Montreal nightlife

[English original of the article “La vie nocturne montréalaise,” published in French in Marie J. Jean, ed. *1985: mondes-images image-worlds.* Montreal: Vox, 2025, 146-155.]

Will Straw

In 1986, the newspaper *la Presse* devoted an entire page to the question of where, in the middle of the Montreal night, one might find drink, food or human companionship. Like other such reports, this one treated the night of cities as a strange world, whose populations and gathering places, it was assumed, were largely unknown to its readers. In “Couche tard,” the article which introduced this dossier, Jeanne Desrochers noted the scarcity of places which remained open throughout the Montreal night. To be sure, a few restaurants, like those selling smoked meat or vegetarian food, stayed open until the small hours of the morning, but businesses operating continuously through the twenty-four hour cycle were rare – a bagel shop, a single pharmacy, one or two dépanneurs, and a store selling magazines near the Guy metro station.[i]

Lux: “Un décor fou, fou . .”

A significant portion of “Couche Tard” was devoted to an establishment which had opened in the summer of 1984 and quickly become something like a quartier-général of the Montreal night. Lux - on boulevard Saint-Laurent between Fairmont and St. Viateur - served food and drink, but it also sold toothpaste and other amenities and was noted for a magazine rack containing the very latest titles in the domains of art and fashion. The multi-purpose space had been built within a three-story building owned by Dr. Jean-Marie Labrousse (a co-owner of restaurant L’Express). It was designed by the architect Luc Laporte (who had also designed l’Exprèss), a man described by *le Devoir*, following his death, as “L’architecte de la vie urbaine.[ii]” The magazine of French-Quebec cooperation, *Action Canada France*, listed Lux among the attractions of “Montreal by Night,” with special reference to its “décor fou, fou et cela toute la nuit.[iii] »

Lux expressed the spirit of Montreal in the mid-1980s in multiple ways. The ubiquity of mirrors and steel in its construction seemed to epitomize the cold metallic styles of the decade, of the sort one cold see in music videos like that for Corey Hart's hit song "Sunglasses at Night" (1984). Laporte said he had designed Lux to be like a "une gigantesque lampe," rising to "un dôme luminescent." Others observed that its sleek lines and glamorous atmosphere evoked the luxury of ocean liners of the mid-twentieth-century[iv].

Opinion seemed to be divided as to which global capital of design was the greater influence on the new building – Paris or New York. Some saw Lux as a transplanted version of the Parisian Le Drugstore which, since its opening in 1958, had offered o*iseaux de nuit* a place in which to eat, drink, buy magazines and be seen amidst reflective surfaces. Others, however, focused on Lux's location, in the abandoned industrial buildings of Mile End, and saw it as occupying a space of dilapidated industrialism more typical of New York's Lower East Side. Journalist Nathalie Petrowski, who went to Lux in 1988 to interview performance artist Michel Lemieux, noted its "relents de post-performance new-yorkaise," and columnist Pierre Foglia, in the same newspaper, claimed Lux had brought, to this part of boulevard Saint-Laurent, «le ton New York East Side. Le ton nowhere fucké, vieille usine désaffectée. Le ton noir, blanc, et gris. »[v]

This dual heritage – of New York delapitude and Parisian chic – has presided over Montreal nightlife since the 1960s. While the city's first discothèques – most notably La Licorne, which opened in 1962 – had offered a chic cool inspired by European (and mostly Parisian) antecedents, Montreal discos of the 1970s, like the Limelight, on rue Stanley, were finding their models in the social mixing and dark, unadorned spaces (the "black cubes") of New York discothèques of the same decade[vi]. In Montreal, neither of these models entirely vanquished the other, however, and in the city's night-life of the 1980s we find a tension between practices of

nightclub design which embraced the shiny technophilia of 1980s music and others which imagined themselves as spaces of concealment in which punk, queer and other subcultures might find refuge.

