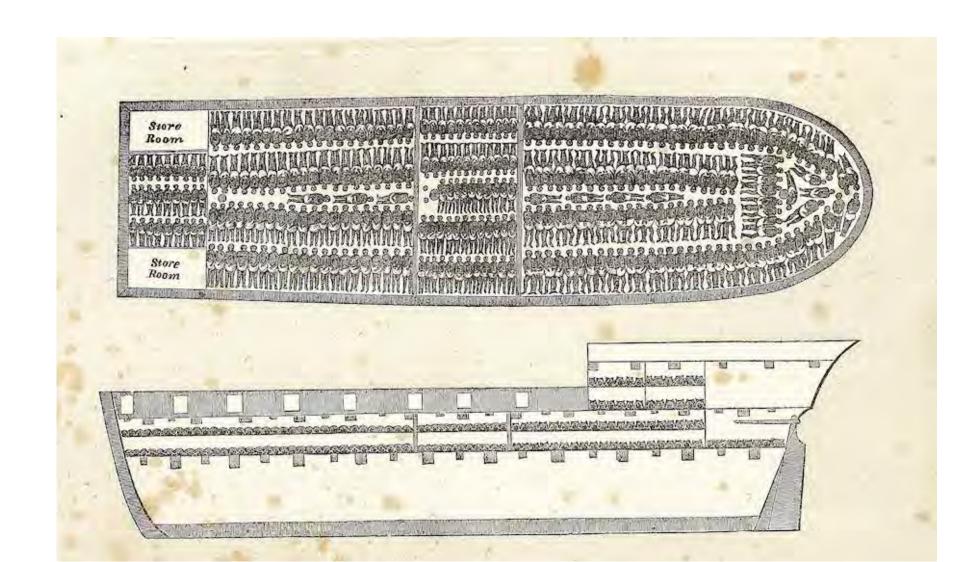
## Enslavement to Civil Rights



Decks of a slave ship from *The History of Slavery and the Slave Trade, Ancient and Modern (1857)*. Image by W. O. Blake. Smithsonian Libraries and Archives.

#### 1619

"Four hundred years ago, a ship carrying between 20 and 30 enslaved Africans arrived in Point Comfort, [now Hampton], a coastal port in the English colony of Virginia. Though America did not even exist yet, their arrival marked its foundation, the beginning of the system of slavery on which the country was built," according to the National Museum of African American History and Culture. (See Malik Edwards's "Can't Forget!" in the gallery.)

After being brought to the American colonies, Africans were stripped of human rights and enslaved as chattel, an enslavement that lasted more than two centuries.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1641

Massachusetts is the first colony to legalize slavery, and others follow suit.

#### 1676

In Virginia, Black slaves and Black and white indentured servants band together to participate in Bacon's Rebellion. A number of rebellions of enslaved people took place in the U.S., including Nat Turner's in 1831. Harsh laws quickly forbade Black people, free or enslaved from bearing arms, and congregating in large numbers, mandating harsh punishment for slaves who "assaulted Christians" or attempted escape. Legislation like fugitive slave laws and inherited slavery ensured that most Black people remained enslaved.

#### 1776

This painting depicts the moment on June 28, 1776, when the first draft of the Declaration of Independence was presented to the Second Continental Congress.

One-third of the signers were personally enslavers.4



*The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.* John Trumbull, painted 1786-1820. Yale University Art Gallery, Trumbull Collection.

#### 1857

The Supreme Court ruling in Dred Scott v. Sandford denies citizenship to all slaves, ex-slaves, and descendants of slaves and denies Congress the right to prohibit slavery in the territories.

#### 1859

The last slave ship to the U.S. landed in Mobile Bay, Alabama.

#### 186

South Carolina secedes from the Union. Other Southern states follow, the Union of Confederate States is formed, and the Civil War begins.

#### 1863

The Emancipation Proclamation made it clear that a Union victory in the Civil War would end slavery in the United States.

#### 1865

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishes slavery throughout the country. The Civil War ends.

**June 19 -** In places still under Confederate control, like Texas, enslaved people would not be free until this date, known as Juneteenth.

#### 1866

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is founded in Tennessee.

#### 1868

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution gives all native-born and naturalized persons, including Black people, citizenship and equal protection under the law. A fourth Reconstruction Act is passed.

