



THE

NATIONAL

ARCHIVES

## Mangrove Nine protest

What does this reveal about police brutality and racism in '70s Britain?

Key Stages 3-5 | Postwar 1945-present

Lesson pack

# Introduction

On 9 August 1970, a group of Black Power activists led 150 people on a march against police harassment of the black community in Notting Hill, London. They called for the 'end of the persecution of the Mangrove Restaurant'. Between January 1969 and July 1970, the police had raided the Mangrove Restaurant twelve times. No evidence of illegal activity was found during these raids.

Suitable for:

KS 3 - 5

Time period:

Postwar 1945-present

Local Police Constable Frank Pulley remained convinced that the restaurant was 'a den of iniquity' frequented by 'pimps, prostitutes and criminals'.<sup>1</sup> At the 1970 march in defence of the Mangrove, violence broke out between the police and protestors.

The following year nine men and women were put on trial at the Old Bailey for causing a riot at the march. Their names were Darcus Howe, Frank Crichlow, Rhodan Gordan, Althea Jones-Lacointe, Barbara Beese, Godfrey Miller, Rupert Glasgow Boyce, Anthony Carlisle Innis and Rothwell Kentish. These men and women became known nationally as the 'Mangrove Nine.' When all nine defendants were acquitted of the most serious charges after a long 55-day trial, it was widely recognised as a moment of victory for black protest.

Use this lesson to find out more about the history of Britain's Black Power movement and the trial of the Mangrove Nine.

<sup>1</sup> Constable Frank Pulley quoted in 'A Den of Iniquity,' Kensington Post, October 12, 1971, as cited in Rob Waters, *Thinking Black: Britain, 1964-1985* (2019), p. 99

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## Teacher's notes

This lesson is intended to develop historical understanding of the history of racism and anti-racist activism in post-war Britain. Public encounters with the police shape experiences of government and attitudes towards the state and democracy more generally.

Please note these sources include some racist and abusive language and are presented here to accurately represent a historical narrative. This language wasn't acceptable at the time and isn't acceptable today.

Students can investigate the sources using the questions in pairs, as a group or independently. Questions are designed to become more challenging and allow for differentiation. Transcripts are provided and some difficult words defined in square brackets.

### Learning Objectives:

- To explain how black people fought for equality in 1970s Britain.
- To describe the meaning of 'Black Power.'
- To understand why the Black Power movement emerged in Britain.
- To recognise the history of police brutality and racism in Britain.
- To analyse a single historical event, the Mangrove Nine protest, from multiple sources and multiple perspectives.
- To justify the importance of approaching this history as a local, national and international history.
- To explore the significance of the Mangrove Nine demonstration and trial.

Students analyse the sources for this history from three different angles:

- The story of the Mangrove Nine reveals the importance of thinking about **local** history – about neighbourhoods and communities – to understand social and political change in post-war Britain.
- The history of the British Black Power movement is also one part of a much wider **global** history of decolonisation and human rights. Understanding this history helps us



## Teacher's notes

understand the meaning and impact of decolonisation and human rights in Britain.

- Finally, this is a national story. Black activists' struggles for equality in Britain contributed to the expansion of equality laws in United Kingdom that all Britons now enjoy.

## Discussion points:

- Discuss the limits of approaching this history only through the sources available at The National Archives. The National Archives holds the papers of the Metropolitan police, the Home Office and the Race Relations Board, the Foreign Office but not the papers of community groups in Notting Hill or Black Power organisations. While your students approach the sources found in the National Archives, it is worth inviting them to consider: What is missing in these state papers? Why can these records can never tell the full story?

Using these sources students can interpret the views and assumptions of state actors and their surveillance of black British people. But we cannot limit our understanding of the history of black Britain to the history of surveillance. Since the 1970s and 1980s, black activists and community organisers have been building their own archives and – through this 'archive activism' – have been working to tell black British history in their own voices.

- Public encounters with the police shape experiences of government and attitudes towards the state and democracy more generally. After analysing the history presented in this lesson, discuss the special role of the police in the relationship between state and citizen. Why are the actions of the police central to fairness, justice and equality before the law? Consider the parallels between the history of the Mangrove Nine and the Black Lives Matter movement. Has the language or focus of activism against police brutality changed?

Lesson developed Dr Camilla Schofield, with support from an Arts and Humanities Research Council Early Career Leadership Fellowship, in consultation with Diverse History UK and Dr Jean Smith.

## Background

### (Source One and Source Two)

By 1970, the defence of the Mangrove Restaurant had become a local focal point for a much wider set of concerns about police brutality and racism within the Metropolitan police. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, over-policing of black and minority ethnic communities was conducted under the guise of the Vagrancy Act 1824 – the so-called 'sus' law – which empowered the police to stop, search and arrest a person suspected of loitering with intent to commit a criminal offence.<sup>2</sup> Many black people in Notting Hill had experienced wrongful arrest and intimidation; prior to the Mangrove protest, activists and community organisers appealed to local council members, government ministers and police chiefs about police brutality in Notting Hill, with little impact. It would take another thirty years (with the Equality Act of 2000) before race equality legislation fully applied to the police.

