The Black Panther Party
and related material from the collection of Samuel L. Brooks

In 1967, Samuel Brooks, a veteran living in Oakland, California, was surprised to receive the first issue of the Black Panther Party newspaper hidden inside his copy of the Oakland Tribune. It sparked a passion that has led him through years of activism and collecting, eventually becoming known widely in the Bay Area’s Black community as a local keeper of history. This catalog is a survey of some of the most interesting items from his collection, which Bolerium is honored to handle on his behalf, concluding with a trove of 470 different issues of the Black Panther newspaper.

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LIBRARIANS: Reached the end of your fiscal year? We are happy to hold material for you.
Samuel Brooks was on the staff of this newspaper; he contributes a story on page 7. Centerfold is on the staff of this newspaper; he contributes a story on page 7. Centerfold is on Wounded Knee.

2. Babylon. Vol. 1, no. 1 (Nov. 1-14, 1971). New York, NY: Revolutionary People's Communications Network, 1971. 22p, tabloid-format illustrated newspaper, 11x17 inches, published by Eldridge Cleaver's Revolutionary People's Communications Network while he was in exile, after his split with and expulsion from the Black Panther Party. Cleaver is listed as International Editor and Mumia Abu Jamal as a Philadelphia reporter. Light stain along the right edge, horizontal fold crease. (#284627) SOLD
Cover story: "H Rap Brown Captured?" Centerfold is on the struggle in Cairo, Illinois. Also includes "Letter to the Lumpen" from Eldridge Cleaver, updates on court cases, activism and world events.

3. Barricade. Vol. 1 no. 2. July 12, Year of the Barricades. Berkeley, [1968]. Broadsheet printed both sides, 14x19.75 inches, creased from folding into quarters, red pen underlining scattered through the text. (#284234) SOLD
The unnamed editors describe themselves as "people who have been on the streets and turned off by meetings that have tried to misdirect our struggle. We are an independent, non-profit, non-sectarian, non-organization." Cover story is on Free Huey demonstrations, noting upcoming events in DeFremery Park and elsewhere. States that "The Panthers thought The Barricade was outa sight and hope all Barricade readers will come to DeFremery Park."

4. Black Liberation Army communique; A message from the underground. New York: National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters, 1981. 4p., 8.5x11 inches, faint creasing and toning. (#284502) $150.00
Interior title of the communique: "On the strategic alliance of the armed military forces of the revolutionary nationalist and anti-imperialist movement." Issued in the aftermath of the failed "expropriation" of $1.6 million from a Brinks armored car. "Even though this particular military battle failed, the goals should always set the example for our youth and true revolutionaries." Features quotes from Assata Shakur.
Numbers 5-10: Autographed newspapers

5. The Black Panther Black Community News Service Vol. 2, no. 2 (May 4, 1968) (Signed by John L. Scott). Oakland: Black Panther Party, 1968. 28p., tabloid format newspaper, evenly toned, otherwise very good. Next to Bobby Hutton's portrait on the cover, John L. Scott has signed with the slogan "Long live Lil' Bobby." Scott was one of the Panthers arrested on the night Hutton was shot. (#284241) **SOLD**

Includes centerfold pictorial on Bobby Hutton.


At the rear is the first issue of Basta Ya!, a newspaper supporting Lose Siete de la Raza.


10. The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, Vol. VI, no. 16, Saturday, May 15, 1971 (Inscribed by Earl A. Neil). Oakland: Black Panther Party, 1971. 20p. illus. tabloid format newspaper, evenly toned, very good. Cover story is "The role of the Church and the Survival Program" by Father Earl A. Neil of St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Oakland; he has inscribed the cover at lower right, "To a fellow Comrade, God Bless, Earl A. Neil." Emory Douglas poster on the rear cover titled "Oppression;" it depicts a tearful Black man in tattered "Freedom" shirt and desolate surroundings, wearing pins showing Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale. (#284245) $225.00

Father Neil was a religious ally of the Black Panthers, even protecting some of their members during an April 3, 1968 standoff with police, when he gave them refuge. He moved to South Africa in 2005.
Local branch newspaper, much scarcer than the main BPP newspaper published in Oakland. Cover story on Romaine Fitzgerald, known as "Chip," who was "arrested on a phony charge of attempted murder of a highway-patrol pig." Electric chair centerfold.

Cites Huey Newton's upcoming court appearance, with a rally planned on the front steps of the courthouse. States that Stokely Carmichael will come to the Oakland Auditorium in February 17.

Opens with a favorable quote from "The case for an independent Black Political Party" in the Trotskyist International Socialist Review. Rejects the notion of running as Democrats, and argues that having Huey Newton (then in prison) run as the Peace and Freedom Party's congressional candidate could help to save his life from government machinations.

Issued during the national student strike in 1970 (introductory text mentions the "three national demands," which were to end the war in Indochina, end political repression in the United States, and end the complicity of universities in war research). Intended to give white activists a look at the side to the Party not reported in mainstream media. At the end is an announcement of "Liberation classes on the Black Panther Party and political repression - all day at the MUB." The student union at Ohio Wesleyan University is called the MUB, but this could refer to other places as well.
15. The Black Panther Party. Speech by John Hullet; Interview with Stokely Carmichael; Report from Lowndes County. New York: Merit Publishers, 1966. 32p., staplebound pamphlet, minor soil to cover, very good. (#284337) SOLD
On the original Black Panther Party, organized in Lowndes County, Alabama, to defend the interests of the county's Black majority. An important step in the development of the Black Power movement, the Party served as an important precedent for its California-based namesake, which was established four months after this pamphlet was published.