#### 1870

For the first time, African Americans are listed by name in a U.S. census.

#### 881

Tennessee passes the first of its "Jim Crow" laws. Other states followed, legalizing and institutionalizing segregation. The laws were specific and severe, restricting access to public and private spaces, and designed to remind the formerly enslaved that they were to be treated as inferior second-class citizens. Vagrancy laws that made unemployment a crime encouraged over-policing.

# COLORED ADM. 10

Negro [sic] going in colored entrance of movie house, Belzoni, Mississippi Delta, Mississippi, 1939. Farm Security Administration. Library of Congress. Photo by Marion Post Wolcott.

#### 96

The Supreme Court ruled in Plessy v. Ferguson that racially separate facilities, if equal, did not violate the Constitution.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1880s-1960s

The judicial system, law enforcement, and white civilians enabled a coordinated reign of terror on African Americans. The KKK expanded, and lynchings were rampant.



Ku Klux Klan parade, Washington, D.C., Sept. 13, 1926. Photograph by National Photo Co. Library of Congress.

#### 1882-1968

4,743 lynchings occurred in the U.S., according to the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). Discrimination in education, housing, health care, and jobs continued to be legal and institutionally normalized throughout the country.



Anti-lynching flag flies from the NAACP's New York Offices in 1938. Library of Congress.

#### 1954

The Civil Rights Movement gained momentum when the Supreme Court made segregation illegal in public schools.

#### 1963



View of the huge crowd from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument, during the March on Washington, 1963. Photo by Warren K. Leffler. Library of Congress.

The March on Washington, where the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King made his famous "I Have a Dream" speech, was a landmark peaceful protest in the fight for jobs and everyday freedom for African Americans.

Frequent violent events in the 1960s brought worldwide attention to white supremacists' brutality and insistence on segregation and discrimination.

#### 964

The Civil Rights Act is the nation's benchmark civil rights legislation, ending "Jim Crow" laws and legal segregation.

#### **85**

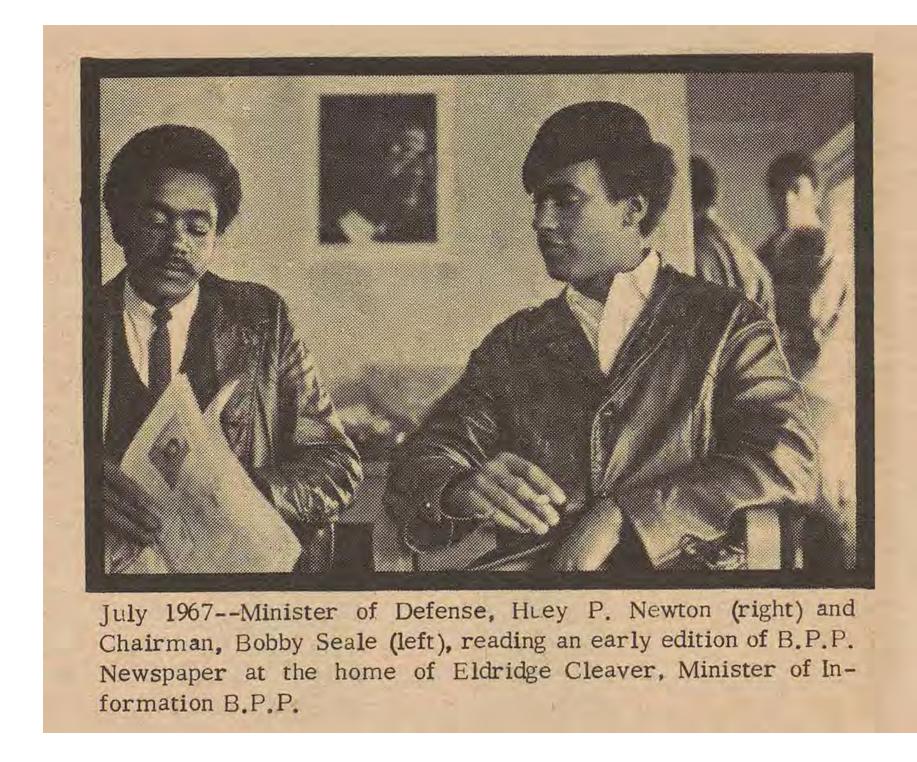
Also signed by President Lyndon Johnson, the Voting Rights Act outlawed discriminatory voting practices. Since Johnson was elected in 1964, no Democrat has won a majority of the white vote in a presidential election.<sup>7</sup>

# 1966-1982 The Black Panther Party & Newspaper

## The Beginning (1966-1968)

#### 1960

The Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts theoretically ended legal discrimination, but its practice was still the norm. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, California, to combat police brutality and racial inequality.