Lux was not a dance club, of course, but with its lavish offerings of stylish magazines and posters, and its hosting of media events, it seemed like a distant outpost of the city's effervescent downtown nightlife. In 1985, when *la Presse* published a lengthy dossier announcing the rebirth of the Mile End neighborhood, one journalist suggested that Lux functioned as a "gare" for the district. It was a place, like a railway station, in which people and ideas might circulate, and to which they might arrive after travelling from somewhere else. While a true cultural rebirth of the neighbourhood would not reveal itself fully until the late 1990s, journalists in 1985 were already claiming that Mile End was the new destination for those who had previously found their nightlife on rue Prince-Arthur or rue Saint-Denis. Such people were now deserting these areas for destinations further north[vii].

Le village de l'est

The middle of the 1980s was a period of intense migration within Montreal's nightlife. If Montreal's Mile End neighborhood was one outpost to which the nocturnal culture of Montreal was moving, albeit slowly, the neighborhood in Montreal's Centre Sud known first as the "village de l'est" (and later as the "village gai"), would be transformed in a more rapid and spectacular fashion in the years between 1982 and 1986. Occasionally, as in an advertisement for the dance club called Pipeline, "village de l'est" would be translated as "East Village," suggesting affinities with the same New York neighborhood to which journalists would compare Mile End[viii]. Both were neighborhoods perceived as abandoned, located amidst the ruins of economic sectors now considered obsolete.

The historical connections of these districts to night-time festivity were very different, however. In Mile End, the economic sectors disappearing were those of textile factories, bakeries and other small-scale industries in which work might continue through the night or begin in the early mornings. The history of the "village de l'est" had included such industries, but, as Frank W. Remiggi reminds us, its architectural patrimony was also defined by a rich assortment of former theatres, cinemas and concert halls which had lost their purpose, in the post-World War II period, as a result of shifting trends in the city's nightlife. The development of the "village gai" was in part about "queering" this legacy, reworking the residues of its festive and cultural history for the communities which now settled there.

The most extraordinary aspect of the emergence of Montreal's "village gai," in the 1980s, was how quickly it unfolded. As Steven Ross has noted, the first gay bar in the district was probably La Boïte en haut, which opened in 1975, but faced no competition until the early 1980s[ix]. In 1982, a place called Aux Deux R (which described itself as a cruising and leather bar) opened on Ste-Catherine est, in what was clearly an impoverished and primarily Francophone part of the city. The following year, it was joined by la Taverne Normand, the dance club Max and a bar called KOX. Then, between 1982 and 1986, an extraordinary number of nightlife venues opened in rapid succession in what slowly come to be known as the "village gai."[x] Advertisements for nightclubs in the magazine *Sortie*, launched in October 1982, and directed at a readership of predominantly gay males, show the hurried arrival of at least a dozen new nightclubs over a four year period: Disco 1681, les Gémeaux, Max, Le Gant de Velours, Danseteria, Club David, Taverne Gambrinus, Africa!, Aux deux chaînes, le Spot, le club Douglas, Graffiti, Les Toilettes bar, Café Honcho, le 1269, le Club Date, la Taverne Lido, Pipeline, la Différence, and many more.

While Village clubs like la Différence (launched in July 1984) and Pipeline (opened in September 1985) identified themselves as dance clubs, most of the village's establishments offered eclectic combinations of attractions: performances (by male dancers), food, piano bars, transvestite shows, shops selling sexual accessories and appearances by show business personalities with cult status among queer audiences (like Alys Robie). Use of the term "cruising" in advertisements for these clubs was common at the beginning of this period but would decline in the second half of the 1980s, as the scene responded to the AIDS crisis. The varied offerings of nightlife venues in the village helped the district to quickly assume the character of a self-contained world able to satisfy a range of desires and adapt to shifting tastes.

