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Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Cook County, IL

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for in-house, individual nomination preparation)

Tier 2: 120 hours (generally individual nominations by paid consultants)

Tier 3: 230 hours (generally new district nominations by paid consultants)

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E: STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Illinois Black Panther Party

This Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPD), Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party (ILBPP), was developed for properties associated with the ILBPP in Illinois from 1968, when the chapter began, to 1974 when the major initiatives of the chapter waned. The areas of significance for resources nominated under this thematic context will be Black Ethnic Heritage and Social History. Because of the enormity of work done by the ILBPP and its broad influence on events, some of its associated resources may have state or national significance.

Primary locations submitted in this MPD are mostly within a three-mile radius of the ILBPP's headquarters, 2350 W. Madison Street in Chicago. Several important properties associated with the ILBPP have been demolished, including Chapter headquarters, 2350 W. Madison; South Side office, 4233 S. Indiana; the Medical Center, 3850 W. 16th Street; and the location of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton's assassination site, 2337 W. Monroe, all located within Chicago. Other properties are in immediate danger of being demolished. While this MPD focuses on the resources associated in Cook County, the BPP's influence, work, initiatives, and programs span the entire state of Illinois, with branches across the state. The ILBPP oversaw the Midwest Region of the Black Panther Party; Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa all reported to Illinois. Research and documentation of statewide properties are ongoing.

ASSOCIATED HISTORIC CONTEXT SUMMARY

Black Settlement in Chicago and the Great Migration

While Black people didn't arrive in Chicago in significant numbers until the 1840s, the city's founder and first permanent non-native, Jean Baptiste Point DuSable, was a Black man thought to be of African and French descent. While not much is known about DuSable's early life, it is believed that he and his family moved to the area from Peoria around 1779. He settled at the Chicago River and Lake Michigan intersection, where he established a trading post that offered patrons staples like flour, pork, and bread. DuSable's business was successful, and his trading connections extended to present-day Michigan and Wisconsin. DuSable's place also serves as the location of Chicago's first wedding and the first non-native birth. DuSable lived there until 1800, when he sold his property and returned to Peoria. He later moved to St. Charles, Missouri, where he died in 1818.¹

Chicago's earliest Black settlers were freedmen and enslaved people escaping oppression in the South. They resided in different neighborhoods throughout the city, with the biggest concentration in the Near South Side. The Black population, which was about 320 in 1850, steadily increased; by 1900, there were over 30,000 Black residents in the city. The South Side community had expanded even further south and evolved into what

¹ DuSable Heritage Association. "History of DuSable." <https://www.dusableheritage.com/history>, accessed February 7, 2023.

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became known as the Black Belt, a narrow swath of land bound by Van Buren Street on the north, Wabash Avenue on the east, Thirty-ninth Street on the south, and the railyards on the west.²

While conditions for the Black population in Chicago were far from ideal, some progressive changes were made in the last half of the nineteenth century. Illinois repealed school segregation laws in 1874 and enacted a law in 1885 that made discrimination in public places illegal. Unfortunately, the law did not take employment discrimination into account and was not often enforced.³ New leaders in the Black community addressed these issues. Two approaches – racial solidarity and military protest – were solutions espoused in *The Conservator*, the city's first Black newspaper. The newspaper was founded in 1878 by Ferdinand L. Barnett, a lawyer and civil rights advocate who married fellow activist Ida B. Wells in 1895. Wells was an investigative journalist from the South who campaigned extensively against lynchings. Upon arriving in Chicago, she continued her anti-lynching campaign and supported additional social causes, including women's suffrage and settlement house reform. She, along with W.E.B. Du Bois, was among the co-founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was established in 1909.⁴ Another important activist was Reverdy Ransom, a minister who, in 1900, left his position at the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church to create the Institutional Church and Social Settlement to provide social services to Black Chicagoans.⁵

By 1910, the Black population had increased to 40,000. However, the Black and White communities were still segregated, so the Black leaders began establishing independent institutions to better serve the community. Between the late 1800s through 1916, the Black community had its own YMCA and hospital. New black newspapers emerged, including the *Chicago Defender*. Black politicians now represented Chicago's Second Ward, a primarily Black district.⁶

Black families began to leave the rural south for Chicago and other industrialized cities in the North and Midwest in 1910. The population shift, the Great Migration, occurred in two phases, the first from 1916 through 1940 and the second from 1941 through 1970. In that time, roughly six million Black Southerners relocated to the North, Midwest, and later West to pursue better employment and education and to escape the hostility and brutality they experienced in the South.⁷ Black Americans continued to experience discrimination and segregation but fared better living in the North and Midwest than under the oppressive Jim Crow Laws in

² Commission on Chicago Landmarks, *The Black Metropolis – Bronzeville District*. Preliminary Summary of Information, 1984, revised 1997.

³ Encyclopedia of Chicago, "African Americans." <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/27.html>. Accessed March 7, 2023.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ralph E. Luker, "Missions, Institutional Churches, and Settlement Houses: The Black Experience, 1885-1910." *The Journal of Negro History*, Volume 69, Number 3-4, Summer Fall 1984, p. 101.

⁶ "African Americans." Encyclopedia of Chicago. Accessed March 7, 2023.

⁷ "The Great Migration (1910-1970)", National Archives: African American Heritage,

<https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/migrations/great-migration#:~:text=The%20Great%20Migration%20was%20one,the%201910s%20until%20the%201970s>. Accessed March 7, 2023.

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the South.⁸ While migration occurred at a steady pace at the beginning of the decade, it increased dramatically during the late nineteen-tens with the onset of World War I. The war created an increase in production needs but a decrease in industrial workers as immigration from overseas practically ceased and Americans were drafted. This labor shortage afforded Black workers more economic opportunities as they could now fill the industrial jobs they were previously denied.⁹

From 1910 to 1920, the Black population in Chicago almost tripled, reaching 110,000. Nearly half of the population –50,000 or more – arrived between 1916 and 1920. The growth in Chicago’s traditional Black denominations, American Methodist and Baptist, was considerable; the congregation of Olivet Baptist church had reached 10,000, making it the biggest Black church in the country. Southern Blacks also founded denominations new to Chicago, the storefront churches of Pentecostal and Spiritualist faiths, which offered members an alternative to the reserved church services attended by the Black middle and upper classes.¹⁰

The growth in the Black population also proved to be a political advantage. The election of Oscar Stanton DePriest to the alderman of Chicago’s Second Ward in 1915 marked the beginning of the end of White-controlled Black wards. DePriest, the City’s first Black alderman, formed the People’s Movement Club in 1917, a Black political organization.¹¹

Red Summer and the Chicago Race Riot of 1919

Just as the Black community benefitted from the population boom, they also experienced drawbacks. Housing in the South Side neighborhoods where the Black Chicagoans resided was becoming scarce. Even though much of the housing stock was subpar, finding a place to live was difficult, and the competition for existing dwellings was stiff.¹² When Black residents began to move outside of the Black Belt into adjoining White neighborhoods, many reacted hostilely. Neighborhood organizations attempted to keep Black people out by pressuring owners not to rent or sell to them. Other tactics were violent. Whites bombed Black residences, and White gangs – largely comprised of working-class Irish – chased Black people out of White neighborhoods, sometimes beating or killing them. Two Black men were killed by Whites on the South side in June 1919; there were many witnesses, but no arrests were made.¹³

Racial tensions continued to rise across the country at the end of World War I. Thousands of Black men signed up for the war and within one week of President Wilson’s declaration of war, the War Department refused

⁸ Library of Congress, “The Segregation Era (1900–1939,)” in *The Civil Rights Act of 1964: A Long Struggle for Freedom*. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civil-rights-act/segregation-era.html#obj048>. Accessed March 1, 2023.

⁹ “African Americans.” Encyclopedia of Chicago.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ National Register of Historic Places, The Forum, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois National Register # SG100003646, p. 16.

¹² NPR, “Code Switch” (NPR, 2019), <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2019/07/27/744130358/red-summer-in-chicago-100-years-after-the-race-riots>.

¹³ “Confronting the Race Riots”, Chicago 1919. <https://chicago1919.org/resources>. Accessed March 26, 2023.

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additional Black recruits.¹⁴ The United States needed more soldiers, and after the May 1917 enactment of the Selective Service Act, over 700,000 Black men joined the military.¹⁵ The combination of new southern migrants populating major cities in high concentrations and Black soldiers traveling overseas to fight for democracy proved to be a major turning point of consciousness. The Black soldiers who had fought for democracy abroad came home with a new awareness. Black Leaders were calling upon veterans to defend their honor. As W.E.B. Du Bois stated, Black veterans were not just to come back from fighting but to come back fighting. This caused concern for many Whites who believed Black veterans would not want to return to the country's traditional subservient social and political norms. As a result, violence against Black veterans escalated; lynchings rose from 64 in 1918 to 83 in 1919, and membership in the Ku Klux Klan, which was revived in 1915, had grown into the millions by the beginning of the 1920s.¹⁶

The shortage of jobs and housing created additional strains on race relations. White soldiers returning home were now competing with Black workers for employment. On the other hand, Black workers were losing jobs to White veterans. In a matter of months, the number of Black workers in Chicago alone fell to 50,000, down from 65,000.¹⁷

White laborers were already hostile towards Black workers—some of whom were used as strikebreakers to keep factories open during labor strikes. Animosity increased after the Russian Revolution as authorities and others suspected Black laborers of bringing Bolshevism to the United States.¹⁸ Tensions between the races came to a head in the summer of 1919. Rioting occurred in over thirty cities in what became known as the Red Summer.

The Chicago Race Riot of 1919 began in Red Summer. On July 27, Eugene Williams, a Black teenager, and his friends were swimming in Lake Michigan when Williams unintentionally drifted into what was considered the White area. A group of White people began throwing stones at them, and Williams, who was hit, drowned. Police would not arrest the man considered responsible for William's death. Tensions that were already escalating exploded into violence when an innocent Black man was arrested instead, resulting from a White man's complaint.¹⁹ Rioting ensued for days. The violence was perpetuated by rumors spreading throughout both White and Black communities. White mobs chased down Black people and beat or killed them. Black people fought back and killed Whites in acts of self-defense or retaliation.²⁰ Rioting ensued for days, finally subsiding after the National Guard arrived.

¹⁴Jami L. Bryan, "Fighting for Respect: African-American Soldiers in WWI - the Campaign for the National Museum of the United States Army" (The Campaign for the National Museum of the United States Army, February 15, 2018), <https://armyhistory.org/fighting-for-respect-african-american-soldiers-in-wwi/>.

¹⁵"African-American Participation during World War I," Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs - State of Delaware, 2016, <https://history.delaware.gov/world-war-i/african-americans-wwi>.

¹⁶"Red Summer", National WWI Museum and Memorial (theworldwar.org). Accessed March 26, 2023.

¹⁷Lauren Williamson, "5 Things You'll Learn in This New Account of the 1919 Race Riots," Chicago Magazine, 2018, <https://www.chicagomag.com/chicago-magazine/january-2018/1919-race-riot/>.

¹⁸"Red Summer", National WWI Museum and Memorial.

¹⁹WTTW, "From Riots to Renaissance: 1919 Race Riot," WTTW Chicago, July 10, 2018, <https://interactive.wttw.com/dusable-to-obama/1919-race-riot>.

²⁰"Confronting the Race Riots," Chicago 1919, 2019, <https://chicago1919.org/>.

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When the Chicago riots were over, 38 people were killed (23 of them Black), over 500 were injured, and 1,000 Black residents whose neighborhoods were destroyed by fires started by White mobs were displaced.²¹ The police provided little protection to Black neighborhoods. White Irish gangs—“athletic clubs” as they were called, were essentially free to terrorize Black Chicagoans. Twice as many Black people were arrested than Whites.²² While no Whites were prosecuted for their crimes, Illinois Governor Frank Lowden, at the urging of leaders in Chicago, created a panel of both Black and White commissioners who issued an in-depth report in 1922. The six-hundred-page report, entitled *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, provided an account of Black lives in Chicago. While the impact of the study was negligible, it laid bare the racism in Chicago. The report concluded that the city’s negligence of, and some White residents’ racism and brutality towards, the Black community were the cause of the riots. This account directly refuted claims of unnecessary Black violence made in the city’s main newspapers at the time of the riots -- including the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Daily News*.²³

The race riots during the Red Summer demonstrated a new willingness among the Black community to defend themselves at all costs:

The Red Summer saw Black populations fight back aggressively against racial violence and intimidation in ways that were not typical before. The Red Summer of 1919 did not intimidate African Americans into submission, as their tormentors had hoped. Instead, African Americans emerged from the violence of that bloody year with a greater sense of shared purpose, identity and pride, which served as a vital foundation for the civil rights movement to come.²⁴

After the riots, Black Chicagoans were even more determined to succeed, as demonstrated in the development of the Black Metropolis.

Black Metropolis

In the early twentieth century, Chicago was a symbol of hope for many Black Americans -- a place where they could prove themselves based on their abilities and be free from intimidation. Black leaders, such as Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, noticed a determination to compete and succeed among the Black Chicagoans of the South Side.²⁵ Du Bois dedicated the NAACP’s September 1915 issue of *The Crisis* to Black Chicago, in which he noted:

As compared with other cities Colored Chicago is noted for its push and independence, its political aggressiveness and its large number of middle-class working people who are

²¹Terrence Chappell, “The most violent week in Chicago history” The Chicago Reader, April 30, 2019.

<https://chicagoreader.com/news-politics/the-most-violent-week-in-chicago-history/>.

²² WWTW, “From Riots to Renaissance: 1919 Race Riot.”

²³ “Confronting the Race Riots,” Chicago 1919, 2019, <https://chicago1919.org/>.

²⁴ “Red Summer.”

²⁵ Christopher Robert Reed, *The Rise of Chicago’s Black Metropolis, 1920-1929*, Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011.

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doing well...out of the mass of Colored folk in Chicago have risen members of distinguished people who have who have made their mark in city life and even the life of the nation quite independent of their race or color.”²⁶

But it was the events that occurred between 1916 and 1919 – the Great Migration, World War I, and the 1919 Race Riots – that shaped Chicago for many years.²⁷

In the decade following the 1919 race riot, Chicago's Black population grew over 113 percent. The job shortages and labor unrest immediately following the war did not do much to deter migration: “Some black newcomers expressed a sentiment that Chicago offered them a hope not to be found elsewhere or under any other circumstances. One man responded resolutely when confronted with high joblessness in Chicago, “I also know that there is no work in Mississippi, and I had rather be out of work in Chicago than out of work in Mississippi.”²⁸

The rapid expansion of the Black community led to the creation of a distinct Black business and cultural district in the Douglas and Grand Boulevard Community Areas of Chicago’s South Side. Bordered by 31st Street (North), Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive (east), Pershing Road (south), and the Dan Ryan Expressway (west), Black Metropolis was able to prosper and function independently from the rest of the city.²⁹ The formation of the “city within a city,” which began during the early 1900s, was also made possible by the increased wealth of Black Chicagoans. Jesse Binga, a Black entrepreneur, established the first black-owned bank in 1908. As the Black community continued to prosper, the lack of support of the White financial community was no longer a hindrance.³⁰ Dubbed Bronzeville in 1930, the self-reliant community –free from racial constraints enforced elsewhere in the city—established its own banks, businesses, services, and entertainment venues.³¹ By the end of the 1920s, several Black-owned and/or financed buildings were constructed. Among these were the multi-use Jordan Building, the first Black-owned and constructed building in the district completed by songwriter and music publisher Joseph J. Jordan in 1916; the multi-use Overton Hygienic Building built by prominent businessman Anthony Overton: the Chicago Bee Building, home of the Chicago Bee newspaper: the Knights of Pythias Building, a Black fraternity designed by Black architect Walter T. Bailey; and the Binga Bank quarters and Binga Arcade Building, built by Jesse Binga.

