

African American Bibliography: The social construction of a literature of record

Abdul Alkalimat

Department of African American Studies
Graduate School of Library and Information Science
University of Illinois

A bibliography is a list of artifacts of knowledge, texts. It provides accessibility and legitimacy for the information contained in the list of intellectual artifacts.¹ The intellectual foundation of every field of study is based on its bibliography. Dorothy Porter wrote a definitive article on The African American bibliography 36 years ago: “Bibliography and Research in Afro-American Scholarship.”² This article revisits this subject and presents a conceptual framework to organize this genre, including how it is being reproduced in a new paradigm based on digital technology.

But this essay is also a response to the current state of Black Studies. I recently had lunch with a junior colleague and he stated two points that sent me into deep reflection. First, he stated that he had been taught to wear a mask, a mask in the Paul Laurence Dunbar sense,³ and second, he seemed to indicate that he was not interested in the relationship between research and bibliography. Those of us in the founding generation of Black Studies in the 1960’s had exactly the opposite positions – we dared to speak truth to power as our *raison d’être* and we affirmed the resurrection of Black bibliography as the foundation stone for what we wanted to build. Indeed, mapping the intellectual field of battle is critical for the mission of Black Studies to serve Black liberation, to be socially responsible to the Black community.

Introduction

The bibliographical list comes in many forms. The skeletal form is a linear listing of texts, usually arranged in order by author, title or publication date. In addition the bibliography can be divided into topical sections. The list can also be annotated by a sentence or up to several paragraphs but usually less than a full book review. When all or part of each text in a bibliography is collected and reproduced in book form we call that an anthology. Sometimes a bibliography is a standalone intellectual artifact in a book or article, but it almost always is part of every case of written scholarship. Every written work is known by its bibliographical citations as well as how often and widespread it is included in other bibliographies.⁴

The bibliography as intellectual genre has an institutional value. It is an essential tool for archives, libraries, and museums. In this sense it is a format to inventory knowledge of record and to guide acquisition planning. It creates public knowledge because the bibliography can aggregate well known texts with others less known and thereby creating a unique collection of the best there is on a subject for all interested parties. Educational institutions are organized around the bibliography as syllabus for courses, and reviews of

the literature for research reports and theses/dissertations. The bibliography is the key tool to aggregate references to knowledge, for the classroom and the research project.⁵ The linkage of footnotes reflects a genealogy of knowledge from the current scholarship back in time to previous generations of intellectual production. When a book is published without a mapping of related ideas in an extensive bibliography then it fails a basic requirement for acceptable scholarship.⁶

In research terms this article argues that the bibliography is a measurement of intellectual production, hence it is a new empirical variable in research.⁷ This is a focus on the literature of record, the bibliographies that document known written work. In the future we will need to understand the content of the corpus of identified bibliographies of record and their linkage. Then we can focus on the social origin and process of this intellectual production, then follow on to its consumption – who was reading these texts and what difference did it make in their consciousness and agency as scholars and activists.

My experience as a first generation scholar activist in Black Studies has always been grounded in the search for and the building of bibliography. We wanted and needed knowledge that was not at hand because Black scholars had not been equitably included in mainstream bibliographies. Those of us in mainstream white dominated academic environments had to confront and maneuver around the institutional ignorance or discriminatory exclusion of Black intellectual production.

My style has been to start every new project by building a working bibliography with the goal of being up to date on all the recent work to get clear on the issues, language, theory and empirical data sets, including who was doing the work. Then I had to seek out and master the foundational texts – in my case in graduate school sociology meant Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and Freud in addition to DuBois, Johnson, Frazier, and Cox. I then sought to find threads that linked back to African and then other global sources. Finally we discovered the need to keep track of one's own intellectual production.

The African American people have faced oppression and degradation with relatively little gain in power and voice to oppose such exploitation. Texts that sum up this history have created a grand narrative of a people forced into slavery then sustaining themselves by coping and fighting back with a more than centuries old freedom struggle. The historical development of the bibliography of the African American experience is a thread of intellectual history that maps the trans-generational discourse and literature emerging from the context of this freedom struggle. My argument is a broad historical thesis on the conceptual logic of Black intellectual thought: in the 20th century the pendulum was swinging from inclusion to exclusion, while in the 21st century the pendulum is set to swing from exclusion to inclusion. In the 20th century, the historical motion from the civil rights movement to Black self-determination meant that more and more Black voices were given preference by Black people and white domination of ideas about Black people had to be pushed aside. In the 21st century, with Black voices in a secure position and with new technological capacity, we are moving with a Black perspective to include all voices.

We are entering the age of a new paradigm of unity based on digital technology. We have new ways to store information, to access it and to manipulate it for our many diverse interests. The critical argument is to shift the framework for the study of Black intellectual history to a new paradigm. We have had studies of individuals, of institutions, and of academic professions.⁸ We can now shift to including all of us in search of our collective intelligence. By collective intelligence I mean an inclusive bibliography so all aspects of our collective knowledge and information base can be understood. This is the switch from a focus on public intellectuals to the intellect of the public.⁹

The bibliography of literature about Black people as genre began in the 19th century. Dorothy Porter in her seminal article mentions five such efforts. The first is identified as a 1808 survey by Henri Gregoire, a French Bishop:

The work was translated by David B Warden and published under the title *An Inquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes: Followed with an Account of the Life and Works of Fifteen Negroes and Mulattoes, Distinguished in Science, Literature, and the Arts*. It was this book that stimulated our most noted collectors of Afro-Americana, namely Arthur Spingarn, Arthur A. Schomburg, and Jesse E. Moorland to search competitively for and to purchase the works listed in Gregoire's treatise.¹⁰

Porter then mentions an anti-slavery publications list compiled by Samuel Joseph May in 1864 for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Her article, "The Organizational Educational Activities of Negro Literary Societies, 1828 – 1846" mentions African American book collecting groups but unfortunately they left no lists of their collections. A focus on African American writers was represented in a US Bureau of Education report that contained a three part bibliography (including 155 titles written by 105 Black authors), and a bibliography prepared by Daniel Alexander Payne Murray of an exhibit prepared for the 1900 Paris Exposition (including 223 titles by 152 Black authors).¹¹

There have been Black writers since the origin of written language, but not until the industrial age, from the middle of the 19th century, do we have a broad based tradition of writing. In addition, publishing houses were not as widespread hence it was common practice for people to have their writing privately financed for publication. This was another reason that the printing of Black books and pamphlets was limited. However, events leading to the 20th century greatly increased publication and made the making of a bibliography much more needed.¹²

