"This small town into which I was born, has, for me, grown into the largest, and most important city in the universe. Fort Scott is not as tall, or heralded as New York, Paris or London—or other places my feet have roamed, but it is home."

—Gordon Parks, *Homecoming*, 2001

In the late spring of 1950, Gordon Parks (1912–2006), Life magazine's first African American staff photographer, was approached by his editors to do a feature on segregated schools. The topic was one of national debate, especially in Parks's home state of Kansas—the Supreme Court's landmark Brown v. Board of Education ruling would begin with a suit filed in Topeka just one year later.

For his *Life* assignment, Parks chose to tackle the controversial issue as seen through the lens of his own childhood in Fort Scott, in the rural southeastern corner of the state. The youngest of fifteen children, Parks had left Fort Scott in 1928, moving north following the death of his mother to live with a sister in Minnesota. And so, more than twenty years after first leaving, Parks set out to reconnect with eleven of his elementary school classmates—the entire class of 1927—from the all-black Plaza School that they had attended in Fort Scott.

This exhibition brings together more than forty of the images Parks made for his *Life* story. In its heyday *Life* reported each week on major political and cultural events to an estimated 20 million readers. The majority of the magazine's subscribers were white middle-class families, and their everyday domestic lives became the paradigm by which most of *Life*'s features were told. That Parks could gather the personal stories of his fellow schoolmates and recount them from the standpoint of a shared childhood would have been attractive to his editors. But in the end, the photo essay did not appear in *Life* as planned. The reason remains a mystery, although the United States' entry into the Korean conflict would have a major impact on the magazine's content for some time. Life's editors did try to resuscitate the story in April of 1951, only to have it passed over once again by the breaking news of President Truman's firing of General Douglas MacArthur.

Unless otherwise noted, all works are gelatin silver prints, dated 1950, © The Gordon Parks Foundation.

Sponsored by Northern Trust.

This exhibition is organized by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in partnership with the Gordon Parks Foundation. Presented with support from the Dr. Lawrence H. and Roberta Cohn Exhibition Fund.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas

When Parks was born in 1912, Fort Scott was one of the fastest growing towns in eastern Kansas and a major railroad hub for the region, with its own "black Main Street," as well as numerous African American-run businesses, churches, schools, and fraternal organizations. The town he found when he returned— "one hundred miles from Kansas City, Missouri, as the crow flies southward" had not changed dramatically in the intervening years, although it was home to many fewer African Americans than had lived there during his youth.

Railway Station Entrance, Fort Scott, Kansas Frisco Railway Station, Fort Scott, Kansas

That first day on assignment in Fort Scott, Parks was caught in a sudden downpour that inspired him to compare the turbulent spring weather and the segregation fight that was brewing at the time—not just in Kansas and Missouri, but all across the South. Parks's goal of tracking down his entire elementary school class began with great promise, but it soon became clear that at least two of his eleven classmates could not be included for either logistical or personal reasons.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas Family Portrait, Fort Scott, Kansas By the time that Parks's *Life* assignment brought him back in 1950, Plaza School had been renamed the E.J. Hawkins School in honor of a beloved teacher and principal, whose motto was "Look Sharp, Be Sharp, Be Somebody." Parks took several photographs of Walter Hall, the new principal who had stepped in to fill the shoes of the late Professor Hawkins, with students in front of the school and surrounded by his wife and four children in the sunlit interior of their home.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas

Walter Hall's mother, Hortense, was the matriarch of the large, extended Hall family and a well-known figure in Fort Scott's African American community. Parks's portrait of Hortense records the powerful connection between grandmother and granddaughter and underlines the importance of black family ties, a theme that runs throughout this series of pictures.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas (Outside the Liberty Theater)

Sophie M. Friedman Fund, 2002 2002.110

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas, printed later

Over the course of his days in Fort Scott, Parks also made a series of pictures of Shirley Hill and her boyfriend, James Lewis. Using a small 35 mm camera, so that he could work without drawing attention to himself, Parks documented them standing forlornly outside the town's still-segregated movie theater, where he recalled being relegated to the farthest balcony, or "buzzard's roost," as a child.

Clearly this young couple was symbolically important to the photographer, and of her he wrote: "She wore the confidence of a 16-year-old who had been alerted to the changes that must come. Shirley Jean was planning for the better things. College... a career...The handwriting was on the wall. Things were looking up...The musty veil of discrimination seemed to be slowly lifting. Maybe it would soon clear the local drug stores, hotels and theatres. I hoped so. For there was no reason why such a nice girl couldn't sip a soda with her beau at the corner drug store or sit where her money allowed her in the Empress or Liberty Theatres."