In 1980, the centre of queer nightlife in Montreal was more or less where it had been for four decades, in the Western part of downtown – between rue Peel and rue Crescent, and from rue Sherbrooke down to what was then called boulevard Dorchester[xi]. By 1985, queer male nightlife had almost entirely abandoned this area, and while this mass migration is often seen as resulting from a police raid on the Stanley St. bar Bud's, in June 1984 (in which 122 men were charged with being found in a common bawdy house[xii]), the move had begun a couple of years earlier. The rapid evaporation of the queer male club scene on Stanley and adjacent streets had much to do with economic logics which quickly rendered the "village de l'est" a pole of attraction for gay Montrealers and entrepreneurs who saw its appeal as a new commercial zone. In contrast, as Dominique Bourque has shown, Montreal's lesbian bar scene, from the 1970s onwards, faced a significant decline (with the rise of non-alcohol-focused places of lesbian congregation) and a scattering of locations along boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue St.-Denis[xiii].

New Wave Montreal

In the years between 1980 and 1983, new nightclubs like Glace and L'Indice (on Stanley), Vog (on rue Bishop), Le Beat on rue Sainte-Catherine and Blues (on rue Crescent) offered the angular, synthesizer-based dance music which claimed to perpetuate the do-it-yourself ethos of punk and was quickly labelled "New Wave." These new clubs sat in close proximity both to the lingering gay clubs, which had occupied this part of Montreal's downtown for decades ,and to those discothèques (like the 1234 on rue de la Montagne, or Limelight on rue Stanley) which carried on the legacies of the disco music born in the early 1970s. Amidst the thick musical textures of this part of the city's centre, New Wave seemed more youthful and future-oriented, but it was also the style least reflective of the city's racial and cultural diversities. One of the distinctive features of New Wave music was its purging of many of the musical features (such as funk-based instrumentation and Latin rhythms) of the disco music which had been prominent in Montreal nightlife since the 1970s.

Predictions of the imminent death of the discothèque had been a constant in Montreal's nightlife since the early 1960s. At the turn of the 1980s, several discothèques (like the Limelight, Oz and le 1234, all located in the western section of downtown), came to believe that the styles of "classic" disco music were losing popularity, both to New Wave and to the more mainstream "Dance-Oriented Rock"- "DOR, as the music industry called it - of artists like The Police or U2. In response, these discothèques began adding New Wave or DOR selections to their playlists, but this was usually temporary. Most would revert to disco playlists when they realized that the fans of New Wave were typically younger, and with less money to spend, than the working professionals who had long supported the city's downtown disco music scene[xiv].

Those clubs offering New Wave music exclusively, like Glace, would serve as important conduits for new sounds coming from elsewhere (most notably, the United Kingdom), but they

would also foster the perception that the culture of New Wave bore a unique connection to Montreal's distinctive spirit. The brief period of New Wave's ascension in Montreal, in the early 1980s, has been celebrated in recent vinyl compilations, blogs and, most notably, a feature documentary film by Eric Cimon, *Montréal New Wave* (released in 2016). New Wave scenes could be found in most cities, but Montreal seemed to embrace, more than any other city in North America, the stylistic extravagance and explicit anti-puritanism of a style which was dismissed elsewhere as a corruption of the militant anti-style postures of punk. In Montreal, the culture of New Wave manifest itself in the up-market fashion of the Parachute label (and the down-market le Chateau) chain; its influence could be seen in a range of experiments in the fields of dance and performance – like those of Michel Lemieux or the dance troupe La La Human Steps - which drew upon synthesizer-based popular musical forms and the robotic new moves of club dancing.[xv]

If, has been claimed, Montreal in the early-to-mid 1980s was known as "Synth City," the centrality of music made with synthesizers was observable on several fronts. The group *Men Without Hats*, who played many of their early shows at Glace, reached the Top Ten of popularity charts around the world in 1983 with their song "Safety Dance." They were the most prominent example of the city's embrace of synthesizer-based music, but they were also at the centre of a crowded scene. Members of the Men Without Hats would go on to form the Box, which reached high levels of success in Quebec, and Rational Youth, who followed local success into international cult status over the next two decades.