This article answers this question: Does Black Studies have a bibliographical history that documents trans-generational scholarship? Our discussion of African American bibliography will begin in the 20th century and cover three main topics – the grand narrative of the Black experience, the African American intellectual tradition, and the transformation of the bibliography into the webliography enabled by digital technology. The grand narrative bibliography covers material from Africa through slavery up until the time of compiling the bibliography. This genre is represented by book length

bibliographies. The Black intellectual tradition is contained in the periodical literature that contains the main threads of Black intellectual and artistic production. Finally, we will examine and map the ways in which digital technology via the Web and the Internet has changed the construction and use of bibliography.¹³

The grand narrative bibliography

African American bibliography began in the 19th century but is mainly a 20th century intellectual genre. This coincides with and is functionally created by and served the first generation of Black PhDs.¹⁴ The grand narrative bibliography covers the full scope of historical stages and topics on the Black experience. These are book length works that include references and sometimes annotations of books, reports, articles from scholarly journals, and articles from the mass media newspapers and magazines. The grand narrative genre has three types: the African American canonical model, the academic mainstream guide to scholarship, and bibliographies constructed by activists in social justice movements.

There are several book length works that created the canonical model for a comprehensive bibliography of the African American experience. In Table 1 we present four major canonical bibliographies. Each of these scholars did their work in the context of a major institution of Black intellectual production, and each provided references followed by generations of scholars.

WEB DuBois (1868 – 1963) was the leading and foundational 20th century scholar of the African American experience.¹⁵ As a Fisk Graduate he went on to be the first African American to get a Harvard PhD in history (1895).¹⁶ He was an activist scholar who formed organizations, started publications, organized conferences, and taught at the college level. He was an active networker with other scholars and community activists. His Atlanta University Conferences (18 conferences, 1896 – 1914) were a foundation of ideas and data for each topic discussed.¹⁷

Date	Author	Title	Pages
1908	W. E. B. DuBois, Atlanta University	A Short Bibliography of the Negro	71
1928	Monroe Work, Tuskegee University	A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America	698
1936	Carter G. Woodson, Association for the Study of African American Life and History	The African Background Outlined	478
1970	Dorothy Porter, Howard University	The Negro in the United States: A Selected Bibliography	313

Table 1. Grand narrative bibliographies of the African American experience.

DuBois used alumni and his current students at Atlanta University to collect and analyze data for each conference report. Wright argues that using the nine criteria in Herbert Blumer's definition of a school of thought will demonstrate that these conferences were the first "school" of sociological thought preceding Sociology at the University of Chicago by over two decades. In this context DuBois devoted the 10th conference to summing up the previous decade of research and published "A Select Bibliography" in 1905.¹⁸

Monroe Work (1866 – 1945) was trained as a sociologist at the University of Chicago, and spent most of his career as Director of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute. After being hired by Booker T Washington he worked tirelessly to create data sets on the Black experience. For example, he used students and alumni to gather statistics on lynching that rivaled data being collected by the most recognized mainstream source – The Chicago Tribune – and thereby created legitimacy for Black institutional research.

Work made two great contributions to the canon of African American bibliography: a comprehensive book (1928, 698 pages, 17,000 entries) and a yearly listing of books and articles in the Negro Year Books published from 1912 to 1938 (in nine volumes under Work, and then two more after Work died). He began publishing the year books with the approval of Washington and his main academic advisor Robert Park of the University of Chicago in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. This work was financed by a grant of \$8,500 for each of five years from the Carnegie Foundation. His massive book length bibliography took several years to compile, including a 3 month trip to Europe in order to examine the collections of several libraries in France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. But when it came to publishing the book Edwards points out in addition to the publishing company it took \$1,400 from the Phelps Stokes Foundation and \$700 of Work's personal funds to get this book length bibliography published.¹⁹

Carter G Woodson (1875 – 1950) has been called "The Father of Black History."²⁰ He earned this title. After leaving the University of Chicago in 1908 with a BA and an MA he got a PhD from Harvard in 1912. He was the second to do so following DuBois. He was a scholar activist many times over. He founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (1915), the Journal of Negro History (1916), Negro History Week (1920), Associated Publishers (1921), and the Negro History Bulletin (1937).²¹

Woodson was known also for his scholarship as a master compiler/anthologist (eg, *The mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written during the Crisis*, and *Negro Orators and Their Orations*), a master of the historical narrative (eg, *The Negro in Our History*, *The Negro Church*, and *A Century of Negro Migration*), and a scholar of class analysis (eg, *The Rural Negro*, *The Negro Wage Earner*, and *The Negro as a Businessman*). In 1938 he published a bibliography that firmly anchored the African American experience in a context linked to Africa. This was an annotated volume that guided his school of

historiography, and again placed a focus on work produced by people of African descent.²²

Dorothy Porter (1905 – 1995) was the first Black woman to get an MLS degree from Columbia University (1932).²³ She was the main Librarian of the Moorland-Spingarn Collection of African Americana at Howard University for 45 years. She was a mainstay at Howard, first as an undergrad and then as staff in the library. She also married two of the great dons of the faculty, first James Porter of the art department, and then Charles Wesley of the history department.

Porter was legendary for her relentless searching for items to add to the Moorland Spingarn Collection. She was an advisor to several generations of researchers, and the author of several seminal articles on the history of African American scholarship and book collecting.²⁴ Her bibliographical work produced several working bibliographical lists. She produced her major bibliography as a book length work for the Library of Congress, *The Negro in the United States* (1970, 313 pages). This was the fourth major effort by the LOC. The first was in 1900 by Daniel Murray for the Paris Exhibition, followed by more collecting so that by his death in 1925 they had expanded the collection to 1500 volumes in the LOC collection. There was also a bibliography produced in 1906 and another in 1940 in commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

A unique work that fits into the grand narrative tradition is *Black Access: A Bibliography of Afro-American Bibliographies*, compiled by Richard Newman (1984, 249 pages). This book length work is a meta-study in that it lists bibliographies from 1863 to 1979 rather than articles and books directly. This is a comprehensive work that provides the best map to the bibliographical record about African Americans up to the 1980's. Newman's preface gives an interesting description of his experience in compiling these bibliographies. The introduction is an essay by Dorothy Porter, "Fifty years of collecting." She gives a lively narrative of her experience as a book collector for Howard University. She hints at what will likely be a very interesting although yet untold story:

Competition is always healthy, it has been said. On more than one occasion I competed with representatives of both the Library of Congress and the Schomburg library for the acquisition of collections.²⁵

The four scholars mentioned above (DuBois, Work, Woodson, and Porter) established the model for the canonical African American bibliography. Following this African American canon white scholars also made their contribution aimed mainly at humanizing an audience of white scholars. There are two types of these works, from the elite academic mainstream and from broad community movements for civil rights and social justice. The three main examples from the mainstream are by Elizabeth Miller (Harvard University), Erwin Welsch (Indiana University), and James McPherson, et al (Princeton University).