16. Bobby Hutton Murdered by Oakland Pigs. Memorial... Procession to Jail for Eldridge Cleaver following memorial [poster]. Oakland: Black Panther Party, 1968. 17.25x22.5 inch poster, rather creased, foxed, with a small tear in the field next to Hutton's neck. (#284126) SOLD
Announcement of the public memorial for the young Black Panther, whose body was being held in state at the Fouche Hudson Funeral Home. Hutton had been the first recruit to join the Black Panther Party after its original founders, and he was its treasurer. After the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., Eldridge Cleaver led a group of Panthers in an ambush on Oakland police officers, resulting in a shootout. Police ordered Hutton to strip to prove he was not carrying weapons, but perhaps out of modesty he did not fully disrobe; he was shot twelve times.

Packed with articles by and about the Black Panthers, issued in the context of the trials following the killing of Alex Rackley.
18. [Cloth patch and metal pin depicting a pig sodomizing a black panther]. n.p., n.d.. 3x2 inch cloth iron-on patch and 1/2 inch metal pin, the pin with some minor rubbing of the black paint on the panther's three-dimensional highlights. These would appear to be a pro-police answer to the Black Panthers' anti-“Pig” rhetoric. No maker's mark on either item. (#284686) **SOLD**

19. Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information [poster]. Oakland: Black Panther Party, 1968. 29x23 inch poster depicting Cleaver, with San Francisco address of the Eldridge Cleaver Fund at lower right. Creased and rather worn from rolling, some tape remnants at edges. (#284118) $300.00 Cleaver ran for President on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in this year.


21. Fred Hampton's House. A statement provided December 26, 1970 by a film-maker present in Fred Hampton's apartment a few hours after the killings of December 4, 1969. A Reminder. San Francisco: Hermes Free Press, [1971-?]. Four-panel brochure, 5.5x8.5 inches, minor handling wear and soil. Transcript of a recorded statement by an unidentified film-maker who was asked to document the aftermath of the police massacre. He describes gory details, and evidence that Hampton had been drugged before he was shot, after which the dwelling was ransacked by police to create the appearance of a two-sided struggle. (#12682) **SOLD**
22. Free Huey [cloth flag]. [Oakland]: [Black Panther Party], [1968]. 47x34 inch flag screenprinted on light blue cloth, creased from having been folded in storage, but otherwise bright and clean. At left is a vertical seam, creating a space where a pole might be inserted. Photographs from rallies at the time show these flags being waved, to striking effect. (#284169) **SOLD**. Samuel Brooks saved several flags that had been discarded after a rally near the Alameda County Courthouse in Oakland during Huey Newton’s 1968 trial. This is the best example.

23. Free Huey [cloth flag]. [Oakland]: [Black Panther Party], [1968]. Similar, creased from having been folded in storage, but otherwise bright and with only minimal handling soil. (#284172) **SOLD**

24. Free Huey [cloth flag]. [Oakland]: [Black Panther Party], [1968]. Similar, creased from having been folded in storage, some minor ink smudges in the field and other soil, including a faint footprint. (#284175) **SOLD**
25. Free the Panthers [pinback button]. n.p., [1970]. 1.75 inch pin, very good, expressing support for the Panther 21. (#284470) SOLD

26. From the Black Panther Party's Angela Davis People's Free Food Program: 10,000 Free Bags of Groceries (with chickens in every bag) at the Black Community Survival Conference [poster]. Oakland: Black Panther Party, 1972. 19.75x14 inch poster, printed both sides with variant text and images; vertical fold crease, closed edge tears, toned area around the lower portion of the side with Huey Newton's photo. (#284229) SOLD

Announcement of a huge food distribution, with 10,000 sickle-cell anemia tests provided as well. Promises appearances by Bobby Seale, Erica Huggins, Julian Bond, Congressman Ron Dellums, and many others, as well as music by The Persuasions.

28. Huey P. Newton Birthday Benefit celebration [handbill]. Berkeley: Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee, [1969]. 8.5x14 inch handbill, horizontal fold crease, otherwise mild wear. Announcement for an event at the Berkeley Community Theater, featuring Kathleen Cleaver, Tom Hayden, Charles Garry, and others, with a taped message from prison by Huey Newton, and entertainment from Johnny Talbot and Dethangs, Ballet Afro Haiti, and Brother Baby "Dee" reciting poetry by Bunchy Carter. (#284416) SOLD

29. Huey! Black Panther platform with Seale, Cleaver, Rap Brown / Listen, Whitey! Black communities reaction to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. [vinyl LP]. New York: Folkways Records, 1972. Vinyl record in original slipcase, one corner of the sleeve has been taped; original insert included. We have not been able to play the record to test its sound. FD 5402. (#284672) $75.00


Khatari, incarcerated at Folsom Prison (original name Jeffery Gaulden), was a leader of the Black Guerrilla Family and the subject of a 1972 KPFA radio program called "Khatari in Hell." He died in San Quentin in 1978. This memorial program includes a poem by Hugo Pinell as well as Khatari's own poem, "Black Tempest." Honorary pallbearers include Afeni and Assata Shakur, Hugo Pinell, and others, at least some of whom could only have been there in spirit.
31. Inside Out / Prisoner Support Program. Free rides to visit prisoners [poster]. n.p.: Intercommunal Survival Committee, [197-]. 8.5x14 inch poster, faint horizontal fold crease, otherwise very good. One of the community programs created by the Black Panthers. (#284417) SOLD


33. Ministry of Information; Bulletin no. 8 (Dec. 14, 1968). San Francisco: Black Panther Party, 1968. 4p., 8.5x14 inch sheets stapled at upper left corner; fold crease with closed tear starting at one edge, some foxing. (#152571) SOLD
Headlines include "Where is Eldridge Cleaver?" by Brother Dynamite, and "Community programs: breakfast for school children."