The British Black Power movement helps us recognise and analyse New Commonwealth immigrants' experiences of racism in post-war Britain and their struggles for equal treatment.

In post-war Britain, black British people faced widespread racial discrimination and unfair treatment in their daily lives. Some white people refused to rent properties to non-white tenants. Black people were also sometimes refused service in restaurants and shops. Like many immigrant groups, Trinidadian migrants in the working-class neighbourhood of Notting Hill, London, established restaurants, churches, clubs and shops that reflected their culture and provided a safe space for community-building.

The Mangrove Restaurant was an important example of this, serving Trinidadian food to first generation migrants and their children. As the Trinidadian migrant Clive Phillip put it, 'It was like a sanctuary. It was family, a base for support.'<sup>3</sup>

The Mangrove Restaurant was a hub for Notting Hill's black community, but it was also a meeting space for community organisers, activists and intellectuals in the area.

## Background

Inside, the restaurant reflected the new cosmopolitan culture of 1970s Britain: with a photograph of Beatles star John Lennon hanging on the wall alongside a mural of mangrove trees, African figurines and posters decrying police brutality. Black intellectuals like CLR James and Lionel Morrison and celebrities like Jimi Hendrix, Bob Marley, Diana Ross, Marvin Gaye, Nina Simone, Sammy Davis Jr and Vanessa Redgrave had all been seen there.

This lesson includes Mangrove owner, Frank Crichlow's 1969 complaint to the Race Relations Board. The Race Relations Board (1965-1976) was first established by the 1965 Race Relations Act. This Act made some forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity or national origin illegal in Britain for the first time; remarkably, the police were exempted from this equality law. Even though its powers' were weak, the Race Relations Board gave residents of Britain the ability to record their experiences of racial discrimination.

<sup>2</sup> Ben Bowling, Shruti Iyer and Iyiola Solanke, 'Race, Law and the Police: Reflections on the Race Relations Act at 50,' *Justice Resistance and Solidarity: Race and Policing in England and Wales* (2015), pp. 7-10, p. 7

<sup>3</sup> For interviews of those who remember the Mangrove Restaurant, see <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/extra/jGD9WJrVXf/the-mangrove-nine-black-lives-matter>

## The British Black Power movement (Sources Three through Six)

The British Black Power movement emerged in London in the summer of 1967, after the American political radical Stokely Carmichael gave a public talk in Camden, London, against 'white power' in Britain and the United States. Stokely Carmichael followed in a long line of African American radical thinkers and activists – including Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, and Angela Davis – who gave speeches in Britain and inspired British anti-racist activism. But the British Black Power Movement was not simply a bi-product of the African American freedom struggle. The legacy of the British Empire and the decolonisation of the British Caribbean loom large in this history. The fight against white supremacy in Britain was viewed by many as a continuation of the fight against colonialism.

## Background

Throughout the post-war period, activists in Britain connected their struggles for equality in Britain to both anticolonial politics and the US civil rights movement. In fact, for many British activists in the 1970s, 'black' as a term did not describe any single ethnicity but instead connoted a shared experience of colonial oppression and struggle. This concept of 'political blackness' could encompass British South Asian, Middle Eastern, Irish, Asian, African and Afro-Caribbean communities in Britain, among others.

Black Power activists would come to argue that revolutionary violence was a legitimate response to white supremacy, and that black people should defend themselves against state brutality in all its forms. By the end of the 1960s, Black Power was a global phenomenon. Local chapters of the Black Panther Party were present in most major US cities. In Trinidad in 1970, thousands of citizens took to the streets in massive demonstrations to support Black Power. Concerned that black revolutionary violence could happen in the UK, Scotland Yard established a 'Black Power Desk' in 1967 to track the activities of Black Power leaders in the UK. They worked with the British government's Joint Intelligence Committee and the M15 and reported directly to the Home Secretary.

The Nigerian playwright Obi B. Egbuna founded the largest and most influential British Black Power organisation in the summer of 1968, called the Black Panthers. Althea Jones-Lacointe, a PhD student who had recently moved from Trinidad to London to study biochemistry at the University of London, later became its leader.

## The trial of the Mangrove Nine (Source Seven and Source Eight)

The demonstration and the eventual three-month trial of the Mangrove Nine received national attention in the press and among politicians and activist groups. The defendants used the courtroom and the media attention of the trial as a platform to critique the racism of the police, the justice system and the British state. Both Darcus Howe and Althea Jones-Lacointe took the unusual step of defending themselves at the trial. Ian Macdonald, who was a Scottish barrister (and who would go on to spend the next three decades leading in the development of anti-racist lawyering in Britain) defended Barbara Beese. At the onset

## Background

of the trial, Macdonald applied unsuccessfully to have an all-black jury on the basis that the Magna Carta enshrined the right to trial by one's peers. Like Source Three, using the language of Black Power, Jones-Lacointe and Howe situated black people's experiences of systemic racism and repression in a long history of colonialism and white supremacy.

The Mangrove Nine trial captured the imagination and support of a broad range of radical 'New Left' groups and individuals, too, who were concerned with the protection of personal liberties and freedom of expression. These groups viewed the police harassment of black cultural centres, like the Mangrove Restaurant, and state efforts to contain and control Black Power activism as further examples of state repression. The 1971 Immigration Act, the 1971 Industrial Relations Act and the Troubles in Northern Ireland revealed, they argued, the increasing authoritarianism of the British state.