Bronzeville was home to some of the country's most famous and influential Black Americans. Bronzeville music and entertainment industry residents included Louis Armstrong, Nat “King” Cole, Sam Cooke, Dinah Washington, Quincy Jones, and Herbie Hancock; gospel music pioneers Mahalia Jackson and Thomas A. Dorsey; and choreographer Catherine Dunham. Writers included Richard Wright, activist and writer Ida B. Wells, and Pulitzer Prize winner Gwendolyn Brooks. Sports figures

²⁶ Reed, Introduction, p. 7

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Reed, Chapter 1: Democracy and Ethos, p.2.

²⁹ National Register of Historic Places, The Forum, Cook County, Chicago. NR Reference # 100003646, p. 15.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 15.

³¹Ibid, p. 15.

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included Olympians Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe, Negro League Baseball founder Andrew Rube Foster, and boxer Joe Louis. Other notable residents included surgeon Daniel Hale Williams, who performed the first open-heart surgery on a human at Bronzeville's Provident Hospital, and Bessie Coleman, a pioneer in women's aviation.³² In 1928, former city alderman Oscar DePriest became the first Black United States Congressman from the North, a position he held for three consecutive terms. DePriest established the People's Movement Club after he was elected alderman. The club became so powerful that it succeeded in removing White control of the district by the 1920s.³³

The social, economic, political, and cultural changes that occurred in Chicago's Black community before the 1920s culminated in an autonomous and prosperous Black Metropolis:

“Although the success of the Black Metropolis rested heavily on the continued expansion of the African American political economy of the South Side, at the beginning of the decade it benefited directly from the post-wartime boom. The marvel of this situation existed in the ability of African Americans to position themselves to take advantage of opportunities that circumstances presented despite the many obstacles they encountered. Although African Americans could not be credited with molding the overall economic conditions that made the Black Metropolis a reality, they surely could be recognized for their power of motivation, will, foresight, and perseverance in their perception of the possible. Here was ample proof that a required mentality intersecting with advantageous conditions could produce salutary results. The New Negro possessed that mind-set and Chicago provided the venue. * * *

Organizationally, although the importance of material factors affecting historical change were undeniable, the inner workings of the political economy of the 1920s were intricately linked to the demographic changes, emerging social structure, level of racial consciousness, cultural and aesthetic expressions, and religious practices and activities of this pivotal period in Chicago's history.”³⁴

Just as many factors contributed to the success of Black Metropolis, the chain of events beginning in the mid-1920s led to its demise. Migration to the city continued, but not at the rate it had in the 1910s. Still, there were not enough jobs for everyone. The unemployment rate hurt Black Metropolis, which depended on the Black community's support. Additionally, White business owners, who initially ignored the Black community, established a business district adjacent to the neighborhood on 47th Street. The competition from White-financed businesses and chain stores depleted the Black-owned businesses on 35th Street. Finally, the Great Depression in 1929 caused most of the Black-owned businesses and institutions -- which lacked access to the national financial support and credit received by White businesses-- to close. The economic impact was so severe that Black Metropolis never fully recovered. Its collapse dashed the hopes of those who dreamt of a recognized and eventually integrated downtown.³⁵

³² The Forum, p. 16.

³³ The Forum, p. 16.

³⁴ Reed, Introduction, p.10.

³⁵ The Black Metropolis – Bronzeville District. Preliminary Staff Summary of Information. 1997. City of Chicago, Commission on Chicago Landmarks p. 8.

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The Great Depression and the Black Renaissance

While nearly every American felt the impact of the Great Depression, the Black community suffered the most. It is estimated that fifty percent of Black Americans were out of work by 1932. Whites in some of the northern communities demanded Black workers be fired— the sentiment being they shouldn't be working when Whites could not get employment. Racial violence was again on the upswing, particularly in the South. The number of lynchings grew from eight in 1932 to twenty-eight in 1932—an increase of two-hundred-and fifty percent.³⁶

Many in the Black community were impressed by President Franklin Roosevelt's handling of the Great Depression, and Roosevelt's New Deal caused Black voters to shift away from the Republican Party. Not every New Deal program benefited the Black community. Discrimination was still prevalent, particularly in housing and employment projects, and Franklin was not supportive of all the legislation advocated by the NAACP.³⁷ Federal restrictions on the programs tightened over time, and in 1935, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 7046, which disallowed discrimination of any kind against qualified workers.³⁸ The same year, the Works Progress Administration was established; by 1939, the WPA employed an estimated 425,000 Black relief workers -- nearly 15% of its workforce. The program was crucial for Black Americans.³⁹ The Black newspaper, *Opportunity*, published the following account of the program:

It is to the eternal credit of the administrative officers of the WPA that discrimination on various projects because of race has been kept to a minimum and that in almost every community Negroes have been given a chance to participate in the work program... in the northern communities, particularly in the urban centers, the Negro has been afforded his first real opportunity for employment in White-collar occupations.⁴⁰

The funding from the WPA had a huge impact on Black American art and culture. While not as well-known as the Harlem Renaissance (1917 – 1935), Chicago's Black Renaissance, which lasted from the 1930s through the 1950s, generated musicians, intellectuals, activists, artists, and authors who used their creative talents as means to advocate for social and political change. At the time, Bronzeville was considered by some to be the country's center of Black culture.⁴¹ Influential works produced during the Renaissance included Richard Wright's works on life in the ghetto, *Black Metropolis* by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, which provided an in-depth

³⁶ Library of Congress (loc.gov), "Race Relations in the 1930s and 1940s", in Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945. U.S. History Primary Source Timeline, Classroom Materials at the Library of Congress, accessed April 4, 2023.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸ The Living New Deal, "African Americans | Living New Deal," Living New Deal, 2018,

<https://livingnewdeal.org/what-was-the-new-deal/new-deal-inclusion/african-americans-2/>. Accessed April 5, 2023.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹Department of Zoning and Land Use Planning, City of Chicago, "Chicago Black Renaissance Literary Movement Historic Landmark Nomination," 2009,

https://www.chicago.gov/dam/city/depts/zlup/Historic_Preservation/Publications/Chicago_Black_Renaissance_Literary_Movement_Report.pdf.

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study of Black Chicago during the 1930s and 1940s, and poetry by Pulitzer -prize winner Gwendolyn Brooks. The establishment of Bronzeville institutions, such as Parkway Community House, the South Side Community Art Center, and the Hall Library, was also significant in encouraging community involvement by hosting writing groups, art collectives, and literary discussion forums.⁴²

Second Great Migration

Much of the literature produced during Chicago's Black Renaissance focused on the hardships endured by the Black community, and one of the biggest ongoing problems was the lack of adequate housing. Black Chicagoans were barred from moving into many of the city's neighborhoods due to restrictive housing covenants established by the Chicago Real Estate Board in 1925. Housing loans were difficult, as lenders were discouraged from investing in minority neighborhoods. This practice, known as redlining, was based upon color-coded maps developed by the U.S. Home Owners' Loan Corporation in 1934 that identified minority neighborhoods as risky investments.⁴³ As of 1944, ninety percent of Black Chicagoans lived in the Black Belt. After World War II came the second wave of the Great Migration; between 1940 and 1950, Chicago's Black population almost doubled. The boundaries of the Black Belt remained the same. In addition, the segregated housing market subjected Black Chicagoans to higher rental rates than other ethnic groups.⁴⁴ Black people, in dire need of housing, began to move out of Bronzeville and into the all-white neighborhoods on the city's south and west sides. As a result, the decade following World War II was marked by violent protests as Whites resisted integration.⁴⁵ At least nine major race riots occurred; in the period between 1945 to 1950, Chicago's Commission on Human Relations reported over 350 serious incidents resulting from Black families moving into White neighborhoods.⁴⁶ As housing continued to be scarce for Black Chicagoans throughout the 1950s, they were still being taken advantage of by unscrupulous realtors who initiated discriminatory tactics against them, including blockbusting --intimidating Whites to sell low, then selling high to Black homeowners-- and contract buying --offering Black residents' contracts on a rent-to-own basis, subjecting them to high-interest rates and leaving them unprotected from eviction.⁴⁷

Bronzeville, already rife with crime and poverty, continued to decline after the Black middle class left. Businesses in the neighborhood lost their base customers, further jeopardizing the economic stability of the neighborhood. The physical destruction of the neighborhood had already begun in 1939 when blocks and blocks of Bronzeville were demolished to make way for the Ida B. Wells Housing, located at 37th and Vincennes Avenue. Wide-scale demolition of the neighborhoods continued over the years, making way for additional housing projects, the Illinois Institute of Technology campus, and the Dan Ryan Expressway. The continued development of public housing created new problems for the South Side neighborhood, reinforcing segregation and overwhelming local schools. Black Chicagoans, denied basic rights and faced with rising

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³ Chicago 1919, <https://chicago1919.org/resources>.

⁴⁴ Chicago Black Renaissance Literary Movement Historic Landmark Nomination," , p. 12.

⁴⁵ Chicago 1919, <https://chicago1919.org/resources>.

⁴⁶Chicago Black Renaissance Literary Movement Historic Landmark Nomination," p. 12; "Airport Homes Race Riots" https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Airport_Homes_race_riots. Accessed 4/6/2023.

⁴⁷ Chicago 1919, <https://chicago1919.org/resources>.

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unemployment, poverty, crime, and inadequate housing, were visibly angry and frustrated.⁴⁸ The widespread marginalization, discrimination, and mistreatment of Black Americans across the country prompted demands for justice and equality, culminating in a movement that would last nearly twenty years.

Modern Civil Rights Movement

The Modern Civil Rights Movement (1954-1968) was a non-violent crusade led by Black Americans to demand equal rights, integration, and inclusion. Influential organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) organized marches, sit-ins, boycotts, and freedom rides as a means to fight against segregation, racism, disenfranchisement, and socioeconomic inequality. Many proponents of the movement met with resistance from Whites and police and were subjected to beatings, bombings, torture, and death. Extraordinary members of the Black community emerged to lead the movement, including Martin Luther King Jr., Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, Rosa Parks, John Lewis, Bayard Rustin, Mamie Till, and James Farmer. Among the achievements accomplished by the movement are the passage of civil rights laws; the establishment of federal agencies to oversee fair housing, equal employment, and civil rights; Supreme Court rulings against segregation and for interracial marriage, and the ratification of the 24th Amendment, prohibiting poll taxes, a voting fee used by some states to restrict Black voters.

Countless events helped spur the Civil Rights Movement. Still, many consider the watershed moment to be the *Brown v. Board of Education* case (1954) when lead counsel Thurgood Marshall, the head of the NAACP, argued the case against racial segregation in schools before the Supreme Court. The court ruled unanimously that the “separate but equal” clause in public education was unconstitutional.⁴⁹

Another defining moment in the Civil Rights Movement occurred during the summer of 1955 when fourteen-year-old Emmett Till was kidnapped, beaten, and tortured by White Mississippians after allegedly offending a White woman. His mother, Mamie Till-Mobley, fought with local authorities to return his body to Chicago. Unbeknownst to Mamie, they complied on the condition that his casket never be opened. Mamie, however, insisted his casket open, allowing anyone to view his mutilated body. Tens of thousands attended the funeral. Mamie permitted the Black-owned magazine *Jet* to photograph Emmett’s body. Her bravery made Americans face the violence faced by Black Americans.⁵⁰

Resistance to racist standards of the Jim Crow South was another turning point in the movement. In December of 1955, Rosa Parks famously was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to give up her seat on the bus for a White person. The incident started the Montgomery Bus Boycott spearheaded by the newly established Montgomery Improvement Association, presided over by Martin Luther King, Jr. The boycott lasted seven

⁴⁸ Chicago Black Renaissance Literary Movement Historic Landmark Nomination,” p. 12.

⁴⁹“The Civil Rights Movement,” The Library of Congress, accessed April 7, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/post-war-united-states-1945-1968/civil-rights-movement/>.

⁵⁰Smithsonian Magazine and Ellen Wexler, “How Emmett Till’s Mother Galvanized the Civil Rights Movement,” Smithsonian Magazine, October 13, 2022, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/emmett-till-mother-galvanized-civil-rights-movement-180980925/>.

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months and caused a huge financial strain on the bus company. Protesters endured harassment by the police but refused to relent. The boycott ended when the Supreme Court ruled the state's segregated bus laws violated the Constitution, the legal precedent being *Brown vs. Board of Education*. The boycott became the Civil Rights Movement's first large-scale act of peaceful protest and helped establish Martin Luther King, Jr. as its leader.⁵¹

The enforcement of *Brown vs. Board of Education* proved to be challenging. Several states refused to comply with the new law. One of the most famous incidents occurred in 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas, when nine Black students were barred from entering Central High School by the National Guard, as ordered by the Governor, Orval Faubus. To protect the students and uphold the law, President Eisenhower sent U.S. troops to the school and nationalized the guard.⁵²

1957 also marked the organization of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights group that originated with the Montgomery Improvement Association. Headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the SCLC began a series of widescale peaceful demonstrations in 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, to call for the desegregation of the city's downtown businesses. In what became known as the Birmingham Campaign, thousands of demonstrators – including school children -- came together peacefully only to be attacked by a violent police force wielding fire hoses and attack dogs. While in jail, hundreds were arrested, including King, who wrote "The Letter from Birmingham Jail," which defended the principles behind the nonviolent protests. The letter has become one of the most significant articles written during the movement.⁵³

A national protest was organized that same year, with over one-quarter of a million people from across the country in attendance. Called the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, the demonstration held on August 28, 1963, was the largest peaceful protest to have ever occurred in the country. Inspired by A. Philip Randolph, who established the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), the march was organized in only a few short months. It included leaders from the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress on Racial Equality, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The group expanded to include United Auto Workers (UAW), the American Jewish Congress (AJC), the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. The National Council of Negro Women also assisted with the planning. Organized by Bayard Rustin, a prominent social activist experienced with demonstrations, the protest was a call to action for legislation to end racial discrimination. Key players in the March met with the President and congressional leaders. The March concluded with music and speeches delivered at the Lincoln Memorial. Among the speeches included Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream," one of the most memorable events of the Civil Rights

⁵¹ "The Montgomery Bus Boycott" National Register of Historic Places (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior Nomination Form The Montgomery Bus Boycott (U.S. National Park Service) (nps.gov)4/8/23.

⁵² "The Civil Rights Movement," The Library of Congress, accessed April 7, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/post-war-united-states-1945-1968/civil-rights-movement/>.

⁵³ Ibid.

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Movement.⁵⁴ The March on Washington persuaded the Kennedy Administration to introduce a strong civil rights bill in Congress, which ultimately passed under the Johnson Administration the following year.

While the non-violent March on Washington helped influence the civil rights bill, the violence that occurred during the Selma Marches in 1965 prompted the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Organized by the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL), the SNCC, and the SCLC, the marches between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama, protested Jim Crow laws that obstructed Black residents from voting. The first march, on March 7, was led by future Congressman John Lewis, who was brutally beaten by law enforcement when he and the marchers tried to cross Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge. Lewis nearly died and over 60 marchers were injured by police who hit, tear-gassed, and trampled them with their horses. Many Americans were outraged by the event, known as "Bloody Sunday," and came to Selma to help the protesters. On March 9, two days after "Bloody Sunday," Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led a second march which attracted an even larger group. Demonstrators were met again by police at this bridge, but this time, King and other pastors led the group in prayer and later returned to Selma. Unbeknownst to many at the march, King agreed with President Johnson's people to postpone the march. That night, a clergyman, Reverend James Reeb, was beaten by Ku Klux Klan members. He later died from the attack.⁵⁵ Finally, on March 21, demonstrators, with the protection of the National Guard, were able to cross the bridge and continue the march to Montgomery. On March 25, the marchers numbered into the thousands and reached Alabama. Viola Liuzzo, a supporter of the movement from Detroit, was murdered by members of the KKK that night when she drove marchers back to Selma.⁵⁶

The Selma Marches led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The act, presented to Congress just days before the third and final march, was signed into law by President Johnson on August 6, 1965.⁵⁷

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were long-time goals of the Civil Rights Movement. The acts combined made it illegal to discriminate based on color, race, religion, gender, or nationality. Discrimination was prohibited in public places, schools, and places of employment. Race restrictions on voting were barred. These laws were the most important civil rights legislation enacted since the Reconstruction and ended many of the laws and traditions of the Jim Crow South.⁵⁸

Civil Rights Movement in Chicago

The laws and decisions of the Civil Rights Movement impacted the entire country, as Black Americans faced disenfranchisement, segregation, and socioeconomic inequality in northern states. The ruling in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case prompted civil rights activists to conduct a broader examination of public-school segregation across the country. An article in the *Crisis* magazine "De Facto Segregation in the Chicago Public Schools," published in 1958, reported that the average school for Black children had over 1200 students, almost

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵National Archives, "Selma Marches," National Archives, October 27, 2020, <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/vote/selma-marches>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ "The Civil Rights Movement," The Library of Congress, accessed April 7, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/post-war-united-states-1945-1968/civil-rights-movement/>.