Photograph of Seale and Newton from *The Black Panther* newspaper, 1967. Courtesy of The Freedom Archives.

The first version of the Ten Point Party Platform was developed. It shares both language and sentiment with the U.S. Declaration of Independence, which it quoted. (*See Mark Teemer/Akinsanya Kambon's drawings and paintings illustrating the Ten Points in the gallery.*)

#### 1967

**April 25 -** *The Black Panther* newspaper launched—a crucial tool for communicating political messages, organizing community programs, and providing news relevant to U.S. Black communities, progressives of all races, and worldwide liberation movements.

**May 2 -** The BPP gained national attention when members marched to the California State Capitol with firearms to protest the Mulford Act,<sup>8</sup> which passed later that year and ended legal open carrying of long guns. The Panthers' armed neighborhood patrols to protect against police harassment were legal until the bill passed and was signed by then-governor Ronald Reagan.

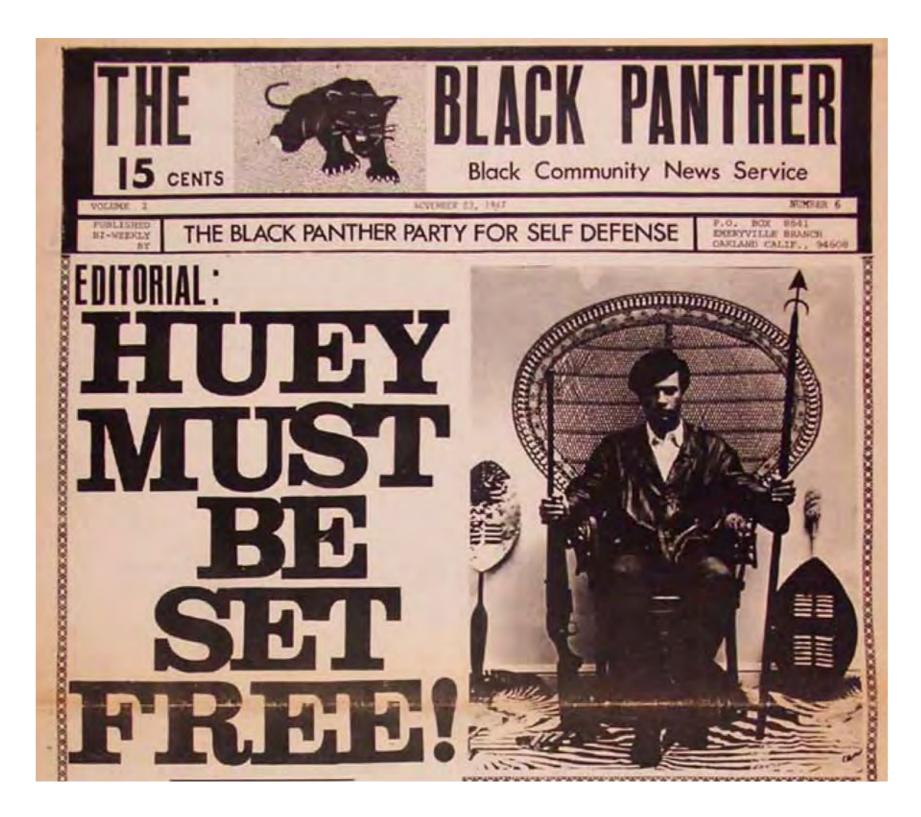


Top: **The first Black Panther newspaper.** Courtesy of Marxists.org. Bottom: **The Black Panther newspaper.** Courtesy of Marxists.org.

**May 25 -** Emory Douglas began his work on the BP newspaper. He was named the Party's Revolutionary Artist and later Minister of Culture, overseeing all cultural activities. His graphically powerful artwork became a defining element of the paper, affecting the visual language of social justice movements.

