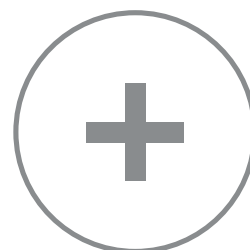
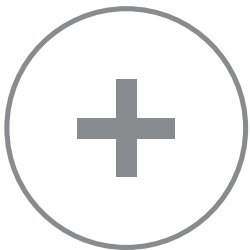


CHRONICLE :: FERGUSON





**CHRONICLE :: FERGUSON**

A collection of photographs from the community.

FOREWORD BY CAROL ANDERSON

CONCLUSION BY REBECCA BENNETT

**SANTIAGO BIANCO and STEVE SOMMERS**

*Chronicle Ferguson Co-Founders*

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First North American Edition

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*All proceeds from the sale of this book will be distributed between the family of Michael Brown, the photographers who documented these historic events, and towards donating the Chronicle::Ferguson books to middle and high schools in St. Louis and beyond.*

ABOUT

Through the eyes of many, we see the bigger picture.

The images in this book were collected from nearly 50 photographers in St. Louis, Missouri and the surrounding area. From ordinary citizens with cell phones to professional journalists, *Chronicle :: Ferguson* is told from the point of view of those who decided to raise their cameras and capture history in the making.

On Saturday, August 9, 2014, 18-year-old Michael Brown Jr. was fatally shot by then-Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson in the northern suburb of St. Louis. Many of these images were captured by people who live in the surrounding areas, allowing for a more personal, intimate view on the matter. Some of these images were dug up from old hard drives and old phones, where they were at risk of being lost or forgotten.

Five years of gathering these images have culminated in a hope that we continue the crucial conversations, actions and demands for change that one fateful Saturday afternoon in August ignited across the country.

SANTIAGO BIANCO and STEVE SOMMERS  
*Chronicle :: Ferguson Co-Founders*

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# Ferguson isn't about black rage against cops. It's white rage against progress.

—CAROL ANDERSON | August 29, 2014

When we look back on what happened in Ferguson, Mo., during the summer of 2014, it will be easy to think of it as yet one more episode of black rage ignited by yet another police killing of an unarmed African American male. But that has it precisely backward. What we've actually seen is the latest outbreak of white rage. Sure, it is cloaked in the niceties of law and order, but it is rage nonetheless.

Protests and looting naturally capture attention. But the real rage smolders in meetings where officials redraw precincts to dilute African American voting strength or seek to slash the government payrolls that have long served as sources of black employment. It goes virtually unnoticed, however, because white rage doesn't have to take to the streets and face rubber bullets to be heard. Instead, white rage carries an aura of respectability and has access to the courts, police, legislatures and governors, who cast its efforts as noble, though they are actually driven by the most ignoble motivations.

White rage recurs in American history. It exploded after the Civil War, erupted again

to undermine the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and took on its latest incarnation with Barack Obama's ascent to the White House. For every action of African American advancement, there's a reaction, a backlash.

The North's victory in the Civil War did not bring peace. Instead, emancipation brought white resentment that the good ol' days of black subjugation were over. Legislatures throughout the South scrambled to reinscribe white supremacy and restore the aura of legitimacy that the anti-slavery campaign had tarnished. Lawmakers in several states created the Black Codes, which effectively criminalized blackness, sanctioned forced labor and undermined every tenet of democracy. Even the federal authorities' promise of 40 acres—land seized from traitors who had tried to destroy the United States of America—crumbled like dust.

Influential white legislators such as Rep. Thaddeus Stevens (R-Pa.) and Sen. Charles Sumner (R-Mass.) tried to make this nation live its creed, but they were no match for the swelling resentment that neutralized

the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, and welcomed the Supreme Court's 1876 *United States vs. Cruikshank* decision, which undercut a law aimed at stopping the terror of the Ku Klux Klan.

Nearly 80 years later, *Brown v. Board of Education* seemed like another moment of triumph—with the ruling on the unconstitutionality of separate public schools for black and white students affirming African Americans' rights as citizens. But black children, hungry for quality education, ran headlong into more white rage. Bricks and mobs at school doors were only the most obvious signs. In March 1956, 101 members of Congress issued the Southern Manifesto, declaring war on the *Brown* decision. Governors in Virginia, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia and elsewhere then launched “massive resistance.” They created a legal doctrine, interposition, that supposedly nullified any federal law or court decision with which a state disagreed. They passed legislation to withhold public funding from any school that abided by *Brown*. They shut down public school systems and used tax dollars to ensure that whites could continue their

education at racially exclusive private academies. Black children were left to rot with no viable option.

A little more than half a century after Brown, the election of Obama gave hope to the country and the world that a new racial climate had emerged in America, or that it would. But such audacious hopes would be short-lived. A rash of voter-suppression legislation, a series of unfathomable Supreme Court decisions, the rise of stand-your-ground laws and continuing police brutality make clear that Obama’s election and reelection have unleashed yet another wave of fear and anger.