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double the number of students in White schools.⁵⁹ School segregation in Chicago resulted from the city's discriminatory housing policies that restricted Black families to the Black Belt. No consideration was made for student population or overcrowding in school attendance boundaries, rather they were based upon existing segregated residential neighborhoods.⁶⁰ The segregation occurring within Chicago's housing market was notorious; in 1959, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission deemed Chicago "the most residentially segregated city in America."⁶¹

Chicago Public Schools failed to adequately address segregation and overcrowding in Black Schools. Instead, overcrowded schools were provided additional classroom spaces through corrugated steel mobile structures (derisively called Willis Wagons after School Superintendent Benjamin Willis), and/or students attended schools in four-hour shifts.⁶² White schools, by contrast, were under-enrolled. Black parents protested Willis, held sit-ins and took legal action against the district's segregationist policies. It is believed that the civil rights group the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO), a coalition of civil rights groups, was established amid the Black community's unhappiness with the schools and channeled their frustration to organize school boycotts.⁶³ On October 22, 1963, the CCCO organized the first boycott, Freedom Day. Black parents marched through downtown and called for Willis's removal.⁶⁴ Over 200,000 students stayed away from school that day, and over 10,000 students, parents, and activists protested before the Board of Education. While the demonstration produced no clear winners, the school administration made small concessions, allowing more Black students to attend White schools. The CCCO continued to meet and, in 1965, planned for another boycott.⁶⁵ The Board of Education responded by filing a court order to stop the boycott, which the Circuit Court of Cook County granted. Undeterred, over 100,000 students boycotted classes June 10-11, 1965, to object to the renewal of Willis's contract.⁶⁶ Al Raby, a black schoolteacher and leader of the CCCO, led the marches to city hall to pressure Mayor Richard J. Daley to fire Willis and support school integration.⁶⁷

While the boycotts were unsuccessful in removing Willis or establishing other school reforms, they led to the inception of the Chicago Freedom Movement (1965-1966) and inspired Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to come to Chicago to lead the fight against segregation and discrimination.⁶⁸ In the month following the 1965 boycott,

⁵⁹Madeleine Parrish, Chima Ikoru, and South Side Weekly, "Chicago Public Schools and Segregation | FIRSTHAND: Segregation," WTTW Chicago, February 18, 2022, <https://interactive.wttw.com/firsthand/segregation/chicago-public-schools-and-segregation>. Accessed 4/11/2023; National Archives, "Chicago School Boycott," National Archives, August 15, 2016, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/desegregation/chicago.html>.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Chicago 1919, <https://chicago1919.org/resources/>.

⁶² "Firsthand: Segregation." WTTW Chicago, February 10, 2023.

<https://interactive.wttw.com/firsthand/segregation>; National Archives, "Chicago School Boycott," National Archives, August 15, 2016, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/desegregation/chicago.html>.

⁶³ Ann Durkin Keating et al., *Chicago Neighborhoods and Suburbs: A Historical Guide, Encyclopedia Chicago* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), Pg. 221, <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/>.

⁶⁴ Chicago 1919, <https://chicago1919.org/resources/>.

⁶⁵Zinn Project, "Oct. 22, 1963: Chicago School Boycott - Zinn Education Project," Zinn Education Project, 2018, <https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/1963-chicago-school-boycott/>.

⁶⁶ "Chicago School Boycott", National Archives.

⁶⁷ Ann Durkin Keating et al., *Chicago Neighborhoods and Suburbs: A Historical Guide, Encyclopedia Chicago*, Pg. 221.

⁶⁸ "Chicago School Boycott", National Archives.

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King was approached by Chicago civil rights groups who asked whether he could lead demonstrations against segregation in schools, work, and residential areas. The CCCO, which was organizing a large, peaceful protest targeting the city's unfair housing policies, later asked SCLC to join them.⁶⁹ King believed Chicago would be a good opportunity for the SCLC to turn its attention to racial injustice in the North: "In the South, we always had segregationists to help make issues clear.... This ghetto Negro has been invisible so long and has become visible through violence."⁷⁰ The timing was right, particularly after the Watts Riots in Los Angeles, to show how Black Chicagoans' problems could be addressed peacefully. The SCLC would also have the benefit of working with the CCCO, which had already organized large nonviolent demonstrations in the city. Finally, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley wielded enough political power to institute change in the city's discriminatory practices.⁷¹ Chicago, however, was completely different than southern cities and presented new challenges for King. For one, the Black population in the city, at the time of his visit, was larger than that of the entire state of Mississippi. More Black residents lived in some of the larger public housing projects than in Selma, Alabama. And, unlike the South, the Black political faction was beholden to Mayor Daley and his machine.⁷² Rustin, who organized the March on Washington, warned King about Chicago: "You won't beat Daley on his home ground, and you'll come away with nothing meaningful for all your efforts."⁷³

Daley, The Democratic Party, and the Political Machine

Richard J. Daley was an Irish Catholic who grew up in the Bridgeport neighborhood, directly west of Douglas and northwest of Grand -- the two neighborhoods encompassing Bronzeville. He earned his law degree from DePaul University in 1933, attending classes and working at the stockyards daily to pay for his education. He was a member of the Hamburg Athletic Club, which, like other similar clubs, was partially funded by local Democratic politicians. Three years after graduating from DePaul, he began his long political career.

Daley first started in state government, serving as a state representative and senator. The first local position he ran for was in 1946 for Cook County sheriff. After Daley lost the election, he returned to state government to work for then-Governor Adlai Stevenson as the state director of revenue. His first locally elected position was in 1950 as Cook County clerk. In 1953, he became chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party. Two years later, he ran for mayor, beating Martin Kennelly in the Democratic primary and Robert Merriam in the general election.⁷⁴ Daley kept his position as the Cook County Democratic Party chairman during his tenure as mayor; as a result, he amassed great power over the city's political machine.

Political machines were systems of city governments that doled out jobs and welfare benefits in exchange for party loyalty. Initially, Chicago was a two-party city; Republicans controlled federal elections and Democrats

⁶⁹Stanford University, "Chicago Campaign | the Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute," Stanford.edu, 2019, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/chicago-campaign>.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Biles, Roger, *Richard J. Daley : politics, race, and the governing of Chicago*, DeKalb : Northern Illinois University Press, 1995, p. 119.

⁷³ Biles, *Richard J. Daley*, p. 119.

⁷⁴ Roger Biles, "Daley's Chicago," www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org, 2005, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1722.html>. Accessed 4/12/23.

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controlled local ones. This changed when Anton Cermak, who served as mayor from 1931 until 1933, consolidated power by convincing the dominant Irish party members to let other ethnic groups partake in the party's political spoils. When Cermak, an immigrant from the present-day Czech Republic, was accidentally killed in 1933 in a foiled assassination attempt on President Roosevelt, the power of the Democratic political machine returned to the Irish, and party chairman Patrick Nash shepherded through the election of Edward J. Kelly as mayor. Kelly continued Cermak's practice of inclusion and strengthened the political machine by supporting Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs and receiving much-needed federal money during the Great Depression; ignoring crime and getting money from organized crime to keep the political machine solvent; and by fostering the Black vote, which paid off when the Black population grew exponentially after World War II. Kelly was reelected four times but lost public favor over rampant government scandals and widespread organized crime. Loyal Democrats, however, were unhappy with Kelly's strong support of public housing and desegregated public schools. In 1947, the party convinced Kelly not to run and supported Martin H. Kennelly for mayor. Kennelly was not a proponent of the political machine and projected a clean image for the city's Democratic Party but alienated both party members and Black voters. After serving two terms, Kennelly lost to Daley in the primaries.⁷⁵

Before the election, Daley worked closely with Black politician William Dawson, the head of the Black political machine, or submachine, as it became known. Dawson, who immigrated to Chicago from Georgia in 1912, attended law school and Northwestern University. He paid for his tuition by working as a porter and waiter. After serving in World War I, where he became first lieutenant, he returned to Chicago and became a successful lawyer.⁷⁶ Dawson began his political career in 1930 as a Republican state central committeeman for the First Congressional District of Illinois. From 1933 to 1939, Dawson was an alderman for Chicago's Second Ward. Dawson, like other Black Republicans, was swayed by the New Deal programs and subsequently switched to the Democratic Party in 1939, where he served as a Democratic Party committeeman. He became elected as a U.S. Representative in 1942; he held office there until he died in 1970.⁷⁷ Dawson, who initially worked in tandem with Kelly, developed a block of Black voters in nearly five wards. He proved to be a huge asset in Daley's initial bid for mayor in getting out the Black vote.⁷⁸ Dawson was the Black counterpart to Kelly and later Daley; a political conservative, he doled out favors to the faithful who toed the party line and thus successfully silenced the liberal reformer movement taking hold of Black civil rights activists elsewhere in the country.⁷⁹

At times, members of the political machine employed hostile methods to maintain power. According to a Daley biographer, "Negroes were warned that they would lose their welfare check, their public housing apartment,

⁷⁵Roger Biles, "Machine Politics," www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org, 2005, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/774.html>.

⁷⁶WTTW, "Original Chicago Cocktail: The Submachine," WTTW News, 2016, <https://news.wttw.com/2016/08/19/original-chicago-cocktail-submachine>. 4/13/23.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Salim Muwakkil, "Meet the New Boss Mayor Daley Divides and Conquers" *The Washington Post*, 1996.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1996/08/18/meet-the-new-boss-mayor-daley-divides-and-conquers/cf18f8d4-a216-4b98-b9d9-2e72729cff75/>.

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their menial job if they didn't vote Democratic."⁸⁰ When Bernetta Howell, Chicago's regional director of the NAACP, ran for Congress against the political-machine-backed Irish Democrat Thomas J. O'Brien in 1964, she recalled how Black voters were so intimidated by threats of punishment and violence that they were coerced into supporting machine politicians. Howell's opponent won by a huge margin even though he died two weeks before the election."⁸¹

Both Daley and Dawson benefitted from racial segregation. For Daley, it was a means to keep White middle-class residents in the city. It was a way for Dawson to keep his political base centralized on the South Side. Daley controlled the Black aldermen on the city council; known as the "Silent Six," they often opposed open house legislation, making discrimination illegal. The control Daley and Dawson asserted over the city's Black community became a stumbling block for Dr. King.

Chicago Freedom Movement

In January of 1966, Dr. Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. moved into the city's Lawndale neighborhood to bring attention to the inadequate housing conditions of Black Chicagoans. This marked the beginning of King's Chicago Freedom Movement, a campaign for open housing and improved living quarters. Housing conditions in the Chicago ghettos were deplorable. Dwellings were infested with rats and roaches, and landlords failed to maintain their property. King worked with local activists, helped organize rallies and marches, and called for a meeting with Daley to address the inequities in housing between Black and White Chicago.

The summer of 1966 was tense as King continued his campaign for fair housing. On July 10, 1966, King addressed the housing problem in a speech he delivered to over 30,000 people at Soldier Field: "We are here because we're tired of living in rat-infested slums....we are tired of having to pay a median rent of \$97 a month in Lawndale for four rooms while Whites in South Deering pay \$73 a month for five rooms.... We are tired of being lynched physically in Mississippi, and we are tired of being lynched spiritually and economically in the North." King then led the crowd to city hall, where he taped a list of ultimatums on the doorway that were deemed necessary to solve the city's housing problems.⁸²

Two days later, a riot broke out on Chicago's West Side. Accounts differ on how the riots started, but the incident led to two fatalities, numerous injuries (fire and policemen and civilians), and nearly 250 arrests. On July 15, Daley contacted Governor Otto Kerner, who sent the National Guard to the neighborhood with orders to shoot to kill looters. King condemned the violence and faulted city officials and police for their inability to de-escalate it. He asserted that the riots were a symptom of the Black community's socioeconomic problems.

⁸⁰ Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York : The Penguin Group, 1971), p. 136.

⁸¹Chicago Public Library, "Brenetta Howell Barrett Papers," www.chipublib.org, 2007, <https://www.chipublib.org/fa-brenetta-howell-barrett-papers/>.

⁸²Olivia B Waxman, "The Surprising Story behind This Shocking Photo of Martin Luther King Jr. Under Attack," *Time* (Time, January 12, 2018), <https://time.com/5096937/martin-luther-king-jr-picture-chicago/>.

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Daley blamed the riots on juvenile delinquency and called on community and religious leaders to appeal for peace.⁸³

On August 5, King planned a second march at Marquette Park on the city's southwest side. The demonstration was against discriminatory housing practices, and marchers were to march to a realtor's office. They were met by hundreds of White protesters who hurled insults and threw bottles, cherry bombs, and rocks at the marchers. King was hit by a rock and knocked to one knee. He stayed down until his head cleared.⁸⁴ King continued to march but responded later, "This is a terrible thing. I have been in the civil rights movement for many years all through the South, but I have never seen — not even in Alabama or Louisiana — mobs as hostile and hateful as this crowd."⁸⁵ King added, "I think the people of Mississippi ought to come to Chicago to learn how to hate."⁸⁶

Rioting continued into the evening. Dozens were arrested and others were injured. The event garnered national attention and brought Daley to the bargaining table. After some negotiating, the Summit Agreement was reached between city officials, activists, and community leaders, in which the Chicago Freedom Movement would cease protests and marches in exchange for the enactment of ten measures outlined in the agreement that would eliminate discriminatory housing practices.⁸⁷ King believed the agreement was "the most significant program ever conceived to make open housing a reality," but acknowledged that it was only "the first step in a 1,000-mile journey" (King, 26 August 1966; Halvorsen, "Cancel Rights Marches").⁸⁸

The agreement proved to be unpopular with both segregationists and activists. White homeowners claimed that Daley had "sold out." Civil rights advocates thought the agreement was "toothless," a valid concern as city council finance chairman Thomas Keane denied there ever was an agreement. Keane dismissed the summit's outcome and claimed the agreement was merely a compilation of suggestions and goals. King, frustrated with the city's lack of progress, hinted that he might resume demonstrations. Daley angrily responded that such actions would be irresponsible as state and congressional elections were two weeks away; protests, Daley asserted, that might cause "White backlash" against liberal candidates. He assured King that he would uphold the summit agreement after the election.⁸⁹ This was a typical ploy used by Daley. Daley had the means to

⁸³Will Mack, "1966 Chicago, Illinois Uprising (1966) • BlackPast," BlackPast, January 27, 2019, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1966-chicago-illinois-uprising-1966/>. Some accounts blame police aggression as the cause of the riots; other accounts paint the police in a more favorable light. Headlines in the *Chicago Tribune* appear biased towards police.

⁸⁴Olivia B Waxman, "The Surprising Story behind This Shocking Photo of Martin Luther King Jr. Under Attack," Time (Time, January 12, 2018), <https://time.com/5096937/martin-luther-king-jr-picture-chicago/>.

⁸⁵D.J.R. Bruckner, "Dozens Hurt during March in Chicago," Los Angeles Times, August 6, 1966, <https://www.latimes.com/la-me-dozens-hurt-during-march-19660806-story.html>.

⁸⁶Gene Roberts, "Rocks Hit Dr. King as Whites Attack March in Chicago," *The New York Times*, August 6, 1966, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1966/08/06/issue.html?login=smartlock&auth=login-smartlock>.

⁸⁷Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance, "Chicago Open Housing 'Summit' Agreement, August 1966," <https://www.crmvet.org/Docs/66chiagn.htm>, 1966.