Over the years, many artists worked on the BP newspaper, including Gayle Asali Dickson, Malik Edwards, and Akinsanya Kambon. Joan Tarika Lewis, the first female party member, and Ralph Moore, who passed away in 2019, were also important visual contributors.

**October 28 -** Huey P. Newton was arrested and later indicted for the murder of a patrolman, assaulting a patrolman, and kidnapping.



The photograph of Huey Newton in a rattan chair became an iconic image of the Party and was made into a poster sold to raise funds for his defense. The Black Panther newspaper, November 23, 1967. Courtesy of The Freedom Archives.

#### 1968

**February 17 -** 5,000 people gathered at Oakland Auditorium to rally for Huey Newton's freedom. When Newton's trial began on July 15, 5,000 demonstrators and 450 Black Panther members gathered to show their support. In September, 26-year-old Newton was sentenced to 2-15 years in prison.

**April 6 -** Oakland police killed 17-year-old L'il Bobby Hutton (the party's first recruit)—in a shootout with Panthers—after he had surrendered. He was shot more than twelve times. Eldridge Cleaver, who was also involved in the incident, escaped after his arrest and went into exile.<sup>11</sup>



Crowd of people at a Free Huey rally, De Fremery Park, Oakland, 1968. Photo by Pirkle Jones. UC Santa Cruz, Library, Special Collections and Archives.



Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, stands in front of a blasted window of the Panthers' National headquarters in Oakland, CA. The police attack took place on September 10, 1968. The Black Panther newspaper, September 28, 1968. Courtesy of Marxists.org.

Party membership and participation included community organizing, service, and political education classes. Members were required to read specific texts and perform a variety of community services that addressed the Ten point program. Rallies and organized protests garnered support for their activities. The party expanded, opening chapters in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities around the U.S.

**November 5 -** Richard Nixon was elected president of the U.S.

# Peak Impact and External Attacks (1969-1971)

#### 1969

The BPP's community programs provided free breakfast meals for children (before the U.S. government), health clinics, free groceries, schools, and arts initiatives. This period marked their transition toward broader social justice activism. "Survival Pending Revolution" was the umbrella slogan for the initiatives.



The Black Panther newspaper, May 4, 1969. Courtesy of The Freedom Archives

The BPP became notorious through national negative press reports that labeled them "anti-white," violent, and extremist and villainized their leaders. Community programs were ignored to promote sensational accounts of confrontations with police. Law enforcement actions against them often started with paid informants, intentional misinformation, and surveillance.

The FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) intensified its campaign against the BPP, as it had done to many organizations covertly and illegally since 1956. Their stated purpose was to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of the Black nationalists." <sup>13</sup>

As Roger Guenveur Smith stated in the PBS film *The Huey P. Newton Story*, "If you read the FBI files you will see that even Mr. J. Edgar Hoover himself had to say that it was not the guns that were the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States of America; it was not the guns, it was the Free Children's Breakfast Program that was the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States of America. Grits. Now why was it the Free Children's Breakfast Program? It was the Free Children's Breakfast Program because the Free Children's Breakfast Program engendered a certain following on the Black community's part, a certain respect on the Black community's part. I mean, nobody can argue with free grits."<sup>14</sup>

**December 3 -** Fred Hampton, an influential rising BPP leader in Chicago, was assassinated while asleep with his pregnant wife during a police raid. (*See Emory Douglas's newspaper cover that was adapted to promote the film* Judas and the Black Messiah *in the gallery*.)

Bobby Seale was tried, with seven others, for actions during the 1968 Democratic National Convention protests. Despite varying involvement, the court tried all eight men for conspiracy and crossing state lines to incite riots.



1969 courtroom drawing by Howard Brodie. Bobby Seale attempting to write notes on a legal pad while bound and gagged in the courtroom during the Chicago Eight conspiracy trial in Chicago, Illinois, between October 29 and November 5, 1969. Color crayon and on white paper. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress © Estate of Howard Brodie.