34. Notes for the People's Militia. n.p., [197-]. Unpaginated, thick mimeographed handbook with card covers, occasional red underlining, covers worn and soiled. (#284450) SOLD
Guide for revolutionaries in the US prepping for insurgency. Includes sections on communications (including evading government surveillance), various types of guns, how to obtain and maintain them; and a long section on first aid.

35. Parties to support the Black Panther Party. Sat., Aug. 6. Berkeley... San Francisco... [handbill]. Berkeley: The Committee for Lowndes County, [1966]. 8.5x11 inch handbill, fold-creased, some toning, lower half has minor offsetting of ink from the top half, short tear beginning at the fold on the right edge. (#284311) SOLD
Announcement of two fundraisers for Bay Area supporters of the original Black Panthers, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. The Oakland-based Black Panther Party was established in October of the same year; its founders may well have been at these events. Quite striking is the use of the Black Panther emblem from Lowndes County, which was adopted by the new organization.
Updates on Panther activities in Southern California, including articles celebrating instances of people standing up to police harassment (in one case shooting the policeman in the face). Rear cover announces the John Huggins Free Hot Breakfast Program for Children and the Alprentice Bunchy Carter Free Clinic; Huggins and Carter had been killed the previous year by members of Ron Karenga's Us organization.

37. [Poster depicting Huey Newton, in his famous rattan throne pose with spear and gun]. Emeryville, CA: Black Panther Party, n.d.. 23x35 inch poster, one of the most imposing and iconic images of the Panther canon, featuring a photo of BPP Minister of Defense Newton, with his quote at bottom left: "The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people." The Party's mailing address is at bottom right. Small closed edge tear at upper right margin. The reverse has tape remnants, not visible from the front, that should ideally be removed by a proper conservator. (#284113) SOLD
38. Power to the People / Support the Committee to Defend the Panther 21 [poster]. n.p.: Committee to Defend the Panther 21; Artists Revolutionary Movement, [197-]. 15.25x22 inch poster; reverse has unobtrusive tape reinforcement at the bottom, not visible from the front. Printed signature in the lower right portion of the design reads "R. Dhoruba / N.Y. Panther 21 / ARM." (#284127) SOLD
The significance of Dhoruba's name at lower right (born Richard Earl Moore, a Black Panther Party activist and co-founder of the Black Liberation Army) is uncertain; those in the know doubt that he was the artist. The Swahili name Dhoruba means "Storm." He was arrested in 1969 as one of the New York Panther 21 (charged with conspiring to carry out a series of bombings). While free on bail, he fled to Algeria, but returned in May 1971 after the acquittal of the Panther 21 defendants. In June of that year, he was arrested and indicted for the shootings of four policemen. He was to spend 19 years in prison, appealing his conviction on the grounds that the FBI had framed him. His suits brought forth many COINTELPRO documents which ultimately led a judge to reverse his conviction in 1990, finding that the prosecution had failed to disclose evidence that could have helped his defense.

39. Revolutionary Memorial Services for George Jackson, Field Marshal, Black Panther Party. n.p.: [Black Panther Party], 1971. Four-panel memorial booklet from the funeral of George Jackson, very good; 3.5x5.5 inches. The rear panel features a poem by Claude McKay. (#284286) SOLD
Memorial for the prison activist, one of the Soledad Brothers, who was shot at San Quentin in what guards said was an escape attempt. The participants in the funeral program include Bobby Seale, Elaine Brown, and Huey Newton. Honorary pallbearers (not present because they were incarcerated) include Ruchell Magee and Fleeta Drumgo. Contemporary reports estimated that some five thousand people attended the service at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church.

40. Season of Struggle / Support the BLA [sticker]. n.p.: [Black Liberation Army], [197-]. 5.5x8.5 inch sticker, very good, unused. (#284335) SOLD
The BLA was formed by members of the Black Panthers, the Republic of New Afrika, and allied groups, as an underground armed movement after the split between Eldridge Cleaver and the Panthers.
41. "The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people." Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense [poster]. Emeryville, CA: Black Panther Party, n.d., 23x28 inch poster depicting Huey Newton and Bobby Seale outside the storefront headquarters of the Panthers. Serious foxing and a stain in the lower portion, with some crinkling. (#284117) SOLD

42. Third World News. Vol. 16 no. 1 (December 1975). Philadelphia: Black Panther Party, 1975. 29p., 8.5x11 inch sheets stapled at left; rear cover separated from staples but still present, front cover stained at lower left. "Vol. 16" strikes us as unlikely; we believe this is number 16 of the first volume. (#284440) $250.00 Includes updates on abuses by Philadelphia's notorious police; a four-page message from the Black Liberation Army, and much correspondence from prisoners.


