United States*, Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 1922.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 268-9.

get anything into print...¹⁹⁷

Though ephemeral, these serials could not be ignored. Wolseley underscored the growing awareness that serials had played a special role in the Black community, a role, that by the early seventies was being recognized. At that time, Wolseley notes that there was occurring a fundamental shift in the importance of the Black magazine, and he continues, "there is reason to say that the modern magazine of general circulation is coming to symbolize the black press whereas in the past black journalism was dominated by the newspaper."¹⁹⁸ In keeping with his observation, Wolseley devoted two entire chapters of *The Black Press, USA* to essays on Black magazines currently published in the United States.¹⁹⁹ Wolseley's influence on serials' research and scholarship was evident because by the 1990s "the term 'black press' [had become] a generic one that encompasses newsletters, pamphlets, fraternal organs, and literary magazines..."²⁰⁰ Wolseley's 1971 survey, like Penn's in 1891, was to remain the benchmark for African-American periodical research for the next 26 years.

In the 1990s, with the increasing familiarization of book history and print culture coupled with the introduction of computers to facilitate data manipulation, book publishers have produced several large-scale topical studies of the Black press in the United States. These themes had national scope and included such subjects as Black press associations, the Black press and the civil rights era, and Black women in

¹⁹⁷ Todd Vogel, ed., *The Black Press New Literary and Historical Essays*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press, 2001, p. 4.

¹⁹⁸ Wolseley, p. 116.

¹⁹⁹ Wolseley's chapter titles: "The Black Magazine--The Forerunners," and "The Black Magazines--Specialist," p. 116-134, 135-162.

²⁰⁰ Henry Lewis Suggs, ed., *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1996, p. 1.

the Black press.²⁰¹ Nonetheless, the Black historical survey was not overlooked. As the decade dawned, Wolseley's *The Black Press, USA* was rereleased in 1990; and 1997 saw the publication of the third chronological survey on the Black press in the United States, *A History of the Black Press*.

According to Harry Amana's review, *A History of the Black Press*, "is, without a doubt, the best most comprehensive history of the African American press yet published."²⁰² The book is a tribute to African-American professor Armistead Pride who had spent decades researching the Black press. After his untimely death in 1991, Clint C. Wilson II edited Pride's manuscript and brought it to publication.²⁰³ *A History of the Black Press* is an historical narrative laid out in an encyclopedic format, making it a handy reference guide to journalists, major papers, editors and Black papers. *A History of the Black Press* includes many background articles to bring to light specific issues within each chronological period. Moreover, with its 3,000 titles, *A History of the Black Press* contributed to the bibliographic development of the Black press in America.

The range and depth of the Black periodicals in the United States has been explored within the regional analyses emphasized in scholarly works, the thematic analyses of monographs and within the historical narratives of monographic and encyclopedic surveys. As the bibliographical control of Black periodicals emerged, guides, directories and other reference materials were developed.²⁰⁴ Black scholars continued to ask what titles had been produced, how many had been issued, and where these serials could be found. These questions encouraged the

²⁰¹ Wayne Dawkins, *Black Journalists: The NABJ Story*, Sickerville, NJ, August Press, 1993; Carl Senna, *The Black Press and the Struggle for Civil Rights*, NY, NY, Franklin Watts, 1993; Rodger Streitmatter, *Raising her Voice: African-American Women Journalists Who Changed History*, Lexington, KY, University Press of Kentucky, 1994.

²⁰² Harry Amana, "A History of the Black Press," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, v. 74 (4) (Winter 1997): 894.

²⁰³ Pride & Wilson, p. 133.

²⁰⁴ *The Black Press Periodical Directory - 1975*, NY, NY, Afram Associates, Inc.; *Directory of U.S. Negro Newspapers, Magazines & Periodicals*, New York, U.S. Negro World, n.d.; George H. Hill, *Black Media in America: a Resource Guide*, Boston, MA, G.K. Hall, 1984.

compilation of Black serial directories and checklists. In the seventies, writers like Henry LaBrie focussed on the identification and location of current Black newspapers in the United States.²⁰⁶ Like Bowker's, these guides identified titles of Black newspapers published in the U.S., their current addresses and circulation figures.²⁰⁸

The initial checklists were limited by the paucity of investigation of the Black press. Seven retrospective Black serial lists covering the entire United States have been produced over the past 70 years.²⁰⁷ In 1946 Warren Henry Brown compiled the first checklist dating back to 1827 when the first Black American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, had been published. Subsequent compilations continued to be published on average every 10 years. Although Brown's checklist focussed upon just newspapers, other checklists included Black magazines, journals and other serials.

Interest in the Black press increased as new serials were uncovered and the popularity of African-American genealogical research grew--a legacy of 400 years of slavery. Many family members were lost during slavery, as individuals were often forcibly wrested from their families or some escaped into freedom, their whereabouts often unknown. Messages left in race newspapers, narratives of runaways, notices of slave sales and auctions, or runaway notices were sometimes the only evidence remaining of a person's location. Today, for many African-

²⁰⁶ Henrie La Brie, *The Black Newspaper in America: A Guide*, Third Edition. Kennebunkport, ME, Mercer House Press, 1973; Henry G. La Brie, *A Survey of Black Newspapers in America*. Kennebunkport, ME. Mercer House Press, 1979.

²⁰⁸ Sandra L. Jones Ireland, comp., *Ethnic Periodicals in Contemporary America: An Annotated Guide*, New York, NY, Greenwood Press, 1990.

²⁰⁷ Warren Henry Brown, *Check List of Negro Newspapers in the United States (1827-1946)* Jefferson City, MO, Lincoln University, School of Journalism, 1946; Penn I. Garland, *The Afro-American Press and its Editors*, New York, Arno Press, 1969; Marvin Kimbrough, "Black Magazines: An Exploratory Study," Austin, TX, Center for Communication Research, School of Communication, University of Texas at Austin, 1973; African-American Materials Project Staff. NC Central University, *Newspapers and Periodicals by and about Black People: Southeastern Library Holdings*, Boston, G.K. Hall, 1978; Georgetta Merritt Campbell, *Extant Collections of Early Black Newspapers: a Research Guide to the Black Press, 1880-1915, with an Index to the Boston Guardian, 1902-1904*, Troy, NY, Whitston Pub. Co., 1981; Vilma Raskin Potter, *A Reference Guide to Afro-American Publications and Editors, 1827-1946*, Ames, IA, Iowa State University Press, 1993.

Americans, early Blacks newspaper sources, such as the *Bibliographic Checklist of African American Newspapers*, are key genealogical resources and have spurred the search for retrospective serials. Published in 1995, this major newspaper checklist contained 5,539 Black periodicals that could be useful for genealogical research.²⁰⁸

The culmination of Black serials research only emerged in 1998 when James Danky and Maureen Hady co-edited *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals A National Bibliography*.²⁰⁹ This monumental union list contained a checklist of 6,562 African American periodicals, including literary, political, and historical journals, general newspapers and feature magazines. First conceived in 1988, the African-American Newspapers and Periodicals Bibliography Project was based at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Over a 10-year period, Danky and Hady directed a team of hundreds of researchers across the country to go into each library and archive, to look for Black titles and to try to reconstitute an exhaustive chronology of the Black press in the United States. However, in two ways this collaboration went beyond simply reconstituting the Black press. The Project was the first serious attempt to meld a chronology of the press (newspapers) with a comprehensive listing of all Black serials (magazines, newsletters, etc.) in the United States.²¹⁰ Secondly, the project made active efforts to contact Blacks in local communities who possessed Black serials. Once identified, holders were encouraged to donate their copies to repositories. Only when in a repository, would the title be included in the checklist. This facilitated access and ensured the long-term preservation of the Black serials.

Danky and the team of researchers were impelled to encourage local

²⁰⁸ Barbara K. Henritze, *Bibliographic Checklist of African American Newspapers*, Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1995.

²⁰⁹ Danky and Hady, *African-American Newspapers*, 1998.

²¹⁰ There have been other studies of Black serials, such as Kimbrough, 1973; Labomyr R. Wynar, *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States*, Littleton, CO, Libraries Unlimited, 1972; however none were as comprehensive.

archives to expand their collections in order to redress the systemic lack of visibility of Blacks in the nation's depositories. Of that effort, Danky writes that the, "short life spans and archival neglect of these publications, both of which still persist, have had profound consequences for anyone interested in African American history. Periodicals sources are often hard to identify and locate. The need for better documentation of the sources was the point of origin for the...project...."²¹¹ The African-American Newspapers and Periodicals Bibliography Project advanced the research forward from 100 titles to over 6,000, confirming that a rich body of serialized literature had always existed as an integral part of African-American print culture. This project, its impact and reach, made the literature visible and prominent in areas heretofore ignored, particularly in the nation's libraries.

Danky and Hady note, "as official institutions of the dominant society, libraries could not possibly be exempt--and they were not. Libraries and the men and women who staff them, again with a few exceptions, selected materials for their collections reflecting their own experiences: nearly all white, middle-class, English-speaking, and despite the female presence, male-dominated."²¹² Significantly then, *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals* is signpost to the practitioner as well as to the scholar.

Historiography of Black Canadian Print Serials

Canada's Black press has yet to produce its own signpost. To date, Canada's Black print serials have not been extensively examined; nor has the unique evolution of Black serials within Quebec been explored. Some have attempted to remedy this situation, albeit superficially.

For instance, Leo Bertley's 1977 book, *Canada and Its People of African*

²¹¹ Danky and Hady, p. xxxi.

²¹² *ibid.*, p. xxxii.

Descent included a pictorial history of the Black press.²¹³ His chapter of 24 pages is essentially an eight-page gallery of photos with biographical information, two pages of text and a further 11 pages illustrating the front pages of Black serials in Canada. There is very little text discussing the 20th century press, except for several Toronto papers in print at that time, and Bertley makes mention of the broadcast media of radio and television that feature Black on-air personalities.

In fact, the only in-depth nation-wide monographic analysis of the Black press of the 19th and 20th century can be found in *Blacks in Canada*, by American historian Robin Winks. In his groundbreaking book, Winks devoted an entire chapter to the evolution of Black serials throughout the country.²¹⁴ He examined the role and impact of the Black press from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. He asked if the Black press in Canada was a source of strength; in other words, did the Black press redress ills or empower Blacks. Published in 1971, the analysis of *Blacks in Canada* ends in 1969, just when Black serials in Montreal were beginning to expand significantly. Thus, Winks' analysis of Quebec's Black press was limited. He mentioned only three titles from Quebec: two in his text, *The Free Lance*, *Expression*, and buried in footnote 32, he makes just a quick reference to *UHURU*.²¹⁵

Despite its shortcomings, Winks' chapter with its focus on Quebec, the Maritimes, and Ontario, makes it an exception. Other writers, unmindful of Quebec, tended to center upon just the Black press in Ontario. One example is the work of teacher and community activist Headley Tulloch, who penned *Black Canadians A Long Line of Fighters* in 1975. *Black Canadians* was the first full-length Black history of Canada written by a Black living in Canada. It was written to "clear away the misunderstanding and misinformation about [Black] history in Africa and the New World, and, especially, in Canada." This text makes the case that the Black

²¹³ Leo W. Bertley, *Canada and Its People of African Descent*, Pierrefonds, PQ, Bilongo Publishers, 1977, p. 169-192.

²¹⁴ Winks, "Source of Strength?-The Press," p. 390-412.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 404-405.

drama within Canada is part of the global African struggle for justice and redress. Much of its narrative centers on Ontario, and to a lesser extent, Nova Scotia. Some references are made to Quebec, e.g., slavery and the Sir George Williams incident but as to periodicals, Quebec is absent. Tulloch writes, "Newspapers have always been strong voices in our communities...the *Voice of the Fugitive* and the *Provincial Freeman*...were published in the middle of the last century. *Contrast* is today the most prominent voice of the black community in Canada...*Spear* and the *Islander* are also making progress..."²¹⁶

Tulloch's specific reference to the 20th century Ontario serials, notably *Contrast*, *Spear* and *Islander* is not common within historical narratives because of the emphasis on the contributions of Black personalities in Canada's Black newspapers during the mid-19th century. A significant portion of academic and popular research has centered on Mary Ann Shadd, Canada's first female publisher, and on her publishing rivals, Mary and Henry Bibb.²¹⁷ Research has focused on the creation, dissemination and reception of these publishers, and has looked at the overall impact of the 19th century Black press within Ontario, and the United States.

In the 20th century, analysis shifted from journalistic biography to the social function of the mass media. Specifically, responding to the concerns of the large Black population in Ontario, researchers have uncovered racism in the hiring of visible minorities, and blatant examples of negative bias in the reporting of Blacks by the

²¹⁶ Headly Tulloch, *Black Canadians A Long Line of Fighters*, Toronto, NC Press Ltd., 1975, p. 176.

²¹⁷ H. Hancock, "Mary Ann Shadd: Negro editor, educator, and lawyer," *Delaware History*, 15(3) (1973): 187-194; Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary*, 1998; J. Rhodes, "Race, Money, Politics and the Antebellum Black Press," *Journalism History* 20 (1994): 3-4; B. E. Tripp, "Mary Miles Bibb: Education and Moral Improvement in the Voice of the Fugitive," (Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Kansas City, 1993); Hill, p. 185-89.

Canada's mass media.²¹⁸ However, these studies tell us very little about the Black press in Quebec. Given the concentration of media in Ontario, Quebec is often overlooked in these studies of Blacks and national media; any discussions of race, racism and media have tended to keep the lens on Ontario. Moreover, studies about the White-owned mass media outlets reveal very little about the state of the Black press--its owners, editors, and concerns--throughout the other nine provinces in Canada. The emphasis on the White-owned mass media overshadows Canada's press diversity and specifically contributes to the lack of information and inattention towards Canada's Black printed press.

With no monographs devoted specifically to Black print culture in Canada, most studies about Black serials within Canada have been featured in periodicals. Periodicals present a mix of either an in-depth analysis of a local press or a national survey with cursory information. One of the first articles to mention the Black press in Canada was in 1915 in "Historical Sketch of the Press of Chatham," featured in the scholarly journal *The Papers and Addresses of the Kent Historical Society*.²¹⁹ The first full-length article on Canada's Black print media was produced in 1972 in Toronto by the Black Canadian journal, *Black Images*.²²⁰ The Ontario-focussed article, *A History of the Black Media in Canada*, while it ignored the Black press of the Maritimes, did include information on *UHURU* in Montreal. Covering the Black print serials in Quebec was an exception, even in the occasional articles on Canada's Black press found in nationally distributed magazines such as *MacLean's*,

²¹⁸ Rosenfield & Spina, 1977; F. Elkin, *The Employment of Visible Minority Groups in Mass Media Advertising*, Toronto, Department of Sociology, York University, 1971; Henry & Tator, *Discourses of Domination*, 2002; J. Paul Grayson, *Globe and Mail Reports, Student Experiences, and Negative Racial Encounters*, North York, ON, Institute for Social Research, York University, 1995, p. 33; J. W. Berry, & Jean Laponce, eds., "Medias and Minorities in a Post-Multicultural Society," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1994, 267-92; Janin Hadlaw, "Locating Crisis: Representations of Race and Space in the English Media, Montreal, 1987-1992," M.A., Concordia University, Montreal, 1996.

²¹⁹ Sherriff J. R. Gemmill, "Historical Sketch of the Press of Chatham," *Kent Historical Society, Papers and Addresses*, 2 (1915): 36-7.

²²⁰ Russell Keith, "Black Journalism: A Rich Canadian Heritage," in *Black Cultural Crisis in Canada: A Critical Quarterly of Black Culture*, Toronto, Black Images, (January 1972): 10-11.

Polyphony, Fuse, Marketing, and Currents. The geographic emphasis on Toronto and/or the concomitant focus on the Black newspaper is evident in their various articles. For instance, in 1975 *MacLean's Magazine* reported on Al Hamilton, the Black publisher of the popular weekly newspaper *Contrast* based in Toronto.²²¹ In 1982, *Polyphony* printed an updated article on Ontario's Black presses dating from 1850s to 1980s.²²² In 1983, the Toronto-based Urban Alliance on Race Relations' journal *Currents* featured an essay on the city's two Black presses, *Share* and *Contrast*.²²³ *Fuse Magazine* featured *Black Ink: An Historical Critique of Ontario's Black Press*, in 1987. This was essentially a two-part article, published simultaneously. The first part was based on Winks analysis of the 19th century Black fugitive press and the second part centered on the contemporary Black press in Ontario.²²⁴

Surprisingly, though, it has been the business magazine *Marketing* that has produced the greatest number of in-depth pieces on Black periodicals in Canada. In the early nineties, Laura Medcalf penned two articles on Toronto's Black serials, as part of the magazine's series on "Ethnic Marketing" and "Community Newspapers."²²⁵ These were upbeat articles aimed at informing advertisers of the potential market of Black periodical readers situated in Toronto. By 1998, this appeared to have been unsuccessful, as freelance writer Anita Lahey's first of two

²²¹ Gary Ross, "Black and Read all Over: Al Hamilton's fight to publish-or perish as a community," *MacLean's Magazine* 88(3) (1975): T3-T4.

²²² Daniel Hill, "The Black Press," *Polyphony* 4(1) (1982): 43-48. This was originally written as part of Hill's *The Freedom Seekers: Black in Early Canada*, Agincourt, The Book Society of Canada Ltd., 1981, p. 185-189.

²²³ Andrea Stevens, "The Ethnic Media: A Mission or A Business. A Look at the Toronto Black Press," *Currents* (Spring 1983): 16-19.

²²⁴ Leila Heath, "Black Ink: An Historical Critique of Ontario's Black Press," *Fuse Magazine* 11(1-2) (1987 Summer): 20-27.

²²⁵ Laura Medcalf, "Canada's largest Ethnic Paper Shares its Positive Worldview," *Marketing* 96(10) (May 13, 1991): 17; Laura Medcalf, "Black Community Papers Struggle to Keep Going: There's a Variety of Publications, But all Hope to Lure National Advertisers," *Marketing* 97(28) (June 13-20, 1992): 20.

follow-up articles explored why mainstream advertisers continued to bypass Toronto's Black print publications, thus threatening their viability. The second article examined the reasons why Black ownership of broadcast media in Toronto was negligible at that time.²²⁶

Mainstream periodicals such as *MacLean's Magazine* and *Marketing* have not been the only publications to report on the state of Canada's Black presses. In 1991, Black-owned, Toronto-based magazine, *Glory*, stated that "never before has Canada's African-Canadian community...had so many choices of Black-oriented publications...it translates to an abundance of riches for Black media lovers across the country." In celebration, *Glory's* 1991 spring issue was titled, "The Black Media in Canada." Two unsigned articles were featured: one a retrospective of Ontario's press history, and the other a contemporary snapshot of select English-language Black periodicals in various parts of the country. For Quebec, two Montreal newspaper publishers, Neville Brown of *Canada Weekend Post* and Dr. Leo Bertley of *The Afro-Canadian*, were interviewed.²²⁷

There appears to be little interest within Quebec's Black press about the evolution of Black print media in Canada. *Afro-Can* has been the only Quebec Black paper to publish a survey of Canada's press history, although the article, in passing, mentions besides itself only one other Quebec paper, *The Free Lance*.²²⁸

In recent years, the impact of the Black Canadian press has been superficially recognized in history books on the African-Canadian experience. Winks initiated the discussion in 1971 and 10 years later author Daniel Hill's *The Freedom Seekers* contained a section on the 19th century Black press in Ontario. His son, author Lawrence Hill, wrote *Trials and Triumphs: The Story of African-Canadians* which

²²⁶ Anita Lahey, "The Invisible Target Group: Why Campaigns aimed at Canada's fast-growing black population remain so rare," *Marketing* 103(8) (March, 1998): 21-22; Anita Lahey, "Print but not much Else," *Marketing* 103(8) (March, 1998): 22.

²²⁷ "Making History: Black Newspapers started before Confederation," *Glory*, (Spring 1991): 6-7; "What recession? Community press thrives in Canada," *Glory* (Spring 1991): 6-8.

²²⁸ Leo W. Bertley, "March is Black Communications Media Month," *Afro-Can* 2(3) March 1982, p. 1.

brought his father's historical narrative into the 20th century. *Trials and Triumphs* noted that Montreal had been home to two Black newspapers *The Free Lance* and the *Afro Canadian*.²²⁹ The most recent African Canadian historical narrative was the 1996 volume, *Towards Freedom*. Unfortunately, the authors, Ken Alexander and Avis Glaze, did not build on the work of Winks, Bertley, or Hill; only *The Free Lance* is mentioned.

Biographies on Black personalities in Canada have limited information on Blacks in the field of journalism and publishing, particularly personalities from Quebec. In 1993, co-authors Rella Braithwaite and Tessa Benn-Ireland presented an overview of Canada's Black press and book publishing in *Some Black Women*. Their seven-page overview of Canada's Black press included one paragraph on the Nova Scotian tabloid publisher Dr. Carrie Best, but made no reference to Quebec's periodicals.²³⁰ In 1994, Rosemary Sadlier's book, *Leading the Way: Black Women in Canada*, featured five biographies; two were women of Canada's press: Mary Ann Shadd of 19th century Ontario and Dr. Carrie Best of 20th century Nova Scotia.²³¹

Black Ontario is also highlighted in readers and general guides to Canadian serials. For example, the reference book, *Serials Canada*, has a chapter on ethnic serials which would lead one to assume that only Ontario has produced Black serials. The author Ivan Basar's survey introduces the reader to the oft-cited 19th century *Voice of the Fugitive* and Shadd's *Provincial Freeman*. Though Montreal is mentioned for its revival of ethnic presses in the 20th century, only Italian, Vietnamese, Arabic, and Jewish papers merit a mention. He gives no indication that Blacks were publishing in Montreal, even in the nineties, when this chapter was

²²⁹ Lawrence Hill, *Trials and Triumphs: The Story of African-Canadians*, Toronto, Umbrella Press, 1993, p. 45-6.

²³⁰ Rella Braithwaite and Tessa Benn-Ireland, *Some Black Women: Profiles of Black Women in Canada*, Toronto, Sister Vision Press, 1993, p. 64-70.

²³¹ Rosemary Sadlier, *Leading the Way: Black Women in Canada*. Toronto, Umbrella Press, 1994. p. 26-32.

published.²³²

It is clear, then, that except for Winks' analysis, most monographs that feature the Black press in Canada have ignored Black serials within 20th century Quebec.

Historiography of Quebec's Black Print Serials

There are no monographs or scholarly research on the evolution of Black serials within the province of Quebec. The literature that does exist consists of periodical articles; however, these articles are to be found only in the pages of Quebec's unknown Black serials, which makes them difficult to identify and locate.

Seven articles written about Black serials in Montreal have been found- two in the English press and five in the French press. In March 1982 *Afro-Can* published a half-page, two-and-a-half column on Mr. Packwood and his paper *The Free Lance*.²³³ This early article was one of the first in-depth essays on Montreal's first Black paper. The article was a tribute to Mr. Packwood, but at the same time, the author, Leo Bertley, contextualized the emergence and demise of *The Free Lance* in the racialized environment of the thirties in Montreal. Three months later, in May 1982, *Afro-Can* published a full-page biographical pictorial of eight Black publishers throughout Canada, alongside a collage of 32 mastheads from various Canadian, particularly Montreal-based serials; 16 were English language periodicals from Montreal.²³⁴ Yet nothing was written on these 16 Montreal periodicals, nor was any information about any of the other non-Quebec periodicals provided, except in

²³² At the time of this publication, Ivan Basar was a cataloguer/reviser in the Serials Team, at the National Library of Canada, Ottawa. Ivan Basar, "Ethnic Serials in Canada: A historical Overview, in *Serials Canada: Aspects of Serials Work in Canadian Libraries*, ed. Wayne Jones. New York, NY, The Haworth Press, 1995, p. 90, 93-94.

²³³ Dr. L. Bertley, "Afro-Can Remembers: Mr. Edward Packwood and the Free Lance," *Afro-Can*, March 1982, p. 7.

²³⁴ Leo Bertley, "Afro-Can is Proud of its History," *Afro-Can*, May 1982, p. 8. The article actually included a ninth picture, that of Mai-Ruth Hodge, who, though noted for her groundbreaking entry into broadcast media in Montreal, was not associated with print media.

the biographical blurbs under the publishers' photos.

This dearth of information about Montreal's distinctive publishing history was remedied, in part, in a series of articles in the French-language Haitian press. During 2001, editor and publisher Valentino Nelson, and a reporter writing under the pen-name Leloup, wrote an in-depth analysis of Haitian periodicals in Quebec. This article, eventually issued under several titles, was published in *Presence: La vraie presse indépendante*.²³⁵ Throughout 2001, in celebration of five years of publishing, *Presence* readers were repeatedly presented with Quebec's Haitian print history. In July 2001, the first of a two-part series was published in "Dossier," a regular feature of *Presence*. It was titled, "Presse Écrite Haïtienne au Québec (2e partie) Vers la stabilité et la perfection." This eight-column, two-page article written by Leloup had four headings: 'Enchaînements,' 'Twist n' shout,' 'De l'air frais,' and 'Zotobrés.' It detailed the emergence and impact in 1979 of the journal *Collectif Paroles*, and concluded with the launch of the newspaper *Haïti Perspectives* in 1986.

The following month, in August, in the section "Actualités," a one-column article "Petite histoire de la presse haïtienne du Québec," was presented with the heading: 'Les années terribles.'²³⁶ Signed, 'La rédaction,' this section described the context for the emergence of eight Haitian publications in Montreal between 1971 and 1976, in response to the excesses of the Duvalier regime, the exiling of tens of thousands from Haiti, and the rise of the subversive tonton-macoutes' network. Thus 'Les années terribles' represents the terrible plight of Haitians during that time and does not reflect a period of publishing difficulties, obscurity or of inactivity in Quebec. On the contrary, according to this article the Haitian press in Quebec "on avait observé une émergence sans pareille de revues, de périodiques, de bulletins et même de pamphlets..."²³⁷ The underground anti-Duvalier press took off; in Quebec City

²³⁵ Leloup, "Presse Écrite Haïtienne au Québec (2e partie) Vers la stabilité et la perfection," *Presence: La vraie presse indépendante*, V(2006) juillet 2001, p. 4, 5. Note that the orthography of these French serials and articles over the next two pages, reflects the original text.

²³⁶ "Petite histoire de la presse haïtienne du Québec," *Presence: La vraie presse indépendante*, V(2008) août 2001, p. 4.

²³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 4.

Haitians launched *Etincelle*, and Montreal saw *Bois-Caïman*, *Goman-Acau*, *Zinglin*, *Kako*, *Boukan*, *Makandal*, *Koukourouj*, and the significant *Nouvelle Optique* emerge.

In the next publication of this series, Valentino Nelson and Leloup lent their names to a four-page, 24 column article, "Panomara de la vie littéraire des Haitiens au Québec (1er partie: histoire de la presse écrite)."²³⁸ Despite the name change, this October article was a chronological republication of the two previous articles. It began with 'Les années terribles' (now starting at 1970) and continued to 2000. 'Enchaînements' was changed to 'Les années d'enfer' and four additional headings: 'Cassure et exubérance (1990-2000),' 'Petit flash-back,' 'La relève' and 'Épilogue' were added. The last two sections were more than historical narrative, for they examined the connections in content and context between the great literary culture of Haiti, its press and what had been emerging in Quebec's Haitian press history. This article was masterful. In anticipation of the stir that this article would create, the authors informed the readers that a second part will be issued, (one can hardly wait!). Disappointingly however, the second part has never materialized.

In their 'Spécial anniversaire' issue in December 2001, Nelson and Leloup once again reproduced their October article in its entirety, including its promise of a second article.²³⁹ At this juncture, the articles ceased for a whole year, and were not resurrected until January 2003, wherein the same article was published. However, the title changed slightly, as the authors no longer anticipated the release of a second part.²⁴⁰

In summary, the writings of Leo Bertley, and particularly of the series of

²³⁸ Valentino Nelson and Leloup, "Panomara de la vie littéraire des Haitiens au Québec (1er partie: histoire de la presse écrite)," *Presence: La vraie presse indépendante*, V(2010) octobre 2001, p. 4, 8-9.

²³⁹ Valentino Nelson and Leloup, "Panomara de la vie littéraire des Haitiens au Québec (1e partie: histoire de la presse écrite)," *Presence: La vraie presse indépendante*, V(2015) décembre 2001, p. 12-14.

²⁴⁰Valentino Nelson and Leloup, "Panomara de la vie littéraire des Haitiens au Québec (histoire de la presse écrite)," *Presence: La vraie presse indépendante*, VI(2023) janvier 2003, p. 10-12.

Nelson and Leloup, have been instrumental in identifying Montreal's Black serials. However, these articles were dated (even at publication) and not comprehensive. For instance, the 16 serials depicted in Bertley's *Afro-Can* article, written in 1982, represent about 57% of the total English-speaking Black community's serials and about 30% of the serials that had been published up to that date. While the articles in *Presence* capture the historical evolution of Haitian bellwether periodicals in Montreal, the 30 cited titles represent just 41% of the Haitian and only 38% of the total French-language periodicals published in the city between 1970 and 2000. Because Bertley wrote years before African periodicals came on the scene in Montreal, and Nelson and Leloup wrote specifically about periodical publishing within the Haitian community, it is understandable that neither would have included periodicals of the English- or French-speaking Africans.

Capturing serials: bibliographic control

Moving from the history of Montreal's Black serials to their bibliographic control, the situation is spotty, as the Black serial in Montreal is not often captured in directories, bibliographies or serial checklists. This does not mean that Black serials are nonexistent in these sources. On the contrary, I have found 320 references to

Table 2. Sources Consulted

Format	Format Total	% of Sources Consulted	Published Between
Bibliographies	15	24	1965-2003
Articles	10	16	1987-2001
Checklists	8	12	1972-1994
Directories	23	37	1935-2004
Monographs	7	11	1971-2002
Totals	63	100	

Montreal's Black serials in 63 sources, including articles, monographs, checklists,

bibliographies, and directories (Table 2).²⁴¹ These sources date from 1935 to 2004. Bibliographies, checklists and directories together account for about 72% of the sources I uncovered during the three year period 2001 to 2004.

Six sources merit discussion because together they have contributed almost 50% of the references to Montreal's Black serials. Five of the six sources: three articles, two bibliographies and one monograph were written by people of African descent. Two of the sources, the article of Nelson and Leloup in *Presence* and Bertley's pictorial article of Black serials in the *Afro-Can* were discussed previously. The other three are major bibliographies on the Black experience in Canada,

1. the annotated bibliography by Professor George H. Junne,
2. Professor George Elliot Clarke's bibliographic essay in the journal *Canadian Ethnic Studies*,
3. the extensive bibliography contained in Clarke's book, *Odysseys Home*.²⁴²

George Junne is an Associate Professor and Department Chair of Africana Studies at the University of North Colorado. Among his many academic interests is the Blacks of the American mid-west, which included the migration of African-Americans from the mid-west into Canadian western provinces. In 2000, Junne's *Blacks in the American West and Beyond--America, Canada, and Mexico: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography* was received with great acclaim.²⁴³ This initial bibliography included eight Montreal serials. Three years later, Junne more than doubled the number of Montreal serial titles to 18 with the release of *The History of Blacks in Canada: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography*. This 410-page book contained 3,606 items about Blacks in Canada, written by non-Blacks as well as Blacks. This listing included 109 serials produced by Blacks in various parts of the country. Junne's work is just one of two full-length monographic bibliographies

²⁴¹ For a complete listing of these sources see Appendix 2.

²⁴² George H. Junne, *The History of Blacks in Canada: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 2003, passim 367-371; Clarke, "Africana Canadiana," 107-209; Clarke, *Odysseys Home*, 2002.

²⁴³ This book won the 'Reference and User Services Association of the ALA (RUSA), Best Bibliographies in History, 2001.' For other accolades see: <http://www.greenwood.com/books/BookDetail.asp?sku=GR1208>, Accessed March 8, 2005.

solely on Blacks in Canada that have been published within the past 10 years.²⁴⁴

The bibliographic work of Professor George Elliott Clarke differs markedly from Junne in that Clarke's bibliographies include only Black writers. In 1996, the journal *Canadian Ethnic Studies* published his "Africana-Canadiana." Clarke felt it was necessary to create a bibliography listing only Black writers because

the extant bibliographies focus mainly on writings about rather than by African Canadians...bibliographies seldom identify authors by their ethnicity...[or] fail to cite occurrences of Canadian (or even the Canadian-born) authors among their entries. In most bibliographies then, African-Canadian writers and texts are an Ellisonian, ectoplasmic presence. One finds them only if one possesses an extraordinary degree of patience.²⁴⁵

"Africana-Canadiana" and its expanded version in Clarke's *Odysseys Home* contain the largest listing, 173 titles, of Black Canadian serials, ever published in a single article or monograph. However, Quebec serials are seriously underrepresented in his listing. The in-print serials total 27 titles and of these 18 titles, (66%), are from Ontario. Clarke notes only three of the 28 in-print serials currently published in Montreal (Appendix 3).

The sixth source is the printed catalogue of record for legal deposit in Quebec, *Bibliographie du Québec*, (BDQ). Not surprisingly, this one source contains the largest number of references, 52 titles, to Black serials in Quebec. These 52 titles represent more than double the nearest source, that of Nelson & Leloup who had listed just 25 titles in their series of articles. The *Bibliographie du Québec* is primarily a vehicle for listing French-language Black serials; 99% of its listings are either bilingual (French/English or French/Allophone), or solely French (77%). The only English language Black periodical from Montreal in the BDQ is *Community Contact*. Together the references of Nelson and Leloup and the BDQ contain 77 titles of the 136 total titles listed in the six major sources used to develop

²⁴⁴ The other bibliography is: Flora Blizzard Francis, *A Black Canadian Bibliography*, Ottawa, Pan-African Publications, 2000.

²⁴⁵ Clarke, 1996, p. 108.

the checklist.

Non-Black Bibliographic Control

Over a four-year period, from 2001 -2005, I also consulted a wide range of general reference materials related to serials. Forty (63%) of the bibliographic sources cited in the checklist are non-Black, general references. These include several government directories, bibliographies and serial guides. The government listings, usually from the government of Quebec, are cyclical, usually issued annually or biennially. Then they cease for several years and resume as the need recurs. As a result the Black items listed in these sources tend to be repetitious, with the same serials reappearing in each annual issue. The motivation for these government-sponsored serials directories comes from the government's desire to be informed about the cultural communities in the province. Collating the serials from various ethnic groups is a byproduct of the political networking, as the serials that are listed are often published by or are mouthpieces of local community organizations connected to government programs or departments. These directories are not usually intended to be surveys of an entire community's serials.

Research on the enumeration of Black items in general Canadian bibliographies has confirmed that bibliographies since the 1960s have "grown, matured, diversified, and proliferated at a dizzying and unprecedented rate"²⁴⁶ Despite this growth, references on the Black experience in Canada are rarely included in national bibliographies; the average number of items is just 35 per

²⁴⁶ Peter F. McNally, "Canadian History Since 1974, Its Bibliographical Control," *Third National Conference on the State of Canadian Bibliography, Achievements, Challenges and Opportunities, Charlottetown, P.E.I. May 31-June 1, 1992*, Proceedings. Toronto, Bibliographical Society of Canada in cooperation with the Association for Canadian Studies, 1994, p. 43.

bibliography.²⁴⁷ Black serials are even rarer because general bibliographies often do not contain serial lists; rather they reference secondary research on newspapers, magazines, and other communications media. Moreover, of the Canadian bibliographies that include Black sources, 65% were published in Ontario; thus, Quebec Black serials are not often cited, as the emphasis is on Ontario's Black media.

Within Quebec, the standard works of bibliographers such as Paul Aubin, and Jean Hamelin do not include Black serials.²⁴⁸ Their emphasis has been on the bibliographical control of the publications of the mainstream French Quebecois majority and not necessarily the bibliographical control of the diverse publishers of racial and ethnic minority groups within Quebec. Their objective had been achieved by 1969, leading some authors to declare unequivocally, that "Seuls, la Saskatchewan, le Nouveau-Brunswick et le Québec possèdent des bibliographies exhaustives de leurs journaux."²⁴⁹

General serials directories were not predictable in their enumeration of Quebec's Black serials. The "Keys to Bibliographic Sources Cited" (Appendix 2) indicates that serial directories account for over one-third of all sources that were used to compile the thesis' checklist. Nevertheless, examination of major serial

²⁴⁷ Dorothy Williams, "An Historical Analysis of the Bibliographical Control of Black Canadian Printed Sources," Unpublished paper, 2001, p. 11; Claude Thibault, comp., *Bibliographia Canadiana*, Don Mills, Ont., Longman Canada, 1973; J. I. Granatstein, & Paul Stevens, *Canada Since 1867 A Bibliographical Guide*, Toronto, Hakkert, 1974; Dwight I. Smith, *The History of Canada, An Annotated Bibliography*, Santa Barbara, CA, ABC-CLIO, 1983; Ernest Ingles, *Canada*, Santa Barbara, CA, Clio Press, 1990; D. O'ram, "Confederation to the Present," vol. 2, in *Canadian History: A Reader's Guide*, Toronto, University of Toronto, 1994.

²⁴⁸ Paul Aubin, & Louis-Marie Coté, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Québec, 1976-1980* *Bibliography of the History of Quebec and Canada 1976-1980*, 2 vols., Québec, PQ, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985; Paul Aubin, & Louis-Marie Coté, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Québec 1946-1965/Bibliography of the History of Quebec and Canada, 1946-1965*, 2 vols., 1987; Paul Aubin, & Louis-Marie Coté, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Québec, 1981-1985/Bibliography of the History of Quebec and Canada, 1981-1985*, 2 vols., Québec, PQ, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1990.

²⁴⁹ André Beaulieu, Jean Hamelin & Benôit Bernier, *Guide d'histoire du Canada*, Québec, PQ, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1969, p. 139.

directories like *Willing's*, *Benn's*, and *Ulrich's*, to name a few, failed to find any Black serials listed from Quebec.²⁵⁰ Sixteen other sources including *The Standard Periodical Directory*, the *Canadian Serials Directory*, and *The International Directory*, etc., did not have any listing for any of Quebec's Black newspapers, magazines or journals.²⁵¹

Summary

This literature review has concentrated on the American and Canadian historiography of Black print serials. This review has documented the shift from an earlier focus on newspaper research to multiple forms of other serials and periodicals. It also provides evidence that Canadian research, its theses, essays, books and articles on the Black periodical press, has tended to focus on serial publishing in Ontario and, to a lesser extent, Nova Scotia. Moreover, the periodization of periodical research appears to be centered on the 19th century, due to the now-famous runs of the *Voice of the Fugitive* and *Provincial Freeman*. There are many reasons for this preoccupation with the Black press of mid-19th century Ontario.

First, these presses existed at a time when tens of thousands of African-American fugitives dramatically fled the United States by walking, rowing, or tunneling into Canada. The importance of the underground railroad in the Canadian drama has continued to generate interest in the race papers of that era.

²⁵⁰ *Willing's Press Guide 2000*, v. 2. *International excluding UK*, 126th ed., Teddington, Hollies Directories Ltd., 2000; *Benn's Media 2004: The Guide to Newspapers, Periodicals, Television, Radio, and Other On-line Media in Canada and the United States of America*, vol. 3, Kent, Britain, CMP Information Ltd., 2003; *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory. Ethnics, (Irregular & Annuals)*, v. 2. New York, Bowker, 1988.

²⁵¹ *The Standard Periodical Directory*, 16th ed., New York, Oxbridge, 1993; *Canadian Serials Directory*, Martha Pluscauskas, ed., Toronto, University of Toronto Press, [reprint c1977], 1971, [unedited manuscript]; Serials Division Staff, Library, The University of British Columbia, *Canadian Serials Directory / Répertoire des publications sériées canadiennes*, [Vancouver, B.C.], 1971; *International Directory of little magazines & small presses*, 24th ed., Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Second these presses, though they operated simultaneously and represented the same population base, were philosophically opposed to each other. Arising in a time of conflict, these fugitive presses articulated the genesis of Black Canadian dissent. Professor Clarke notes "African-Canadian literature has been, from its origins, the work of political exiles and native dissidents. It began in crisis, matured in crisis and exists in crisis."²⁵² Ontario's mid-19th century Black press was the work of political exiles who, for the first time, articulated the competing vision of Blackness in Canada's racialized society--assimilate or separate. Third, these Ontario papers made press history and have significance for gender research, as Mary Ann Shadd Cary was the first woman in North America to publish and edit a newspaper.

The spotlight on Ontario continued into the 20th century, especially on metropolitan Toronto where almost 50% of Canada's Blacks live.²⁵³ With this population they are able to sustain several newspapers and periodicals, and garner interest from the national press. For researchers looking for the pulse of Black Canada, Toronto-based papers like *Contrast*, or *Share* are known entities and can claim to represent a sizable and significant proportion of Canada's Black population. The consequence of this absorption has been that research into Montreal's Black print press is neglected. Despite burgeoning interest in several quarters in print history or "l'imprimé" in Quebec, a comprehensive understanding of the Black press remains to be written.

This literature review has shown that the limited information in the Black press itself about the evolution of Quebec's periodicals is definitely influenced by language and ethnicity. On the basis of Bertley's writings, English readers would have very little information on the Haitian press in the city. This holds true for the series in *Presence* [sic] which presented to Haitian readers select titles within their community and nothing from the English, nor the various African communities. Thus this

²⁵² *ibid.*

²⁵³ Boxhill, p. 15.

literature review provides evidence that the Black serials in each community are for the most part invisible to Blacks in other communities.

Contribution to the Literature

This study is the first scholarly research of Black serials in Quebec, and the first seminal study of Black-owned print serials in the 20th century within Canada. Canada's Black literature is enhanced because this study increases the knowledge and scope of research tools. Identification of these serials encourages further investigation by scholars in communications, media and journalism history, who had omitted Black serials because they were unaware of their existence. Researchers in book history also benefit because this study makes them aware of the large volume of Black serialized materials in Quebec, thereby broadening their cultural analyses. The bibliographical information in the checklist becomes an enabling tool for scholars interested in understanding the impact of print in Montreal and it fills "in lacunae that even the most subtle intellectual history cannot otherwise address."²⁵⁴

Moreover, it is expected that this research may help to promote awareness of Black periodicals in Quebec, and encourage more research and scholarship in Black Canadian history, imprimé, and book history. I believe that knowledge of these serials broadens the resources that Canadians can access in the fields of ethnic studies, culture, gender, immigration and demography, geographic studies, etc. Finally, this research may encourage other ethnic communities to identify, preserve, and promote their periodical heritage and thus continue to promote the historical, racial and ethnic diversity in Canada. Serial history, such as this study, is significant because it underscores the fact that diversity in Canada is not a recent paradigm, but rather an historical paradigm.

²⁵⁴ Danky and Hady, p. x.

4. Research Methods

Overview: Methods and Methodology

Disciplines such as biology, history, theology, are methods, in that through their respective lenses or paradigms, scholars attempt to answer "every sort of research question."²⁵⁵ The "historical method," as one example, demarcates a unique research approach to handling sources and to resolving a research question. Kai A. Simon, of the Viktora Institute, states that "a method normally contains a set of tools and techniques for these steps and also for documenting results."²⁵⁶ Methods, which "can be considered as being a medium for constructing reality" are not simply philosophical constructs, rather, he continues, "methods can provide a structure for action. In this case, the method provides guidelines, techniques and tools for supporting the problem analysis and diagnosis, as well as the change implementation process...and the tools and techniques being required..."²⁵⁷ His argument concludes that methods also provide a "discursive framework for communication," i.e., that the logic of the method is used for legitimiz[ing] the direction and steps of the change process."²⁵⁸

Methodology, it is often argued, is in its strictest sense, the study of these philosophical branches or disciplines. However, "there is...no standardization in research methodology terminology across academic and professional fields."²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ "GUPSA Statistician and Research Methodologist," Griffith University, Auckland, Australia. <http://www.gu.edu.au/centre/gupsa/rmir/content.html>. Accessed September 10, 2005.

²⁵⁶ Kai A. Simon, Consulting approaches to Process Improvement," Viktora Institute. www.waellisch.de/home/Change%20Management.pdf. Accessed September 9, 2005, p. 8.

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ James E. Mauch & Jack W. Birch, *Guide to the Successful Thesis and Dissertation, A Handbook for Students and Faculty*, 3rd ed., NY, NY, Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1993, p. 115; Bernard J. F. Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, NY, New York, Herder and Herder, [1972], p. 23.

Lacking agreement, methodology and methods have been broadened, and consequently they have taken on synonymy. For instance, a methodology can also be understood as “a coherent collection of concepts, beliefs, values and principles supported by resources to help...to perceive, generate, assess and carry out, in a non-random way, changes to [a] situation.”²⁶⁰ The similarities in usage are commonplace. Method, as a process, and as a philosophical perspective, overlaps with methodology as a process (a series of steps) are evident in the following statement,

A combination of appropriate methods, to address (a) carefully phrased research question(s), constitutes a research methodology. Research methodology covers the complete research project from literature review to writing up the final report or thesis—and then being able to defend the work against assessment challenges and/or peer-review.²⁶¹

Acknowledging the existence of these two synonymous terms, M.D. Meyers goes further arguing that some research methods, defined as strategies of inquiry, which move “from the underlying philosophical assumptions to research design and data collection,” are also techniques or methodologies.²⁶²

Black Serial Methods

The methods used in this examination of Black serials have been many, which is typical of the bricolage technique used by qualitative researchers. Social scientist Walter Neuman refers to qualitative researchers as bricoleurs who are “adept at doing many things, [at] drawing on a variety of sources and making do with

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁶¹ “GUPSA Statistician,” Accessed September 10, 2005.

²⁶² M. D. Meyers, “Qualitative Research in Information Systems,” *MIS Quarterly* (21:2) June 1997 p. 241-1. MISQ Archival Version June 1997. http://www.misq.org/discovery/MISQD_jsworld, *MISQ Discovery*, Updated Version, last modified March 02, 2005. www.qual.auckland.ac.nz. Accessed March 16, 2005.

whatever is at hand."²⁶³ A bricolage technique, he continues, "means working with one's hands and being pragmatic at using an assortment of odds and ends in an inventive manner...It requires having a deep knowledge of one's materials, a collection of esoteric skills and the capacity to combine them flexibly."²⁶⁴ This qualitative study has been an exercise in interdisciplinarity, multiple methods and methodologies and the incorporation of diverse sources.

From the outset, I have used triangulation, (in other words, the mixing of quantitative and qualitative methods) to explore the primary source data and the input of my participants:

- Interviews were undertaken using 'other-administered' questionnaires (I filled in the questionnaire during the interview) that ask both open and closed questions, taped (sometimes transcribed)
- A longitudinal quantitative study of 196 cases, wherein each serial represents a distinct case
- Bibliography, where I identify, locate and explore the serial as "the book," minutely revealing the elements of its creation, distribution, and bibliographic control and finally, perhaps primarily,
- All of these methods are framed through the lens of critical ethnographic enquiry, an inquiry that asks not only, "Why are the serials unknown?" but "why not?" meaning "What can be done or what process(es) need to be applied to render them visible?"

Using multiple methods and techniques, such as these, is common in qualitative research where "the setting's context dictates using a unique mix of measures that cannot be repeated."²⁶⁵

²⁶³ W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 4th edition, Toronto, Allyn and Bacon, 2000, p 147

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

²⁶⁵ Neuman, 2003, p. 184, 85.

The Interview Process

A questionnaire is “used extensively in library and information science to assess attitudes.”²⁶⁶ It is a specific technique of data collection whereby open-ended or quantitative (e.g. “forced-choice questions”) are incorporated. This thesis uses both forms of questions.

The qualitative aspects of interviewing often involves the personal direct assessment of participants’ knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, etc., coupled with awareness of environment, non-verbal cues and a frank acknowledgment of personal bias or influence on the results. The results or analyses results in a narrative, as an oral analysis, allows me to capture the opinions, beliefs and attitudes of those interviewed. Subject to the human input, influenced by multiple factors, these qualitative results are usually idiographic, unique or non-generalizable.²⁶⁷

The questionnaires also include the quantifying and manipulating of aggregate data. This captured data is analysed and then presented graphically.

Case Study Method

The case study has multiple meanings. It can be used to describe a unit of analysis, a case, or to describe a research method and is particularly well suited to library or information science research.²⁶⁸ Alan Aldridge and Ken Levine argue that case “studies typically involve a wide range of research techniques, including observation, participant observation, interviews, documentary analysis...They may

²⁶⁶ “Survey Methods,” www.gslis.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/survey.html. Accessed March 20, 2005.

²⁶⁷ M. D. Meyers, June 1997; W. Tellis, “Introduction to case study,” *The Qualitative Report* [On-line serial], 3(2) (1997, July). Available: <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-2/tellis1.html>. Accessed March 17, 2005.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*

also involve some survey work--case studies and surveys are not incompatible."²⁶⁹
A case is not limited to the individual though; cases can be groups, a program, an entity, organizations, movements, events, or even geographic units.²⁷⁰

In-depth scrutiny is a key aspect of the case method, and cases can be analysed either qualitatively or quantitatively. A case study is complex, according to W. Tellis, because it "may include multiple cases within a study, and...many disciplines use the case study method to build upon theory, to produce new theory, to dispute or challenge theory, to explain a situation, to provide a basis to apply solutions to situations, to explore, or to describe an object or phenomenon."²⁷¹

In qualitative research, Neuman argues, conceptualization, i.e., refining one's rudimentary working ideas, is "largely determined by the data."²⁷² Operationalizing from a "working idea" to a theory is an on-going process of the research itself. According to Neuman,

Operationalization in qualitative research is a detailed description of how a researcher collected and thought about the specific data that becomes the basis for concepts. It is an after-the-fact description more than a before-the-fact preplanned technique. Almost in a reverse of the quantitative process, data gathering occurs with or prior to full operationalization...Qualitative operationalization describes how the researcher collects data, but includes the researcher's use of preexisting techniques and concepts that were blended with those that emerged during the data collection process.²⁷³

Part of this operationalization is casing, or the creation of a case. What constitutes a case? Defining what is a case in one's research depends on the data; casing, or

²⁶⁹ Alan Aldridge and Ken Levine, *Surveying the Social World: principles and practice in survey research*, Philadelphia, PA, Open University Press, 2001, p. 9.