⁸⁸Stanford University, "Chicago Campaign | the Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute," Stanford.edu, 2019, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/chicago-campaign>.

⁸⁹Roger Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 134.

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deliver on his promises; he controlled city services and could manipulate matters regarding public housing and welfare. His ability to deploy services made it difficult for King to claim the city was negligent. Daley would respond to King under the pretense that the city was concerned, then take back the dispersed services. King was less effective in Chicago than in the South, where his agenda – and those of other civil rights activists -- received broad support among local coalitions and the clergy. Daley and his machine proved to be a formidable opponent for King. The clergy in Chicago were unsupportive and they were unforthcoming when it came to the city's racial disparities.⁹⁰ Civil Rights was largely a Protestant-based organization; Daley's recruits were largely Catholic.⁹¹ Dawson disapproved of the Civil Rights Movement and its leaders and argued that Black city-dwellers fared better under traditional politics.⁹²

King, unable to secure a united front among Black Chicagoans, felt defeated; his reflections on the Chicago Freedom Movement are filled more with a sense of resignation than with the optimism he typically displayed:

It was clear to me that city agencies had been inert in upholding their commitment to the open housing pact. I had to express our swelling disillusionment with the foot-dragging negative actions of agencies such as the Chicago Housing Authority, Department of Urban Renewal, and the Commission on Human Relations. It appeared that, for all intents and purposes, the public agencies had reneged on the agreement and had in fact given credence to the apostles of social disorder who proclaimed the housing agreement a sham and a batch of false promises. The city's inaction was not just a rebuff to the Chicago Freedom Movement or a courtship of the White backlash, but also another hot coal on the smoldering fires of discontent and despair that are rampant in our black communities. For more than a month during the marches we were told to come to the bargaining table, that compromise and negotiation were the only ways to solve the complex, multi-layered problems of open occupancy. We came, we sat, we negotiated. We reached the summit and then nearly seven months later we found that much of the ground had been cut out from beneath us.... Open housing had to become more than a meaningless scrap paper. It had to become a reality if this city was to be saved. Our minds and our hearts were open for some real good faith reevaluation and determination to move on, but we also were ready to pose this evil. I had about reached the conclusion that it was going to be almost necessary to engage in massive demonstrations to deal with the problem.

We look back at 1966 as a year of beginnings and of transition. For those of us who came to Chicago from Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama, it was a year of vital education. Our organization, carried out in conjunction with the very capable local leadership, experienced fits and starts, setbacks and positive progress. We found ourselves confronted by the hard realities of a social system in many ways more resistant to change than the rural South.

⁹⁰Devon Crawford, "Alumni News - US - Devon Crawford - MLK and Chicago Freedom," Humanity in Action, 2016, https://humanityinaction.org/news_item/usa-alumni-news-devon-crawford-mlk-and-chicago-freedom/.

⁹¹ Biles, p. 94.

⁹² Biles, p. 92.

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While we were under no illusions about Chicago, in all frankness we found the job greater than even we imagined. And yet on balance we believed that the combination of our organization and the wide-ranging forces of goodwill in Chicago produced the basis for changes.⁹³

Despite King's feelings, the summit agreement was portrayed favorably by the press, who praised the Chicago Freedom Movement as proof that his approach of non-violent demonstrations worked. This vindication came at an important time, as more militant activists were challenging King's leadership of the Civil Rights Movement.⁹⁴ Daley, however, was unscathed by the racial tension that occurred in the Chicago Freedom Movement. His inaction on the summit appeased White homeowners, and if Black Chicagoans were unhappy with his handling of the Movement, it wasn't reflected in their vote. He won the 1967 re-election with a whopping 73% of the vote -- the biggest number of votes he received in his career -- and carried all 50 wards.⁹⁵

After Daley was elected, he took an even tougher stance against the Civil Rights Movement. He became known as its biggest adversary in the North and blamed King and the Chicago Freedom Movement for the racial unrest in the city. He openly criticized King and painted him as an outsider and a troublemaker. During the summer of 1967, when riots erupted across the country, Daley opposed the restraint cities showed in suppressing disorder. He warned if there were riots in Chicago, he would order the National Guard to use live ammunition. While no riots occurred in Chicago that summer, the civil unrest occurring in urban areas elsewhere was disturbing. King's message of peaceful protest was being replaced with violent demonstrations. Daley's hard-lined approach to Civil Rights almost assured the formation of Black military groups in Chicago. As his press secretary, Earl Bush, reflected, "What Daley did was smother King. What Daley couldn't smother was the civil rights movement."⁹⁶

On Thursday, April 4th, 1968, almost a year after Daley's inauguration, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee. Riots broke out in over a hundred cities across the country, with some of the biggest occurring in Chicago. Most of the unrest happened on the city's West Side, where rioters broke windows, looted stores, and set fires to buildings. More looting and fires occurred in Lawndale. Fires also were set on the South Side and the Near North Side. On April 6, Daley ordered a curfew and sent in his entire police force to calm down the riot. He also contacted President Johnson, who sent in nearly 12,000 federal troops to secure the area.⁹⁷ Twenty-thousand troops and police officers now occupied the West side. Initially, they were instructed to use tear gas, but that changed on Saturday when the police commanders decided to use force. After the riots, Daley revealed to reporters that his orders were "to shoot to kill any arsonist or anyone with a Molotov cocktail in his hand... to maim or cripple anyone looting any stores in our city."⁹⁸ Even after the violence and fires ended, the community was occupied by patrols for weeks to

⁹³Martin Luther King, "Chapter 28: Chicago Campaign," The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute, July 7, 2014, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/publications/autobiography-martin-luther-king-jr-contents/chapter-28-chicago-campaign>.

⁹⁴ Biles, pp. 134-135.

⁹⁵ Biles, pp. 136-137.

⁹⁶ Biles, pp. 137-138.

⁹⁷ Christen Gall, "What Happened During the West Side Riots of April 1968." Chicago Magazine, April 5, 2018.

⁹⁸ Gall, "What Happened During the West Side Riots of April 1968." Chicago Magazine.

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come. Over a thousand people were injured in the riots; at least nine had died. Property damage across the city totaled almost 9 million dollars.⁹⁹

After the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Black Americans had even less faith in the country's political system and White institutions. His assassination spurred the Black Power movement and created a substantial increase in membership in the Black Panther Party and other similar organizations. A growing number of Black soldiers fighting the Vietnam War supported Black Power. Grassroots groups became national organizations.¹⁰⁰

The Black Power Movement and the Birth of the Black Panther Party

Unlike Civil Rights, the Black Power Movement was less concerned with integration; instead, it focused on Black independence, equality, and self-sufficiency. Supporters of the movement believed that to secure their unalienable rights, Black Americans needed their own institutions that served their interests. Black Americans should have control over their own local government, schools, services, and businesses. Black pride and self-respect were common themes in the movement, and the achievements of Black people worldwide were extolled.¹⁰¹ Proponents of Black Power maintained that a Black united front could only be achieved through dismantling existing White power structures; the movement was often portrayed as violent against Whites and law enforcement.¹⁰²

Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam

Whereas the Black protestant religions supported the principles of Civil Rights, the Muslim-based Nation of Islam reinforced the values espoused by the Black Power movement. Much of the movement was inspired by the Nation of Islam's leading spokesperson, Malcolm X, whose commanding presence brought many converts to the faith.¹⁰³ His powerful speeches and media appearances were so influential that he was credited with increasing the membership of the Nation of Islam from 500 in 1952 to 30,000 in 1963.¹⁰⁴ His controversial beliefs provoked both White and Black Americans; he supported an autonomous Black society and called out

⁹⁹ Gall, "What Happened During the West Side Riots of April 1968." Chicago Magazine.

¹⁰⁰National Museum of African American History and Culture, "Mourning the Death of Martin Luther King Jr.," National Museum of African American History and Culture, 2019, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/mourning-death-martin-luther-king-jr#:~:text=King%27s%20death%20energized%20the%20Black>.

¹⁰¹ National Museum of African American History & Culture, "The Foundations of Black Power | National Museum of African American History and Culture," nmaahc.si.edu, July 5, 2019, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/foundations-black-power>. Accessed 4/22/2023.

¹⁰²Lakisha Odlum, "The Black Power Movement | DPLA," Dp.la, 2000, <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-black-power-movement>. Accessed 4/22/2023.

¹⁰³National Museum of African American History & Culture, "The Foundations of Black Power | National Museum of African American History and Culture," nmaahc.si.edu, July 5, 2019, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/foundations-black-power>.

¹⁰⁴Wesleyan University, "Malcolm X: Life and Death 1925-1965, MLK - Wesleyan University," Wesleyan.edu (Wesleyan University, 2009), <https://www.wesleyan.edu/mlk/posters/malcolmx.html>.

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Whites – the “blue-eyed devils” — for their racism. His outspokenness may have alienated some, but it attracted many others, particularly Black Northerners.¹⁰⁵

Malcolm X became disillusioned with the Nation of Islam upon learning of his mentor Elijah Muhammed’s infidelities and illegitimate children. He separated from the organization in 1964 and established his own religious group, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. After taking a pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, Malcolm X converted to Sunni Islam. When he returned to the United States, he advocated equal rights for all.¹⁰⁶ He started a new group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which promoted unity among Black people around the world.

Malcolm X knew his life was in danger. He publicly disclosed what he had learned about Muhammed’s extramarital affairs. Aware of the rumors that the Nation was plotting to kill him, Malcolm X told reporters, “I live like a man who is dead already.”¹⁰⁷ In Manhattan on February 21, 1965, while giving a speech at an OAAU rally at Audubon Ballroom, Malcolm X was shot by three gunmen; two of whom escaped. He was 39 years old.¹⁰⁸

Stokely Carmichael and Black Power

Malcolm X inspired many Black Americans who were frustrated by the passive approach adopted by the Civil Rights Movement. Stokely Carmichael, who coined the term “Black Power,” became disillusioned with the Civil Rights Movement during his time as an activist in the South. Carmichael first became interested in Civil Rights when he saw Black southerners harassed while peacefully protesting at lunch counters. Moved by their courage, he got involved in the movement. He participated in the Freedom Rides of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1961, where both Black and White activists rode on buses through the South to protest segregated interstate travel.¹⁰⁹ The initial trip was dangerous but the activists, who were often met with violence, persisted. The event drew national attention, and more rides were organized, more press conferences

¹⁰⁵ Sydney Brent, “Malcolm X: Who was he, why was he assassinated, and who did it?” *The Washington Post*, November 17, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/11/17/malcolm-x-assasination-who-why/>.

¹⁰⁶ Wesleyan University, “Malcolm X: Life and Death 1925-1965, MLK - Wesleyan University,” Wesleyan.edu (Wesleyan University, 2009), <https://www.wesleyan.edu/mlk/posters/malcolmx.html>.

¹⁰⁷ Sydney Trent, “Malcolm X: Who Was He, Why Was He Assassinated, and Who Did It?,” *Washington Post*, November 17, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/11/17/malcolm-x-assasination-who-why/>.

¹⁰⁸ The circumstances surrounding Malcolm X’s assassination still remain controversial and conspiracy-laden; two of the three convicted, Muhammad A. Aziz and Khalil Islam, were innocent, as confirmed by the assassin Talmadge Hayer, but spent decades in jail. They were released on parole but not exonerated until 2021, 11 years after Islam died. Others still maintain that federal and local authorities had a hand in Malcolm X’s death.

¹⁰⁹ Michael T. Kaufman, “Stokely Carmichael, Rights Leader Who Coined ‘Black Power,’ Dies at 57,” *The New York Times*, November 16, 1998. <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/11/16/us/stokely-carmichael-rights-leader-who-coined-black-power-dies-at-57.html>.

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were made, and more arrests took place. The Interstate Commerce Commission succumbed to the pressure and made segregated seating on interstate buses illegal and instructed that “Whites only” signs be removed.¹¹⁰

Carmichael joined the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and worked as a field organizer in Lowndes County, Alabama, in which Black residents outnumbered Whites but lacked any political power as few were registered to vote. Carmichael increased the number of registered Black voters by over 85 percent, 300 more than registered White voters. Unhappy with both the Democratic and Republican parties, Carmichael co-founded the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), an independent, all-black political party. According to state law, all parties were required to have a logo, and the LCFO adopted the black panther, as its symbol. The black panther later became the symbol for the Black Panther Party.¹¹¹

Carmichael believed that civil rights could only be achieved through Black political power and an independent black political party. He chose Lowndes County, Alabama, as the place to create an independent party; it was among the poorest counties in Alabama and was known for excessive amounts of violence against Black people. Carmichael and SNCC weren’t initially trusted by the residents when they came to Lowndes County. That changed when Carmichael, who was distributing voter registration materials at a school, was confronted by police and asked to leave. Carmichael declined and demanded they arrest him or let him be, but the police retreated, thrown off by his response. As a result, Carmichael and the SNCC won over the residents.¹¹² But Carmichael, who had been arrested for peaceful protests so many times he lost track after 32, was losing patience with the movement as were others.¹¹³

In May of 1966, he was elected over John Lewis, a Civil Rights integrationist, to the chairman of the SNCC. Stokely thought peaceful protests were more of a strategy rather than a mission statement. His appointment as chair indicated that the SNCC was moving toward Black militancy. While Carmichael and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. strongly disagreed with each other’s tactics, they both greatly respected one another. In June of 1966, Carmichael, King, and Floyd McKissick, the national director of CORE, organized a march to support James Meredith, a civil rights activist who had been shot by a sniper while walking from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, to encourage Black Americans to register to vote. When the marchers reached Greenwood, Mississippi, Carmichael was arrested again.¹¹⁴

Carmichael had had enough. At a rally held upon his release, he gave an impassioned speech in which he proclaimed that it was time for Black Americans to fight back:

¹¹⁰PBS, “Freedom to Travel | American Experience | PBS,” www.pbs.org, n.d., <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/freedom-riders-freedom-travel/#:~:text=On%20May%204%2C%201961%2C%20the>.

¹¹¹ Michael T. Kaufman, “Stokely Carmichael, Rights Leader Who Coined ‘Black Power,’ Dies at 57,” *The New York Times*, Nov 1998.

¹¹²Digital SNCC Gateway, “Stokely Carmichael - SNCC Digital Gateway,” SNCC Digital Gateway, 2013, <https://snccdigital.org/people/stokely-carmichael/>.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Stanford University, “Carmichael, Stokely,” The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute, April 25, 2017, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/carmichael-stokely>.

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This is the twenty-seventh time I've been arrested... I ain't going to jail no more. The only way we gonna stop them White men from whupping us is to take over. We've been saying 'Freedom' for six years and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start saying now is Black Power.¹¹⁵

The story was reported by the *Associated Press* and appeared in newspapers nationwide. Overnight “Black Power” had become the rallying cry for a new movement.¹¹⁶ King found the phrase provocative and objected to its use. Carmichael confessed that he used it as a ploy to make King take a position. While King was not willing to openly criticize Carmichael and the Black Power movement, he acknowledged that a division had occurred between activists, with one faction advocating for peace and the other advocating for force if necessary.¹¹⁷

Carmichael’s militant approach appealed to Black Americans in northern cities, who experienced de facto segregation, poverty, and prejudice. Black Power struck a chord among those dissatisfied with the status quo: “Black power” seemed perfectly attuned to the mood of the ghettos,” writes historian Adam Fairclough, where “a cult of the gun” injected a sense of impending black-on-White violence.”¹¹⁸

From 1966 to 1967, Carmichael gave speeches on college campuses that became increasingly hostile. He co-wrote *Black Power*, in which he declared that the voice of the Civil Rights Movement had been toned down to pacify “an audience of middle-class Whites.” Carmichael, who encouraged Black Americans to arm themselves for self-defense, disputed claims that his speeches were anti-White or that he called for racial violence, but many Whites believed otherwise; historian Clayborne Carson noted that the inferences Carmichael made were “an unmistakable part of the appeal of the black power rhetoric for many discontented blacks.” The NAACP and other mainstream Civil Rights groups denounced the phrase and King implored Carmichael to stop using it, but he refused. By 1967, he justified the use of revolutionary violence for oppressed people around the world. He soon parted ways with the SNCC and became an honorary prime minister of the Black Panther Party.¹¹⁹

Black Panther Party

Like Carmichael, Black Panther Party founders Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale were dissatisfied with the pacifist principles promoted by the Civil Rights Movement and other mainstream black organizations.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Stokely Carmichael, archived through American RadioWorks, “Stokely Carmichael, from Black Power to Pan-Africanism,” [americanradioworks.publicradio.org](https://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/blackspeech/scarmichael-2.html#:~:text=Stokely%20Carmichael%20was%20the%20controversial.), March 22 1971, <https://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/blackspeech/scarmichael-2.html#:~:text=Stokely%20Carmichael%20was%20the%20controversial.>

¹¹⁶ Terry Gross, “How Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panthers Changed the Civil Rights Movement,” NPR, February 8, 2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/08/1155093955/mark-whitaker-black-panthers-stokely-carmichael-civil-rights-saying-it-loud-1966>.