Miller produced a 351 page book of references. In the forward to this book Thomas Pettigrew (then a Harvard Social Psychologist) writes to explain to American whites why a bibliography of this kind is necessary to combat false information and racist ideas. This book is designed to update and guide mainstream scholars in their research and teaching in the year that the Black Power slogan exploded, 1966. A new renaissance in research on Black people was emerging on campuses based on the beginning of modern Black Studies academic units, including white scholars, and also the increased number of African Americans entering graduate schools.

Carnegie supported this effort just as it had done 55 years earlier to support Monroe Work at Tuskegee. The first bibliography was published in 1966 followed by a 2nd edition in 1970.²⁶

Mary Fisher, who led the 1970 revision, says this about why the revised volume was necessary:

Since the first edition of this bibliography was published, important developments, marking both progression and regression in the course toward the legitimate goal of Black equality, have occurred and have been recorded. New studies have been undertaken in the search for a better understanding of the educational, employment, health, and social factors which bear upon the continued intractability of the racial problem. The exigency and pace of events demand serious examination and reflection. As a nation we must consider new interpretations of our history and the role of all people in it. For a deeper knowledge of ourselves, Black and white, we must reevaluate our history to include a proper measure of the contributions and achievements of Black people, no less in past times than at the present. Moreover, the message and impetus of the Black Nationalist movement, as one aspect of the overall problem of Black-white interrelationships, compels the thoughtful attention of us all.²⁷

Erwin Welsch was Reference and Liaison Librarian in History at Indiana University. He published "The Negro in the United States: A Research Guide" (1965, 142 pages).

McPherson, with four other colleagues from Princeton and Johns Hopkins, state their reasons for a 430 page bibliographical book of resources:

This book is neither a simple bibliography nor an interpretive survey of the history and culture of Black people in the United States. Rather it is an attempt to combine narrative, interpretation, and bibliography in a chronological and topical framework that will provide teachers, students, and interested readers with an up-to-date guide to Afro-American history and culture. Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, the authors have organized the history of Black Americans into 100 topics, from Africa and the slave trade to life-styles in the urban ghettos of 1970.²⁸

This bibliography grew out of a Princeton seminar taught in 1966, 1968, and 1970, "The Negro in America." McPherson and his colleagues were constantly being asked for their

bibliography, including a request from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania for permission to make 500 copies for distribution. They then decided to expand it into a book as they hoped it to have a systemic impact on Black Studies.

The Third approach comes from the left, the social justice movement. The authors of these works were activist intellectuals. Key people were Erwin Salk, Ernest Kaiser, and Herbert Aptheker.

Salk was a businessman active in the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race. He compiled and edited "A Layman's Guide to Negro History" (1967, 196 pages). It was published by the radical Ramparts press with back cover comments by Martin Luther King, Langston Hughes, Arna Bontemps, and Rep. John Conyers. This book was developed as a contribution to building the movement for social transformation. He states:

Most of these books, pamphlets, and periodicals have not been made readily available, nor have they been used on any large scale. As a consequence, many of the stereotypes have continued to exist in the minds of the people, and children are educated on the basis of myth rather than fact. Therefore, important publications dealing with these subjects must be made available on a mass basis to as many people and groups as possible.

These materials should be made available on literature tables through community organizations. Certain local organizations should become repositories for books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other sources of information on Negro history, and should have them available for sale to any and all peoples or groups.²⁹

Kaiser was a reference librarian at the Schomburg Center of the New York Public Library system for over 30 years. He maintained a bibliographical column in the Black left journal Freedomways, of which he was an Associate editor along with John Henrik Clarke, Jack O'Dell, and Jean Carey Bond, under the editorship of Esther Jackson. This was an annotated list. For example, in one 1974 issue he annotated over 150 books, and in another issue in 1981 he annotated 75 books. This was the most comprehensive source of bibliographical information that fed into the Black liberation movement on a regular basis (quarterly).

Kaiser was also a prolific contributor to the professional literature of Black Librarians. The Schomburg gives him credit on their website:

The Ernest D. Kaiser Index to Black Resources is one of the Schomburg Center's most unique finding aids, providing more than 179,000 citations to articles in thousands of issues of black magazines and newspapers. (1948 – 1986)³⁰

Herbert Aptheker (1915 – 2003) joined the communist party in 1939 and was awarded a PhD in History from Columbia University in 1943. His first major contribution was his historical work on the African American slave revolts, topics for his MA and PhD at

Columbia University. He also published a major two volume anthology of primary documents on African American History.

His major bibliographical work took two aspects. As executor of the DuBois estate papers, he published a 626 page volume, *The Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings of W.E.B. DuBois* (1984). Also, as executive director of the American Institute of Marxist Studies (AIMS), he published an AIMS newsletter from 1964 to 1985 that always included a bibliography of recent publications. This list always had a special focus on the Black experience as well as Marxist theory. He always included dissertations, reports from the international communist movement, and reports from the trade union movement.

These examples of the grand narrative tradition are mostly books that give a comprehensive view of the state of the literature on the Black experience up to a given moment. However, some periodicals were prominent examples as well.

Black people were focused on laying the foundation for Black scholarship and the general intellectual development of the Black community, while white scholars began to address the needs of white people to overcome the backwardness of racism and turn to the kind of scholarship and research that could lead to policies to guide the social transformation taking place as a result of the movements for social justice, civil rights and Black liberation. Further, some works were specifically aimed at these movements for their readership and use.