It’s more subtle—less overtly racist—than in 1865 or even 1954. It’s a remake of the Southern Strategy, crafted in the wake of the civil rights movement to exploit white resentment against African Americans, and deployed with precision by Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan. As Reagan’s key political strategist, Lee Atwater, explained in a 1981 interview: “You start out in 1954 by saying, ‘N---- -, n-----, n-----.’ By 1968 you can’t say

‘n-----’—that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like ‘forced busing,’ ‘states’ rights’ and all that stuff. You’re getting so abstract now you’re talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you’re talking about are totally economic things, and a byproduct of them is blacks get hurt worse than whites. And subconsciously maybe that is part of it. I’m not saying that.” (The interview was originally published anonymously, and only years later did it emerge that Atwater was the subject.)

Now, under the guise of protecting the sanctity of the ballot box, conservatives have devised measures—such as photo ID requirements—to block African Americans’ access to the polls. A joint report by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the NAACP emphasized that the ID requirements would adversely affect more than 6 million African American voters. (Twenty-five percent of black Americans lack a government-issued photo ID, the report noted, compared with only 8 percent of white Americans.) The Supreme Court sanctioned this discrimination in Shelby County v. Holder, which gutted the Voting

Rights Act and opened the door to 21st-century versions of 19th-century literacy tests and poll taxes.

The economic devastation of the Great Recession also shows African Americans under siege. The foreclosure crisis hit black Americans harder than any other group in the United States. A 2013 report by researchers at Brandeis University calculated that “half the collective wealth of African-American families was stripped away during the Great Recession,” in large part because of the impact on home equity. In the process, the wealth gap between blacks and whites grew: Right before the recession, white Americans had four times more wealth than black Americans, on average; by 2010, the gap had increased to six times. This was a targeted hit. Communities of color were far more likely to have riskier, higher-interest-rate loans than white communities, with good credit scores often making no difference.

Add to this the tea party movement’s assault on so-called Big Government, which despite the sanitized language

of fiscal responsibility constitutes an attack on African American jobs. Public-sector employment, where there is less discrimination in hiring and pay, has traditionally been an important venue for creating a black middle class. So when you think of Ferguson, don’t just think of black resentment at a criminal justice system that allows a white police officer to put six bullets into an unarmed black teen. Consider the economic dislocation of black America. Remember a Florida judge instructing a jury to focus only on the moment when George Zimmerman and Trayvon Martin interacted, thus transforming a 17-year-old, unarmed kid into a big, scary black guy, while the grown man who stalked him through the neighborhood with a loaded gun becomes a victim. Remember the assault on the Voting Rights Act. Look at Connick v. Thompson, a partisan 5-4 Supreme Court decision in 2011 that ruled it was legal for a city prosecutor’s staff to hide evidence that exonerated a black man who was rotting on death row for 14 years. And think of a recent studyby Stanford University psychology researchers

concluding that, when white people were told that black Americans are incarcerated in numbers far beyond their proportion of the population, “they reported being more afraid of crime and more likely to support the kinds of punitive policies that exacerbate the racial disparities,” such as three-strikes or stop-and-frisk laws.

Only then does Ferguson make sense. It’s about white rage.



Tammie Holland  
@TammieHolland



What the hell is going on in Ferguson?!

1:51 PM - 9 Aug 2014



Mike Brown Jr. 05.20.96 - 08.09.14



photos by Mike Brown Sr.

Normandy High School 09.18.13 Jade Harrell

Ferguson 08.09.14 Huy Mach



Ferguson 08.10.14 Wiley Price







Ferguson 08.09.14 Huy Mach



Ferguson 08.09.14 David Carson





Ferguson 08.09.14 David Carson



Ferguson 08.10.14 Wiley Price



Ferguson 08.10.14 Jarred Gastreich





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Ferguson 08.10.14 Wiley Price



Ferguson 08.10.14 Jarred Gastreich





Ferguson 08.10.14 David Carson



Ferguson 08.11.14 Jarred Gastreich



Ferguson 08.11.14 Wiley Price





Ferguson 08.11.14 Wiley Price



Ferguson 08.11.14 Wiley Price



Ferguson 08.11.14 Robert Cohen



Ferguson 08.11.14 Wiley Price





Ferguson 08.11.14 Lawrence Bryant



Verizon Wireless Amphitheater 08.12.14 Bryan Sutter





Ferguson 08.13.14 Lawrence Bryant



Ferguson 08.13.14 David Carson









Ferguson 08.14.14 Lindy Drew



Ferguson 08.14.14 Roberto Rodriguez



Ferguson 08.14.14 Lawrence Bryant



Ferguson 08.14.14 Dane Iwata





Ferguson 08.14.14 Dane Iwata



Ferguson 08.14.14 Dane Iwata



Ferguson 08.14.14 Dane Iwata

Ferguson 08.14.14 Daniel Shular



Ferguson 08.14.14 Daniel Shular



Ferguson 08.14.14 Dane Iwata



Ferguson 08.14.14 Dane Iwata



Ferguson 08.14.14 Johnetta Elzie





Ferguson 08.16.14 Richard Reilly



Downtown St. Louis 08.14.14 Laura Schatzman

# Thank You For Viewing “Week One” of the CHRONICLE :: FERGUSON eBook!

We feel that it is vital not to let important history fade. CHRONICLE :: FERGUSON will be releasing subsequent chapters of our eBook as they correspond with the chronology of events that occurred in the St. Louis region.

This project was designed to create a collective view of history with intentions of becoming an educational tool.

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