**October 29 -** Seale represented himself when his lawyer was unable to represent him due to hospitalization. After repeated disputes between Seale and the judge, he had Seale bound and gagged and tried separately from the other defendants, who became known as the Chicago Seven. Seale's case was sent to a new judge after it was decided that Judge Hoffman had abused his power. The eight defendants were eventually acquitted or freed from all charges.<sup>15</sup>

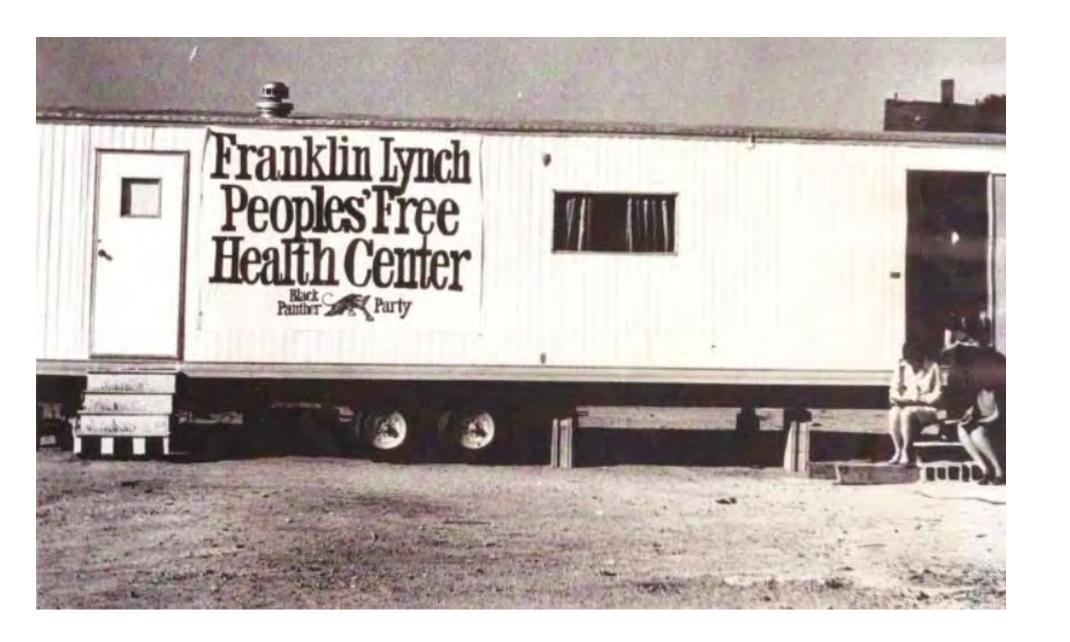


"Stop Fascism," June 28, 1969. The Black Panther newspaper illustration © Mark Teemer, now known as Akinsanya Kambon. Courtesy Norman Rockwell Museum Illustration History Archive.

Richard Nixon campaigned in 1968 using the slogan "Law and Order," associating crime with Blackness, after uprisings by Black people in urban areas following the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King on March 4, 1968. His campaign used the "Southern Strategy," which played on white fear, and promised to support Black Capitalism (a controversial topic among Black Panthers) which ultimately did not materialize despite much press attention.

#### 970

**October 6 -** The Congressional Committee on Internal Security (now Department of Homeland Security) released a study on the BPP and its newspaper. Many cartoons, illustrations, and profiles of the paper's artists were included.



The Black Panther Party's Franklin Lynch Peoples' Free Health Center, Boston, circa 1970. Courtesy of It's About Time Archives.

BPP chapters in Kansas City, Chicago, and Seattle established the first People's Free Medical Clinics as an alternative to President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society community health centers. The clinics were an important component of the Party's emphasis on locally-based programs and services.

Ten additional People's Free Medical Clinics were opened across the U.S. when the BPP required that all chapters establish them. The clinics were part of the broader community initiatives and survival programs that focused on helping people in Black communities.<sup>19</sup>

#### 1970-71

Internal divisions and increasing FBI pressure led to splits within the party. Eldridge Cleaver served as Minister of Information before his 7-year exile following the police shooting of Bobby Hutton and his arrest. Cleaver advocated for direct resistance and possible armed revolution (which was happening in countries around the world). His vision clashed with Huey Newton's over the party's direction.