Shoes, Fort Scott, Kansas Death Room, Fort Scott, Kansas

A number of Parks's most tender and beautiful Fort Scott images were made in the home of Paralee Rivers, a widowed neighbor who, many years before, had nursed Parks's mother at the end of her life and stepped in to care for Gordon and his siblings after their mother died. Now Mrs. Rivers laid on her own deathbed. "[She] was breathing the last of her 77 years. She had been at the edge of the river several times before but this time she would have to swim it." Parks suggested her still-palpable presence in the otherwise empty rooms of her house with the inclusion of nostalgic objects, such as her old-fashioned highbutton shoes and a book left open on a window seat.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas, printed later

Parks visited the local baseball diamond at Othick Park, where he recorded a group of white citizens seated at one end of the bleachers watching a game, while two African American girls stand in an area loosely designated for the city's black residents. This photograph subtly references the separation of the races that still characterized much of everyday life in Fort Scott. It was just the sort of lingering discrimination that an insider like Parks would have easily recognized and that continued to affect even the youngest children in town.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas, printed later

Parks was determined to look up some of his white contemporaries from high school as well. He photographed his good friend Helen McKillop, casually seated on the front porch with her husband and son. He also made sure to locate Lyle Myrick, whose father owned the local garage, and with whom Gordon had had a memorable fistfight on the school playing field. Evenly matched, the fight ended in a handshake that cemented their friendship from then on. He found Lyle at work, leaning in the doorway with his sternfaced father looking on.

Untitled, St. Louis, Missouri

Inspired by Grant Wood's famous painting American Gothic, Parks invited his classmates to pose with family members in front of their homes, in each case, standing face front, side by side, and framed by the distinctive architectural style or building type of their newly adopted city. For the readership of *Life* magazine, the repetition of this simple compositional device would have helped highlight their similarities rather than differences; such strong representations of black nuclear families would have been both surprising and reassuring. Nevertheless, the Jeff Vander Lou neighborhood where the Collinses lived had historically been designated as the city's "Negro District" and one of the only places where a black person could legally purchase property at the time.

Untitled, Chicago, Illinois Untitled, Chicago, Illinois

Parks carefully recorded the details of the warm, well-appointed interior of the Wilkerson's apartment. Margaret is shown working on her needlework, while her daughter sits next to her practicing her music at a beautifully polished upright piano, which would have been seen as a symbol of success by Life magazine's audience. Parks characterized Margaret as "too gentle to be bitter"; although she had not been able to realize her dream of becoming a nurse and had experienced the same prejudice and discrimination as the others, Margaret still maintained fonder memories of growing up in Fort Scott than any of her Plaza School classmates.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas With Life magazine's mostly white, middle-class readers in mind, Parks also documented the lives of some of Fort Scott's white work force, including Charlotte Miller, the owner of the local dairy. Parks made numerous portraits of the glamorous and successful divorcée, who later played a bit part in *The Learning Tree*, the semi-autobiographical movie, written and directed by Parks and filmed in Fort Scott in 1968.

Untitled, Chicago, Illinois Untitled, Chicago, Illinois

Fred Wells found employment as a laborer at the Campbell's Soup Company soon after moving to Chicago. Rather than the better-paid assembly line at Campbell's, his job involved loading and unloading boxcars at the factory dock, which is where Gordon discovered him when he first arrived. Although Wells had been alerted to the fact that he was coming, Parks was still able to get off a number of quick 35mm shots of his friend before he realized he was there. Afterward the two men shared several drinks and reminisced about their Kansas childhoods.

Untitled, Chicago, Illinois

Fred and Mary Wells invited Parks into their tiny kitchenette apartment and allowed him to photograph them saying grace, sharing a meal, and playing cards under a single bare bulb hanging from the ceiling. The kitchenette was a new type of apartment that was hastily being created by the thousands, carved out of larger housing units to meet the needs—however minimally—of the groundswell of black migrants surging into the already densely populated South Side.

Uncle James Parks, Fort Scott, Kansas

During his short interlude in Fort Scott, Parks was reunited with numerous family members and old friends. One of the most memorable figures was his blind Uncle James, whom Parks recalled accompanying as a child while he peddled his homemade brooms door-to-door. The back of one of his portraits of the 85-year-old man is inscribed in the photographer's hand: "Uncle Jimmy— My real mentor! Taught me about life."