44. What do the Panthers stand for. n.p.: [Milwaukee 3 Defense Fund-?], [1970]. Newspaper folded from two sheets, 11x17 inches, some foxing and fold creasing. (#284643) $200.00 Published in the context of the New Haven Panther Trial; a statement on the unfairness of Panther trials is co-signed by several people including Afeni Shakur (Tupac's mother) as well as her then-husband, Lumumba Abdul Shakur. One page unfolds to make a poster soliciting donations for the defense of the Milwaukee 3.
45. What the hell are we doing there? Black youth in Watts. Black youth in Vietnam. Mothers, fathers, organize to save your children… Wake up Black People [handbill]. New York: Black United Action Front, 1967. 8.5x14 inch handbill, fingerprint smudge at bottom, minor foxing, otherwise very good. (#284419) SOLD Urges residents in Harlem to "Join OUR demonstration against the war in Vietnam."


The story depicts Eldridge Cleaver, then in exile in North Africa, as the incarnation of sacred Black Power retribution. From his perch overseas, he receives word of a Black San Francisco musician, Metego, who stopped at a shop as he was driving through Utah on a return trip from Chicago. Metego arranges to trade some of his artwork for a Native American drum the shop has on sale. The saleswoman's husband then enters, spewing bigoted slurs and shooting Metego. When Cleaver hears of the details, he decrees that "I have vowed, in the name of 'Black Liberation,' to match that government's actions outrage, for outrage. Atrocity for atrocity. And Justice for Justice. Dig!" He then asks "Who is the most responsible white-man in the state of Utah?" He is told "The Rev. S.J. Holyoke of the Mormon Church I'd think." Cleaver then composes a warning to Holyoke and the "Mormon masses" warning that Holyoke must step down from power or be assassinated. The warning is published in the Utah press, stirring Holyoke's concern, but the police promise to protect him. Only after he steps into a room alone does Holyoke discover that Cleaver is already there, hiding in the dark. The Reverend picks up the phone, declaring that the police will shoot Cleaver on sight. At this point, the narrative is interrupted with a page of small photos of police brutality against Panthers and other Black men. On the final page, Cleaver wields his blade to cleanly behead Holyoke, then disappears into the night again, "To the safety of the Mother Country Africa..." The cover art depicts Cleaver holding Holyoke's severed head.

48. Bazaar, Mona, editor. Black fury. [Los Angeles], [ca. 1968]. Unpaginated, card covers, 8.5x7 inches, plastic comb binding; generally rather worn, especially at the corners. (#284403) SOLD 0

Compilation of materials, mostly from 1968, intended to help white Americans understand the roots of anger toward racism.

49. Bazaar, Mona, editor, William Anderson, Kay Boyle, Eldridge Cleaver, Barry Winograd, et al. The trial of Huey Newton; selected articles and statements edited with prefatory notes. N. pl.: the author, 1968. Unpaginated, 8.5x7 inches, compilation of 25 articles on Newton's first trial, card covers, plastic comb binding; generally rather worn, edges foxed, some silverfish nibbling to edges. (#113136) SOLD


Cover photo depicts a bloodied Black man being led away from a demonstration by police, with the headline "Fascism in America and recognizing it for exactly what it is." Includes the Panther call for a United Front Against Fascism.

51. [Black, Melvin]. This child had a right to live [handbill]. Oakland: Black Panther Party, [1979]. 8.5x11 inch sheet printed one side, minor handling wear and soil. (#284441) SOLD

Fifteen-year-old, unarmed Melvin Black was shot 12 times in the back by the Oakland police. Asks the reader to attend a public hearing on police misconduct in Oakland.
52. Brown, Elaine. [Two vinyl LPs: 'Seize the time' and 'Elaine Brown']. Hollywood: Vault Records; Motown, 1969; 1973. Two albums, the first recorded when Brown was Deputy Minister of Information of the Southern California Black Panther Party, the latter soon before she became Chair of the Party as a whole. Cover art on both is by Emory Douglas. Sleeves mildly worn; the earlier album has some minor spotting to the record; we have not been able to play it to check whether the sound is affected. (#284670) **SOLD**


54. Cleaver, Eldridge. On the constitution [handbill]. n.p.: Black Panther Party, [1970]. 8.5x14 inch handbill, horizontally creased with some edgewear and toning. (#284422) $125.00. Issued around the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, an effort by the Black Panthers to unite with other revolutionary groups in a broad alliance, with the goal of promulgating a new constitution.

55. Cleaver, Eldridge. Revolution and education. n.p.: [The Black Panther Party], n.d.. [8p.] staplebound pamphlet, very good, 5.5x8.5 inches, Cleaver's photo on the cover. (#284336) $65.00
An early appearance of the much-reprinted article.
56. Cleaver, Eldridge. Wanted, Dead or Alive / An Aside to Ronald Reagan [handbill]. n.p.: Noh Directions Press, n.d. 11x8.5 inch handbill, "wanted" poster depicting then-governor Reagan and Cleaver on one side, text on the other. Noh Directions also issued this text and image in the form of a poster. (#284418) SOLD Cleaver refers to Reagan, who had banned the Panther leader from giving lectures at UC Berkeley and called him racist, as "Mickey Mouse." Concludes by challenging Reagan to a duel to the death.