²⁷⁰ Neuman, 2000, p. 32; "The Case Study as a Research Method: Uses and Users of Information- LIS 391D.1 -- Spring 1997," <http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~ssoy/usesusers/1391d1b.htm>. Accessed March 17, 2005.

²⁷¹ W. Tellis, "Introduction to case study," *The Qualitative Report* [On-line serial], 3(2) (1997, July). <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-2/tellis1.html>. Accessed March 8, 2005.

²⁷² W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches, 5th edition*, Toronto, Allyn and Bacon, 2003, p. 176.

²⁷³ Neuman, 2000, p. 163.

creating a case, brings one's data and theory together.

Specifically, in this thesis each Black serial is a case. Given the range and depth of the serials uncovered, (close to two hundred serials) the quantitative method is an ideal form of analysis as it allows for the scrutiny of each serial, which involves counting, shuffling, listing, and tabulating identical variables of each distinct case. These cases are then represented as aggregate data, presented graphically and analysed with the expectation that the results are objective, meaning they can be generalized and repeated.

Bibliographic Method/Book History

Bibliography is both a process and a product. The bibliographic method is the process of describing texts, sometimes through analytical, or descriptive techniques, as described by Fredson Bowers in *Principles of Bibliographical Description*.²⁷⁴

Bibliography is about selecting, identifying, verifying and locating texts. As mentioned previously, this thesis first seeks to identify and locate these serials and subsequently to enumerate these serials in a checklist. Bowers notes that, the primary purpose of a checklist "is to make available a listing...in a certain collection or library, or else...[of] a particular type of literature...and under ordinary circumstances only the minimum of identifying details is provided...The writer may compile [t]his list partly from other catalogues and partly by personal examination of the books."²⁷⁵ To be precise, the thesis' checklist is a bibliography in the strictest sense. An enumerative bibliography can be compiled through the examination of other bibliographies and can contain items or the latest edition of a particular text or even an item that no longer exists.

The method of enumerative bibliographical identification and location was

²⁷⁴ Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, New Castle, DE, Oak Knoll Press, 1984.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 3.

utilized extensively in the compilation of the thesis' serial checklist. For each title, I have handled at least one original issue and for examination purposes, I held on to this original or a facsimile in order to glean data from it. I was not prepared to accept a title without seeing, touching or manipulating the text. For my purposes, the authenticity and validity in each instance was the confirmation that the serial had been produced and issued. The inclusion of a checklist in this thesis is an affirmation of the existence of the unknown Black serial in Montreal.

Book history is another method that undergirds this study. Darnton's "communications circuit...runs from the author to the publisher...the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader...Book history concerns each phase of this process and the process as a whole, in all its variations over space and time and in all its relations with other systems, economic, social, political and cultural, in the surrounding environment."²⁷⁶ Though situated in book history, this thesis does not attempt to study all elements of the communications circuit. Indeed, the complex environmental, technological, and socially intricate relationships that affect Black bibliography in Montreal would require significant research, well beyond the limits of one thesis. Instead, I have chosen to enter the circuit at three points: 1) the publisher (editor), 2) the author (journalist) and 3) the distribution channels. These three book aspects are examined through the social and cultural environment of Black Montreal.

Thus, the "book" and by extension the "Black serial" compiled in the bibliographic checklist have produced a new "history of the book"--the Black book in Montreal. The text of this thesis has been an elaboration of, and a context for, this bibliography. This textual contextualization is part of the bibliographic process itself. MacKenzie has argued that bibliography,

...is the only discipline which has consistently studied the composition, formal design and transmission of texts by writers, printers, and publishers; their distribution through different communities by wholesalers, retailers, and teachers; their collection and classification by librarians; their meaning for, and...their creative regeneration by, readers...no part of that series of human and institutional interactions is

²⁷⁶ Darnton, p. 10-11.

alien to bibliography...²⁷⁷

This definition of bibliography, at least in its scope, is not far from the preceding definition of book history offered by Darnton. However, MacKenzie goes even further arguing that bibliography is the study of the sociology of texts, and, "accounts for a history of the book and, indeed, of all printed forms including all textual ephemera as a record of cultural change, whether in mass civilization or minority culture."²⁷⁸ In other words, as minority cultures create texts, the purpose of bibliography is to reveal their forms, processes, and meanings. Thus, book history is foundational to the study of minority print culture. The crux of this research then is the recovery (sankofa), context and bibliographical description of these serials.

Critical Ethnography/Critical Method

Woven through all these methods is the element of the author, a critical social scientist, who stands at the intersection between text (its discovery and description) and community (its history and print context). As author, my writing plays a role in the recovery, preservation and restoration of one facet of Montreal's book culture. As a critical social scientist, my research challenges the complacency and cultural ignorance endemic within my own community. As a critical social scientist, this thesis exposes those larger socio-historical systems that perpetuate complacency and refuse to penetrate the ignorance--this is 'critical theory.'

Critical theory focusses on how injustice and subjugation shape people's experiences and understandings of the world. Neuman notes that critical theory "often questions power or inequality and views social relations more as the outcome of willful actions than as laws of human nature. It tries to help people grow, take charge of their lives, and engage in social change--that is, to transcend current social

²⁷⁷ D. F. McKenzie, "The Book as an Expressive Form," in *The Book History Reader*, David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds., London, New York, Routledge, 2002, p. 28-29.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 29.

conditions."²⁷⁹ Qualitative research, and emancipatory paradigms such as critical ethnography, rely largely on this interpretive and critical approach to social science. Neuman posits that critical "researchers [can also] use quantitative techniques but diverge from strict positivism. They apply theory in a different way, give the historical context a major role, critique social conditions, and reveal deep structures of social relations."²⁸⁰ These relations are about power, justice and how economics, race, class, and gender inequalities interact to sustain injustice. Moreover, J.L. Kincheloe and P. McLaren argue that critical research "must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society...[and] thus becomes a transformative endeavour unembarrassed by the label political and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness."²⁸¹ Critical ethnography is emancipatory in that it strives for societal or life-changing action.

Ethnography developed from cultural anthropology, a discipline that sought to understand specific aspects of cultures. The ethnographic method includes participant observation in the field, face-to-face interviews, copious notes, and textual analysis. Critical ethnography, which is derived from ethnography, according to Alexander Massey, shares ethnography's methods and perspectives, in that it

- is a study of a culture
- uses multiple methods and analyses diverse forms of data
- observes culture 'in situ' by observing phenomenon first hand longitudinally
- accepts that the researcher is an instrument of the research and that bias is crucial
- uses interactions with informants to discover and create analytical frameworks
- is committed to modifying hypotheses and theories in the light of further

²⁷⁹ Neuman, 2003, p. 139-140.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁸¹ J. L. Kincheloe and P. McLaren, *Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research. Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edition, N.K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, eds., Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Pubs., 2000, p. 291 cited in M. Q. Patton, *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Pubs., 2002, p. 130-131.

data.²⁸²

The single, most contrasting aspect between critical ethnography and traditional ethnography are the questions asked. On the one hand, conventional ethnographers generally speak for their subjects and ask "what is...?" and "how do things work?" and "what does it mean to be a group member?" Conventional ethnographers study culture for the purpose of describing it.

On the other hand, critical ethnographers give voice to the voiceless. They speak on behalf of their subjects, empowering them by giving more authority to the subjects' voice. Instead of "what is...?" critical ethnographers ask "what could be?" Instead of "how do things work?" critical ethnographers ask "why do they work that way?" Succinctly put, Jim Thomas argues, critical ethnography "attempts to use knowledge for social change...[and they] celebrate their normative and political position as a means of invoking social consciousness and societal change."²⁸³

Bringing it all together

The foundation of this research, the bibliographic method, reveals the existence of the serials. The interpretive framework, comes from a critical ethnographic perspective. This is stated with qualification because, this research is not an ethnography in that it does not engage in, nor is it enmeshed within, a culture. It does not seek to describe a specific culture. However, many aspects of critical ethnology are relevant and have parallels in this bibliographic investigation. Taking each point enumerated previously illustrates these similarities.

Like critical ethnography, this research utilizes multiple methods and analyses and manipulates diverse forms of data from questionnaires, interviews, relevant

²⁸² Alexander Massey, "'The way we do things around here': the culture of ethnography," Paper presented at the Ethnography and Education Conference, Oxford University Department of Educational Studies (OUDES), 7-8 September, 1998. <http://www.geocities.com/Tokyo/2961/waywedo.htm>. Accessed March 21, 2005.

²⁸³ Jim Thomas, *Doing Critical Ethnography*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Pubs., 1993, p. 4.

literature, and the serials themselves. Like critical ethnographers, my research has been revised and (re)created as a result of various interactions with informants. This has been welcomed and has fostered new avenues of inquiry and suggested new theories to explore. From the inception of this research, I have willingly elaborated upon my own role as researcher. I have understood that I enter into this inquiry with my own biases and perspectives and that they are crucial in determining the questions that I ask. It has always been important that my writing reflects my critical perspectives because they help me to understand, and to make others understand, the structures of societal oppression and inequality.

Unlike most critical ethnographers, who travel to a “foreign” field, I come to this enquiry as an “insider.” This is a result of my deep roots in Montreal’s English Black community. I grew up in the historical community of Little Burgundy, where my family still resides. I am well known in the English-speaking Black community, especially amongst the elderly and the ‘old-line’ families. Having written the only history of the Black community in Montreal, I have been on mainstream television and radio in this city promoting Black history. Over the past 20 years, I have actively engaged in dozens of public speaking and academic venues. Thus, my name is familiar--strangers often introduce themselves to me. This exposure and my books have been instrumental in some cases in opening doors that may have otherwise remained closed. All of these factors help to explain, in part, the ease with which I have penetrated the hitherto unknown world of Black print culture in Montreal. Though I am not a journalist or editor and do not have any intimate knowledge about serial production, I am an insider as a Black community member, a Black scholar engaged in knowledge production. I believe, like James Lett, that this native or emic view can bring “an intuitive and empathic understanding” of the community.²⁸⁴

Still, the lens that I view this community through is not entirely emic. I also have an outside or etic perspective. The serial literature about the United States, my background on book history from a national perspective, and even my familiarity

²⁸⁴ James Lett, “Emic/Etic Distinctions,” <http://faculty.ircc.cc.fl.us/faculty/jlett/Article%20on%20Emics%20and%20Etics.htm>. Accessed March 21, 2005. See definition.

with the invisible literature within the community affords me a unique perspective. I have a global perspective that exists beyond the community. I have woven together the 'big picture' and I have a perspective that is unique in the community about the community. This perspective needs to be shared; this research process allows me to do that as I engage with the community.

Finally, like critical ethnography, this research attempts to give voice to the voiceless serial, rendered invisible for the past 70 years. This is not an ethnographic study of the serial contributors themselves. There is no functioning newsroom, or a Black professional media/newspaper association where I could do fieldwork; thus, direct observation is not an option. Rather this thesis is about the cultural product--the unknown, voiceless Black serial in Montreal. Thus the contributors' interviews are to assist in gaining an ethnographic understanding of the serials.

The serials are ethnographically important even as I ask, *Why* have they been silenced in the Black community? *What can be done* to give them voice? The bibliographic aspect of this research ensures that the research subject is the serial, but this does not mean that the human element is ignored. Rather, I take the position that the first line of empowerment for the serials is the creators of these texts. Interacting with the serial contributors began in the exploratory phase of the research, as I tried to identify and locate serial titles. Interaction was maintained through to the final data collection. The questionnaire is part of that empowerment as the contributors are asked to reflect on serial distribution, readership, serial preservation, legal deposit, and on the historical continuity of serial production in the community. The contributors must be educated in the value and desirability of preserving and understanding the print medium that they speak through. This is why I am focussed on understanding their role in the silences of the serials. It awaits further research to explore more concretely the role that others in Canada have played in the perpetuating the silences of the serials.

I am not undertaking ethnography in a strict sense, as certain methods that I use are different. For instance I am not 'in situ' with a group of writers, journalists, etc. I have, though, immersed myself in each Black serials. This immersion involves

many elements of direct observation which is ethnography. This has been a sensual experience: touching, thumbing, reading, skimming, smelling, gazing at the text and illustrations, noting colour, motifs, and mastheads, logos, typeface, language, etc. Like sankofa, each new serial that I locate is like finding a lost or forgotten member of an extended family clan or tribe. Like other ethnographers, I revise my kinship affinities and install the new member. In my case I categorize, classify, mark, insert the serial in the checklist and revive all related aggregate data in the indices. My family tree (of serials) expands. All of these elements, the sensual experiences, the methodological process, and the creation of a new bibliographical list, are part of my immersion in the serials themselves. It is not face-to-face or interactive; however, the serials speak to me as I describe their symbols and give them relevance and context.

5. Research and Data Collection Process

Overview

The general population of Montreal, specifically Blacks, is not aware of the history, or of the present number of existing periodicals. Moreover, the access route to these periodicals is not evident, as Black periodicals are scattered amongst various depositories. Thus the overall goals of this study are twofold:

- 1) to locate, categorize and reveal for the first time the range and depth of Black serials published on the island of Montreal and in its immediate off-island suburbs
- 2) to examine four possible factors that may explain the invisibility of these Black serials: language differences, Black ethnic diversity, Black oral tradition, and the treatment of documents

To that end, this present study has two components, the serials and the interviews. Each component requires a different set of procedures that utilize different research instruments. This chapter elaborates on the separate procedures and/or methods that were used for each component.

The main steps involved in identifying, locating, and organizing the serials were:

- 1) gather the primary sources
- 2) manipulate the data
- 3) present the aggregate data (using graphics and text)
- 4) analyze the findings

The steps involved in the interviews were:

- 1) determine population
- 2) design instrument
- 3) perform interviews
- 4) transcribe tapes
- 5) present the aggregate data (using graphics and text)
- 6) analyze results

In the present chapter, the serials' process is described first, as these documents formed the bulk of the primary data, and were from the beginning

instrumental in forming the parameters of my entire research strategy. Subsequently the interview process, from beginning to end, follows. I discuss the questionnaire, population parameters and sampling techniques, the participants, coding and how the narrative was elaborated. For both sections, I discuss the questions and issues that arose at each step, and why certain decisions were taken. I recognize that the form of this research, including the number and type of serials, and the number and qualifications of interviewees, would probably have had been different if other decisions had been taken.

Sankofa: Gather the Primary Sources

A. Establishing Parameters

To recapitulate, one purpose of the present study was to capture all serials and periodicals produced in the Montreal region by Blacks. Thus, determining my operational definition of a “Black serial” was one of the first issues. Was a Black serial to be defined by its readership, its content, or its ownership? Initially, the content of the serial was the criterion that I used for identifying Black serials. This content focus came from two of Wolseley’s standard three-point definition of a Black periodical:

- 1) the publication must be intended for black consumers
- 2) the paper must serve, speak for and/or fight for the black minority.²⁸⁵

Together they suggest that a Black paper is defined mainly by its “Black-focussed” content. I accepted this definition. As a result, I chose to ignore certain Montreal titles because they were not “black enough.” These papers did not speak to a Black-only audience, in fact some of them were written for a broad-based audience, irrespective of race or ethnicity. Defining a serial’s “blackness” would have demanded some level of content analysis and textual criticism. This would have required a significant number of issues per serial to determine a serial’s level of Black discourse. In the initial stages of my research, I was challenged by this goal and actively sought to acquire every issue of every title that I located. This became too onerous as the

²⁸⁵ Wolseley, 1990, p. 3-4.

number of serial titles quadrupled from 20 to 80 and continued to rise.

After several months, in the midst of an on-going bibliographic search, I noted that it was not unusual to find that serial directories and checklists included out-of-province newspapers like the New York-based *Haiti Observateur* and *Haiti Progrès* [sic] in their itemization of Montreal's or Quebec 's Black papers.²⁸⁶ At one time, both papers had a Montreal office with a local agent, sometimes referred to as editor, responsible for promotion and distribution. Though they may have included occasional articles on the Haitian diaspora in Montreal, neither had split-runs with Montreal or separate Montreal editions. I then revised my criteria, deciding that a Black serial would be relevant for inclusion in the checklist if it were read by substantial numbers of Blacks in Montreal. Still, other issues came to the fore, specifically how one determines readership (level and preferences) and literacy in a multilingual, spatially dispersed, ethnically diverse community of 250,000 people. It became clear that a study of this magnitude would require sophisticated instruments to measure what Black serials Blacks were reading today (from America's *Ebony* to Barbados' *Panache*) or what they had been reading in the past.²⁸⁷ Thus it was not feasible, without more sophisticated resources, to undertake a study on what serials Montreal's Blacks read.

Throughout these determinations, it was apparent to me that though Blacks read diasporic papers from Toronto, or New York, or creole papers from Miami, etc., few in the community were aware of the periodicals and serials being published or editorially-controlled by Blacks in Montreal. My own ignorance of the range of Montreal's Black serials pushed me to investigate this area. This brought me back to Wolseley's first criterion for judging a Black serial; he stated that, "Blacks must own

²⁸⁶ *Matthews CCE Directory, January 2001, 2002 Edition[s]*, Toronto, Matthew Media Services, 2001; *Canadian Ethnic Press Guide, March 1, 1992 Edition*, Toronto, Ethnomedia Monitor Services, 1992, p. 1; George Bonavia, *Ethnic Publications in Canada: Newspapers, Periodicals, Magazines, Bulletins, Newsletters*, Ottawa, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1987.

²⁸⁷ During the 1920's and 1930's Montreal Blacks had read *Amsterdam News*, *Negro World*, *The Pittsburgh Courier* and other east-coast papers brought in by either "official agents" or by Black porters. Interview with L. Cuevas, Ottawa, February 2, 2000.

and manage the publication."²⁸⁸ Consequently, I chose to focus on Black serial ownership and control.

In keeping with my operational definition of a serial, I was forced to discard several titles. For example, the *ASUS Free Press: Black Spark Edition* and *The [Black] Georgian* were two titles that created a dilemma for me. In 1922, Detweiler had suggested that perhaps "school publications...should be included [in a black checklist because they] are meant not only for the benefit of actual students but to serve as bulletins of information and inspiration to the entire constituency."²⁸⁹ Taking direction from Detweiler, I seriously considered incorporating the student union issues of two of Montreal's main universities' presses. These two papers were issued by the student associations of McGill and Sir George Williams (Concordia University) respectively. Both editorial boards at the time were staffed by non-Blacks. Nonetheless, given the circumstances, the political ferment and issues on campus at that time, these two papers agreed to collaborate with Black students and Black student groups on campus and to dedicate one issue to air the concerns of the Black minority on campus. Their almost hands-off policy allowed Blacks to produce issues that were considered so provocative that new titles were created to distinguish them from previous issues. Almost at its release, *The Georgian* of Sir George Williams University, with three quarters of the first page coloured black, was commonly referred to as *The [Black] Georgian*; since that time the moniker has stuck.²⁹⁰ Two years later, on McGill campus, when the Editorial Board of the Arts and Science Undergraduate Society issued a black-focussed issue of their weekly *Free Press*, they deliberately sub-titled it "The Black Spark Edition."

Both student papers had an impact on the readership in the community. These papers were passed around within the community and read by non-students.

²⁸⁸ Roland Wolseley, *The Black Press, USA*, 2nd edition, Ames, Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1990, p. 3-4.

²⁸⁹ Detweiler, p. 126.

²⁹⁰ Thirty years later as I went looking for a copy, I simply had to ask the Concordia archivist for a copy of *The [Black] Georgian*. She knew exactly to what issue I was referring.

They became a part of the literature of protest that grew around the issue of race, power and class on Montreal's campuses in the early seventies. Discussions with Clarence Bayne and Dorothy Wills, both activists during the sixties and seventies, underscored the importance that these individual issues of student papers had upon the political consciousness of the civil rights/Black power era in Montreal. While their importance is not up for debate, after much reflection I decided not to include *The Free Press: Black Spark Edition* and *The [Black] Georgian*. Although they had been given over to, or were the products of, collaborations between Black campus groups and the original editorial boards, in reality it was not the intention of these Blacks to come together to issue separate and continuous issues of these papers. Perhaps the most significant departure is the fact that neither *The Georgian* nor the *Free Press* at that time, or today, are owned by Blacks.

Whether e-zines, e-mail newsletters, or printed serials, the place of publication is another determining factor for inclusion in this study. Initially, only serials published on the island of Montreal were included. However, in interviews with serial librarians at the National Library of Canada and at the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec it became clear that by excluding off-island serials this study would fail to account for serials that may have been published by a member of a Montreal-based organization who happened to live off-island. As a consequence, all serials enumerated in the checklist have been published either on the island of Montreal or in the suburban communities immediately off the island, i.e., on the South Shore, or on the island of Laval.²⁹¹ Care has also been taken to verify location, particularly for electronic serials and email bulletins. Contact was made with each publisher of the electronic formats in order to confirm that they were truly situated in the Montreal area.²⁹²

²⁹¹ See Appendix 4 for a partial list of Black serial titles from the Eastern Townships, Hull, Quebec City, etc.

²⁹² See Appendix 3 for highlighted serial titles published in electronic format.

Identifying Titles

Identifying serial titles has meant investigating a multitude of sources in several locations. I consulted reference materials housed not only in the libraries and depositories of Montreal, but also in libraries in Ontario and Nova Scotia, centres of significant Black migration. These included visits to the libraries of Ryerson, York University, the National Library, the University of Toronto, Dalhousie University libraries and the Black Cultural Centre in Halifax. Repeated OPAC searches were conducted on AMICUS, Biblionet, NovaNet, the American catalogs of the New York Public Library and the Schomburg Center.

I scrutinized reference materials, related articles and essays, journals, etc., in hopes that Montreal's periodicals would be listed. My motivation was to determine whether a researcher such as myself would be able to locate Black serials from Montreal in typical reference materials. In other words, how visible would these serials be through bibliographic identification. Approximately 50% of the titles in the checklist were found through these bibliographic sources. One hundred and two Black serial titles were cited 322 times in 63 print sources (including OPACs). This means that 93 serials in the accompanying checklist were not found through bibliographic research.

The remaining 93 titles were identified by preliminary interviews (via the telephone, face-to-face, email) with individuals who remembered reading, or contributing to certain serials. Some informants suggested titles they had not seen but had heard about through others. A master list of serial titles was kept which eventually totaled 295 titles, and most titles were investigated. Several titles were outside the geographic parameters, or were rejected after confirming that they had never been published or that their ownership was non-Black, or that they were variant titles of serials I already possessed. At least 52 titles merited follow-up, but given the time constraints I was unable to explore these further.

Locating Titles

Locating extant copies of these serials was an on-going exercise and not easily achieved. Copies of these periodicals have been found in national, provincial, and local archives, in university and private collections. With the exception of those serials that had only one issue, complete runs rarely exist together in one repository. Therefore the location of each issue became extremely important in order to establish which serials were intact. The intent is to create a list which could be used to facilitate the creation of a Black serials archives, or assist local librarians and researchers in their attempts to access these materials.

Locating extant copies proved to be more difficult than first thought, and to some extent my experience mirrored that of African-American researchers who wrote:

One major challenge to studying the press is getting our hands on the papers themselves. Newspapers and magazines arrive to readers unbound and printed on relatively cheap paper, making them much more difficult to preserve than a book. The social belief that newspapers and magazines are ephemeral-no matter the quality of their content-also keeps people from saving them. Furthermore, many libraries did not believe that the black press was worthy of preservation, and they relegated copies to the dust bin...institutions have been one of the biggest impediments to studying the black press.²⁹³

In Montreal, I discovered several archives and documentation centers that housed serial titles no longer exist or have moved from their original locations and left no forwarding address.

Some titles could not be acquired or borrowed because I was unable to contact the private owners. Other individuals assisted me by collecting Black or ethnic serials they spotted in their far-flung boroughs. Editorial staff lists that were available for most serials enabled me to collect names of serial contributors and with the snowball technique I built a network of key Black informants. All these methods

²⁹³ Vogel, p. 5.

enabled me to collect additional serials. One hundred and seventy-four titles were acquired from 33 locations, including my own personal collection and seven electronic formats. The rest were either purchased, acquired at their launch or given to me as a gift. Private individuals held a significant portion of the titles; however, most of their holdings could also be found in public repositories. The exception to this were the papers held by Leloup. Nine serials that he owns are not held anywhere else. This is a significant collection because these nine represent a large part of the Haitian underground serials of the early seventies in Montreal.

For non-circulating serials in institutions or those serials held by private owners, once I had serials in hand, copies were made immediately. Every attempt was made to acquire at least one issue of each serial (preferably vol. 1 no. 1) in order to capture the serial's mission or raison d'être. Through these efforts I discovered 110 Black serials that were housed in 26 separate locations, some in public repositories, some in private repositories.

The difference between public and private in this instance has to do with procedures for access and technical control of the materials. On the one hand, a public repository is one where copies can be viewed, accessed or in some case circulated. Items may be listed in a printed catalog or OPAC. Generally items are held in an institutional location that has set operating hours. Guidelines are in place to control use and to preserve an item's life; continuity is assured through the existence of the institution (unless collection priorities change). Fees may be assessed for viewing or borrowing privileges.

On the other hand, a private repository could be an institution or an individual. They hold copies without expectation of public access. Access is usually granted by appointment only. Usually no catalog or OPAC is available; information about the items or collections is anecdotal, and often resides in the memories of the collector or custodian. Borrowing must be negotiated, usually one-on-one. Materials held may not be preserved and are often stored in private residences. The longevity of the materials are often dependent upon the personal intervention of the individual collector or curator, their heirs, or at the largesse of the institution.

In Montreal, Black serials can be publicly accessed at the city's academic libraries and archives, at the Aegidus Fauteux pavilion of the BNQ, and at CIDIHCA. Centre Afrika, a private repository, offers limited access. Off island, some serials are held at Centre communautaire Coumbite in Laval and at Université Laval in Quebec City.

Outside of Quebec, public repositories like the National Archives and the National Library of Canada hold divers Black serials.²⁹⁴ Five Ontario universities in the urban centers of Ottawa, Toronto, Windsor, and Hamilton have copies. In the United States, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, at the New York Public Libraries holds runs of five Black serials from Montreal. The Southern California Library for Social Studies & Research in Los Angeles has several issues of the *Black Student Voice, Organ of the Black Student Union*, a serial of Montreal's city-wide Black student movement during the early 1970s.

Black resource centres such as the BSC, Alfie Roberts Institute and Archives, and the Black Community Resource Centre, all private repositories, present particular difficulties for the recovery of Black serials. First of all, none of these centers offer full public access. The BSC and The Alfie Roberts Institute and Archives operate as limited lending libraries and though both have non-monographic materials, ephemera and government documents, neither has the staff nor resources to open full-time. Certain parts of their collections are inaccessible even when open. The BSC has significant material on the printed texts of the early Black community, but falls short of holding a continuous record.

A final word on Black community resources. The Negro Community Centre (NCC), once one of two major Black institutions in Montreal, closed its doors in 1989. Its collection of papers, serials etc. were removed from the building in 1998. They have since been inaccessible to the public. From the 1960s to its closing, the NCC, a private repository, was home to or connected with at least eight serials. Some morgues were housed in the NCC. The loss of these records creates a

²⁹⁴ At the inception of the research the National Library and the National Archives were separate institutions. They have since merged under one Director.

significant gap in the city's Black print.

Although Allan Nevins argues that "every newspaper which deems its record worthy of commemoration should keep an archive," in Montreal, unfortunately, I have been unable to locate any "official" morgues of Black newspapers.²⁹⁵ Rather, it appears that some offices of the owners and editors constitute a morgue. This is based upon personal visits to their offices when trying to locate issues. Some offices are crowded with boxes piled three high with back issues, or had issues haphazardly strewn on shelves. Other offices are pristine, regularly culled of back issues. Unfortunately, they have left little or no evidence of their run either at the Legal Deposit or on their premises.

Manipulate the data

One of the key elements of an ethnographic study is the multiple ways in which the data is manipulated. In this study, the serial data was manipulated using the case study method. Each serial was treated as a case and all cases were treated identically. The first step was to create a template. This was to ensure a basis for comparison and to facilitate the creation of indices. The template comprised 19 fields:

Title, subtitle	Price	Holdings
Editor	Total # of issues	Total # of retrievable issues
Publisher	Language	Subject Focus
Location(s)	Inclusive dates	Format
Geographic focus	Advertising	Frequency
Illustrations	Circulation	Variant Title(s)
	Bibliographic Source(s)	

A 196 item serials checklist was created from this data. This checklist was bibliographically independent in that it is a union list, with "the periodical title and

²⁹⁵ Allan Nevins, "American Journalism and Its Historical Treatment," *Journalism Quarterly* 36(4) (Fall, 1959): 422.

other data of verification.”²⁰⁶ Generally fields that make up a checklist are dependent upon the primary data at hand. In 2002, when the fields in this template were determined, only 50 serials had been located, and the template was designed on the basis of them. Other fields commonly seen in other checklists, such as the serial’s motto, editorial policies, departments and features, number and type of pages, page size, number of columns, printers used and even annotations, may have been as useful, but were not included in the template design.

From these 19 fields 18 indices were created. Each index was cross-tabulated with one of four broad themes: chronology, ethnicity, language or format. For example, the index ‘frequency’ could be organized

- 1) by language groups wherein the weekly, monthly, annual, etc., issues are separated according to language: French monthlies, English weeklies, multilingual annuals, etc.
- 2) by ethnic groups wherein weekly, monthly, annual, etc., issues are separated according to ethnic ownership or to their readers: Haitian monthlies, African weeklies, English Caribbean quarterlies, etc.
- 3) by format wherein the weekly, monthly, or annual, etc., issues are separated according to format: monthly magazines, weekly newsletters, semi-annual bulletins, etc.
- 4) chronologically, wherein the weekly, monthly, or annual, etc., issues are separated according to their inaugural date: seventies’ weeklies, nineties’ newsletters, eighties’ quarterlies, etc.

It is not unusual that format and chronology would be further categorized by language such as: English monthly magazines, French weekly newsletters, or multilingual nineties’ newsletters. Most indices were organized by language and in most cases only one theme was used for illustrating each index.

This type of data organization is sometimes referred to as ‘single shot’, wherein the “main focus is a comparison of aggregate groups of cases characterized by different values on key variables rather than the profile of characteristics possessed by any particular case...to see if groups of cases have covarying values on other, dependent, variables...Part of this design’s strength lies in the way an analyst can chop up a sample into many quite different sub-groups to explore the

²⁰⁶ Paul E. Vesenyi, *An introduction to periodical bibliography*, Ann Arbor, MI, Pierian Press, 1974, p. 5.

separate dimensions of the research topic."²⁹⁷

Statistical data collected from the template and the accompanying indices were supplemented with the serial's mission statements. The mission statements often reveal several elements:

- 1) the reasons for establishing each serial,
- 2) the mandate and editorial philosophy, and
- 3) the intended readership

Several layers of reduction had to be undertaken to organize and present the data. At the first level, volume 1 or no. 1 of each serial title was scrutinized for its mission statement. Each statement, some three or four paragraphs, was captured in the first note taking. From a total of 196 serials I culled 106 mission statements. Then a second read-through produced a condensed summary, usually highlighting key sentences. This reduced each objective to a maximum of three or four salient sentences. I noted key words and phrases to determine the most significant objective and these statements were then sorted into 15 thematic groups. Finally, these 15 themes were combined into like groups and further reduced to six broad statements that reflected the serial's *raison d'être*.

A similar method was used in developing the subject headings list that was created for the Checklist. Several layers of reduction had to be undertaken to organize and present the data. At the first level, each page of volume 1 or no. 1 of each serial was examined to determine the subjects of interest in the serial. This involved a quick perusal of features, the headlines, and in some cases, the mission. This was undertaken whether the serial was in electronic or in printed format. Then keywords and phrases were recorded, which eventually produced a 118 subject headings list. During a second run, this list was reduced to 49 subject headings by combining like terms; art, creative arts, music, fine arts and photography, were merged under one subject heading "arts." The subject focus for each serial was then adjusted as needed to create a uniform listing in order to make comparisons and determine the frequencies of key subject headings.

²⁹⁷ Aldridge and Levine, p. 31.

Present Aggregate Data

Quantitative statistical data is first reorganized and then visually portrayed. Once the purview of the statistician or quantitative researcher, more recently, qualitative “researchers have moved toward presenting their data analysis in the form of diagrams and charts;” consequently, “data display is [now] a critical part of qualitative analysis.”²⁹⁸ In this thesis, no single case, or serial, was highlighted to any degree; rather, only the aggregate data from the indices was visually represented. The purpose of creating the indices was to present a global picture of Black serials in Montreal using univariate and bivariate techniques such as frequency distribution (counting), measures of central tendencies (averaging) and cross tabulation (percentage tables). Thus the various graphs, tables, and charts, display intra-group comparisons (French vs. English, Haitian vs. African, etc.) and immediately convey contrasting information.

Analyze the findings

A final step is the analysis of the visual data. An overall introduction to the serials is first presented followed by the Checklist. Then, the visual data is organized into eight thematic sections; most themes relate to the indices in which they were derived. Each section is treated separately and analyzed before the visuals are displayed. Points of emphasis, exceptions, or omissions are noted in each distinct section. Only at the conclusion of the themes is an overall summary of all the results, the visual data and the findings given. This section links the common themes evident in the indices, takes note of issues of divergence and identifies gaps that needed to be addressed in the interview section--which follows immediately thereafter.

²⁹⁸ Neuman, 2003, p. 461.

The Interviews: A Modern Survey

Almost from the beginning of this research I have been operationalizing this research, collecting data and querying established knowledge. An integral part of my quest to give voice to the serials has been the conceptualization, design and implementation of the interview questionnaire. The questionnaire is in fact a learning tool. The didactic role of questionnaires has been studied before and it has been concluded that the “very act of answering earlier questions can make respondents think about their positions vis-à-vis the topic so that they are stimulated to formulate answers to later questions about the topic that they would not have given if they had not already been made to think about it.”²⁹⁹ Questions about Legal Deposit, the preservation, distribution of and access of Black serials are expected to have an effect upon the behavior and outlook of the contributors.

Benefits accrued from the interview process were not limited to the contributors. This was not a one-way flow of information and insight. On the contrary, I have also learned from my interaction with contributors. The interview process I undertook was a complex one. It included:

- 1) initial phone contact with contributors
- 2) informational face-to-face discussions
- 3) visits to their “morgues”
- 4) collecting or copying serials
- 5) designing an interview guide and schedule
- 6) making follow-up contact and organizing a meeting
- 7) taping interviews
- 8) transcribing open questions
- 9) analyzing the questionnaires
- 10) making arrangements to return borrowed materials

Even the solitary tasks such as designing the interview guide and schedule,

²⁹⁹ William Foddy, *Constructing questions for Interview and Questionnaires*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 61, cited in Robert A. Peterson, *Constructing effective questionnaires*, Thousand Oaks, CA., Sage Pub., 2000, p. 8. See also: R. Gary Bridge, Leo G. Reeder, David Kanouse, et. al., “Interviewing Changes Attitudes-Sometimes,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 41(1): 56-64, 1977.

transcribing open questions or analyzing the questionnaires, were opportunities to learn from the contributors. For instance, during the design phase, I had to reflect upon the population with which I would be interacting: would they be comfortable with these questions? How would they perceive the order of the questions? What were some of the issues they had already raised? Thus, it is easy to see that the interview with the structured questionnaire was only a part of my engagement with the various contributors over the past three years.

Moreover, their responses, knowledge and experience, along with my assumptions, beliefs and knowledge have all played a role in the conceptualization of this research and in the formulation of the questionnaire. As a critical ethnographer, there was a significant level of construct error in the development of the questions, in that I did not strive for “objectivity” or pretend to take a neutral stance in regard to the questions. It is recognized that construct error “is built into the assumptions you must make to begin and carry out research.”³⁰⁰ Further, construct error acknowledges that one’s “assumptions contain biases that mirror everything [one has] experienced and...not experienced over the course of [one’s] life. Hence, [one’s] mental constructions consist, at least partly and perhaps largely, of *fantasy*, of figments of [one’s] imagination.”³⁰¹

It was my intent to encourage these contributors to think about the serial as a Black cultural product or valued artefact and to encourage these informants to consider alternatives to ignoring or discarding them. Thus, the survey’s implicit goal was to encourage critical reflection and thoughtful action. Such directive design denotes the critical ethnographer’s use of the “modern survey;” a survey that “revolves around identifying strategic informants, persuading them to cooperate, and painstakingly constructing questionnaires and interviews schedules containing questions that will be meaningful to them.”³⁰² In the modern survey, unlike past

³⁰⁰ W. Penn Handwerke, *Quick Ethnographies*, Walnut Creek, CA, AltaMira Press, 2001, p. 81.

³⁰¹ *ibid.*

³⁰² Aldridge and Levine, p. 26.

survey designs, information "collection as the principal aim with other objectives is set aside or made subsidiary."³⁰³

To reiterate, this section of Chapter 5 explains the six steps undertaken to complete the interviews:

- 1) determine population
- 2) design instrument
- 3) perform interviews
- 4) transcribe tapes
- 5) present the aggregate data (using graphics and text)
- 6) analyze results

The details of each of these steps are explained in the final section that follows.

Determine population

Methods and concerns

The specific steps that I undertook to select the respondents first consisted of defining the population, where "a population is any set of persons or objects that possesses at least one common characteristic."³⁰⁴ Initially I considered the population to be all Blacks living on the island of Montreal. I entertained the possibility of developing a random sample to query "the average Black person" on his/her knowledge about Black serials in Montreal.

Very quickly, though, my focus shifted to those working directly with the serials because I believed that the average Black person does not know about the issues in producing, preserving, or gaining public access to Black serials in Montreal. Nor, I felt, would they most likely have an idea as to why these serials are unknown to them or to their children. Besides, I wanted to talk with a group of people who could offer more information and insight about the area of serial production and distribution in Montreal. Furthermore, I felt that the serial contributors, who struggle daily, weekly, or monthly with issues of exposure, promotion and survival, might be

³⁰³ *ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Charles H. Busha, and Stephen P. Harter, *Research Methods in Librarianship: Techniques and Interpretation*, Orlando, FL, Academic Press Inc., 1980, p. 56-7.

able to shed light on the real factors that impede their visibility.

Would this specific population be interested in being targeted for this study? The positive reception to my initial contact with them suggested that they would indeed be interested. Upon hearing about the scope of this research, the general comment spontaneously elicited from the serial contributors was, "it's about time..." This reaction is in keeping with the findings of British sociologists, Aldridge and Levine, who concluded marginalized groups would not necessarily shirk from participating in an interview; in fact, it can be seen as an empowering act:

...it is normally clear to respondents that the reason they have been selected is that they are *members* of a particular group or stratum in society. Our survey gives them the chance to be *representatives* of their group. Taking part in...research is one way a group of people can gain a hearing for their opinions, experiences and ideas. This motive can be very powerful when a group feels a sense of grievance that its point of view has been misunderstood and its problems ignored.³⁰⁵

The knowledge and experience of these serial contributors makes them cultural experts. The most efficient form of selection of cultural experts is purposive sampling because, ordinarily, "random selection of informants constitutes a superfluous and wasteful activity for ethnographers. In ethnography, select informants for their cultural expertise. For many if not most purposes, everyone you meet will constitute a cultural expert."³⁰⁶ Thus, using purposive sampling was my second step.

Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling that focuses "on locating cases with attributes of particular interest to the researcher."³⁰⁷ It is a very personal and subjective method of selection and is appropriate in the following situations 1) when you need to select "unique cases that are especially informative,

³⁰⁵ Aldridge and Levine, p. 18.

³⁰⁶ Handwerker, p. 19.

³⁰⁷ Aldridge and Levine, p. 80.

and, 2) to select members of a difficult-to-reach, specialized population."³⁰⁸

Reaching the population

All participants were familiar with Black periodicals publishing in Montreal. Participants were chosen from a purposive sample. The criteria for inclusion was that subjects: 1) are of African descent, and, 2) had either worked at or volunteered in the production of Montreal's Black periodicals, in other words, the editors, owners and contributors and journalists of the Black serials.

Even before setting up the participants for the actual interviews, for the most part initial recruitment had already taken place. These serial contributors had been contacted between 2002 and 2005 in order to collect issues of the serials they had either produced or collected. During this first meeting, a verbal description of the project was given and I was able, in most cases, to secure verbal agreement to have a follow-up interview and to fill out a questionnaire with them.

The second stage of recruitment required a follow-up by phone, at which time another face-to-face interview was scheduled at the convenience of the participant at a mutually agreed upon location--in most cases this was either in the offices of the publisher or editor or the Black bookstore.

Design instruments

Several instruments were designed in order to conduct the interviews, i.e., a sampling frame, and a questionnaire comprising an interview schedule and an interview guide. The first instrument that I prepared was the sampling frame, a complete listing of the potential participants.

³⁰⁸ Neuman, 2000, p. 198.

Sampling frame

A sampling frame was created for my interviews. It contained the names of all past and present Black contributors of Montreal's Black periodicals. It was made from the staff or editorial names listed in every issue of every serial that I had on hand. Additional names were added only when the serials either did not give its staff list or did not list all its contributors. In that case each issue was perused, noting names in the signed articles.

The sampling frame included only living contributors. Some contributors of the earliest serials like *The Free Lance*, and *Afro Can Communications* were deceased; several of these individuals I had known about or knew personally. Another group that was excluded were nonresident Blacks, (those who had subsequently left the city) as I could not be expected to track them down in order to do the survey. Likewise, those listed as foreign or out-of-province correspondents at the time they wrote for the serial were also omitted. Moreover, poets, children essayists and fictional short story writers (usually freelancers) were not included because they did not regularly contribute to the serial.

The last group of contributors who were eliminated were non-Blacks. Most serials used only Black contributors. However some, particularly those who have a multicultural mission, have tended to employ non-Black journalists as well. The decision to exclude these contributors was taken only after verifying that they were non-Black. Sometimes this was made easy because pictures were included in the issues; at other times, the article(s) included biographical information (or a family name) which indicated the author's racial or ethnic heritage. I recognize that this was not fool proof because unlike many Greek, Polish or Ukrainian authors who may well be identifiable by their last names, Blacks of North and South America were given or took names from the European tradition that enslaved them. Thus, it is difficult to assume that family names like Hall, McIntosh or Williams indicate a person of African descent. Despite these obstacles, the list was compiled and edited several times between December 2004 and March 2005.

Not every serial listed contributors or had signed articles; still the final tally of the sampling frame was 1,679 individuals who had worked on 166 distinct serials. The sampling frame, a useful tool created to facilitate the survey, yielded other interesting information. Some contributors had worked on more than one serial. As Table 3 illustrates, 179 contributors or about 11% were associated with two or more serials.

Table 3. Multiple Contributors to Serials

Contributors		Serials
179	worked or volunteered on	2
49	worked or volunteered on	3
14	worked or volunteered on	4
6	worked or volunteered on	5
3	worked or volunteered on	6
1	worked or volunteered on	13

When indicated in the serial, the sampling frame included the position of each contributor, either as a publisher, an editor or contributor (journalist). I did not make a distinction between freelancers and staff journalists. Eleven held the dual positions of editor and publisher.

I utilized the information generated by the sampling frame to develop a final contact list of 104 names. Then this list was prioritized using the following criteria.

- 1) those individuals with whom I had made initial contact between 2001 and 2004. This included only those serial contributors who had contributed serials to my collection and had agreed previously to a follow up interview. (69)
- 2) individuals who had worked or volunteered on serials in Montreal as an editor and a publisher. (11)
- 3) contributors who had worked or volunteered on at least three or more serials. (24)

A further reduction took place after eliminating those deceased, several

duplicate names and nonresidents, (some had initially been contacted long-distance by email, or by phone). The maximum potential contacts were whittled down to 76. Using the same three-point criteria above, these 76 names were divided into three lists of 45, 11, and 20 names. I opted not to create a random sample as these 76 names represented several dozen serials; some defunct as far back as three decades. Sampling in this manner would have compelled me to commit a significant amount of time trying to locate interviewees in communities with which I was unfamiliar. Though conscious of my time constraints, I endeavoured, at the very least, to attain both a gender and linguistic balance of 50-50 with the bank of names I had. Still difficulty arose as I could not always tell a person's gender or their language simply from their names. Further, respondents in the interviews declared their language to be different than what I had accounted for.

My first step was to follow through on my previous commitments. I contacted those who had initially agreed to a follow-up interview. They included eight names. Then, editors and publishers were contacted; five were located and three interviewed. An effort was made to then search for individuals who had contributed to three or more serials; only two agreed to interviews. Eventually, I interviewed these 13 key players between May and June 2005.

Questionnaire

A two-part questionnaire consisting of 24 closed questions, 12 open ended and 15 partially-open questions, was used in the interviews. It was designed to gauge to what extent the Black serials were invisible to the Black contributors in the Montreal region.

Closed-ended questions ask a question and give alternative responses, while open-ended questions allow for unstructured explorations. Social scientists often debate the efficacy of using either type but, as Neuman points out, a "researcher's choice to use an open-or closed-ended question depends on the

purpose and the practical limitations of a research project."³⁰⁹ Despite the warnings that closed-ended questions can become "a crutch that hobbles the researcher in pursuing data," and that open-ended questions may produce irrelevant or unfocused results, I believe that both types of questions can be useful in this research.³¹⁰

First, though closed questions can stifle creativity by forcing respondents to give simplistic answers, they also contain a high level of suggestableness in that they may "change the direction or intensity of extant attitudes."³¹¹ This result, if achieved, is positive and desirable in that certain questions may lead to increased efforts on the part of contributors to preserve their serials. Open-ended questions, which are difficult to code and to make comparisons with, more than make up for these obstacles. First they permit a more informal exchange, an essential element for a successful interview. Second, open-ended questions allow for more detailed answers which may be critical for understanding what has happened to these serials and why. Aldridge and Levine argue, the "material they elicit can open up important insights into respondent motivation and perceptions."³¹² Thirdly, because several questions are based on their memories of events past or what they may have heard in the past, it is desirable to have them respond to this type of question without the respondents feeling that they must answer in a structured way.

Presenting greater options to the respondents is also the reason for including partially open questions. They are the most versatile questions because they include both closed and open elements. Fixed responses, (good/bad, yes/no, etc.) are accompanied by an open answer alternative such as, 'Other, or 'Explain'. The inclusion of partially open questions is a recognition that I, the interviewer, may not have conceived of all the possible responses, and that the interviewee may offer another, usually a unique, choice.

³⁰⁹ Neuman, 2003, p. 278.

³¹⁰ Thomas, p. 40; Neuman, 2003, p. 278.

³¹¹ Bridge, p. 56.

³¹² Aldridge and Levine, p. 29.

Using these diverse question-type formats, a semi-structured questionnaire was designed in two-parts. First, part of the interview was structured while other part of the interview was relatively unstructured with a series of open and partially-open questions. As Aldridge and Levine point out, a “semi-structured interview is one which aims to have the best of both worlds.”³¹³

Fifty-one questions, therefore, were divided into an untaped interview schedule (Appendix 14) and into a taped interview guide (Appendix 15).³¹⁴ The interview schedule contained 10 attribute questions in order to compare responses according to origin, age, language, education etc. These were deliberately kept to a minimum, as I did not want to embarrass or “turn off” these key informants by asking for extremely personal information, so the schedule did not ask any household or income questions.

Other questions included in the interview schedule are:

- Questions 11-13 are about their non-Canadian work experience.
- Questions 14-21 are about their general Montreal experience.
- Questions 22-32 deal with the last/current job held at a periodical, including its distribution and the ethnicity of its readers.
- Questions 33-35 question whether or not they would consider bilingual publishing (this is to determine whether or not they would foresee a city-wide Black serial).
- Question 36 is to determine their knowledge about access.

Questions included in the interview guide are:

- Questions 1-2 are about their current knowledge of the state of Black periodical publishing in the city.
- Questions 3-5 introduce the issue of Legal Deposit.
- Questions 6-9 relate to the preservation and conservation of Black serials.
- Questions 10-12 relate to community, communication, and memory.
- Questions 13-15 relate to the issue of (in)visibility.

³¹³ *ibid.*, p. 177.

³¹⁴ Note the French Interview Schedule (Appendix 16) and the Guide (Appendix 16).

Perform Interviews

Between April and June 2005, I interviewed 13 Black serial contributors, both retired and active workers, who were or are working or volunteering for a Black periodical in Montreal. These one-to-two hour interviews were pre-scheduled, held face-to-face and were other-administered. In other words, I filled in Part One of the questionnaire, not the interviewees. In Part Two, questions were tape recorded, except when the interviewees asked to speak off record, which occurred three times.

Giving voice

The interviewees who spoke off record were the exception, because in most cases, informants were anxious to record their opinions, even though they were made aware that total confidentiality and complete anonymity were not assured. This level of cooperation was expected; as they have contributed to the evolution of Black periodicals in the city and were now eager to be recognized for their work.

Moreover, I did not want nameless responses. On the contrary, this study explores one aspect of invisibility within the Black experience in Canada, specifically the invisibility or silence of the cultural production of Blacks living in Montreal. These printed products, the Black newspapers, journals and other serials are unknown, and consequently ignored in academic studies on literacy, culture, book history and print culture. Unknown, they are not talked about, examined, vilified or praised. This silence reinforces the marginality of the Black population in the city. This dissertation seeks to give voice to the serial, and by extension, to the silent Black serial producer. Therefore, recognizing who they are was as important as recording what they said.

Transcribe tapes

Summaries were made of each interview. All personal information (age,

education, etc.) from attribute questions and the other structured data collected were treated in an aggregate fashion.

The serials (along with their editors and publishers) were fully identified. Individual comments, when cited, were fully attributed. No aliases were used.

Present the aggregate data using graphics and text

The aggregate data from the serial cases, which generated 16 charts and 41 tables, is in Chapter 6. In addition, the aggregate material collected in the structured part of the interviews is presented in Chapter 7. First frequency counts were done for all questions, including the demographic data, and then, the relevant data was represented in nine tables. This material is presented to show the overall picture of the serials and those who created them. Significant comments gleaned from the taped parts of interviews are presented on a question-by-question basis.