Mrs. Jefferson, Fort Scott, Kansas Parks visited several of the town's elderly black citizens, including Lucy Jefferson, who was described as Fort Scott's oldest resident, though no one could remember her exact age any longer.

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas Mrs. Mullens, Fort Scott, Kansas

Parks also spent time with his sister Anna and her husband, Boise, who still inhabited the old family homestead on Burke Street. As Parks recounted it: "I melted into a welcome that only home can give. And it was sweet. That evening I ate hot buttered homemade rolls, baked beans, sweetmeated chicken and butter-soaked corn on the cob. I have eaten in Maxim's in Paris, tasted the best from kitchens of Rome and the French Riviera but to me this night they were far off unimportant places." Parks lovingly recorded another elderly neighbor, Maggie Mullens, snoozing on her front porch with a tangle of potted plants in the foreground.

Pool Hall, Fort Scott, Kansas

In this slightly off-kilter, grainy group portrait Parks captured the rakish cast of "regulars" at the local black pool hall, including cousin Ed Parks, who raised racing greyhounds; Ott Lee Barker, who, according to Parks, was "as much a part of Fort Scott as the buildings or the railway station"; and "Peaches" Jedkins, the pool hall's manager.

Untitled, Kansas City, Missouri Untitled, Kansas City, Missouri

The steep pyramidal composition of Parks's portrait of Emma Jane, Willie, and their six-year-old daughter underlines her central importance in their lives. Young Willa Jayne sports neatly curled bangs and ponytail, and her mischievous smile stands in sharp contrast to the guarded, rather tense expressions on the faces of her parents. Although they had purposely moved to Kansas City to find better opportunity for themselves and their daughter, they lamented that the city's public schools remained strictly segregated, they could not afford to buy a home, and Emma Jane had to help make ends meet by selling clothing door-to-door.

Untitled, Kansas City, Missouri Untitled, Kansas City, Missouri

Peter Thomason had not moved very far geographically when he settled in Kansas City, and he maintained close ties to Fort Scott through his wife, Ada, who was the sister of his schoolmates Earl and Willie Collins. After high school, Thomason sought additional schooling in order to qualify for the postal service examinations, one of the most desirable jobs available to a black man at the time. Thomason's 13-year-old daughter, Marilyn Jane, was an only child, and, because this was Missouri rather than Kansas, she had no choice but to attend the city's Lincoln High School for Negroes; however, Parks noted, she, like Shirley Jean Hill, planned to attend college after graduation.

Husband and Wife, Sunday Morning, Detroit, Michigan

Parks was welcomed with a generous southern spread of roasted hams and chicken when he visited with Pauline Terry and her husband, Bert Collins, in Detroit. Unlike all of Parks's other classmates who had migrated north, Pauline now had a large family—four young boys still at home and a married teenage daughter living nearby. In talking with Gordon, Pauline emphasized the importance of religion in their lives, claiming "we stay pretty close to church and God." Parks's powerful portrait of the couple walking to Sunday services at Macedonia Baptist Church seems to reinforce the seriousness of their faith.

[picture]

Pauline Terry

"Industrious, always willing to try; This is her motto: Conquer or die."

Untitled, Fort Scott, Kansas

Luella Russell was the only member of the Plaza School Class of 1927 still living in Fort Scott. She and her husband, Clarence Hill, had a teenage daughter, Shirley Jean, and were proud of the fact that they owned their own home. Luella took in washing and sewing on the side, and her husband maintained the steam engine boilers at the Frisco Roundhouse. Clarence described himself as discouraged that, as an African American working for the railroad, he could never advance to the position of engineer or even mechanic: "I've been preparing the big engines for the road a long time now. It would be awfully good to stay behind one for a run, but I'm afraid that will never happen."

[picture]

Luella Lee Russell

"Her smiling face and very trim size, Go exceedingly well with her laughing eyes."

Untitled, St. Louis, Missouri, printed later

Untitled, St. Louis, Missouri,

printed later

Gordon Parks discovered three of his Plaza School classmates living in Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri, the two largest industrial cities nearest Fort Scott. Easily reached by train, these were often the first stops made by African Americans leaving smaller towns in search of jobs and better futures for their families. When Parks arrived in 1950, Earl Collins and his wife Ada and nine-year-old daughter, Doris Jean, were settled in St. Louis. Earl had fought in Europe during World War II and was employed at Union Electric of Missouri, where Parks photographed him surrounded by the massive plant's maze of gleaming pipes and heavy machinery. The many images that he made of his friend interacting with his young daughter may also have been an effort on Parks' part to offset contemporary stereotypes of black families as less strong than their

white counterparts.