In his summing up at the end of the trial, the presiding judge, His Honour Judge Edward Clarke QC, famously noted that the trial had 'regrettably shown evidence of racial hatred on both sides'. Metropolitan Police attempted, unsuccessfully, to have this statement withdrawn. While it was not until the 2000 Equalities Act that the police would come under anti-discrimination law in Britain, the trial was historic in including the first judicial acknowledgement of racial prejudice in the Metropolitan Police. Thanks in part to the Mangrove Nine trial, the 1976 Race Relations Act attracted broad support. This law expanded the scope and power of anti-discrimination law in Britain and was the foundation of today's Equality and Human Rights Commission.



## External links

Historians must work from multiple archives, both inside and outside of Britain, to approach the rich and complex history of the British Black Power Movement. It is suggested that document collections and learning resources held at the Black Cultural Archives should be used with the sources available in this lesson.

[The Black Power Movement – Black Cultural Archives<sup>1</sup>](#)

[Subject guides – Black Cultural Archives<sup>2</sup>](#)

[Protest and Campaigns – Black Cultural Archives<sup>3</sup>](#)

[SPID Theatre<sup>4</sup>](#)

[SPID on Twitter<sup>5</sup>](#)

[SPID project<sup>6</sup>](#)

<sup>1</sup> <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/the-black-power-movement-black-cultural-archives/vAjyDSDJDD4gIA?hl=en>

<sup>2</sup> <https://blackculturalarchives.org/subject-guides>

<sup>3</sup> <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/629613ebc75cfe6f74515fd6/t/62ac4f0b18bb1f1d6c5e0bf0/1655459596071/Protest+and+Campaigns+-+Subject+Guide.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> <https://spidtheatre.com/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://twitter.com/SPIDTheatre>

<sup>6</sup> <https://soundcloud.com/spid-theatre-company/thedream-introduction>

## Connections to curriculum

### Key stage 3:

Challenges for Britain, Europe and the wider world 1901 to the present day, could include:  
Social, cultural and technological change in post-war British society.

### Key stage 4:

AQA GCSE History

Britain: Power and the people: c1170 to the present day

Part 4: Race & Equality: Minority rights: the development of multi-racial society since the Second World War; discrimination, protest and reform; the Brixton Riots including Scarman Report 1981.

### Key stage 5:

AQA A level history:

The end of the Post-war Consensus, 1970–1979: Society in the 1970s: race and immigration.

Edexcel A level History:

Britain transformed, 1918–97: Race and immigration: Racial controversy and the impact of government policy on race relations and immigration 1958-79.

### Personal, Social, Health and Economic education:

Supports PSHE in development of knowledge and understanding of the struggle for racial justice in Britain and the role of protest, policing and the law.

## Tasks

Source 1: Frank Crichlow's complaint to the Race Relations Board, 23 December, 1969. Catalogue ref: CK 2/690.

Read or listen to the source. [Audio can be found here.](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/mangrove-nine-protest/source-one/)

<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/mangrove-nine-protest/source-one/>

The Mangrove Restaurant was owned by Frank Crichlow.

Frank Crichlow's Letter of Complaint, 1969. Recorded by Daniel Ooko for SPID Theatre Estate Endz Black History Project in partnership with The National Archives, Decolonising the Archive and Black Cultural Archives. Project funded by Camilla Schofield with AHRC, University of East Anglia. Aug – Oct 2020, online workshops.

### Tasks

- What caused Frank Crichlow to make a complaint to the Race Relations Board?
- Explain why Frank Crichlow states that it is 'respectable people' who come to his restaurant.

Source 2: Action Group statement for the Defence of the Mangrove, 1970, Catalogue ref: HO 325/143

The Action Group provided a public statement to explain the reasons for the protest march against police harassment and the persecution of the Mangrove Restaurant. This group was set up by anti-racist activists, like the leader of Britain's Black Panthers Althea Jones-Lacointe, and local community leaders.

### Tasks

- Why did the Action Group for the Defence of the Mangrove organise a protest march?
- According to the Action Group, who is to blame for the unfair treatment of black people in Britain?
- Why are the opening words: 'We, the Black People of London' significant?

## Tasks

- Why were copies of this statement sent to High Commissioners of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados included?

Source 3: Newsletter entitled 'Black People's News Service' published by the British Black Panther Party, the largest Black Power group in Britain, 1970, Catalogue ref: MEPO 31/21.

### Tasks

- What three words do the images on the front of newsletter suggest to you? Give your reasons.
- Can you explain why this newsletter is named 'The Black Peoples' News Service'?
- What does this Black Panther organisation stand for? Does this help us define 'Black Power'?
- Why do you think the newsletter starts with the history of British colonialism? [Page 2].
- According to this source, why did migrants come to Britain?
- How might this understanding of immigration help black people fight for equality?
- How does this source help to understand the meaning of Black Power in a global context?