Analyze results

The 39 structured questions were analyzed using identical techniques of the cases: frequency distribution (counting), measures of central tendencies (averaging) and cross tabulation (percentage tables) in order to convey contrasting information. This visual data was organized into thematic sections, treated separately and analyzed before the visuals are displayed. Points of emphasis, exceptions, or omissions are noted in each distinct section. Only at the conclusion is an overall summary of all the results, the visual data and the findings given. This section links the common themes, takes note of issues of divergence and identifies gaps.

The closed-ended questions 14 and 15 are the key to the interview process because they are the root of the thesis itself: to gauge to what extent the four variables-language, ethnicity, treatment of document, and orality-were believed to have played a role in rendering the Black serials invisible to the Black contributors in

Montreal. It is at this juncture that the Black contributors, i.e., the interview participants, express their beliefs and opinions. Qualitative research is about bringing forth the voice of those in one's study. Neuman opines that

A qualitative researcher interprets data by giving them meaning, translating them, or making them understandable. However, the meaning he or she gives begins with the point of view of the people being studied. He or she interprets data by finding out how the people being studied see the world, how they define the situation, or what it means for them.³¹⁵

The profile of the population from which respondents were derived is unique in the Black community. These individuals are all people of African descent who have either worked on or volunteered for serials produced in Montreal. These 1,679 individuals represent 1.2% of the census population of 139,000 Blacks. The final 13 respondents were gleaned from the population of 76 cultural experts. This process of reduction is germane to the sampling process. As Neuman points out, "A survey researcher often uses a sample or a smaller group of selected people...but generalizes results to a larger group from which the smaller group was chosen."³¹⁶ Therefore this analysis can only be generalized to the profiled population of 1,679 individuals, not to all Montreal Blacks.

Summary

The overall goals of this study were to:

- 1) locate, categorize and reveal for the first time the range and depth of Black serials published in greater Montreal
- 2) examine four factors that may explain the invisibility of Black serials

Using the case study method, this research examined and categorized 196 Montreal Black serials. A template consisting of 18 access points was created to glean identical information from each serial. Aggregate data from the template

³¹⁵ Neuman, 2000, p. 148.

³¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 34.

generated 18 indices. The statistical data from the indices is presented in different visual formats including various charts and tables. One hundred and six mission statements were also culled from the serials, and presented separately in Chapter 6.

Further details were acquired from Black anglophone and francophone serial contributors using semi-structured interviews over a two-month period. The information from the questionnaires was organized in two ways. Aggregate information from the closed-ended questions was tallied, in Chapter 6, into frequency tables and presented visually using charts and tables. Salient responses to the open-ended questions were presented verbatim in Chapter 7, which detailed the questionnaire findings. Thereafter, the Discussions and Implications as well as the Reflective Understandings follow.

6. Serials: Aggregate Findings

Serials, by nature, are individual, erratic, and often unpredictable...They are maddening and frustrating, and burdensome at best...For every [one] that ceases, five spring up like dragon's teeth. Nothing stays the same in any phase of serials...

Clara D. Brown & Lynn S. Smith, *Serials: Past, Present and Future*, p. 22

Serials: Introduction

The Black periodicals in this city, once imagined to number about 20, actually total 196 titles. The Black serials of Montreal, once thought to be mainly from English-speaking Blacks, (with a sprinkling of French titles), are now seen as heterogeneous, emanating from several different linguistic and ethnic affiliations and, in more recent years, dominated by French-language papers.

These papers, which come in various formats, are not uniform in their presentation, which made their categorization difficult at times. This was especially the case regarding formats. Some like *ACCAF Newsletter* and *The Alfie Roberts Institute Newsletter* are bulletins, organs of specific community organizations; however, they call themselves newsletters, suggesting that they give general news information. Others, in particular newspapers, have a magazine format; yet this does not appear to be unusual, as the lines are blurred even in African-American research where it was noted that "many of the black magazines had the formats of newspapers and many of the newspapers had formats similar to magazines."³¹⁷

The Black newspaper, once presumed to be the preeminent print format as it is in Black America, and even preeminent in the other ethnic presses in Canada, ranks in Montreal well below the number of magazines/journals and even

³¹⁷ Kimbrough, p. 22.

newsletters/bulletins.³¹⁸ Monthly Black serials are favoured in this city, unlike the popular dailies of Canada's other ethnic communities, or even the vaunted dailies of the American Black press. Black serials have evolved in the midst of Montreal's other vibrant ethnic presses and, as their missions attest, for the most part, they reflect the same desire for conformity and acceptance that is characteristic of the presses of these other ethnic groups.³¹⁹

From 1934, Montreal's Black serials have operated within the bowels of the Black community, deep within, unknown to those on the outside, and surprisingly unknown to most within. The ephemeral nature of periodicals and the lack of awareness about Blacks has contributed to their historylessness and consequently their silence. Unnoticed and therefore devalued, these serials are not preserved-leading to their disappearance. Today, about 70% are held in public repositories. The following Chronological Checklist and its visual data, charts and tables, are the first step toward sankofa, or the recovery (identification and location) of these papers.

³¹⁸ Most research on ethnic print-based serials in Canada is focussed on the newspaper. See Machalski, p. 23; Herbert Karl Kalbfleisch, *The History of the Pioneer Language Press of Ontario, 1835-1968*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968; Stephen J. Jaworsky, "Newspapers and Periodicals of Slavic Groups in Canada during the period of 1965-1969," M.A., University of Ottawa, 1971; National Library of Canada/Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, "The Ethnic Press in Canada: Almost 200 years of ethnic journalism," TMs, Ottawa, 1980; George Pigadas, "Language Change or Language Stability and the Ethnic Press in Canada During the Twentieth Century," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 23(3) (1991): 48-59; J. M. Kirschbaum, "The Slovak Press in Canada," *Slovakia*, 18(41) (1968): 78-108.

³¹⁹ For research done on specific groups in this country that have come to this conclusion see: Canada. Senate. Special Committee on Mass Media & Keith Davey, *Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, The Uncertain Mirror Good, bad, or simply inevitable. Words, music, and dollars*, vol. 1. Ottawa, 1970, p. 10-11; Jaworsky, p. v-vii; Kirschbaum, p. 102.

Chronological Checklist

This section represents the Checklist (Appendix 1) in chronological order. The first of two longitudinal representations is the chronology which shows at a glance the precise inaugural date of each publication. Some dates also give a clue as to the language of the serial. The dates of those serials publishing in French are written in the French style with the day first and the month in small letters. Multilingual publications, most French with articles in another tongue, are also written in this manner. *The Free Lance* starts the listing in 1934. The Black community, until the late sixties, was essentially English speaking. The first French publication in the Black community does not occur until 1971 with *Nouvelle Optique*.

This listing is broken down further in a subsequent chart titled 'Serials: Decade by Decade,' which shows the decade-by-decade serial inauguration for each language group. Chart 1 illustrates the fact that English serials dominated only during the sixties, whereas the bulk of French language publications began to proliferate in the seventies. For the first three decades following the launch of *Nouvelle Optique*, French serials have predominated.

However, as shown in Chart 2, the latest trend since 2000 appears to show that English serials are experiencing a resurgence. Both communities are publishing at the same rate. Chart 2, 'French and English Serials: Over Four Decades Factoring in Multilingual Publications' eliminates a multilingual category. Instead these serials are delineated as being either French or English. Some English serials have occasional articles in French. Most multilingual serials, however, are basically French with the occasional article in English or Creole. These are easily identified by their French title or sub-title such as, *Afrique Tribune*, *Chemins critiques*, or *Sphinx: tout sur la culture noire*.

Chronological Listing

The Free Lance	September 1934	Haïti Presse	février 1978
The Process	196u	Alternatives Caraïbes	1979
Newsletter TNT	1965	Le Lambi	mars/avril 1979
Expression	February 1965	Haiti Nation	avril 1979
Drum	April-August 1966	Collectif Paroles	1 septembre 1979
Caribbean Conference Bulletin	1967	Flash	April/May 198u
Carib Horizons	3 June 1967	Sport-Inter	janvier 1980
BLAC	13 October 1968	St. Kitts Nevis Anguilla	May 1980
Caribbean Inter Opinion Bulletin	October 1968	RAQ Nouvelles/AAQ News	oct 1980
UHURU	4 June 1969	Terre et Liberté	mars 1981
Umoja Black Dialogue	30 October 1969	Afro-Can Communications	May 1981
Afro-Dawson	1971	Guya-bec	déc 1981
Black Action Party Bulletin	Feb 1971	L'Oeil ouvert	1982
Nouvelle Optique	janvier 1971	Contrat Social	1982
Black Action Party	Feb 1971	Focus	June 1982
la résistance haïtienne	avril 1971	Etincelles	août 1982
Makandal	juillet 1971	La lettre Africaine	novembre 1982
L'Afrique vers l'unité	1972	Le Collectif	mai 1983
Zinglin	janvier 1972	Forum-Afrique	janvier 1983
Kako	février 1972	NEWSLETTER CDBC	1984
The Black i	March 1972	Le Port-de-Paisienne	janvier 1984
African Voice	28 March 1972	WIBCA Insight	March 1984
The Black Voice	25 May 1972	Bilten Koukouy	1985
BAM News	July-Sept 1972	Répertoire des initiatives	1985
En Avant!	oct 1972	Revue Montréal International	1985
Goman-Acaau	1973	Demain les jeunes	octobre 1985
Koukourouj	1973	The Afro-Canadian	November 1985
Black & 3 rd World Student Affairs	1973	Share Montreal	1986
The Black Student Voice	March 1973	Haiti Nouvelle	août 1986
Bois-Caïman	mars 1973	Kola	1987
Kombe	juin 1973	Vents nouveaux	1987
Voix de L'entente	février 1974	Canada Weekend Post	1987
Harabi Kijiji: Village News	March 1974	Black Theatre Workshop News	Aug 1987
Bulletin du CACREH	16 mars 1974	Echos (Palabre)	février 1987
Black Studies Center Newsltr	June 1974	Bulletin d'information	mars 1987
CDDTH	août 1974	Présence l'hebdo	19-26 mars 1987
Third World Forum	Aug/Sept 1974	Le Lien	mars/avril 1987
Focus Umoja	1 November 1974	Haïti Perspectives	juin 1987
dérives	sept/oct 1975	Nouvelles Alkebu Lan	juillet 1987
Bulletin Maison d'Haïti	1976	Héritage	août 1987
The Montreal Oracle	4 November 1976	Le Péristyle	octobre 1987
Montreal Black Directory	1978	Quisqueya	octobre 1987
Solidarité avec le Zimbabwe	jan 1978	Upfront	November 1987
		Transatlantique	1989

Z.L.A.	1989	Tambour	mars 1996
Black Pages	1989	Diplomat Communications	avril 1996
Vincy Quebecer	1989	Africa Great Lakes	April 1996
Vision of Colour	January 1989	Zerf News	spring 1996
Phare	1989	Montreal University Contact	sum 1996
Vizimage	jan 1989	l'écho du ROCAHD	juil 1996
Chemins critiques	mars 1989	Ankriye/Encrier	1997
Afiya	1 octobre 1989	Sauti Yetu Notre Voix	1997
The 25th	Feb 1990	Renaissance	mars 1997
L'Objectif	30 mai 1990	Solidarité	avril 1997
Echos D'Afrique	juin 1990	Journal Scopie	juin 1997
Caribbean Camera	6 June 1990	Presence la vraie presse	juin 1997
Congress News	Fall 1990	Guyane-Québec	autom/hiver 1997
Cannelle	avril 1991	La Machette	nov 1997
Images	14 nov 1991	Carib Times	1998
New Focus	Dec 1991	Muhammad Speaks	Feb/March 1998
A-K-A-X Newsletter	1992	Sorhica	juil/août 1998
Ilan ilan	1992	Afrique Expansion Mag	autom 1998
Haiti Québec	1992	Dynamikk	nov 1998
Muse en île	Jan 1992	BCRC Bulletin	winter 1998
Négritude	jan/fév 1992	The Real Scene	1999
Info-Zaire	fév 1992	Jonction	janvier 1999
Community Contact	June/July 1992	Référence Magazine Int.	août 1999
Littérature et vie	août 1992	Cacique	automne 2000
Ruptures	oct-nov 1992	Community Contact Mtl Journal	2000
Strategies	hiver 1992	Diaspora	janvier 2000
Reggins United Foundation	1993	Lisanga	janvier 2000
Directory of Black Business	1993	Haïti rêve l'aut'. Bel air rêve	mai 2000
Akwarel	1993	Journal PAMH	14 octobre 2000
Magazine Haïti Nouvelle ère	1993	L'autre diaspora	nov/déc 2000
Bulletin de nouvelles	printemps 1993	Amitiés Canada-Rwanda	2001
Community Bulletin News	May 1993	Sphinx	fév/mars 2001
L&V	12-19 oct 1993	La Préférence Congolaise	2002
L'Ouverture	déc 1993	Nouvelles d'Alimage	2002
Soleil des îles	déc 1994	Influence	June 2002
Répertoire des femmes	1994	Community Forum	22 June 2002
Prestige Magazine Inter	jan/fév 1994	Nouvelleakay	2003
Bulletin Mensuel	mars 1994	Vents Croisés	printemps 2003
Nouvelles DaCosta	octobre 1994	Mille Visages	oct 2003
Voice	Oct 15 1994	Chronique de Maguy	décembre 2003
Afrique Tribune	27 octobre 1994	Mozaik	Dec 2003
Afro Vision	1995	Lift	Dec 2003
Afro-Plus	1995	ACCAF Newsletter	2004
Speciaux-Plus	1995	Black Community Resource Guide	2004
Kisquedii	juin 1995	African Times	January 2004
L'ÉQOH du Futur	nov 1995	B.C.R.C. Newsletter	February 2004
NB ² PW	1996	Black Comm. Res. E-Bulletin	March 2004
		African Voice	March 2004

Avril	avril 2004
African Affairs	August 2004
Afropages	2005
Alfie Roberts Institute Newsltr	Feb 2005
Montréal Camera	March 2005
Native	March 2005

Chart 1. Serials: Inaugural Dates, Decade-by-Decade
n=189.

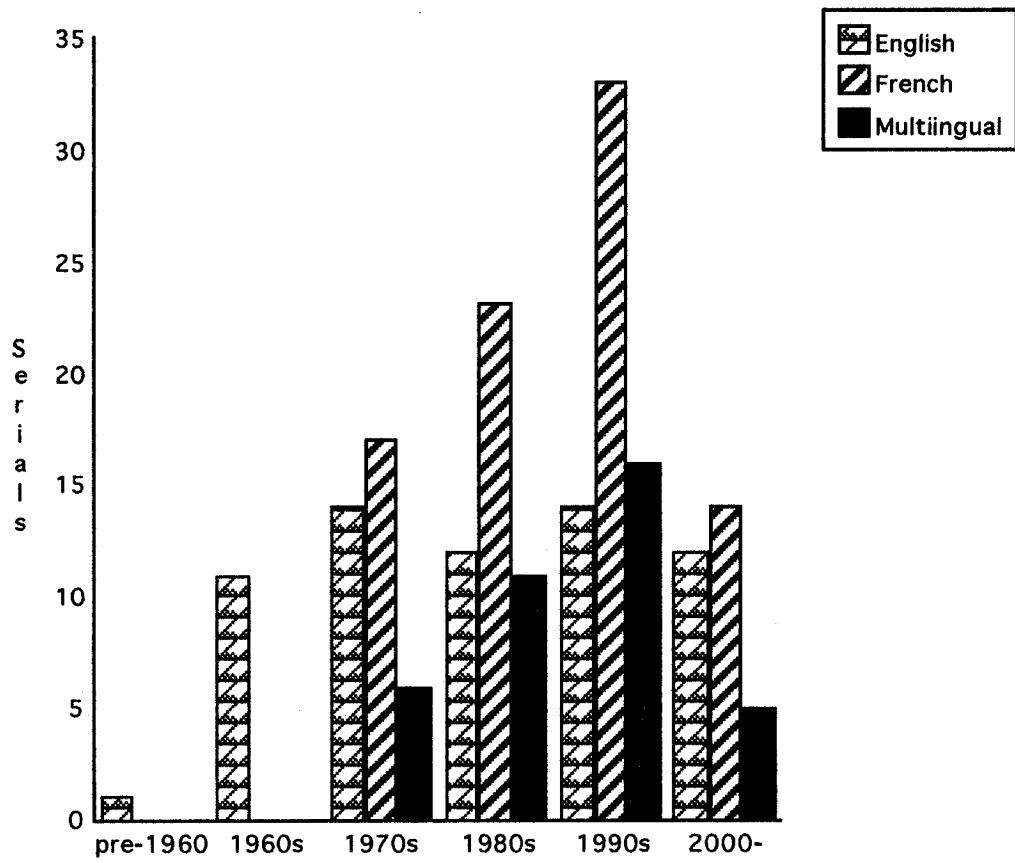
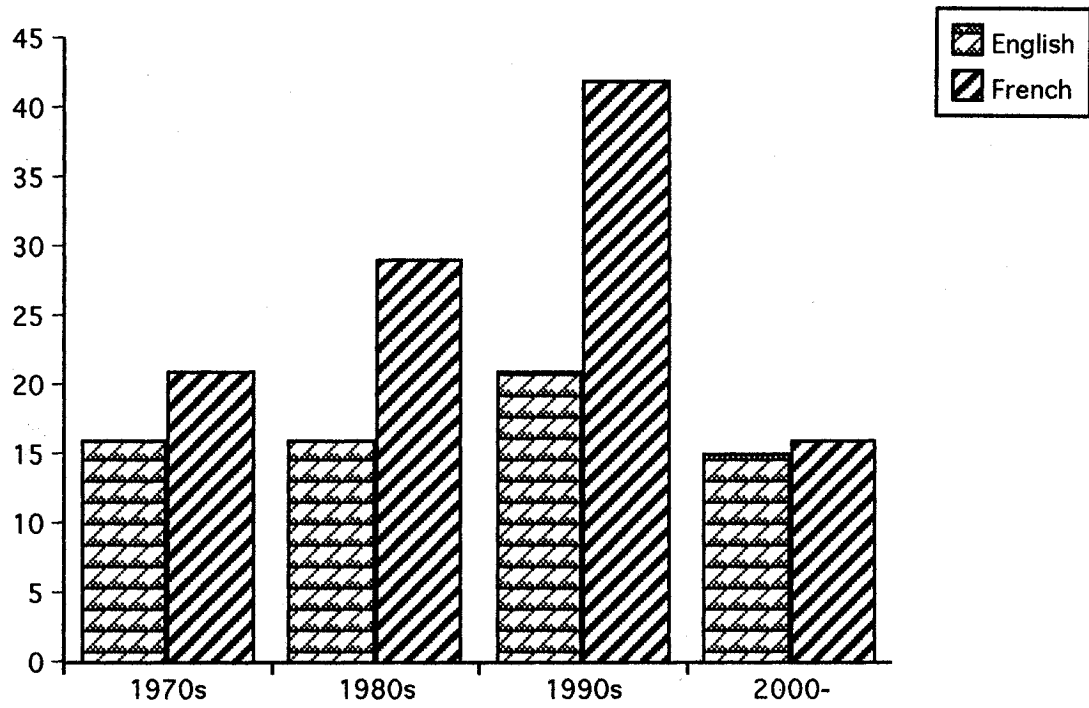


Chart 2. French and English Serials: Over Four Decades
Factoring in Multilingual Publications
n=188

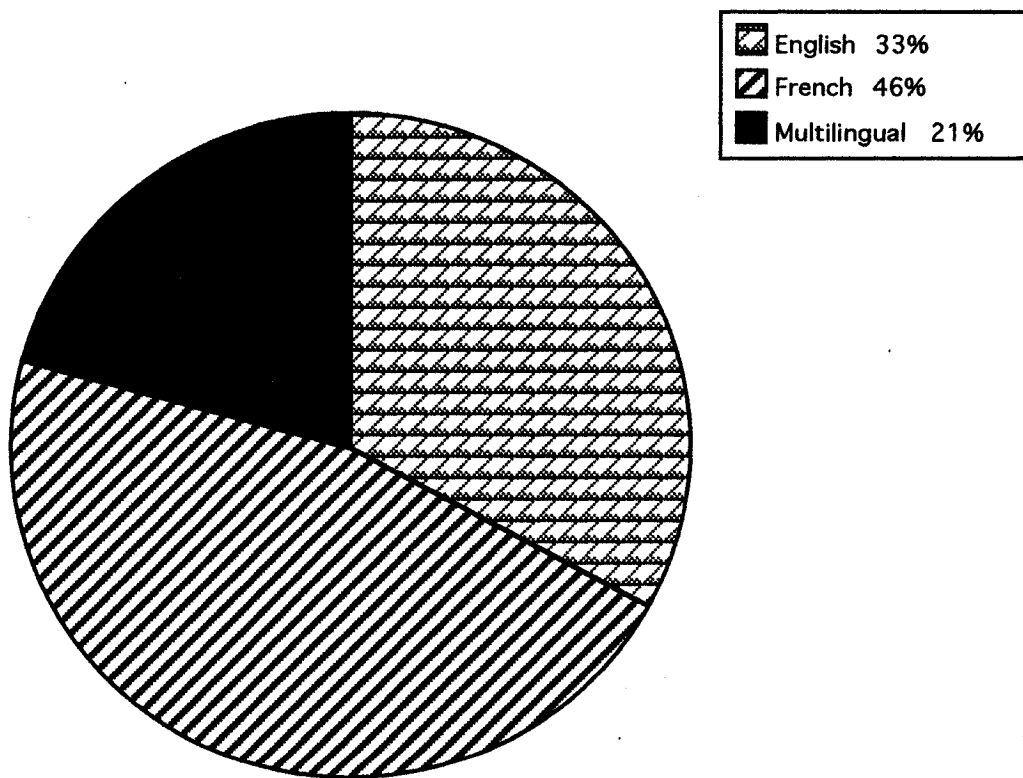


The inaugural dates for seven serials could not be determined and one serial, in Creole only, could not be factored into either language group

Language

Chart 3 illustrates that most serials in Montreal publish in either one of Canada's two official languages, English (65) or French (90). Chart 3 shows that, approximately one in five (41) serials are either multilingual, or written in a foreign language.

Chart 3. Total Serials By Language
n=196



The slice representing the multilingual Black serials is broken down further in Table 4. With the exception of the two Creole serials, 39 multilingual serials use French as their primary “official” language. Thus, French is the primary language of the Black serials in Montreal, accounting for 129 of 196 serials, or 65% of the serials published since 1934.

No judgment was made on the level of bilingualism or the extent to which multiple languages were incorporated. Some periodicals make an effort to translate every article including the editorials. This commitment is usually stated in the mission statement and consistently reflected in each issue. Others only include the occasional article in another language and may not have a corresponding text within the same issue. There was no opportunity to read every issue of each serial, so the inclusion of multiple languages may have increased or waned over time during the life of the multilingual serials.

Table 4. Multiple Languages Found in the Black serials of Montreal
n=41

Languages	No. of Serials
Trilingual (French, Creole, English)	1
Quadrilingual (French, Spanish, English, Portuguese)	1
French/Lingala (Spoken in Zaire & the Congo)	1
Creole	2
French/Creole	13
French/English	23

Formats

Charts 4 and 5 tell the same story from two angles. In Chart 4 the formats are separated according to each language group. This breakdown shows that magazines and journals are the most popular format produced within the French community. The English presses appear to favour the bulletin and newsletter.

Chart 4. Language Preference for Specific Serial Formats
n=196

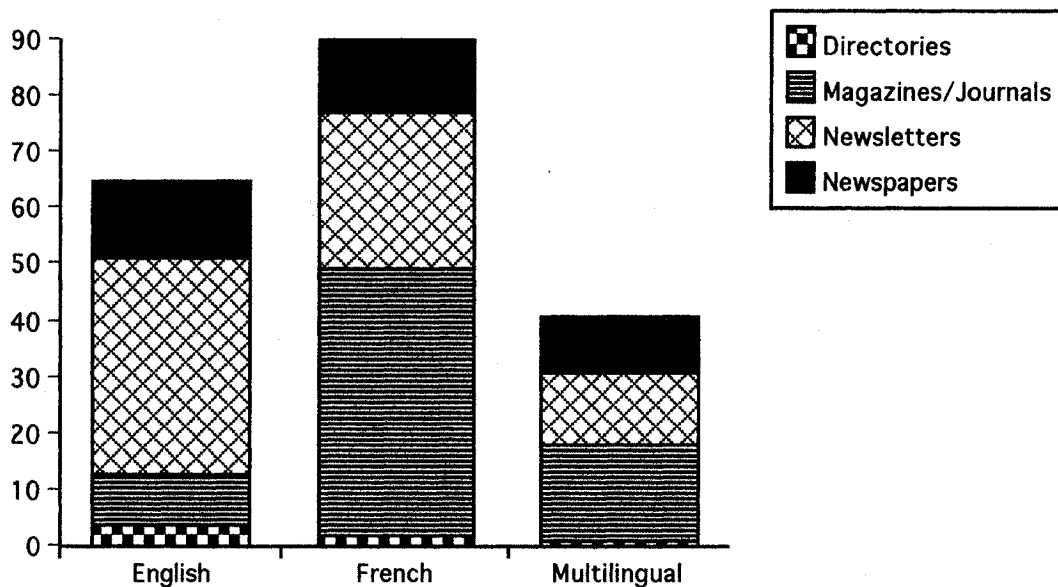


Chart 5 groups the formats together and then separates them by language. Through this chart it is evident that English publishers favour the newsletter and bulletins, the directory and to a lesser extent, the newspaper format. Even combined, these formats are dwarfed by the French community's preference for magazines and journals. Overall, though, as Chart 5 demonstrates, newsletters

and bulletins are the most popular serial format.

Chart 5. Breakdown of Serial Formats by Language
n=196

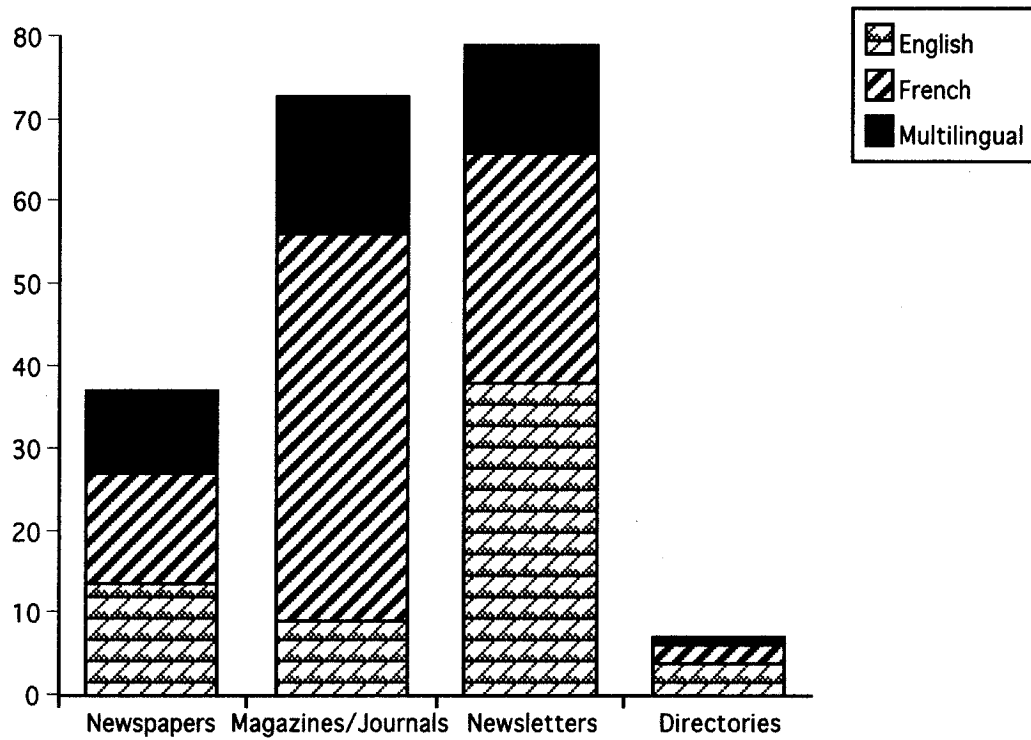


Table 5. Formats of the Black Serials of Montreal

	English	French	Multilingual	Totals
Directories	4	2	1	7
Magazines/Journals	9	47	17	73
Newsletters/Bulletins	38	28	13	79
Newspapers	14	13	10	37
Totals	65	90	41	196

Frequency

The Black community has never had a daily periodical, and regardless of language, monthlies are the most popular (Table 6). The arrangement of Table 6 is from the most frequent to the least frequent pattern of issuance. Few serials, particularly the underground papers, gave any indication of their frequency. This lack of serial control, i.e., noting date, number, volume information, etc., is not restricted to Black serials, as many editors are ignorant about the importance of these details.

Table 6. Frequency Pattern of Black serials (By Language)
n=196

Frequency	English	Multi-lingual	French	Total by Frequency
weekly	3	0	6	9
monthly	15	10	19	44
semi-monthly	4	0	0	4
bi-monthly	6	7	6	19
quarterly	8	6	15	29
bi-annual	1	0	2	3
annually	4	1	1	6
bi-ennially	1	0	0	1
irregular	3	3	7	13
unknown	10	4	14	28
multiple frequency*	10	10	20	41
Total by Language	65	41	90	196

*Only publications that have changed their issuance over their run are listed as multiple.

Ethnicity

The Black community in Quebec is made up of many communities with varying backgrounds, religions, and cultures. Chart 6 presents a picture of the ethnicity of the staff and management.

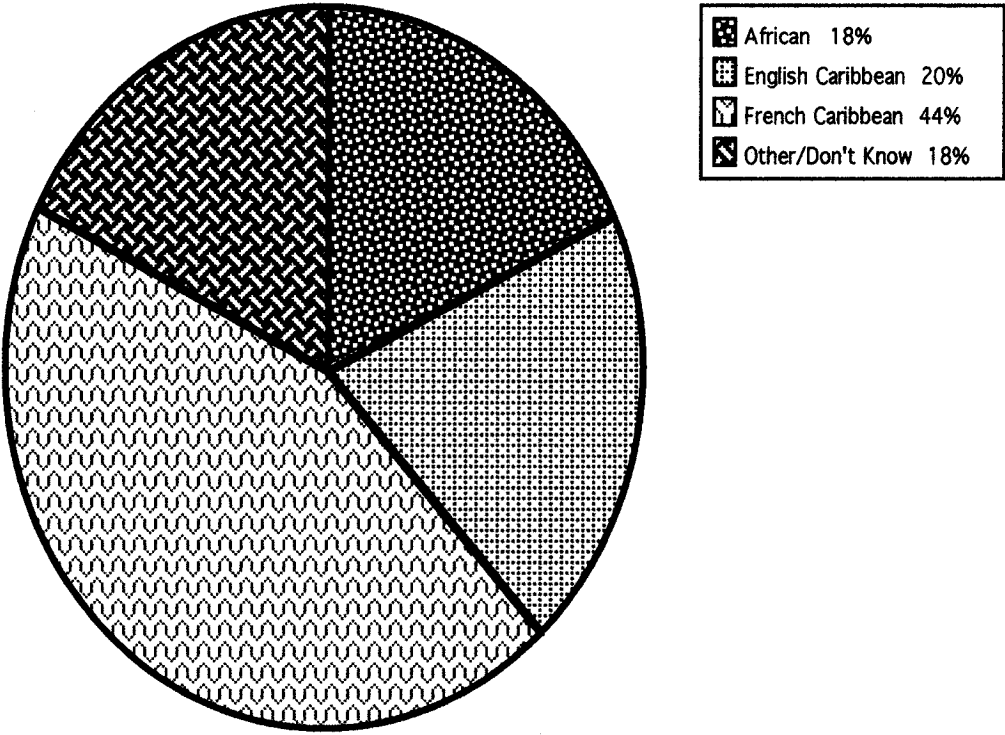
What constitutes a Caribbean paper, an African, or a Black Canadian paper? There are several elements that could be used to determine a serial's ethnicity. First, the most recognizable serials were those titles that identified themselves as Jamaican, Canadian, Haitian, or African, etc. Secondly, one can assume that the staff of a serial, particularly an ethnic serial, would reflect to some degree the population to which it would speak. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule; however, a serial designed to inform Quebeckers about Africa would most likely have African-born individuals on staff that would be familiar with African issues, as well as Quebec. Thirdly, sometimes the ethnicity is clearly delineated in the mission statement or the subtitle, in the motto, or in the editorial statement. In other cases, where none of these features were evident, I made a judgment call based on a combination of elements such as the 'feel' of the serial, or the ethnic group targeted by the advertisers, and even by the serial distribution points. For instance, Haitian serials are often left for pick-up in Haitian-owned *depanneurs* in St. Michel, and in Montreal North, or African serials can be picked up in African grocery stores on the West Island or in the NDG borough.³²⁰ Thus, a quick glance at the announcement about drop-off points is an obvious clue. By combining these elements, I attempted to determine the ethnicity of the serials.

Chart 6 shows that the French Caribbean, or Haitians created more than double the number of serials created by the English Caribbeans. Together though, the English-and French-speaking West Indians are responsible for 64% of the serial publications produced by Blacks in Montreal. Interestingly, I could not find any

³²⁰ A *depanneur* in Quebec is a neighbourhood convenience or corner store which stocks basic necessities such as milk, bread, cleaning supplies, newspapers, cigarettes, candy, etc.

evidence that Black Canadians in Montreal have created any serials, so they are not represented in Chart 6. And, surprisingly, an additional 20% of the serials could not be definitively categorized according to ethnicity.

Chart 6. Ethnic Breakdown of Serials
n=189



Geographic Focus

Black serials in Montreal have taken a significant interest in the community around them. Chart 7 illustrates the geographic areas that Black serials focus upon in their writing. Some serials just report on local news within the Montreal area. Others present Quebec issues or include information about Blacks elsewhere in Canada. This local, provincial, and national reporting was merged into the category 'Canada'.

Canada has not been the only area of interest. Since *The Free Lance* in 1934, Black serials in Montreal have had a lens on the world around them. With foreign correspondents and regular information on the Black situation in diverse locations, Montreal's serials present an international perspective as well. News about the French and English countries of the West Indies, particularly Haiti, Barbados, and Trinidad, is frequently documented in these serials.

Most serials do not concentrate on one area to the exclusion of the others. As Chart 7 demonstrates there is considerable geographic overlap which accounts for n=287. Canada is a main region of interest in 171 serials; however, this is often coupled with the Caribbean (n=55) and/or news from the continent of Africa (n=42). Given its proximity to the U.S. and the entertainment and cultural dominance of African-Americans within North America, surprisingly few serials show any interest in reporting on the United States (n=11).

Table 7 is a breakdown of 'Canada.' The category 'Canada' is a bit misleading because Quebec news dominates and Canadian reporting, (news and information outside of Quebec) lags behind local reporting about Montreal. This was also unexpected, but perhaps reflects the overriding political and linguistic interests of Blacks in the city.

Chart 7. Geographic Focus
n=287

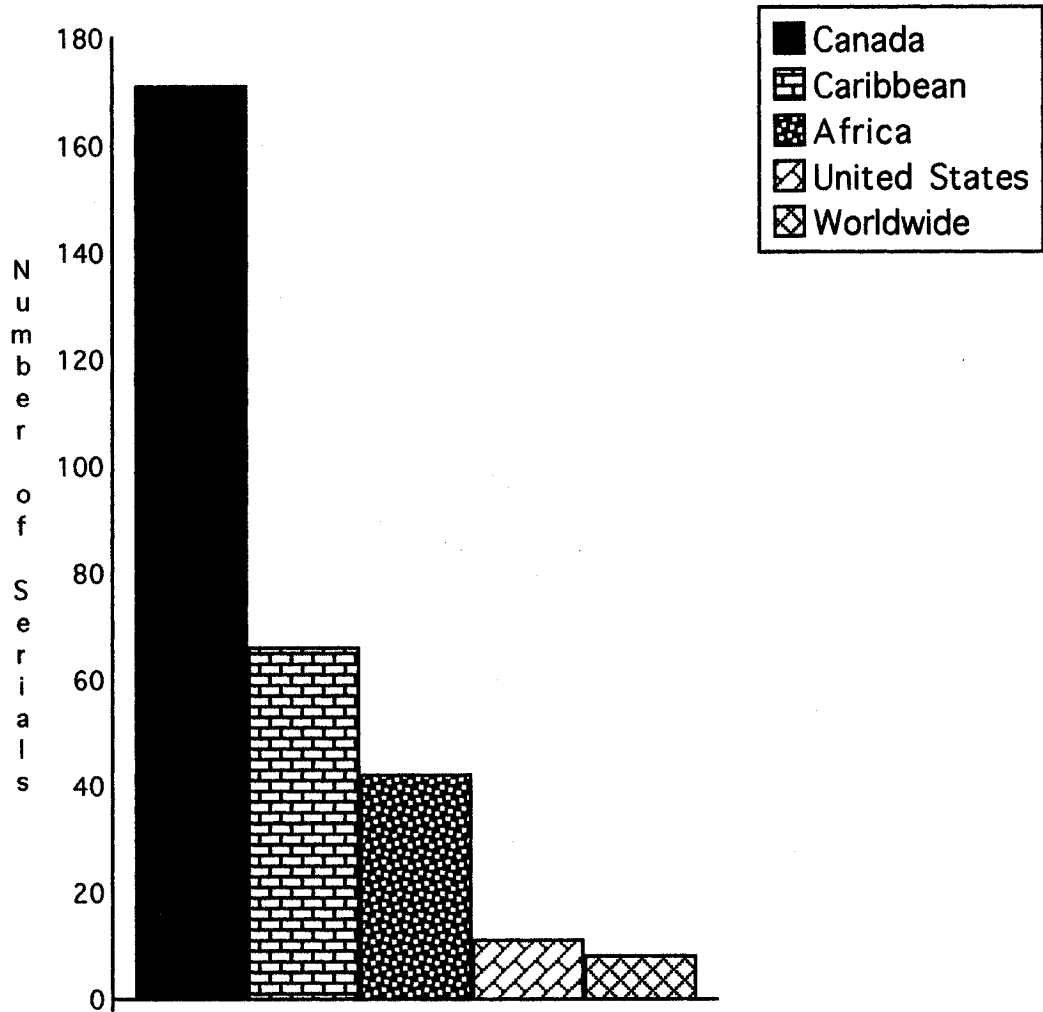


Table 7. Geographic Reporting in Black Serials: A Breakdown of the Category 'Canada'

Region	Total Serials
Montreal	45
Quebec	90
Elsewhere in Canada	36
Total	171

Serial Runs

Serial runs were difficult to determine because serials do not often announce their final issues; nor do they inform the libraries holding their runs. As a result, some guesswork is involved, as libraries assume that the final copy they have on hand indicates the end of a serial's run. That may be the case; however, it may also indicate that the serial either has a new management or a new secretarial administration uninterested in maintaining its connection to the library. It may also indicate lack of funding, which can affect mailings to libraries as well as the staffing needed to do this task. Thus, I found that it was not always prudent to assume that a library held the last issue. In some cases, the difficulty of determining the end of a run was compounded because libraries also included anticipated volume numbers in their OPAC even though they may not have actually received them. Only by verifying what was in the stacks or storage was I able, in some cases, to come to a definitive count of actual holdings.

As well, serial editors and publishers create problems for determining the number of issues they produced because of the way issues are numbered, the way they incorporate supplements, the irregularity of publication frequency and name changes. One could not assume that every year a monthly came out with 12 issues; many things can affect this regularity, leading one year to 10 issues and another year to 14. And again, sometimes there were two successive issues with the same volume number or the same date, or successive issues out of sequence, with the earlier issues given later numbers. These problems are typical for serials in general, and Black serials are no exception.³²¹ This has made it difficult to determine just how many issues there are of Black serials. In other words, I could with certainty say what titles were held in each repository, but not how many issues of each title were being held in every repository.

³²¹ Clara D. Brown & Lynn S. Smith, *Serials: Past, Present and Future*, 2nd (revised) edition, Birmingham, AL, EBSCO Industries, Inc., 1980, p. 22-24.

In calculating the totals for each title, every attempt was made to include only those serials where there was great certainty; yet, despite my efforts, there remains uncertainty about 79 (40%) of the serial runs. Table 8 underscores the difficulty in trying to gauge serial runs; only 60% of the runs could be found. Table 8, arranged linguistically, shows that the runs of half of the multilingual serials and over 40% of the runs of the French serials could not be determined.

Table 8. Percentage of Known and Unknown Serial Runs
n=90

Serial Runs	French	English	Multilingual	Total Serials	%aged Total
Known	53	44	20	117	60
Unknown	37	21	21	79	40
Total Serials	90	65	41	196	100
Percentage of Unknown	42%	22%	50%		

Of the 117 known serial runs, less than two percent of the total titles have produced 100 or more issues. Black serials do not have long runs. The mode

Table 9. Known Runs of Serials
n=117

Length of Serial Runs	Number of Serial Titles	%aged Total
1 Issue	27	23
2 Issues	14	12
3 Issues	8	7
4 Issues	6	5
5-9 Issues	16	14
10-25 Issues	26	22
26-50 Issues	11	9
51-100 Issues	7	6
100-200 Issues	2	2
Total Serial Titles	117	100

indicates that 27 serials (23%) of Montreal's Black serials survived for just one issue. Over 52% of the publications have had a very limited run of fewer than five issues. Several successful publications have produced over 50 issues, but these are the exception. Table 9 shows the serial runs by issue and Table 10 breaks down the same intervals by language groups.

Table 10. Known Runs of Serials (By Language Group)

Length of Serial Runs	French	English	Multilingual	Total Serial Titles
1 Issue	12	15	0	27
2 Issues	7	5	2	14
3 Issues	5	1	2	8
4 Issues	2	3	1	6
5-9 Issues	5	5	6	16
10-25 Issues	12	10	4	26
26-50 Issues	5	4	2	11
51-100 Issues	4	0	3	7
100-200 Issues	1	1	0	2
Total Serial Titles	53	44	20	117

Table 11 reveals that multilingual publications have had the longest runs; nine or 45% of the 20 multilingual titles have produced 10 or more issues, whereas, the English and French serials have survived for 10 issues or more at rates of 34% and 41% respectively.

Table 11. Percentage of Serial Titles that Survived Ten Issues or More (By Language Group)

Length of Serial Runs	French	English	Multilingual	Total Serial Titles
10+ Issues	22	15	9	46
Total Serial Titles	53	44	20	117
%age of Serials with 10+ Issues	41%	34%	45%	39%

Length of Serial Runs

The runs of Montreal's Black serials vary considerably. Table 12 shows that most serials (42%) last less than a year. Before the second year's inaugural anniversary arrives the level of cessation is close to 60 percent. Still, almost one in five, 19%, actually last beyond five years, and a few last beyond 10 years.

Table 12. Duration of Serials
n=132

Duration	Titles	%age
<1 year	56	42
1 year	19	14
2 years	15	11
3 years	11	8
4 years	6	5
5 years	5	4
6-10 years	17	13
11+ years	3	2
Total	132	100

In Table 13, the total titles, again highlight the difficulty experienced in trying to gauge serial runs. In this case, I queried the length of time that a serial operated before ceasing publishing. For 64 cases (33%) of the titles, the duration could not be determined.

Table 13. Length of Serials Runs (By Language Group)
n=132

Duration	French	English	Multilingual	Total
<1 year	25	17	14	56
1 year	12	6	1	19
2 years	9	4	2	15
3 years	5	4	2	11
4 years	4	1	1	6
5 years	1	2	2	5
6-10 years	3	6	8	17
11+ years	2	1	0	3
Total	61	41	30	132

Table 13 is a breakdown of Table 12 by language groups, and the ratios are given in Table 14. It appears that the multilingual groups have the highest rate (46%) of serial failures within the first year. The French and English serials both experience about a 41% cessation rate. Thus the first two years are quite difficult, leading to the discontinuation of over half the titles, regardless of the serial's language. By the beginning of year four, 76% of the serials are gone. The rate slows down by years four and five but accelerates again from year six onward. Less than 4% of the French or English titles last for 11 years or more.

Table 14. The Rate of Serial Cessations Over Time
(by Language Group)
n=132

Duration	%age of French	English	Multilingual
<1 year	41	41.	47
1 year	20	15	3
2 years	15	10	7
3 years	8	10	7
4 years	7	2	3
5 years	2	5	7
6-10 years	5	15	27
11+ years	3	2	----
Total	100%	100%	100%

Serial Locations

Across North America, evidence of Montreal's Black serials can be found in 26 repositories including universities, libraries, archives, public and private depositories and in the possession of lone individuals. These repositories are located in Quebec, Ontario, California and New York. The 26 sites are almost evenly divided between public and private repositories (Table 15). A large number of titles (309) are held in these multiple locations, averaging 12 serials held per site.

Table 15. Repositories of Black Serials

	Private Repositories		Public Repositories		Total
	Institutions	Individuals	Outside Quebec	In Quebec	
No. sites	6	6	8	6	26
Total titles held	55	36	63	155	309
Average Titles Held	9	6	8	26	12

Seven of the top sites, those holding 10 or more serials, come from each of the four categories in Table 15. The public repositories in Quebec with the largest number of Black titles are the BNQ (86), CIDIHCA (48) and then McGill University with 13 titles. Only one public repository outside of Quebec holds 10 or more; that is the National Library/National Archives of Canada, with 49 titles. Two private institutions within Quebec, the Alfie Roberts Institute and BSC, each have 13 and 31 titles respectively. Only one private individual, Leloup, had a significant collection with 20 titles.

One of the benefits of the Checklist is that it is the first comprehensive union catalogue of Black serials in Montreal. Moreover, it identifies the Black repositories holding Black titles. The 13 Quebec institutions with Black titles are listed in Table 16. The sites with asterisks are Black community institutions.

Table 16. Quebec Institutions Housing Black Serials
(Highlighting Black Community Institutions)

Private		Public	
1.	Alfie Roberts Institute*	7.	CIDIHCA*
2.	BCRC*	8.	Concordia University
3.	Black Studies Centre*	9.	Images*
4.	BNQ	10.	McGill University
5.	CCC*	11.	Université de Montréal
6.	Centre Afrika	12.	Université du Québec à Montréal
		13.	Université Laval

In all, Quebec repositories, both private and public, hold 246 serials or 81% of the 309 serials held. Ontario follows with 57 serials or 18%, and the two United States repositories have just two serials or one percent of the 309 serials located.

Holdings

Unique Holdings

The serials discussed in this section are either held by individual collectors or are currently held in public and private repositories. The following data are based on the field 'Holdings' in the Checklist. Of the 196 titles in the Checklist, seven are either e-zines or exist as regular e-mail newsletters. Nineteen titles are not [yet] in legal deposit but I acquired them when they were initially issued. One hundred and seventy serial titles are held in the 26 repositories; however, over two-thirds of these titles are duplicated, as the same title is held by several different repositories. A verification of the repositories' holdings revealed that each type of repository has in its possession several distinct or unique titles not found in other repositories. No single repository has every Black title, but there are 99 unique titles in these repositories (Table 17). Individuals hold 12% of unique titles, and three institutions outside of Quebec also hold Black serial titles not found within the province. Of the

Table 17. Types of Repositories with the Total Number of Black Serials and their Unique Titles

	Private Repositories		Public Repositories		Total
	Institutions	Individuals	Outside Quebec	In Quebec	
No. sites	6	6	8	6	26
Total titles held	55	36	63	155	309
Total of unique titles	28	12	7	52	99

26 repositories, 12 have titles unique to their holdings. Table 18 details the specific number of titles these 12 repositories are holding. It also reveals how many of the Black serial titles in their possession are unique to them. The bulk of the 155 titles held in Quebec institutions are at the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec which holds 86 titles, of which 35 titles are unique. The most significant repository outside of the province is the National Library/National Archives in Ottawa, Ontario. Together the National Library/National Archives hold 49 titles, however only six titles are unique to their collections.

Table 18. Specific Repositories Holding Unique Titles
n=12

Site	Unique Titles Held	Total Titles Held	Percentage of Unique Holdings
BNQ	35	86	41
CIDIHCA	15	48	31
BSC	14	31	45
Leloup	10	20	50
ARI	7	12	58
NL/NA	6	49	12
CA	4	4	100
BCRC	3	3	100
McGill	2	14	14
UOO	1	2	50
Packwood	1	1	100
Williams	1	10	10
Total	99	281	35

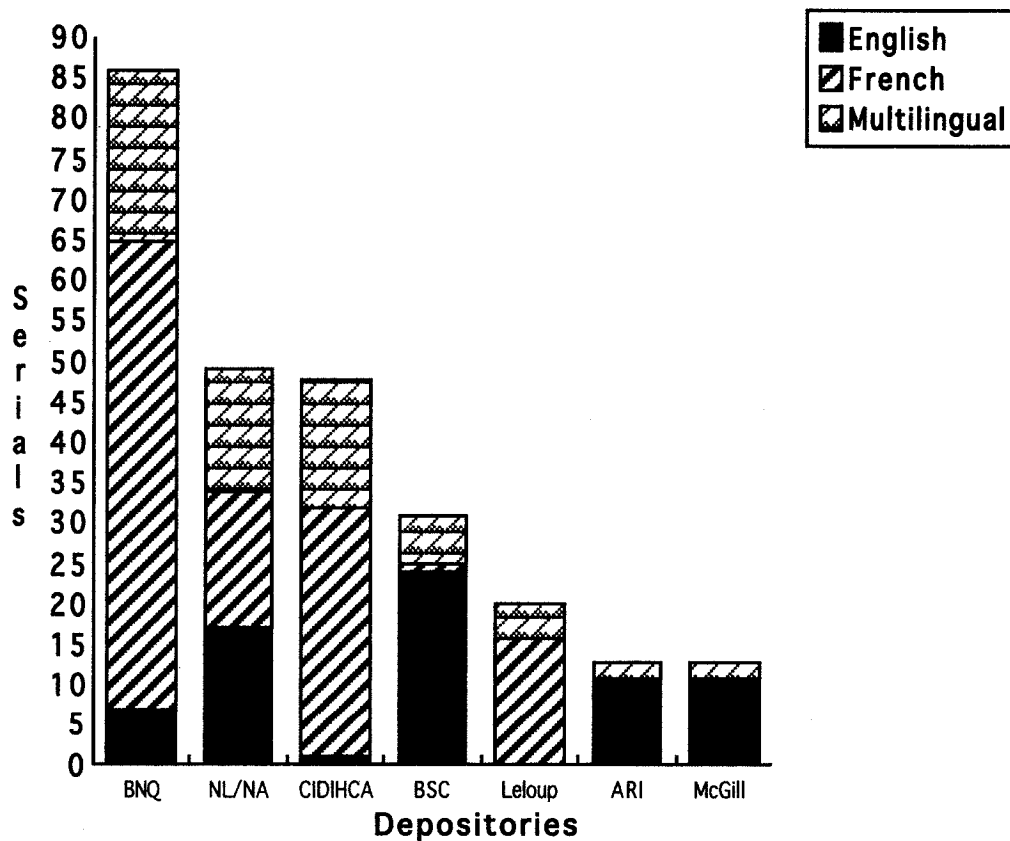
To facilitate further research, Table 18 ranks each serial holder according to the number rather than the percentage of unique titles held. This is to distinguish between those sites that have a percentage of 100, yet hold just one unique title and those significant sites that hold more unique titles but yield a lower percentage. For instance, CIDIHCA, which has 15 unique titles out of a total of 48, has a percentage of just 31%. CIDIHCA is a significant site for French-language serials as

shown in the linguistic breakdown of Chart 8. It highlights the serials owned by seven of the major sites, i.e., repositories holding 10 or more serials, according to the language of the serials they own.