¹¹⁷Stanford University, “Carmichael, Stokely,” The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute, April 25, 2017, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/carmichael-stokely>.

¹¹⁸“Stokely Carmichael, from Black Power to Pan-Africanism,” American RadioWorks.

¹¹⁹Stokely Carmichael, from Black Power to Pan-Africanism,” American RadioWorks.

¹²⁰Charles E Jones, “The Political Repression of the Black Panther Party 1966-1971: The Case of the Oakland Bay Area.” *Journal of Black Studies* 18, no. 4 (1988): 415–34. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784371>.

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Newton and Seale met through the Afro-American Association in 1962 while attending school at Merritt College, a community college in Oakland, California.¹²¹ The Afro-American Association's mission was to teach Black Americans about their history. Such knowledge, the organization believed, was vital for Black Americans to achieve self-confidence and overcome discrimination and systemic racism. The group's chair, Donald Warden, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate from Berkley Law School, was a mentor to Newton and Seale, and the organization was said to be a catalyst for the Black Panther Party.¹²²

Seale and Newton came from the South to Oakland, California, when they were young. Their families were a part of the Second Great Migration who came West to seek industrial jobs that were plentiful during World War II.¹²³ In their teens and early twenties, they were exposed to the ideologies and impacts of both the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. They were admirers of Malcolm X and his assassination in 1965 became—for them and many young Black Americans—a call to action.¹²⁴ *In Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*, authors Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, Jr. provided the following account of Seale's reaction to Malcolm X's murder: "Bobby's rage overflowed. He gathered six bricks from his mother's garden, broke them in half, and stood in wait at the corner, hurling bricks at the cars of any Whites he saw passing by. 'I'll make my own self into a mother***ing Malcolm X,' he swore, 'and if they want to kill me, they'll have to kill me.'¹²⁵

The year 1965 was also defined by the Watts Riots when Black residents and police in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles violently clashed over accusations of police brutality. The riots lasted almost a week and resulted in 40 million dollars of property damage, 34 deaths, thousands of injuries, and nearly 4,000 arrests. It was the biggest and most devastating uprising of the Civil Rights Era.¹²⁶ Newton had become aware that it was legal in California to carry guns openly in public. He and Seale began shadowing police interactions with Oakland's Black residents. Their intent was not to confront the police or incite violence but to let them know they were being watched.¹²⁷

These events were instrumental in forming the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, founded by Seale and Newton in 1966. Later shortened to Black Panther Party (BPP), the political organization espoused the principles of Black nationalism and Marxism-Leninism and applied them to the modern-day struggles facing

¹²¹"Bobby Seale (October 22, 1936)," National Archives and Records Administration, 2021, <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/individuals/bobby-seale#:~:text=After%20a%20stint%20in%20the,there%20he%20met%20Huey%20Newton.>

¹²²Dorothy Lazard, "The Afro-American Association: Forerunner to the Panthers," (Oakland Public Library, 2020), <https://oaklandlibrary.org/blogs/post/the-afro-american-association-forerunner-to-the-panthers/>.

¹²³ "Bobby Seale", National Archives; Huey P. Newton | National Archives

¹²⁴ Lichi D'Amelio, "The Legacy of the Black Panthers," *isreview.org* (International Socialist Review, 2013), <https://isreview.org/issue/93/legacy-black-panthers/index.html>.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶Civil Rights Digital Library, University of Georgia, "Watts Riots - Civil Rights Digital Library," [crdl.usg.edu, n.d., https://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts_riots/](https://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts_riots/).

¹²⁷Terry Gross, "How Stokely Carmichael and the Black Panthers Changed the Civil Rights Movement," NPR, February 8, 2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/02/08/1155093955/mark-whitaker-black-panthers-stokely-carmichael-civil-rights-saying-it-loud-1966>.

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Black Americans.¹²⁸ As Newton explained, “The Black Panther Party grew out of the Black Power movement, but the party transformed the ideology of Black Power into a socialist ideology, a Marxist ideology”¹²⁹ The BPP differed from other advocates of Black liberation in that they viewed the Black community as a separate colony within the United States under siege by the police, from whom they sought emancipation.¹³⁰

Seale and Newton outlined the BPP’s initial demands in a “Ten-Point Platform and Program: What We Want, What We Believe:”

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community....
2. We want full employment for our people....
- 3 We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.¹³¹ (See Appendix A for the entire platform, p. 85)

The BBP became known as the most radical and militant group to emerge from the Black Power Movement. Frustrated by the perceived lack of progress from the peaceful protests promoted by the Civil Rights Movement,

¹²⁸Charles E Jones, “The Political Repression of the Black Panther Party 1966-1971: The Case of the Oakland Bay Area.” *Journal of Black Studies* 18, no. 4 (1988): 415–34. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784371>.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰ Lichi D’Amelio, “The Legacy of the Black Panthers ,” *isreview.org* (International Socialist Review, 2013), <https://isreview.org/issue/93/legacy-black-panthers/index.html>.

¹³¹JoNina M. Abron, “The Legacy of the Black Panther Party,” *The Black Scholar* 17, no. 6 (November 1986): 33–37, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1986.11414441>.

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BPP members were unapologetic about promoting the use of force when necessary. Their motto came from the teaching of Mao Tse-Tung: "We are advocates of the abolition of war which can only be abolished through war and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to pick up the gun."¹³² Their militant beliefs were reflected in their code of conduct and in their dress. Members of the BPP had to adhere to strict Party rules, which condemned the use of drugs and alcohol while working for the Party. They were provided military training and received a political education. They dressed in all-black; turtlenecks, berets, and leather jackets, and they were armed with guns.¹³³ Their outfits and their guns made their patrol unit highly recognizable and were also used to attract more members. Newton explained in his memoir, *Revolutionary Suicide*, "We recognized that it was ridiculous to report the police to police, but we hoped that by raising encounters to a higher level, by patrolling the police with arms, we would see a change in their behavior. Further, the community would notice this and become interested in the party. Thus our armed patrols were also a means of recruiting."¹³⁴

The BPP disagreed with the Civil Rights Movement's use of the legal system as a means to achieve freedom and equality and believed that the compromises made during the movement were targeted at middle-class, rather than working-class, Black Americans.¹³⁵ The BPP was revolutionary and against cultural assimilation. They wanted to change the status quo, not become a part of it. As Newton asserted, "We will change society. We will use whatever means are necessary. We will have our manhood even if we have to level the earth."¹³⁶

Newton and Seale followed the example of Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Communist Party for its chain of command governed by a system of democratic centralism. The governing body was the Central Committee, with Huey P. Newton as Minister of Defense and Bobby Seale as Chairman. The first member was Little Bobby Hutton, a fifteen-year-old North Oakland Service Center worker. Bobby Seale helped Little Bobby learn how to read and he became the brother Newton never had. Little Bobby became the Party's first treasurer.¹³⁷

As membership increased, the Central Committee expanded to include additional leadership positions and was structured as follows (B. Brooks, personal communication, January 21, 2021)

¹³² Gaikwad, D.S. "THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY OF USA: RISE AND FALL." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64 (2003): 1326–34. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44145561>., pp.1327 – 1328.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Elizabeth Garner Masarik, "The Black Panther Party and the Free Breakfast Program: Feeding a Movement," July 20, 2020, <https://digpodcast.org/2020/07/19/black-panther-party/>.

¹³⁵ Gaikwad, D.S. "THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY OF USA: RISE AND FALL."

¹³⁶ Gaikwad, D.S. "THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY OF USA: RISE AND FALL."

¹³⁷ Eyes on the Prize; Interview with Huey Newton. Part 2," Film and Media Archive, Washington D.C.

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Leadership of Cadres

- Minister of Defense
- Chairman
- Minister of Information
- Minister of Education
- Minister of Health
- Communications Secretary
- Minister of Finance
- Minister of Culture
- Field Marshall

Field Secretaries

- Organize cadres
- Troubleshooting

Field Lieutenants

- Oversee Section Leaders

Section Leaders

- Organizer every community area

Black Panther Police Patrol

The first initiative of the BPP was to patrol the police in Black neighborhoods. The Panther Patrol addressed Point 7 of the 10 Point Platform and Program, “We Want an Immediate End to Police Brutality and the Murder of Black People.” Newton believed this action would resonate with Black communities across the country:

“The police, not only the Oakland community, throughout the black communities in the country, were really the government. We had more contact with the police than we did the city council. The police were universally disliked. The police [in Oakland] were southerners. As a matter of fact, in the 60s they were still recruiting from Georgia because we captured some flyers. They said that these White southerners knew how to handle these negroes. They were very fast to kill a black for minor offenses.”¹³⁸

Newton and Seale saw the Black community as an independent colony besieged by police. This view would connect Black Americans with the global struggle against colonialism in other countries.

The initial police patrols began with Newton, Seale, and Hutton watching the police as they pulled people over during traffic stops. They would arrive on the scene with arms and observe police interactions with the public at a safe distance. Initially, Oakland police did not know what to make of this and would leave the scene. Once

¹³⁸ “Eyes on the Prize; Interview with Huey Newton. Part 2,” Film and Media Archive, Washington D.C.

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the BPP patrols occurred regularly, residents would also gather and watch. Young men and women began joining the Party conducting patrols. By now, the police knew who Newton and Seale were and the animosity between the two groups intensified. The community also knew Newton and Seale and appreciated their presence although they were still leery of the guns. The Panther patrols would assist those pulled over by the police by reading their rights and even bailing them out if an arrest occurred. Newton said that because of the patrols, the police shootings and brutality incidents decreased while the Party's membership increased. The BPP trained recruits to operate within the bounds of the law. If they clashed with police, they were instructed not to use profanity which could lead to arrest. Instead, BPP members used terms like pig, swine, and racist dog in such disputes.¹³⁹

Outside the patrols, the BPP sought recruits from college campuses, pool halls, restaurants, and bars – anywhere there were people. They would spend hours listening to others' concerns and educating them on their rights. Newton reflected on the Party's involvement with the community, which had a powerful impact on his life: "It was work that had profound significance for me; the very meaning of my life was in it, and it brought me closer to the people."¹⁴⁰

The Black Panther Party Newspaper

Another way Newton and Seale connected with the community was through *The Black Panther Party Newspaper*. What began in 1967 as a 4-page newspaper mushroomed into the BPP's principal publication with distribution in cities across the country and internationally. The newspaper reported on topics such as the BPP's activities and philosophy and included coverage of revolutions abroad as well as racial discrimination on the home front. Also referred to as *The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service*, *Black Panther Black Community News Service*, and *Black Community News Service*, the newspaper ran from 1967 to 1980 and raised awareness about the BPP's survival programs. At the height of its popularity, the BPP sold several hundred thousand copies per week. It was mandatory that every member of the BPP had to read and familiarize themselves with the paper, which sold for 25 cents before they were allowed to sell it.¹⁴¹

March on the California State Capitol

The first edition of *The Black Panther, Black Community News Service* newspaper, distributed on April 25, 1967, featured an article on Denzil Dowell, a Black man killed by police in Richmond, California. In the mainstream press, it was reported that Dowell, who was 22 years old, fled the police after an attempted burglary and was shot by the sheriff with a shotgun when he did not comply. Dowell suffered gunshots in the back of the head and side of the chest. The Black Panther Party's newspaper reported that the Dowell family questioned the reports because neighbors had heard six to ten gunshots. According to the Dowells, police refused to give them his clothes or allow them to take pictures of his body. That same month, the BPP was invited to speak on a radio talk show, where Newton explained the BPP's Ten-Point Platform and Program. He told listeners it was legal

¹³⁹ Huey P. Newton, "The Founding of the Black Panther Party", *Huey P. Newton Reader*, 2002, p.60.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p.65.

¹⁴¹ Black Panther Newspaper, "Black Panther Party Newspaper," www.marxists.org, n.d., <https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/>.

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and necessary for Black men to arm themselves against the police. One listener, State Assemblyman Donald Mulford, called in and told Newton that he would introduce a bill to prevent the BPP from carrying weapons.¹⁴² (See Appendix A for the front cover of this newspaper. p. 90)

Mulford explained his reasoning in a television interview:

“I think too long we've listened to these people who are afraid of some kind of bureaucratic takeover of arms. We've got to emphasize again that no one wants to touch the legitimate hunter but we've got to protect society from nuts with guns.”¹⁴³

To protest the bill, which would effectively end the Black Panther Police Patrol, the BPP sent a group armed with rifles and shotguns to the California State Capitol on May 2, 1967. When they attempted to enter the Assembly Chamber, they were forced to leave, so Seale read Executive Mandate Number 1, which opposed the Mulford Bill, out on the Capitol lawn.¹⁴⁴ The statement was not a demand to protect their constitutional rights, but a manifesto to Black people to arm themselves against the racist power structure. It criticized the Vietnam War as a racist genocide and named the murders and the imprisoned non-White people like the Native Americans and Japanese in internment camps. The statement said that the US Government always saved its most barbaric treatment for Black people, and the people had better rise as one to stop the reign of terror.¹⁴⁵

Executive Mandate Number 1:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the Black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature, which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the Black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder, and repression of Black people. At the same time that the American government is waging a racist war of genocide in Vietnam, the concentration camps in which Japanese Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded.

Since America has historically reserved the most barbaric treatment for nonwhite people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people, who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people from the very beginning of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confining of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam, all testify to the fact that towards people of color, the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror and the big stick.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated, and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy.

¹⁴² Huey P. Newton, “The Founding of the Black Panther Party”, Huey P. Newton Reader, 2002, p.63.

¹⁴³ Donald Mulford Interview, KRON Television, 1967.

¹⁴⁴ https://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_capitolmarch.htm. Coverage of the event is included here <https://youtu.be/6woXE-RPY7A>.

¹⁴⁵ Huey P. Newton, “The Founding of the Black Panther Party”, Huey P. Newton Reader, 2002, p.69.

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As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods, and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.

Radio programs and television shows that were in progress cut to the scene at the Capitol. Images of Black Panthers with guns and afros wearing all-black were broadcast across the country. Seale read the statement twice, and the media never cut away from the scene. After the BPP group dispersed, most were arrested before they were out of city limits. Meanwhile, Newton, who remained in Oakland, raised \$50,000 for bail. The event made national news and made the BPP a symbol of the black struggle of the 1960s, which earned them a place in American culture. Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture, said, "Colossal events made the Black Panther Party explode." He said Sacramento was one of those events that made membership of the BPP skyrocket¹⁴⁶. The event also caught the attention of the FBI, where Director J. Edgar Hoover resolved to have "black nationalist hate groups" surveilled.¹⁴⁷

Free Huey

Until the demonstration at the capitol, the press outside of the Bay Area were unfamiliar with the BPP. What caught their attention was not the BPP's political message but their guns. The media's continued focus on guns—even after they stopped carrying—and menacing depiction of the BPP proved influential in the next highly publicized event—the first violent clash between the group and the police.¹⁴⁸

On October 28, 1967, Newton and fellow BPP member Gene McKinney were pulled over by the police. A shootout occurred, which left Officer John Frey mortally wounded, Officer Heanes with several bullet wounds, and Newton, who was arrested that evening, seriously injured with a bullet wound in his stomach. The national media and the BPP used the officer's death and Newton's arrest to craft their own narratives. According to the press, the shootout reinforced their portrayal of the BPP as a violent and dangerous entity. A photograph of

¹⁴⁶ Douglas, Emory. Interview by Leila Wills. YouTube. 19 June 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aoebv_oh0Ok

¹⁴⁷David Caracico, "From the Pages of the Bee, 1967: Armed Black Panthers Invade Capitol," *sacbee* (The Sacramento Bee, December 8, 2019), <https://www.sacbee.com/news/local/history/article148667224.html>.