[picture]

Earl Collins

"Big and strong and an athlete too, Handiest man when there's something to do."

Untitled, Columbus, Ohio Untitled, Columbus, Ohio

Donald Beatty was described as the smartest and "most likely to succeed" among their group of twelve. Parks portrayed Beatty, his wife Carrie, and their four-year-old son, Donald Jr., looking comfortably suburban in front of their single-family bungalow in one of Columbus, Ohio's integrated neighborhoods. The Life staffer who followed up with the Beatty family in 1951 outlined the most basic facts back at the magazine's headquarters in New York. Donald and Carrie continued to live in Columbus; they were still driving the 1950 Buick and trying to buy their house with the help of a loan; and then, without further explanation: "Aside from the death of their son, nothing much has happened to them."

[picture]

Donald Edward Beatty

"His wisdom ne'er lets him commit misdemeanors,

For his are the hands that rule all the seniors."

Tenement Dwellers, Chicago, Illinois

Parks found his friend Mazel Morgan and her husband, Willie Hubbard, living in a rundown transient hotel in Chicago's allblack Bronzeville neighborhood. Parks described Mazel in his Life notes as "hollow-eyed, ill, and disillusioned" and the "tragedy" of their Plaza School class. He photographed her slumped in a chair by a window, staring dejectedly out at a blank brick wall and looking old beyond her years, with Willie stretched out on the narrow iron bed, the only other piece of furniture in the bleak space. According to Mazel, they had moved from Kansas City to Detroit and then to Chicago, but her husband had recently lost his job and they had fallen on very hard times. Later that same day, when Parks prepared to depart, Willie pulled a loaded .45 on him and demanded all of his money, which he quickly handed over.

[picture]

Mazel Helena Morgan

"Tee hee, tee ho, tee hi, ha hum, Jolly, good natured, full of fun."

Untitled, Chicago, Illinois

Fred Wells and his wife, Mary, were living in a "kitchenette" apartment on Chicago's South Side. Although Parks described the couple as embarrassed by their humble living conditions, his portrait of the two depicts them standing, poised and self-possessed, in front of their plain apartment building, her arm draped easily over his shoulder, and both of them at least outwardly relaxed before the camera. Her youthful-looking blouse and pigtails are belied by her somewhat defiant expression, and Fred is slightly turned away from the camera, as if to downplay his wall-eyed gaze.

[picture]

Fred Conaway Wells

"A lad who is very set in his ways, And he'll do it—no matter what others say."

Untitled, Kansas City, Missouri

Although two years older than her brother Fred, Emma Jane Wells had ended up in the same class at the Plaza School. By the time that Parks tracked her down in 1950, she and her husband, Willie Collins, were living in Kansas City. They claimed that they left Fort Scott "because there wasn't much doing there for negroes. In school, the advisors used to tell us to take the general courses and that afterwards there would always be plenty of domestic work for the girls and the boys could be porters or laborers." During World War II, Willie had served in the Navy in the Pacific Theater and Emma Jane explained to Gordon that he still suffered from lingering "war strain," which affected his ability to hold down a job, although he refused to get counseling.

[picture]

Emma Jane Wells

"Tidy, prim, exceedingly neat, In this one form she can't be beat."

Untitled, Kansas City, Missouri

Parks's family portrait of the Thomasons shows them lined up in front of their traditional Kansas City-style house, with its rusticated stone piers and white porch railing, in the predominantly African American Wendall Phillips neighborhood. Several of the images that Parks made of them feature the large house they had saved up to buy. Like his brother-inlaw Earl Collins's family in St. Louis, the Thomasons lived on one floor and rented out the other half as a way to help pay the bills. For those who could afford it, this was a satisfactory arrangement for the many smaller black families that were moving into what had once been all-white neighborhoods with typically larger houses.

[picture]

Peter Oland Thomason

"This athletic young man whom we call 'Pete,'

Has a wonderful way as a 'Sahara' Sheik."