Language of Holdings

The BNQ holds 58 of the 90 French serials in the Checklist. Most of its holdings comprises French and multilingual serials. Only seven of its 90 serials are English. The holdings of the National Library/National Archives are the most

Chart 8. Seven Depositories with Significant Holdings
(By Language)



balanced collection linguistically. Their English and French titles, each number 17, and they hold 15 multilingual titles between them. English serials are to be found in significant numbers only at the Black Studies Center, and to a lesser extent in the Roy States Collection of McGill University and the Alfie Roberts Institute.

As Chart 8 demonstrates, most repositories hold a mixture of French, English and bilingual or multilingual serials. Nevertheless, it was surprising to discover that of the 26 serial holders across North America, 18 hold at least one multilingual serial, 16 hold at least one English serial and only 11 repositories hold French serials.

In total, 19 institutions, including libraries, universities, and private and public community institutions hold 273 serials, comprising 110 distinct serials, of which 88 are unique (Table 19). Moreover the total number of extant issues from all 196 titles is 1,847, although, only 1,565 issues are actually in repositories that offer access to the general public.³²²

³²² These issues include the duplicated microfilm issues of *The Afro-Canadian*, *The Black Voice* and *UHURU*.

Table 19. Organizations with Black Serial Holdings
n=19

Universities	Titles	Unique Titles	
Concordia University	4	0	
McGill University	14	2	
McMaster University	1	0	
Université Laval	1	0	
University of Ottawa	2	1	
University of Toronto	3	0	
University of Windsor	1	1	
UQAM	3	0	
York University	1	0	
Sub-total	30		4
Libraries/Archives			
ARI	13	7	
BNQ	86	35	
CIDIHCA	48	15	
CLSCL	1	0	
NL/NA	49	6	
Schomburg	5	0	
Sub-total	202		63
Institutions			
BCRC	3	3	
BSC	31	14	
CA	4	4	
Images	3	0	
Sub-total	41		21
Total	273		88

Holdings Available for Examination

This section is based on the total number of serial issues held in repositories (public or institutional) wherein they can be either examined or borrowed. 'Holdings' in the Checklist comprises all issues held by those individuals and the public and private repositories specified in 'Locations.' Thus, not all serial holders are accessible for research purposes. In the Checklist the aggregate of 'Total Retrievable' is 1,565 issues, but reflects only those issues held by accessible repositories. In this section, I am dealing with the serial titles, rather than the 1,565 individual issues. Seven serials in digital format were eliminated, as well as 49 others because the number of issues within repositories could not be determined. Thus the total retrievable number of serial titles that can be retrieved is 141 or 72% of the 196 titles in the Checklist.

In terms of language, the highest ratio of titles that can be examined or borrowed are French titles at 83%, while only half, (51%) of the English titles are available (Table 20).

Table 20. The Percentage of Titles Available for Examination
(According to Language)

	Total Number of Titles	Titles Available For Examination	%age Available
English	65	33	51
French	90	75	83
Multilingual	41	33	80
Total	196	141	72

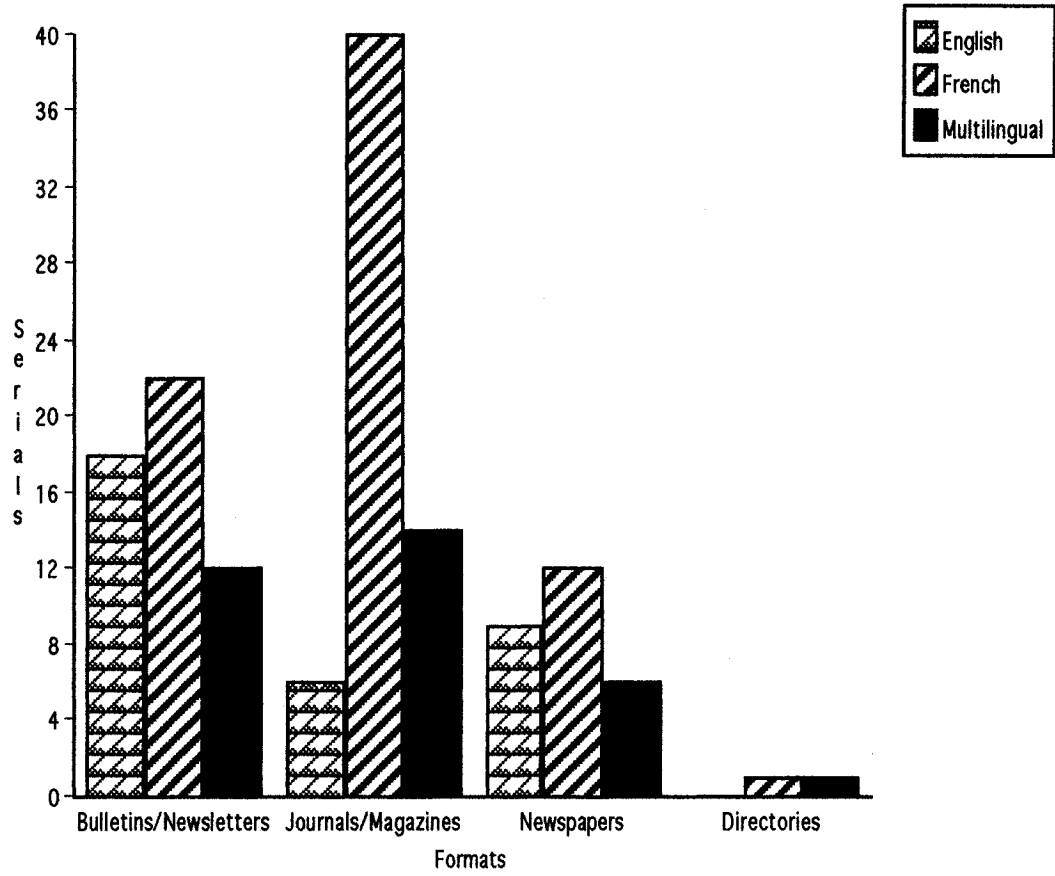
Despite the fact that newsletter and bulletins are the most published formats overall (Table 5), Table 21 illustrates that a higher percentage of magazines and journals can be retrieved for examination. In other words, fewer newsletter and bulletins make their way into repositories for preservation. In number and

percentage, newspapers do not figure prominently in holdings, and the bulk of extant Black serials available for examination are French language magazines and journals (Chart 9).

Table 21. The Percentage of Titles Available for Examination
(By Format)

	Total of Each Format	Titles Available Totals	%age
Directories	7	2	29
Magazines/Journals	73	60	82
Newsletters/Bulletins	79	52	73
Newspapers	37	27	66
Totals	196	141	72

Chart 9. Type and Number of Formats in Depositories
(By Language)
n=141



Free Serials

Ninety-seven of Montreal's Black serials, about half, were distributed free of charge to readers. Eighty-six periodicals were launched with set pricing levels. Due to the fact that I have not verified every issue, it is difficult to confirm that the prices shown on the serials remained consistent throughout a serial's run. Also, I recognize that the value of a dollar has changed over the seven decades since Black serials began in Montreal. Thus, a fifty-cent paper in the sixties could not realistically be compared with a 50-cent paper today. For these reasons, I have opted to focus on only those serials that published free of charge through the life of their runs.

Besides eliminating the 86 priced serials, nine serials began as free papers, but eventually charged for their publications, so they are also not included in this section. In addition, the price of four serials could not be determined. The tables and charts in this section are a breakdown of the remaining 97 free serials.³²³

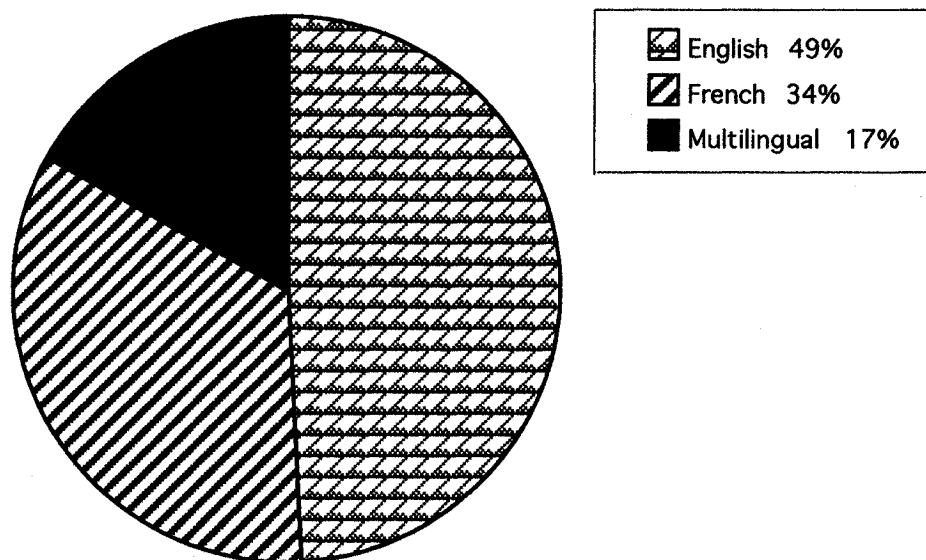
Chart 10 reveals that just about half (49.5%) of the free serials are English, whereas the French serials make up just a third of the free serials. Table 22 underscores the fact that free serials are favoured in the English-speaking Black community. Out of a total of 65 English serials, the 48 free English serials represent 73% of all Black serials ever published in Montreal. Free multilingual serials and French serials make up only 39% and 36%, respectively, of their total serial output.

³²³ It can be assumed that the price in the Checklist is taken from vol. 1 no. 1 or from the first issue I acquired. As well, subsequent prices usually came from the last issue of a run, so as to note any changes over time.

Table 22. Free Serials In Montreal (As a Percentage of Each Language Group)
n=97

	Total Serial Titles	Titles distributed Free of charge	%age of Free Serials
English	65	48	73
French	90	33	36
Multilingual	41	16	39
Total	196	97	49

Chart 10. The Linguistic Make-up of Free Serials
n=97



The number of free serials appears to be increasing over the long term (Chart 11). Table 23 shows that the percentage of free serials dropped from the sixties to the seventies. However, since the seventies the rate of free serials produced in the Black community has more than doubled from a low 32% to 68%.

Chart 11. The Increasing Rate of Free Black
Serials Since the 1970s
n= 93

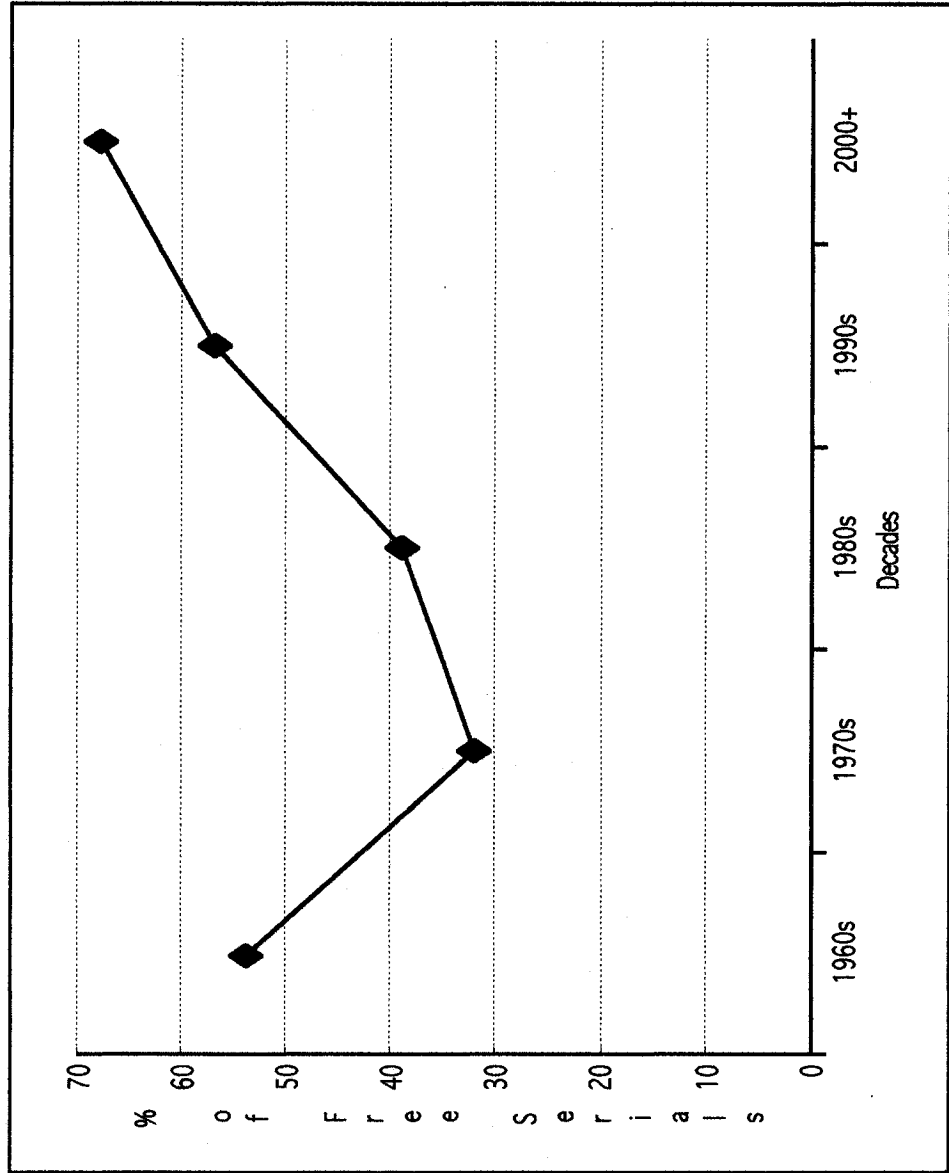


Table 23. The Rate of Free Black Serials From Decade to Decade since the 1960s
n=93

	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000+	Total
Total Serials	11	37	46	63	31	188
Free Serials	6	12	18	36	21	93
% of Free Serials	54	32	39	57	68	49

Table 24 reveals that overall about 50% of the time, publishers chose to distribute their serials free of charge. There is some variation, though, as the range lies between 22% and 100%, but even eliminating the highest and the lowest rates, the average rate climbs to 56% overall. Moreover, the pattern of issuance does not appear to affect publishers' option in this regard. Every frequency pattern has some free titles. The most popular frequencies, such as bimonthlies, monthlies and quarterlies are free about 50% of the time. Serials, which distribute free of charge at a lower rate than the average, are bi-annuals and the multiple frequency serials.

Where frequency does not affect the publishers' choices, the choice of format does. This is evident when comparing the two most popular formats. For instance, magazines and journals have the lowest rate (16%) of free publications, whereas almost 75% of newsletters and bulletins are not sold. On the one hand, magazines and journals are usually produced as profit-generating publications; thus external funding such as subscriptions are often crucial for survival. On the other hand, newsletter and bulletins are often produced as organs of a group, an institution, or an association that targets members and persons interested in the(ir) corporate body. Recouping costs associated with the publication often comes from internal funding sources; the serial is seen as a cost of operating the organization.

Table 24. The Rate of Frequencies of Free Black Serials

Frequency	Total	Free Serials	% of Free Serials by Frequency
weekly	9	5	55
monthly	44	24	54
semi-monthly	4	2	50
bi-monthly	19	8	50
quarterly	29	14	48
bi-annual	3	1	33
annually	6	5	83
biennially	1	1	100
irregular	13	6	46
unknown	28	22	78
multiple frequency	41	9	22
Total	196	97	49

Directories also have a very high rate of free publications (Table 25). Directories use advertising and external sponsorships as primary sources of revenue. Because they are offered as a household reference they are usually a community benefit, rather than a profit-generated product. Thus, publishers and editors often attempt to target all members of the community, which is most easily achieved when distributed free of charge to every household.

Table 25. The Rate of Preferred Formats of Free Serials
n=95

	Total of Each Format	Number of Free Serials	%age of Free serials
Directories	7	5	71
Magazines/Journals	73	12	16
Newsletters/Bulletins	79	57	72
Newspapers	37	21	57
Totals	196	95	48

Circulation

In the United States, Marvin Kimbrough notes, "studies seem to indicate that the readership for black periodicals and newspapers is usually about three or four times that of the circulation figures. "Traditionally, black newspapers and magazines have been taken to churches, barbershops, etc., for further redistribution. *Ebony*, for example...stated total circulation of 1,250,000 and total readership of five million [or] (four readers per copy)."³²⁴

In Montreal, circulation figures are the most difficult data to obtain from Black serials. Less than 20% declare their circulation within their papers; however, the Checklist records the circulation figures from 42 (21%) titles. Additional data came from information provided in bibliographic sources such as directories and guides, as well as from interviews with publishers and editors. I could find no audited data about Black serials in Montreal from national or provincial media or periodical associations. Auditing companies and their official publications could offer no figures, either.

The figures in this section are from the 42 serials with circulation data. Very few remain in print. Thus these circulation levels are based on an aggregate of historical and current circulation levels. In other words these do not reflect the level of copies circulating in Montreal at the present.

Over this period circulation has varied widely from a low of 80 copies per run to a high of 100,000 copies (Table 26). This sample presents a dispersed measure of central tendency, where the average changes widely. For example, Table 27 gives us an arithmetic mean, or an average of 7,463 copies per run. Creating an array, the median is much lower at only 2,000 copies per issue. Finally, this sample for Table 27 is bi-modal, thus producing two averages: 5,000 and 10,000.

Organizing this sample into its respective language groups reveals that 22 titles (52%) of the circulation figures derive from French serials (Table 27). The

³²⁴ Kimbrough p. 23.

average circulation in Table 27 is based on the Total Circulation divided by the 42 serials in the sample. This breakdown by language shows that the average circulation (10,200) of the various multilanguage serials is more than three times the circulation of English serials and about 25% higher than the circulation of the French serials (Table 27).

Table 26. The Grouping of Titles by their Circulation Level
n=42

Number of Titles	Circulation per number
1	80
2	100
1	200
1	250
4	500
7	1,000
1	1,200
5	2,000
2	2,500
8	5,000
8	10,000
1	20,000
1	50,000
1	100,000
42	313,430

The distribution of serials may explain this pattern. The smallest format in this sample is the newspaper and yet, the 10 newspapers shown in Table 28 have had the highest circulation, shown in Table 29. This high circulation level has been achieved because seven of the 10 newspapers regularly produced 10,000 copies per issue.

The aggregate circulation for all newspapers is 171,000 per issue,

representing over 54% of the total circulation of 313,430 copies (Table 29). Table 28 could be overlaid upon Table 29 and it would underscore the fact that there is a great variation in circulation.

Table 27. The average circulation of serials
(By Language)
n=42

	Serials	Percentage of Sample	Total Circulation	Average Circulation
English Serials	10	24	31,980	3,198
French Serials	22	52	179,450	8,156
Multilingual Serials	10	24	102,000	10,200
Totals	42	100	313,430	7,184

For instance, the five French newspapers have a combined circulation of 131,000 copies and the two multilingual newsletters/bulletins circulate just 1,500 copies.

Table 28. Formats of Black Serials Titles
Giving Circulation Figures
n=42

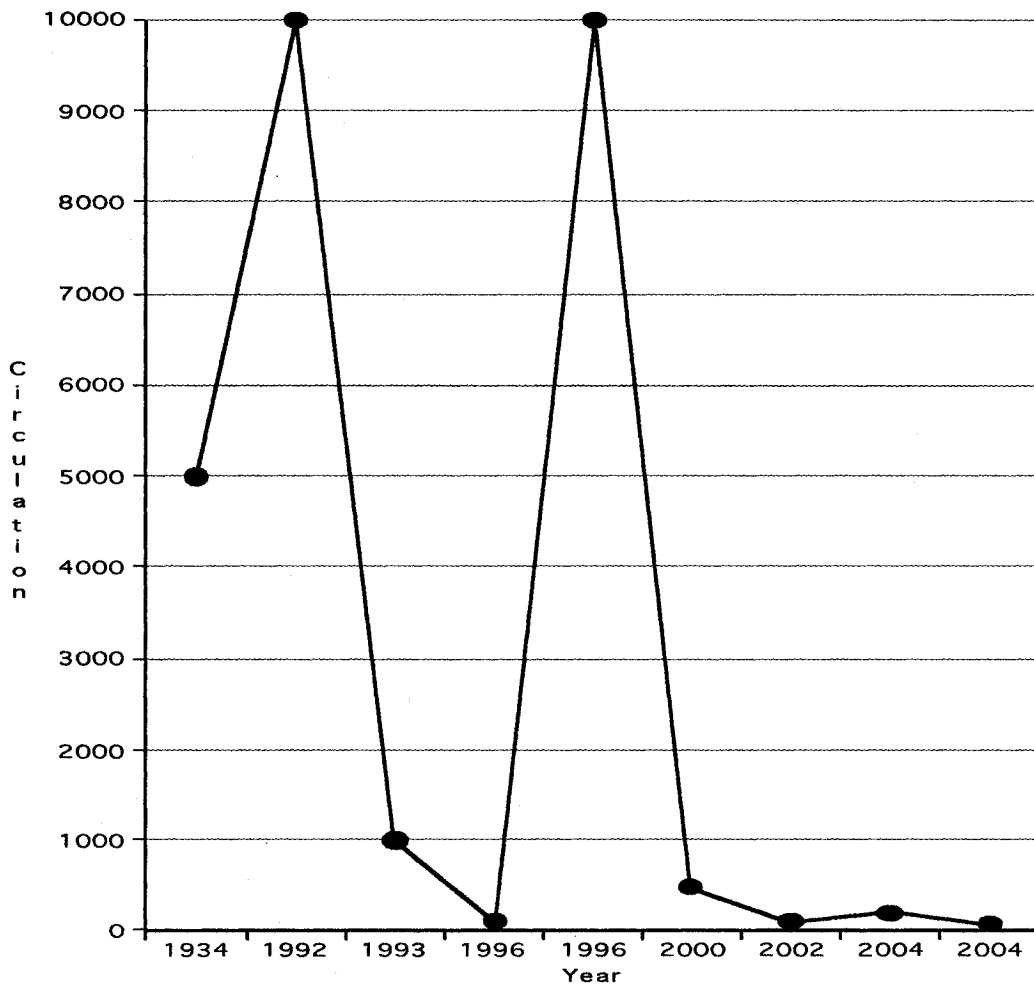
	English Titles	French Titles	Multilingual Titles	Totals Titles	% of Format
Magazines/Journals	1	12	6	19	45
Newsletters/Bulletins	6	5	2	13	31
Newspapers	3	5	2	10	24
Totals	10	22	10	42	100

Overall, English serials do not circulate widely. In fact, no English serial surpasses the modal average of 10,000 copies, and the English *BCRC Newsletter* has the smallest circulation with only 80 copies. The French newspaper, *Presence*, has the highest circulation, topping 100,000 copies at each run.

Table 29. A Breakdown of Circulation Figures
(By Language and Format)
n=42

	English Titles	Multilingual Titles	French Titles	Total Circulation	% of Format
Magazines/Journals	500	85,500	41,200	127,200	41
Newsletters/Bulletins	6,480	1,500	7,250	15,230	5
Newspapers	25,000	15,000	131,000	171,000	55
Totals	31,980	102,000	179,450	313,430	99

Chart 12. Circulation Pattern of English Serials with Known Levels
(By Date)
n=12



The scale or representation of Charts 12 to 14 are vastly different, and therefore a true comparison of all three circulation patterns is not possible. What these charts illustrate, in each case, is that the longitudinal circulation patterns of these serials are trending downward (Charts 12-14). The highest level of circulation appears to have been during the early nineties, and for each language group there has been a decrease, but I can give no adequate explanation for this drop.

Chart 13. Circulation Pattern of Multilingual Serials with Known Levels
(By Date)
n=10

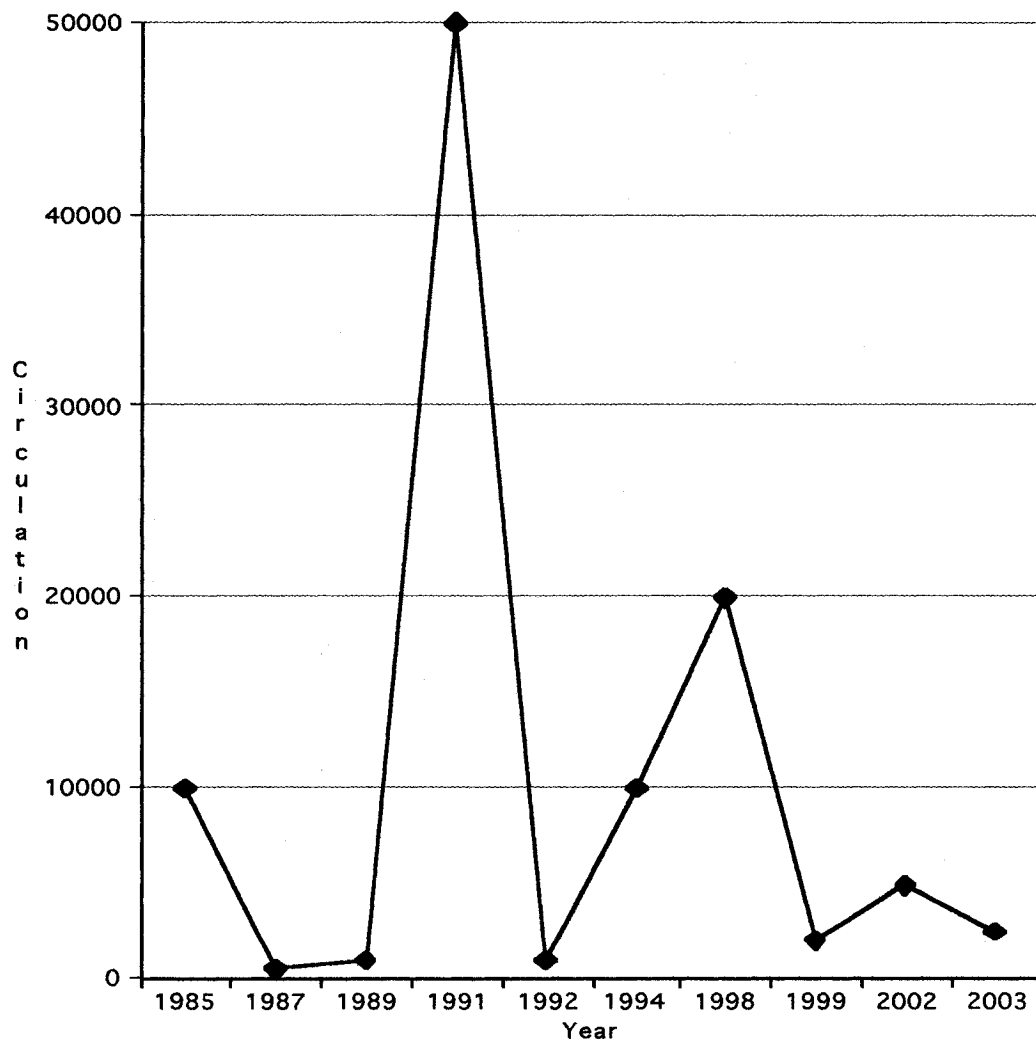
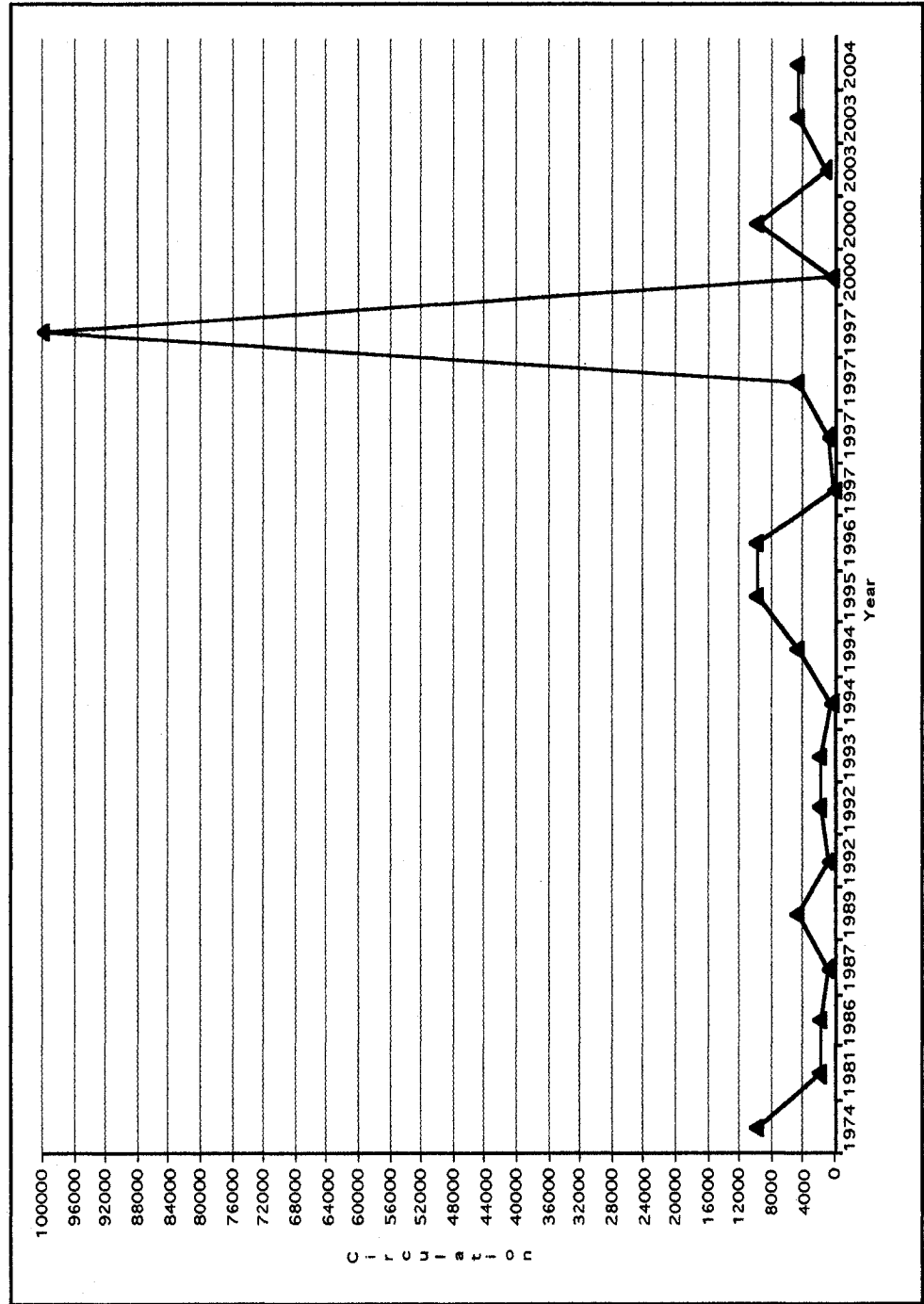


Chart 14. Circulation Pattern of French Serials with Known Levels
 (By Date)
 n=21



Advertising

One hundred and twenty-five titles have advertising as a regular element. This includes, in some cases, classified ads such as business cards, community and social events, product listings, advertisements for retail events, promotions and government services and initiatives.

A significant portion, (89%) of Black newspapers in Montreal, utilize advertising. Directories which promote Black business or Black professionals in the community are also heavy users of advertising in their publications (Table 30).

Table 30. Percentage of Black Serials with Advertisements
(By Format)
n=125

	Total of Each Format	Total Titles With Ads	%age of Each Format
Directories	7	5	86
Magazines/Journals	73	54	74
Newsletters/Bulletins	79	33	42
Newspapers	37	33	89
Totals	196	125	64

With one notable exception these Black serials rely on advertising regardless of their issuance patterns. The rate at which advertising is included in these serials ranges from 21% to 100% (Table 31). From weekly newspapers to the annual directory, all use advertising in over 50% of their publications. The exception, at 21%, are 'unknown' serials, so-called because their frequencies could not be determined. These serials were not dated and their frequency was not announced in the serials' publication information and was especially difficult to determine where only one issue was available for examination.

Table 31. The Percentage of Black Serials with Advertisements
(by Frequency)
n=125

Frequency	Total Titles	With Ads	% of Titles With Ads
weekly	9	8	89
monthly	44	28	64
semi-monthly	4	3	75
bi-monthly	19	14	77
quarterly	29	18	62
bi-annually	3	3	100
annually	6	4	67
biennially	1	1	100
irregular	13	7	54
unknown	28	6	21
multiple frequency	41	33	80
Total	196	125	64

The price of a serial does not appear to affect whether advertisements are used. In fact, as Table 32 demonstrates, a majority of free serials incorporate advertising and promotions in their pages. At a ratio of 80%, four of the five annual directories use advertisements.

Table 32. Percentage of Free Serials with Advertisements
(By Format)
n=54

	Total Titles With Ads	Free Titles With Ads	%age of Free Serials with Advertising per Format
Directories	5	4	80
Magazines/Journals	54	8	14
Newsletters/Bulletins	33	23	69
Newspapers	33	19	57
Totals	125	54	43

The highest use of advertising appears to be in multilingual serials; 70% of these publications include advertising. For French and English serials the rate of advertising is lower, at 62% and 61% respectively (Table 33).

Table 33. The Percentage of Serials with Advertising
(by language)
n=125

	Total Serials	Serials With ads	% of Serials with ads
English Serials	65	40	61
French Serials	90	56	62
Multilingual Serials	41	29	70
Totals	196	125	64

Illustrations

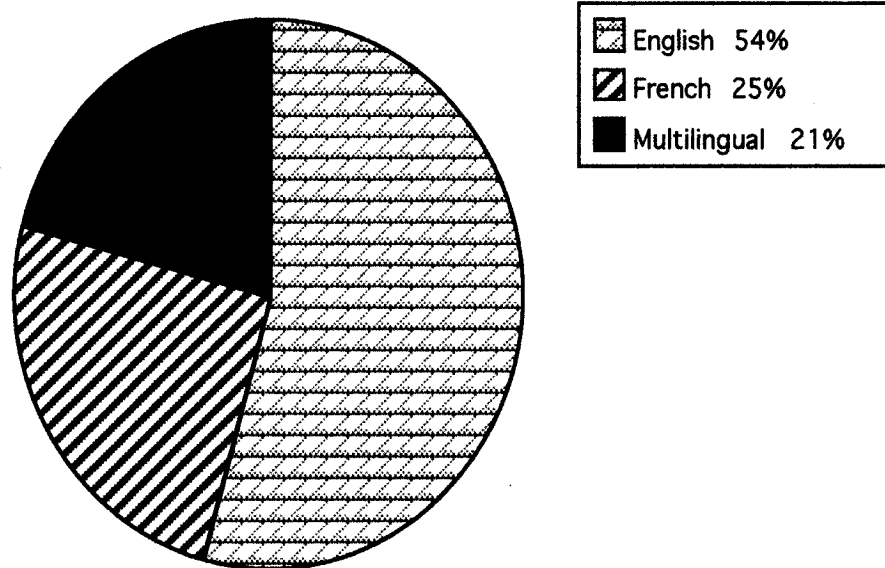
Illustrations in Black serials include advertisements, cartoons, comics, decorative designs, photos and drawings. One hundred and forty-nine of the 196 serials have illustrations. The highest use of illustrative matter is in multilingual and English serials at 82% and 81% respectively (Table 34).

Table 34. Serials Incorporating Illustrative Matter
(by language)
n=196

	Total Serials	% of Serials with ads n=125	% of Serials with illustrations n=149	% increase in illustrative matter
English Serials	65	40	53	25
French Serials	90	56	62	9
Multilingual Serials	41	29	34	13
Totals	196	125	149	19

Eliminating the advertising element, and focussing simply on illustrative materials, the number of serials with illustrations drops considerably from 149 to just 24. Of these 24 serials, the highest number illustrated but without advertising are English (Chart 15) A comparison between serials that incorporate advertisements and those that use illustrative matter shows that a higher proportion (25%) of English serials use illustrative matter without advertisements.

Chart 15. Percentage of Serials Without Advertising Incorporating
Other Illustrative Matter
(By language)
n=24



Bibliographic Sources

Citations

Black serials are not often found in the literature. Just over half, or 102 serials of the Checklist, are cited in 63 sources (Appendix 2). Forty-six of the 63 sources listed between one and five Black serial titles. Eleven sources referenced six to 10 serials each, and an additional six sources listed over 10 serials, ranging from 11 to 52 titles (Table 35). In all there are 322 citations to Black serials in the 63 sources referred to in the Checklist.

Table 35. Average Number of Citations per source
n=63

Range of citations per source	Sources	Total Citations	Average # citations
1-5	46	108	2
6-10	11	78	11
>10	6	136	6
Totals	63	322	6

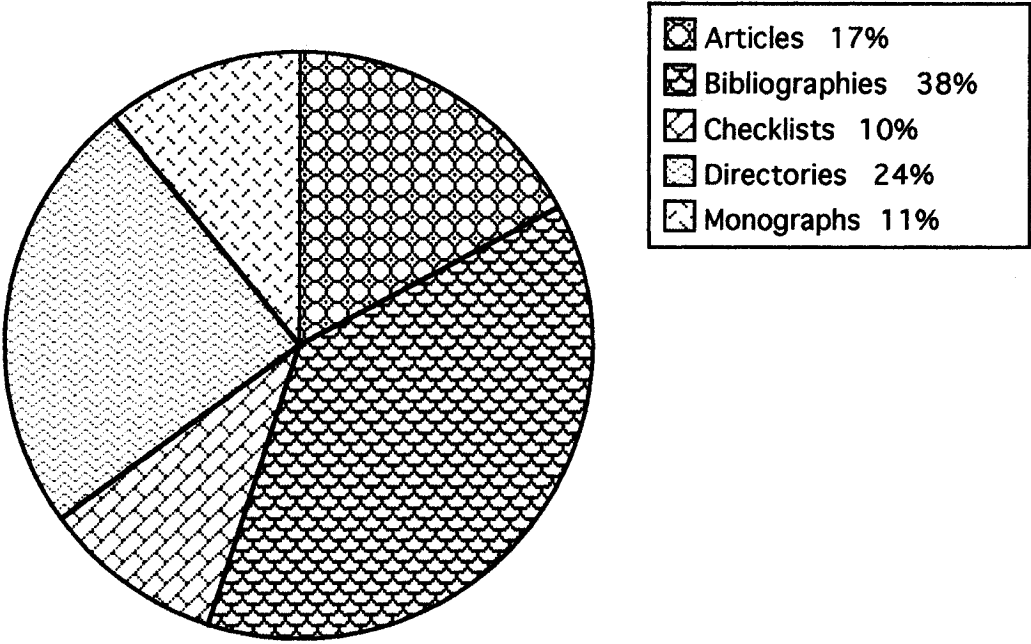
Bibliographies hold, on average, the highest number of references, while serial directories have the lowest number of Black serial titles (Table 36).

Table 36. The average number of Black items in each Type of Reference
n=63

Type of Reference	Total No. of Each Reference Source	Total Serials Cited in Format	Average no. of Items per Format (Rounded)
Articles	10	54	5
Bibliographies	15	124	8
Checklists	8	31	4
Directories	23	76	3
Monographs	7	37	5
Totals	63	322	5

Yet together, bibliographies and serial directories contain over 60% of the Black serial citations (Chart. 16).

Chart 16. Percentage of Black Citations in each Type of Reference
n=63



Unique Citations

Of the 102 serials cited 49 are cited in only one source, while 53 titles are referenced in two or more bibliographic sources. These 49 serials are enumerated in 10 sources, with the BDQ containing 27 items, the highest number of unique titles (Table 37). The linguistic breakdown confirms that French serials are most often

Table 37. Ten serial sources containing 49 unique serial titles

Source	No. of Unique Serial Titles	Source	No. of Unique Serial Titles
1. Ass.	1	6. Nelson	11
2. BDQ	27	7. HBC	1
3. Bertley	2	8. MEQ	1
4. CCE	1	9. OH	3
5. Danky	1	10. RMC	1

captured; they account for 53% of the 102 serials cited (Table 38).

Table 38. The number of times that serial titles are cited only once
(By language)
n=49

	English	Multilingual	French	Total
Unique serials cited	9	8	32	49
Serials cited repeatedly	16	15	22	53
Total serials cited	25	23	54	102

Despite the fact that most serials are French, the most often cited titles in the Checklist are English or multilingual. The listing, Table 39 shows that four of the eight serials with more than 10 citations originate from the English Black population. With

the exception of *Community Contact*, these oft-cited serials predate the 1990s.

Table 39. The Average of Black Citations in each Type of Format
n=8

Serial Title	Language	Inaugural Date	No. Times Cited
Afro-Can	multi	1981	10
The Afro-Canadian	multi	1985	15
Black i	multi	1972	11
Collectif Paroles	multi	1979	10
Community Contact	eng	1992	13
Expression	eng	1965	11
The Free Lance	eng	1934	14
UHURU	eng	1969	15

Subject Focus

The subject listing in the Checklist has 49 topics. The top 10 listed below, figure prominently because they are found in more than 20 serials in the Checklist (Table 40). For instance, history is a topic in 31 serials, and culture is discussed in 23 serials. The subject listing is based upon the subjects gleaned from the serials themselves and not from official subject headings of LC Subject Headings or of AACR.³²⁵ This listing is limited, as well, because in most cases only the first issue was examined. Subject focus and emphasis can change over several issues, but I did not attempt to assess more than one issue per title.

Table 40. Top Ten Topics Listed in the Checklist
(In Descending Order)
n=10

Subject Focus	No. of Times Listed in Serials
Politics	70
Organizational Information (org.)	56
Social Events	34
History	31
News	25
Culture	23
Blacks in Quebec	22
Sports	22
Youth	21

³²⁵ AACR refers to the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules. This standard is an international effort of The ALA/CLA and other national library associations worldwide.

Mission Statements of Serials

About half of the serials in the Checklist present readers with their mission statement. Usually found in volume 1 no. 1, these declarations of purpose and intent explain the scope of their writings and the interests of the editorial team. For brevity's sake, the Checklist does not include these mission statements; rather, I gleaned these statements from their relevant volume and organized these 106 mission statements into six broad themes (Table 41).

Table 41. The Main Missions of Black Serials in Montreal
n=106

	Serial's Overall Mission is to:	Number of Serials	Percentage
1	Support the worldwide Caribbean diaspora	4	3.7
2	Promote organizational objectives	7	6.5
3	Support Africa's political/economic development	11	10.2
4	Support Haiti's political/economic development	16	14.9
5	Act as a forum for the exchange of ideas	16	14.9
6	Promote Canadian integration	52	49.5

A couple of findings merit some discussion. First, 58 of the serials, representing 30% of the serials in the checklist, have been produced by community organizations. Yet, only seven or 6.5% of the 106 serials were produced solely as a mouthpiece for any specific organization.

Second, it appears that the majority of serials have been established specifically to promote some aspect of integration in Canadian society, particularly integration within the province of Quebec. These include articles on government

services, language training vocational and education opportunities, employment information and strategies, background on Canada, its political makeup and economic system, and background on cultural activities holidays, etc. The following statements illustrate the scope of these themes.

1) Support the worldwide Caribbean diaspora

"You are now within the pages of a very special paper. It is special because we are trying to do something quite unprecedented. We are trying to bridge the gap between West Indian peoples...Carib Horizons is a newspaper about the Caribbean and the world. Its (sic) for the citizen in St. Kitts or Georgetown, or making his way in a teeming subway in New York City. It is for the Caribbean expatriot as well as other interested readers, no matter whom (sic) they may be." *Carib Horizons*, 1(1) (1967): 4.

2) Promote organizational objectives

"The Black Studies Centre is publishing this information bulletin to be called the Black Studies Centre Newsletter for the purpose of disseminating relevant information with regard to the objectives and activities of the Centre." *The Black Studies Center Newsletter*, 1(1) (1974): 1.

3) Support Africa's political/economic development

"The magazine is a compilation of information that portrays the true images of Africans and those in the Diaspora...This magazine will also serve as a tool to inform international business leaders about growing investment opportunities in Africa and the Caribbean. Finally, Native will bridge the gap among Africa and the African Diaspora, encouraging descendants to work together individually and as nations to become a powerful economic, intellectual and cultural force on the world stage." *Native*, v. 1 (2005): 05.

4) Support Haiti's political/economic development

"La revue Jonction se penche sur les problématiques de la société haïtienne, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur. Elle est destinée...à toutes les personnes intéressées à l'instauration de la démocratie en Haïti et à faire également de celle-ci une société de droit." *Jonction*, v. 2(1) (1999): 2.

"Ainsi Haïti-Perspectives veut répondre à la demande de ces nombreux lecteurs à la recherche d'une information pour étayer leur réflexion sur les différents aspects de la problématique haïtienne. Publication mensuelle axée sur la réalité sociale, politique et économique haïtienne, Haïti-Perspectives veut proposer à sa clientèle, qu'elle espère la plus large possible, une information de qualité, dépouillée et agréable..." *Haïti-Perspectives*, 1(1) (1987): 1.

5) Act as a forum for the exchange of ideas

"This magazine represents the Black Community Council's desire to provide a viable source of information for the community. Focus is first and foremost a vehicle for communication for and by the Black Community. There is no question that the general media ignores the views and opinions of our community. Focus intends to fill this void. In this light we welcome our readers to write to the magazine and have your voices heard." *Focus*, 1(1): 4.

"Pour donner à l'haïtien déraciné, une nouvelle chance de recouvrer son droit de parole...Son éthique est principalement le reflet de toutes tendances progressistes émanées de notre communauté." *Lambi*, mars, avril (1979): 2-3.

"...is another attempt to express and represent the feelings of this Black population of Montreal...We are concerned about the activity and interests of the ordinary everyday person and will express his viewpoint...the Black population is made up of Canadians and West Indians and other people of African descent and as such this paper will reflect that make-up." *The Black Voice*, 1(1) (1972): 4.

6) Promote Canadian integration

"Nous vous offrons ce magazine pour qu'il soit au service de toutes les intelligences, réelles ou créatrices, d'ici ou d'ailleurs. Ce, magazine sera axé sur le vécu et le bien-être des gens d'ailleurs qui vivent ici pour une meilleure intégration dans la société d'accueil." *Cannelle*, 1(1) (1991): 4.

"The African Times is being launched with a mission, an avowed mission to help in projecting the positive image about the African continent here in Canada and most importantly to showcase the positive contributions that our community members are making to Canadian society. Our mission will be to inform, to entertain and to encourage constructive discussions about events and issues that are of interest to our communities' development and place in Canadian society." *The African Times*, 1(1) (2004): 2.

Summary

This analysis of the primary source documents, the 196 Black serials, has shone light upon one aspect of Quebec literature. These serials mirror the demographic and ethnic composition of the Black community inhabiting the greater Montreal area. From 1934 on, with the launch of the newspaper *The Free Lance*, to the 2005 magazine *Native*, this print medium has been a vehicle to give voice to the diverse affiliations, associations, as well as to the occasional Black resident in that city.

This examination has revealed that Black periodicals in Montreal have a Francophone face, with French language serials comprising close to 60% of all the serials. Moreover, this literature is both multilingual and pluriethnic, underscored by the dominance of Haitian papers, which alone make up 44% of the total number of serials.

Overall in terms of format, the Black newspaper is not preferred; rather, the monthly journals and magazines, favoured by the French Haitian publisher, predominate. This preference may have a cultural bias, as newsletters and bulletins are more often preferred by English Black publishers.

Over time, the price of a Black serial in Montreal has diminished as serials, which were once supported in large part by organizational funding and by subscriptions, are increasingly offered at no charge. Today, as the rate of free serials increases, the reliance upon external advertising will increase as well.

This literature is ephemeral. Only about 55-60% of the serials make it past their first year of operation, and within three years fewer than 20% remain. This usually means that serials are defunct within release of four issues. The French serial contradicts this trend, up to 41% make it beyond 10 issues.

This literature has remained hidden and unknown, as only 35% of the serial titles sit in 26 depositories or the hands of private collectors. Holdings totaling 1,565 issues are either concentrated in the two highly public libraries such as the National Library and the BNQ (legal deposit), or in private Black institutions such as BSC and CIDIHCA. These depositories have a language bias as collections appear to be

built around the serial's language; thus, there is no single institution that has captured the linguistic diversity of the serials in significant numbers. In addition, not all serials are accessible for public examination. Only 72% are accessible repositories.

Capturing these serials in print has been achieved somewhat by bibliographers. Sixty-three sources list 102 Black serials. Several of the English and multilingual serials are cited repeatedly within a wide range of bibliographic sources, giving the impression that there are a limited number of well-known English serials, yet very few are enumerated in bibliographic literature. In contrast, most French serial titles can be found in only one source, in the BDQ, but because of its comprehensiveness, a greater number of French language serials are cited.