The city's nurturing of synthesizer-based music for dancing went beyond these well-known successes. In the early 1980s, the Afro-Québecois musician Pierre Perpall, who had produced key albums by local disco performers in the 1970s, released a series of recordings which are now

seen as key building blocks in the emergence of what would eventually be called techno music. Some of Perpall's music, like other recordings produced in Montreal in the 1980s, would be confused with Italo-disco, a mediterranean style of dance music known for its speedy exuberance and eagerness to please[xvi]. Dance music produced in Montreal during this period also contributed in significant fashion to the genre known internationally as Hi-NRG, exemplified by locally-produced, transnational successes such as Tranx-X, "Living on Video" (1983), Lime, "Unexpected Lovers" (1985), and Suzy Q, "Computer Music" (1985). Around the world, Hi-NRG dance music found its greatest popularity within gay clubs, but with its emphasis on high-end tonalities and moments of hands-in-their-air anthemic celebration, it captured the ways in Montreal's club scenes of the mid 1980s embraced the pleasures of novelty, hedonistic enjoyment and style.

Video and the technologies of nightlife

In 1979, under the title "Disco: Vivre l'irréel," *la Presse* published a series of articles on the place of discothèques within Montreal nightlife. Disco, the series claimed, was "une religion, une industrie, le théâtre,"; it was also "une thérapie sans douleur." The second of these articles, "une mécanique coûteuse," spoke of recent technological transformations of the discothèque, for whom a sound system of high quality was no longer sufficient[xvii]. In Montreal discothèques of the time, the journalist noted, new innovations included the use of rayons lasers, the presence of video screens, and, in one instance, the use of video cameras to film dancers so that their images could be projected, almost immediately, on a screen located behind the dance floor. By 1984, it was common for new or renovated dance clubs to highlight the presence of video screens – the village cruising bar Graffiti advertised itself in that year as "Le video-bar gai avec satellite à Montréal ."

Video clips for songs had been shown on Francophone television in Quebec since 1982, when the program Radio-Vidéo debuted on the cable television station TVJQ, but it was not until 1986 that Musique Plus, a full-time channel specializing in videoclips, was permitted to begin operations. The ubiquity of video screens in clubs and bars would be almost complete by the mid 1980s, but their purpose, beyond that of adding to a general sense of technologically-mediated ambiance, was not certain. Rather than becoming central to the transmission of music in nightclubs, video screens were one part of an expanding variety of surfaces and sensory experiences. In fact, the videoclip was an inefficient means of delivering music to the dance floor. Clips could not easily be mixed in sequence, and the version of a song they contained was usually shorter and of more restricted sonic qualities than the lengthy remixed versions used by club DJs.

If the videoclip fixed the identity of a song, binding it to images of its performers and pre-conceived visual renderings of its content, the practices of djs and remixers emphasized the endless mutability of music. The tension between the two would become ever more intense as the 1980s as popular songs were more and more integrated into audiovisual forms (like the cinema) while new, underground forms of dance music (like house) arrived with few visual adornments. The challenge of nightclubs in the 1980s was that of acknowledging the new ubiquity of video clips and screens without letting those determine a club's musical and visual identities. The effective response, it seems, was to multiply the presence of video screens, turning them into elements of décor rather than channels transporting the music on which a club's identity depended. In this respect, perhaps, the greatest legacy of video within nightlife is to be found within sports bars, where multiple screens offer an almost perfect balance of ambient stimulation and programming intended to capture the attention of customers.

Nightlife fragmented

The dismantling of Montreal's downtown nightlife in the 1980s was the result of its different parts moving (or inventing themselves) elsewhere. The migration of gay nightlife to the village was the most dramatic example of these moves, but a more broader scattering may be observed. In the year that VOX opened, a dancer of Guinean origin, Lamine Touré (with business partner Suzanne Rousseau) opened the Club Balattou on boulevard Saint-Laurent, in the Plateau Mont-Royal neighborhood, as a venue for multiple varieties of African music.[xviii] Punk scenes which had resisted the seductive glamour of New Wave formed around clubs further to the east or to the north, like Cargo on rue Saint-Denis (opened in 1981), les Foufounes électriques on Ste.-Catherine est (1983) or Checkers on l'avenue du Parc (1982). In almost military terms, *La Presse*, in 1986, reported that nightlife was marching northward to Mile End's avenue Laurier, along the parallel routes of boulevard Saint-Laurent and rue Saint-Denis, leaving, as one of its most important installations, the bar Business, which had just opened[xix].