57. [Cleaver, Eldridge]. A candidate to build Peace & Freedom: Cleaver for President [broadside]. San Francisco and Los Angeles: Peace & Freedom Party, [1968]. 10.5x15 inch broadside, printed two sides, horizontal fold crease and other minor handling wear. (#90846) $150.00. Promotes the Cleaver campaign, whose slogan was "Power to the people - black power to black people." Argues that having Cleaver run on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket would help the Party; celebrates the alliance between P&F and the Black Panthers. Invites the reader to attend the P&F convention.

58. [Cleaver, Eldridge]. Cleaver for President / Black Panther Party / Peace & Freedom Party / Power to the People / Black Power to Black People [poster]. [San Francisco]: The Bindweed Press, [1968]. 16.5x22 inch poster, very good. The fine "scratch" across Cleaver's face is in the plate, not damage to the poster. (#284123) SOLD. Bindweed Press was the business of Frank Westbrook, known for his rock posters of the era.

59. [Cleaver, Eldridge]. Cleaver for President of the United States of America / Black Panther Party / Peace & Freedom Party [poster]. [San Francisco]: Jamerson Printing Company, [1968]. 16.5x21.75 inch poster, some faint staining in the upper portion, visible in the letters of Cleaver's name. Pinholes at corners. (#284231) SOLD. The printer was Jamie Jamerson, who was based in the Fillmore District.
60. [Cleaver, Eldridge]. Wanted by the FBI. Interstate flight - Assault with intent to commit murder. Leroy Eldridge Cleaver [wanted poster]. Washington DC: FBI, 1968. 10.5x16 inch poster, fold-creased for mailing, rather toned and worn, with address label on the reverse next to the list of FBI offices. (#284190) SOLD

61. [Cleaver, Eldridge]. You are casually invited to attend a "champagne sip" for Eldridge Cleaver, author of Soul on Ice..." [handbill]. Berkeley: Huey Newton Defence Fund, [1968]. 11x8.5 inch handbill on construction paper, folded for mailing with address and stamp on the back; worn, unevenly faded, stained. (#284691) SOLD A lower-key Berkeley version of the type of "Black Panthers meet high society" event described by Tom Wolf in "Radical Chic."

62. [Davis, Angela]. [Ten postcards and a letter addressed to Angela Davis at the Marin County Courthouse by East German school children]. [various cities], 1971. Postcards, many with with hand-drawn flowers, as well as a letter written on lined paper which has been folded into the form of a card with decorations pasted to the outside; all are addressed to Davis at the Marin County Courthouse. Some have traces of paste, either from the process of making them, or from having been mounted. Many postcards of this type were sent by children from East Germany as part of a national campaign to show support for Davis during her trial. (#284399) SOLD
63. [Davis, Angela]. Wanted by the FBI. Interstate flight - Murder, kidnapping. Angela Yvonne Davis [wanted poster]. Washington DC: FBI, 1970. 10.5x16 inch poster, neatly fold-creased, but clean and bright, with list of FBI offices on the back. Dated August 18, 1970, the day J. Edgar Hoover put Davis on the FBI's list of the Ten Most Wanted Fugitives. (#284189) SOLD

64. Douglas, Emory; artist. Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Hallelujah! All Power to the People! [poster]. Oakland: Black Panther Party Headquarters, n.d.. 11x17 inch color lithographed poster, mounted to a backing board with three spots of glue which show through at the upper corners and near the center of the lower edge. (#284157) SOLD

65. Douglas, Emory; artist. [Complete set of twelve greeting cards]. San Francisco: Black Panther Party, [1969]. Twelve different 5x7 inch four-panel cards with blank interiors, featuring artwork by Emory Douglas, the Party's Minister of Culture, or portraits of Panther leaders. Unused, and in very good condition, with minor edgewear to just a couple of cards. These were sold by the BPP to raise funds; we find a full-page ad at the end of the November 22, 1969 issue of The Black Panther, for example, listing this set. (#284114) SOLD

Slogans include: "We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black Community" (artwork depicts Black youths capturing Pig Santa at gunpoint in their fireplace).
"If I Should Return, I Shall Kiss You. If I Should Fall on the Way, I Shall Ask You to Do as I Have in the name of the revolution."
"When the slave of imperialism who lives inside the house of imperialism picks up guns against the imperialists to make common cause with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world, we know the days of the imperialist are numbered."
66. Douglas, Emory; artist. [Two tattered posters]. San Francisco: Black Panther Party, n.d.. Two 14.5x22 inch posters by the Party's Minister of Culture, both quite tattered and with old tape repairs. Somehow we felt that their condition had its own aesthetic value, making them worth listing as a pair. (#284184) **SOLD**

67. Douglas, Emory; artist. It's all the same [handbill]. Berkeley: Black Panther Party, n.d.. 11x8.5 inch handbill, toned and creased, some edge tears. Berkeley Litho Service union bug. Features cartoon depicting local police, the National Guard, and the Marines as the same sort of pigs. (#284420) **SOLD**

68. Douglas, Emory; artist. "We are advocates of the abolition of war ... We do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." - Chairman Mao [poster]. San Francisco: Black Panther Party; Graphic Arts of Marin County, n.d.. 22x18 inch poster, with scratches and toning to the back that are not obvious from the front, including a taped tear. (#284124) **SOLD**
69. Douglas, Emory; artist. We will not hesitate to either kill or die for our freedom / Death to the fascist pigs [greeting card]. San Francisco: Black Panther Party, [ca. 1970-?]. 5x7 inch four-panel card with artwork by Emory Douglas, the Party's Minister of Culture. Minor foxing and handling. Penned in the blank interior is the message "Revolutionary greetings to the Venice Collective from Bay Area SOS." On the rear panel are penned the names Dave and Helen with a phone number. (#284415) **SOLD**
One of a variety of cards that were sold by the BPP to raise funds.