Black serials in Canada are not audited. Circulation figures for Black serials are given by the serial owners themselves. Black multilingual serials claim to have had the highest circulation level; averaging over 10,000 copies per issue. These multilingual serials also have the highest rate of serials with advertising. Yet the long-term trends indicate that circulation is decreasing for all language groups. Despite the decrease in circulation, since the 1970s the overall rate of free serials continues to take a greater share of serial market--at this juncture most English serials are now free.

Though Black serials in Quebec report on issues that affect Africa and the Black diaspora in the Americas, on many levels they focus on Canada. Granted, there is some geographic focus on the Caribbean, especially on Haiti. Even regarding Africa multilingual West and East African states figure prominently in Montreal's Black serials as well. However, Canada is the primary geographic area, and this emphasis is no coincidence or accident. On the contrary, this geographic focus is part of the editorial strategy, as almost half of Montreal's Black serials state that their main mission, their *raison d'être*, is to assist with the integration and adaptation of their readers into Canadian society.

Thus, Montreal's Black serials are Canadian texts, and needs to be recognized as such. They are important repositories of the cultural, social, political, and historical evidence of the Black presence in Montreal. Therefore, Black serials should be collected and preserved as part of the city's cultural life and ethnic voice.

7. Interview Findings

The interviews were designed around two goals. The first was implicit, based upon my contention that the interview process would encourage critical reflection and thoughtful action about the preservation of Black serials. Only subsequent research can determine the extent to which any change in action or attitude has occurred. The second goal was explicit, i.e., to examine the extent to which language, ethnicity, treatment of document, and orality were believed to have played a role in rendering the Black serials invisible to the Black contributors in Montreal. This can be measured to some extent. Thus, this section focusses upon how these measurable variables are perceived by the informants.

Interviews

Over a seven week period, I undertook 13 face-to-face interviews. All respondents were asked the same set of questions, either in French or in English (Appendices 14-18). All interviews were conducted in English; however, French questionnaires were used for two informants. Though both individuals considered themselves to be bilingual, I felt that they might have some issues with the wording of the English text. Thus, the French questionnaires were used to reduce ambiguity, and the need for constant clarification from one language to another. Any exchange over meaning between the French and English, though it may have been lively, would have slowed down the interviews and I was acutely aware of the time factor. As I had agreed to conduct the interviews in a timely and efficient fashion.

Procedure

The questionnaire was coded. All possible responses were numbered and a spreadsheet template was created. After each interview the responses were

entered into the corresponding cells and tallied automatically. The narrative responses were transcribed and several were included in the following section.

The first ten questions of the interview schedule contained attribute questions about origin, age, language, education etc. The tables that follow are presented according to the thematic breakdown of the questions:

- 1) non-Canadian work experience.
- 2) general Montreal experience.
- 3) last/current job held at a periodical, including its distribution and the ethnicity of its readers
- 4) bilingual publishing
- 5) knowledge about access
- 6) their current knowledge of Black periodical publishing in the city
- 7) the issue of Legal Deposit
- 8) the preservation and conservation of Black serials
- 9) their knowledge of community, Black communication, and memory
- 10) the issue of (in)visibility

Table 42 lists only those answers that received responses from the questionnaires (Appendices 14, 15). For instance, none of the respondents indicated that they had had vocational education or that they spoke Creole Spanish. These, and other responses were not included in the tallies of Table 42. The serial contributors, as a whole, are anglophones graduates older than 30, born outside of Canada, and highly bilingual. As stated earlier, an attempt was made to achieve a gender and linguistic balance. True balance could not be achieved because of the odd number interviewed but the gender makeup is close to 50%. Linguistic balance was more difficult to achieve as reflected in the section 'Language Identity.' The high number of anglophones (ten) arose because a higher than expected number of respondents identified themselves as English-speakers-even those I had originally identified as French.

The sections of Table 42 correspond to the sequence of the questions in the questionnaire.³²⁶

³²⁶ See Appendices 14-15 and 17-18.

Table 42. Characteristics of the Repondents
(n=13)

Characteristics	N	Characteristics	N
Age		Language Identity	
20-30	1	Francophone	2
31-40	3	Anglophone	10
41-50	4	Allophone	
51-60	2	Highest Degree	
60>	3	High school	1
Sex		CEC	1
Male	6	Bachelor	6
Female	7	Master	2
Place of Birth		Ph.D.	1
Quebec	4	(Grad. Diploma)	2
Africa	1	Mother tongue	
Caribbean	7	French	1
Other	1	English	8
(Cdn) ethnic origin		Creole(Fr)	3
African	1	Other (Africa)	1
West Indian	5		
African-Canadian	6	Canadian Settlement	
Other	1	(n=9)	
Bilingual ³²⁷		1960-1969	1
Yes	11	1970-1979	4
No	2	1980-1989	4

Non-Canadian Experience

About a quarter of the contributors had worked for a serial situated elsewhere. Three serial contributors have had non-Canadian experience working in print media. Two of the three worked for an English-language serial, and the other indicated he

³²⁷ Note that several indicated they were trilingual; however, I did not survey linguistic competence.

had contributed to a French publication. Their tenure with these foreign papers lasted from one to seven years.

Montreal Experience

Within Montreal though, ten have had significant long-term experience (>5yrs) working in Black serials in the city. As shown in Table 43, these informants have worked from one to 36 years with the average work or volunteer experience being 15 years.

Table 43. Overall Montreal Experience

Contributor	Years Experience	Position(s) Held
John Addo	1	Publisher
Jerry Alexandre	5	Staff journalist
Margot Blackman	25	Staff journalist, photographer
Rosetta Cadogan	22	Free lancer
Dejah Carrington	12	Free lancer, photographer
Mitchell Daudier	1	Publisher, Editor, staff journalist
Egbert Gaye	23	Editor, Publisher, staff journalist, Free lancer
Alix Laurent	14	Publisher
Richard Lord	36	Free lancer
Brenda Paris	20	Free lancer, Board member
Kariem Shabazz	7	Editor, staff journalist
Frantz Voltaire	2	Editor
Shirlette Wint	24	Editor, Free lancer

Current periodical

Eight informants continue to hold positions with a Black periodical in Montreal. These eight contributors were knowledgeable about the serial they contributed to; most could quickly recite their serial's mission as well as their serial's circulation figures.³²⁸ This circulation data were significant due to the difficulty I had experienced in tracking down the circulation level of each serial in the Checklist. Four of the seven contributors provided circulation data for four serials that had no corresponding data in the Checklist. Another revised his serial's circulation figure downward, while the two remaining contributors proffered the same updated figure for the same serial. Despite this new information, given the thesis time constraints, no adjustment has been made in the Checklist, as the visual data (graphs, tables) from the Checklist had already been generated by the time of the interviews. However, this new information, as detailed by the contributors, is presented in Table 44.

Table 44. Updated Circulation Data Captured through Interviews
(n=7)

Serial	Original Checklist Figure	Contributors' New Estimate
ACCAF Newsletter	0	200
African Affairs	0	15,000
Avril	5,000	n/a
Community Contact	10,000	20,000
Lift	0	7,000
Muhammad Speaks	0	1,500-2,000
Reference	2,000	1,000

Two of the remaining five respondents had ceased working or volunteering for a Black serial in Montreal within the past year. The other three respondents had not made a contribution to a serial for seven years or more.

³²⁸ Citing secrecy, Mitchell Daudier, Publisher of *Avril*, requested that the circulation figure she gave me not be recorded in the Checklist nor the thesis. Interview with Mitchell Daudier, June 16, 2005.

When asked about the Montreal serials to which they had contributed over their career, six indicated that they had been involved with one serial only. The rest had done stints on two to four serials. A total of 15 serials were named, the most being *Community Contact*; seven of the respondents indicated they had, at some point in their career, contributed to it. The 13 respondents represent two journals, one newsletter, seven newspapers, two magazines and one e-zine. Table 45 illustrates the range of serials that these respondents have been associated with over the years.

Table 45. Range of Serials Respondents have contributed to over their careers (n=15)

Serial title	No. of Contributors	Serial title	No. of Contributors
ACCAF	1	Reference	1
Avril	1	Voice	1
Bam News	1	African Affairs	2
Expression	1	Afro-Canadian	4
Image	1	Caribbean Camera	4
Lift	1	Afro-Can	5
Muhammad Speaks	1	Community Contact	7
Native	1		

Recognizing that not all respondents would be involved with a serial at the time of their interview, a series of questions were posed about the last periodical they had worked for or volunteered on. Based upon their responses, a profile of 11 serials was created (Table 46).

Most of these respondents have contributed to a serial with a significant run (11 issues or more) and duration (beyond one year). These serials attract a full range of the diverse Black ethnic groups. Most describe their serial's readers as mainly Black English speakers, specifically from the Caribbean or North America. The exceptions are 1) *African Affairs*, a bilingual newspaper, that attracts unilingual English or French Black Africans, as well as bilingual and trilingual Africans, and 2)

Muhammad Speaks, a bilingual newspaper that claims to have both English and French Caribbean readers.

Table 46. Profile of Last Periodical Worked or Volunteered On

Serial	Run	Duration	Make-up of Readers	Black Readers Language/Ethnicity
ACCAF	1 issue	7-12 mths	Mainly Blk	Eng-Carib
African Affairs	4-10 issues	7-12 mths	Mainly Blk	Eng/Fre-Africans
African Affairs	11+ issues	13-23 mths	General public	Eng/Fre-Africans
Afro-Can	11+ issues	5-10 yrs	Mainly Blk	Eng-Carib/Can/US
Avril	4-10 issues	13-23 mths	Mainly Blk	Fre-Carib
Caribbean Camera	11+ issues	5-10 yrs	Mainly Blk	Eng-Carib
Community Contact	11+ issues	11-20 yrs	Mainly Blk	Eng-Carib/Can/US
Community Contact	11+ issues	11-20 yrs	Mainly Blk	Eng-Carib
Community Contact	11+ issues	11-20 yrs	Mainly Blk	Eng-Carib
Lift	2-3 issues	13-23 mths	General public	Eng-Can/US
Muhammad Speaks	11+ issues	5-10 yrs	Mainly Blk	Eng/Fre-Carib, Eng-Can/US
References	11+ issues	2-4 yrs	Blacks only	Fre-Carib
Voice	11+ issues	2-4 yrs	Mainly Blk	Eng-Can/US

Distribution

When asked in general terms, nine respondents claim that they have taken the time to create distribution networks throughout the greater Montreal area. However, when queried about their specific distribution pattern, it appears that only four actually ensure regular distribution both east and west of Blvd. St. Laurent, as well as to points off the island, such as the South Shore and Laval regions.³²⁹ Only one respondent, Mitchell Daudier, Publisher of *Avril*, indicated that her distribution was regularly handled by the private distributing company, Benjamin News. Yet

³²⁹ Note that Blvd. St. Laurent is the official east and west demarcation in the city, or rather between the traditional English boroughs in the west and the predominantly French communities to the east. Some would argue that the unofficial line begins at University Street, the easternmost edge of the once English-dominated downtown retail area. For my purposes, though, I used Blvd. St. Laurent as the dividing line.

Daudier continues to distribute personally *Avril* throughout her community. At the time of my interview with her, Daudier had in her possession about a dozen copies of each of the first four issues of *Avril*. Such a hands-on approach is the norm for Black contributors. Given the small operating budgets of the serials, it is not surprising to find that half of the respondents state they have actively been involved in physically distributing the serial. This ranged from carrying a few copies and handing them out to friends or strangers, to loading bundles into their cars and dropping off copies at outlets, including:

- Black barber shops and hair salons, restaurants, caterers and halls
- Black retail stores, including clothing, grocers, markets, depanneurs, and importers,
- Black community institutions, such as churches, recreation and service centers.

A few respondents indicated that their distribution network extends to other Caribbean, non-Black, venues. These include East-Indian outlets frequented by West Indian-born East Indians, or Chinese establishments where a sizable West Indian Chinese population may frequent. Publisher Egbert Gaye noted that *Community Contact* appeals to the entire Caribbean community in Montreal, and that this community is larger than simply the Black West Indian population; it includes Caribbean-born Whites, Asians, Southeast Asians, and hispanics.³⁹⁰ Another respondent, Dejah Carrington, does not have a physical drop-off point simply because the e-zine, *Lift* is on the web. She noted that the web has opened up *Lift* to non-Black readers as well, from Montreal, Europe and Africa.

In concluding this profile, I queried respondents' perception about the Black community's awareness of their serial. Fifty-four percent believe that 'a majority of Blacks in Montreal' were, or are, aware of the existence of their serial.

³⁹⁰ Interview with Egbert Gaye, June 6, 2005.

Bilingual publishing

Given the bilingual make-up of the Black population, the questionnaire examined their opinions on the need for a bilingual, Montreal-wide periodical. The first question, 'Do Blacks in Montreal need a bilingual periodical?' was overwhelmingly supported, ten agreed. The two subsequent questions were just slightly less well received. To, 'Would you consider producing a bilingual periodical publication?', nine said yes. A final question as to whether or not Black Montrealers would support such a venture, eight respondents saw this as a possibility.

The detractors of a bilingual publication were quite adamant that such an idea would not work in Montreal. One such protester was publisher Alix Laurent, who remarked that Black Montrealers would have no patience with a bilingual publication, and would be uncomfortable skipping over one section or the other as they navigate the text. Frustrated, they would abandon the paper. In addition, based on previous experience, he could not see how advertisers would be comfortable with a bilingual publication. Such ventures, in his opinion, do not work and come and go frequently.³³¹ Egbert Gaye made similar comments: "Bilingual papers would be too alienating, alienating to one group or the other. Besides they would be too confusing for the reader. It would be expensive to do and they have no staying power."³³² Margot Blackman, longtime contributor to *Afro-Canadian* and *Community Contact*, suggested that resistance would come specifically from English readers and doom the venture because the English reader would not buy anything bilingual.³³³

³³¹ Interview with Alix Laurent, June 7, 2005.

³³² Interview with Egbert Gaye, June 6, 2005.

³³³ Interview with Margot Blackman, June 8, 2005.

Access to Black periodicals

When asked about where Black print media in Montreal could be accessed, it is not surprising given their hands-on distribution, that most mentioned the typical drop-off points: Black grocery stores, restaurants, etc. Only three respondents considered the libraries and only one mentioned that the National Library and National Archives, in Ottawa, was a site where Black periodicals could be obtained.

Current Black periodical publishing

Identifying Black in-print serials published in Montreal today proved to be difficult for some respondents. Three could name only one or two serial titles. Generally though, responses ranged from one to seven titles, with the average number cited being four. My listing of in-print Black serials, (Appendix 3), included 28 titles. As a result of the input from respondents, it appears that my listing is too low. They proffered five additional titles of Black publications circulating in Montreal at present. All told, respondents cited 23 titles, though some serials were repeated multiple times. For instance, *Community Contact* was cited 10 times, followed by

Table 47. Interview Results: Black Serials Currently In-Print

Serial	No. times cited	Serial	No. times cited
African Voice*	1	Njoya	1
Cacique	1	Reference*	1
Diaspora*	1	Share Mtl	1
Diplomat Comm.	1	Unistar	1
FESA	1	Influence	2
Journal Positif	1	Presence	2
Kola*	1	Avril*	3
Lift*	1	Mtl. Camera*	6
Maransa	1	African Affairs*	7
ME Mag	1	Caribbean Camera	7
Mille Visages*	1	Community Contact*	10
Native*	1		

African Affairs, Caribbean Camera, and Montreal Camera.

Table 47 presents an updated listing. Those with an asterisk are listed in Appendix 3 while titles in bold are missing from the listing. The remaining six, those without asterisks and in plain text, are in the Checklist, but I had not found evidence, up to the period of interviews, that these were in-print serials. By the time of the interviews in May and June 2005, for practical reasons, I had already ceased data collection by March 2005. Thus, despite receiving these new titles during the interviews, the Checklist was not updated and no follow up was undertaken. I have not as yet seen those titles in bold; nor can I confirm that they are from Montreal, or Black-controlled.

Legal Deposit

Most respondents were not aware of how Legal Deposit works. Six respondents claimed they understand the concept of Legal Deposit; however only two of the six could name both the National Library (Ottawa) and the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec as depositories.

Preservation and conservation of Black serials

Although many respondents indicated they were aware that serials had been discarded or lost, none of them offered a specific story. Only three respondents claimed that there had been steps taken to put serials (*Community Contact, Reference, Image*) into Legal Deposit from their inauguration.

Black institutions which have sponsored the serials appeared to be a favoured storage center for out-of-print serials. By all accounts, the major institution that played this role appears to have been the Negro Community Centre (NCC). The NCC had sponsored *Focus Umoja* for several years, and so at its demise it was put into storage in the building. Then, as Rosetta Cadogan recalled, during the 1980s when a rift occurred between the Editorial Board of *Afro Can* and its

institutional sponsor, the NCC, “the people at the NCC threw the paper out, and only later were some [issues] salvaged and kept in the archives of the NCC.”³³⁴ Later, after that same Editorial Board had vacated the NCC and established *The Afro Canadian* elsewhere, they were faced with the same dilemma. Margot Blackman remembers that when *The Afro Canadian* folded it was summarily discarded, because “by that time, the staff was fed up.”³³⁵

During the 1980s, I was intimately involved in the administration of the NCC; from the position of Administrative Assistant to the Executive Director, and I took over as Acting Director, just prior to its demise. I noted then, that the NCC, like most other institutions within the community, did not have an archivist, librarian, or document specialist on staff. Much of the document and archival control was left to volunteers or untrained staff members. This occasionally lead to the wholesale loss of serial runs as new volunteers or administrators earmarked these papers for the garbage. Today this lack of regard for serials continues. Rosetta Cadogan informed me that while on her regular visits to the Cote des Neiges Black Community Center, she witnesses staff throwing out Black newspapers. These, she claimed are the papers’ latest issues, just deposited two days earlier. The Center does not keep copies, nor actively disseminates them to their clients.³³⁶

Two other institutions, the Black Studies Centre and CIDIHCA, were also noted by respondents as having had made the effort to preserve Black print serials. Surprisingly, Egbert Gaye noted that it is Americans who are preserving the print serials of Black Montreal. He spoke about the Wisconsin Historical Society and the New York Public Library,

In our case, we make every effort to maintain our records. We have one or two libraries that subscribe to *Community Contact* with a direct aim towards preservation, but they are mostly in the States though: the New York State Library and the State Historical Library of Wisconsin. We send to them every month...We do send *Community Contact* to the Quebec national library and to the Quebec Ministry of

³³⁴ Interview with Rosetta Cadogan, June 7, 2005.

³³⁵ Interview with Margot Blackman, June 8, 2005.

³³⁶ Interview with Rosetta Cadogan, June 7, 2005.

communication, MCRI.³³⁷

Other respondents indicated that conserving the serials came down to the individual effort of other periodical staff members or of themselves. For instance, Margot Blackman stated she had deliberately kept as many copies as she could while working with *Afro Can*, but she “was forced to throw out copies years later because [she] had no more room, [and] had called some Black community institutions to see if they would take them, but they were not interested.”³³⁸

Community, communication, and collective memory

The next series of questions dealt with the respondents’ knowledge of community, of communication within Black Montreal, and collective memory.

Collective memory harkens back to African tradition where clan or tribal stories, genealogy, events, etc., were passed down orally through griots, community elders, adult kin and spiritual mentors. In this modern era, collective memory speaks of a shared foundation of African values, heroes, myths and history. I wondered if the African collective memory, even in 2005, was sufficiently strong that the Black community in Montreal did not need to preserve its written documents. Eleven of the 13 respondents disagreed, eight of them disagreed strongly. This statement produced a visceral reaction from several respondents; some were even offended. Karriem Shabbazz, Editor of *Muhammad Speaks*, articulated clearly the reasons why such a statement was seen as problematic

It’s true that we do have a strong oral history, but that doesn’t mean we shouldn’t keep a strong written record. Written history is still part of our history as well, so no, I think we definitely still need to keep our written records, our history in the form of newspapers and magazines and books and not only rely on the oral tradition as well.³³⁹

³³⁷ Interview with Egbert Gaye, June 6, 2005.

³³⁸ Interview with Margot Blackman, June 8, 2005.

³³⁹ Interview with Karriem Shabbazz, June 6, 2005.

American-born Shirlette Wint, Publisher of *ACCAF Newsletter*, made the connection between print and identity, "I strongly, strongly disagree because if you're not in print it's as if you don't exist. If your image is not on the screen, you don't exist. I think we live in an age where print is important for young people to have...models available to them."³⁴⁰ She continues, "On oral tradition I think it is overrated. I think most people read the news. I don't think the oral tradition is used as it is made out to be...[there is] this myth that Blacks use...oral tradition to communicate."³⁴¹

Rather than negate the impact of the oral tradition, John Addo, the African-born Publisher of *African Affairs*, acknowledges that this tradition in Canada exists. However, as an editor, he personally can no longer rely upon it.

This is the way it is...but I don't agree with it...because the oral preservation trait was the passing of generations...But is it there for people to know?...it would probably not be the best way of doing things, to keep them oral. I'm African you understand, and in our tradition I can pull an old man in for an interview and he can narrate history from his fathers, [from] his family, etc. but if he passes away what happens to his stories?...when he's gone, the library is gone.³⁴²

The familial linkages are maintained through the oral tradition. Journalist Margot Blackman lamented how even the West Indian community in Canada has been changed by the loss of the oral tradition in this country. "My friends tell me they don't see the oral tradition being continued because the young kids are not interested any more. They want to be Canadian and not West Indian. They don't care about connecting to each other any more. They don't include family and ancestors any more, so the oral tradition is dying."³⁴³

While acknowledging that the oral tradition within Canada's Black communities is on the wane, Canadian-born Richard Lord maintains his cultural legacy, "Because

³⁴⁰ Interview with Shirlette Wint, April 27, 2005.

³⁴¹ Interview with Shirlette Wint, April 27, 2005.

³⁴² Interview with John Addo, June 7, 2005.

³⁴³ Interview with Margot Blackman, June 8, 2005.

we have an oral tradition Black people don't keep papers. I think it is fading but it still keeps on. I keep it in my head. I've got boxes in my head."³⁴⁴ When asked, Richard refuses to commit his stories to paper. As Jerry Alexandre discovered, Richard Lord typifies the attitude of many elders, particularly those who once lived in Montreal's historic Black community.

Alexandre, contributor to *Community Contact*, has tried to uncover the historic background to the Black community. Due to the reluctance of the elder griots to share, and the lack of printed data, his odyssey has not been easy,

I've met [elderly] people, and when I try to tell them that I know the history of this place; they have lived here for so many years, and they told me "no, you don't know anything at all, because a lot of the things we know, we have lived through, are not written in the books." So these people are walking history and there is no way to get information if you want to even have a dialogue with these people. There is no way you can even construct questions on the things that you would like to know and that is something that we are missing.³⁴⁵

How do these cultural experts, writing about the community to the community, define their own community? The question posed was, "How many communities are there in Montreal represented by the phrase 'the Black community of Montreal'?" There was no unanimity on this question. Seven of the 13 said "one community", while the other six responses ranged from a low of "three" to a fractured community of over "30 or more" distinct ethnic identities. Though asked as part of the questions related to ethnicity, several responses were highly political. For instance, Alix Laurent retorted, "There is one community, just ask the police!"³⁴⁶ Other comments made reference to the balkanization of Blacks along national lines. Haitian-born Jerry Alexandre expressed this sentiment well,

There is not a collective consciousness of the Black community. It's more like every community...is...represented by nationals. I'm from St. Vincent then I stick to the St. Vincent group. I'm from Trinidad then I stick to a group of people from Trinidad and the group of people from Jamaica stick

³⁴⁴ Interview with Richard Lord, June 6, 2005.

³⁴⁵ Interview with Jerry Alexandre, April 27, 2005.

³⁴⁶ Interview with Alix Laurent, June 7, 2005.

with Jamaicans...The people are searching for something, they are struggling to come together...since there have not been any efforts to bring all of the communities together. One of the reasons why this is happening is because every nationality has its own institution representing its own people...this institution maintains a division between all the groups and they don't really work hard to really bridge the gap so that [all] people can come together...³⁴⁷

With the community seemingly split into enclaves along ethnic or national lines, how do they communicate with each other in crisis? What tools are used to mount an effective social and political response in the face of these plural identities. In other words, do Blacks in Montreal use print for intra-community action? Respondents were given 12 options (Table 48). The most popular form of communication between Blacks is the telephone. This is followed by Black newspapers and Black community radio.

Table 48. Popular Communication Tools Used in Times of Crisis in Montreal's Black community (n=12)

Tools	Popularity	Tools	Popularity
Telephone	12	Email	5
Black newspapers	11	Mainstream newspapers	5
Community radio	11	Mainstream radio	5
Informal meetings	10	Other Black print	5
Formal meetings	7	Mainstream TV	3
Community TV	6	Websites	3

Given the popularity of newspapers, only five of the 13 respondents agreed that "...it would be advantageous to have one Black paper in Montreal." The other eight disagreed on the basis that one voice would not serve the community well.

One Black paper has to encompass all the various views and I don't think one newspaper at this stage of our history is able to do that. I think the variety of newspapers would be better able to do that. People are able to speak their convictions, their personal beliefs, maybe their ideologies. It would be good, it would be ideal to have

³⁴⁷ Interview with Jerry Alexandre, April 27, 2005.

one, but realistically, I think we would need to have various papers.³⁴⁸

Significantly though, as Shirlette Wint suggests, Black newspapers do not facilitate communication or collective social response in Montreal because of the issue of multiple languages,

“...clearly there is a separation within the larger Black community, because language is an issue. In an event or an issue that is important to both [language] communities, they don't necessarily hear about it at the same time or in the same way, because they are not going to the same source for information, so that will have an impact as to when they respond to it and how they respond to it. There are several bimonthly periodicals...but they don't necessarily address the same issues, which creates a problem, which is why you do not have the whole community rallying around an incident...They don't get the same news at the same time, [because] the publisher...may not place the same importance on the same issue as maybe another community newspaper in another language.”

Thus, it is this lack of a coherent stance engendered by multiple Black papers which made her support the idea of “one Black paper in Montreal.”

The issue of (in)visibility

The last three questions were posed to find out respondents' opinions as to 1) where to find out-of-print serials, 2) whether Black serials in Montreal are visible and, 3) how four factors may have played a role in the silence of serials in Montreal.

Frantz Voltaire is past-Publisher of the journal, *Chemins Critiques*, and present Publisher of Éditions CIDIHCA, the largest Black book publisher in Quebec. Voltaire was the only respondent who was aware that out-of-print Black serials are held at the National Library of Canada. and at the BNQ. Other responses varied considerably. Two cultural experts freely admitted they had no idea where they could find out-of-print Black serials. Further suggestions included the Internet, the McCord Museum, Ville de Montréal Archives, provincial archives, National Archives, Concordia University Libraries, CIDIHCA, and the Black Studies Centre.

³⁴⁸ Interview with Karriem Shabbazz, June 6, 2005.

Almost one-third of the responses were similar to that of Egbert Gaye who proposed, “You would go to individuals who were involved in whatever periodical you were looking at.”³⁴⁹

Generally though, the responses from other respondents confirmed that many Blacks face great difficulty when undertaking research on Blacks in Canada. For example, one cultural expert had little enthusiasm at the prospect of even undertaking a search for Black serials. “I would go to The National Library of Canada, but based on my knowledge of what has happened to me [when researching] that would be a hopeless effort, with no certain hope that I could find anything.”³⁵⁰ He was not alone in contemplating the futility of such a task; Karriem Shabbazz acknowledged “I don’t know anywhere I could [go]. I don’t know where I could get them.”³⁵¹

Visibility

When asked directly if they “consider Montreal’s Black serials to be visible or invisible in Montreal’s Black communities,” five stated visible. The question assumed that an affirmative meant that the serials are well known and easily referenced in relevant discourse. This assumption held for four of the five positive replies. However, Egbert Gaye, referring to his daily exposure on CJAD 800AM, the premier English talk-radio station, equated this exposure with visibility. He posited that Black papers in Montreal “are visible, mostly because of *Community Contact*. *Community Contact* has been the longest serving newspaper, and has gained flexibility and made inroads. Because of *Community Contact* other newspapers coming on board now will have visibility because they can piggyback

³⁴⁹ Interview with Egbert Gaye, June 6, 2005.

³⁵⁰ Interview with Jerry Alexandre, April 27, 2005.

³⁵¹ Interview with Karriem Shabbazz, June 6, 2005.

out of the consistency and the “greatness” of *Community Contact*.³⁶² [Gaye's emphasis]

Gaye's belief that the promotional exposure of *Community Contact* has helped to increase the visibility of other Black serials, is not shared by the other eight respondents who had responded negatively. Most were unhesitant in their assertion that Montreal's serials are not visible to Blacks. Shirlette Wint said, “I think they are invisible. Because they're not accessible, people don't know where to go. [They] don't even know [of] their existence. And if they do find out they exist, how are they going to access them?”³⁶³

Jerry Alexandre sees the lack of visibility as an issue that has been created in part by the Black serials themselves--they make themselves invisible to Blacks because they are not relevant to Blacks,

The general audience does not feel that these papers are communicating with them. I do not see the longing for the paper when it is going to come out. There is not that interest for people waiting for the paper to come out to read it because there is something happening, [or] something that they are going to learn. I don't see that [interest in Montreal] which is part of the reason why the papers are nearly invisible. The paper is not a mechanism that creates a forum so people can come together to discuss issues...and they need to find people who are able to reach out to the community and so that way the paper will become visible.³⁶⁴

Explaining Invisibility

In concluding each interview, the four variables queried were ranked from one to four by respondents, with four being the least important explanation. One respondent, Mitchell Daudier, categorically refused to rank the variables. She insisted that none of the four variables adequately explained the lack of visibility. She proceeded to write her own explanation on the questionnaire and then chose to speak off the record; as a result her subsequent comments were not captured on tape. Daudier's explanation, summarized from her discussion with me, is that Blacks

³⁶² Interview with Egbert Gaye, June 6, 2005.

³⁶³ Interview with Shirlette Wint, April 27, 2005.

³⁶⁴ Interview with Jerry Alexandre, April 27, 2005.

in Quebec desire to conform and fit into Quebec society. They do not want to be visible or stand out and therefore do not care to conserve their printed culture because that would make them different from the Quebec norm.

Rosetta Cadogan and Jerry Alexandre chose to rank only one response, the most significant variable. Alexandre's explanation for declining to rank more than one variable is in keeping with his earlier statements about the lack of interest in the Black press, "I don't think it is any of them. We could say it is the lack of appreciation for the papers and [that] people are not really into them, but it is not a lack of appreciation, it's just alienation."³⁶⁵

The final tally: ten respondents ranked the four variables, one declined and two ranked only their "most important" variable. The responses varied, offering nine different rankings (Table 49). The rankings of each variable were summed in

Table 49. The Frequency of Ranking Patterns and the Scores of four Variables
n=12

	Ranking Pattern				Frequency
	Language	Ethnicity	Oral Tradition	Treatment	
1)	4	3	2	1	3
2)	2	3	4	1	2
3)	1	2	4	3	1
4)	1	3	2	4	1
5)	3	2	4	1	1
6)	1	3	4	2	1
7)	2	1	3	1	1
8)	-	-	-	1	1
9)	-	-	1	-	1
Variable Totals	24	26	32	20	

³⁶⁵ Interview with Jerry Alexandre, April 27, 2005.

columns to determine the lowest score or “the most important” variable. The most popular pattern of response, in the order from least important to most important was: 1) language, 2) ethnicity, 3) the oral tradition, and finally the treatment of documents. Three respondents ranked the four variables in this order. Two others made this identical ranking: 1) the oral tradition, 2) ethnicity, 3) language, and finally the treatment of documents. The frequency of the other combinations of responses are listed in Table 49.

This pattern reveals two elements. First, according to the 13 Black cultural experts the most important variable (that with the lowest score-20) which explains lack of visibility is: Blacks treat their documents poorly. Over half of respondents marked this variable as the most important. The least acceptable explanation for the serials’ silence over the past 70 years, is the persistence or legacy of the oral tradition within the Montreal Black community. The most popular pattern chosen by respondents was 1) treatment, 2) oral tradition, 3) ethnicity and finally 4) language. Significantly treatment and language both received the most one rankings, with one being the most important. Ethnicity never figured last on any ranking; whereas five respondents earmarked oral as the least important variable.

Table 50 takes these same rankings and sorts the tallies using other criteria. For instance, there is a notable gender difference in the importance accorded the rankings--four of the five women questioned ranked the treatment of serials as the number one reason (4), whereas the most important reason given by men was language (16).

When looking at respondents’ opinions by age, those 50 and under chose language (15) while discounting oral tradition. Those 51 and older saw the treatment of documents as the primary explanation (4) but discounted language and oral tradition in equal measure.

Table 50. The Demographic Breakdown of the Ranking Patterns
n=12

	Language Totals	Ethnicity Totals	Oral Tradition Totals	Treatment of Serials Totals
<u>Gender</u>				
Female	12	12	13	4
Male	12	14	19	16
<u>Age</u>				
20-50	11	15	19	15
51+	13	11	13	4
<u>Birthplace</u>				
Quebec	11	12	10	7
Elsewhere	13	14	22	13
<u>Ethnicity</u>				
Afri-Canadian	13	15	16	7
Other	11	11	13	13
<u>Mother Tongue</u>				
English	18	20	21	12
Other	6	6	8	8
<u>Education</u>				
BA or less	14	15	15	15
Graduate	10	11	14	5

Quebec born respondents clearly favoured the treatment of documents as the primary reason for the serials' lack of visibility in the community(7). The majority, those born outside of Quebec, were split, selecting both language and the treatment of serials equally (13).

Those whose mother tongue is English clearly favoured the treatment of

documents as their most important reason (12). For those whose mother tongue is not English, there was no clear preference between language and ethnicity.

The final demographic, used to compare responses, is the education level of respondents. Graduates, those who acquired a graduate degree or certificate, ranked the options in the following order: 1) the treatment of serials, 2) language, 3) ethnicity, 4) the oral tradition. Those with a BA or less ranked language first (5), but then they gave equal weight to the other three factors.

Summary

The interviews served two purposes. The first goal was to explore how the owners, editors, and journalists of Black serials perceive how the Black community's heterogeneity may have contributed to the obfuscation of their serials. The second was to encourage contributors to reflect on serial distribution, readership, serial preservation, legal deposit, and the historical continuity of serial production in the community. It was my intent to encourage these contributors to think about the serial as a Black cultural product or valued artefact and to encourage these informants to consider alternatives to ignoring or discarding them.

The interviews revealed several interesting elements, particularly regarding the effect of language. Language plays a key role in how serials are distributed in Montréal. Though networks are maintained across the island, very few serials successfully bridge the linguistic divide and serve the two linguistic communities. Despite this limitation, most respondents believe that the majority of Blacks in Montreal were aware of the existence of their particular serial. Yet only one cultural expert came close to estimating the total number of serials published since 1934, and none of these cultural experts were aware of the range of periodicals that exist today.

These cultural experts generally possessed a high level of education and were bilingual. It was not surprising that overall their response to bilingual publishing was very positive. However, they expressed no clear commitment to the viability of a bilingual publication in the Black community as the comments made against bilingualism were very strong and clear. The message here is that Black publications would fail from either the resistance from the advertiser, the readers, and perhaps resistance from the publishers' themselves.

Blacks regard access to periodicals outside of their own community networks to be very limited. They acknowledge that their marginal status has left them outside of the normal archival networks. Only three respondents could easily state the fact that Black serials are housed in local libraries. Nevertheless, recognizing that archives

may have records appears to do little to quell their disquiet and sense of futility. Note Alexandre's comment, "I would go to The National Library of Canada, but based on my knowledge of what has happened to me [when researching] that would be a hopeless effort, with no certain hope that I could find anything." For most others the idea that local libraries could hold Black serials, did not occur to them. According to them, elements within the community hold these documents and therefore Black serials must be accessed through the networks inside the Black community.

Moreover, the respondents were not aware of Legal Deposit--not aware of what it is or how it works in Canada. As a result, most had no idea that legal deposit can be a means to preserve serialized documents. Rather, they looked to the community for preservation. Respondents iterated over and over, that the local Black institutions, such as the diverse Black commercial and retail businesses, and the state funded social/recreational centres were typical places where out-of-print Black serials could be available. No distinction was made between these places as points of dissemination and those depositories of preservation. Rather, these venues operate without permanent means or the mandate to preserve serials or other printed documents.

As many respondents stated, solutions exist in the individual Black collector. Yet this type of conservation is for a generation at a time. Black individuals tend to take on this responsibility and status that comes with it, until they run out of storage space or die--at which time collections may be broken up or given away without control to others. This reliance upon the individual has another risk, and that is limited access. Gaye commented that "You would go to individuals who were involved in whatever periodical you were looking at" works only when one knows the serial titles in the first place. In addition, one's network needs to be sufficiently wide enough to personally track down these individuals. This makes the research of Black periodicals within the community challenging and daunting.

There was mixed reaction to the idea of orality and its dominance in the community, and of how the African oral tradition has influenced the treatment of

documents. Wint and Gaye totally discount the role that the oral tradition is playing in the community. They see how the modern means of communication has significant influence within the community today. Others like Addo, Blackman, and Alexandre recognize that the oral tradition is alive and strong in the community, yet they lament how this tradition, in the modern context, means the loss of history. Still others, as represented by Richard Lord, not only recognize this African legacy but celebrate its persistence in their lives and community. His statement, "I've got boxes in my head" represents the attitude of many elders, those community griots in our midst who take pride in their knowledge, but who are reluctant to commit to text what they know. Alexandre, in noting this attitude, clearly sees how preserving serials could have played a role in lessening the impact of orality amongst Blacks and bridging knowledge between the generations. The elders' words, experiences and ideas once on paper would be accessible to later generations, in other words, to him.

Respondents talked of two ideas about Black community. One idea or concept is that the Black community is one entity. Yet there is recognition that this identity is an external identity foisted upon the community, or in the words of Laurent, "just ask the police." For others, the Black community is not a monolith, rather it is heterogeneous, extremely heterogeneous. This plurality of culture, history and experience has affected the communication styles and the transfer of knowledge and information within the multi-lingual community. Thus the role that the Black newspaper has historically played in North America, that is to guide and counsel, takes on different meaning in Montreal's ethnic and linguistic reality.

When discussing the issue of one Black newspaper in Montreal only five could envision such a publication playing a significant role. It was strongly felt that one paper could stifle different viewpoints. Yet in terms of language Wint, a fully bilingual CLSC counselor and community worker, believes that the use of one Black newspaper could solve the issue of coherence and timeliness in the news reporting. Wint remarked that currently, each editor emphasizes different stories and have different publication schedules--so that different parts of the community will hear about the same news item at different times and from different perspectives.

The four factors that I had asked respondents to rank were not accepted *carte blanche*. Rather, some respondents insisted the lack of visibility in the community is multifaceted. As Wint noted, serials suffer from lack of promotion from within and access from outside the community. Whereas, Alexandre saw these issues as a lack of relevance from within. Black papers are not relevant to Blacks thus Blacks do not invest in preserving, maintaining them as representatives of their age, their time or their voice.

Another explanation for the community's indifference came from Daudier, who strongly argued that invisibility of the serials has occurred because of the Black desire to conform or acculturate into Quebec. Any recognition of cultural products such as Black print marks Blacks as different.

A final thought on visibility came from Dejah Carrington, the youngest of the cultural experts. She speaks of the responsibility of the issuing organizations and their failure to preserve their legacy.

I'm afraid that they [serials] are going to disappear. I'm afraid that these organizations aren't keeping records of at least one of their publications. Somebody is going to have an interest in them many years later and have to do a research on how many Black papers there were...and will have to be digging and digging and digging to find them because nobody will have kept accurate records, not the libraries, not any institution or building, nobody. Unless Black organizations start taking a bit more responsibility for their own archives, they run the risk of becoming extinct.³⁵⁶

In conclusion then, these results confirm the heterogeneity of the Montreal Black serials. The respondents' personal profiles and their responses mirror the idea of communities with community, and dispel the idea of monolith. The respondents' voices give evidence to issues of invisibility through statements regarding access and retrieval. Their voices unlike the past are not truncated or dissipated. Rather their voices speak clearly and credibly about the issues in the community that may explain the silence or affect the state of visibility of Black serials in Montreal's landscape.

³⁵⁶ Interview with Dejah Carrington, June 14, 2005.

Unanticipated Results

I had expected that language would be the single most significant factor to explain the invisibility of the serials within the Black population of Montreal. The interview results appear to show, from the responses of the cultural experts, that language is not a major factor. The most significant variable appears to be how serials are treated by the community itself. However, other issues have an impact as well. The mishandling, misuse and neglect of the serials speaks to the lack of understanding of history residing on paper, the persistence of the oral tradition and the lack of relevance that these papers hold for some.

Canada has had over five decades of Legal Deposit, in place since the early 1950s, and in its present form since 1968, and Legal Deposit at the BNQ has been in place since 1967. I had expected that there may be ignorance about the provincial and national legal deposit. Nevertheless, I had not expected the lack of awareness to be as complete as it appears to be, even among these serial contributors. Despite the number of Black serials held at the BNQ no one mentioned this depository. They are not aware that the depositories have in their holdings the beginnings of significant collections. In many respects, Blacks are divorced from these institutions. This makes the lack of outreach from these state-run institutions doubly difficult. It is assumed, given the almost nonexistence of Blacks within these institutions, that this translates into a lack of Black holdings. The Black community therefore, cannot imagine that national or provincial institutions actively maintain their printed heritage.

8. Discussion & Implications

Impact of the study in terms of what was learned

African-American professor and prolific author Henry Lewis Suggs' decades of research into democratization in the American heartland lead him to conclude that ultimately, "all serious scholarship about the black experience, both past and present, is incomplete without a detailed analysis of the black press."³⁵⁷ I concur, for this study has changed the way I have looked, and perhaps the way others will look, at the Black community. I say this as a Black historian, knowledgeable in the historical sources. These periodical sources uncovered from Joliette, Hull, Quebec City and, of course, most of the ones from Montreal, were brand-new to me. These are untapped areas of research and may well expand our understanding of the Black community in Quebec and in Montreal. The discovery of this literature may afford researchers a new source for the history of the Black person in much the same way that the discovery in Philadelphia in 1959 of the entire run of Shadd's *The Provincial Freeman* spurred on the historiography of the Black press in southwestern Ontario.³⁵⁸

Perhaps much of what I may have said in my earlier books might have been different or expanded, bringing new analysis, had I been aware of or had access to these sources at the time I was writing these books. Jerry Alexandre, a poet and writer, also noted that the historical and cultural value of this literature is important to

a person like myself who is very much interested in the history of this place. So if I knew there were newspapers at the time like in the fifties, and going backwards, this information could have been very valuable to me because I want to know what occurred here in the fifties and forties.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ Suggs, 1-2.

³⁵⁸ Alexander L. Murray, "The Provincial Freeman: A New Source for the History of the Negro in Canada and the United States," *Journal of Negro History* 44(2) (April 1959): 123-35.

³⁵⁹ Interview with Jerry Alexandre, April, 27, 2005.

The information and insights of the writers, publishers, and editors may well mean the rewriting the Black role within the city and province.

Further, this thesis is a model that could be useful for other ethnic groups in Montreal so that they, too do not lose their print texts over time. Today, dozens of foreign language newspapers are published in the city. Many of these communities, such as the Iranian and East Indian etc., are not as old as the Black community in the city; nevertheless, they have vibrant newspapers that reflect their unique perspective in Canada. The preservation of these presses and also the journals, newsletters, and bulletins from their local organizations need to be addressed specifically within each community. Is enough being done? These communities need to determine if local libraries or if their own community archives have an adequate representation of their ethnic serials. This investigation should not be delayed 10 or 30 years hence, long after the first and second wave of immigrant texts have been forgotten or lost. Rather this thesis should encourage other ethnic communities to take stock of the accessibility of their own serialized texts today. These communities need to be encouraged to identify, locate, preserve, and advance the entirety of their periodical heritage. Their printed sources afford a window into the culture, values, and concerns of their unique cultural community. Active preservation of their texts is crucial to promote the historical, racial and ethnic diversity in Canada.

This thesis has increased awareness of Black periodicals in Quebec, Montreal among the scholarly community and within the population of Black serial producers in the city. This may take a long time to translate into an increased level of cooperation and engagement between libraries, archives and the Black community's serial contributors.

Strengths and weaknesses of study

On the one hand, the strength of the bibliographical Checklist is its breadth,

because the full landscape of Black serials is revealed. Comprehensive information about Black serials in Montreal is evident for the first time. This thesis demonstrates that Blacks have embraced different print forms as they have produced newspapers, journals, directories, e-zines, and the like, over several decades.

On the other hand, this checklist format is also one of the major weaknesses of this research, because no one serial has been examined in its entirety. The template is not designed for an in-depth content analysis. Each of the 18 fields and their indices is sufficient, though, to warrant a more detailed study. From the frequency of issues to the circulation, distribution and pricing policies, much more needs to be uncovered about the management/editorial decisions that have an impact on the process of publishing a Black serial in the Montreal market.

Another weakness is that this thesis is not a comparative analysis. However, perhaps the input of a group of librarians would have yielded different results. Another study that focuses on the librarians and their interactions or lack of interaction with the Black community still needs to be written.

Nevertheless, one of my aims was to educate the contributors. The interview process and my on-going personal engagement with them would be, I had hoped, a catalyst for them to think about developing new habits and policies on the collection and preservation of their own periodicals. To that end, inviting these unknown editors and writers to discuss these and similar issues was an empowering step. And so the thesis' singular focus on one group is a strength in that for the first time, the voice of the city's Black journalistic community is heard.

Implications for professional practice

Researchers need to have access to these serials; libraries however, affect the level of research utilization, because of the lack "of their physical accessibility: their acquisition, preservation organization and availability..."³⁶⁰ Libraries in Montreal have

³⁶⁰ Bullock, p. 4.

poor collections of locally-produced Black serials. For example, the Ville de Montreal library system is a local network with several branches in different boroughs on the island. These borough libraries do not house Black papers to any extent; in fact, a search on the OPAC of the city-wide library system indicates that not one Black Montreal-based serial sits on the shelves of these local libraries.

What could explain the dearth of Black serials in Montreal's local libraries? One explanation may be that the libraries that do have Black titles have acquired them as part of a collection bequeathed to them. They are not subscribed to or regularly collected from the immediate area. Issues of funding may be an issue as, "Quebec has been rated as ninth of 10 provinces in funding its libraries, and Montreal's libraries are particularly poor due to a funding formula implemented by the previous PQ government."³⁶¹ Is it a matter of funding, or is it the case, as in the American experience, that "many libraries did not believe that the black press was worthy of preservation, and they relegated copies to the dust bin"?³⁶² Perhaps it is not as explicit as that in Montreal, for it has yet to be determined if the lack of serials in local collections is due to non-inclusive policies (they do not collect cultural materials from the ethnic communities around them). It has yet to be determined if these libraries experienced difficulty or lack of cooperation from Black publishers who are either unwilling to, or are not aware that they can, deposit their serials with their local libraries.

Given the range of materials from the Black community in Montreal, one can infer that this depth of periodical publishing is similar in key parts of the country. Librarians need to become aware of and actively collect these serials in order to preserve and make them accessible in Montreal Quebec, indeed across the country. Moreover, libraries must be challenged to examine the inclusiveness of their library collection policies and their activities within their communities in order to encourage regular deposits of ephemeral documents from the local communities around them.

³⁶¹ Kristian Gravenor, "Library losers: Official hype belies tough times for book-borrowers," *Mirror*, April 22-27, 2005 v. 20(43), p. 1.

³⁶² Vogel, p. 5.

Vogel notes that in the United States, the "migration to the Internet has changed not only the black press...but also how scholars and students study the history of the black press."³⁶³ This appears to be happening in Montreal as well. About 23% of the new Black periodicals in Montreal within the past five years are found on the Internet. This percentage will probably increase and measures need to be put in place to preserve these formats. This pressure to adapt to the digital forms is not unique to the research component. Adjustment needs to be made in how libraries accommodate these forms so that their access is maintained. Libraries, as McKenzie reminds us, "especially national libraries, with a responsibility to the culture at large, past, present, and future--are under significant pressure to evolve systems which accommodate these new forms of text in a rational, coherent, stable, and yet socially accessible way."³⁶⁴

Significantly more bibliographic control needs to be established to increase the research utilization of Black serials. Librarians need to develop Black reference tools such as periodical indexes to further advance the research in this area. Getting serials into these public repositories, i.e., libraries, archives, etc., is only a first step towards accessibility. Union lists, historical and descriptive studies, abstracting guides, collection catalogues and serial indexes, need to be created to spur interest into serials research and allow for comparative analyses enhancing the research base in this country.

It is expected that this study will increase awareness of Legal Deposit and other depositories in the Black communities. As well, this study has touched on the problems with Legal Deposit faced by these communities. Legal Deposit needs to be more active in their outreach to minority populations like the Black community, so that they can encourage the active collection and preservation of hitherto unknown serials.

³⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁶⁴ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, Cambridge, UK., Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 70.

Implications for scholarly understanding

One of the functions of media is to transmit the dominant values of the society. Henry and Tator assert that the “media are also crucial as a source of information...in an increasingly pluralistic society, most people get their information about others from the media...the media also have a social interactive function...the media actually help people identify with the norms, values, and appropriate behaviors of their society. The media provide their audiences with a sense of belonging.”³⁶⁵ Though Henry and Tator are referring to the role that mass media plays in society, much of their definition can be applied even to the print media produced by smaller ethnic communities.

In general then, it would be assumed that the Black media in Montreal facilitate a sense of belonging. In reality, though, the Black media do not function in the same way as the typical ethnic media in that they are invisible, silenced to all but a few. Nor do they play the same role or have the same importance within Quebec as the Black media have in the United States. For example, the African-American press is said to have “evolved as an instrument to imbue [Blacks] with a sense of purpose and destiny. The press functioned as an instrument of social change, enterprise, artistic expression, self-esteem, and racial solidarity.”³⁶⁶ With Jim Crow racism and state-supported lynching in the United States, the Black press was a crusader, an advocate and often put itself at risk. Editors were often beaten and sometimes killed

³⁶⁵ Henry and Tator, p. 34.