Source 4: DC Colin Lynch, three photographs taken from a police file of evidence against the Mangrove Nine, Catalogue ref: MEPO 31/21

Colin Lynch, Detective Constable attached to Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, was directed by his senior officer to 'attend a demonstration organised by coloured people to protest against alleged police oppression in the Notting Hill area.' He explained further: 'I was told that in view of the violent sentiments expressed in some of the literature publicising the demonstration it was feared that public disorder might occur. Accordingly I was instructed to take photographs of the demonstration to provide a sequential record of events should disorder ensue.'

### Tasks

Look at the photographs.

## Tasks

- Why was a police photographer on the scene?
- What were the police expecting that day?
- Who is the audience for these photographs?
- What **three** things do you notice about the protestors and bystanders in these photographs?
- Evaluate the role of women in these photographs, what are they doing and how are they being treated in the photographs?

Source 5: Margaret O'Connell, witness statement, Black Power demonstration and march, Notting Hill, London, 17 August 1970, Catalogue ref: MEPO 31/21 .

Margaret O'Connell was a resident of the area and served as a witness for the police.

### Tasks

- What are Margaret O'Connell's views of the Mangrove demonstration and/or Black Power according to this statement?
- Why do you think O'Connell says that she 'never saw any local people' involved?
- Can you explain why O'Connell emphasised in her statement that she was 'terrified'?
- Is it important that O'Connell is a woman in this source?

Source 6: Extract from 'Report on Police/Immigrant Relations' by Sam Morris, 17 August 1970, HO 325/143, pp. 3-5

Sam Morris (b.1908-d.1976), deputy-general of the Community Relations Commission was asked to write a report for the Home Secretary a week after the protest. According to Morris, this report was 'based on eyewitness accounts. Some of those to whom I spoke are known to me personally and are quite reliable.'

The Community Relations Commission, established by the 1968 Race Relations Act, sought to promote good 'community relations' between black and minority ethnic communities and white people in Britain. Sam Morris was a Grenada-born educationalist, anti-colonialist and civil rights activist. He first came to London in 1939. After serving in the British Army for



## Tasks

two and half years during the war, he soon began working to support the welfare of New Commonwealth Immigrants in Britain.

### Tasks

- Which line in the report says that the march was permitted by the authorities and police?
- Are there any examples of police violence in Morris' report?
- Can you explain what Morris is attempting to achieve by this report to the Home Office?
- According to this source, how were women in the demonstration treated?
- Do you think white women would face similar treatment at this time?
- What derogatory term is used for the police in **Sources four, five and six**? Can you find out the origin of this term?
- Evaluate whether **Sources four, five and six** about the Mangrove demonstration tell the same story. How do they differ? Which source do you find the most reliable or convincing? Justify your answer.

Source 7: Images from a pamphlet printed in defence of the Mangrove Nine. 1971, Catalogue ref: HO 325/143

### Tasks

- Describe the image in the title of the pamphlet – Source Seven (a)
- Explain why this image has been chosen for this pamphlet?
- What is the message of this image?
- Look at the image from the bottom, right corner – Source Seven (b)

This image is designed in the style a medieval coat of arms that often included a shield; crest; helmet; motto; to represent a family or individual.

- Explain why the creators of this pamphlet have used a 'coat of arms'?
- What are they trying to suggest about British justice?

Source 8: Extract from an article entitled 'Why I'll fight the heavy mob', the

## Tasks

'Post Mercury', 17 December, 1971 Catalogue ref: MEPO 31/21

### Tasks

- Can you find the quote that suggests Howe believes Officer Frank Pulley lied about what had happened at the protest?
- How does the newspaper article portray Howe at the trial?
- Why does Howe think that the Mangrove protest and trial is a 'historical moment'?
- Does Howe think that the police have given an honest account of the protest?
- What does Howe mean when he says: 'If they put me in prison, they do not take away my liberty but reduce the little liberty I have.'?

# Source 1: Frank Crichlow's complaint to the Race Relations Board, 23 December, 1969. Catalogue Ref: CK 2/690

For all complaints please give FULL DETAILS here:

I am The Owner of  
The Mangrove Restaurant,  
8 All Saints Road, W.11.

I received on 23rd  
December 1969 a letter from MR John WEIR  
of the Kensington Council, refusing to Renew  
my licence to operate as an All-Night Cafe.

My Restaurant is patronised by respectable  
people, has never had a case with the  
Police before - although they have unlawfully  
raided the premises on two occasions.

One of the grounds of refusal of the licence  
was that people with criminal records, prostitutes  
and convicted persons use the premises, and  
the Manager allows them to have meals.

This power they claim is vested by the  
New Act (Greater Powers Act) of the G.L.C.

I am the first known test case under  
the New Act - I object to the entire incident  
because I know it is because I am a Black  
Citizen of Britain that I am discriminated against.

Signature of person completing this form: F. Crichlow

(If different) Signature of person authorising complaint made on his/her behalf: \_\_\_\_\_

23/11/69

Date

Unless advised otherwise, please send this form to:

RACE RELATIONS BOARD, ST. STEPHEN'S HOUSE,  
VICTORIA EMBANKMENT, LONDON, S.W.1.

## Transcript: Source 1

'I am the owner of The Mangrove Restaurant, 8 All Saints Road, W. 11.