70. Douglas, Emory; artist. With quote from Che Guevara. Whenever Death May Surprise Us... [poster]. n.p.: [Black Panther Party], n.d. 21.75x16.75 inch poster, evenly toned field, strip along the bottom which was covered by a frame is not toned. The full quote reads “Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory.” (#284121) **SOLD**

72. Ginger, Ann Fagan, ed. Minimizing racism in jury trials; the voir dire conducted by Charles R. Garry in People of California V. Huey P. Newton, with photographs by Dorothea Lange. n.p.: The National Lawyers Guild, 1969. xxv, 247p. paperback, seven photos by Lange, mildly worn and slightly soiled covers, interior clean. (#6706) $100.00

73. Imara, Simba. What is the All Afrikan Liberation Committee of the Pan Afrikan Secretariat? [San Francisco]: the Committee, [1976]. 4p., 8.5x11 inch dittoed sheets stapled at corner, fold-creased and crinkled. (#284513) SOLD.
Introduction to the organization, discussing its focus on anti-colonial movements in Africa and, on the local front, organizing around the San Quentin Six and protesting the police killing of Tyrone Guyton. The organization's address is listed as 1553 Fulton Street, which we have seen elsewhere as the address of the Malcolm X Unity House.

74. Irwin, William. We protest, a photographic study of the Bay Area protest movement - 1969. Foreword by William L. Ellis. San Francisco: Rip Off Press, 1970. [57p.], staplebound pictorial wraps mildly rubbed with some foxing, interior clean, 8.25x10.75 inches. Includes black & white photographs of the anti-Vietnam war movement, civil rights, and other demonstrations - including the Black Panthers, People's Park, etc. (#128044) SOLD
75. [Magee, Ruchell]. Free Ruchell Magee [poster]. San Jose, CA: Committee to Free Angela Davis and All Political Prisoners, [1971-?]. 17.25x22.5 inch poster, minor toning. (#284120) $400.00. Magee was a survivor of the Marin County Hall of Justice shootout in August 1970.


77. [Murray, George]. To Mr. George Murray - in remembrance of the 1969-1970 school year at Nairobi High. [East Palo Alto, CA], [1970]. An interesting one-off yearbook of sorts, made from the plain thick card covers of a spiralbound notebook with the pages removed, photos and text mounted on the inside of the boards. Presented to the former Black Panther Minister of Education, Murray, who had taken the position of principal at the new high school, recruiting fellow students from Stanford as teachers. Includes a short dedication from the students, a brief essay titled "Black Power, from Nairobi High School?" by John M. Anderson, and a poem by Murray himself. Anderson's piece begins on the inside of the front board and continues to the rear board, allaying any concern that there may have been interior pages since removed. Cover label stained. (#284465) ON HOLD. Nairobi High School (as well as its companion lower school and Nairobi College) are discussed in Chapter 7 of "The Black Revolution on Campus" by Martha Biondi.
78. National Committees to Combat Fascism. [Small group of materials from a campaign for community control of police]. Oakland, CA: NCCF; Black Panther Party, 1969. Four-page packet, 8.5x14 inches, horizontal fold, toned and worn, together with three pages of handwritten notes about the campaign. The packet is copied from the petition circulated in Oakland and promoted by the Panthers, but for wider distribution as a model for other cities to adapt to their own circumstances. Text added at the top says "Example Only for other cities in America. All NCCF members, study thoroughly for decentralization of police in Oakland and elsewhere." Occasional underlining and marginalia. (#284541) SOLD

The Black Panthers launched this campaign through the NCCF (a popular front group) in response to repeated problems resulting from suburban white police patrolling neighborhoods they didn't understand. Many of the demands of this petition have, half a century later, become mainstream calls for reform.

Includes statements on self-defense, executive mandates, and a three-page statement opposing anarchists and individualists not present in earlier editions.

Includes statements on self-defense and Party executive mandates.

81. Newton, Huey. Huey's message to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention Plenary Session September 5, 1970 Philadelphia, PA. n.p.: the Convention, 1970. 11.5x16.5 inch four-panel brochure in tabloid newspaper format; paper evenly toned, neat horizontal fold crease, otherwise very good. (#284220) $225.00
The Conference was an effort by the Black Panthers to unite with other revolutionary groups in a broad alliance, with the goal of promulgating a new constitution.
82. Newton, Huey. Towards a new constitution [broadside]. n.p.: Black Panther Party, [1970]. 10x14 inch broadside printed both sides, in two examples: a creased and worn version with white tape covering a penned word in the left margin, and a clean example printed in blue, which is possibly a reprint. (#284421) SOLD
Issued around the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, an effort by the Black Panthers to unite with other revolutionary groups in a broad alliance, with the goal of promulgating a new constitution.

Includes Newton's message of welcome to Robert F. Williams, addressed as President of the Republic of New Africa, upon his return to the US in 1969.