³⁶⁶ Suggs, p. 1.

and their presses were burnt to the ground in protest.³⁶⁷ In addition, the Black press had a national significance beyond just the communities it represented, for it “re-defined class, restaged race and nationhood, and reset the terms of public conversation.”³⁶⁸ Still others have suggested that America’s Black newspapers were an essential element in defining what it is to be Black in America because they “have acted as both a “mirror” of black life...and an institution that defines the Negro group to the Negroes themselves.”³⁶⁹ This African American press brought cohesion to a dispossessed community.

The Black press in Canada is not an African American press in that it does not function in the same fashion within its own community, or with the same immediacy in the greater community. Few of these roles and functions could be said to indwell within the multiple and diverse serials in Montreal. What are Black-focussed media in a Black community separated by language and multiple ethnicities? The invisibility of the serials within the community (respondents rarely mentioned more than four serial titles) suggests that the Black serial is not crucial for cultural maintenance and group identity. Print is not the carrier of culture for the city’s heterogeneous Black communities as it is portrayed in the African American community. This suggests that Black serials are not an essential element of Caribbeanization (the dominant Black identity) in Montreal. Montreal Black serials do not then tell Blacks what or how it is to be Black. Rather, they tell them what it is to be a Quebecer or a Canadian. If Black serials in Montreal do not create a collective sense of “we” or “us,” what then is their function? Over 50% of the serials’ mission statements suggest that the overwhelming function for Black serialized print is to “help people identify with the norms, values, and appropriate behaviors of their society.”³⁷⁰ Rather than creating a

³⁶⁷ Charles A. Simmons, *The African American Press. A History of News Coverage During National Crises, with Special Reference to Four Black Newspapers, 1827-1965*, Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Co., 1998, p. 5.

³⁶⁸ Vogel, p. 1.

³⁶⁹ William G. Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America’s War for Democracy, 1914-1920*, Chapel Hill, NC, The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, p. 3.

³⁷⁰ Henry and Tator, p. 34.

homogenous one-size-fits-all Black identity, Black serials then, at least in Montreal, serve mainly as conduits of information into the expectations of the dominant culture, not as Jerry Alexandre stated, "a mechanism that creates a forum so people can come together to discuss issues."³⁷¹ Perhaps then, they are perceived as irrelevant and not valued because of their [lack of relevant] content--this was unexpected and awaits further investigation.

Implications for future research studies

Given the illusive nature of this hidden press, ethnographic techniques are an ideal method of inquiry. The interview process underscored the need to include some ethnography in the bibliographic investigation of invisible literature. I had relied upon the serials themselves for much of my data. However, in the interviews with the serial contributors, additional information about the serials was brought forth: new titles were uncovered, circulation data was revised, etc. Thus studies of hard-to-find literature, typical of marginalized ethnic groups, should consider the benefits of direct contact with that community's cultural experts.

Another aspect of this connection to the community is the usefulness of a study focussed on the serial readers themselves. An inquiry that explores Black readers' responses to Montreal Black serials would form the basis of comparative research, complementing and enriching this analysis. And in addition, utilizing the same questionnaire may yield strikingly different results, leading to new conclusions and other avenues of research.

Nelson and Leloup's articles on the evolution of the Haitian press did not make any parallels to or connections with the English-speaking African Canadian presses outside of Quebec. Their analyses focussed on the serials of the exiled Haitian diaspora situated in Quebec and some connections with Haitian presses in New York and Miami. Nonetheless, I believe that there are significant parallels between the 20th-century Haitian underground press in Quebec and the

³⁷¹ Interview with Jerry Alexandre, April 27, 2005.

19th-century fugitive press that existed in English Canada.

The Haitian press, particularly of the early 1970s, was a press in exile. The 19th-century fugitive presses, namely the *Voice of the Fugitive* and *The Provincial Freeman*, were also presses in exile. The presses of these two distinct eras each focussed upon the political, economic, and day-to-day world of their countries of origin. Both were actively interested in fostering political change in their home countries, i.e., the end of slavery in the United States, and more recently, the overthrow of a political dictator who ruled through terror. Both presses saw their exile in Canada as a temporary condition, one that would be reversed when their land of birth was free from danger. Both presses actively fostered networks with like-minded presses in their home country. These and other similarities should be explored in future studies.

Another consideration is that the unknown Black serial in Montreal and its marginal status is an outgrowth of this city's relationship with Blacks that started in slavery and continued into the 20th-century as Blacks struggled with social and job market segregation. Blacks, once part of the English-speaking minority, never shared in the economic power and status that came with being an 'Anglo.' Ghettoized in railroad positions and taking on other menial jobs, they lived beside, but in a world separate from, the English and the French majority. Today, this Black multi-lingual community, forced by law into closer relations with the French majority, is increasing its penetration into the everyday fabric of Quebec. Discussions on ethnicity in the province, culture and integration are increasingly taking into account this population.

By extension then, the Black periodical, which is a part of the history of the book in Montreal, though rendered invisible by many factors, needs also to be acknowledged, studied, compared, and critiqued as a part of the city's print culture. Why? Because these unique Black serials are also a part of the unique Quebec experience in that they reflect the lived-experience of a historically significant population and can be useful in understanding the social relations of Black ethnic groups, their cultural products and their status in the province.

There is a significant body of Black serials available for scholarly examination and bibliographic control. Few researchers of Black Canadiana have been concerned with the bibliographical control of the Black sources. The few exceptions are librarians and bibliographers, W. W. Anderson, Flora Blizzard Francis and Dorothy Bell, and noted author, poet and professor, George Elliott Clarke.³⁷² Flora Blizzard Francis and W. W. Anderson have produced bibliographies on the Caribbean influence in the country; however, their bibliographies contained few reference to West Indian serials in Montreal. In fact, Flora Blizzard Francis' most recent compilation in 2000 had only one reference to a Black serial from Montreal. As discussed earlier, Professor Clarke has made a significant attempt to capture the serial production of Blacks throughout the country. Yet he also failed to capture the full range of both English and French serials produced in this city. This study then permits these bibliographers, and others that follow, the opportunity to expand their retrospective listings. At the same time, because this thesis has demonstrated a clear and continuous pattern of serial publishing in Montreal, future Canadian bibliographers will have to be mindful to ensure that Montreal's current periodicals are also part of their enumerations.

Recommendations for Future Scholarly Research

This final section under Discussion is a summary listing of possible research areas that have been touched upon either during this exploration of the Black serials or during my related research on the evolution of the Black culture in the city. These are listed in no particular order:

- 1) Given the didactic role of the survey process, the questionnaire's impact on

³⁷² Dorothy G. Bell, et al., *Canadian Black Studies Bibliography*, London, ON, Ontario Ministry of Education, 1971; Wolseley Wellington Anderson, *Caribbean Orientations: A Bibliography of Resource Material on the Caribbean Experience in Canada*, Toronto, ON, Williams-Wallace Pub., 1985.

the contributors should be followed up. Has there been an increase in deposits either with retrospective serials or with new issues?

- 2) Content analyses of individual journals and newspapers need to be undertaken. An analysis of the Letters to the Editors, Editorials, the main headlines, etc., might give insight into the Black community in ways that have not been explored before. These features express views on how they see their marginalization, the factors that impede their mobility, issues such as police relations, access to services, concerns over education and literacy, and Canada's role in the Third World. There are no studies that have looked in-depth at these issues and the Black serials of Montreal can function as a new unexplored resource for researchers.
- 3) Several historical narratives of the Black press need to be written, such as a comprehensive chronological narrative of Montreal's Black press. This could investigate the role that the Black periodicals play in the cultural fabric of the city. To what extent do they assist in disseminating news, events, and fostering cultural integration with other ethnic groups or with the French speaking majority? An historical narrative would also take into account the historical context or ruptures that have occurred which provided the impetus for a significant number of periodicals. These events include the Sir George Williams University Affair, racism in the taxi industry, the shooting of young Black men at the hands of the police, to name only a few.
- 4) According to Wolseley, in the United States the
Black press has little newsstand exposure, for the obvious reasons that only those newsstands where there is substantial black traffic, such as in largely black neighborhoods, would benefit from selling such publications, and that the earning power of almost all blacks has kept down the purchase of publications by single copies. Furthermore, it is too expensive to place publications on newsstands though distribution companies unless wide sale is likely.

Perhaps one stand on a main street may stock a magazine or two.³⁷³

How this distribution pattern differs from Montreal needs to be investigated. What is the role of the Black distributors of these serials, i.e., the Black bookstores, community centres, and libraries, and archives? How have they assisted or impeded the distribution of the serials? What steps could they take to enhance the visibility of Black press and the various serial forms in Montreal?

- 5) What is the extent of the serials' readership? Evidence from the United States suggests that the readership of Black serials traditionally is significantly higher than the official circulation figure. In America, a copy of an issue circulates in some respects like currency. It has been suggested that each issue of a Black serial is read by four separate readers before being discarded or archived. Does this currency hold true for the Black press in the city of Montreal, which appears to be linguistically divided?
- 6) This research explores the invisibility of these serials within the Black community. Why are they invisible to the general public, in particular to the gatekeepers in Montreal's libraries and archival repositories? What factors within those professional environments continue to marginalize and permit their exclusion and neglect? Further research should be conducted on how libraries can be meaningful repositories for marginalized communities.
- 7) What serials are Blacks in Montreal reading? Several recommended titles, such as *Panache*, and *Haïti Observateur* turned out to have been published elsewhere. It is not unusual to find these non-Montreal serials listed in mainstream serial directories and checklists as a Quebec or a Montreal periodical (see Appendix 6).

³⁷³ Wolseley, p. 15.

- 8) Electronic serials, a new format for serials, have been included in this analysis, however, their impact and penetration in the Black community has yet to be examined. The questionnaires did not specifically examine differences or similarities between the reception, distribution and access of the electronic serials founded and controlled by Montreal Blacks. To what extent are they visible in the community? This serial study has taken place at the beginning of the emerging serial format and though today, the electronic, on-line serials represent less than 1% of the serials in the Checklist, one can expect that there will be further launches in the future.
- 9) Charts 12-14 revealed that the circulation patterns of these serials in each language group are trending downward from the peak of the nineties. Though I could not readily ascertain an explanation for this drop, further research should look into this trend. Further research may uncover many more titles from this period indicating that the significant decrease I noted, may simply be due to my inability to locate more serials, rather than due to any environmental or economic factor.
- 10) The purposive sampling used in identifying the serial producers should be expanded in further studies. A random sample or other type of sampling would significantly broaden the analysis found in this study. Much of my energy and focus was centered upon developing a method for locating a hidden population, rather than sampling for views representative of the entire Black population. The discussions I had with the 13 cultural experts were, at best, indicative of their inside knowledge about the working of serial production. The readers of Black serials would not have this specific information but they could possibly speak to the contents and relevance of the serials.

11) The thesis' Checklist needs to be expanded to include other Quebec Black serials. My research uncovered serials published in Hull, and Quebec City, where groups of Africans and Haitians now live (see Appendix 4). They have, or are developing, their own periodicals. Do these small communities publish separate periodicals based on ethnicity or does their small size encourage joint publications? Are their themes similar to those in Montreal? What formats do they prefer, and who are their readers? These are just some of the questions that could be examined and compared to the findings in this thesis.

12) Several individuals who worked on the early papers of the sixties and the early seventies have already died. Biographical research on editors, publishers and journalists should be undertaken before these early pioneers are gone.

13) William Jordan points out that in the United States,

although Blacks had a diminished voice, their arguments frequently seeped into the main currents of public discussion. Black editors knew this to be true because of the letters white people wrote them, the attacks of white mobs...the patronage some black newspapers received from white-dominated political parties, and occasional critiques of black newspapers in white publications or by white politicians.³⁷⁴

In Canada, specifically in Montreal, are non-Blacks reading these Black papers? In Montreal the answer appears to be yes. As stated earlier, White writers, journalists and staff have worked or they have volunteered on Black serials. Respondents underscored this point; only one indicated that their serial was read exclusively by Blacks, and two publishers stated they made the effort to distribute beyond the typical Black venues. However, the exact extent to which non-Blacks read Black newspapers and magazines can

³⁷⁴ Jordan, p. 4.

not be ascertained at this time. Nor have I come across any information about Black presses under attack or threatened by non-Black readers. Additional research may determine the extent to which this has occurred, if ever.

9. REFLECTIVE UNDERSTANDINGS

People of color have been rendered invisible, so often for so long, that in many ways, I believe we are numb. For many of us, the rage is awakened on a periodic basis and then put back to bed...in order that we might survive and get through another day...The first defense is in knowing the enemy. The enemy in this case is two-fold. There is the enemy of ignorance, the ignorance of not knowing the enemy. And there is the enemy of silence, the silence of saying nothing to those who would ignore one's existence. I have attempted to impact on the process of examining what it truly means to be rendered invisible. I have attempted to identify the enemy and examine the potential impact. I hope the silence will cease. I hope the ignorance will make way for a heightened, mobilizing anger that will allow us to substantially alter the world in which we now live.

Geraldine Hailstolk, "Invisibility," p. 124-5

This thesis began with sankofa, with its mission, to recover and illuminate unknown printed serials in Montreal, Québec. Since 1934, especially intensifying from the seventies to today, Blacks have attempted to redress the issue of media invisibility by the production of printed serials within their communities. And yet, as evidenced in the literature review, these Black serials remain invisible, unknown even to the historians and griots of the communities in which they were produced.

This thesis has been about sankofa, that is, encouraging others to affirm and restore them. The first step was to identify and locate these serials. Several years of research, engagement and investigation accomplished this goal. Additionally, this study sought to ascertain the extent to which four factors-- language, ethnicity, orality and the treatment of documents--may have contributed to the invisibility of these serials. Over several months I networked with the cultural experts, those who produce these serials, in order to achieve that end.

This thesis has presented a composite picture of the Black serials published in Montreal over the past 70 years. These serials were amassed in order to explore the composition of, the frequency of, the formats and number of serials, their ethnicity, language, as well as the distribution of and locations of each serial. This was necessary as no single institution in Quebec was aware of, or mandated to collect

and house them. Their piecemeal preservation would only continue to marginalize and obfuscate their worth.

The sankofa directive, “go back and fetch it” puts the responsibility on the seeker of the lost item to actively retrace the path where the item was lost and to look earnestly for lost the object. Then, once the object is located, it is shared with others and a renewed purpose is given to the object; it is restored. Sankofa then, is not just about the past, but it is also about the restoration of the lost item in the present, so that it can bring renewal in the future.

Locating and identifying these serials has been a first step in the recovery and eventual restoration of a significant portion of Montreal’s printed serials. Each serial presented a unique picture, for these serials have not been created as a uniform, homogeneous cultural product. Rather, they reflect the heterogeneity of the population that created and read them; mimicking the demographic pattern of Black settlement in the city. Thus the rise of French-speaking groups within the Black community has now, in one generation, also lead to the predominance of French-language serials.

Moreover, as the survey revealed, the invisibility of the serials within the Black community is commonplace. Even amongst the producers of the serials there is lack of knowledge about serial production in the community, evidently leading to a paradoxical situation. For although respondents were not aware of the historical or the breadth and depth of the current state of Black serials, many respondents assumed that, indeed, most other Blacks in Montreal were aware of their own serial.

Montreal is a unique, bilingual city in Canada. Yet, the inability of vast portions of English-speaking Blacks to participate fully in the lingua franca of the majority of Blacks, and indeed in the official language of Quebec, has led to an increasing sense of isolation. This isolation fosters ignorance, as several separate Black ethnic communities evolve simultaneously in the Montreal area without having a clear understanding of the goals, needs, and concerns of other Black cultural communities. This ignorance has had a significant impact within the community itself because, given their vast cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, and given the

extensive residential dispersion, communities of Blacks are, in some respects, invisible even to each other. This is why their unique histories and cultural products, such as the journals, newspapers and magazines which have been produced in one segment of the Black community were, and still are, for the most part unknown to other segments within the Black community. Black serials remain hidden by the ignorance fostered in dispersed unilingual enclaves, and compounded by a lack of resources: human, skills, knowledge, institutional and most importantly, a lack of financial resources.

Nevertheless, sankofa is about renewal through creative reuse. The evident lack of resources and widespread ignorance need not be permanent. The first step has been taken. Now located, the Black serials of Montreal can be shared through new investigations and further research. Other explorations may foster their restoration. They can serve as didactic tools, bibliographic and historical reference points, and as unique and intimate lenses into Montreal's cultural diversity. In other words, their revival can lead to new insights about being part of the Black diaspora within Montreal, Quebec, and Canada.

Appendix 1

Black Serials Checklist ³⁷⁵ (alphabetically arranged)

This alphabetical list enumerates all 196 serials. Each serial is presented in the full layout of the template, even when a field is blank. If empty, this indicates that the information for that field is not available in the source(s) on hand. 'Unknown' is given only when statistical information was incomplete due to insufficient data.

Three of the template fields are not tagged or labeled: 1) the title of the serial as indicated on the masthead, usually of vol. 1; this is italicized, 2) the editor's name, taken from the first copy I had on hand, and, 3) the publisher, typically a press (maison de l'édition), a non-profit community organization, a business that either initiated or supported the publication, or an individual. These three fields are separated from the rest of the tagged fields.

Information may have changed as more issues were located. Thus, multiple data may be included in any given field; for instance, over its run, a serial may have had more than one frequency, i.e., a weekly is reissued as a monthly. Both frequency patterns are then listed. New editors over the life of the run are noted in the sampling frame only and so are not available here. Any change in title or subtitle is found in 'Variant Title(s)'.

The language of publication of each serial can be readily ascertained from three template fields: 1) the title, 2) the language indicated in abbreviation, and 3) the Geographic focus, which delineates the French or English orthography. Note also that the orthography and capitalization, reflects the original serial mastheads, usually vol. 1(1). I am aware, that this may differ from acceptable French and Creole forms, but I have chosen to maintain the original intent of the publisher(s). The notation [sic] will be employed to underscore the divergent spellings, accents or formats.

³⁷⁵ Abbreviations used for the template design and for the tagged area 'location' are found in 'ABBREVIATIONS' on page xi, whereas the codes in 'Bibliographic Sources' are listed alphabetically in Appendix 2, 'Keys to the Bibliographic Sources Cited.'

1. *ACCAF Newsletter*. Shirlette Wint, ed. Afro Canadian Contemporary Art Foundation.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: ann
Inclusive dates: 1(1) December 2004
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: arts
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

2. *A-K-A-X Newsletter*. A-K-A-X.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1,2,4) 1992-unknown
Holdings: 1(1,2,4)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$1
Location(s):
Subject focus: org., youth, crime, race/racism
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

3. *Afiya*. Abdoul Gadiri Bah, Ibrahima Sory Baldé, eds. Centre Guinéen de recherches et d'Études pour le Développement.

Lang(s): fre Format: newsletter Freq: bi-mth, mth
Inclusive dates: octobre 1, 1989-mai 1995
Holdings: 1(1-36)[29]
Total # of issues: 36 Total retrievable: 35 Price: \$1
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: org.
Geographic focus: Afrique, Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, Part, MEQ, MCQ

4. *Africa Great Lakes/Région des Grands lacs: newsletter bulletin.*
César Gasjabizi, Jérôme Ndayizamba, John Nkongoli, eds.
(Greenfield Park)

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) avril 1996-3(10) avril 1998
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: development, politics, religion
Geographic focus: Africa
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

5. *African Affairs.* Kenneth Asafo-Adjei, ed. African Affairs.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: August 2004-March 2005
Holdings: 1(1-4), 2(5-7) August 2004-February 2005
Total # of issues: 7 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: politics, news, economics
Geographic focus: Africa
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

6 *African Times, Bringing Montreal's African Communities Together,*
(The). Michael Baffoe, ed. Linkstel Communication Group.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1-6) January 2004-June 2004
Holdings: 1(1-6) January 2004-June 2004
Total # of issues: 6 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: politics, news, economics
Geographic focus: Africa
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

**7. *African Voice, Organ of the African Progressive Study Group.*
African Progressive Study Group.**

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) March 28, 1972
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: Communism, education, politics
Geographic focus: Africa
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): OH

**8. *African Voice, (The).* Dr. Barnabas Maichibi, ed. African Voice
Communications.**

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) March 1, 2004-April 1, 2004
Holdings: 1(1-2)
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: education, politics, economics, business,
Geographic focus: Africa, Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

**9. *Afrique Expansion Mag: Outil de promotion des partenaires d'affaires
Nord-Sud.* Gerba Malam, ed. Geram Communications.**

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) fall 1998-n. 21 spring 2004
Holdings: 1(1) fall 1998-n. 21 spring 2004
Total # of issues: 21 Total retrievable: 21 Price: \$2.49
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: business
Geographic focus: Afrique, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 20,000
Variant Title(s): Afrique Expansion Mag: Revue des affaires et des partenaires
Nord-Sud
Bibliographic Source(s):

10. *Afrique Tribune: Hebdomadaire international indépendant*. Pierre Adjété, ed. Afrique Pagel International, Inc.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: wk, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) October 27,1994-5(71) January 2000
Holdings: 1(1)-5(71)
Total # of issues: 71 Total retrievable: 71 Price: varied
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: Pan-Africanism, business, economics, politics
Geographic focus: Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Afrique Tribune Québec-Canada, Afrique Tribune Actualités & Affaires Internationales
Bibliographic Source(s): Clarke, BDQ, OH, OL-UIP, MDQ, MCQ, OL-F, Begin

11. *Afrique vers l'unité: Organe d'information et de formation de l'U.G.E.A.M., (L')*. Djitai Mahamane, ed. Union générale des étudiants africains à Montréal.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: q
Inclusive dates: [1(1)] 1972-unknown
Holdings: 2(2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price:\$.50, \$5/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org., social events, history
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

12. *Afro-Can Communications*. Leo Bertley, ed. Negro Community Centre.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newspaper Freq: bi-mth, mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) May 1981-7(7) July 1987
Holdings: 1(1-4), 2-4(1-12), 5(1-11), 6(2-4, 7-8), 7(1-7)
Total # of issues: 71 Total retrievable: 61 Price: free
Location(s): NL, BNQ, Jones, NA, Blackman, Williams, ARI
Subject focus: org., youth, news, social events, history
Geographic focus: Quebec, Africa, United States
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Afro-Can, Afro-Can: A Negro Community Center Publication
Bibliographic Source(s): Clarke, BDQ, Junne, OH, RME, ULS, RMQ, MQ, HBC, RMC

13. *Afro Canada Journal*.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: unknown
Holdings: unknown
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: unknown
Location(s): McGill
Subject focus: history
Geographic focus: Canada
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

14. *Afro-Canadian, (The)*. Dr. L. Bertley, ed. *Afro-Canadian*.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) November 1985-10(1) February 1994
Holdings: 1(1-2), 2(1-12), 3(1-9) 4-7(1-12)³⁷⁶ [7(3)], 8(12), 9(11),
10(1)
Total # of issues: 99 Total retrievable: 25 Price: free
Location(s): BSC, NA, Blackman, Williams, ARI, Schomburg
Subject focus: news, Pan-Africanism, sports, race/racism
Geographic focus: Canada, Africa, Caribbean, United States
Advertising: yes, events Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): CEPG, Danky, Junne, MABBP, CCE, Lacroix, Part,
RME, PET, MEQ, Lazar, PCCQ, HBC, Hill, Glory

15. *Afro-Dawson*. Students of the Black and Third World Student Affairs of Dawson College.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: s-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1971-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org., youth, education, Black power
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Clarke, OH

³⁷⁶ There are two issues marked as 5(3) for March, 1989.

16. *Afropages*. Ademola Sobanjo, Tolu Ogunsina, eds. Dems Tech Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: directory Freq: ann
Inclusive dates: n. 1 2005
Holdings: n. 1
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: business, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

17. *Afro-Plus Le journal hebdomadaire de la communauté noire francophone du Québec*.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: n. 1 1995-unknown
Holdings: 1(4-5)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: politics, entertainment, current affairs, race/racism
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

18. *Afro Vision: Journal indépendant d'informations, d'analyse de la situation culturelle afro-québécoise et ailleurs*. Didier Mpambia, ed. Afro-Vision.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1995-v. 03-05 2001
Holdings: 1 (1) Feb 1995, v. 2 Sept 1997, v. 3 May 1998, v. 03-05 2001
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 4 Price: free, \$5
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, UQAM
Subject focus: politics, history
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, Begin

19. *Akwarel*. France Demès, ed. Le Groupe Afrocom Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 0(0) 1993
Holdings: 0(0)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: fashion, arts, culture
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, Nelson

20. *Alfie Roberts Institute, The - L'institut Alfie Roberts*. Sharon Nelson, Astrid Jacques, eds. *The Alfie Roberts Institute - L'institut Alfie Roberts*.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) February 2005
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): ARI
Subject focus: org., social events
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

21. *Alternatives Caraïbes*. Jooneed Khan, ed. (St. Lambert)
Alternatives Caraïbes.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1979
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$25/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: geopolitics, history, ethnicity, race/racism
Geographic focus: Caraïbes, Haïti, États-Unis
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

22. *Amitiés Canada-Rwanda Bulletin d'information trimestriel.*
Theobald Kabasha, ed. Amitiés Canada-Rwanda.

Lang(s): fre Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 2001-unknown
Holdings: 2, 2(3), 2(4)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 3 Price: free
Location(s): CA
Subject focus: politics, development
Geographic focus: Afrique
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): ACR
Bibliographic Source(s):

23. *Ankriye/Encrier, (L'): Journal du Centre N A Rive de Montréal.*
Jean-Camille Julien, Lenous Suprice, Jean-Robert Placide, eds.
Centre N A Rive de Montréal.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1997-unknown
Holdings: 2(2), 7(5)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: social events, education, youth, language/literacy
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

24. *Association Africaine des sports et loisirs au Québec: Bulletin d'information.* AASLQ.

Lang(s): fre Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: unknown
Holdings: 3(2) 3 juin 2000
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): CA
Subject focus: politics, development
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

25. *autre diaspora: Magazine d'information économique et sociale, (L')*.
Joel Levy, ed. Groupe international de la presse Africaine au
Canada.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: mth, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 nov/dec 2000-3(2) avril 2002
Holdings: v. 1, v. 2, 2(1-5), 3(1-2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 9 Price: \$4.75, \$28/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: current affairs, colonialism, biography, history, arts, pan-
africanism
Geographic focus: Haïti, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

26. *Avril*. Mitchell Daudier, ed. *Avril Mag*.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: q
Inclusive dates: v. 1 (1) avril 2004-
Holdings: v. 1
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$4.25
Location(s):
Subject focus: arts, culture, fashion
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

27. *BAM News*. Stanley Brooks, ed. Barbados Association of Montreal/
Barbados House.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) July-Sept. 1972- 7(1) 1981
Holdings: 1(1-2), 2(1-2), 3(1-2), 4(1), 5(1), 6(1-2), 7(1)
Total # of issues: 11 Total retrievable: unknown Price: free
Location(s): BSC, Best, Blackman, NA
Subject focus: org., youth, poetry, arts, sports, social events, politics, fiction
Geographic focus: Montreal, Caribbean
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Clarke, Bertley, OH

28. *BCRC Bulletin*. Régine F. Douboulay, ed. Black Community Resource Centre.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) winter 1998-winter 1999
Holdings: 2(1-3) spring-winter 1999
Total # of issues: 7 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): BCRC
Subject focus: org., community life
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

29. *B.C.R.C. Newsletter*. Black Community Resource Centre.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) February 2004; 1(2) April 2004
Holdings: 1(1-2)
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): BCRC
Subject focus: org., community life
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation: 80
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

30. *Bilten Koukouy: Lang ak literati*. Julio Jean-Pierre, Michel-Ange Hyppolite, Manno Ejèn, eds. Sosyete Koukouy.

Lang(s): creo Format: bulletin Freq: q
Inclusive dates: n. 1 fall 1985-n. 7 1992
Holdings: 1(1-4), janvier 1988, v. juin 1988, v. 1990, n. 7 1992
Total # of issues: 8 Total retrievable: 8 Price: \$1
Location(s): CIDIHCA, BNQ
Subject focus: language/literacy
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): *Bilten Koukouy: Lanng ak ekritasyon kreyol*
Bibliographic Source(s):

31. *BLAC. Black Liberation Action Committee.*

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) October 13, 1968
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BSC, McGill
Subject focus: org., youth, crime, race/racism
Geographic focus: Canada, Africa
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

32. *Black Action Party. Black Info. Service.*

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: s-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1971-2(12) 1972
Holdings: 3-8, 2(1-12) [4]
Total # of issues: 20 Total retrievable: 17 Price: \$.25
Location(s): NL, Williams, BSC, McGill
Subject focus: org., community politics, social events, race/racism, Black power
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Woods, Bogusis, Clarke, Bertley, OH, Und, OLR

33. *Black Action Party Bulletin: Community Information Service, (The).
Community News Service.*

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: s-mth
Inclusive dates: v. February 1971-v. 11 June 1971
Holdings: v., v., v. 4, v. 6, v. 11
Total # of issues: 11 Total retrievable: 5 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: harassment, crime, race/racism, community life
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Black Action Party Community Information Service Bulletin
Bibliographic Source(s):

34. *Black and 3rd World Student Affairs.* Black and Third World Student Affairs Department of Dawson College.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: v. 2B 1972-Winter 1974
Holdings: v. 2B 1972, 1(1) Fall 1973-Fall-Winter 1974
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 4 Price: free
Location(s): BSC, McGill
Subject focus: org., youth, education
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): OH

35. *Black Community Resource Centre/La centre de ressources de la communauté noire e-bulletin.* Black Community Resource Centre.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) March 2004
Holdings: 1
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): www.blackyouthproject.org/eng/article.php3?id_article=49
Subject focus: org., community life
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

36. *Black Community Resource Guide.* Black Community Resource Centre.

Lang(s): eng Format: directory Freq: ann
Inclusive dates: 2004-2005
Holdings: 2004, 2005
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: community organizations
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

37. *Black i: A Canadian Journal of Black Expression, (The)*. C. A. Taylor, C. Bayne, Winston D. Nicholls, eds. Kyap Enterprises Ltd.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) March 1972-2(1) June 1973
Holdings: 1(1), 2(1)
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: \$3.00/y
Location(s): Schomburg, NL, NA, BSC, UT, ConU, McGill, YK, Windsor
Subject focus: Blacks in Canada, literature, sports, education, politics, history
Geographic focus: Canada, United States, Caribbean, Africa
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): (Woods, Und),³⁷⁷ Anderson, Bogusis, Clarke, NST, Junne, Bertley, Elliott, OH, HBC

38. *Black Pages*. Lynrod Douglas, ed. Black Pages/Pages Noirs.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: directory Freq: ann
Inclusive dates: 1989-1991
Holdings: 1989-1991
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): NL
Subject focus: business, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): HBC

39. *Black Student Voice, Organ of the Black Student Union*. Viola Walton, Wilma Maugham, eds. Montreal Black Student Union.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) March 1973-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): CLSCL, ARI
Subject focus: education, race/racism, Blacks in Canada, youth
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Danky

³⁷⁷ Publications list an Ottawa address.

40. *Black Studies Center Newsletter, (The)*. Norma Y. Heitner, ed.
Black Studies Center.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) June 1974-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org.
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): The Black Studies Centre Newsletter
Bibliographic Source(s):

41. *Black Theatre Workshop News*. Black Theatre Workshop.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) August 1987-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org., arts, drama
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: ads Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

42. *Black Voice, (The)*. Leroy Sylvan, ed. Cote des Neiges Project.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: irr, mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) May 25, 1972-2(10) October 1974
Holdings: 1(1) May 25, 1972-2(10) October 1974
Total # of issues: 22 Total retrievable: 22 Price: \$.25
Location(s): Schomburg, BSC, NA, McGill, BNQ,³⁷⁸ ConU, ARI
Subject focus: org., history, politics, race/racism, youth
Geographic focus: Quebec, Africa, Caribbean
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): The Black Voice: Serving the Black Community
Bibliographic Source(s): (Woods, Und),³⁷⁹ Clarke, Danky, Junne, Bertley, OH,
HBC, Leo

³⁷⁸ Microfilmed edition.

³⁷⁹ Publication lists a Toronto address.

43. *Bois-Caïman*. Organisation Révolutionnaire Haïtienne d'Action Patriotique (ORHAP).

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1973-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$.25
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org. politics
Geographic focus: Québec, Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

44. *BULLETIN*. The February 11th Defense Committee.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1969-unknown
Holdings: 1969
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): NA
Subject focus: race/racism
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Bertley

45. *Bulletin de nouvelles: Kouzin Kouzin*. Leonel Bernard, et al., eds.
L'Association des Praticiens Sociaux Haïtiens du Québec.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) spring 1993-2(1) spring 1994
Holdings: 1(1)-2(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: org., public policy, race/racism
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Kouzin Kouzin
Bibliographic Source(s):

46. *Bulletin d'information et de liaison: Association des amies du Cap-Haïtien.* Association des amies du Cap-Haïtien.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: bi-ann
Inclusive dates: 1(1) mars 1987
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: org., news, colonialism
Geographic focus: Québec, Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

47. *Bulletin du CACREH/Comité d'action contre la répression en Haïti.*
Le Comité.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) mars 16, 1974-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: migration
Geographic focus: Haïti, Caraïbes
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

48. *Bulletin Maison d'Haïti.* Centre Communautaire Haïtien.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1976-1979
Holdings: 3 (2) 1979
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org., news, Hatians in Quebec, labour, migration
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Bulletin
Bibliographic Source(s): Clarke, OH

49. *Bulletin mensuel, (Le)*. Maggy Apollon, Stéphane Bellamy, Jean-Edward Joseph, eds. Association des jeunes entrepreneurs haïtiano-québécois.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1-2) mars 1994-2 juin 1994
Holdings: 1(1-2) mars 1994-2 juin 1994
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 3 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: youth, business
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 500
Variant Title(s): AJEHQ
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

50. *Cacique: English Language Arts and Culture Magazine of Montreal*. Anthony Joyette, S. Joyette, eds. Canadian League of Black Artists Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: magazine Freq: bi-ann
Inclusive dates: 1(1) automne 2000
Holdings: 1(1) Fall 2000
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$3.75, \$7/y
Location(s): NL
Subject focus: arts, Blacks in Quebec, poetry, fiction, social events
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 500
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): OH

51. *Canada Weekend Post: Your community newspaper*. Neville Brown, ed. A.N.B. Promotions.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1987-unknown
Holdings: 1(2) Nov. 1986, 2(9) Oct. 1987, 3(28) Sept. 1989, 3(40) Mar. 1991, 4(50) Nov. 1991
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 5 Price: free
Location(s): ARI
Subject focus: politics, culture, youth, business, education
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Revue Canada Weekend Post
Bibliographic Source(s): PET, Glory, Lazar

52. *Cannelle*. Chantal Albert, ed. Éditions Multiethnique.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) avril 1991
Holdings: 1(1) avril 1991
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: history, poetry, community life, fashion, social events
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

53. *Carib Horizons*. Barbara V. Thompson, Trevor Sessing, eds.
Spandec Publishers Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: s-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) June 3, 1967-1968
Holdings: 1
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$.25
Location(s): McGill, NL
Subject focus: politics, sports
Geographic focus: Caribbean, Europe
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): ULCN, Bogusis, LPQ

54. *Carib Times Newsletter Serving Montreal's Caribbean Community*.
Tony Jones, et al., eds. TJ Productions.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1998
Holdings: 1(2) April 1998
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: social events, sports
Geographic focus: Caribbean
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

55. *Caribbean Camera (The): Many People, One Paper.* Neville Nato Brown, ed. The Caribbean Camera.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: 1(1) June 6,1990-14(49) Dec. 9, 2004
Holdings: 12(23-49) July 30-Dec. 19, 2002 [24,25,29,30,32,33,40, 43, 44]; 13(01-48, 52) Jan. 9-Oct. 30, 2003 [6,10,11,17-18, 20, 23, 25,30-34, 36, 37]; 14(01-49) Feb. 5-Dec. 9, 2004 [13-14, 20, 22-24, 27-34, 36-41,44, 47, 48]
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: unknown Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: news, social events, arts, sports
Geographic focus: Caribbean, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): CCE

56. *Caribbean Conference Bulletin.* T. Hector, F. Harvey, E. Rennie, G. Simmons, eds. Caribbean Conference Committee.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1967-unknown
Holdings: 1(2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org.
Geographic focus: Caribbean
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

57. *Caribbean International Opinion.* Caribbean Nation Publishing Committee.

Lang(s): eng Format: journal Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: October 1968
Holdings: October 1968
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): ARI
Subject focus: politics, history
Geographic focus: Africa, United States, Canada, Caribbean
Advertising: no Illustrations: Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

58. *CDDTH/Comité de défense des droits des travailleurs haïtiens.*
Le Comité.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) août 19, 1974-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: labour, migration
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

59. *Chemins critiques: Revue Haïtiano-Caraïbéene (société-science-arts-littérature).* Laënnec Hurbon, ed. Éditions du CIDIHCA & Chemins Critiques.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: magazine Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) mars 1989-
Holdings: 1(1-4), 2(1-4), 3(1-2), 4(1), 5(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 12 Price: \$1
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: poetry, arts, culture, fiction, politics, history, religion
Geographic focus: Haïti, Québec, Caraïbes
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

60. *Chronique de Maguy.* Maguy Métellus, eds. Magluvcommunications.

Lang(s): fre Format: e-magazine Freq: wk, bi-wk
Inclusive dates: dec 2003-fév2005
Holdings: dec 2003-fév2005
Total # of issues: 70 Total retrievable: unknown Price: free
Location(s): on-line
Subject focus: social events
Geographic focus: Montréal, Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation: 1200
Variant Title(s): Maguluv
Bibliographic Source(s):

61. *Collectif...(Le): organe des chauffeurs de taxi noirs.* Joseph Pierre Léonard, ed. Collectif des chauffeurs de taxi haïtiens du centre-ville.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth, irr
Inclusive dates: v. 1 mai 1983-v. 3(1) avril/mai 1986
Holdings: 1(1-6), v. 2, 2(1-2), 3(1)
Total # of issues: 10 Total retrievable: 10 Price: \$.75, \$9/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: labour, race/racism, business
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Le collectif: organe des chauffeurs de taxi haïtiens du centre-ville
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, Nelson

62. *Collectif Paroles: revue culturelle et politique haïtienne.* Claude Moïse, ed. Collectif Paroles Inc.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: journal Freq: mth, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 sept 1979-v. 33 jan 1987
Holdings: v. 1-v. 33
Total # of issues: 33 Total retrievable: 33 Price: \$2.50, 18/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, politics, culture
Geographic focus: Haïti, Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): CBNQ, NST, Lacroix, BDQ, PET, ULS, MQ, OBJ, RMC, Nelson

63. *Community Bulletin News.* Shelly-Ann Bayne, ed.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) May 1993
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: social events, news, politics
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

64. *Community Contact: focussing on business and culture*. Egbert Gaye, ed. Communication EnG.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: irr, mth
Inclusive dates: June/July 1992- March 2005
Holdings: 1(1-2) June-July 1992; 2(17) Nov 1993; 2(20) Feb 1994; 6(2) Feb 1997; 7(9) July 1998; 8(10) Sep 1999; 9(8) June 2000; 10(6) Feb 2001; 11(4-5) Oct 2001; 11(10, 12)-12(1, 4, 6-7, v., 11-12)-13 (1) Feb-Dec 2002; 13 (2) Jan 2003-14(2-19), Feb-Dec 2003, 14(10-20), Jan-Dec 2004; 15(01,03, 04) January-March 2005
Total # of issues: 144 Total retrievable: unknown Price: free
Location(s): BNQ, Williams
Subject focus: news, social events, arts, sports, business
Geographic focus: Quebec, Caribbean
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s): Montreal Community Contact: A Proud part of Quebec's Black and Caribbean Community
Bibliographic Source(s): Danky, Clarke, MABBP, BDQ, OH, PET, OL-RDM, MEQ, MDQ, PCCQ, MCQ, OL-MRCI, OL-F

65. *Community Contact Montreal Journal*. Owen Rowe, ed. Communication EnG.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 2000-2003
Holdings: 5(3), May 1994, Dec 1995, March, June, July, Sept, Nov, 1996
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: news, social events, arts
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation: 100
Variant Title(s): Montreal Monthly Journal, Monthly Black Journal
Bibliographic Source(s):

66. *Community Forum: A Bulletin of the Black Task Force, NDG/CDN Borough.* Clarence Bayne, ed. The Black Task Force, NDG/CDN Borough.

Lang(s): eng Format: e-newsletter Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) June 22, 2002-1(2)-unknown
Holdings: 1(1-2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): on-line, Williams
Subject focus: politics, Blacks in Quebec, employment
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation: 100
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

67. *Congress News: Newsletter of the Congress of Black Women of Canada=Le bulletin du Congrès des femmes noires du Canada.* Congress of Black Women of Canada.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newsletter Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: fall 1990
Holdings: Fall 1990
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): UOO
Subject focus: org., women
Geographic focus: Canada
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

68. *Contrat Social.* Lesly Jean-Jacques, ed. Parti démocratique haïtien.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: q
Inclusive dates: v. 1982-v. 2 oct 1983
Holdings: v., v. 2 mars 1983, oct 1983
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$2
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: politics
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Contrat Social: organe officielle du PDH
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

69. *demain les jeunes: le mensuel de l'avenir*. Edgard Js Th Gousse, ed.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) octobre 1985
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: youth, poetry
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes. Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

70. *dérives: Tiers-Monde/Québec, une nouvelle conjecture culturelle*.
Les éditions dérives.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 septembre/octobre 1975-1987
Holdings: v. 1 septembre/octobre 1975-v. 55/56 1987
Total # of issues: 56 Total retrievable: 54 Price: \$1.50
Location(s): CIDIHCA, BNQ, NL
Subject focus: poetry, literature, culture
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

71. *Diaspora: La tribune de l'Afrique noire du Maghreb et des Caraïbes au Canada*. Francis A. Essebou, ed. Ébène média & stratégies 2000.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 jan 2000-v. 42 jan 2004
Holdings: v. 1 jan 2000-v. 42 jan 2004
Total # of issues: 42 Total retrievable: 42 Price: \$30-\$36/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: history, biography, sports, arts, culture
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s): Diaspora
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, OL-RDM, CCN, MDQ, OL-MRCI, Begin, WHG

72. *Diplomat Communications*. Patrick Mbassengue, ed. Centre international pour la cause africaine.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 avril 1996
Holdings: v. 1
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$20/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: politics
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s): Diplomat
Bibliographic Source(s):

73. *Directory of Black Business Persons and Professionals, The/ Répertoire des gens d'affaires et des professionnels de race noire*. Liesa Smith, ed. Montreal Black Business Persons and Professionals.

Lang(s): eng Format: directory Freq: bi-enn
Inclusive dates: 1993/1994-2004/2005
Holdings: Edition 1993/1994, Edition 1999/2000, Edition 2004/2005
Total # of issues: 4 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): Williams
Subject focus: business, history
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Directory of Ethnic Business Persons and Professionals: Your Guide to Business/Répertoire des gens d'affaires et des professionnels ethniques, Répertoire des gens d'affaires et de profession de race noire
Bibliographic Source(s): Assoc/Can

74. *Drum: North America and West Indies*. Monitor Pub.

Lang(s): eng Format: unknown Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) April 1966-1(5) August 1966
Holdings: 1(1) International Edition-1(2-5)
Total # of issues: Total retrievable: 5 Price: \$3.50, \$35/y
Location(s): NL
Subject focus: politics, news
Geographic focus: Africa
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Drum International Edition
Bibliographic Source(s): Bogusis, Ayer's, NST, OL-UIP

75. *Dynamikk, (Le)*. Julie Dubé, ed. L'Entraide bénévole Kouzin Kouzin'.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: nov 1998/fév1999-mars/juin 2004
Holdings: 1(1) nov 1998/fév1999-6(6) mars 2004/juin 2004
Total # of issues: 6 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: org., education, language/literacy
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

76. *écho du ROCAHD: Bulletin du Regroupement des organismes canado-haïtiens pour le développement (l')*. Jèrôme Métellus, ed. ROCAHD.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: q
Inclusive dates: v. 0 juillet 1996-mars-avr 2002
Holdings: v. 0, 1(1) 2(1-3) 3(1) 5(1-2) juillet 1996- mars-avr 2002
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 8 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: development, org., politics
Geographic focus: Haïti, Canada
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

77. *Echos (Palabre)*. G.N. Amoni, ed. Le Village Africain Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal/bulletin Freq: mth, irr
Inclusive dates: v. 1 fév1987- 2(6) avril 1992
Holdings: v. 1, v. 2, 1(3-7), 2(1-6) fév1987- avril 1992
Total # of issues: 13 Total retrievable: 13 Price: 2\$, \$15/y
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Echos, Le Palabre, Echos (Palabre), Palabre-Action: La Visage Africain de l'information multi-culturelle, Le Palabre: Le défi Africain
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, RME

78. *Échos D'Afrique: Mensuel Africain d'information et de liaison.*
Mougnan Ndjekornonde Le-Kiangan, ed. Echos D'Afrique.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth, irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1-4) juin 1990 -oct 1991
Holdings: 1(1-4) avr-mai, oct 1991
Total # of issues: 4 Total retrievable: 4 Price: free, \$1.50
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: geo-politics, economics, development
Geographic focus: Canada, Afrique, États-Unis, Asie
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Echos d'Afrique le magazine Africain du Canada
Bibliographic Source(s):

79. *En Avant!: Mouvement pour le développement de la mobilisation patriotique.* (St. Hubert) Éditions SERVIR LE PEUPLE.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: n. 1 oct 1972-unknown
Holdings: no. 7 juin 1975, no. 8 juillet 1975
Total # of issues: Unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$.50
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: politics
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

80. *ÉQOH du Futur (L')*. Yves-Gérard François, ed. Bureau d'Appui à la jeunesse québécoise d'origine haïtienne.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) nov 1995-3 (2) mai 1997
Holdings: 1(1-6), 2(1-6), 3 (1-2) nov 1995-mai 1997
Total # of issues: 14 Total retrievable: 14 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: integration, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s): ÉQOH, L'ÉQOH du Futur: La voix interculturelle de Montréal, Mensuel ÉQOH du futur, ÉQOH du Futur, BAJQOH
Bibliographic Source(s): OH, BDQ

81. *Etincelles: revue haïtienne de poésie & d'actualité culturelle*. Edgar Gousse, ed. Revue Etincelles Enr.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) août 1982-1(10) jan/fév1985
Holdings: 1(1) août 1982-1(10) jan/fév1985
Total # of issues: 10 Total retrievable: 10 Price: \$6/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: poetry, Haitians in Canada, drama
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Etincelles, Etincelles Informations & actualité culturelle,
Revue Haïtienne de la diaspora, Etincelles Informations & actualité culturelle
Bibliographic Source(s): Danky, Nelson, Lacroix, ULS, MQ, OBJ, RMC

82. *Expression*. C. Taylor, ed. Negro Citizenship Association Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: journal Freq: q
Inclusive dates: February 1965-3(4) Spring 1969
Holdings: 1(1-4), 2(1-4), 3(1-4) February 1965-Spring 1969
Total # of issues: 12 Total retrievable: 12 Price: \$3/y
Location(s): BSC, ConU, McGill, NL, NA, Schomburg, BNQ
Subject focus: news, politics, Blacks in Canada, human rights, racial relations,
poetry
Geographic focus: Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): CBNQ, Danky, Bogusis, Winks, Clarke, NST, Junne,
Bertley, LPQ, OH, HBC

83. *Flash*. Mike Mannix, ed.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: bi-mth, mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 198u-1(3) April/May 198u
Holdings: 1(1-4)
Total # of issues: 4 Total retrievable: 4 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: social events, entertainment
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

84. *Focus: Magazine of Black Quebec*. Cecil Roach, ed. Black Community Council of Quebec, Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth, mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) June 1982-1(3) April/May 1983
Holdings: 1(1-4) [2], 2(2)
Total # of issues: 6 Total retrievable: 4 Price: \$1
Location(s): Williams, BSC
Subject focus: news, fiction, social events, biography
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Focus, Focus: Magazine of the Black Community Council of Quebec
Bibliographic Source(s): RMC

85. *Focus Umoja*. Euton Jarvis, ed. Black Community Central Administration of Quebec.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) November 1974-5(3) June 1978
Holdings: 1-22, 5(3)
Total # of issues: 23 Total retrievable: 23 Price: free
Location(s): NL, BSC, Williams, McGill
Subject focus: org., Blacks in Canada, politics, culture, biography, sports
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Danky, Bogusis, Clarke, Elliott, OH, HBC, Leo

86. *Forum-Afrique*. Hamid Laidaoui, ed. Centre multiculturel Afro-Québec.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) janvier 1983-1(3) 1983
Holdings: 1(1-3)
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$7/y
Location(s): NL, BSC, UT, BNQ
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, migration, politics, education, race/racism
Geographic focus: Afrique, Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): NST, Bartolo, BDQ, ULS, RMC

87. *Free Lance: Canada's Afro-Canadian Weekly, (The)*. E. Packwood, W. Trott, eds. Free Lance Publishing Co.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: mth, wk
Inclusive dates: September 1934- 1941
Holdings: Sept, Dec, 1934, May 11, 1935, June 1-8, 1935, June 29, 1935, July 13, 1935, July 27, 1935, Sept. 7-28, 1935, Oct 12-19, 1935, Nov 16, 30, 1935, July 11, 1936, May 15, 1937, April 10-24, 1937, June 5-12, 1937, July 10, 1937, June 11, 1938, July 9, 1938, July 23, 1938
Total # of issues: 26 Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$.05, \$.10
Location(s): Williams, Packwoods
Subject focus: politics, news, social events
Geographic focus: Canada, United States, Caribbean, Africa
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): A-CR, McKim's, Winks, Beaulieu, Clarke, Ayer's, Bertley, SMP, LPQ, OH, HBC, Hill, WLW, Leo, TFA

88. *Goman-Acaau*. Bulletin du Comité Haitien d'Action Patriotique
Goman-Acaau. [sic]

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: newspaper Freq: mth, irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1973-unknown
Holdings: n. 3-4 mars-avril 1973
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$.25
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: politics, history, women, race/racism
Geographic focus: Haïti, Montréal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

89. *Guya-bec: Bulletin de liaison guyano-québécoise*. Roseline Desforges, ed. Association Socio-Culturelle Guyane-Québec.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1981
Holdings: Special Edition
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org.
Geographic focus: Caraïbes (Guyane), Canada
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Guyane-Québec
Bibliographic Source(s):

90. *Guyane-Québec: Bulletin de l'association Socio-Culturelle Guyane-Québec*. Roseline Desforges, ed. Association Socio-Culturelle Guyane-Québec.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1997-juillet/sept 2003
Holdings: 1(1); 2(6-8); 3(9) 4(13); 5(14-15); 6(17-19) automne/hiver 1997-juillet/sept 2003
Total # of issues: 19 Total retrievable: 18 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org., history, tourism/travel, news, integration
Geographic focus: Caraïbes (Guyane), Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation: 250
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): OL-RDM, OL-MRCI

91. *Habari Kijiji: Village News*. D. Wills, ed. The National Black Coalition of Canada.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1974-1(1) 1976
Holdings: Sept, Oct, 1974, March 1974, January 1975, March, April, May, June, July/August 1975, Oct, Nov 1975, Dec 1975, Feb 1976
Total # of issues: 13 Total retrievable: 13 Price: free
Location(s): BSC, NA
Subject focus: org., Blacks in Canada, education, politics, race/racism
Geographic focus: Canada, Africa, Caribbean, United States
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): The Village News
Bibliographic Source(s): Clarke, Bertley, OH, HBC, Leo

92. *Haiti Nation*. Omar Bilal, ed. (Laval) Haïti Nation. [sic]

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: n. 1 avril 1979-unknown Price: \$1.00
Holdings: n. 1
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: politics, economics
Geographic focus: Canada, Haïti, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

93. *Haiti Nouvelle*. Fritz Métayer, Michael Nemours, A.A. Leroux, eds.
Les Éditions Haïti Nouvelle. [sic]

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: wk, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: n. 1 août 1986-unknown
Holdings: n. 1 (4), 3(2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free, \$2/y
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: politics, entertainment, current affairs
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 2000
Variant Title(s): Haiti Nouvelle: La revue haitienne de Montréal [sic]
Bibliographic Source(s): PCCQ, OBJ, RME

94. *Haïti Perspectives*. Jacques Lapommeray, ed. Société d'édition des
tropiques, Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1-3) juin 1987-septembre 1987
Holdings: 1(1-3)
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$20/y
Location(s): CIDIHCA, BNQ, Leloup
Subject focus: politics, business
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Lacroix, OBJ, Nelson

95. *Haiti Presse: journal des Haitiens au Québec*. Erick Antoine, ed.
Éditions Haïti presse. [sic]

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: newspaper Freq: mth, irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) février 1978- 5(1) août 1983
Holdings: 1(1-2)2(1-12), [3]. 3(1-3), 4(1-5), 5(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 31 Price: \$30
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, integration
Geographic focus: Québec, Caraïbes
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Haiti Presse Inc. journal des Haitiens au Québec.
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, OBJ, RMC

96. *Haiti Québec Le journal de la communauté haïtienne du Québec.*
Voegli Juste Constant, ed. [sic]

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1)1992-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)1992, 2(15)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: politics, entertainment, current affairs, race/racism, arts,
sports, labour, Black in Quebec
Geographic focus: Montréal, Québec, Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 2000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

97. *Haïti rêve l'aut'. Bel air rêve.*

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: q, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 mai 2000-nov 7 2001
Holdings: v. 1
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$1, \$3.50/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: religion, integration
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

98. *Héritage: le journal des jeunes africains du Québec.* Lusamba
Mputu, ed. La Jeunesse africaine du Québec Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: irr, tri
Inclusive dates: 1(1) août 1987-1(2) janvier 1988
Holdings: 1(1), 1(2)
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: 1\$
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: youth, poetry, org., race/racism
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Part
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

99. *Ilan ilan: Paroles d'arts et de patrimoine haïtiens*. Reynold Nèmorin, ed. St. Leonard. s.n.