I received on 23rd December 1969 a letter from MR John WEIR of the Kensington Council, refusing to renew my licence to operate an all-night café.

My restaurant is patronised by respectable people, has never had a case with the police before – although they have unlawfully raided the premises on two occasions.

One of the grounds of refusal of the licence was that people with criminal records, prostitutes and convicted persons use the premises, and the manager allows them to have meals.

This power they claim is vested by the New Act (Greater Powers Act) by the G.L.C.

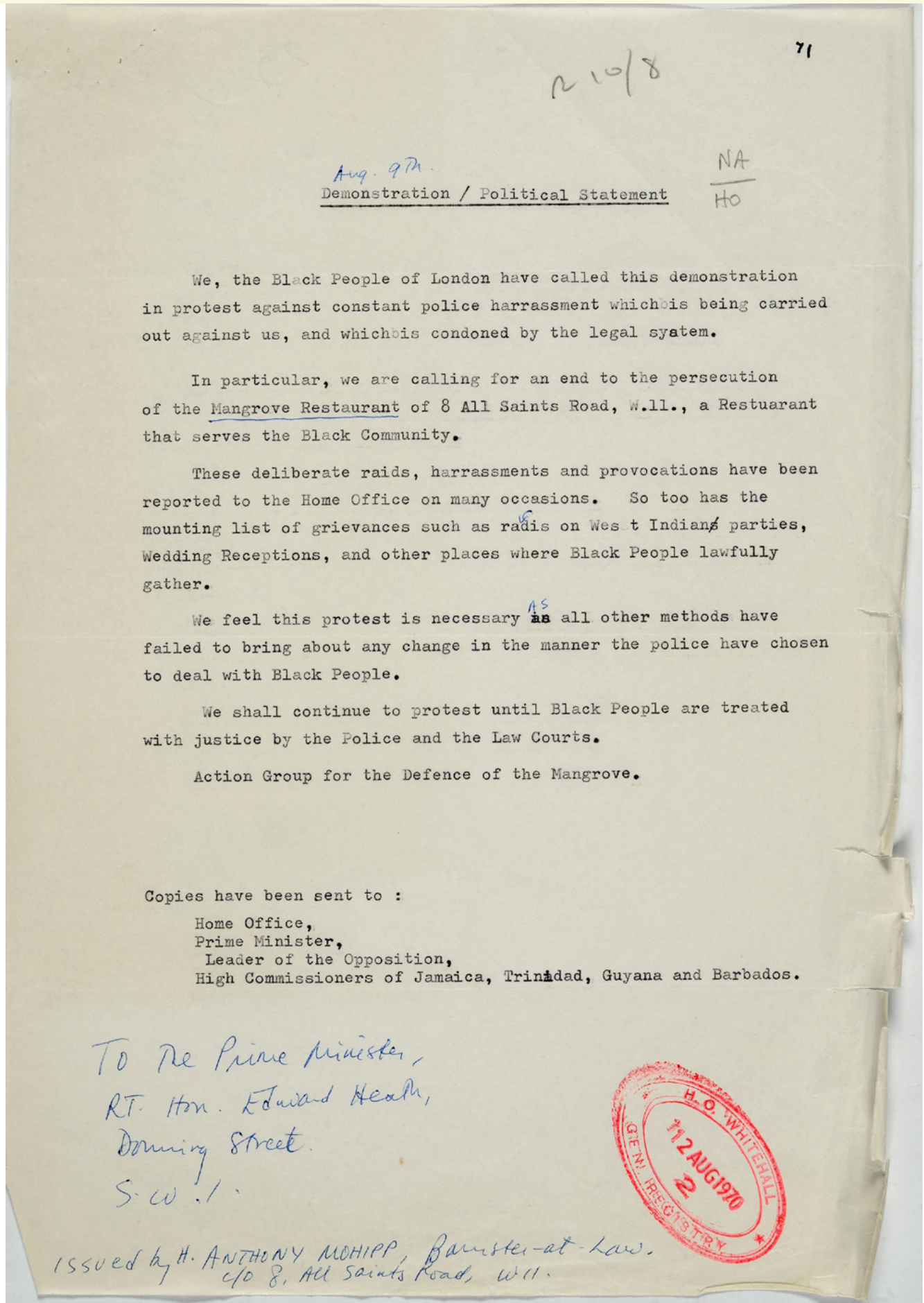
I am the first known test case under the New Act – I object to the entire incidence because I know it is because I am a black citizen of Britain that I am discriminated against.'

[Listen to audio of document](#)

<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/mangrove-nine-protest/source-one/>



## Source 2: Action Group statement for the Defence of the Mangrove, 1970. Catalogue Ref: HO 325/143





## Transcript: Source 2

We, the Black People of London have called this demonstration in protest against constant police harassment which is being carried out against us, and which is condoned by the legal system.

In particular, we are calling for an end to the persecution of the Mangrove Restaurant of 8 All Saints Road, W.11, a Restaurant that serves the Black Community.

These deliberate raids, harassments and provocations have been reported to the Home Office on many occasions. So too has the mounting list of grievances such as raids on West Indian parties, Wedding Receptions, and other places where Black People lawfully gather.