Fundraising poster. Revolutionary Intercommunal Day of Solidarity for Black Panther political prisoners, including Bobby Seale and Angela Davis, and a post-birthday celebration for Huey P. Newton, with music by The Grateful Dead and others. Published in *The Black Panther* newspaper March 6, 1971. Hoover Institution Library and Archives.

#### 1971

As Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas organized fundraising and entertainment events, including the BP house funk band, The Lumpen, The Grateful Dead, Santana, and other popular music groups.

**April 17 -** The party published a supplement in the BP newspaper issue that explained the party's new direction toward serving local communities.

At its peak circulation, *The Black Panther* newspaper reached over 400,000 people per week and was the most widely read Black newspaper in the United States. Papers were sold on street corners in Black neighborhoods and on college campuses across the country.<sup>20</sup>

## Establishing a Legacy (1972-1982)

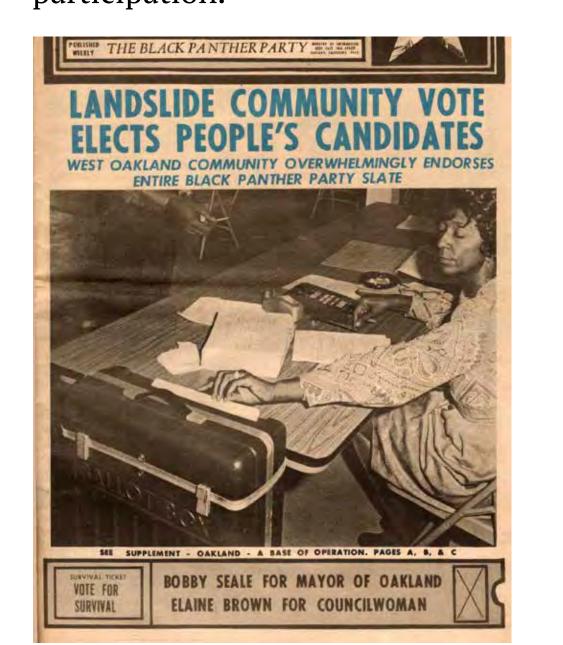
#### 1972

The BPP relocated its focus to community programs in Oakland, California, which became "A Base of Operation."



Black Community Survival Conference, March 30, 1972. BPP free grocery distribution.

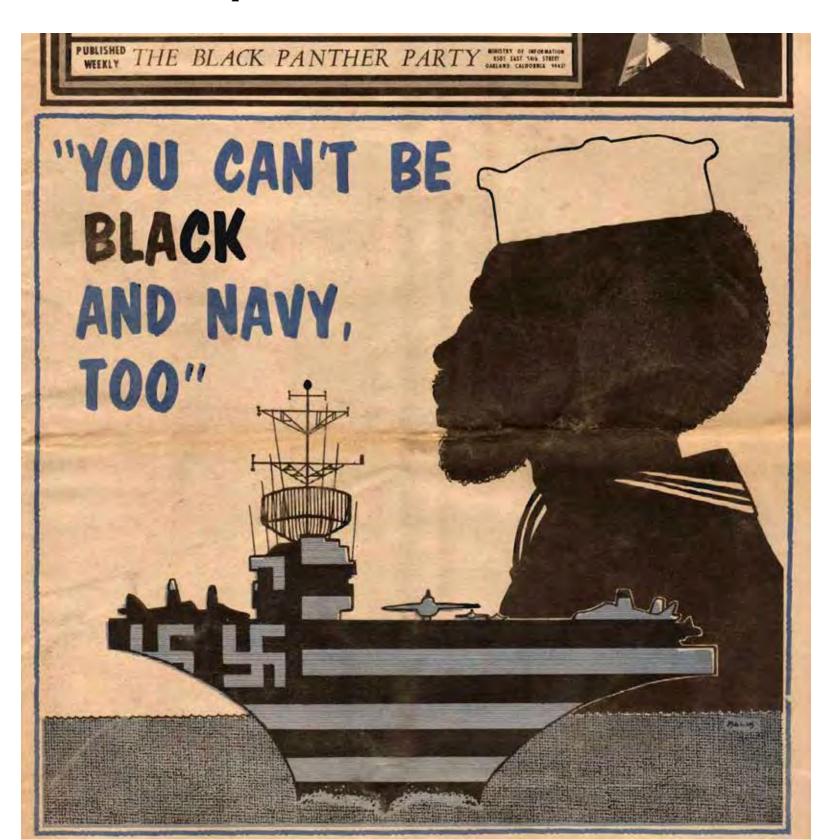
Engaging in more conventional party politics, the Party backed Brooklyn Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm's run for U.S. President as the first Black woman to seek the office. BP-endorsed candidates increased Black voter participation.