Lang(s): fre/cre Format: journal Freq: irr, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 1992-v. 15 1995
Holdings: v. 2, v. 3, v. 5, v. 6, v. 11, v. 13, v. 14, v. 15
Total # of issues: 15 Total retrievable: 8 Price: \$2, \$18/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, Leloup
Subject focus: arts, culture, family, youth, Blacks in Quebec, integration
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes, Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Ilan-ilan magazine, Ilan ilan
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, Nelson

100. *Images: Magazine Interculturel*. Alix Laurent, Claude Moïse, eds. Images interculturelles.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: 20/y, mth
Inclusive dates: 14 november 1991-6(6) october 1999
Holdings: 0(0), 1(1-9), 2(1-9), 3(1-9) [8], 4(1-4) [3], 6(1-6)
Total # of issues: 38 Total retrievable: 36 Price: \$4-5
Location(s): CIDIHCA, BNQ, Images
Subject focus: politics, news, literature, cuisine, entertainment
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 40-50k
Variant Title(s): Images: Magazine
Bibliographic Source(s): MEQ, MDQ, PCCQ, MCQ

101. *Influence*. Tcharli Mathurin, ed. Publications urbaines.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) juin 2002-1(2) juillet 2002
Holdings: 1(1-2)
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: social events, hiphop, culture, entertainment
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

102. *Info-Zaïre feuillet d'information produit par la Table de concertation sur les droits humains au Zaïre.* Denis Tougas, ed. Entraide missionnaire.

Lang(s): fre Format: newsletter Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: v. 1-v. 159 fév1992-7 avril 2000
Holdings: 1-159
Total # of issues: 159 Total retrievable: 159 Price: free
Location(s): CA
Subject focus: politics, development
Geographic focus: Afrique
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Info-Congo/Kinshasa feuillet d'information produit par la Table de concertation sur les droits humains au Congo/Kinshasa, Info-Congo/Zaïre feuillet d'information produit par la Table de concertation sur les droits humains au Congo/Zaïre
Bibliographic Source(s):

103. *Jonction: bulletin d'information d'Initiatives démocratiques.* Frantz Raphaël, ed. Initiatives démocratiques.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) janvier 1999-2(2) oct 2000
Holdings: 1(1) janvier 1999, 2(1) juil 2000, 2(2) oct 2000
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$5/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: politics, social conditions
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Jonction
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

104. *journal Kjnapé: Koumbit èn ayisyin nan péyi étranjé.* SADOCA.

Lang(s): creole Format: magazine Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: unknown
Holdings: 1(1-3)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$1
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: youth
Geographic focus: Quebec, Haiti
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

105. *Journal PAMH: Le bimensuel d'informations socioculturelles et économiques de la diaspora haïtienne*. Roger Petit-Frère, ed.
Journal PAMH.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: irr, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 14 octobre 2000-1(22) 2001
Holdings: 1(1-14) v., v.
Total # of issues: 22 Total retrievable: 11 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, Leloup, NL
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, sports
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, Nelson

106. *Journal Scopie*. Andrée Luce Fourcand, Daniel Compere, eds.
Centre Communautaire La Rosée/Centre communautaire
Coubite (Laval).

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) juin 1997-3(5) 1999
Holdings: 1(1)-3(5)
Total # of issues: 35 Total retrievable: 35 Price: \$1
Location(s): CCC, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: org.
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation: 5000
Variant Title(s): Scopie
Bibliographic Source(s): MDQ, Nelson

107. *Kako*. L'Action Patriotique.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1 fév1972-août/septembre 1972
Holdings: n. 1 fév1972, n. 2-3 mars 1972, n. 4 avril 1972, n. 6 juillet 1972,
n. 7 août/septembre 1972
Total # of issues: 7 Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$.10, \$.25
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: org., politics
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Previous Editor(s)
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

108. *Kiskedi Montreal*. Phillippe Fils-Aimé, ed. Le comité du Tournoi Ken Tours de soccer-football de la St. Jean-Baptiste.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: newspaper Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) juin 1995
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA, Leloup
Subject focus: youth, sports
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Kiskedi: oiseau porteur de bonnes nouvelles, Kiskedi: photo-journal Montreal
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

109. *Kola: A Black Literary Magazine*. Horace Goddard, ed. Black Writer's Guild.

Lang(s): eng Format: journal Freq: q, bi-ann
Inclusive dates: 1(1) Feb 1987-1(1) 2002
Holdings: v. 1 (1), v. 2-v. 16 (1-3)
Total # of issues: 41 Total retrievable: 41 Price: \$15/y
Location(s): LavU, NL
Subject focus: poetry, fiction
Geographic focus: Canada, United States, Caribbean
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Kola
Bibliographic Source(s): Gale, Danky, Joyette, OH, OL-UIP, Lazar, BCB

110. *Kombe: journal du monde noir en Amérique*. Gérard-Roger Saint-Victor, ed.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) juin 1973-1(3) août 1973
Holdings: 1(1-3)
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$5/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: news, Blacks in Quebec, politics
Geographic focus: Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Kombe: tout sur le monde noir
Bibliographic Source(s): CBNQ, BDQ

111. *Koukourouj: Bulletin de liaison pour le Front de Libération Nationale.*

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1973-unknown
Holdings: n. 2 dec 1973
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$.25
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: politics
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

112. *Lambi, (Le).* Julio Jean-Pierre, ed. Revue Le Lambi.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) mars/avril 1979-2(5) dec 1982
Holdings: 1(1-5)-2(1-5)
Total # of issues: 10 Total retrievable: 10 Price: \$1, \$5/y
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, Leloup
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Le Lambi: une nouvelle voix
Bibliographic Source(s): CBNQ, Lacroix, BDQ, PET, OBJ, RMC, Nelson

113. *lettre Africaine, (La).* Dr. André Fortas, ed. Institut Canadien des Affaires Africaines.

Lang(s): fre Format: newsletter Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) nov 1982- v. 3 (10) 1984
Holdings: 1982
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$30
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: business
Geographic focus: Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, HBC, RMC, WHG

114. *Lien, (Le): bulletin de l'Association des enseignants haïtiens du Québec.* Marc-Antoine Louis, ed. Association des enseignants haïtiens du Québec.

Lang(s): fre/creo/eng Format: bulletin Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: mars/avril 1987-9(1) juin 2000
Holdings: v. 1, v. 2(2, 3-4), v. 3(1-2, 3-4), v. 4-5(1-3), v. 6-8(1-2), v. 9(1)
Total # of issues: 19 Total retrievable: 19 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: org., education
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 500
Variant Title(s): Le Lien
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, MEQ, Nelson

115. *Lift.* Mulumba Tshikuka, ed., Liftbook Inc.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: e-zine Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) Dec 2003-Sept. 2004
Holdings: v. 1(1)
Total # of issues: 6 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): <http://liftbook.com/home.htm>
Subject focus: urban culture, arts, health, employment
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation: 2500
Variant Title(s): Liftbook
Bibliographic Source(s):

116. *Lisanga: bulletin d'information et de formation de la communauté catholique congolaise de Montréal.* Remy Katshingu, ed. Bulletin Lisanga.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) jan 2000-5(22) oct 2004
Holdings: v. 1(1)-5(22)
Total # of issues: 22 Total retrievable: 18 Price: \$1.50
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: org., religion, social events
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation: 500
Variant Title(s): Lisanga: Un bulletin en pleine expansion-Pour un réelle intégration
Bibliographic Source(s):

117. *Littérature et vie afro-montréalaises Hebdomadaire indépendant.*

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: 4 août, 1992-1(18) 27 juillet, 1993
Holdings: 1(1), 1(8), 1(11), 1(13), 1(18)
Total # of issues: 18 Total retrievable: 5 Price: \$40/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: social events, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes. Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

118. *L & V: littérature et vie afro-montréalaises: Hebdo indépendant.*

Rachel Gilbert, ed.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: 1(1-2) octobre 12-19-octobre 19-26, 1993
Holdings: 1(1) octobre 12-19, 1993-1(2) octobre 19-26, 1993
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: \$40/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, literature
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Previous Editor(s):
Variant Title(s): L & V
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

119. *Machette, (La). Pérard Joseph, ed.*

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: novembre 1997-unknown
Holdings: novembre 1997-unknown
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: org., politics, development, migration
Geographic focus: Caraïbes
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

120. *Magazine Haïti Nouvelle ère Le mensuel Haïtien d'informations le plus complet.* Michel Nemours, Michel Toussaint, eds. Les Éditions Haïti Nouvelle.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: wk, bi-mth
 Inclusive dates: n. 1 1993-unknown
 Holdings: n. 1 (4), 6(2) dec 1993-jan 1994, 7(2) fev-mars 1994, v. 5/6 1994, v. 9, 1994, v. 1995-1996 n. 1(4)
 Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 4 Price: \$2
 Location(s): CIDIHCA, Leloup
 Subject focus: politics, entertainment, current affairs
 Geographic focus: Haïti
 Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 2000
 Variant Title(s): Haïti Nouvelle Magazine Bonjour soleil Information la plus complète
 Bibliographic Source(s):

121. *Makandal.*

Lang(s): fre Format: newsletter Freq: wk
 Inclusive dates: juillet 1971-unknown
 Holdings: juillet 1971, 28 juillet 1971
 Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$.40, free
 Location(s):
 Subject focus: politics
 Geographic focus: Haïti
 Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
 Variant Title(s):
 Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

122. *Mille Visages: journal multiculturel de Montréal, un journal qui nous ressemble et nous rassemble.* Jean Ndimzil, ed. Divers Media.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: bi-mth, irr
 Inclusive dates: octobre-décembre 2003
 Holdings: octobre-novembre 2003, décembre 2003
 Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
 Location(s): CIDIHCA
 Subject focus: politics, entertainment, current affairs
 Geographic focus: Montréal
 Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
 Variant Title(s):
 Bibliographic Source(s):

123. *Montreal Black Directory*. Black Community Communications Media.

Lang(s): eng Format: directory Freq: ann
Inclusive dates: n. 1 1978
Holdings: n. 1
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$1.00
Location(s):
Subject focus:
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

124. *Montréal Camera: Bringing the news to You*. Evelyn Houston, ed. Repertoire Caraibes.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: n. 2501 March 2005
Holdings: n. 2501 March 2005
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, politics, culture, sports
Geographic focus: Montreal, Quebec, Caribbean
Advertising: yes, Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

125. *Montreal Oracle: Serving Visible Canadians, (The)*. Oswald Bartolo, ed. Ronald Joseph Investments Inc.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newspaper Freq: wk, s-mth
Inclusive dates: Nov 4, 1976-2(22) August 17, 1977
Holdings: 1(1-6) [5], 2(1), 2(5), 2(8-10), 2(22),
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 12 Price: \$.25
Location(s): NL, BSC, McGill, BNQ
Subject focus: sports, community life, social events, politics, history
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Oracle, The Oracle, Oracle de Montréal, The Montreal Oracle:
Serving The Cote des Neiges Community Every Wednesday, The Montreal Oracle: A
Black newspaper with regional interests
Bibliographic Source(s): ULCN, Junne, SMP, OH, BDQ, HBC

126. *Montreal University Contact, (The)*. Faye Cumming, et al., eds.
Communication EnG.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: q
Inclusive dates: summer 1996-March 2005
Holdings: summer 1996, Oct 2001, Feb, Apr, Nov 2002, Feb, Apr, Oct 2003,
Feb, Apr, 2004, March 2005
Total # of issues: 11 Total retrievable: 11 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: youth, education
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s): Straight Up Youth Magazine, University Contact, Montreal
University Contact: Community Bridging the Gap University
Bibliographic Source(s):

127. *Mozaik: le magazine de la diversité culturelle*. Karim Djinko, ed.
Mozaik Media, Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) décembre 2003-unknown
Holdings: no. 1, no. 2
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): www.mozaikmedia.com
Subject focus: culture, race/racism, ethnicity, arts
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

128. *Muhammad Speaks*. Salimah Amatullah Muhammad, ed. Nation of
Islam of Canada.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newspaper Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: Feb/Mar 1998 -5(9) Jan/Feb 2005
Holdings: 1(1,7), 3(7), 4(12), 5(1-3,7,9)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: religion, politics, economics, history
Geographic focus: International
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

129. *Muse en île: organe d'expression créatrice de la diaspora haïtienne.* Edouard Gousse, ed. Collectif création haïtienne.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) jan 1992-1(8) sept 1992
Holdings: 1(1-2) jan-mar, 1(4/5)-1(5-6) july, v. 7, 1(8) sept [3]
Total # of issues: 8 Total retrievable: 7 Price: \$3
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: poetry
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique, Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Muse en île
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, Nelson

130. *Native: Authentic africa concept.* Kenneth Asafo-Adjei, ed. Native International.

Lang(s): eng Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 April-May 2005
Holdings: v. 1
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$5
Location(s):
Subject focus: arts, politics, social events, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Quebec, Africa
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

131. *NB²PW Newslet²er.* Thelia Foster, ed. Network of Black Business and Professional Women.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1996-2002
Holdings: 2(2), 3(2,3), 4(2,5,7), 5(1,2,4,7), 6(2,3,2,5,6,7), 7(1,2,3,4)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: women, race/racism, business, social events, org.
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 100
Variant Title(s): Newsletter, The Network Newsletter, NB²PW Newsletter
Bibliographic Source(s):

132. *Négritude: le négro-marketing: Journal de Marketing des entreprises de la communauté noire du Québec.* Mathias N'Guessan, ed.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) jan/fév1992- 2(1)mars 1993
Holdings: 1(1-3,4-5,6)-2(1) jan/fév1992-mars 1993
Total # of issues: 7 Total retrievable: 6 Price: \$1, \$9/y
Location(s): BNQ, UQAM
Subject focus: cooking, social events, humour, business, cuisine
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 1,000
Variant Title(s): Negritude
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

133. *New Focus: Publication of the Black Community Council of Quebec.* Michael Julien, ed. ACCES Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: journal Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1), December 1991-unknown
Holdings: 1(1) December 1991-2(1) January 1992
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$6
Location(s): ARI
Subject focus: org., community life, social events, education, literature, poetry, sports
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

134. *NEWSLETTER.* Richard Courtney, ed. Cote des Neiges Black Community Association Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 1984-unknown
Holdings: v. 2-v. 4
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org., social events
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

135. *NEWSLETTER*. The Trinidad and Tobago Association (Montreal).

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1965-197u
Holdings: Oct 1965, May, Dec, 1966, July, Oct, Dec 1967, Jan, Feb, Feb-
March, April, May, July 1968, June, August 1971
Total # of issues: 16 Total retrievable: 16 Price: free
Location(s): NA
Subject focus: org., social events, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): The Trinidad and Tobago Association News Bulletin, The Trinidad
and Tobago Association Information Bulletin, The Trinidad and Tobago Association
Bulletin
Bibliographic Source(s): Bertley

136. *NEWSLETTER*. (WIVF). West Indian Veterans and Friends
Association.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: unknown
Holdings: fall 1998
Total # of issues: Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: org.
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

137. *Nouvelle Optique: recherches haïtiennes et caraïbiennes*. Hérard
Jadotte, et al., eds. Nouvelle Optique.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: q
Inclusive dates: v. 1 jan 1971-v. 9 1973
Holdings: v. 1-v. 9
Total # of issues: 9 Total retrievable: 9 Price: \$5.50/y
Location(s): BNQ, YK, UOO, NL, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: history, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Caraïbes, Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Henry, Nelson, NST, BDQ, CBNQ, OL-UIP, OBJ

138. *Nouvellekay*. Renix, ed. Nouvellakay.com.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: v. 1 2003-
Holdings: unknown
Total # of issues: Total retrievable: unknown Price: free
Location(s): <http://Nouvellekay.com>
Subject focus: history, Blacks in Quebec, arts, social events, literature
Geographic focus: Haïti, Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Nouvel lakay.com
Bibliographic Source(s):

139. *Nouvelles Alkebu Lan/Alkebu Lan Newsletter*. Daniel K. Kabasele, ed. Alkebu International Publication (Chateauguay).

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newsletter Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 0(0) juil 1987-2(2) septembre 1993
Holdings: 0(0), 1(2-14), 2(2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 15 Price: \$4.50
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: politics, philosophy, economics
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

140. *Nouvelles d'Alimage*. Jeune Chambre de commerce Haitienne.

Lang(s): fre Format: e-zine Freq: mth, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: n. 1 2002-n. 19 jan/fév2004
Holdings: n. 13, 1 mai 2003, n. 19 jan/fév2004
Total # of issues: 19 Total retrievable: 19 Price: free
Location(s): alimage2002@yahoo.ca
Subject focus: business, economics
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

141. *Nouvelles DaCosta News*. Corporation de Développement d'affaires Mathieu Da Costa Business Development Corporation.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: bulletin Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) octobre 1994
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): unknown
Subject focus: org., development
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

142. *Objectif: l'hebdomadaire de la communauté haïtienne, (L')*. Julio Jean-Pierre, ed. L'objectif.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 30 mai 1990-2(14) avril 1991
Holdings: 1(1-24)- 2(14)
Total # of issues: 38 Total retrievable: 38 Price: \$.50
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: sports, biography, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec, Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

143. *Oeil ouvert: journal inter-église socio-culturel chrétien, (L')*.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: v. 1 1982-v. 11 June 1984
Holdings: v. 1-v. 11
Total # of issues: 11 Total retrievable: 11 Price: \$1, \$10/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org., religion, Blacks in Quebec, sports, social events
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes. Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Le journal évangélique et culturel de la communauté haïtienne de Montréal
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

144. *Ouverture, (L')*. Centre communautaire Les Aliés Longueuil.

Lang(s): fre Format: Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: dec 1993-unknown
Holdings: Édition speciale
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: org., youth, migration, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

145. *Péristyle, (Le)*. Joseph P. Leonard, ed. La Maison de Dahomey.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) octobre 1987
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$10.50/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

146. *Phare: La voix de la communauté évangélique de Montréal, (Le)*.
J'ose Pierre, ed. Le Journal Le Phare.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1-2) 1989
Holdings: 1(1-2)
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: free, \$12/y
Location(s): NL
Subject focus: religion, Blacks in Quebec, poetry, sports, education
Geographic focus: Québec, Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Journal Le Phare
Bibliographic Source(s):

147. *Port-de-Paisienne-information: bulletin socio-culturel, (Le).*

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: janvier 1984-1(4) avril/mai 1984
Holdings: 1(1-4)
Total # of issues: 4 Total retrievable: 4 Price: free, \$0.50
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: development, Blacks in Québec
Geographic focus: Québec, Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

148. *Préférence Congolaise, (La) Mensuel d'informations socio-économique et publicitaire Afro-congolais du Canada.* J.-M. Matiti, ed. CSF Media. [sic]

Lang(s): fre/lingala Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 2002
Holdings: v. 2 (20, 22, 23)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$20/y, free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: Blacks in Québec, politics, social events, religion, health, org.
Geographic focus: Afrique, Canada
Advertising: yes. Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5,000
Variant Title(s): Préférence Congolaise : mensuel afro-antillais; Mensuel d'informations socio-économique et publicitaire Afro-antillais du Canada.
Bibliographic Source(s): OL-RDM, MDQ, Begin, OL-MRCI

149. *Présence: l'hebdomadaire des francophones noirs au Canada.* Valentino Nelson, ed. Éditions Présence.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: wk, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 19-26 mars, 1987-2(16) 1988
Holdings: 1(1-37) [11, 14, 18], 2(2-16) [6, 13]
Total # of issues: 57 Total retrievable: 52 Price: free, \$26.60
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: news, history, culture, social events, Blacks in Canada, pan-africanism
Geographic focus: Québec, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Lacroix, BDQ, RME, OBJ

150. *Presence: la vraie presse indépendante des Haïtiens*. Valentino Nelson, ed. Kauss & Kauss.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) juin 1997- 2(2031) juil 2003
Holdings: vol. 1(1-7), 2(9-10), A(102-116), 4(2001-2002), 5(2005-2015), 6(2021-2023), 7(2026, 2028), 2(2027-2031) juin 1997-juil 2003
Total # of issues: 36 Total retrievable: 36 Price: free, \$1
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA
Subject focus: news, history, culture, social events, Blacks in Canada
Geographic focus: Canada, Québec, Montréal, Haïti, États-Unis
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 100,000
Variant Title(s): Scoops présence, Présence haïtienne, Présence des îles, Presencia latina, Journal Présence
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

151. *Prestige Magazine Inter: Revue d'informations et d'actualités culturelles*. Kauss & Kauss.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1(1) jan/fév1994-automne 1996
Holdings: 1(1-3), 2(1-2), 3 (1-2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 7 Price: \$2.25
Location(s): CIDIHCA, Leloup
Subject focus: women, culture, art, cuisine
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): MEQ, Nelson

152. *Process, (The)*. The Caribbean Students Society of S.G.W.U.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: unknown
Holdings: Special Edition, December 6, 1968
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org., youth
Geographic focus: Canada, Caribbean
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

153. *Quisqueya: journal des étudiants haïtiens de l'Université de Montréal.*

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: q
Inclusive dates: octobre 1987-1(2) décembre 1987
Holdings: 1(1-2)
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org., youth, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 1000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

154. *RAQ Nouvelles/AAQ News. Le rassemblement des Africains au Québec/The Alliance of Africans in Quebec.*

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: v. 1 October 1980-v. 5 February 1981
Holdings: v. 1-v. 5 [2]
Total # of issues: 5 Total retrievable: 4 Price: \$15, 50\$/y
Location(s): BSC, BNQ
Subject focus: org., Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

155. *Real Scene, Montreal's Black Popular Culture Magazine, (The).*

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1999
Holdings: 1(1) May/June 1999
Total # of issues: Total retrievable: Price:
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: culture
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

156. *Référence Magazine International*. Charles Pradel, ed. Les Productions Référence Inc.

Lang(s): fre/eng Format: magazine Freq: q
Inclusive dates: août 1999-2(4) dec 2002-fév 2003
Holdings: 1(1, 4), 2(3, 4) août 1999-dec 2002-fév 2003
Total # of issues: 8 Total retrievable: 4 Price: \$2.95
Location(s): CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: migration, arts, biography, entertainment, sports, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation: 2,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): CCN, OL-MRCI

157. *Reggins United Foundation Inc.: A No-Nonsense Magazine*. Ruth Promesse, ed. Reggins United Foundation Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1993-unknown
Holdings: January/February 1994, March/April 1994
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): ARI
Subject focus: development, race/racism
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation: 1,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

158. *Renaissance: Union de la diaspora congolaise du Canada (La)*. Dr. Albert Mbuyi Tshitebua, ed. Fédération UDPS Canada.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 0(0) mars 1997-n. 70 nov 2002
Holdings: 0(0) mars 1997-n. 43 août 2000 [1998, 2001-2002]
Total # of issues: 71 Total retrievable: 39 Price: free, \$2
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org., culture, politics, news, social events
Geographic focus: Afrique, Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Mbongwana: Journal de L'U.D.P.S./Canada, La Renaissance: Journal de L'Union de la diaspora Zaïroise du Canada
Bibliographic Source(s):

159. *Répertoire des femmes d'Images de l'Afrique francophone*. Nouri Lajmi, ed. Trait d'union culturel.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1994
Holdings: 1994
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, business, media
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Femmes d'Images de l'Afrique Francophone
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

160. *Répertoire des initiatives haïtiennes à Montréal*. Elaine Lavoie, ed. Mouvement fraternité Haïti-Québec Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: directory Freq: ann
Inclusive dates: 1985-
Holdings: 1985
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, business, media
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

161. *résistance haïtienne, (la)*. La Résistance Haïtienne.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth, irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) avril 1971-2(6) juin 1973
Holdings: 1(1-18), 2(1-6)
Total # of issues: 24 Total retrievable: 24 Price: \$.35, \$.50
Location(s): BSC, BNQ
Subject focus: politics, history
Geographic focus: Haïti, États-Unis
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, CBNQ

162. *Revue Montréal International*. Louis Henri Comte, ed. Revue Montréal International Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1985
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 1 Price: \$2.25
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: politics, history, tourism/travel
Geographic focus: Caraïbes, Canada, Asie, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

163. *Roseau, (Le): la revue d'actualité*. Jean Serge Joseph, ed.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: q, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1)-unknown
Holdings: v. 1(2-3) nov 1993, v. 2(4-9, 11,12) 1995
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 10 Price: \$1
Location(s): CIDIHCA, UQAM, Leloup
Subject focus: politics, culture, sports, fashion, literature, history
Geographic focus: Haïti, Canada, Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 1000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

164. *Ruptures*. Edgard Gousse, ed. Revue des Trois Amériques.

Lang(s): fre/span/eng/por Format: journal Freq: q, bi-ann, ann
Inclusive dates: v. 0 oct/nov 1992-v. 14 oct/mars 1998/1999
Holdings: v. 0 oct/nov 1992, v. 1 mars 1993, v. 2 juin 1993, v. 3 sept 1993,
v. 4 dec 1993, v. 5 mars 1994, v. 6 juin 1994, v. 7 sept 1994, v. 8 mars
1995, v. 9 sept 1995, v. 10 dec 1995, v. 11 1996, v. 12 sept 1996, v. 13
oct-mars 1996-1997, v. 14 oct-mars 1998-1999
Total # of issues: 14 Total retrievable: 14 Price: \$8.95
Location(s): CIDIHCA, BNQ, NL
Subject focus: poetry, literature, fiction
Geographic focus: Americas
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation: 1000
Variant Title(s): Ruptures: Revue des Trois Ameriques
Bibliographic Source(s): MEQ

165. *Sauti Yetu Notre Voix: Bulletin de solidarité femmes Africaines.*

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1997-unknown
Holdings: 3(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: unknown Price: free
Location(s): CA
Subject focus: org., poetry
Geographic focus: Quebec, Africa
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

166. *Share Montreal.* A. Auguste, ed. SHARE Communications Inc.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: wk
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1986-unknown
Holdings: 1(8)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: news, Blacks in Canada
Geographic focus: Quebec, Caribbean
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): CCE, OL-UIP

167. *Soleil des îles Magazine.* R. Kesler Brézault, ed. Soleil des îles communications Inc.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: mth, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) dec 1994- oct 1997
Holdings: 1(1-3, v.), 2(9, 13, 15-18, v.)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 5 Price: \$1, \$2
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, Leloup
Subject focus: culture, Blacks in Quebec, history
Geographic focus: Québec, Caraïbes
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ, PCCQ, Nelson

168. *Solidarité*. Fonds de développement Haïti-Canada.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: 1(1) avr 1997-2(2) oct 1998
Holdings: 1(1),1(4), 2(1), 2(2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 6 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ, Leloup
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, org.
Geographic focus: Québec, Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation: 1,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

169. *Solidarité avec le Zimbabwe*. Comité de solidarité avec le Zimbabwe.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) jan 1978-juil 1979
Holdings: 1(1) jan 1978
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: unknown Price:
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: development
Geographic focus: Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

170. *Sorhica Info. Bulletin mensuel*. Société de Recherches Historiques Culturelles Antillaises.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: juillet-août 1998-
Holdings: juillet-août 1998, sept 8, 1998
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: free
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: poetry, language/literacy, fiction, culture, history, education
Geographic focus: Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

171. *Speciaux-Plus, Le journal des bonnes affaires*. Joseph B. Colas, Valentino Nelson, Eric Carrénard, et al., eds. *Speciaux-Plus*.

Lang(s): fre Format: newspaper Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1995 (Special édition)
Holdings: 1995 (Special édition)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: culture, social events, business
Geographic focus: Montréal, Laval
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

172. *Sphinx: Tout sur la culture noire*. Jean Robert Fort, ed.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) fev/mars 2001-unknown
Holdings: 1(1) fev/mars 2001, juin/juil 2001, 6(7) 2001, v., 2002, oct, dec 2002
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 6 Price: \$1.99
Location(s): NL, CIDIHCA, BNQ, Leloup
Subject focus: culture, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

173. *Sport-Inter: Sports en Haïti*. Carmy Rouchon, ed. *Publication Sport-Inter pour toujours*.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) jan 1980-unknown
Holdings: 1(1) jan 1980,1(2) fév 1980,1(3) mar 1980,1(4) avr 1980, 2(1)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 5 Price: \$12/y
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: sports, Blacks in Quebec
Geographic focus: Québec, Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

174. *St. Kitts Nevis Anguilla.* St. Kitts Nevis Anguilla Association of Montreal.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: May 1980-unknown
Holdings: May 1980, June 1980
Total # of issues: 2 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org., sports, biography, news, social events
Geographic focus: Quebec, Caribbean
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

175. *Strategies: Le magazine économique des partenaires du Canada et de l'Afrique.* Abdoulaye Rokhaya Wane, ed. Publications du Scorpion.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: semi-ann
Inclusive dates: Hiver 1992-unknown
Holdings: Hiver 1992, été/juillet, août, oct 1992, jan, mars, mai, juillet, sept, oct, nov, 1993, fev, avr, juin, sept 1994, août, sept, nov, dec 1995, mars, avr, mai, jun, août, sept, oct, nov, dec 1996, avr, mai, juin, juil, août, sept, oct, nov, dec 1997, mai, juin 1998, fev, mars, sep, oct, dec 1999, v., v., v., août, sept, oct, 2000, jan, mars, mai, juil, sept, nov, 2001, jan, mars, mai, juil, sept, nov 2002, jan, mars, mai, juil, sept 2003
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 69 Price: \$3.50
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: politics, economics
Geographic focus: Canada, Afrique
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Previous Editor(s):
Variant Title(s): Strategies
Bibliographic Source(s):

176. *Tambour, mensuel de l'Association des étudiants africains de l'UQAM (Le)*. L'Association des étudiants africains de l'UQAM.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) mars 1996-unknown
Holdings: 1(2)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): BNQ
Subject focus: org., politics
Geographic focus: Montréal, Afrique
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): le journal de l'Association des étudiant(e)s African(e)s de l'UQAM
Bibliographic Source(s):

177. *Terre et Liberté*.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: irr, q
Inclusive dates: 1(1) mars 1981-5(8) mars 1985
Holdings: 1(1, 2, v.), 2(1), 3(1-5), 4(4-6), 5(8) mars 1981- mars 1985
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 12 Price: \$1
Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL
Subject focus: politics, economics, history, poetry
Geographic focus: Haïti
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation: 2,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

178. *Third World Forum*. Editorial Collective. Third World Forum.

Lang(s): eng Format: journal Freq: bi-mth, q
Inclusive dates: 1974-1976
Holdings: n. 1, Aug-Sept 1974; 2-3 Jan-April 1976
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: \$6
Location(s): ARI, NL
Subject focus: politics, economics, history
Geographic focus: Africa, Asia, Middle East
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

179. *Trait d'Union: bulletin de liaison des anciens scouts et guides d'Haïti.* Tonton Gilles, ed. Liaison des anciens scouts et guides d'Haïti.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: q
Inclusive dates: unknown
Holdings: fev, mars avril 1997- mai, juin, juillet 1997
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$1
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: politics, economics, history, poetry
Geographic focus: Montréal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Trait d'Union
Bibliographic Source(s):

180. *Transatlantique: Magazine sur l'Afrique et l'Amérique.* Kanyurhi T. Tchika, ed. Transatlantique.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: 7/y
Inclusive dates: 1(4) 1989-unknown
Holdings: 1(4), 2, 3, 4
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 4 Price: \$15/y
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: politics, economics, tourism/travel, development, current affairs, literature
Geographic focus: Afrique, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Junne, Part, HBC

181. *The 25th.* The Anniversary Magazine Committee. St. Vincent and Grenadine of Montreal Association.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1(1) February 1990-unknown
Holdings: 1(1)
Total # of issues: 1 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): ARI
Subject focus: history, org., news
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

182. *UHURU*. Norman Gyles, ed. Black Community News Service.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: s-mth, wk
Inclusive dates: 1(1) June 4, 1969-2(5) November 9, 1975
Holdings: 1(1-23)-2(5)
Total # of issues: 28 Total retrievable: 28 Price: \$.10-\$.15/y
Location(s): Schomburg, BSC, ConU,³⁸⁰ MM, NL, McGill, ARI, BNQ
Subject focus: news, politics, race/racism
Geographic focus: Quebec
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Woods, GPN, Wagle, Danky, Blizzard, Bogusis, Winks, McLaren, ULCN, Junne, Bertley, OH, Und, HBC, Leo

183. *Umoja: Black Dialogue*. Clarence Bayne, Dorothy Wills, eds. National Black Coalition.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1-2) October 30, 1969-n.d., 5(4)
Holdings: 1(1-2)-2(1-3), 1972, 3(1), n.d., 5(4)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: Price: free
Location(s): NL, BSC, McGill
Subject focus: org.
Geographic focus: Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Umoja
Bibliographic Source(s): Bogusis, Bertley, Elliott, OH, HBC, Leo

184. *Upfront: Taking urban music across Canadian Tracks*. N Oji Mzilikazi, Chris Edwards, Arlene Edwards, eds. Upfront Reg.

Lang(s): eng Format: magazine Freq: mth, bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) November 1987-v. 24 January 1993
Holdings: v. 2(1)-24 [22] February 1988-January 1993
Total # of issues: 24 Total retrievable: 21 Price: \$2.50
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: arts, entertainment
Geographic focus: Montreal, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

³⁸⁰ Has microfilm edition.

185. *Vents Croisés: D'autres regards sur notre temps*. Shimbi K. Katchelewa, ed. CommunicAction.

Lang(s): fre Format: magazine Freq: q
Inclusive dates: printemps 2003-automne 2004
Holdings: v. 1-v. 5, printemps 2003-automne 2004
Total # of issues: 5 Total retrievable: 5 Price: \$3.99
Location(s): NL, BNQ
Subject focus: socio-politics, migration, social conditions
Geographic focus: International
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

186. *Vents nouveaux*. Solidarité Marie-Victorin-Haïti.

Lang(s): fre Format: bulletin Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: 1987-unknown
Holdings: 1.1(1987) 1.2 (1987) 2.1 (1988)
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 3 Price: \$5/y
Location(s): BNQ, NL
Subject focus: Haiti-Quebec relations
Geographic focus: Haïti, Québec
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

187. *Vincy Quebeker, (The)*. St. Vincent and Grenadine of Montreal Association.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1989-unknown
Holdings: 1(2) October 1989-1(3) December 1989
Total # of issues: 3 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): ARI
Subject focus: org., news
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

188. *Vision of Colour*. Fred Anderson, ed. The Society for the Promotion of Quebec Black Artists/La Société pour la Promotion des Artistes noirs du Québec.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: January 1989-unknown
Holdings: 1(1) January 1989, 2(2) March 1989
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: unknown Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: arts, literature
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

189. *Vizimage: Rendez-vous avec l'histoire*. Paul Brown, ed. Centre de recherche historique.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: jan/fév1989-1(4) sept/oct 1989
Holdings: 1(1) jan/fév1989, 1(2) mars/avr 1989, 1(3) mai/juin 1989, 1(4) sept/oct 1989
Total # of issues: 4 Total retrievable: 4 Price: \$5, \$27/y
Location(s): BNQ, NL, UT
Subject focus: Blacks in Quebec, history
Geographic focus: Canada, États-Unis, Caraïbes, Afrique, Europe
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s): Vizimage
Bibliographic Source(s): BDQ

190. *Voice, (The)*. Suroosh Y. Alvi, ed. Interimages Communications.

Lang(s): eng/fre Format: magazine Freq: 8-20/y
Inclusive dates: 0(0) Oct 15,1994-3(8) June 1996
Holdings: 0(0) Oct 15, 1994, 1(1) Nov 16, 1994, 2(1) Jan 1995, 2(2) Feb. 1995, 2(3) March 1995, 2(6) June 1995 2(8) Sept 1995, 3(1) Oct 1995, 3(2) Nov 1995, 3(3) December 1995, 3(7) May 1996, 3(8) June 1996
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: unknown Price: \$1
Location(s): Images, Williams, NL, BNQ
Subject focus: current affairs, multiculturalism, ethnicity
Geographic focus: Quebec, Canada
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s): Voice of Montreal, Voice: Montreal's Culture Magazine
Bibliographic Source(s):

191. *Voix de L'ENTENTE: Organe du Front unifié de libération économique et sociale d'Haiti (FLESH)*. St. Hubert. FLESH.

Lang(s): fre Format: journal Freq: irr
Inclusive dates: février 1974-unknown
Holdings: février 1974, juillet 1974
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 2 Price: \$10/y
Location(s): Images, BNQ
Subject focus: current affairs, multiculturalism, ethnicity, politics
Geographic focus: Québec, Canada, Haïti
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 10,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

192. *WIBCA Insight*. West Island Black Community Association.

Lang(s): eng Format: bulletin Freq: mth
Inclusive dates: March 1984-unknown
Holdings: March 1984
Total # of issues: Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s): BSC
Subject focus: org., education
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: no Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

193. *Young Gifted and Black*.

Lang(s): eng Format: newspaper Freq: unknown
Inclusive dates: unknown
Holdings: n.d.
Total # of issues: Total retrievable: 1 Price: free
Location(s): McGill
Subject focus: youth
Geographic focus: Montreal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation:
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

194. *Zerf News*. Claire Byrd, ed. Zerf Productions.

Lang(s): eng Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: Spring 1996-1999
Holdings: 1996
Total # of issues: 9 Total retrievable: 0 Price: free
Location(s):
Subject focus: politics
Geographic focus: Africa, Canada, Montreal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

195. *Zinglin: Organe du comite patriotique haitien. Comite patriotique haitien*. [sic]

Lang(s): fre Format: newsletter Freq: q
Inclusive dates: jan 1972
Holdings: jan 1972
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 0 Price: \$.25
Location(s): Leloup
Subject focus: politics, labour
Geographic focus: Haïti, Montréal
Advertising: no Illustrations: yes Circulation: 5,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s): Nelson

196. *Z.L.A. News: Zafé lafanmi ATTAK*. Joseph Jean-Gilles, Jean Michel Judkowiak, Danielle Roche, eds. Zafé lafanmi ATTAK Asoyasyon.

Lang(s): fre/creo Format: newsletter Freq: bi-mth
Inclusive dates: 1(1) 1989-unknown
Holdings: 3(2,3) 1990, 4(1-3) 1991
Total # of issues: unknown Total retrievable: 5 Price: free, \$15/y
Location(s): CIDIHCA
Subject focus: politics, org.
Geographic focus: Haïti, Canada, Montréal
Advertising: yes Illustrations: yes Circulation: 1,000
Variant Title(s):
Bibliographic Source(s):

Appendix 2

Keys to the Bibliographic Sources Cited

The references listed in this section correspond to the abbreviations used in the 'Bibliographic Sources' in the Black Serials Checklist (Appendix 1). The keys, or abbreviations are indicated in the left hand margin. This basic reference list was used to identify, locate, corroborate and verify the information in the Checklist.

Keys to the
Bibliographic Sources Cited

- A-CR: Bertley, Leo. "Afro-Can Remembers: Mr. Edward Packwood and The Free Lance." *Afro-Can*, March 1982. p. 87.
- Anderson: Anderson, Wolseley Wellington. *Caribbean Orientations: A Bibliography of Resource Material on the Caribbean Experience in Canada*. Toronto. Williams-Wallace Pub., 1985.
- Assoc/Can: Associations Canada. *The Directory of Associations in Canada/Le Répertoire des Associations du Canada, 2002*. vol. 23. Toronto. IHS/Micromedia, 2002.
- Ayer's: N. W. Ayer's & Son's *Directory, Newspapers and Periodicals*. Philadelphia. N. W. Ayer's & Son, 1980.
- Bartolo: Bartolo, Oswald. "Forum-Afrique is Launched." *Afro-Can*, February 1983. p. 3.
- BCB: Francis, Flora Blizzard. *A Black Canadian Bibliography*. Ottawa. Pan-African Publications, 2000.
- Beaulieu: Beaulieu, André & Jean Hamelin. *Les Journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964*. Québec. Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1965.
- Begin: Begin, Jean-François. *Bottin Centre Afrika 2003*. Montreal. Centre Afrika, 2003. p. 38.
- Bertley: Bertley, Leo. "Afro-Can is Proud of its History." *Afro-Can*, May 1982. p. 8.
- BDQ: *Bibliographie du Québec, 1821-1967*. Québec. L'éditeur du Québec, 1973-2003.
- Blizzard: Blizzard, Flora Helena. *West Indians in Canada: A Selective Annotated Bibliography*. Guelph. University of Guelph, Library, 1970.
- Bogusis: Bogusis, Ruth. *Checklist of Canadian Ethnic Serials*. Ottawa. Newspaper Division, Public Services Branch, 1981. p. 45-51.
- CBNQ: *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec: revues Québécois*. v.3.: index. Montréal. Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, 1981.
- CCE: *Matthews CCE Directory, January 2001, 2002 Edition[s]*. Toronto. Matthew Media Services, 2001.

- CCN: *Matthews CCE Directory, January 2003 Edition*. Vol. II no. I Toronto. Matthew Media Services, 2003.
- CEPG: *Canadian Ethnic Press Guide, March 1, 1992 Edition*. Toronto. Ethnomedia Monitor Services, 1992. p. 1.
- Clarke: Clarke, George E. "Africana Canadiana: A Primary Bibliography of Literature by African-Canadian Authors, 1785-1996/1997, in English French and Translation." *Canadian Ethnic Studies/ Études ethniques au Canada* 28 3 (Special Issue) 1996: 107-209.
- Danky: *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals: a national bibliography*. James Danky, Maureen Hady, eds. Boston. Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Elliott: Elliott, Lorris. *A Bibliography of Literary Writings by Blacks in Canada*. Toronto. Williams-Wallace. 1986.
- Gale: *Gale Directory of Publications and Broadcast Media 136th ed, v.2. United-States and Canada*. Jeff Sumner, ed. Detroit. Gale Research, 2002. p. 2387.
- Glory: "What recession? Community press thrives in Canada." *Glory* (Spring 1991): 6-8.
- GPN: *Guide to Periodicals and Newspapers in the Public Library of Metropolitan Toronto*. 18th ed. Toronto. Metropolitan Toronto Library Board. 1990.
- HBC: Junne, George H., Jr. *The History of Blacks in Canada: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography*, Westport, CT. Greenwood Press, 2003, 368.
- Henry: Henry, Ginette. *Répertoire des Périodiques Québécois, 1er partie*. Montréal. Ministère des Affaires culturelles et Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1974.
- Hill: Hill, Lawrence, *Trials and Triumphs: The Story of African-Canadians*. Toronto, ON. Umbrella Press, 1993.
- Joyette: Joyette, Anthony. Self-discovery and the Quest for an Aesthetic: The Emergence of Black Canadian Literature: 1975 Towards the Millennium. *Kola: A Black Literary Magazine* 11 (1) (1999): 57-72.
- Junne: Junne, George H., Jr. *Blacks in the American West and Beyond-- America, Canada, and Mexico: A Selectively Annotated Bibliography*, Westport, CT. Greenwood Press, 2000, 603.

- Lacroix: Lacroix, Jean-Michel. *Anatomie de la presse ethnique au Canada*. Bordeaux, France. Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1988.
- Lazar: Lazar, Barry. *The Guide to Ethnic Montreal*. Montreal. Véhicule Press, 1992, 67-97.
- Leo: Bertley, Leo W. *Canada and Its People of African Descent*. Pierrefonds, Bilongo Publishers, 1977, 169-192.
- LPQ: *La Presse Québécoise des origines à nos jours*. Beaulieu, André, et al., eds. Québec, PQ. Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1980, 84, 90.
- MABBP: *The Directory of Black Business Persons and Professionals*. Liesa Smith, ed. Montréal. Montreal Black Business Persons and Professionals, v. 1-4, 1989-.
- McKim's: *McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications*. 27th-34th eds. Montreal. A. McKim, 1935-1941.
- McLaren: McLaren, Duncan. *Ontario Ethno-Cultural Newspapers, 1835-1972: An Annotated Checklist*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- MEQ: *Les médias ethniques du Québec: répertoire descriptif*. Ste-Foy, Quebec: Publications du Quebec, 1994.
- MCQ: *Répertoire descriptif. Médias et communications au Québec*. Sainte-Foy, Québec. Québec dans le monde, eds. [1996-1995].
- MDQ: *Médias d'information du Québec: répertoire descriptif*. Ste-Foy, Quebec. Québec dans le monde, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003-2004.
- MQ: Québec. Ministère des communications. *Médias du Québec*. Québec. Ministère des communications, 1986, 1987: 149-151.
- Nelson: Nelson Valentino, and Leloup. "Panorama de la vie littéraire des Haïtiens au Québec (1^{er} partie: histoire de la presse écrite)," *Presence: La vraie presse indépendante*, V(2010) octobre 2001, p. 4, 8-9.
- NST: *New Serial Titles. Prepared under the Sponsorship of the Joint Committee on the Union List of Serials*. Washington. Library of Congress, 1950-1999.
- OBJ: Marc Yves Volcy. "Mot du Directeur." *L'Objectif* 1(1) 30 mai- 5 juin, 1990. p. 2.

- OH: Clarke, George Elliott. *Odysseys Home: Mapping African-Canadian Literature*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- OLR: Fabbro, Anne. "Canadian Periodicals of dissent." *Ontario Library Review* 56(3) 1972. p. 171-72.
- Part: "Répertoire: L'Afrique noire à Montréal." *Partenaires*, 1990 (automne).
- PCCQ: *Profils des communautés culturelles du Québec*. 2nd. ed. Brian Aboud, Anna-Maria Fiore, et al., eds. Sainte-Foy, Québec. Publications du Québec, 1995.
- PET: Folco, Anna-Maria, Karin Gürtler, Nicole Therrien. *La presse ethnique et le transfert culturel: Un défi à relever*. Montréal. Université de Montréal, 1993.
- RMC: Communication-Quebec. *Répertoire des médias des communautés culturelles de Montréal*. Montréal. Ministère des communications, 1983.
- RME: Communication-Quebec. *Répertoire des médias ethniques de la région de Montréal*. Montréal. Ministère des communications, 1988.
- RMQ: Québec (Province). Ministère des communications. *Répertoire des médias québécois*. Québec. Ministère des communications, 1982.
- SMP: Quebec Board of Black Educators. *Some Missing Pages: The Black Community in the History of Québec and Canada Primary and Secondary Source Materials*. rev. ed. Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation, 1986.
- TFA: Ken Alexander & Alvis Glaze. *Towards Freedom: The African-Canadian Experience*. Toronto. Umbrella Press, 1996, p. 254.
- ULCN: *Union List of Canadian Newspapers Held by Canadian Libraries/ Liste collective des journaux canadiens disponibles dans les bibliothèques canadiennes*. Ottawa. National Library of Canada, 1977.
- ULS: *Union list of serials in the Montreal area = catalogue collectif des périodiques de la région de Montréal*. Rev. ed. [Montréal]. Special Libraries Association, Eastern Canada Chapter, 1986.
- Und: Danky, James. *Undergrounds: A Union List of Alternative Periodicals in Libraries of the United States and Canada*. Madison, WI. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974.