Although it lasted only four years (1986-1990) *Business* (at 3500 boul. Saint-Laurent), one of many Montreal nightlife projects conceived and owned by the Holder brothers, would come to seem emblematic of Montreal nightclub design at its most ambitious. In the magazine *ARQ: Architecture Québec*, the architect Rodrigue Paulin noted the ways in which Jacques Rousseau's design of the club, quite ingeniously, made it both of the moment and engaged with the past of the area in which it had been built; "Sans être marginale, l'architecture qui en résulte est "branchée" et, en puisant ses sources dans l'histoire de la rue et 1e "beat" de la ville, elle est nostalgique. Par 1e fait de nier 1e matériau riche, fini, au profit d'une certaine archéologie; par 1e fait d'éviter de construire pour préférer témoigner[xx], Looking back at *Business* from the perspective of 2023, the blogger and activist Walter Innocent Jr. auggested that, in its brief

existence (1986-1990), the club was responsible for bringing house music to Montreal[xxi], and, while that claim might be disputed, it was obvious that *Business* was more attuned than many clubs to innovation transpiring elsewhere in the world[xxii].

Although the pairing may seem perverse, we might compare Business to les Foufounes electriques, another club whose energies and commitment to ceaseless invention gave it a centrality within Montreal's nightlife in the mid 1980s. To be sure, Business' jet set exclusivity would seem to invert the raucous DIY populism of Les Foufounes électriques, but each ,with time, became something of a support for the communities around it. Business offered the glamour of French fashion designer Claude Montana standing at the bar in his black leather pants, but it also hosted conferences by those engaged in HIV activism and held fund-raising concerts in which celebrities performed to raise money for similar causes[xxiii]. Les Foufounes électriques was known popularly for presenting concerts by all those touring bands (from the Dead Kennedy's to Nirvana) for whom punk had never died, but its reputation in the mid 1980s was enhanced in significant ways by its embrace of other forms of creation. In the events known as "3 X 4," as many as 21 painters engaged simultaneously n the practice of "peinture en direct." On other nights, and to less attention by the press, les Foufounes featured readings by poets who had contributed to the bilingual poetry magazine *Montreal Now*, which moved its launches to the club after deciding that its original venue, on the campus of McGill University, had been "cold, formal and uncomfortable[xxiv]." Business would soon close, while les Foufounes Electriques, in 2025, continues to exist, but the reputation of each rests in part on its receptivity to a wide variety of cultural currents.

The lives and deaths of nightlife

In 1987, the nightclub Metropolis opened on rue Ste-Cathérine, just east of St. Laurent, in a building, the *Montreal Gazette* reminded readers, that had once been a cinema showing pornographic films[xxv]. With its multiple levels and rooms serving a variety of functions, Metropolis was compared to New York "super-clubs" like the Palladium. Coverage of the launch of Metropolis in *la Presse* noted that it was the largest discothèque in Canada, and that it had cost $1.8 million to design and build. Rather than celebrating this arrival, however, the article claimed, in its title, that "[l]'industrie des discothèques cache ses misères dans les illusions de la nuit. " Like journalists before him, Paul Durivage, offered a diagnosis of a nightlife industry in crisis. Quoting the owner of the recently-opened Pow Wow club, Durivage noted that Montreal had more discothèques than Paris and London, cities whose population was ten times larger. [xxvi]

We might understand the never-ending launch of new nightclubs in Montreal as a sign of the city's insatiable taste for nightlife, but the persistent economic precarity of the nightlife sector suggests otherwise. As they moved out of Montreal's downtown, spaces of nocturnal sociability served the contradictory purpose which they found in other cities – that of anchoring new scenes or communities while, at the same time, launching new waves of investment and gentrification. In the 1980s – from Mile End to the village de l'est – spaces of nightlife became key vehicles for financial speculators and adventurous architect-designers seeking to test (and helping to produce) new cartographies of city life.