The Black Panther newspaper, August 23, 1972. Courtesy of The Freedom Archives.

Richard Nixon was elected U.S. President for a second term in a landslide victory.

Protests against the Vietnam War continued across the U.S. and on college campuses, after beginning in 1964 when the war started and ending when the last troops were brought home. Black men were disproportionately represented in combat troops and deaths.<sup>21</sup>



The Black Panther newspaper, November 16, 1972. Courtesy of The Freedom Archives. llustration © Malik Edwards.

The last U.S. combat troops left South Vietnam in early 1973. The war between North and South Vietnam lasted until April 30, 1975.



The Black Panther newspaper, back page illustration by Gayle Asali Dickson, November 3, 1973. Courtesy of The Freedom Archives.

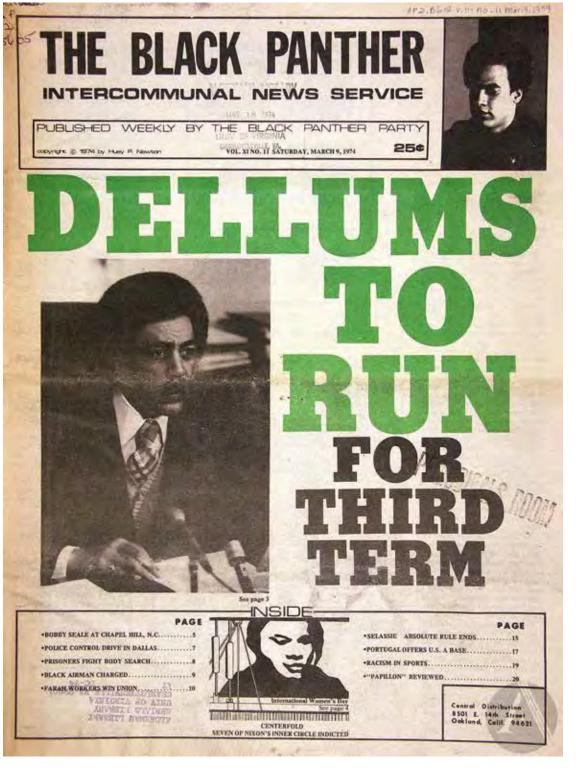
Huey Newton chose Elaine Brown to lead the BPP when he moved to Cuba to avoid criminal charges. The first woman in that position, she led the Party until 1977. By the 1970s, two-thirds of Party members were women.<sup>22</sup>



Women in the Black Panther Party. Photo by Rainalee111. Wikimedia Commons.

The BPP newspaper became smaller in size and had fewer front cover illustrations by artists.

August 9 - President Richard Nixon resigned from office to avoid prosecution for his role in the Watergate scandal. He had directed operatives to break into the Democratic National Headquarters to steal campaign information. 23



The Black Panther newspaper, March 9, 1974. Courtesy of Marxists.org.



The Black Panther newspaper, November 13, 1976. Courtesy of Marxists.org.

First elected in 1971, Congressman Ron Dellums served for 27 years and negotiated with social service agencies on behalf of disenfranchised people in his district. His political goals aligned with those of the BPP.

#### 1976

The BP newspaper remained dedicated to exposing and protesting murders of Black people by police while continuing to report U.S. and international liberation news.

#### 1980

The last issue of The Black Panther newspaper was published in September.

#### 1982

The Black Panther Party officially disbanded. Their legacy continues through practicing their ideology and influencing international liberation efforts over the decades.

When members left the party, the commitment to serving the people stayed with them. They continued to work for communities across the U.S. and around the world through education, politics, the press, the arts, and any place they could bring people closer to liberation.

### 1983 to the Present



**55th Anniversary Poster**, design © william cordova aka tupa\_knows, for the 55th Black Panther reunion, held in Oakland, California, 2021.