We feel this protest is necessary as all other methods have failed to bring about any change in the manner the police have chosen to deal with Black People.


We shall continue to protest until Black People are treated with justice by the Police and the Law Courts.

Action Group for the Defence of the Mangrove.

Copies have been sent to:


Home Office,  
Prime Minister,  
Leader of the Opposition,  
High Commissioners of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados

# Source 3: Newsletter: 'Black People's News Service' published by the British Black Panther Party. Catalogue Ref: MEPO 31/21



## BLACK PEOPLE'S NEWS SERVICE

BLACK PEOPLE UNITE AND FIGHT BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY FOR OUR LIBERATION. SEIZE THE TIME!! THE TIME IS NOW!!



### black panther movement

Black People's News Service is meant to serve Black people because the racist capitalist establishment in Britain has deliberately distorted black people's history, has refused to give the true reason why we Black people are here in Britain, and are suppressing information about the day to day struggle of Black people here and all over the world...

PLANNED AND FORWARDED BY BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT

BLACK PEOPLE'S NEWS SERVICE, JULY 1970

## BLACK OPPRESSED PEOPLE TAKE TO PROTEST AGAINST RACISM AND EXPLOITATION

(SEE PAGE 3)

### BLACK YOUTH SHOT AT BUS STOP BY WHITE FASCISTS

(PAGE 2)

## 'TOBAGO WHITE HAVEN' BLACK HELL

(PAGE 5)

## THE MAIN QUESTION FACING BLACK PEOPLE IS TO BE OR NOT TO BE

BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT STATEMENT ON THE ELECTION, PAGE 4.

## THE BLACK STRUGGLE IN AMERICA

Bulletin from BLACK PANTHER PARTY - INTERNATIONAL SECTION, LIBERTY, PAGE 6.

## BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT what we stand for

**HOUSING**

Most Black People coming to Britain have through the years lived in slums. Even in these slums Black People have been treated as second class citizens. We are forced to pay exorbitant rents for rooms and houses with poor amenities. Encouraged by the British Government, the white population has been building flats in spite of years of long waiting. Only old blocks are being demolished and replaced by white people. Black People operate in the same way as the white population. Out of frustration, we are forced to pay twice the normal cost for houses in areas for "re-development". Black People are being treated as second class citizens and give up our property without adequate compensation.

**EDUCATION**

Most Black People come to Britain with bright hopes for the future. They never had time to learn, such as opportunities for education. Many Black People have discovered that the education their children receive is no better than the education given to white children. Black children in low form and backward schools, as has been publicly exposed in the London Borough of Haringey. Many Black children are being treated as second class citizens and are being forced to learn in the hands of racist teachers.

But whether or not our children are physically victimized all Black people are subjected to intense brainwashing in British Education. The aim of the whole Educational system is to make Black people feel inferior. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class.

British education purposely ignores our history and never teaches us of the crimes and atrocities of our people and their brave struggle against European domination. We are never told that the only reason why white people are in power is because of the exploitation of Black people. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class.

**POLICE BRUTALITY**

The viciousness of the police with the active encouragement of the government is increasing against Black People. In our Black areas we are being treated as second class citizens. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class.

Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class. Black people are being treated as second class citizens in a history class.

## Transcript: Source 3

[Source page 1.]

### BLACK PEOPLES NEWS SERVICE

BLACK PEOPLE UNITE AND FIGHT BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY FOR OUR LIBERATION. SEIZE THE TIME! THE TIME IS NOW!

black panther movement

Black People's News Service is meant to serve black people because the racist capitalist establishment in Britain has deliberately distorted black peoples history, has refused to give the true reason why we black people are here in Britain and are supressing information about the day to day struggle of black people here and all over the world...

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT

...July 1970

BLACK OPPRESSED PEOPLE TAKE TO PROTEST AGAINST RACISM AND EXPLOITATION (see page 3)

BLACK YOUTH SHUT AT BUS STOP BY WHITE FASCISTS (page 2)

TOBAGO WHITE HAVEN BLACK HELL (page 5)

THE MAIN QUESTION FACING BLACK PEOPLE IS TO BE OR NOT TO BE

Black Panther Movement statement on the election, page 4;

THE BLACK STRUGGLE IN AMERICA

Bulletin from BLACK PANTHER PARTY-INTERNATIONAL SECTION, ALGERIA, PAGE 6.

## Transcript (cont.): Source 3

[Source Page 2]

['The Situation of Black People in Britain' transcribed.]

BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT

What we stand for

BLACK PEOPLES' NEWS SERVICE 1970

BLACK PANTHER MOVEMENT in Britain stands fundamentally for the LIBERATION. Liberation of ALL oppressed People. And primarily the liberation of Black People totally from every form of enslavement and exploitation.

The Situation of Black People in Britain

Why are we, Black people, here in Britain in the first place? We are in Britain not by choice or by chance, but because of the historical fact that Britain first came to our own countries. Britain plundered and colonized our homelands with ruthless violence subjected us to the most inhuman torture and took us at gun point from Africa and Asia to the Caribbean and the Americas to up wealth for her. Britain took over our lands exercising control over our natural resources by brutal force....; and for 400 years now she has continued to pump the natural wealth of our different countries to [provide] a high standard of living for her people in this country while our own people back home who produce the wealth live in abject poverty and in the most inhuman condition.