The anthology is a form of bibliography that includes all or part of the work being listed. The anthology is a sample of important texts from a more general bibliography. There have been key anthologies that sum up the consensus of a generation or school of thought. They sum up past work and link significant texts that a given generation needs for future work. Here are some key anthologies of the 20th century:

Date	Editor(s)	Title
1925	Alain Locke	The New Negro
1929	V. F. Calverton	Anthology of American Negro Literature
1934	Nancy Cunard	The Negro
1941	Sterling Brown et al	The Negro Caravan
1951	Herbert Aptheker	A Documentary History of the Negro
1968	Amiri Baraka and Larry Neal	Black Fire
1972	Richard Barksdale and Kenneth Kinnamon	Black Writers of America: A Comprehensive Anthology
1978	Abdul Alkalimat and Ron Bailey	Introduction to Afro-American Studies ("Intro Blue," two volumes)
1979	Michael Harper and Robert Steptoe	Chant of Saints
1996	Henry L. Gates and Nellie McKay	Norton Anthology of African American Literature
1996	Molefi Asante and Abu Barry	African Intellectual Heritage: A Book of Sources
2000	Manning Marable and Leith Mullings	Let Nobody Turn Us Around

Table 2. Selected 20th century anthologies of African American writing.

The three most recent anthologies are still in print: Gates and McKay, Asante and Barry, and Marable and Mullings. Altogether, these three include 308 writings in a total of 4,167 pages. Only 14 writers appear in all three of these recent anthologies:

- Olaudah Equiano (1745 – 1797)
- David Walker (1795 – 1830)
- Maria Stewart (1803 – 1879)
- Frederick Douglas (1818 – 1895)
- Frances Harper (1825 – 1911)
- Booker T Washington (1856 – 1915)
- Anna J. Cooper (1858 – 1964)
- Ida B. Wells (1862 – 1931)
- W. E. B. Du Bois (1868 – 1963)
- James Weldon Johnson (1871 – 1938)
- Marcus Garvey (1887 – 1940)
- Malcolm X (1925 – 1965)
- Martin Luther King (1929 – 1968)
- Amiri Baraka (1934 –)

This is a clear indication that a more inclusive bibliography is needed. I have used all three of these anthologies simultaneously in a senior capstone course in Black Studies at the University of Illinois. By using all three volumes at the same time, the students have a dynamic sampling of Black intellectual production. The main issue here is how an anthology is a sample of a larger more inclusive bibliography. These three each demonstrate critical parts of the whole, but only together do they constitute an adequate sample of the texts that cover the grand historic narrative of the Black Experience. This intellectual tradition covers at least five main intellectual foci: Black liberation theology, Black Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, Black feminism/womanism, and Socialism.

These grand narrative bibliographies and anthologies were unique and one time efforts, but Black intellectual production became too prolific and diverse for these books to suffice for the bibliographical references that were needed. We can now turn to the annual process of publications being listed in bibliographies found in the periodical literature.

The Black Intellectual Tradition

The publishing expression of the Black intellectual tradition becomes stable with the development of key knowledge producing institutions. This begins with the Black newspaper in a popular sense (e.g. Freedoms Journal 1758-1799, and much later The Chicago Defender 1905 – 2003), then gets a major boost with the emergence of schools after the Civil War (Fisk 1866, Howard 1867, Hampton Institute 1868, and Tuskegee 1881.) The historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU) have been key locations for scholarship and publishing as well as library collections, thanks to the efforts of key librarians working in HBCUs before US higher education opened for Black people in the 1960's. Howard University is the leading HBCU with a press, key journals, a major collection of Afro-Americana, and the legacy of Librarian leadership from Dorothy Porter to Thomas Battle. Fisk University has had librarian leadership from Arna Bontemps to Jessie Carney Smith and Ann Allen Shockley. Atlanta University has major collections and legacy of scholarship by DuBois, Horace Mann Bond, Benjamin Mays, and many others.³¹

There have been major public library collections. In New York this has been the Schomburg Collection. As mentioned above, this collection has been documented in bibliographic form by Ernest Kaiser. This major collection has been the national best practice for African American special collections. It is located in New York, the book publishing center of the US, and began with the collection of Arturo Schomburg (1974–1938, Afro-Puerto Rican), one of the great African American bibliophiles of the 20th century. There has been great continuity at the Schomburg, reflected in the tenure of its directors:

- Arturo Schomburg (1928-1938)
- Lawrence Reddick (1939-1948)
- Dorothy Williams (1948)
- Jean Blackwell Hutson (1948-1980)
- Wendell L. Wray (1981-1983)
- Catherine Hooker (1983-1984)
- Howard Dodson (1984-2011)
- Khalil Gibran Muhammad (2011-present)

Finally, what has helped keep Schomburg in the national picture is that it is located in Harlem, one of the most important Black communities in the world, and a destination for intellectuals from all over the African Diaspora.

The main public library special collection in Chicago is the Vivian Harsh Collection. Vivian Harsh was the first African American head of a branch library and she initiated this special collection of works by and about Blacks, including the WPA papers on Chicago. This collection is now located in the Carter G Woodson Regional Library on Chicago's south side. A research project is now working in Chicago to identify all of the African American collections and archives located there. This project is called "Mapping the Stacks,"³² and is now being extended to create about 75 new finding aids.³³ The Vivian Harsh holdings have been documented in a 4 volume reproduction of the card catalogue edited by Donald Joyce (1935-2001).¹⁹⁷⁶. Today it is being administered by Robert Miller and Michael Flug. The more recent collections at Vivian Harsh can be found online.³⁴

Some librarians have moved past compiling bibliographies of others to be actively engaged in publishing. Joyce points out three major examples of this.³⁵ Doris Saunders (Chicago) was a librarian at John Publications and while there she led the establishment of their book publishing division, including the great historical work by Lerone Bennett, a senior editor of Ebony magazine. Dudley Randal (Detroit, 1914-2000) was a librarian poet. His active involvement in the Black Arts Movement led him to found a press to publish himself and his peers, Broadside Press. W. Paul Coates (Washington DC), a librarian formerly based at Howard University, created Black Classics Press. These librarians were creating both bibliographies as well as texts that needed to be added to all bibliographies.

The main inter-textuality across the generations of Black intellectual history can be traced through the annual index and footnotes of key periodicals. This creates a bibliographical challenge. These articles being published on a monthly and quarterly basis are connected in direct ways (eg footnotes and bibliography) and indirect ways (eg language use and questions addressed). This inter-textuality can be understood as having three forms – agreement, disagreement, and additive to fill a silence.

The librarians at Hallie Q. Brown Memorial Library at Central State University (Wilberforce, Ohio) published the Index to Periodicals by and about Negroes starting in 1950. By the 17th edition in 1966 the Brown librarians were joined by the staff of the Schomburg when each indexed 20 journals. After this a 1980 annual by Brown librarians included over 3,000 articles from 25 periodicals. They reported being very up to date with their technology: "The compilation (1980) was facilitated by the utilization of computer technology."³⁶

The journal literature is the basis for the inter-textuality that represents the fabric of an intellectual tradition, anchoring it in each case in the threads of academic scholarship. Each generation responds to the previous ones and charts a path to a new future, and each future creates a new past. The run of a major journal is an intellectual relay race through history.