85. Newton, Huey P. Revolutionary suicide. With the assistance of J. Herman Blake. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973. xiv, 333p. hardcover in dustjacket, stated first edition with numberline starting at B (as usual for HBJ at this period); mild handling wear, abrasion to the blue cloth at top and bottom edges of the blue boards; ownership signature of Samuel L. Brooks. (#284387) $100.00

86. [Newton, Huey P.]. Rally for justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party [handbill]. Oakland: [Black Panther Party], [1979]. 8.5x11 inch handbill with portrait; small stain at lower right corner and another in Huey’s hair, mild handling wear and toning. (#284427) $100.00
A late-period flyer announcing a rally at which Newton himself was to be present. A mistrial in the following month resolved the last charges for which the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton had been established. Includes mention of a King Tut t-shirt raffle.
87. Newton, Huey P. War against the Panthers: a study of repression in America. A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Consciousness by Huey P. Newton. June 1980 [Inscribed by Newton; together with related academic files]. vii, 175 leaves, 8.5x11 inches, photoreproduced dissertation in plain card covers and plastic binding, front cover has small corner missing, interior clean and unmarked, except for Newton's inscription, "To Greg with love, Huey." Also included is a manila file folder containing administrative forms and correspondence from 1977 to 1978 about Newton's graduate program and concurrent student teaching at Merritt College. These seventeen documents include evaluations of his teaching and independent study (positive), a signed letter from Hayden White responding with some uncertainty about becoming a part of Newton's committee at Santa Cruz, as well as some tense communication between faculty about the "unusual" process of forming his committee, and concerns from administration after an editorial appeared in the Oakland Tribune questioning the hiring of an accused murderer to teach (photocopy of editorial appended). This folder appears to have belonged to Newton's academic supervisor, the late Arthur Pearl. (#284455) ON HOLD

88. [Newton, Huey]. Huey Newton talks to The Movement. Chicago: Students for a Democratic Society, [1968]. 16p., staplebound pamphlet, 6x9.25 inches, some foxing and handling wear. (#284341) $45.00
Interview reprinted from the August 1968 issue of the San Francisco activist newspaper ‘The Movement.’

89. Huey P. Newton 1942-1989. Oakland, 1989. [4p.], 8.5x11 inch sheets stapled in a pictorial blue reflective cover, very good. (#284381) $100
Funeral program celebrating the life of the Panther co-founder. Participants included a who's-who of surviving activists, with pastors J. Alfred Smith Jr. and Sr. presiding.
This issue includes substantial material related to the Black Panthers, including a fold-out poster for a rally to support Bobby Seale.

The AALA was formed in response to a perceived divergence from the necessary military aspect of the freedom struggle by the Black Panther Party. Covers the causes of the split between the AALA & the BPP. The booklet is mainly a fundraiser for Redd, Stafford and Pratt. Includes a poem "Niggertown" by Bunchy Carter and several uncredited illustrations including a centerfold spread.


94. Seale, Bobby. Seize the time. The story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton. New York: Random House, 1970. xi, 429p., hardcover in a shelfworn dustjacket, generally a nondescript example, except that on the blank page facing the half-title page are the signatures of five former members of the BPP and the Black Liberation Army, the most famous being Elbert "Big Man" Howard. Each signer has included the years, and sometimes the location, of membership. (#284376) SOLD

95. [Seale, Bobby; Elaine Brown]. [Door hanger for Bobby Seale's campaign for Mayor of Oakland, with Elaine Brown running for Councilwoman]. Oakland: [Black Panther Party], [1973]. 4x11 inch door hanger, minor soil. One side outlines the "People's Plan," while the other shows where the candidates' names will appear on the ballot. (#284459) $80.00

96. [Townsend, Lawrence Edward]. Wanted by the FBI. Interstate flight - Assault, first degree. Lawrence Edward Townsend [wanted poster]. Washington DC: FBI, 1972. 10.5x16 inch poster, fold-creased, with list of FBI offices on the back, address label and remnants of brown paper tape used for sealing in the mail. (#284505) SOLD

Townsend was a former Black Panther party organizer who, after having been convicted of shooting two policemen, got out on bail and shot two more.


Guerrilla was published by Allen Van Newkirk in Detroit from 1967-1968. Van Newkirk, who was connected with the White Panthers, styled his paper after Black Panther publications, and called Guerrilla "a broadside of poetry and revolution."
98. The Black Panther: Black Community News Service [ten different issues of the Memorial series]. Berkeley: Black Panther Newspaper Committee, 1991-2016. Ten issues of the tabloid format paper, one of several attempts by original members to revive the newspaper. Issues present are vol. 1 nos. 1-3 (number 2 with toned cover sheet), vol. 2 no. 1 (misnumbered vol. 1 no. 2), vol. 4 no. 1 (two different issues with same number), a reprint of the 1967 vol. 1 no. 6 (immediately identifiable as a reprint by the addition of color), a commemorative issue for Carl Hampton, and special issues for the 45th and 50th anniversaries of the Party's founding. (#284709) $125.00

99. [Group of twelve different items related to Black Panther Party reunions and associated events]. Berkeley, Sacramento, etc., 1990-2006. Group of items ranging from a 1990 poster for an event featuring veteran Panthers at UC Berkeley, to leaflets and brochures related to the planning of 25th, 30th, and 40th anniversary events, as well as two issues of the "It's About Time" newsletter (vol. 2 no. 2 and vol. 4 no. 4), and a 28-page program booklet for the 40th anniversary reunion. (#284730) SOLD
100. The Black Panther Black Community News Service [continuing as Black Panther Intercommunal News Service] (470 different issues, plus two extra variants of the first issue). Oakland: Black Panther Party, 1967-1980. An extensive archive of the Party’s most ubiquitous publication, including three versions of the first issue, which was mimeographed with help from the Diggers in San Francisco. Subsequent issues, from vol. 1 no. 2 to the final issue in 1980, were printed in tabloid newspaper format, the size varying over time. Generally in very good condition, sometimes with address labels or other routine markings, and the usual horizontal fold; some examples from the mid-1970s have “For rack sales only” stamped at the top to discourage people from stealing multiple copies from newspaper vending machines and selling them on the street. Examples with more serious damage are noted in the listing below.