In the early part of this century Britain caused widespread economic depression and hard living conditions for us in our different countries. Britain herself was then facing a national disaster, industrial collapse and economic ruin as a result of the two world wars. Britain therefore induced us in 'her Colonies' to come here and help in the building of her ruined industries. Britain recruited us into her factories and firms for industrial production. Britain engaged our men and women to run her transport services and our nurses, midwives and

## Transcript (cont.): Source 3

doctors to maintain her health and medical services, thus Britain herself is responsible for our being in this country to provide the main labour force that keeps her industry going.

Having been induced by Britain to make our homes her[e] Black People now face mounting Racism and Exploitation in Immigration, Employment, Housing, Education as well as increasing persecution and brutality by the police

...



Source 4a: DC Colin Lynch, photograph taken from a police file of evidence against the Mangrove Nine. Catalogue Ref: MEPO 31/21



**Source 4b: DC Colin Lynch, photograph taken from a police file of evidence against the Mangrove Nine. Catalogue Ref: MEPO 31/21**





**Source 4c: DC Colin Lynch, photograph taken from a police file of evidence against the Mangrove Nine. Catalogue Ref: MEPO 31/21**





# Source 5: Margaret O'Connell, witness statement, Black Power demonstration and march, 17 August 1970. Catalogue Ref: MEPO 31/21

No. 951

## STATEMENT OF WITNESS

(C.J. Act 1967, ss. 2, 9; M.C. Rules, 1968, r. 58)

Statement of

Mrs Margaret O'Connell

Age of Witness (if over 21)

66 21 (15 3 10)

Occupation of Witness

Shop Assistant

Address and Telephone Number

17 Pat 172 Potting Road W9  
(99 734)

This statement, consisting of 2 pages each signed by me, is true to the best of my knowledge and belief and I make it knowing that if it is tendered in evidence I shall be liable to prosecution if I have wilfully stated in it anything which I know to be false or do not believe to be true.

Dated the 17<sup>th</sup> day of August

1970.

Signed

M. O'Connell

Signature witnessed by

I live with my husband at 72 Potting Road W9 where we occupy the top flat. Last Sunday, 16 August 1970, we were at home when, at about 11.45 am, as the result of something my husband told me I went to the window overlooking the roadway and looked out. I saw a large crowd of coloured people shouting and gathering. I wasn't able to make out what they were saying at that time. The next thing I saw was a young coloured man throw a brick. I was at a group of policemen standing just in front of the flat. The first brick hit a policeman's head. I saw it hit and the policeman wasn't able to see. I ran out to the door. Police arrested him. I went back to the doorway to join my husband and the firing seemed to die down. None of the coloured residents wanted to get involved in what I

Signed M. O'Connell

Signature witnessed by

\*Delete as applicable.

No. 951B

## STATEMENT OF WITNESS

(C.J. Act 1967, ss. 2, 9; M.C. Rules, 1968, r. 58)

Continuation of statement of

Margaret O'Connell.

was going on and I colourfully saw and heard people involved in the riot. I found four placards, one that said "Serious Party" (which I produce as Exhibit 1), one that said "Hands Off Black People" (Exhibit 2), and the other that said "People's Power" and a black woman drawn on it (Exhibit 3) and the other that said "Freedom to All Black People" (Exhibit 4). I can honestly say that I was absolutely terrified by all these events. I have never been so frightened in all my life. In fact, afterwards I just broke down and cried - when I think was badly due to shock. I forgot to mention that I telephoned Holloway Road Police Station during the firing to ask for more police to come down and I was so scared.

Signed M. O'Connell

Signature witnessed by

M.P. 49-42395

M.P. 49-42395

## Transcript: Source 5

### STATEMENT OF WITNESS

Statement of Mrs Margaret O'Connell

Age of Witness (if over 21, enter 'over 21') Over 21 (15.3.10)

Occupation of Witness Shop Assistant

Address and Telephone Number Top flat, 172, Portnall Road, W.9

This statement consisting of 2 pages each signed by me, is true to the best of my knowledge and belief and I make it knowing that, if it is tendered in evidence, I shall be liable to prosecution if I have wilfully stated in it anything which I know to be false or do not believe to be true.

Date the 17th day of August 1970.

...

'I live with my husband at 172, Portnall Road. W.9. where we occupy the top floor flat. Last Sunday, 9th August 1976, we were at home when, at about 4.45pm, as the result of something my husband told me I went to the window overlooking the roadway and looked out. I saw a large crowd of coloured people shouting and gesticulating. I wasn't able to make out what they were saying at the time. The next thing I saw was a young coloured man throw a milk bottle at a group of policemen standing just in front of him. He threw it really hard. I wasn't able to see if it hit anyone but the police arrested him. I went down to the doorway to join my husband and the fighting seemed to die down. None of the local residents wanted to get involved in what was going on and I certainly never saw any local people involved in the melee.