¹⁴⁸Williams, Yohuru. "'Some Abstract Thing Called Freedom': Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Legacy of the Black Panther Party." *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 22, no. 3, 2008, pp. 16–21. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25162181>, p. 19.

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Newton in pain and handcuffed to a stretcher was widely distributed, and accounts of police using excessive force during his arrest were circulating. To the BPP and their supporters, this was proof of police brutality.¹⁴⁹

Behind bars and facing the death penalty, Newton became the embodiment of injustices against the Black community. He viewed the publicity he received as a means to promote the BPP's platform and to highlight the police's abuse of power: "Every day they kept me there I grew as a symbol of the brutalization of the poor and Black as well as a living reproach to society's indifference to the inequities of the legal system."¹⁵⁰

Eldridge Cleaver, the BPP's Minister of Information, capitalized on the hype surrounding the upcoming trial.¹⁵¹ He and other BPP members understood the value of a martyr who could inspire Black youths. His take on the incident was that Newton should be emulated as his actions, given the circumstances, were appropriate. Newton, painted in this light, also came to symbolize the bravado of the BPP.¹⁵²

The demand for Newton's release became a rallying cry among radicals. To promote the cause, the BPP briefly partnered with SNCC as well as the anti-war Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), which was comprised largely of Whites.¹⁵³ The coalition with the PFP was controversial for some, but was defended by Newton in a 1968 interview in *The Movement*:

The Peace and Freedom Party has supported our program in full and this is the criterion for a coalition with the black revolutionary group. If they had not supported our program in full, then we would not have seen any reason to make an alliance with them, because we are the reality of the oppression. They are not. They are only oppressed in an abstract way; we are oppressed in the real way. We are the real slaves! So it's a problem that we suffer from more than anyone else and it's our problem of liberation. Therefore we should decide what measures and what tools and what programs to use to become liberated. Many of the young White revolutionaries realize this and I see no reason not to have a coalition with them.¹⁵⁴

For the next three years, thousands gathered at demonstrations across the country, demanding Newton's release. One of the largest occurred on February 17, 1968 – Newton's birthday – when 5,000 people attended a "Free Huey" rally at the Oakland Auditorium. Among those present were Seale, Cleaver, Carmichael, H. Rap Brown (SNCC), and Newton's lawyer, Charles Gerry.¹⁵⁵ BPP and SNCC leaders announced their union and portrayed

¹⁴⁹Black Panther Newspaper, "'You Can Jail a Revolutionary, but You Can't Jail the Revolution,'" *Black Panther Newspaper*, October 1967.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Williams, Yohuru, p. 19

¹⁵²Black Panther Newspaper, "'You Can Jail a Revolutionary, but You Can't Jail the Revolution,'" *Black Panther Newspaper*, October 1967.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth Garner Masarik, "The Black Panther Party and the Free Breakfast Program: Feeding a Movement," July 20, 2020, <https://digpodcast.org/2020/07/19/black-panther-party/>.

¹⁵⁵PBS, "A Huey P. Newton Story - Actions - Free Huey | PBS," Pbs.org, 2019, https://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_freehuey.html.

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Newton as a martyr and leader. In their speeches, Newton's imprisonment not only epitomized the persecution of the Black race; his efforts to be released paralleled their fight for freedom.¹⁵⁶

The "Free Huey" movement believed Newton was also on trial for his views and race, that he was innocent, and that he would not be able to get a fair trial in this country. As Kathleen Cleaver maintained, "Asking whether a black man can get a fair trial in America is tantamount to asking if a Jew could get a fair trial in Nazi Germany."¹⁵⁷

Huey's trial began on July 15, 1968, at the Alameda County Courthouse and lasted almost two months. On September 10, the jury of eleven White members and one Black member found Newton guilty of voluntary manslaughter. He was sentenced to 2 to 15 years; after nearly two years of appeals filed by his lawyer, his sentence was overturned by the state's appellate court because the judge failed to give the jury complete instructions. Huey was released on August 5, 1970.¹⁵⁸ After two retrials, he was finally exonerated in 1971.

The "Free Huey" movement brought international fame to Newton, galvanized radicals, and made the BPP one of the most recognized political groups of its time. Before the movement, the BPP was essentially a local organization. By the end, the BPP was a worldwide phenomenon experiencing tremendous growth in both its membership and donations.¹⁵⁹

Survival Programs and Initiatives

While the BPP's sensationalized persona made them famous, it overshadowed their commitment to Black neighborhoods, evidenced by their survival programs and local newspaper.¹⁶⁰ Members were active in various forms of community service – they advocated for school stop-signs, escorted seniors collecting their social security checks, delivering groceries, provided legal counseling, etc.¹⁶¹ These social services were part of the Ten-Point Platform and Program. While the BPP would initiate these programs, their goal was for the people to take them over.¹⁶² Newton's philosophy was that the programs were not solutions, but they were a response to the deep needs of the community and a demonstration of how to build a community. He referred to them as "A survival kit" and explained: "That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution...If they have a need, we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land."¹⁶³

¹⁵⁶ Black Panther Newspaper, "You Can Jail a Revolutionary, but You Can't Jail the Revolution," *Black Panther Newspaper*, October 1967.

¹⁵⁷PBS, "A Huey P. Newton Story - Actions - Free Huey" Pbs.org, 2019, https://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/actions/actions_freehuey.html.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Williams, Yohuru, pp. 18-19.

¹⁶¹ Huey P. Newton, *The Black Panther Service to the People Programs*, Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, Univ of New Mexico Press, 2008.

¹⁶² Huey P. Newton, *To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey P. Newton*, Random House, 1972.

¹⁶³ Huey P. Newton, "The Black Panther Service to the People Programs", Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, University of New Mexico Press, 2008.

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One such need was adequate nutrition. Children in poor Black communities suffered from malnutrition and hunger and did not receive enough protein, milk, vegetables, and fruit. In fact, malnutrition and starvation were widespread in the United States. These conditions went largely unnoticed until 1968 when CBS News ran a special report, *Hunger in America*, that horrified the American public with graphic images of starving children across the country.¹⁶⁴ The episode publicized the findings of the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition, which sent doctors to selected cities to investigate hunger and malnutrition in the United States.¹⁶⁵ The report included the sheer number of Americans affected by hunger and malnutrition, the mental and physical health risks caused by hunger and malnutrition, the waste caused by government policies, and the failures of government programs enacted to feed the country's poor and hungry.¹⁶⁶

According to the report, the decisions regarding America's food production were made by the Department of Agriculture (USDA), whose policies favored farmers over the poor.¹⁶⁷ The Department returned \$227 million to the U.S. Treasury – money that could have been used to help those in need. Food and livestock were being destroyed while infants were dying of starvation. The Food Stamp Act, signed into law in 1964, provided recipients with some relief, but food stamps still required cash for purchase. Many poverty-stricken families who could not muster enough money for food stamps solely relied on government commodities for sustenance.¹⁶⁸ These subsidies, mostly consisting of starchy foods like lard, rice, butter, flour, and beans, caused weight gain and lacked the nutrients necessary to combat malnutrition.

The USDA's National School Lunch Program (1946) was largely ineffective. In 1966, the Child Nutrition Act was passed to improve upon it, but the government provided little guidance to participating schools. While all schools were eligible to take advantage of the program, decisions regarding school participation were made at the local level, and local politics, rather than need, often played a role in which schools were chosen.¹⁶⁹ The Child Nutrition Act did enact a two-year pilot program for school breakfasts, but it did not receive full funding from Congress and was slow to distribute funds to the states, giving them just a few months to implement the program. Schools were reluctant to commit resources to a pilot program with an uncertain future. Additionally, schools were selected based on practicalities – like whether they had the facilities to manage the program—rather than need.¹⁷⁰ The Committee on School Lunch Participation, a watchdog group representing five national women's organizations, conducted a widespread investigation on the operations of the lunch program.¹⁷¹ Their findings, included in a report entitled *Their Daily Bread* (1968), specified several program drawbacks. Besides the delay in funding, which made planning difficult, recipients were dissatisfied with the cost (labor costs were not included), record-keeping requirements, and interference with morning routines. There also were sentiments among some communities that breakfast was a family obligation.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁴ *CBS Reports: Hunger in America*, Peabody, 1968.

¹⁶⁵ Michael H. Dessent, "Hunger U.S.A.", *A Report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, With An Introductory Comment By Robert F. Kennedy*, 8 SAN DIEGO L. REV. 180 (1971).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Food Stamp Act of 1964."

¹⁶⁹ *Feeding the revolution*, p. 90.

¹⁷⁰ *Feeding the revolution*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁷¹ Jean Fairfax, "Committee on School Lunch Participation, 'Testimony of Jean Fairfax,'" April 16, 1970.

¹⁷² *Feeding the Revolution*, p. 91.

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While the government programs designed to address malnutrition and hunger were largely inefficient, the BPP's Free Breakfast for Children Program succeeded. "Free Breakfast for Children," the first official survival program of the BPP, was a collaborative effort between the BPP and St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, an Oakland church.¹⁷³ Church member Ruth Beckford-Smith, a renowned dancer, made the connection between the two groups. Beckford-Smith learned of the BPP from LaVerne Anderson, one of her students, who happened to be Huey Newton's girlfriend.¹⁷⁴ Father Neil, the church's minister, and Beckford-Smith supported Huey and LaVerne by attending one of Huey's hearings in December of 1967. Later, Father Neil visited him in jail. That marked the beginning of Father Neil's relationship with the BPP. Father Neil let the BPP hold meetings at the church, and in 1968, they began planning for the BPP's survival programs.¹⁷⁵ The Free Breakfast for Children Program was announced in the January 15 issue of their newspaper, *The Black Panther*. The article, which posed the question, "How can children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty?" called on members and Black citizens to volunteer. The Free Breakfast for Children was depicted as a "revolutionary program," and the BPP chided the Board of Education for not having already developed one."¹⁷⁶

The program was the first of its kind in the country. Without a model to follow, Father Neil and Beckford-Smith had to start from scratch to determine what they would need to launch the program. They meet with nutritionists to develop a healthy breakfast menu, and the health department and fire marshal to ensure the church met all health and safety requirements. In late January 1968, they offered the first free breakfast, which was attended by eleven children. By the end of the week, 135 children came.¹⁷⁷ Instructions were provided to volunteers, which included the following sample menu for one week:

- Monday: Scrambled eggs, grits, bacon, toast, jelly, juice, or milk
- Tuesday: Hot cakes, sausage, fresh fruit, hot chocolate
- Wednesday: Eggs, home fries, ham, toast, jam, milk, or juice
- Thursday: French toast, bacon, fresh fruit, hot chocolate
- Friday: Eggs, grits, bacon, toast, jam, milk, or juice¹⁷⁸

In March, the BPP started another Free Breakfast Program in a San Francisco church. By the end of the year, BPP chapters in 23 cities had implemented their own programs, feeding over 20,000 children nationwide. While initiated by the BPP, the breakfasts were a communal effort with facilities and food donated by local businesses, churches, and community-based organizations. (Those who did not participate were susceptible to boycotts initiated by the BPP.) The program was thriving; even the National School Lunch Program

¹⁷³ "Breakfast for School Children," *The Black Panther* newspaper, January 15, 1968, p. 7.

¹⁷⁴ Pendarvis Harshaw, "The Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast Program: A 50-Year-Old Blueprint," KQED, October 3, 2019, <https://www.kqed.org/arts/13867337/the-black-panther-party-s-free-breakfast-program-a-50-year-old-blueprint>.

¹⁷⁵ Earl A. Neil, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY and Father Neil," *It's About Time: Black Panther Party Legacy & Alumni*, Accessed Sep. 11, 2023, http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/our_stories/chapter1/bpp_and_father_neil.html.

¹⁷⁶ "Breakfast for School Children," *The Black Panther* newspaper, January 15, 1969, p. 7.

¹⁷⁷ Earl A. Neil, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY and Father Neil," *It's About Time: Black Panther Party Legacy & Alumni*, Accessed Sep. 11, 2023, http://www.itsabouttimebpp.com/our_stories/chapter1/bpp_and_father_neil.html.

¹⁷⁸ Huey P. Newton, *The Black Panther Service to the People Programs*, Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, ed. David Hillard (University of New Mexico Press, 2008).

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administrator conceded at a Senate Hearing that the BPP could feed more kids than the government could. Even the imprisonment of Seale and Newton did not deter the program's growth. Duties were passed on to party members David Hilliard and Elaine Brown; under their direction, the program flourished. Hilliard and Brown established guidelines for the program, which included sample menus, facility requirements, and staffing needs.¹⁷⁹

There were several reasons why the BPP's Free Breakfast for Children program could accomplish what the government's School Lunch Program could not. First and foremost, the BPP used donated food and volunteers – instead of federal or local funds—to operate the program. Without government involvement, the BPP did not encounter delays in funding, funding gaps, or burdensome procedures. Then, children were welcome regardless of need. This spared families from the stigma commonly associated with government assistance. Lastly, families found that the program provided structure, rather than disruption, to their morning routines.¹⁸⁰

The effects that the program had on those it served were evident. “The children, many of whom had never eaten breakfast before the Panthers started their program,” the *Sun Reporter* wrote, “think the Panthers are ‘groovy’ and ‘very nice’ for doing this for them. “School officials immediately reported results in kids who had free breakfast before school. “The school principal came down and told us how different the children were,” Beckford said later. “They weren't falling asleep in class, they weren't crying with stomach cramps.”

Though the USDA had piloted free breakfast efforts since the mid-1960s, the program only took off in the early 1970s—right around the time the Black Panthers' programs were dismantled. In 1975, the School Breakfast Program was permanently authorized. Today, it helps feed over 14.57 million children before school—and without the radical actions of the Black Panthers, it may never have happened.¹⁸¹ The BPP is often credited for the amendments to the Child Nutrition Act that included free breakfast at school and expansion of the WIC, Women, Infants, and Children Program.

Free Breakfast for Children was just the beginning of the BPP's social programs. Hilliard, who was instrumental in establishing many of these programs, explained how meeting community needs was fundamental to the mission of the BPP:

The original vision of the Black Panther Party was structured by the practical needs of the people, not by rhetoric and ideology. The failure of city and federal administrators to address the basic needs of the community was the reason we created our survival programs....We formed the Black Panther Party because we wanted to liberate our community. While we were very young and inexperienced, we overcame many obstacles on the path to building our organization. Party members implemented the survival programs, and our "Service to the People" model became a tool by which we educated the masses. Huey Newton, leader of our party, said that the survival programs were "not revolutionary nor reformist but a tactic and strategy by which we organized the people." We

¹⁷⁹ Elizabeth Garner Masarik, “The Black Panther Party and the Free Breakfast Program: Feeding a Movement,” July 20, 2020, <https://digpodcast.org/2020/07/19/black-panther-party/>.

¹⁸⁰ *Feeding the Revolution*, p. 91.

¹⁸¹ Erin Blakemore, “How the Black Panthers' Breakfast Program Both Inspired and Threatened the Government,” The History Channel, 2021. <https://www.history.com/news/free-school-breakfast-black-panther-party>.