There are believed to have been 537 issues published in total. One might expect such a question to be simple, but it is made complicated by the inconsistent numbering of the series (we must remember that the paper was published by activists rather than professional designers). For example, a run of Volume 2 that would seem to be complete, with all consecutive numbers present, might actually be missing two issues, because there were two issues from different dates numbered 9, and another two issues numbered 21. In Volume 13, there were no fewer than three issues numbered 18. Sometimes when an issue number was duplicated, the next number was skipped to make up for it, but not always. In the case of volume 4 no. 11, the number was simply omitted, jumping from no. 10 on Feb. 17 to no. 12 on Feb. 21. Therefore, to clarify precisely which issues are present in the list below, we include both the issue number and the date. Where there are known errors in number or date, they are noted in the listing. The total number of distinct issues present here is 470, plus the two variants of the first issue. Based on numbering and dating, there appear to be 67 missing issues (we are happy to provide a list of missing issues if desired).

Like many Oakland residents, Sam Brooks first encountered the paper when its first issue appeared surreptitiously hidden within his copy of the Oakland Tribune. He remembers discovering it, and then asking his neighbors if they had also found copies they would be willing to part with. He also obtained other examples of this and subsequent issues from fellow activists over the years. We have sorted through his archive to select the best available example of each issue. In the case of the first issue, we have identified three variants, all of which are included: Variant 1 has blue ink for pages 1, 2, and 3, while page 4 is in black ink. The portrait of Denzil Dowell is in high contrast. There is also a gap in the vertical line to the left of the text on page 1. Variant 2 has page 2 in blue ink, otherwise black. The portrait of Dowell has a similar level of contrast as Variant 1. Variant 3 is entirely in black ink. The line above "Volume 1" in the masthead is broken. The portrait of Dowell has more subtle contrast, revealing a bit more detail, such as around the top button of his shirt. All three were clearly printed from the same stencil, but the third variant - in some ways the best because of its clarity, the uniformity of color, and the reproduction of the photo - might be the latest, after the line in the masthead became damaged. Sam had three examples of Variant 3, which would suggest
that this was the version distributed inside the Tribune and obtained from neighbors. All three issues are dated April 25, 1967, and have an announcement of a meeting on April 29, suggesting that the three variants were produced in quick succession, and might represent improving familiarity with the mimeograph being lent by the Diggers. (#284371) ON HOLD

Issues present are the following:

Vol. 1, No. 1, April 25, 1967 (3 variants)
Vol. 1, No. 2, May 15, 1967
Vol. 1, No. 3, June 20, 1967
Vol. 1, No. 4, July 3, 1967
Vol. 1, No. 5, July 20, 1967
Vol. 1, No. 6, November 23, 1967

Vol. 2, No. 1, March 16, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 3, May 18, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 4, June 10, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 5, September 7, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 6, September 14, 1968
[Vol. 2, No. 8], October 5, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 9, October 12, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 9 [sic], October 19, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 10, October 26, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 11, November 2, 1968
Vol. 2, Nos. 12-14, November 16, 1968
Vol. 2, Nos. 15-17, December 7, 1968 (stain at upper left, pages separating at spine)
Vol. 2, No. 18, December 21, 1968
Vol. 2, No. 20, January 15, 1969
Vol. 2, No. 21, February 2, 1969
Vol. 2, No. 26, March 16, 1969
Vol. 2, No. 30, April 20, 1969

Vol. 3, No. 1, April 27, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 2, May 4, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 3, May 11, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 4, May 19, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 5, May 25, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 6, May 31, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 7, June 7, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 8, June 14, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 9, June 21, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 10, June 28, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 11, July 5, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 12, July 12, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 13, July 19, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 14, July 26, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 16, August 9, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 17, August 16, 1969
Vol. 2 [sic], No. 18, August 23, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 19, August 30, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 20, September 6, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 21, September 13, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 22, September 20, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 23, September 27, 1969
Vol. 3, No. 24, October 4, 1969
Vol. 18, No. 29, December 30, 1978
Vol. 18, No. 29 [sic, actually 30], January 13, 1979 – hole punched at upper left corner

Vol. 19, no. 1, February 3, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 2, February 19, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 3, March 12, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 4, March 26, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 5, April 9, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 6, April 30, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 7, May 14, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 7 [sic], May 28, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 8, June 18, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 9, July 23, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 10, October 1, 1979
Vol. 19, no. 11, December 17, 1979

Vol. 20, No. 1, February 11, 1980
Vol. 20, No. 2, February 25, 1980
Vol. 20, No. 3, March 10, 1980
Vol. 20, No. 4, March 24, 1980
Vol. 20, No. 5, April 21, 1980
Vol. 20, No. 6, May 12, 1980
Vol. 20, No. 7, July 1980
Vol. 20, No. 8, August 1980
Vol. 20, No. 9, September 1980