The major mainstream (white) institutions were not democratically inclusive of Black authors so conventional library reference tools are not adequate to be the sole basis for

bibliographical work on the Black experience. In order to map Black intellectual production one must focus on the primary sources of African American periodicals.

Series	Main bibliographer	1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s
Negro Year Book	Monroe Work		1912, 1913, 1914, 1916, 1919	1922, 1925	1931, 1937								
Opportunity	Alain Locke			1923	————	1949							
*Crisis	Arthur Spingarn				1936	————	————	1966					
The Negro Handbook	Florence Murray					1942, 1944, 1946, 1949							
*Negro Digest/ Black World	John Johnson, Hoyt Fuller					1943	————	————	1976				
Index to Periodical Articles By and About Negroes	Librarians at Hallie Q Brown Memorial Library, Central State University Library (Ohio), continued by G K Hall						1950	————	————	————	1998		
Freedomways	Ernest Kaiser							1961	————	————	1985		
Integrated Education	Meyer Weinberg							1963	————	————	1984		
AIMS Newsletter	Herbert Aptheker							1964	————	————	1985		
Black Book Bulletin	Haki Madhubuti								1971	————	1981		
*Afro-Scholar	Abdul Alkalimat									1983	————	1991	
Journal of Blacks in Higher Education	Theodore Cross										1993	————	now
*H-Afro-Am	Abdul Alkalimat										1998	————	now
Number of series in each decade		0	1	2	3	4	3	6	6	6	4	2	2

Table 3. African American bibliographical survey 1912 - 2012. Asterisk indicates that the series is available online.

The life blood of African American Studies as an academic discipline is the content of the peer reviewed journal articles that flow through the professional journals containing method, research and theory. This makes up the relevant professional literature of record. The critical factor is that these articles are peer reviewed, meaning they are judged to be of a high scholarly value by unknown peers without letting personal subjectivity guide the decision to publish. Personal ties are trumped by professional standards. The self-governance of every profession is in part based on this blind peer review process that manages the production and distribution of that discipline’s scholarship, thus constituting official knowledge.

However, in the case of Black intellectual history the racist exclusion of their scholarship forced Black intellectuals to maintain their own knowledge networks of production. The

HBCUs and the Black freedom Movement have maintained this track record of Black intellectual production.

The history of bibliographical work begins with Monroe Work at Tuskegee in 1912 - 1937. He published nine Negro Year Books. They included a total listing of all books and articles published that year in the context of a volume that summed up an encyclopedic scope of information on Black people in that year.. Following Work's lead, bibliographical stewardship was taken up by Howard University Professor of Philosophy and Rhodes Scholar Alain Locke, 1923 - 1949. He wrote an annual summary of Black authors for Opportunity Magazine, the journal of the National Urban League. The NAACP magazine Crisis carried an annual column covering African American book publications from 1936 – 1966 written by Arthur Spingarn, NAACP President from 1940 to 1965. Of course for bibliographical reference it was also possible to follow the book reviews regularly published in the Journal of Negro History and The Journal of Negro Education (Howard), Phylon (Atlanta University) and The Southern Workman (Hampton) for material before World War II.

At least two book length bibliographies have been published that focus on the writings contained in a single journal, one by Clovis Semmes on Negro Digest and one by Meyer Weinberg on Integrated Education.³⁷

The Black Power Movement stimulated a great increase in intellectual production in almost every way. It was a call for an autonomous Black agency to build an alternative literature to mainstream ideas.³⁸ This increase led to the grand narrative being continued as it disaggregated into topical foci. The most productive bibliographer has been Lenwood Davis. He has completed over 20 book length topical bibliographies beginning in 1974. Particularly good work has been done by Joyce (1986, 1991), Stevenson (1988), Redmond (1976), and Williams (1970).

An important feature of the Black Power movement was that it was a new beginning. New thinking was being published in old journals, and more importantly in new journals as well. The editorial work of Hoyt Fuller at Johnson Publishing Company of Chicago is a good example of this history. After initially working at Ebony (1954-1957) he returned as editor of Negro Digest in 1961. He transformed this monthly into the premiere journal of the new militant voices of the 1960's, e.g., in October 1966 he published a symposium on "The Fed-up Generation Talks about Negro Rights and the American Future."³⁹ This included essays by Stokely Carmichael (aka Kwame Ture), Julian Bond, Larry Neal, Rolland Snellings (aka Askia Muhammad Ture), Ed Bullins, Charlie Cobb and the author of this essay, Gerald McWorter (aka Abdul Alkalimat). By 1970 the journal's name was changed from Negro Digest to the Black World reflecting Fuller's full commitment to the Black Power movement's global perspective.⁴⁰ He also published a special issue of Negro Digest/Black World every year that contained an annual review of books published that year, as well as special issues on poetry and theatre.

Another key bibliographical source was developed in the first texts written for the introduction course in African American Studies. As these texts seek to present a general

survey of all aspects of the Black experience their bibliographies tended to be constructed in the genre of the grand narrative bibliography. They key ones are Alkalimat and Associates (1986), Karenga (1993), Anderson and Stewart (2007).

Some have continued the global outreach for bibliography in many languages started by DuBois, Work, and Woodson. Good examples of this are Kinnanom on Richard Wright (1988), Orlando Patterson on slavery (1985), and Alkalimat on Malcolm X (2011).⁴¹

In sum, Black intellectual history has consisted of written texts that have been codified into bibliographical listings over the last century. This has been through the agency of Black intellectuals themselves, especially librarians, journal editors, and serious scholars. The grand narrative is fundamentally about the movement over time for freedom, justice, and equality. The diversity of this literature has been as creatively innovative as African American music. However, we have yet to aggregate these texts to find the agreements, disagreements, and silences on all the major issues and topics. The next stage of studying bibliography is part of the information revolution because of the impact of digital technology.

Bibliography as digital database

The information revolution based on digital technology has created a paradigm shift in the storage and accessibility of texts.⁴² The limited frozen hard copy is being replaced by an electronic system of digital formats, especially the dynamic database. This changes bibliography in fundamental ways. We now have the ability to upload and access new references in real time, and collect and organize them over time as we choose. Every text is not yet digitized but all educational institutions, libraries and publishers are heading in that direction, so bibliography is being married to digital access to full texts.