Over the next forty years, those nightlife venues which remained in the western part of Montreal's downtown were likely to adopt the models of the British pub, the sports bar or the strip club. Rue Stanley, once at the centre of this world, now seems little more than a forgotten, "in-between" street with little character. In 2024, media around the world grappled with widespread diagnoses of a crisis of nightlife and predictions of its death. A post-COVID

suspicion of large groups, rejection of the high costs of night-time entertainment, a new sobriety among young people, the competing attractions of social media and dating apps – all of these were blamed for a decline in the frequency of attendance at nightclubs and a sharp decline in their numbers. In Montreal, this latest "crisis" followed another, dating back to the 2010s, which had seen bars and clubs close in response to complaints about noise or because the gentrification of neighbourhoods had resulted in rent increases which owners could no longer afford. On December 12, 2024, a round table on Radio-Canada (in which this author participated) asked the question "le 16 h va-t-il devenir le nouveau 21 h?"[xxvii] Montrealers, it seemed, were following much of the rest of the world in eating, dancing and socializing earlier than in decades past. In the depths of the Montreal night, underground raves and parties continue to take place, in conditions of invisibility and ambiguous legality, but the public night worlds which fascinated journalists in 1985 seem to have disappeared.

Acknowledgements:

I am grateful to Marie J. Jean for her many suggestions. Among sources for this article, I want to acknowledge the rich, crowd-sourced history of Montreal nightlife on the Facebook group WOODYS, BISHOP ST & OTHER GREAT MONTREAL MOMENTS, whose name obscures the broad mapping of nocturnal Montreal to be found there.

---

[i] Jeanne Desrochers, « Couche-Tard, » *la Presse*, 27 août 1986, E1.

[ii] Frédérique Doyon, "L'architecte de la vie urbaine, » *le Devoir*, 21 October 2014, https://www.ledevoir.com/culture/arts-visuels/421567/l-architecte-urbain

[iii] Thierry Leblanc, "Montreal by Night," *Action Canada France*, juillet-août 1986, 33.

[iv] Luc Martin, "«Luc Laporte. Les rêves de l'architecte. » *Vie des arts*, 236, automne, 2014, https://viedesarts.com/visites/luc-laporte-les-reves-de-larchitecte/; Patrice-Hans Perrier, « Luc Laporte architecte : unhonnête homme, » *Carnets d'un pèlerin*, 24 mars 2015 https://patricehansperrier.wordpress.com/2015/03/24/un-honnete-homme/

[v] Nathalie Petrowski, « Michel Lemieux : Le mutant de la rue Mont-Royal, » *La Presse*, 12 mars 1988 03, S1. Pierre Foglia, « Saint-Laurent la juive, » *La Presse*, 10 janvier 1987. https://barriere.tripod.com/foglia/10-01-87.html

[vi] I discuss this history in great detail in Will Straw, "Montreal, Funkytown: Two Decades of Disco History." In Flora Pitrolo, Marko Zubak, dir., *Global Dance Cultures in the 1970s and 1980s: Disco Heterotopias*, Springer, 2022, 29-49.

[vii] Gérald Le Blanc, "Le Mile-End en Mutation : Les nouveaux arrivants, » *La Presse plus*, 25 mai 1985, 3-5.

[viii] Advertisement for Pipeline, *Sortie*, Juillet-août 1985, 19.

[ix] Steve Ross, « Survol nostalgique du nightlife dans le Village : 1984-2014, » *Fugues*, 28 mars 2014, https://www.fugues.com/2024/03/28/survol-nostalgique-du-nightlife-dans-le-village/

[x] Remiggi, Frank W. Remiggi, "Le Village gai de Montréal: Entre le ghetto et l'espace identitaire, dans Irène Demczuk et Frank W. Remiggi, dir., *Sortir de l'Ombre: Histoires des communautés lesbienne et gaie de Montréal*, VLB Éditeur, 1998. 267–89.