Untitled, Chicago, Illinois

In 1950 Chicago was the de facto capital of African American life in the United States. So it is no surprise that three of Parks's classmates—Margaret Tyson, Mazel Morgan, and Fred Wells had ended up living only a mile or two apart on the city's South Side. The very different lives he found each of them living almost perfectly reflect the range of experience of the thousands of other African Americans who had arrived there in search of work and to escape the dwindling opportunities in the South. Margaret Tyson was married to postal clerk Thomas Wilkerson, and they and their young daughter, Barbara Marceline, resided on Cottage Grove Avenue, one of Chicago's major north-south arteries, which had a lively black business district and a regular streetcar line. Here the family stands, dressed in their Sunday best, framed by the entrance to their apartment building, with its decorative striped awning but also barred windows at either side.

[picture]

Margaret Augusta Tyson

"In science and foods I can't be beat, I like to think and I like to eat."



"There was no special black corner established for me at Life. I was assigned to any and everything. But if I could bring significance to a story because I was black, it was given to me. I went also as a reporter—not Life's black reporter."

The editors at *Life* never limited assignments for Gordon Parks, the magazine's first African American photographer. Deeply aware of his versatility, they valued his iconic fashion images as well as his portraits of artists, celebrities, and leaders. But Parks had a strong commitment to social justice and willingly accepted—if not sought out—assignments about race in America, from his first major assignment in 1948 through 1970. Unlike most photographers, Parks often crafted the words that framed his images for these stories. Although his essays have received less attention than his iconic photographs, they make a significant contribution to the literature of the civil rights era.

The photographs in this exhibition are associated with five key essays that span most of Parks's career at *Life*: the autobiographical "How It Feels to Be Black" (1963); "Harlem Gang Leader" (1948); "The Restraints, Open and Hidden" (1956); "The Black Muslims" (1963); and "Stokely Carmichael" (1967). Copies of the magazines that featured these stories are displayed with the photographs, including three that were written by Parks.

As the civil rights movement gained momentum in the early 1960s, Parks increasingly understood the need to control the story that accompanied his images. The majority of *Life* magazine's 20 million readers were white, and Parks's frank narratives and personal insights on the conditions facing black Americans, combined with his images, played a powerful role in changing public perception of inequality and injustice in the United States.

Additional copies of Life that include other essays by Parks are available to read in the library on Level 1.

—Gordon Parks in Voices in the Mirror: An Autobiography

Works from VMFA's Collection

Parks at Life: Works from VMFA's Collection

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From Back to Fort Scott to The Learning Tree

Though *Life* never published "Back to Fort Scott," the opportunity to return home and write about his childhood proved to be an important experience for Parks. In 1963 he published an autobiographical novel, *The Learning Tree*, based on his memories of growing up in Kansas. After the book became a bestseller, Warner Brothers approached him about turning it into a movie. Parks wrote and directed the film—which he shot in Fort Scott—thereby breaking another barrier as the first African American director in Hollywood.

Copies of *The Learning Tree* are available to read in this space.

[Vinyl Wall Text]

"How It Feels to Be Black," Life, August 16, 1963

In the August 16, 1963, issue of *Life*, less than two weeks before the March on Washington when Martin Luther King Jr. gave his "I Have a Dream" speech, Parks offered his own story to readers under the bold title "How It Feels to Be Black." Broken into two parts, the first section consists of excerpts from his fictional autobiography, *The Learning Tree*. The second section— "The Long Search for Pride"—described the blatant racism he experienced throughout his life and career. *Women Sitting by Storefront in Harlem, NYC* was printed with this section and its caption, which is also handwritten on the back of the photograph, testifies to the spirit of the days leading up to King's speech: "All our lives we have cloaked our feelings, bided our time, waited for the year, the month, the day and the hour when we could do without fear, at last, what we are doing just now."

Women Sitting by Storefront in Harlem, NYC, 1952 Gelatin silver print; printed June 3, 1952 Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Endowment, 2016.164 [Dog Tag in Case] "How It Feels to Be Black," *Life,* Vol. 55, No. 7, August 16, 1963, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Library, Rare Book Collection

"Harlem Gang Leader," Life, November 1, 1948

Red Jackson, Harlem, New York was the lead image in "Harlem Gang Leader," Parks's first major photo essay for *Life* in 1948. To shoot the story, Parks spent weeks following and developing a close bond with Leonard (Red) Jackson and other members of his gang. This sensitive image of Jackson and the unpublished portrait of his friend, posed on a bike in a quiet moment, convey the trust Parks was able to establish with these young men. While Parks took hundreds of images that ranged from street fights to tender, domestic exchanges between Red and his mother, the majority of images the editors at *Life* selected focused on the violence. After the story appeared, Jackson said to Parks, "Damn, Mr. Parks, you made a criminal out of me."