The first form of this was the webliography--a listing of annotated websites on a particular subject. My own book *"The African American Experience in Cyberspace* (2004) is a 294 page hard copy text about digital resources. As a webliography—an annotated list of websites about a particular topic—it was one of many such early guides to the Internet. As such it complemented the bibliography in Alkalimat and Associates' *Introduction to African American Studies* textbook.⁴³ *The African American Experience in Cyberspace* is the reinvention of the grand narrative bibliography in the digital age.

Several people led the way in building online webliographies on the African American experience and literature. First, there was the vanguard work of Art McGee. McGee was a real pioneer:

Around 1980 I started compiling a directory. Around 1985, I started to compile a directory of sites that were run by African Americans and African people. I called it the Pan African Resource Guide. It started out as a personal resource. I stopped doing that in 1995 when search engines became more prominent.⁴⁴

The second major digital webliography was created by Black graduate students at Georgia Technology University who created a site “The Universal Black Pages” (1996).⁴⁵ The Universal Black Pages was a campus based project:

The primary purpose of the UBP is to maintain a comprehensive listing of African-diaspora-related Web pages at a central site... A secondary purpose of the UBP is to encourage development of categories and topics which are not currently available. The UBP facilitates this development by serving as a resource by which one can avoid duplication of effort...The UBP was conceived and created by Alou Macalou and Larry Ward, two members of Georgia Tech's Black Graduate Student Association's (BGSA) Information Resources and Technology committee.

Ali Dinar at the University of Pennsylvania has archived both of these path breaking sites⁴⁶ as well as maintaining his own webliography, one of the most comprehensive in African Studies.

An important scholar investigating bibliographical issues in Black Studies in the digital age is Tom Weissinger. He has produced key articles on African American Studies reference books (1994), Black Studies on the world wide web (1999), Black Power movement book publishing (2007), and on core journals in Black Studies (2010). Further, like many leading librarians he continues to produce bibliographies that serve the University of Illinois researchers and the Black Studies teaching faculty.⁴⁷

Black Studies academic programs and subject specialists in academic libraries have also been active in creating both webliographies and online bibliographies. Some of the outstanding examples include:

- The African American Studies Librarians Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries (<http://afasacrl.wordpress.com/publications-and-resources/blackstudies/>)
- Carleton College (<http://apps.carleton.edu/curricular/afam/resources/>)
- Howard University (<http://www.howard.edu/library/assist/guides/Afroam.htm>)
- Michigan State University (<http://libguides.lib.msu.edu/africanamericans>)
- University of California Santa Barbara (<http://guides.library.ucsb.edu/blackstudies>)
- University of Pennsylvania (http://www.africa.upenn.edu/K-12/menu_EduAFAM.html) Yale University (<http://www.yale.edu/glc/info/links.html>)
- Margaret Vail Anderson’s “Digital Librarian: a librarian's choice of the best of the Web” (<http://www.digital-librarian.com/africanamerican.html>)

Complementing these is a tutorial on accessing materials in cyberspace: “Information Competence for the Field of Black Studies” (<http://www.csulb.edu/~ttravis/IC/index.htm>). This tutorial was developed by Susan Luévano, Tiffini Travis and Eileen Wakiji, librarians at California State University.

Across the country many libraries have a link to “ask a librarian,” and this service is a dynamic way to get bibliographical references, especially related to their local institutions. Librarians continue to be the main source of African American bibliography in the digital age.

The dynamic database is the reinvention of the bibliographical genre to access both citations and full texts of books and articles. Some of these are public and others are aimed for academic use or for subscribers only.. The overall leader in digital resources is Google, as they are generally the most used source for bibliographical information, both for citations and full text. Google is the main choice when people need a general search engine.⁴⁸ For one week in October 2012, this was the global search engine market share reported by netmarketshare.com:⁴⁹

- Google 86%
- Yahoo 7%
- Baidu (a commercial search engine in China) 4%
- Bing 2%
- Ask 1%
- AOL less than 1%

A more specialize Google option is Google Scholar.⁵⁰ This service allows you to access articles and books based on author and key word search for citation information, but also in some cases full text of an article is available, usually only if it is on the web as public access. Another major Google service is the Google Books.⁵¹ This is a service providing full text of books based on the cooperation of several major libraries who agreed to let Google digitize books in their collection that were not under copyright.⁵² A critical concern is what will be the impact of mainly digitizing books from the 19th century and before. We know that “racist false knowledge” was normative in the mainstream, so unless there is an active effort to digitize African American special collections the refutation of this misinformation will be absent, hence more legitimacy for racism. This is a serious concern for information professionals, as the resurrection of an immoral and unscientific past will do more harm than good.

From a more general perspective we can best understand the full menu of digital tools for bibliography and full text retrieval by a four-fold table as in table 4. Of course we begin with the distinction between citation and full text. We summarize another distinction that combines level of specialization and technical knowledge with whether it costs and limited to institutional level subscriptions.

	Citations	Full text
Academic	WorldCat, Academic library online catalogs, H-Afro-Am	JSTOR, ProQuest
Popular	Search engines, Library of Congress online, Public library online catalogs, Online booksellers	Project Gutenberg

Table 4. A typology of full text, citation, academic and popular digital tools for bibliography.

Project Gutenberg is a global project in which volunteers digitize books for sharing with others for free. It started in 1991 when Michael Hart typed in the Declaration of Independence as an undergrad at the University of Illinois. Now, 21 years later there are 40,000 books in the data base with a global audience. Dorothy Porter’s 1970 bibliography is available in Project Gutenberg.⁵³

Project Gutenberg’s approach is summed up in this excerpt from a manifesto written by Michael Hart and Gregory Newby:

“The only barrier that Project Gutenberg seeks to maintain is the one that keeps notions such as dogmatism, perfectionism, elitism, format restrictions, content restrictions and so forth from restricting the freedom of people to create, read and distribute the eBooks they are interested in. This leads to a one of the Project Gutenberg mottos: “Break Down the Bars of Ignorance and Illiteracy.”⁵⁴

At the academic level there are two basic ways to use digital tools to get citations of African American texts: seeking information from the library or librarian, or asking a scholar. The two best library sources are Worldcat⁵⁵ and the Library of Congress.⁵⁶ Worldcat is a project that enables the public to search the catalogs of more than 10,000 libraries worldwide, which is a growing collection of more than 1.5 billion items. It shows you the nearest library with the item you seek, and it links to online materials and services at your chosen library. The Library of Congress has been making digital collections on historical and cultural subjects in its collection; these collections are free online. A great many libraries offer “Ask a Librarian” services where you can get professional help via phone, chat, or email as well as in person.