[xi] See, for another perspective on this migration, James B. Crawford, Jason "Forgetting Montreal's Gay Downtown: The Popular Gay Geographic Imagination and a Mish mash History of the Present." *Quebec Studies* (2016) 61: 165–186.

[xii] On the 1984 police raid at Bud's, see Richard Burnett, *Historic Montréal LGBTQ+ milestones*, mis-à-jour le 25 juin 2024, https://www.mtl.org/en/experience/historic-montreal-lgbtq-milestones

[xiii] Dominique Bourque, « Voix et images des lesbiennes : la formation d'un réseau de médias, », dans Irène Demczuk et Frank W. Remiggi, dir., *Sortir de l'Ombre: Histoires des communautés lesbienne et gaie de Montréal,* VLB Éditeur, 1998. 291-311.

[xiv] For more on these developments, see Will Straw, "Montreal, Funkytown: Two Decades of Disco History."

[xv] See, for an efficient summary of these issues, and of Cimon's film, Alex Rose, "Montréal New Wave puts the spotlight on 'Synth City'," *Cult Mtl*, 29 avril 2016 https://cultmtl.com/2016/04/montreal-new-wave-documentary/

[xvi] I talk about the relationship between Montreal dance music and Italo-disco in "Music from the wrong place: on the Italianicity of Quebec disco," *Criticism* (2008), vol. 50, no. 1, 113-132.

[xvii] Andrée Lebel, "Disco: L'Iréel – une mécanique coûteuse, » *La Presse*, 24 avril 1979, A14.

[xviii] Monique Laforge, "Club Balattou: A Meeting Place for African Culture in Montréal," *Encyclopédie du MEM*, 2 juin 2017 https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/memoiresdesmontrealais/en/club-balattou-meeting-place-african-culture-montreal

[xix] Pierre Claude Dufour, « Les discothèques montent jusqu'à Laurier par Saint-Laurent et St-Denis, » *la Presse,*

[xx] Paulin, Rodrigue, "Mention : Le Bar Business à Montréal – Jacques Rousseau, architecte, » *ARQ (Architecture Québec)* no 31 (1968), 16-17.

[xxi] Walter Innocent, Jr., "It was called the 'Business', one of the best clubs in the history of Montreal," *Selon Walter*, 29 septembre 2023, https://en.selon-walter.com/club-business/

[xxii] Claims by different Montreal dj's and producers to have been pioneers in playing or producing house music records in Montreal make the question of who was first both murky and unimportant. See, for example, the websites "Mike Perras," https://www.mikeperrasmusic.com/

and “Disc Jockeys – Robert de la . . . Gauthier,”*Afterhour.ca* *http://www.afterhour.ca/profiles_info/188/*

[xxiii] Thomas Schnurmacherk, “Crystal Skull remains a mystery after 64 years of really sweating it out,” *The Gazette*, 1 novembre 1988, 58; Diane Boissonnault, “Tout sur le sida,” *la Presse,* 4 juin 1989, C3.

[xxiv] Joel Yanofsky, “Farewell launch spells end of Montreal Now,” *The Gazette*, 23 décember 1985, 27.

[xxv] Clair Balfour, “Story on ‘oranges and lemons’ gets itself a lemon,’ *The Gazette*, 18 janvier 1988, 17.

[xxvi] : Paul Durivage, « L’industrie des discothèques cache ses misères dans l’illusion de la nuit, » *La Presse*, 2 mai 1987, D2.

[xxvii] « Sorties : le 16 h va-t-il devenir le nouveau 21 h? » *Ohdio*, Radio-Canada, 12 décembre 2024, https://ici.radio-canada.ca/ohdio/premiere/emissions/penelope/segments/rattrapage/1940121/discussion-16h-deviendra-t-il-nouveau-22h