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understood that in order to transform society it was first necessary to survive economic and social oppression.¹⁸²

To ensure that the needs of the Black community were met, the BPP provided many services, including employment and affordable housing for the homeless; a food bank and free food, clothing, and shoes to those in need; comprehensive health clinics; free and relevant education at elementary schools as well as tutoring and counseling; transportation to those visiting imprisoned family and loved ones; and a defense fund and legal aid clinic.¹⁸³ All in all, the number of programs and services offered by BPP totaled 65.¹⁸⁴

BPP Chapters Across the United States

The popularity of the BPP was not limited to Oakland or the Bay Area. After all the publicity, unofficial BPP groups were founded nationwide. In 1968, the Oakland BPP began establishing charters to concentrate their power and ensure new chapters were adhering to Party rules and standards. Supporters of the BPP could be found in cities all over the United States, but not all were recognized chapters.¹⁸⁵ While it is hard to verify the number of actual members, it is believed that there were around 5,000 at the party's height in 1969 and between 34 and 40 chapters in cities all over the United States. The party's influence went beyond its membership; their demonstrations could attract thousands of people. In 1970, pollster Louis Harris found that one-quarter of Black Americans believed the BPP stood for their beliefs. Outside of the United States, the BPP had relations with, or support from, countries and/or regions around the world, including Cuba and Algeria, Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America.¹⁸⁶

The party developed a hierarchy, with the Oakland Chapter taking the top position as the national headquarters and the Central Committee as the governing body. Beneath them was the regional section, comprised of state chapters; Oakland appointed or approved chapter leaders. This was followed by the local section, which consisted of city branches. These branch leaders worked with the general membership. Orders were given from the top and were expected to be obeyed.

¹⁸²Huey P. Newton, *The Black Panther Service to the People Programs*, Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, ed. David Hillard (University of New Mexico Press, 2008), p. 157.

¹⁸³Omri C, "The Black Panther Party's Community Survival Programs | Articles," *The Journal Of Black Research*, May 13, 2022, <https://journal.blackresearchersunited.net/articles/05/2022/the-black-panther-partys-community-survival-programs/>.

¹⁸⁴ BPPALN, "Black Panther Party Community Survival Programs," Black Panther Party Alumni Legacy Network, 2023, <https://bppaln.org/programs>.

¹⁸⁵ Arianne Hermida, "Mapping the Black Panther Party - Mapping American Social Movements," *depts.washington.edu*, 2015, https://depts.washington.edu/moves/BPP_map-cities.shtml.

¹⁸⁶Sean L Malloy, *Out of Oakland : Black Panther Party Internationalism during the Cold War* (Ithaca ; London: Cornell University Press, 2017).

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The events that unfolded in the latter half of the 1960s had a profound impact on Black Chicagoans. Younger Blacks were discouraged by the ineffectiveness of the Chicago Freedom Movement and the inability of nonviolent protests of the Civil Rights Movement to topple Daley's political machine. New leaders adopted a hybrid approach that introduced community activism and self-defense. The Black Power movement intensified after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination. Members of Civil Rights groups began to espouse the philosophy of armed self-defense.

Fred Hampton

Fred Hampton was born in Summit, Illinois on August 30, 1948. He was the youngest of three children born to Francis and Iberia Hampton, who migrated to the Chicago area in the 1940s from Louisiana. After living in Argo (now part of Summit) and Blue Island, the family finally settled on a home at 804 S. 17th Avenue in Maywood, a suburb approximately twelve miles west of the city.¹⁸⁷ From a young age, Hampton was involved with social justice causes. His mother, Mrs. Iberia Hampton, speaking on sending her children to Louisiana during summers, said, "Yeah, I was a little nervous letting them go back south, particularly because Fred had such a big mouth."¹⁸⁸ His brother Bill explained that their parents would tell them stories of living in the South. Fred, who was sensitive, wanted to do something.¹⁸⁹ Fred was also exposed to racial violence in his community. His mother had babysat for Emmett Till when they lived in Argo, and Fred was present while Dr. King was attacked in Chicago during the Freedom Summer movement.¹⁹⁰

His father recalled that Fred desired to become a lawyer so he could use his legal expertise to help others. In elementary school, Hampton was the captain of the patrol boys, whose duty was to shepherd students across the streets safely. Before school, he led homework sessions for both Black and White students. In high school (Proviso East), Hampton developed his talents for community organization and social activism. He organized students to march to the city's police headquarters to demonstrate against a young man's wrongful arrest and was a committee member of the school's Interracial Cross Section Committee. Hampton believed that the Black students were not getting the best education at the school, largely comprised of White teachers and administrators, and he fought to get Black representation on the staff. A former school dean acknowledged that he got his job due to Hampton's efforts to attract more Black teachers and administrators.¹⁹¹

After Hampton graduated from high school in 1966, he attended Triton College, a nearby community college, and enrolled in the school's prelaw program. The following year, his high school principal asked him to

¹⁸⁷ Jeffrey Haas, *The Assassination of Fred Hampton: How the FBI and the Chicago Police Murdered a Black Panther* (Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill Books, 2019), p. 15.

¹⁸⁸ Haas, p.17.

¹⁸⁹ "Still My Brother's Keeper," Interview with Bill Hampton by Ron Herd, 2018.

¹⁹⁰ Meilan Solly, "The History of 'Judas and the Black Messiah'," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 11, 2021.

¹⁹¹ Haas p.19.

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participate in a forum to reduce racial tensions. He heard the grievances of White, Black, and Latino students and “put together a joint plan” that empowered each group.¹⁹²

Hampton’s organizational and oratorical skills helped him rise quickly within the local branch of the NAACP, which he joined at a young age. At the age of 17, he became the branch’s Youth Council President; under his leadership, the integrated youth group of 500 members was able to influence the City of Maywood to provide the community’s Black children with better educational and recreational facilities.¹⁹³ While the Black youth in Maywood were not as concentrated as in nearby Chicago, the youth across the country were becoming active in social justice causes.

One of Hampton’s more prominent causes in Maywood was his fight for a local swimming pool. Black people were denied access to the nearest pool in Melrose Park. This prompted Hampton, who did not swim, to escort children on the bus—sometimes in shifts—to the closest facility in Brookfield, about five miles away. In 1966, hundreds of young people, led by Hampton, marched through the streets to protest the segregated pool and lack of facilities for Black residents.

Not all of Hampton’s demonstrations were without confrontation. At one city hall protest over the pool, the crowd was so large that many were prohibited from entering the building. Hampton, accompanied by NAACP member Bill Ivory, requested that the Village Board find a larger space to accommodate everyone or let them in. In a panic, Maywood police tear-gassed the crowd outside. This incensed the crowd, which, in turn, ran down the main street, vandalized businesses, and terrorized residents. Hampton and Ivory were arrested on a mob action charge.¹⁹⁴

Some of the NAACP members disapproved of the marches and believed they were too antagonistic.¹⁹⁵ Filmmaker Floyd Webb, who was a part of the NAACP Youth Council in Maywood, said when he joined, the leadership told him to “just stay away from that Fred Hampton.”¹⁹⁶

Hampton and the Black Panther Party

Hampton was becoming more radicalized and his political and social views were not aligned with the mainstream NAACP. He was opposed to the war in Vietnam, he was a proponent of Black Power, and he believed that Black Americans should take up arms to defend themselves.¹⁹⁷ When Hampton was still head of the NAACP Youth Council, he met Lennie Eggleston, a member of the Los Angeles branch of the Black Panther Party, who was in Chicago doing speaking engagements on the BPP’s behalf. He impressed upon Hampton the idea that racism was the byproduct of a class struggle.¹⁹⁸ In Eggleston’s view, uniting the poor, regardless of race, against the country’s power structure was the only way to bring about radical change. While

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ “Fred Hampton,” Stanford University. Say Their Names - Spotlight at Stanford, July 6, 2020, <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/saytheirnames/feature/fred-hampton>.

¹⁹⁴ Haas, pp. 62-63.

¹⁹⁵ Haas, p. 63.

¹⁹⁶ Floyd Webb, Interview, Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, 2021

¹⁹⁷ See, Jeffery Haas, “Assassination of Fred Hampton,” p. 57. Chapter 5 discusses the differences between Fred Hampton and Dr. King’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

¹⁹⁸ Jon F. Rice, “Black Radicalism on Chicago’s West Side, A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party,” Dissertation, Ph. D., Northern Illinois University, 1998.

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Hampton was still with the NAACP Youth Council, he invited Stokely Carmichael to speak in Maywood.¹⁹⁹ At the time, Carmichael had left the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was the Honorary Prime Minister of the BPP. In that position, Stokely was tasked with starting new chapters across the country. He had already been in touch with Bob Brown, the Midwest Director of the SNCC stationed in Chicago. Brown mentioned there was interest in a BPP chapter and wanted to have an event to launch the idea. It was Hampton who extended the invitation.²⁰⁰ After receiving the invite, Carmichael planned to center his visit on the Maywood engagement and spend time in Chicago to help start a chapter of the Black Panther Party. Soon after Carmichael's visit, Hampton left the NAACP for the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

Bob Brown and Bobby Rush

Carmichael had encouraged SNCC members Bob Brown and Bobby Rush to join the BPP so he would have a power base within the organization.²⁰¹ Brown, a seasoned civil rights activist and member of Chicago's CORE chapter since 1963 was skilled at organizing and familiar with others instrumental in the Civil Rights Movement. In 1967, he left Core to become SNCC's Midwest Director.²⁰²

In September of 1967, Bobby Lee Rush, in his military uniform, entered Brown's office and asked to join the SNCC.²⁰³ Rush grew up in the city's Near North Side but was born in Albany, Georgia. He was only seven when his newly separated mother moved the family to Chicago. He attended Wells and Marshall high schools but dropped out in 1963 to enlist in the United States Army.²⁰⁴

Brown and Rush were both supporters of Carmichael. In July 1968, over a year after he left his position as chairman of the SNCC, Carmichael, now in Washington, D.C., received a visit from Brown, who offered his assistance in regaining control of the SNCC. Carmichael instead asked Brown to return to Chicago and start a BPP chapter. Brown was not enthusiastic. He did not think the movement was taking off in Chicago and was aware of competing Chicago BPP groups already in existence. Nonetheless, he relented with Bobby Rush and others, joined the BPP, and began recruiting in the Chicago area. The founding meeting of the group that was to become the ILBPP occurred that same month at Little Johns Tavern on 59th and Ashland Avenue.²⁰⁵

Referred to the South Side faction, the group met Hampton at a black leadership meeting organized by Phil Cohran, an artist, and activist at his Afro Arts Theater at 39th and Drexel. Hampton, an invited speaker, gave a captivating talk that contained sentiments in sync with the BPP; he affirmed that it was time for black people to

¹⁹⁹ "Interview with Stokely Carmichael," Conducted for Eyes on the Prize II., Washington University in St. Louis. <http://repository.wustl.edu/concern/videos/1g05fg455>.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Interview with Bobby Rush, Explorations in Black Leadership, University of Virginia.

²⁰² Samuel Hogsette, "Bobby L. Rush, Rise Of A Black Panther Politician: The Price Of Resistance In America," Dissertation, Ph. D., Wayne State University, 2019. p.9

²⁰³ Ibid. p.7.

²⁰⁴ Lynn Sweet, "Rep. Bobby Rush to retire after 15 terms," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Jan 3, 2022.

²⁰⁵ Jon F. Rice, "Black Radicalism on Chicago's West Side, A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party," Dissertation, Ph. D., Northern Illinois University, 1998 pp. 14-15.

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arm themselves. Hampton wanted to join the BPP, and Brown and Rush needed a dynamic speaker for their newly formed BPP organization. At that meeting, they joined forces.²⁰⁶

Rush accompanied Stokely to Oakland for authorization to start the Illinois chapter. Rush met with Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, David Hilliard, and Donald Lee “DC” Cox, and Seale said they already had Panthers in Chicago. By most accounts, the people in the other group Seale referred to were not “movement” people. They were mostly staging protests in front of businesses and hustling the owners for money to get them to go away. Seale gave Rush some Black Panther newspapers and buttons but did not authorize a chapter. Rush, undeterred, approached Alderman Sam Raynor for assistance; he, in turn, rented a space for the organization at 2350 W Madison Street on Chicago’s West Side so the unofficial group could begin operating.²⁰⁷

In November 1968, two members of the Central Committee in Oakland, Donald “DC” Cox and Raymond Masai Hewitt, were flying to New York. During the flight, they were comparing distances and asked the flight attendant if flying from California to New York was the same as flying from California to Cuba. The flight staff were on high alert because of the number of airplane hijackings taking place, and the attendant alerted the pilot, who made an emergency landing in Chicago. The police arrested Cox and Hewitt. Oakland Party officials attempted to reach the other Chicago group that called themselves Panthers but were unsuccessful. Rush, Hampton, and Brown, however, had an office, and Oakland had their number. They were able to assist Oakland and that was how the group received official authorization and recognition as a chapter of the BPP. Members of the other groups joined the official chapter and Stokely Carmichael brought Fred Hampton to Oakland for orientation.²⁰⁸

The summer before ILBPP was officially recognized, Rush, Hampton, Brown, Brooks, and a dozen or so founding members began operations and collectively decided their positions and roles. Attempting to follow the structure of the national organization, leadership positions of the Illinois chapter were comprised of deputy ministers and field secretaries. Once Illinois became an official chapter, positions were streamlined to reflect the national structure. Like the national organization, the Illinois chapter did not have one leader but several leadership positions. The national organization had a central staff comprised of ministers, whereas the Illinois chapter’s central staff were deputy ministers. (B. Brooks, personal communication, January 21, 2021) Every member was assigned to a cadre focused on a particular aspect of the Party’s survival programs. Each deputy minister’s duties included overseeing their cadre and carrying out the Party’s programs. The chapter also had field lieutenants in charge of section leaders who organized every community area to carry out BPP programs and initiatives.

ILBPP Founding Deputy Ministers and Leaders of Cadres

- Deputy Minister of Defense: Bobby Rush

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Interview with Bobby Rush, Explorations in Black Leadership, University of Virginia, <https://blackleadership.virginia.edu/transcript/lee-rush-bobby>. The office was demolished; currently a Walgreen’s occupies the site.

²⁰⁸ “Interview with Stokely Carmichael,” Conducted for Eyes on the Prize II.,” Washington University in St. Louis; Interview with Bobby Rush, Explorations in Black Leadership, University of Virginia, <https://blackleadership.virginia.edu/transcript/lee-rush-bobby>.

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- Deputy Chairman: Fred Hampton
- Deputy Minister of Information: Rufus “Chaka” Walls
- Deputy Minister of Education: Billy “Che” Brooks
- Deputy Minister of Health: Ronald “Doc” Satchel
- Communications Secretary: Iris Shin and later Ann Campbell
- Deputy Minister of Finance: Henry English
- Deputy Minister of Culture: Christina “Chuckles” May

Defense Captain: Willie Calvin

Field Secretaries: Field Secretaries were comparable to Donald “DC” Cox’s position of Field Marshall and were responsible for organizing cadres and troubleshooting.

Field Lieutenants: Organized every community area to carry out BPP programs and initiatives.

Section Leaders: Responsible for organizing every community area.

Members: Members belonged to cadres and worked on all the programs.

Bob Brown preferred working in the background and did not want an official position. Drew Ferguson and Jewel Cook were initially members of Chicago’s unofficial West Side Black Panther Party.

The bureaucratic organizational structure of the BPP was not always fixed and there were variations over time. The ILBPP created numerous other leadership roles that both men and women filled. After becoming an official chapter, they stabilized the hierarchy and trimmed several positions to reflect the official BPP structure. While women were active in the national and Illinois chapters, the ILBPP placed more female members in leadership roles. Women outnumbered men and were a significant part of the organizational structure and leadership. Women held positions of authority, led cadres, spearheaded Party programs, and were vital members of the chapter’s formation and successes. Women also received more respect in the ILBPP than in the national chapter. Sexism was not tolerated and the men who disregarded the ILBPP’s gender equality policies were summarily disciplined.²⁰⁹ The Illinois Chapter also operated a Free Daycare Program in a single-family home on Chicago’s south side. Lynn French started the daycare at 8841 S. Merrill in a home Bobby Rush purchased for the Party.

Demographics of the Illinois Chapter

The ILBPP’s diverse organization was also reflected in its social composition. The age group, on the other hand, was more homogeneous. While there were some members over the age of 30, the young ages of the chapter were notable: high school and college students ages 14 - 24 made up the bulk of recruits. (A full list of interviews can be found in Appendix G.) Yet contrary to popular belief, most members were not gang affiliates but students or activists from political organizations. That the ILBPP heavily recruited students is understandable, given the fact that many of the founding members came from local colleges and universities (A full list of interviews can be found in Appendix G)

²⁰⁹ B. Brooks, personal communication, January 21, 2021.