In addition to libraries and library staff, a very effective way to get bibliographical information about African American topics is to ask the network of scholars who subscribe to the H-Afro-Am listserv.⁵⁷ When a query is posted to H-Afro-Am over 3500 people read it and are potential responders either on the list or privately. All of the posts have been archived since the list started in 1998.

For full text retrieval, the primary distinction is between those that are available to anyone browsing the internet, and those that are limited to institutions and individuals who have paid the subscription fee. Most of the institutions that pay are universities, colleges and larger libraries; but even then, you may find your organization doesn't get a particular journal or is missing the year you want to explore.

Two important providers of full text access are JSTOR and ProQuest.

JSTOR began as a digital archive, digitizing entire runs of print journals and has recently expanded as it was merged with another. They popularized the "moving wall" practice of providing journal articles that are not current. Some journals do permit JSTOR to provide issues as soon as they are published. Institutions can subscribe to different journals and different years behind a In most cases you can get journal articles that are more than 3-5 years old. , and in many cases they continue to provide you with issues up to . African American Studies journals are one of many disciplines they cover. It is available for faculty, staff and students of institutions that subscribe, or to people browsing on machines that are physically at the institution that subscribes. JSTOR includes 13 Black Studies journals.⁵⁸ Their strength is the older journals (The Journal of Negro History 1916-2001, The Journal of Negro Education 1932-2008, and Phylon 1940-2002).

JSTOR is expanding its activities and what gives it a more central role in our field is its decision to publish the new ASALH journal FIRE! FIRE! is the first African American Studies journal born digital. and welcoming they encourage articles that include files of many different formats: video, audio, and so on. . Partly as a result of this initiative, a new digital divide has opened up in Black Studies, the cyber-scholars versus the analog-scholars. The stage is set for the next transformation.

ProQuest,⁵⁹ based in Ann Arbor, Michigan, offers online journal access and has also aggressively taken the lead in proprietary databases covering the African American experience:

- International Index to Black Periodicals (full text of over 40 publications)⁶⁰
- Black newspapers (9)
- Full text journals (one or more issues of 144 publications)
- History Makers (100+ oral history biographies)
- Biographical Database (30,000 people)
- Black Abolitionist Papers 1830-1865 (15,000 documents, 300 people)
- Black Literature Database (70,000 items)

It is helpful that this material is now digital, but digital-by-subscription-only means that only some people can access these collections.

Our 2008 study of the journals in the field of Black Studies identified 31 journals that define the scholarly literature.⁶¹ As of October 2012, JSTOR offers full text to 8 of these and 6 more, including the new FIRE! ProQuest offers full text to five of these and citations or abstract to two. More than half of the 37 journals identified as African American Studies are not included in either these two databases. So Black intellectual history cannot be left to mainstream or market investment decisions, but rather depends on the agency of Black intellectuals and Black social institutions. We need the change that produces social justice before the publishing market will align itself to serve the needs of African American Studies. The Black Liberation Movement and Black Studies have pushed it this far. Will it take another movement to go as far as we need to go?

Another important feature of the digital bibliography is the related software that facilitates managing citation information and even the downloadable items themselves. The most widely used tools are Zotero⁶², RefWorks⁶³, and EndNote.⁶⁴ Zotero is open source and is supported by several thousand volunteer programmers who maintain and improve it. It was developed by academics for academics in the spirit of free culture.⁶⁵

Summary

The bibliography as a genre of intellectual production has had a history for as long as texts have been collected and preserved. The bibliography is part of the fundamental architecture of knowledge in every language, and in every subject written about. We have demonstrated that the bibliography has been central to Black intellectual history. We have shown that this bibliographical literature has been produced by Black intellectuals, especially librarians, but also white scholars and movement activists.

One finding is that a bibliographical record of scholarship on the African American experience does exist. Further it began as a product of Black librarians and HBCU's. Black Studies has been a major aspect of this history. Now the market of ideas created by digital technology includes major commercial products like JSTOR, ProQuest, as well as mixed forms like Google and new library services like WorldCat. Black autonomy still exists in Black Studies via listservs and digital libraries.

Another finding is that these bibliographies make up three types: the grand narrative of the Black historical record, the academic mainstream, and the movement for social justice. One of the challenges facing bibliographical practice is the aggregation of these bibliographies into one major data base that can become inclusive of all academic scholarship.

Finally it is clear that while the mainstream is more useful now than it has ever been for accessing the bibliographical record of African American Studies, that Black people have the responsibility to continue being the primary agents for creating the bibliographical record.

There is a role for bibliographical criteria to be part of all stages in the study of all scholarship. But a fair evaluation would require a standard by which to judge. The difficulty with such an objective metric is that it would devalue or not value being truly “out of the box.” Given this research issue, digitization and software tools that encourage and facilitate aggregation and sharing bibliographical records, up to and including full text, is essential.

¹ The bibliography is a well known subject in the field of library and information science. This literature is well represented in the work of Don Krummel in his 1984 volume and a forthcoming volume available in draft form on his website: <http://people.lis.illinois.edu/~donkay/>

² See Porter 1976

³ <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/173467>

⁴ The citation index is a research data base to track the inter-textuality of articles. See this general description in Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citation_index

⁵ In our research methodology we refer to this as D-1 of the D-7 method. The seven parts are: Definition, Date Collection, Digitization, Discovery, Design, Dissemination, and Difference. See a video lecture and power point slides on this at

<http://ensemble.atlas.uiuc.edu/app/sites/qzBpeuKc0E6NPaVC9tPfzA.aspx?destinationID=qzBpeuKc0E6NPaVC9tPfzA&contentID=PCQjFx68t0-pSf3mPd95vA>

⁶ One example of this is *The Destruction of Black Civilization* by Chancellor Williams (1971, 1987). This book has compelling ideas that have influenced a generation of scholars but at first it failed this basic test. I asked him about this in a public forum in Chicago and he answered by saying his notes were destroyed by fire. This was at least partially dealt with in the 2nd edition published by Third World Press as Williams added two new sections in a revised edition “Biographical notes and Bibliography.” However, the revised edition still had no footnotes.

⁷ For examples of this see the following:

<http://guides.library.vu.edu.au/content.php?pid=251876&sid=2079929>

⁸ On individuals see Harris and Moleworth, Sinnette, and Edwards; on institutions see Dodson, Logan, and Sollors, et. Al.; and on academic professions see Blackwell and Janowitz, Guthrie, Dawson, Harris, and Meier and Rudwick.