Untitled (Harlem, NY), 1948 Gelatin silver print Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Endowment, 2016.161

Red Jackson (Harlem, NY), 1948 Gelatin silver print Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, 2015.235

[Dog Tag in Case] "Harlem Gang Leader," *Life*, Vol. 25, No. 18 November 1, 1948 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Library, Rare Book Collection

"The Restraints, Open and Hidden" Life, September, 24, 1956

Beginning in September 1956, *Life* magazine ran a five-part series on segregation "designed to give useful perspective to the troubled events of today." Through these essays, *Life* editors sought to explain the turmoil caused by the 1954 landmark Supreme Court decision, Brown v. Board of Education, which struck down the constitutionality of "separate but equal" public schools. Parks took photographs for the fourth part of the series, which followed one family in Mobile, Alabama, across three generations. Many of these images echo compositions Parks made six years before in "Back to Fort Scott." Although it was not included in the essay, this photograph of Joanne Wilson and her niece standing beneath the "Colored Entrance" sign at a movie theater was part of that assignment.

I wasn't going in. I didn't want to take my niece through the back entrance. She smelled popcorn and wanted some. All I could think was where I could go to get her popcorn.

-Joanne Wilson, 2013

Wilson's dilemma powerfully illustrates the challenge of navigating daily life and maintaining dignity under segregation. Some members of her family lost their jobs for participating in the essay and ultimately had to relocate. Yet they never regretted their decision and considered their role an act of resistance in the struggle for civil rights.

Untitled, Mobile, Alabama, 1956 1956, printed 2012 Pigment print Funds provided by Linda Sawyers, 2012.281 [Dog Tag in Case] "The Restraints, Open and Hidden," *Life*, Vol. 41, No. 13, September, 24, 1956 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Library, Rare Book Collection

"Black Muslims" Life, May 31, 1963

As part of an extensive assignment on the Nation of Islam, Parks lived within the organization for months and had unprecedented access to its leaders, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X. When the photo essay was published, Parks's nuanced and personal text, "What Their Cry Means to Me," was included. Characteristically, Parks acknowledged what he thought were the organization's shortcomings, but nonetheless used bold language to describe why Malcolm X's message resonated so powerfully with many African Americans, especially in the North: "He is right. Because for all the civil rights laws and the absence of Jim Crow signs in the North, the black man is still living the last hired, first fired, ghetto existence of a second class citizen." Parks also used the occasion to reflect on his own success and position at *Life*. "This same experience has taught me that there is nothing ignoble about a black man climbing from the troubled darkness on a white man's ladder, providing he doesn't forsake the others who, subsequently, must escape that same darkness."

This portrait of Malcolm X remains one of the most iconic images of that influential leader. *Untitled, New York, NY* and *White Police Officer Standing between Two Black Protestors* were likely made on the same day, but were not published in the final essay.

Malcolm X Addressing Black Muslim Rally in Chicago, Illinois, 1963 Gelatin silver print; printed circa 1980 Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Endowment, 2016.162 Untitled, New York, NY, 1963 Gelatin silver print Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Endowment, 2016.163

White Police Officer Standing between Two Black Protestors, 1963 Gelatin silver print Aldine S. Hartman Endowment Fund, 2013.204

[Dog Tag in Case] "Black Muslims" *Life*, Vol. 54, No. 22 May 31, 1963, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Library, Rare Book Collection

"Stokely Carmichael" Life, May 17, 1967

This picture of Stokely Carmichael was the lead image in the 1967 feature on the controversial African American leader, who coined the term "Black Power." In 1966, as Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNCC), he advocated a shift away from the passive resistance tactics of civil rights activists like Martin Luther King Jr. and instead emphasized the need for self-defense. Parks wrote an essay that did not condone Carmichael's militant tone, but nonetheless emphasized the racial and socioeconomic conditions that made Carmichael's message resonate with America's black youths. Poignantly, Parks compared Carmichael's willingness to risk his life to that of his own son, who was then serving in Vietnam: "In the face of death, which was so possible for the both of them, I think Stokely would surely be more certain of why he was about to die."

Stokely Carmichael, Watts, Los Angeles, CA, 1966, printed 1966–67 Gelatin silver print Kathleen Boone Samuels Memorial Fund, 2012.280

[Dog Tag in Case] "Stokely Carmichael," *Life*, Vol. 62. No. 20 May 19, 1967 Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Library, Rare Book Collection