- Wagle: Wagle, Iqbal. *Newspapers in Microform*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press, 1994. p. 16.
- Winks: Winks, Robin W. *The Blacks in Canada: A History*. Montreal. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. p. 396-407.
- WHG: Machalski, Andrew. "The Ethnic Press in Canada." Toronto. The Hilda Wilson Group, 1988.
- WLW: Bertley, Leo W. "March is Black Communications Media Month." *Afro-Can*, 2(3) March 1982, p. 1.
- Woods: Woodsworth, A. *The 'Alternative Press' in Canada. A Checklist*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press, 1972. pp. 5, 16, 42.

Sources On-Line

- OL-F: Findit! [directory on-line] www.finditinmontreal.com. Accessed: April 5, 2004.
- OL-RDM: Communication-Québec. Médias écrits ethniques. *Répertoire des médias: Région de Montréal, Edition 2003*. [directory on-line] www.comm-qc.gouv.ca/medias/mdias. Accessed: May 24, 2003.
- OL-MRCI: Ministère des relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration. Médias écrits-Média écrits ethniques. *Répertoire des médias: Région de Montréal, Edition 2004*. [directory on-line] www.mrci.gouv.qc.ca/52_2.asp?pid=644. Accessed: April 5, 2004.
- OL-UIP: Ulrich's International Periodical Directory (OVID). <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.eresource.ulrichsi>.

Appendix 3

Montreal's Black In-Print Serials

1. *ACCAF Newsletter*
2. *African Affairs*
3. *African Voice*
4. *Afrique Expansion Mag*
5. *Afro Vision*
6. *Alfie Roberts Institute*
7. *Amités Canada-Rwanda*
8. *Avril*
9. *BCRC Newsletter*
10. *BCRC/CRCN e-bulletin**
11. *Chronique du Maguy**
12. *Community Contact*
13. *Diaspora*
14. *Le Dynamikk*
15. *Eburnéa*
16. *Kola*
17. *Lift**
18. *Mille Visages*
19. *Montreal Camera*
20. *Muhammad Speaks*
21. *Native International*
22. *NCC/Charles H. Este Cultural Centre*
23. *Nouvellakay**
24. *Nouvelles d'Alimages**
25. *Préférence: Congolaise*
26. *Reference*
27. *University Contact*
28. *Vents Croisés*

African (10)

African Affairs
African Voice
Afrique Expansion Mag
Afro Vision
Amitiés Canada-Rwanda
Diaspora
Éburnéa
Mille Visages
Préférence: Congolais
Vents Croisés

Haitian (6)

Avril
Chronique du Maguy
Le Dynamikk
Nouvellakay
Nouvelles d'Alimages
Référence

English Black (11)

ACCAF Newsletter
Alfie Roberts Institute Newsletter
BCRC Newsletter
BCRC/CRCN e-bulletin
Community Contact
Kola
Montreal Camera
Muhammad Speaks
Native International
NCC/Charles H. Este Cultural Centre
University Contact

*Titles that publish on-line, by email, or on the web.

Appendix 4

Black Serials Published Elsewhere within the province of Québec (with annotations)

1. *AfriQuébec: Magazine d'éducation au développement.* (Ville de Québec) février 1991-1997.
 - Afri-Québec, an umbrella organization, published this magazine which focussed on the Africa's social conditions, and on the international relations between Quebec and continental Africa.
2. *Chemin: Bulletin d'information de la communauté Haïtienne de l'Estrie.* (Sherbrooke, Québec) 5(2) fev-juin 1995.
 - This bulletin put out by La communauté Haïtienne de l'Estrie, contains organizational news and events for Haitians in the Eastern Townships. In addition, it also included articles on the Black diaspora and events in Africa.
3. *Echo d'Afrique: organe central d'information de l'union générale des étudiants africains à Québec.* (Ville de Québec) novembre 1973-janvier/février 1976.
 - Bulletin designed to inform Black students at Université Laval in Québec City about their student association events and relevant news within the Afri-Quebec community. Perhaps one of the first Black publications in Québec City.
4. *Echo du Sahel: Nouvelles d'Afrique, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger.* (Joliette) 1993-1994.
 - Magazine allowed foreign journalists to report on the Sahel concerning the social and economic development, environmental concerns, and the health of the region. Includes articles from Quebecers living or working in the Sahel.
5. *Etincelle.* (Ste-Foy, Québec) 1(1) 17 juin 1971
 - This 36 page bi-monthly journal was one of the first Haitian publications in St. Foy near Québec City. Published by the Quebec chapter of the Comité haïtien d'action Patriotique (CHAP), whose revolutionary agenda was to work toward the installation of democracy in Haiti.
6. *Kalfou: bulletin mensuel.* (Hull, Québec) 1982-1984.
 - For two years, this journal was published by Haitians living in Hull, Québec. The journal "propose essentiellement aux Haïtiens des deux rives de l'Outaouais et à tous ses lecteurs éventuels un discours axé sur les problèmes de peuple d'Haiti et sur ceux des Haïtiens de l'étranger." Articles, some in Creole, addressed issues in Québec such as literacy and gender.

7. *Shango: bulletin de l'Association Haïtienne de Québec, Inc.* (Ville de Québec)
août 1988-février 1989.

- The small Black community in Québec City named this bulletin after the Nigerian god Shango because, "Des lors, pour nous, Shango rappelle un symbiose qui a fait-et fait-de l'être haïtien qu'il est."

8. *Zaire-Nouvelles.* (Ste-Foy, Québec)

- I have been unable to acquire a copy of this publication, however based on the title, *Zaire-Nouvelles* would have news of interest about Zaire for the Zairian community in the province's capital.

Appendix 5

Partially annotated list of serials published in communities surrounding the island of Montreal

1. *Africa Great Lakes Region Newsletter/Région des Grands lacs: bulletin.* (Greenfield Park) 1996-1998.
 - Newsletter designed to inform Africans from the Great Lakes states (Zaire, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania) living in Quebec, about the wars, conflicts and the geopolitical development of the region.
2. *Alternatives-Caraïbes.* (St. Lambert) 1979.
 - Newsletter attempts to present the social conditions, politics and government of the Caribbean region.
3. *En Avant.* Mouvement pour le développement de la mobilisation patriotique. (St. Hubert) 1975-1978.
4. *Haiti Nation.* (Laval) 1979. [sic]
 - Looks at the socio-political conditions within Haiti and has as its objective the defeat of the Duvalier regime and the installation of democratic institutions.
5. *Journal Scopie.* Centre social des Haïtiens de Laval. (Laval) 1997-1999.
 - Association paper whose purpose is to address the concerns of the growing Haitian population of Montreal's North Shore and Blacks in Laval.
6. *Nouvelles Ali Alkebu-Lan.* (Chateauguay) 1987-1997.
7. *La voix de l'entente.* Organe du Front unifié de liberation économique et sociale d'Haiti. (St. Hubert) 1974. [sic]
 - Looks at the socio-political conditions within Haiti and has as its objective the defeat of the Duvalier regime and the installation of democratic institutions.

Appendix 6

Annotated list of serials published outside of Québec but cited as Montréal or Québec periodicals

1. *Boukan*. Organe du parti unifié des communistes haïtiens. (Haïti) 1973-1974. [sic]
 - Haitian paper distributed in Montreal. Valentino & Leloup cite this title as one of Montréal's first Haitian papers. However, *Boukan* was published out of Haiti. (Nelson)

2. *Haïti Observateur*. Gerard Louis Jacques, ed. Joseph et Joseph Pub. (New York, NY) 1975-.
 - New York paper that was widely distributed in Montreal with an official correspondent but was never published in Montreal nor did it ever have a spit-run issue. This publication is usually cited as originating from Montreal despite its American provenance. (CCE, Bonavia, CEPG, WHG)

3. *Haiti Progrès*.
 - New York paper that was widely distributed in Montreal with an official correspondent but was never published in Montreal nor did it ever have a split-run issue.

4. *Panache: The Caribbean magazine for women*. Caribbean Communications (Barbados) 1994.
 - Barbados paper distributed in Montréal with an official Montréal editor, but was never published in Montréal nor did it ever have a spit-run issue.

5. *Le Patriote Haïtien: Organe du MHAP*. Mouvement Haïtien d'action Patriotique. (New York, NY) 1972. [sic]
 - Haitian paper published in New York and distributed in Montreal. Valentino & Leloup cite this title as one of Montreal's first Haitian papers. However, copies held by CIDIHCA shows that *Le Patriote Haïtien* were published out of Haiti. (Nelson)

Appendix 7

Non-Black Serials Recommended or cited as Black in the literature³⁸¹

1. *Africana*. Centre de Documentation africaine. (Montreal)
 - This twenty-page bilingual newsletter and its four-page English sister, *Africana-Plus*, are published by the religious order, Missionaries of Africa, better known as the White Fathers (of Montreal). This Catholic organization operates throughout Africa: *Africana* is disseminated to those interested in the work of the White Fathers in Africa

2. *Afrique*. Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique australe. (Montreal) 1995.
 - Since 1982 the Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique australe, (CIDMAA) operated in Montreal as a pressure group for anti-apartheid activism and to spur regional development in Africa. It formed partnerships with the worldwide anti-apartheid network. The magazine *Afrique* was one of a dozen publications put out by CIDMAA. Though focussed upon the socio-politics and the economic situation in the southern African continent, the editorial team was comprised of French Quebecers with the occasional Black contributors. *Afrique* published 1985-1992 and then reprised in 1995. Location(s): BNQ, CIDIHCA, NL. (Cited in: Clarke, BDQ, Part).

3. *Afrique information*. Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique australe. (CIDMAA) 1987-1988.
 - *Afrique information* was published by CIDMAA. Though focussed upon the socio-politics and the economic situation in the southern African continent, the editorial team was comprised of French Quebecers with the occasional Black contributors. Location(s): BNQ, NL. (Cited in: BDQ, ULS).

4. *Afro Head Light, (The)*. Fondation à Amos Fliman Dickson. (Montreal) 1907.
 - Bulletin/newsletter put out by the Amos Fliman Dickson Foundation/ Fondation à Amos Fliman Dickson to keep supporters informed about missionary efforts in Africa. (Cited in: Dionne, LPQ, Bogusis).

5. *Biz News*. Sophie Pascal, ed. Influences Magazine (Montreal) 1998-1999.
 - Ms Pascal, a White woman, created this bilingual monthly magazine to highlight Black hip-hop and nightlife culture in Montreal. Copies can be found

³⁸¹ Non-Black in this case means that these serials do not meet the thesis' operational definition of a Black serial.

at the BNQ. (Cited in: CCE, Bonavia, CEPG, OL-UIP).

6. *Canada-West Indian Magazine*. Canada-West Indian League. (Montreal) 1910-1958.
 - Though listed as a Black publication in serial directories, this was not owned nor edited by Blacks. *Magazine* was launched at the time when Canadian parliament was considering the benefits of creating a political and economic union with the Caribbean. *Magazine* encouraged trade and Caribbean travel. (McKim's, CBNQ).
7. *Direction One*. Frank Brayton, Ramesh Ahooja, Brian McIver, eds. Sir George Williams University. (Montreal) 1970.
 - Student paper published out of Sir George Williams University in the fall of 1969. It was a radical critique of university administration and the fallout from the 1969 Anderson/Sir George Williams Affair. Highly political, and sympathetic to the plight of the defendants, however, the editorial team was made up of three white male students.
8. *Grito y fusil*. McGill University, Arts and Science Undergraduate Society (Montreal) 1972.
 - Despite its subject heading "Antilles-Conditions sociales-Periodiques" this newspaper was published by the Arts & Science Undergraduate Society of McGill University. (Cited: CBNQ)
9. *Le Journalisme en Démocratie*. Éditions d'Etnos & Radio Canada. (Montreal) 1993-1995.
 - Three annual publications were produced from the collaboration of Éditions d'Etnos and Radio-Canada. They are directed towards foreign journalists working in Africa. Editors explore the role of journalists in the development of democratic values in Africa.
10. *Journées Africaines et Créoles 1997, (Les)*. Jean-Claude Castelain, ed. Vue D'Afrique.
 - This annual is produced as a guide to the Vue d'Afrique Festival in Montreal. Each run is approximately 100,000 copies and is intended for distribution to the population at large so that they can follow the film viewings, and the schedule of cultural events. Ownership is not Black.

11. *Journées du Cinéma Africain et Créole 1996, (Les)*. Jean-Claude Castelain, ed. Vue D'Afrique.
 - This annual is produced as a guide to the Vue d'Afrique Festival in Montreal. Each run is approximately 100,000 copies and is intended for distribution to the population at large so that they can follow the film viewings, and the schedule of cultural events. Ownership is not Black.

12. *Mission Le magazine des Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs)*. Centre de Documentation africaine. (Montreal) 1904-2004.
 - This one-hundred year old magazine is published by the religious order, Missionaries of Africa, better known as the White Fathers (of Montreal). This Catholic organization operates throughout Africa: *Mission* is disseminated to those interested in financially supporting the work of the White Fathers in Africa.

13. *Partenaires: Magazine d'affaires et de développement visant l'Afrique et le Canada*. (Montreal) 1989.
 - Though it promotes pan-African business relations, the owners of the magazine are not Black.

14. *Quoi de neuf! bulletin du réseau sur l'Afrique australe*. Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique australe (CIDMAA) and Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (TCLSAC).
 - *Quoi de neuf!* was published jointly by CIDMAA and TCLSAC. A bilingual publication from Montreal, it was a national newsletter linking groups across Canada. The content was a mix of Canadian group activities and general information about the situation in the southern countries of Africa: Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zaire, and Lesotho. The editorial team of *Quoi de neuf!* was comprised of French Quebecers with the occasional Black contributors.

15. *Southern Africa Chronicle*. Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique australe (CIDMAA). (Montreal) 1988.
 - This eight-page newsletter reported on the cultural, political and social situation within the southern countries of Africa: Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zaire, and Lesotho. Based on an electronic newscast, most of its content originated from the reporters based in the Africa headquarters of Inter Press Third World News Agency in Harare, Zimbabwe. The CIDMAA office in Montreal was the Canadian editor and

national distributor.³⁸²

16. *Third World forum. afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Committee.* (Montreal) 1974-1977.
 - This quarterly produced 11 issues. Had Third World focus. Location(s): McGill, NL. (Further cited in: Clarke, NST, OH).

17. *What's the word! Southern Africa Network Bulletin.* Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique australe (CIDMAA) and Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (TCLSAC). (Montreal).
 - *What's the word!* was published jointly by CIDMAA and TCLSAC as a to link several dozen groups across Canada. This four-page bulletin contained articles on the network's anti-apartheid activism in Canada and abroad as well as general information about the situation in the southern African continent. The editorial team of *What's the word!* was comprised of French Quebecers with the occasional Black contributors.

³⁸² The above information on CIDMAA was found in a pamphlet titled "CIDMAA: Centre d'information et de documentation sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique australe" (Montreal, n.d.), in the following publications: *What's the word! Southern Africa Network*, v. 2 no. 7 (April 1988) *Bulletin Southern Africa Chronicle* (April 1988); *Quoi de neuf! bulletin du réseau sur l'Afrique australe* v. 4 no. 4 (novembre/décembre 1990); and from the telephone conversation with the Director of CIDMAA, Pierre Beaudet, November 2, 2004.

Appendix 8

Serials Never Published With Annotations

1. *Inter-races*. G. N. Amoni, ed. Le Village Africain.

- This serial was designed to look at Quebec society through the lens of race. It would have highlighted the multicultural and multiracial dimension in the province. Though planned for publication, at government's insistence that the word "races" be dropped, Amoni refused to launch the serial. No copies exist of this serial. (Reference to *Inter-races* in *PCCQ*, 1995.)

2. *Outcome*.

- According to Robin Winks, (1971: 405) this Black serial began publication in 1935, one year after the launch of *The Free Lance*. However, my bibliographic and community research failed to turn up any evidence that the *Outcome* had ever been published by Blacks living in Montreal in the 1930s. I examined the source that Winks cited, (*The United Church and Missionary Review* II 12i, 12n) but I was unable to find any reference to *The Outcome*. Nevertheless, several bibliographies list the *Outcome* as a Black serial published in Montreal. Location(s): Windsor, Guelph (Cited in: Clarke, Bogusis, OH, HBC)

Appendix 9

A Listing of Montreal's Underground Black Press³⁸³

African Voice
Black Action Party
Black Action Party Bulletin
Info-Zaire
La Machette
Makandal

³⁸³ For full entries consult Appendix, pp. 237-303.

Appendix 10

Contact List

1. Jerry Alexander
2. Noel Alexander
3. G.N. Amoni*
4. Kenneth Asafo-Adjei
5. David Austin
6. Oswald Bartolo*
7. Grace Basso*
8. Dr. Clarence Bayne
9. Beatrice
10. Jean François Begin
11. Sandra Bell
12. Fr. Laurent Belley
13. Dr. Leo Bertley*
14. Richard Best
15. Tanya Best
16. Margot Blackman*
17. Paul Brown
18. Merlaine Brutus
19. Sandra Burrows
20. Rosetta Cadogan*
21. Dejha Carrington
22. Ernesto Cuevas
23. Lucille Cuevas
24. Mitchell Daudier
25. Millford Edwards
26. Andre Luce Fourcand
27. Wilhemina Fredericks
28. Egbert Gaye
29. Kevin George*
30. Amina Gerba
31. Mike Gittens
32. George Grant*
33. Yvonne Greer
34. Frances Groen
35. Gwen Husbands*
36. Ivan Livingstone
37. Dr. June Johnson
38. Robert Jones
39. Gerald Jordan
40. Shimbi Katchelewa
41. Sylvia Langdon
42. Alix Laurent
43. Walter Lawrence
44. Leloup
45. Ashton Lewis
46. Celya Lister
47. Barnabas B.E. Maichilbi
48. David McKnight
49. Mark Medicoff
50. Omega Medina
51. Valentino Nelson
52. Brenda Paris*
53. Sophie Pascal
54. Nonny Rankin
55. George Richardson
56. Palmer Roberts*
57. Owen Rowe*
58. Vere Rowe*
59. Guy Roumer
60. Mai-Ruth Hodge Sarsfield
61. Karriem Shabazz
62. Sharon Springer
63. Alistair Sutherland
64. Winston Sutton
65. Esmeralda Thornhill
66. Denis Tougas
67. Pat Townsend
68. Frantz Voltaire
69. Sylvia Warner*
70. Dorothy Wills
71. Shirlette Wint

*Individuals who indicated that either they had discarded their serials or they had recounted stories of others who had discarded or disposed of their collection.

Appendix 11

Excerpt from: Ralph Ellison's, *Invisible Man, Special 30th Anniversary Edition*, New York, Random House, 1982, p. 3-4.

I am an invisible man. No, I am not a not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids- and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imaginations-indeed, everything and anything except me.

Nor is my invisibility exactly a matter of a biochemical accident to my epidermis. That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their *inner* eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality. I am not complaining, nor am I protesting either. It is sometimes advantageous to be unseen, although it is most often rather wearing on the nerves. Then too, you're constantly being bumped against by those of poor vision. Or again, you often doubt if you really exist. You wonder whether you aren't simply a phantom in other people's minds. Say, of figure in a nightmare which the sleeper tries with all his strength to destroy. It's when you feel like this that, out of resentment, you begin to bump people back. And, let me confess, you feel that way most of the time. You ache with the need to convince yourself that you do exist in the real world, that you're a part of all the sound and anguish, and you strike out with your fists, you curse and you swear to make them recognize you. And, alas, it's seldom successful.

One night I accidentally bumped into a man, and perhaps because of the near darkness he saw me and called me an insulting name. I sprang at him, seized his coat lapels and demanded that he apologize. He was a tall blond man, and as my face came close to his he looked insolently out of his blue eyes and cursed me, his breath hot in my face as he struggled. I pulled his chin down sharp upon the crown of my head butting him as I had seen the West Indians do, and I felt his flesh tear and the blood gush out, and I yelled, "Apologize! "Apologize!" But he continued to curse and struggle, and I butted him again and again until he went down heavily, on his knees, profusely bleeding. I kicked him repeatedly, in a frenzy because he still uttered insults though his lips were frothy with blood. Oh yes, I kicked him! And in my outrage I got out my knife and prepared to slit his throat, right there beneath the lamplight in the deserted street, holding him in the collar with one hand, and opening the knife with my teeth- when it occurred to me that the man had not *seen* me, actually; that he, as far as he knew, was in the midst of a walking nightmare! And I stopped the blade, slicing the air as I pushed him away, letting him fall back to the street. I stared at him hard as the lights of a car stabbed through the darkness. He lay there, moaning on the asphalt; a man almost killed by a phantom. It unnerved me. I was both disgusted and ashamed. I was like a drunken man myself, wavering about on weakened legs. Then I was amused: Something in this man's thick head had sprung out and beaten him within an inch of his life. I began to laugh at this crazy discovery. Would he have awakened at the point of death? Would Death himself have freed him for wakeful living? But I didn't linger. I ran away

into the dark, laughing so hard I feared I might rupture myself. The next day I saw his picture in the *Daily News*, beneath a caption stating that he had been "mugged." Poor fool, poor blind fool, I thought with sincere compassion, mugged by an invisible man!

Appendix 12

Information Letter

The purpose of this research is to look at the (in)visibility of Black periodicals within Black anglophone and francophone communities in Montreal. The information that exists about Black periodicals in Montreal is small and obscure. In an effort to bring light and credibility to this information, I am seeking to interview Blacks who have played a journalistic role in Montreal's Black periodicals.

The general population of Montreal, specifically Blacks, is not aware of the history, nor of the present number of existing periodicals. Moreover, the access route to these periodicals is obscured, as few Black periodicals are in public depositories.

Thus the overall goals of this study are twofold:

- 1) to locate, categorize and reveal for the first time the range and depth of Black serials published on the island of Montreal and in its immediate off-island suburbs
- 2) to examine four possible factors that may explain the invisibility of these Black serials

Between February and March 2005, I will be gathering information from available past and present contributors (i.e., journalists, freelancers, editors, publishers) of anglophone, francophone and bilingual Black periodicals in Montreal. I will also be undertaking a comprehensive literature review on the current understanding of Montreal Black periodical history and Montreal Blacks relationship to the history, presence, access and conservation of these periodicals. Together, these sources will form the basis of a dissertation on the evolution of Montreal Black periodicals to the present. I will be conducting interviews to add important background on Montreal's print history.

If you agree to take part in the study, you will participate in one interview, scheduled at your convenience, in which you will be asked questions from a structured questionnaire. The questions are designed to examine your:

- 1) work, volunteer experience in Black print media in Montreal or abroad.
- 2) knowledge about Montreal's Black periodicals and,
- 3) attitudes and beliefs about the visibility of Black serials within the Black community in Montreal

Several open ended questions will also be tape recorded, although you will also have the right to speak off record. Participation in the interview is entirely voluntary, and consent can be withdrawn at any time without penalty of any kind. In order to give voice to the Blacks who have contributed to the evolution of Black periodicals in the city, tapes will be transcribed and your comments may be quoted. I hope you will lend your voice to this study as your participation may help me better understand the factors that have contributed to the invisibility of Black print in Montreal. This information may open up new avenues for future research on Black

print culture in Montreal, indeed Black print culture throughout Quebec.

Thank you for your cooperation,

Dorothy W. Williams,
Ph.D. Candidate, GSLIS
McGill University

Informed Consent Form to Participate in Research

This is to state that I agree to participate in the research project entitled: **Sankofa: Recovering Montreal's Heterogeneous Black Print Serials** and conducted by: Dorothy W. Williams, (supervised by Peter F. McNally) of the Graduate School of Library and Information Studies, McGill University

Purpose :

The purpose of this doctoral research is to look at the (in)visibility of Black periodicals within Black anglophone and francophone communities in Montreal. Few Black periodicals are in public depositories, so in an effort to bring light and credibility to this information, I am seeking to interview Blacks who have played a journalistic role in Montreal's Black periodicals.

Thus the overall goals of this study are twofold, to:

- 1) locate, categorize and reveal for the first time the range and depth of Black serials published in greater Montreal
- 2) examine four factors that may explain the invisibility of Black serials

This information, may open up new avenues for future research on Black print culture in Montreal, indeed Black print culture throughout Quebec.

Procedures :

Between February and March 2005, interviews will be conducted. Participants will be chosen from a non-random purposive sample. The criteria for inclusion is that subjects

- 1) are of African descent, and
- 2) have either worked at or volunteered in Montreal's Black periodicals.

Invariably the sample includes available past and present journalists, freelancers, editors, and publishers. During a pre-scheduled face-to-face interview, you will first give written consent and then asked questions from a structured questionnaire. Several open ended questions will also be tape recorded, although you have the right to speak off record. Please ask at any time, if you would like the tape recorder to be turned off during the interview or to have all or part of the interview erased. Summaries will be made of the interviews, though your comments may be quoted verbatim. All personal information (age, education, etc.) from attribute questions and the other data collected will be treated in an aggregate fashion. Data may be reviewed by my supervisor and included in the thesis noted above. Data might also be used for publication.

Conditions of Participation :

Everyone chosen has been, or is currently familiar with Black periodical publishing in Montreal. All interviews will be scheduled at your convenience at a mutually agreed

upon location. Over the course of an hour, you will be queried about your work background, historical and current knowledge of Black serials in Montreal, and your beliefs about the factors that have contributed to the invisibility of Black serialized print culture in Montreal.

Your voluntary participation may further our knowledge about this unknown area. There are no perceived risks, as personal questions are extremely limited and you may stop the interview at any time.

Please read the following summary carefully before signing consent:

- I understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks, benefits and inconveniences that this research project entails.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime from the study without any penalty or prejudice.
- I understand that this research will not affect evaluation of my work.
- I understand that my comments will not be anonymous, unless I indicate that I wish my comments to be off-the-record.
- I understand that my personal information, attribute questions, will be kept confidential during this research project, if I so indicate.
- I understand the anticipated uses of data, especially with respect to publication, communication and dissemination of results.

I have read the above and I understand all of the above conditions. I freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name (please print)

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of Dorothy W. Williams

**Sankofa: Recovering Montreal's
Heterogeneous Black Print Serials
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dorothy W. Williams
GLIS, McGill University, 2005

1) Age

- < 20
- 20-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 61 >

2) Gender: Male_____ Female_____

3) Were you born in Canada?

Yes (Province)_____ (go to question #6) No_____ (go to
question # 4)

4) You were born in:

- Africa
- Caribbean or Latin America
- U.S.A.
- Other, Explain_____

5) You settled in Canada between:

- 1930-1939
- 1940-1949
- 1950-1959
- 1960-1969
- 1970-1979
- 1980-1989
- 1990-1999

6) You consider your ethnic origin in Canada to be:

- African (Africa)
- West Indian (Caribbean Basin)
- African-American (USA)
- African-Latino (Central & South America)
- African-Canadian (Canada)
- Other, explain _____

7) Your mother-tongue is:

- French
- English
- Creole (French)
- Spanish
- Creole (Spanish)
- Other (European)
- Other (African)

8) You are bilingual (English & French) yes _____ no _____

9) In Quebec, I consider myself to be:

- Francophone
- Anglophone
- Allophone
- Other, explain _____

10) What was the highest degree or diploma you obtained?

Academic

Secondary:

- High school

Post-Secondary:

- C.E.G.E.P./College
- C.E.C. _____ Diploma _____ A.E.C. _____

University:

Bachelor _____ Master _____ Ph.D. _____ Other _____

Vocational

Trade _____ Technical _____ Business _____ Other _____

11) Have you ever volunteered or worked for a Black serial outside of Canada?

yes _____ (if yes, continue) no _____ (if no ask question # 14)

12) Outside of Canada, you have worked on (can choose more than one answer):

- French publications
- English publications
- Other publications (other languages)

13) What was the length of time, you worked or volunteered outside of Canada for a Black periodical?

- 1-11 months
- 1-2 years
- 3-5 years
- 6-7 years
- 8-9 years
- 10 or more years

14) You have worked or volunteered in print media since: _____

15) What was the first year that you worked or volunteered on a newspaper, journal, or other serial (mag, newslt, bulletin, etc.) in Montreal? _____

16) Over the years in Montreal, you have worked or volunteered as an:

- editor
- publisher
- staff journalist
- freelancer
- other

17) Are you working or volunteering on a serial today?

yes _____ (if yes, continue) no _____ (if no ask question # 20)

18) What is the mission of that serial? _____

19) How many people read your serial? Estimate _____

20) What was the last year that you worked for or volunteered at a Black newspaper, newsletter, journal, magazine, etc., in Montreal? _____

21) Over the years, you have worked or volunteered for a Black serial in Montreal at:

- 1 periodical _____
- 2 periodicals _____
- 3 to 5 periodicals _____
- 6 or more periodicals _____

22) What was the last Black publication that you worked or volunteered for in Montreal? _____

23) The Black publication _____ (name from question 22) that you worked or volunteered for in Montreal in the past lasted for:

- 1 issue only
- 2-3 issues
- 4-10 issues
- 11 issues or more

24) The Black publication _____ (name from question 22) that you have worked in Montreal lasted for:

- < 6 months
- 7-12 months
- 13-23 months
- 2-4 years
- 5-10 years
- 11-20 years

25) In terms of ethnicity, who were the intended readers of this serial _____ (name from question 22) ?

- Blacks only. Specify if known, the specific ethnic group _____
- Mainly, but not exclusively, Blacks
- The general public
- Don't know who the intended readers are

26) How would you describe the ethnic and language make-up of your Black readers while working or volunteering at _____ (name from question 22)?:

- Mostly English speaking from the Caribbean region
- Mostly English speaking from Canada, or USA
- Mostly English speaking from Africa
- Mostly French speaking from the Caribbean region
- Mostly French speaking from Canada, or USA
- Mostly French speaking from Africa
- Other, explain _____
- Don't know

27) When you worked or volunteered at _____ (name from question 22) in the past, in your estimate how many people read it regularly? _____

28) Was there ever an attempt to ensure that the periodical _____ (name from question 22) was distributed throughout the greater Montreal?

29) Were you aware of, or directly involved in, the distribution of _____ (name from question 22)?

- yes (if yes, continue)
- no (go to #32)

30) Did you have a distributor for _____ (name from question 22)?

- yes: who or what company? _____
- no: how was the serial distributed? Explain _____

31) Geographically, which statement most reflects the distribution of Montreal serial _____ (name from question 22) you worked on or volunteered with:

- The serial was distributed throughout the island and in the immediate off-island suburbs (South Shore, North Shore, etc.)
- The serial was distributed everywhere on the island
- The serial was distributed only on the western side of the island (up to St. Laurent Street)
- The serial was distributed only on the eastern side of the island (from St. Laurent Street to Point aux Trembles)

- The serial was distributed just in one immediate district.
Name _____
- The serial was distributed only in one region: e.g., the southwest, west, east, downtown, West Island, Plateaux, Hochelaga, Montreal East, la Patrie, etc. Name _____

32) Do you believe that a majority of Blacks in Montreal are aware of the existence of _____ (name from question 22)?

yes _____ no _____

33) In your opinion, do Blacks in Montreal need a bilingual periodical?

yes _____ no _____ (why not?) _____

34) Would you consider producing a bilingual periodical publication?

yes _____ no _____ (why not?) _____

35) Based on your knowledge of Black readers in Montreal, do you believe that Black readers would subscribe to a bilingual publication?

yes _____ no _____ (why not?) _____

36) In general, where can Black periodicals be accessed?

- libraries
- retail stores
- national archives
- provincial archives
- Institutions within the Black community
- other

Sankofa: Recovering Montreal's Heterogeneous Black Print Serials

Interview Guide

Dorothy W. Williams
GLIS, McGill University, 2005

1) **Since the first Black newspaper in Montreal, estimate how many Black periodicals and serials have been published in Montreal?**_____

2) **Besides the publications that you worked for or volunteer at, what other Montreal Black publications are you aware of that continue to publish today?**

3) **Do you know about and/or understand the concept of Legal Deposit?**

4) **Are you aware of Legal Deposit in Canada?**

yes (indicate depositories)_____ and _____

no (skip to 6)

5) **At the inauguration of the Black serial(s) you have been involved with, was a decision made to put the serial(s) into Legal Deposit?**

yes Were the deposits made regularly? Yes_____ No_____

no Why not?_____

6) **In Montreal, when a decision was made to fold the Black serial(s) that you worked on, were steps taken to preserve, or store issues?**

yes (see A)

no (see B)

don't know (skip to question 9)

(A)

- Donated to National Archives in Ottawa
- Donated to Provincial/Municipal Archives in Quebec
- Archived in a Black repository
- Donated to local libraries
- Donated to like-institutions
- Given to individual(s) interested in collecting them

(B)

- We discarded them out without really thinking about it.
- We thought about it and decided to discard them. Why?
- Another option was
taken _____

7) Do you have other examples of Black serials in Montreal being discarded without regard to their cultural, or historical value?

8) Do you have other examples of Black serials being deliberately preserved?

9) Please note the following statement: "The collective memory of the Black community is kept orally, so we do not need to preserve written documents."

- 1) Strongly disagree with this statement
- 2) Disagree with this statement
- 3) Agree with this statement
- 4) Strongly agree with this statement

10) How many communities are there in Montreal represented by the phrase "the Black community of Montreal"? _____

11) In times of crisis how do Blacks in Montreal communicate with each other? (select as many as is relevant):

- by telephone _____
- by email _____
- using specific website(s) _____
name/url _____
- face-to-face _____ formal, planned meetings _____ informal meetings _____
- radio: _____ mainstream (CKOI, CJAD) _____ community (CKUT, CPAM) _____
- tv: _____ mainstream (CTV, CBC, GLOBAL) _____ community (CABLE 9) _____
- Black community newspapers _____
- mainstream newspapers _____
- other community print (magazines, bulletins, journals) _____

12) Do you agree with the following statement: "To facilitate a united response to political, economic, social, concerns and to educate the diverse Black communities about each other, it would be advantageous to have one Black paper in Montreal."

- 1) Strongly disagree with this statement
- 2) Disagree with this statement
- 3) Agree with this statement
- 4) Strongly agree with this statement

13) If you wanted to get a copy of old, out-of-print serials where would you go to get them?

14) Do you consider Montreal's Black serials to be visible or invisible in Montreal's Black communities?

visible _____

invisible _____

15) Please note the following statement: "As an explanation for the invisibility of Black serials within the Black community, to what extent have language differences, Black ethnic diversity, Black oral tradition, and the treatment of documents contributed to the invisibility of Black serials?"

Below are four variables. Rank them from one to four (1 being the most important reason, 4 being the least important)

- language differences _____
- ethnic diversity _____
- oral tradition _____
- the treatment of documents _____

Appendix 16

Lettre d'information

Le but de cette recherche est de mettre en évidence l'aspect d'invisibilité ou de visibilité des périodiques noirs à travers les communautés françaises et anglaises à Montréal. L'information existante sur les périodiques noirs à Montréal est restreinte et obscure. Dans l'espoir de révéler et de démontrer la crédibilité de ces renseignements, je cherche à interroger des noirs qui ont participé de façon journalistique et littéraire dans l'histoire des périodiques noirs à Montréal.

Le peuple noire à Montréal n'est ni au courant de l'historique ni du nombre existant des périodiques noirs. De plus, l'accessibilité à ces périodiques est très obscure, tout cela pour dire que peu de périodiques noirs se trouvent chez des dépositaires publiques. Donc, les aspects généraux de cette étude sont basés sur les deux points suivants:

- 1) Localiser, catégoriser et révéler pour la première fois, la profondeur et la gamme des périodiques noirs sur l'île de Montréal et ses environs immédiats.
- 2) Étudier les quatre facteurs qui expliqueraient l'invisibilité ou la visibilité de ces périodiques noirs.

Entre les mois de février et mars 2005, je rassemblerai des renseignements de différents collaborateurs français, anglais et bilingues qui ont contribué aux périodiques noirs à Montréal (rédacteurs, directeur de la publication, pigiste et journaliste) dans le passé et à ce jour. J'entreprendrais également une revue complète de la littérature sur la connaissance courante de l'histoire des périodiques noirs à Montréal et la relation des noirs montréalais par rapport à l'histoire, l'existence, l'accessibilité et la préservation de ces périodiques en question. Ensemble, ces informations vont être la base d'une dissertation sur l'évolution des périodiques noirs à Montréal jusqu'à ce jour. J'entamerai une vingtaine d'entrevues pour ajouter comme éléments de base à l'histoire des périodiques noirs imprimés.

Si vous consentez à participer à cette étude, vous ferez l'objet d'une entrevue, selon votre disponibilité dans lequel vous serez demandé une quarantaine de questions de façon structurée et organisée. Les questions ont été créées et se suivent de façon à examiner:

- 1) votre expérience de travail et bénévolat dans les périodiques imprimés noirs à Montréal et,
- 2) votre façon d'agir et croyances sur la visibilité des séries noires à travers la communauté noire à Montréal.

Plusieurs questions seront enregistrées et vous aurez également le droit de parler sans être sur écoute. La participation à l'entrevue est entièrement sur une base volontaire et vous pouvez vous retirer sans contrainte n'importe quand avant ou, même durant l'entrevue sans être aucunement pénalisé. J'espère que vous allez prendre part à ce sondage et votre participation va grandement m'aider à

comprendre les facteurs qui ont contribué à l'invisibilité des périodiques noirs à Montréal. Ces informations vont peut-être ouvrir de nouvelles routes pour la recherche sur les imprimés noirs à Montréal, certainement les imprimés noirs au Québec.

Merci de votre collaboration,

Dorothy Williams,
candidat au doctorat, GLIS
Université Mc Gill

**Sankofa: Réclamer
les Périodiques hétérogènes des
Montréalais Noirs
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dorothy W. Williams
GLIS, Université McGill, 2005

1) Âge:

- < 20
- 21-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 60 >

2) Sexe: Homme _____ Femme _____

3) Êtes-vous nés au Canada?

Oui (Province) _____ (allez à la question #6)

Non _____ (allez à la question #4)

4) Vous êtes né(e):

- En Africa
- Dans les Caraïbes ou Amériques Latines
- Au États-Unis
- Autre, précisez _____

5) Vous vous êtes établi au Canada entre:

- 1930-1939
- 1940-1949
- 1950-1959
- 1960-1969
- 1970-1979
- 1980-1989
- 1990-1999

6) **Vous considérez votre origine ethnique au Canada d'être:**

- Africain(e) (Afrique)
- Antillais e) (Antilles)
- Afro-américain (États-Unis)
- Afro-latino (Amérique centrales & du Sud)
- Africain-Canadien(e) (Canada)
- Autre, précisez _____

7) **Votre langue maternelle est:**

- le Français
- l'anglais
- le Créole (Français)
- l'espagnole
- Créole (Espagne)
- Autres langues européennes
- Autres langues africaines

8) **Vous êtes bilingue (Anglais & Français)** oui _____ non _____

9) **Au Québec, je me considère comme:**

- un Francophone
- un Anglophone
- un Allophone
- Autre, précisez _____

10) **Quel est votre dernier niveau d'études?**

Académique

- Secondaire
- C.É.G.E.P./Collège
Certificat. _____ D.É.C. _____ Attestation. _____
- Université
Baccalauréat _____ Maîtrise _____ Doctorat _____ Autre _____

Vocationnel

Métier _____ Technique _____ Gestion d'affaires _____ D.E.P. _____

11) Avez-vous déjà fait du bénévolat ou travaillez pour des périodiques noirs à l'extérieur du Canada?

- oui ____ (si oui allez à la question #12)
- non _____ (si non allez à la # 14)

12) À l'extérieur du Canada, vous avez travaillé sur des (peut choisir plus d'une réponses):

- publications françaises
- publications anglaises
- d'autres publications (autres langues)

13) Combien de temps avez-vous passé à travailler ou fait du bénévolat à l'extérieur du Canada sur un périodique noir?

- 1-11 mois
- 1an-2 ans
- 3-5 ans
- 5-7 ans
- 8-9 ans
- 10 ans ou plus

14) Vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat dans les périodiques imprimés depuis: _____

15) À quand remonte la première année où vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat dans un journal, une revue, un magazine, un bulletin, un communiqué ou tous autres séries imprimées? _____

16) Depuis les années à Montréal vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat comme:

- Rédacteur
- Directeur de la publication
- Journaliste
- Pigiste
- Autre

17) Travaillez-vous ou faites-vous du bénévolat pour une série présentement?
oui ____ (si oui, continuez) non ____ (si non, demandez question #20)

18) Quel est le but de cette série? _____

19) Combien de personnes, pensez-vous lisent votre série? Faites une estimation ____

20) À quand remonte la dernière année où vous avez travaillé pour un journal un bulletin, un communiqué, une revue ou un magazine noir à Montréal? _____

21) À travers les années, vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat à Montréal sur:

- 1 périodique _____
- 2 périodiques _____
- 3 à 5 périodiques _____
- 6 ou plusieurs périodiques _____

22) Quel était la dernière publication sur lequel vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat pour? _____

23) Le dernier périodique noir _____ (publication de la question 22) sur lequel vous avez travaillé à Montréal a publié:

- 1 seule exemplaire
- 2-3 exemplaires
- 4-exemplaires
- plus de 11 exemplaires

24) Le ou les périodiques noirs _____ (publication de la question 22) pour lesquels vous avez travaillé à Montréal ont durés une période de temps de:

- < 6 mois
- 7-12 mois
- 13-23 mois
- 2-4 ans
- 5-10 ans
- 11-20 ans
- 20 ans et plus

25) De point de vue ethnique, à qui était désigné la dernière série sur lequel vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat _____ (publication de la question 22) ?

- Noirs (res) seulement. Veuillez précisez si vous connaissez l'origine ethnique du groupe _____
- Majoritairement, mais pas seulement des noirs (res)
- Le public en général

26) Comment décrivez-vous la composition ethnique et linguistique de vos lecteurs pendant votre travail ou en faisant du bénévolat pour _____ (publication de la question 22) ?

- Majoritairement anglophone de la région des caraïbes
- Majoritairement anglophone nés du Canada
- Majoritairement anglophone venant de l'Afrique
- Majoritairement francophone de la région des caraïbes
- Majoritairement francophone nés du Canada
- Majoritairement francophone venant de l'Afrique
- Autre, précisez _____
- Ne sait pas

27) Dans le passé, quand vous aviez travaillé pour _____ (publication de la question 22), d'après vous combien de personnes ont lu cette série? Faites une estimation _____

28) Il y a-t-il déjà eu un essai à ce que le périodique _____ (publication de la question 22) soit distribué à travers la grande région de Montréal?

29) Étiez-vous au courant de, ou directement impliqué dans, la distribution du périodique _____ (publication de la question 22) ?

- oui (si oui, continuez)
- non (allez à la question #32)

30) Aviez-vous un distributeur pour _____ (publication de la question 22)?

- oui: qui ou quel compagnie? _____
- non: De quelle façon la série était-elle distribuée?
Précisez _____

31) De point de vue géographique, quel est l'énoncé qui reflète le plus la distribution de _____ (publication de la question 22) ce, sur lequel vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat:

- La série était distribuée à travers l'Île de Montréal et dans les villes urbaines voisines (Longueuil, Laval, etc.)
- La série était distribuée à travers l'Île de Montréal
- La série était distribuée seulement dans l'ouest de Montréal (jusqu'à la rue St-Laurent)
- La série était distribuée seulement dans l'est de Montréal (de la rue St-Laurent à Pointes-Aux-Trembles)
- La série était distribuée seulement dans une région en particulière : le sud-ouest, l'ouest, l'est centre-ville, banlieu de l'ouest, Le plateau, Hochelaga, Montréal-est, la patrie etc.
Nommez _____
- La série était distribuée seulement dans un district spécifique. (Dorval, Lachine, St-Michel, etc.) Précisez _____

32) Pensez-vous qu'une majorité de noirs(res) à Montréal ont à connaissance l'existence de _____ (publication de la question 22) ?

- oui
- non

33) Selon votre opinion, est-ce que les noirs à Montréal ont besoin d'un périodique bilingue?

- oui _____ non _____ (pourquoi pas?) _____

34) Penseriez vous à publié un périodique bilingue?

- oui _____ non _____ (pourquoi pas?) _____

35) Selon votre connaissance des lecteurs noirs à Montréal, croyez-vous que ces lecteurs s'abonneraient à une publication bilingue?

- oui _____ non _____ (pourquoi pas?) _____

36) Généralement parlant, où les périodiques noirs peuvent-ils être retrouvés?

- dans les bibliothèques
- chez différents détaillants
- archives nationales
- archives provinciales
- Institutions à l'intérieur de la communauté noire
- Autre

Sankofa: Réclamer les Périodiques hétérogènes des Montréalais Noirs

Guide de l'Entrevue

1) Depuis le premier journal noir paru à Montréal, combien de périodiques et de séries noires pensez-vous sont parus à Montréal? _____

2) Autres que les publications sur lesquels les vous avez travaillé ou fait du bénévolat, quelles autres publications noires montréalaises à votre connaissance continues d'être publiées à ce jour? _____

3) Avez-vous déjà entendu parler et/ou comprenez-vous le principe du Dépôt Légal?

- oui
- non

4) Êtes-vous au courant du Dépôt Légal au Canada?

- oui (mentionnez les dépositaires) _____ et _____
- non (allez directement à la question # 35)

5) À l'inauguration de la série noire dans lequel vous étiez impliqué, la décision de mettre les exemplaires au Dépôt Légal avait-elle été prise?

- oui Les dépôt étaient-elles fait régulièrement? Oui _____ Non _____
- non Pourquoi pas? _____

6) À Montréal, quand la décision était prise de terminer la parution d'une série, il y avait-il certaines mesures et précautions prises pour conserver et préserver les exemplaires?

- oui (voir A)
- non (voir B)

(A)

- Distribués aux Archives Nationaux à Ottawa
- Distribués aux Archives provinciaux/Municipaux au Québec
- Distribués dans un dépositaire noir
- Distribués dans les bibliothèques locaux
- Distribués aux institutions similaires
- Donnés aux individus intéressés à collectionner des séries
- Une autre alternative a été prise _____

(B)

- Nous nous en sommes débarrassés sans vraiment y avoir pensé
- Nous y avons pensé et nous avons décidé de les jetés. Pourquoi?
- Une autre alternative a été prise _____

7) Avez-vous d'autres exemples de séries ou de périodiques noirs qui ont été jeté sans aucune considération de la culture, ou de la valeur historique? Expliquez _____

8) Avez-vous d'autres exemples de séries noires qui ont été de façon délibéré préservées et conservées? Expliquez _____

9) «Les moyens de communication des Noirs sont plus oraux donc ils n'ont pas besoin de conserver des documents écrits».

- 1) Fortement en désaccord avec l'énoncé
- 2) En désaccord avec l'énoncé
- 3) En accord avec l'énoncé
- 4) Fortement en accord avec l'énoncé

10) Combien de communautés à Montréal d'après vous peut sortir de l'énoncé «la communauté noire à Montréal»? _____

11) Êtes-vous en accord avec la déclaration suivante: «Dans les périodes difficiles, comment les noirs à Montréal communiquent-ils entre eux? (Plus d'un choix de réponse possible):

- par téléphone _____
- par courriel _____
- en utilisant certains sites Internet _____ nom/url _____
- face-face _____ de façon formelle _____ de façon informel _____
- radio: _____ populaire (CKOI, CJAD) _____ communauté (CKUT, CPAM) _____
- tv: _____ populaire (SRC, TQs et TVA) _____ communauté (CABLE 9) _____
- Journaux de la communauté noire _____
- Journaux populaires (*La Presse*, *Journal de Montréal* ou *Le Devoir*) _____
- d'autres imprimés de la communauté noire (magazine, bulletin, journaux) _____

12) Êtes-vous en accord avec la déclaration suivante: «Pour avancer vers une réponse unifiée aux affaires politiques, économiques et sociales et pour informer les différentes communautés noires à Montréal sur leurs diversités serait un avantage d'avoir un périodique noir à Montréal».

- 1) Fortement en désaccord avec l'énoncé
- 2) En désaccord avec l'énoncé
- 3) En accord avec l'énoncé
- 4) Fortement en accord avec l'énoncé

13) Où est-ce que vous iriez, si vous desirez d'obtenir les périodiques non-publié?

14) Considérez-vous les séries noires montréalaises d'être visibles ou invisibles par les communautés noires à Montréal?

visible _____
invisible _____

15) Comme explication de l'invisibilité des périodiques ou séries noires dans la communauté noire, jusqu'à quel extrême la différence linguistique, la diversité ethnique noire, la tradition orale noire et le traitement des copies en circulation?

Ci-dessous se trouve quatre variables. Marquez-les de un à quatre (1 étant le plus important, 4 étant le moins important)

- différences linguistiques _____
- diversité ethniques _____
- tradition orale _____
- le traitement des copies en circulation _____

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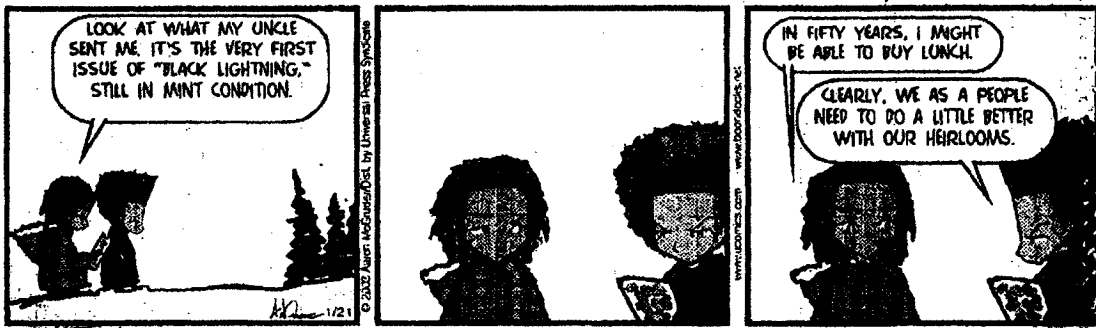
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Boondocks

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