⁹ For an important discussion of the concept of “collective intelligence” see Pierre Levy.

¹⁰ Porter (1976) *The Gregoire* volume is in print with a new Introduction – See Gregoire, Cassirer, and Briere).

¹¹ See Porter (1976).

¹² It is important not to ignore the popular media as Black intellectuals used them as that was the only way to reach Black readers. A good example of this points to two popular publications by Johnson Publishing Company of Chicago: *Ebony* and *Negro Digest/Black World*.

¹³ See McWorter and Bailey for a discussion of these three types of literature.

¹⁴ See Harry Greene and Bond.

¹⁵ See the 2 volume biography by David Lewis

¹⁶ The racist dynamics of admission to Harvard College meant that with a BA from Fisk DuBois was only admitted as a junior in 1888. This racist perspective was continued eight years later when they gave Booker T Washington an honorary MA. Washington then got an honorary doctorate from Dartmouth in 1901.

¹⁷ See <http://www.webdubois.org/wdb-AtlUniv.html#primary>

¹⁸ See Wright

¹⁹ See Edwards

²⁰ See Dagobie and Groggin

²¹ It is a testament to the foundational importance of these projects that they have survived through the nominal paradigm shift so the journal is now the *Journal of African American History*, the week is now *Black History Month*, the association is now the *Association for the Study of African American Life and History* (ASALH, 1975).

-
- ²² See Woodson 1936
- ²³ See Madison and Wesley 1995)
- ²⁴ See her works listed in the bibliography under her two married names, Porter and Wesley
- ²⁵ Newman, page xxvii
- ²⁶ See Parsons and Clark. The Miller volume was published 2 years after the American Academy of Arts and Sciences published their 2 volumes on “The Negro in American” in their journal *Daedalus*.
- ²⁷ Miller and Fisher 1970
- ²⁸ McPherson, page ix
- ²⁹ (Salk, pages xiv – xv)
- ³⁰ <http://www.nypl.org/locations/schomburg/about/schomburg-center-today>
- ³¹ See the volumes edited by E. J. Josey, especially the Handbook of Black Librarianship, edited by Josey and DeLoach (2000)
- ³² Until recently this project is being directed by Bergis Jules (MA in Library Science and African American Studies, University of Indiana) now relocated to a position as archivist at George Washington University. They have a website that provides access to descriptions of all the archives they have mapped: <http://bmrcsurvey.uchicago.edu/>
- ³³ A finding aid is an inventory of documents in an archive, so in some sense it is a special kind of bibliography, including works published and unpublished. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finding_aid.
- ³⁴ <http://www.chipublib.org/branch/details/library/woodson-regional/p/FeatHarsh/>
- ³⁵ “Unique Gatekeepers of Black Culture: Three Black Librarians as Book Publishers,” in Tucker (1998)
- ³⁶ See Hallie Q Brown Memorial Library, 1982
- ³⁷ Seemes 1998, and Weinberg 1967.
- ³⁸ See Abdul Alkalimat, ed., *Paradigms in Black Studies* (1990)
- ³⁹ http://books.google.com/books/about/Black_World_Negro_Digest.html?id=0zkDAAAAMBAJ
- ⁴⁰ Fuller had been a committed Panafricanist for some time. This is discussed in the dissertation by Jonathan Fenderson (<http://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations/AI3465202/>)
- ⁴¹ http://brothermalcolm.net/bibliography/Malcolm_X_bibliography_1985-2011_dec_17_2011.pdf#zoom=50)
- ⁴² An interesting book that profiles leading Black innovators in the digital revolution is Barber (2006).
- ⁴³ <http://eblackstudies.org/intro/>
- ⁴⁴ See Barber 2006, page 136
- ⁴⁵ McGee was the first nationally prominent Black webliographer, see <http://www.onlinepolicy.org/about/bio/mcgee.shtml>; for the Black grad student work on the Universal Black Pages see: <http://www.experts123.com/q/whats-the-mission-of-the-universal-black-pages-ubp.html>
- ⁴⁶ UBP http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Acad_Research/bgsa_glbl.html, and Art McGee’s site: http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Home_Page/mcgee.html.
- ⁴⁷ This is an example, a link to his bibliography on the local community of Urbana-Champaign, Illinois where his campus, the University of Illinois, is located. <http://eblackcu.net/portal/items/show/428>
- ⁴⁸ <http://www.google.com/>
- ⁴⁹ <http://www.netmarketshare.com/search-engine-market-share.aspx?qprid=4&qptimeframe=W&qpct=3>
- ⁵⁰ <http://scholar.google.com/>
- ⁵¹ <http://books.google.com/>
- ⁵² See this wikipedia entry: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google_Books
- ⁵³ <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/36021>
- ⁵⁴ http://www.gutenberg.org/wiki/Gutenberg:Project_Gutenberg_Principle_of_Minimal_Regulation_Administration_by_Michael_Hart_and_Greg_Newby
- ⁵⁵ <http://www.worldcat.org/>
- ⁵⁶ <http://catalog.loc.gov/>
- ⁵⁷ <http://www.h-net.org/~afro-am/>
- ⁵⁸ JSTOR (African American Studies Journal list) - African American Review 1992-2008; Black American Literature Forum 1976-1991; Negro American Literature Forum

1967-1976; The Black Perspective in Music 1973-1990; The Black Scholar 1969-2011; Black Women, Gender + Families 2007-2011; Callaloo 1976-2006 2007-2010; Fire!!!; The Journal of African American History 2002-2011; The Journal of Negro History 1916-2001; Journal of Black Studies 1970-2008; The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education 1993-2008; The Journal of Negro Education 1932-2008; Lenox Avenue: A Journal of Interarts Inquiry 1995-1999; Phylon (1960-) 1960-2002; The Phylon Quarterly 1957-1959; Phylon (1940-1956) 1940-1956; Transition

⁵⁹ <http://www.proquest.com/en-US/catalogs/databases/detail/bsc.shtml>

⁶⁰ http://bsc.chadwyck.com/marketing/fulltext_titlelist.jsp

⁶¹ http://eblackstudies.org/may2009/draft_report_black_studies_journals_dec_2008.pdf

⁶² <http://www.zotero.org/>

⁶³ <http://www.refworks.com/>

⁶⁴ <http://endnote.com/>

⁶⁵ See Lessig 2004