Party members have gathered every five years for a reunion. The 60th anniversary of the Black Panther Party will be in October 2026.

The motto of Black Panther Party members remains "Serve the People, Body and Soul."



Source information indicated by numbers can be accessed using this QR code.

#### **CARRYING ON:**

#### **Black Panther Party Artists Continue the Legacy**

Below are links that correspond to reference numbers "ex.: [1]" in the gallery exhibition timeline.

- 1) <u>The 1619 Project: A Symposium on Reframing History</u> National Museum of African American History and Culture. October 30, 2019.
- 2) Slavery in America Timeline Jim Crow Museum
- 3) https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/timeline/1676.html
- 4) Created Equal: Slavery and the Declaration of Independence WashU Libraries
- 5) Separate but Equal Separate Is Not Equal
- 6) History of Lynching in America | NAACP
- 7) Who Is The White Vote?: NPR
- 8) The Black Panthers, NRA, Ronald Reagan, Armed Extremists, and the Second Amendment | Duke Center for Firearms Law

Charles, Patrick J. "The Black Panthers, NRA, Ronald Reagan, Armed Extremists, and the Second Amendment." Duke Center for Firearms Law, 8 Apr. 2020.

- 9) A Huey P. Newton Story Actions Free Huey | PBS PBS WHYY, Public Broadcasting Service, 2022.
- 10) Turner, Wallace. "Newton Is Guilty of Manslaughter; Panthers' Leader Faces 2 to 15 Years in Slaying of Oakland Policeman Newton Convicted of Manslaughter in Coast Killing." The New York Times, 9 Sept. 1968, <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/1968/09/09/archives/newton-is-guilty-of-manslaughter-panthers-leader-faces-2-to-15.html">https://www.nytimes.com/1968/09/09/archives/newton-is-guilty-of-manslaughter-panthers-leader-faces-2-to-15.html</a>
- 11) April 6, 1968: Bobby Hutton Killed by Oakland Police Zinn Education Project 10 Feb. 2023.
- 12) <u>Police fire on Black Panther headquarters American Archive of Public Broadcasting</u>
  American Archive of Public Broadcasting.
- 13) 'Discredit, disrupt, and destroy': FBI records acquired by the Library reveal violent surveillance of Black leaders, civil rights organizations UC Berkeley Library.

- 14) A Huey P. Newton Story People J. Edgar Hoover & the FBI | PBS PBS WHYY, Public Broadcasting Service, 2022.
- 15) <u>Bobby Seale, Bound and Gagged | Political Activists on Trial | Explore | Drawing Justice: The Art of Courtroom Illustration</u>

Exhibitions at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress.

- 16) <u>Trump's law-and-order campaign relies on a historic American tradition of racist and anti-immigrant politics.</u> The Conversation.
- 17) <u>'The politics of racial division': Trump borrows Nixon's 'southern strategy' | Donald Trump | The Guardian</u>
  Guardian News and Media, 5 Sept. 2020.
- 18) A Bad Check for Black America Boston Review Baradaran, Mehrsa. Boston Review, 1 July 2023.
- 19) <u>Beyond Berets: The Black Panthers as Health Activists PMC</u>
  Bassett, Mary T. "Beyond Berets: The Black Panthers as Health Activists." American Journal of Public Health, U.S. National Library of Medicine, Oct. 2016.
- 20) Emory Douglas. The Black Panther Newspaper, vol. 4, no.13 (Our main purpose). 1970 | MoMA

MoMA (Museum of Modern Art, New York) gallery label, 2021.

- 21) <u>Black Vietnam Veterans on Injustices They Faced: Da 5 Bloods | TIME</u> Andrew R., and Josiah Bates. "Black Vietnam Veterans on Injustices They Faced: Da 5 Bloods." Time, 12 June 2020.
- 22) "Women Were Key in the Black Panther Party." The Clayman Institute for Gender Research, 6 Jan. 2014, <a href="https://gender.stanford.edu/news/women-were-key-black-panther-party">https://gender.stanford.edu/news/women-were-key-black-panther-party</a> : ":text=It may be surprising, then, portrayal of the Black Panthers
- 23) <u>A President Resigns 50 Years Later | National Archives Museum</u> "A President Resigns 50 Years Later." National Archives and Records Administration.