In the roadway outside my gate I found four placards, one had 'WE'LL GET YOU PIGGY' (which I produce as Exhibit MOC/1), one had 'HANDS OFF BLACK PEOPLE' (Exhibit MOC/2),

## Transcript (cont.): Source 5

another had 'PEOPLE'S POWER' and a black woman drawn on it (Exhibit MOC/3), and other had 'FREEDOM TO ALL BLACK NOW' written on it (Exhibit MOC/4). I can honestly say that I was absolutely terrified by all these events. I have never been so frightened in all my life. In fact afterwards I just broke down and cried – which I think was partly due to shock. I forgot to mention that I telephoned Harrow Road Police Station during the fighting to ask for more police to come down as I was so scared.



## Source 6: Extract from 'Report on Police/Immigrant Relations' by Sam Morris, 17 August 1970. Catalogue Ref: HO 325/143, pp. 3-5

Paddington - Sunday afternoon, 9 August:

A procession of less than 150 mostly black people set out on a peaceful march, a march not only known about and allowed by the authorities, but conducted by the police. While the uniformed men were few however, and well spaced outside the marchers, the plain clothes men were many - some say as many as 100 - and mingling with the marchers thus making a total of probably 250 - 300 persons.

The purpose of the march, according to its sponsors, was to draw attention to constant police provocation visits to the "Mangrove", a club cum restaurant cum community centre in the Paddington area. The Mangrove is the meeting place of black people and their white friends and for a considerable time has been living under the threat of being shut down by the police. The reason? The police so far have not given any. It is fair to mention here that not all the black people in the area were in favour of the march.

Things went well for a while, probably over an hour, with a number of watchers looking on from vantage points from upstairs windows, as well as from the pavement. During the march the uniformed men kept changing, taking turns at walking and following in the vans, of which there were many.

According to an eyewitness, a coloured youth was deliberately jostled by one of the plain clothes men, a man in short-sleeved jumper. The youth, feeling as bitter as most black youths now feel, deliberately jostled back and <sup>1</sup>fight started. While the black marchers looked around for bottles, bricks and stones to hurl at the police, the police, in turn, were ready with their truncheons. They laid to among men and women alike. This first fracas, which lasted for about two minutes, was livened by invectives like "Kill the Pigs" etc., and embellished by a pig's head and not by pigs' heads as is popularly reported. There were shouts from some whites of "Hands off the black people".

Despite the shouts and the blows, and of course the arrests, the marchers were able to regroup for a while but, when they reached a place where they were hammed in as it were by police vans strategically placed, fighting broke out again and this time the police had all the advantage

- 1 The feeling is shared by a number of black people that some of the police officers detailed to conduct the march actually resented having to serve in that capacity towards a set of black people, and that after a time one of the Constables decided it was time to break it up.

## Transcript: Source 6

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According to an eyewitness, a coloured youth was deliberately jostled by one of the plain clothes [police]men, a man in a short-sleeved jumper. The youth, feeling as bitter as most black youths now feel, deliberately jostled back and a fight started. While the black marchers looked around for bottles, bricks and stones to hurl at the police, the police, in turn, were ready with their truncheons. They laid to among men and women alike. This first fracas [fight], which lasted for about two minutes, was livened by invectives [insulting language] like 'Kill the Pigs' etc., and embellished [exaggerated] by a pig's head and not by pigs' heads as is popularly reported.

Despite the shouts and the blows, and of course the arrests, the marchers were able to regroup for a while but, when they reached a place where they were hammed in as it were by police vans strategically placed, fighting broke out again and this time the police had all the advantage.

## Transcript (cont.): Source 6

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Source 7a: Image from a pamphlet printed in defence of the Mangrove Nine, 1971. Catalogue Ref: HO 325/143





Source 7b: Image from a pamphlet printed in defence of the Mangrove Nine, 1971. Catalogue Ref: HO 325/143



## Transcript: Source 7b

To persecute the exploited poor and encourage the wrong doings of the police



Source 8: Extract from an article entitled 'Why I'll fight the heavy mob', the 'Post Mercury', 17 December, 1971. Catalogue Ref: MEPO 31/21

**P.C. FRANK PULLEY** had "infested the minds of his police superiors," Radford Howe told the Old Bailey jury this week. And his lies had plunged them into an abyss from which there was no return.

In the second "blockbuster" defence closing speech, Howe, a writer and lecturer, of Portobello Road, Notting Hill, said that the Trial of the Mangrove Nine had captured "a small area of a historical moment."

Conducting his own defence from the outset of the trial, Howe told the jury on **DAY FORTY-SEVEN**: "I believe this case has opened issues, has seared the consciences of black people, to such an extent that history could not be written without it."

Standing, he said, "black and proud" in the dock, dressed all in black and punctuating his three-hour speech with emphatic gestures, Howe told the jury he made no apology for keeping them for ten weeks.

"You are fortunate in taking part in a historical moment," he said.

Howe said that like Rhodan Gordon, who had spoken earlier, he did not care if he was sent to prison.

"I don't care because history is on my side. If they put me in prison, they do not take away my liberty but reduce the little liberty I have."

## Transcript: Source 8

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Howe said like Rhodan Gordon, who had spoken earlier, he did not care if he was sent to prison.

'I don't care because history is on my side. If they put me in prison, they do not take away my liberty but reduce the little liberty I have.'



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