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The list below, while not exhaustive, includes the chapter's speaking events at colleges and universities over seven months and illustrates the commitment and resolve of the ILBPP. Wilson Junior College, now Kennedy King, was a major organizing hub.

Illinois College Campus Speaking Engagements

Chicago and vicinity

- Wilson Junior College, ongoing, organizing beginning July 1968
- Crane Junior College, November 15, 1968; February 17, 1969; February 18, 1969
- UIC Circle Campus, November 26, 1968; January __, 1969; February 10, 1969; February 17, 1969
- Northeastern Illinois State College, December 10, 1968; February 20, 1969
- Roosevelt University, January 8, 1969; March 26, 1969
- YMCA College, January 14, 1969
- Chicago State Teachers College, February 20, 1969
- Loop City College, March 7, 1969
- Northwestern University, April 18, 1969
- DePaul University, May 9, 1969
- Chicago City Colleges Southeast Campus, December 3, 1969, Fred Hampton's Last Public Speech

Downstate

- Northern Illinois University, November 26, 1968; February 25, 1969; March 23, 1969
- UIC Champaign, February 4, 1969; February 8, 1969; February 17, 1969

Out-of-State

- Beloit College, Beloit, WI, March 23, 1969
- Dominican College, Racine, WI, March 27, 1969
- University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, April 2, 1969

School and education were important for the first, second, and third generations born of southern migrants. Research conducted by W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research says:

Overall, the findings suggest that the Great Migration played an important role in narrowing U.S. educational disparities by race. Between the 1900 and 1970 birth cohorts, the education gap between White and Black individuals shrank from 4.0 to 0.9 years--a 78 percent reduction.²¹⁰

During the 1960s, the sociopolitical unrest in America created tension in Chicago high schools and college campuses across Illinois, and the Black Power movement helped spur it on. At the 1968 Olympics, gold medalist Tommie Smith and bronze medalist John Carlos raised the Black Power Fist during the National

²¹⁰ Baran, Cavit, Eric Chyn, and Bryan A. Stuart. 2022. "How the Great Migration Changed Black Children's Educational Attainment." Policy and Research Brief. Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research. <https://doi.org/10.17848/pb2022-46>.

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Anthem while on the winner's podium. The political stand ended their careers but invigorated Black youth to take a stand for equal rights. After the incident, Black student unions pushed their institutions to offer Black Studies. Students invited speakers from various Black rights organizations to address the student body, and Fred Hampton, with his oratory skills, galvanized them while teaching the philosophical views of the Black Panther Party (Full list of interviews can be found in Appendices)

BPP Branches in Illinois and the Midwestern Region

Organizing at high schools, colleges, and universities successfully recruited new members. The speaking engagements inspired the growth of BPP programs like the Free Breakfast for Children and led to the creation of local chapters throughout Illinois. The local chapters became branches of the ILBPP and reported to the Illinois Central Staff.

Branches in Illinois

1. East St. Louis, 10 N. 16th Street
2. Peoria, no office, first meeting at Mark Clark's home, 436 W. Seventh Street
3. Rockford, 529 Pierpont Ave (original structure demolished)
4. West Suburban Branch, includes Argo, Maywood, and Harvey (no office)

Organizers in Illinois, No Branch or Office

1. Joliet
2. Dekalb
3. Peoria
4. Waukegan
5. Cairo
6. Edwardsville
7. Carbondale

The Central Committee of the BPP in Oakland was gaining membership at an accelerated pace and was concerned about local BPP groups touting guns starting and creating unauthorized local chapters. The committee turned to the ILBPP for assistance and instructed them to send field secretaries throughout Illinois and the Midwest to establish contact with these groups. The ILBPP sent field secretaries throughout Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and other states to help train and organize them. The home of Billy Brooks at 1320 S. Kedvale in the Lawndale Community became a significant organizing hub for the chapter. Although the area had its own gang issues, it was conveniently located – just three-and-one-half miles from the main office. Hampton, Brooks, and other members also met there regularly to promote community cohesion.²¹¹

²¹¹ Interview with Billy Brooks, Walter Johnson. Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. July 2022.

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Political Education Training

Since the BPP was a political party focused on freedom from oppression, education was central to its mission. New members had to learn the organization's philosophies and practices outside armed resistance. The Ten-Point Platform and Program, Rules of the BPP, and issues of the *Black Panther* newspaper were mandatory readings for every member. Recruits also were required to attend six weeks of political education classes. Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton and Deputy Minister of Education Billy Brooks primarily headed the classes for the Illinois recruits. Section leaders organizing in the field also taught political education to the community.

If the Illinois headquarters did not send an organizer to the branch location, those members had to travel to Chicago to receive political education. That branch would then be responsible for educating their local community. The primary locations where political education training took place were at the Illinois headquarters at 2350 W. Madison (demolished), the southside office at 4233 S. Indiana (demolished), Precious Blood Church at 2411 W. Congress, and the People's Church (now the Epiphany Center of the Arts) at 201 S. Ashland, and the People's Church was the last political education class and public meeting given by Hampton on December 3, 1969, the night before his assassination.

For public outreach and organizing, the ILBPP relied on the organization's newspaper, *The Black Panther*, published every Wednesday. Circulation grew from 100,000 copies a week to 300,000.²¹² The Illinois Chapter's distribution service ran like a well-oiled machine in Chicago. Each member, from those in leadership to the newest recruit, was required to sell it. The newspaper cost 25 cents, and it was said that sellers got to keep 5 cents from each sale. The chapter became a major distribution center and eventually got its own newspaper press. The newspaper was printed from 1967 until 1980; the Illinois Chapter ceased printing operations circa 1975. (A full list of interviews can be found in Appendix G.)

ILBPP's Survival Programs

In addition to training and recruiting, the ILBPP, as a recognized chapter of the national organization, followed the BPP's Ten-Point "Platform and Program," which included establishing the party's social programs. Like many other urban areas, Chicago had a large, underserved Black population. According to the 1960 Census, Illinois' total Black population was 1,037,000; the Black population in Chicago alone was 812,637, up 65% from 1950, making it 23% of the city's population. Nearly half of the increase was attributed to the Great Migration. Slightly over half was due to the birth rate -- over 170,468 black children were born in Chicago between 1950 and 1960. According to the census, 29.7% of Black families in Chicago were living in poverty.²¹³ Poverty was geographically concentrated on Chicago's west and south sides and created "no-man's lands" where no outsider dared to venture, except for the priest, pastor, or police. For the residents, poverty was the causative factor of the other social ills that came with it: crime, violence, broken families, substance abuse, educational failure, disease, and hunger. The ILBPP's response was to open its first Free Breakfast for Children Program in North Lawndale, a community that continues to suffer from disinvestment, crime, and poverty.

²¹² Charles E Jones, *The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)* (Baltimore, Md: Black Classic Press, 2005).

²¹³ Steve Bogira, "A Dream Unrealized for African Americans," *Chicago Reader*, August 21, 2013. The census in 1960 was the first year of "self-enumeration" where the form was completed by occupants instead of interviewers. In addition to those unwilling to complete the census for various reason, illiteracy rates could also affect census results. The poverty percentage of 29.7% could be quite higher.

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ILBPP Free Breakfast for Children Program

The first ILBPP Free Breakfast program started on April 1, 1969, at North Lawndale's Better Boys Foundation (BBF), 1512 S. Pulaski Road. (The original building was demolished when the organization built a new facility in the same location in 2007.)²¹⁴ BBF Founder and local philanthropist Joseph Kellman grew up in North Lawndale. In 9th grade, he was forced to drop out of school to work in the family business. After 45 years, the business evolved into the Globe Group – the country's largest privately-owned auto glass company. Kellman wanted to help the youth in the area, and in 1961, he founded the Archie Moore Boxing Gym in his old neighborhood. By that time, the neighborhood was primarily comprised of Black residents.²¹⁵ The after-school boxing club he established was considered neutral ground for gangs. The Egyptian Cobras and Vice Lords could both play basketball and took boxing instruction.²¹⁶ In the mid-60s, he changed the name to the Better Boys Foundation to offer a “multi-faceted youth development agency through the creation and delivery of innovative programming that adapted and evolved to meet the needs of the North Lawndale community.”²¹⁷ Kellman was also elected president of the Greater North Lawndale Conservation Commission.

ILBPP Deputy Minister of Education Billy Brooks, a member of the BBF, and Hampton thought the BBF would be a good site for the first breakfast program. Kellman and BBF board member Marv Zimmerman provided critical support after Brooks and Hampton met with directors Warner Saunders and Eugene Perkins.²¹⁸ The BBF is still at the same location and serves youth in Lawndale.

A second Free Breakfast for Children location opened around the same time at The Coretta Scott King YWCA, 500 E. 37th Street (since demolished) in the Bronzeville neighborhood. Other locations included the St. Bartholomew Church (presently True Vine Missionary Baptist Church) at 6720 S. Stewart Avenue. It was started by the ILBPP with the intent of having the people take over its management once it became established.

Walter Johnson, a 15-year-old member of the Black Panther Party and Englewood High School student, enlisted his classmates in the Black Student Union to start a Free Breakfast for Children Program at the neighborhood church. Students raised money and food donations and woke up every morning before school to cook food and serve elementary school children. Johnson said, “Man, they took that thing over.”²¹⁹ The Student Union students would eat if there was enough food left over after the younger ones finished.

Wanda Ross set up a nonprofit corporation, Free Services Incorporated, to assist with managing the program. She recalled, “As I approached grocery stores and people who had resources, the first thing they said was, ‘Who can I write a check to?’ Well, I couldn't say the Black Panther Party. I'm not even sure if we had a bank account at the time.”²²⁰

Ross assembled a board, opened a bank account just for the program, and continued to obtain donated items like Joe Louis Milk, Parker House Sausages, and other quality foods. The Central Committee provided instructions

²¹⁴ “Illinois Press Release,” *The Black Panther* newspaper, April 27, 1969, p. 15.

²¹⁵ BBF Center for the Arts. *Our Founder*. BBF Center for the Arts Website, <https://bbfcenterforthearts.org/our-founder/>

²¹⁶ Billy Brooks Interview. Leila Wills. June 2022.

²¹⁷ BBF Center for the Arts. *Our Founder*. BBF Center for the Arts Website, <https://bbfcenterforthearts.org/our-founder/>

²¹⁸ Billy Brooks Interview. Leila Wills. June 2022.

²¹⁹ Interview with Walter Johnson, Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, July 3, 2022.

²²⁰ Wanda Ross Interview, Jose “Cha Cha” Jimenez, Grand Valley State University, 2012.

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to each chapter and community on how to set up a program, which included traffic control, waste management, cleanliness, cooks, servers, and enlisting property owners.²²¹

The Illinois chapter fed over 1100 children during the first week of the Breakfast Program. In two weeks, the BBF location was serving approximately 200 children a day and the YWCA location was serving approximately 300 children a day.²²² Members from the Illinois chapter, male and female, solicited donations from businesspeople, recruited volunteers from the parents of the children, scouted locations, and worked the program. All members took part in the program and served various roles; cooks, servers, coat check, cleaners, traffic control, etc.²²³ At its peak, the Free Breakfast for Children Program in Chicago served 4,000 children a day.²²⁴

Identified Locations of Illinois Free Breakfast for Children Program

1. Chicago, Better Boys Foundation, 1512 S. Pulaski
2. Chicago, Jackson Boulevard Church, 2413 W. Jackson
3. Chicago, Marcy Newberry Association, 1539 S. Springfield
4. Chicago, St. Andrews Episcopal Church, 48 N. Hoyne
5. Chicago, The People's Church, 201 S. Ashland
6. Chicago, Henry Horner Homes, 124 N. Hoyne
7. Chicago, Cabrini Green, St. Dominic's Church, 357 W. Locust
8. Chicago, St. Martin De Pores Church, 5112 W. Washington Blvd
9. Chicago, Brotherhood of Boys Republic, 1510 S. Hamlin
10. Chicago, Fairfax House, 135 S. Central Park
11. Chicago, Madden Park, 500 E. 37th Street
12. Chicago, Robert Taylor Homes, Trinity Lutheran Church, 4837 S. State St.
13. Chicago, Altgeld Gardens, Our Lady of the Gardens Church, 13300 S. Langley
14. Chicago, Southside Office, 4233 S. Indiana
15. Chicago, Our Redeemer Church, 6430 S. Harvard
16. Chicago, St. Bartholomew, 6720 S. Stewart Ave.

²²¹ Huey P. Newton, *The Black Panther Service to the People Programs*, Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, ed. David Hillard (Univ of New Mexico Press, 2008).

²²² "Illinois Press Release," *The Black Panther* newspaper, April 27, 1969, p. 15.

²²³ John F Rice, *Up on Madison, down on 75th Street : Part 1 : A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party* (Evanston, Ill.: The Committee, 1983).

²²⁴ John F Rice, *Up on Madison, down on 75th Street : Part 1 : A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party* (Evanston, Ill.: The Committee, 1983).

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17. East St. Louis, 10 N. 16th Street
18. Carbondale, Mt. Olive Freewill Baptist Church, 409 N. Marion Street
19. Carbondale, Crispus Attucks School- address for 1970 unknown
20. Peoria, Ward Chapel AME Church, 511 N. Richard Allen Drive
21. Rockford, Fairground Projects - 1015 W Jefferson St - address needs verification
22. Rockford, Sabruke Project – address unknown.
23. Rockford, Selavere Court - address unknown
24. Fairgrounds Housing Center. 1050 W. Jefferson Street, Rockford, IL 61103
25. Grace United Methodist Church 1451 W. State Street, Rockford, IL 61102
26. Saint Elizabeth Community Center, 1536 S. Main Street, Rockford
27. BPP Rockford Headquarters, 529 Pierpoint Avenue, Rockford

Free Food Program

In 1971, the Illinois Chapter launched its free food program. Primary locations were the Coretta Scott King YWCA, 436 E. Pershing Road (since demolished), and Stone Temple Baptist Church, 3622 W. Douglas. On April 1, 1972, the Illinois Chapter distributed over 2,000 bags of food and clothing at the Ida B. Wells housing project on Chicago's south side, and by April 15, 1972, the Party reported it had given out over 10,000 free bags of food.²²⁵

Free Bus to Prison Program

The BPP referred to the United States prison system as “the most wretched and inhumane of any that can be found in the world...”²²⁶ Studies had shown that imprisonment rates for Blacks were significantly higher than whites: “In 1960, the white male incarceration rate was 262 per 100,000 white U.S., and the black male rate was 1,313, meaning that black men were five times as likely as white men to be incarcerated.”²²⁷ Similar disparities occurred among other oppressed, working-class, and over-policed neighborhoods. In response, the ILBPP instituted the Free Bussing to Prison Program in 1971. “No longer will a Brother or Sister be quietly tucked away in some ‘adjustment hole’ to be heard from no more. The people from the community, the people who care will be there every week because there is now a People’s Bus that will now guarantee it.”²²⁸

²²⁵ *The Black Panther* Newspaper, April 15, 1972, page 2.

²²⁶ *The Black Panther* Newspaper, June 17, 1972, page 2.

²²⁷ Bruce Drake, “Incarceration Gap Widens between Whites and Blacks,” Pew Research Center (Pew Research Center, August 27, 2020), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/09/06/incarceration-gap-between-Whites-and-blacks-widens/>.

²²⁸ *The Black Panther* Newspaper, June 17, 1972, page 12.

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After meeting Bobby Rush in 1970, Irving Thalberg, Jr. purchased a 15-year-old Greyhound and donated it to the Illinois Chapter.²²⁹ The bus could seat 39 passengers, had air conditioning, and a bathroom. The bus ran a regular, dependable schedule every Sunday, visiting two prisons weekly. The bus left from the west side headquarters and the south side office.²³⁰

Medical Program and Sickle Cell Anemia Testing

Another major initiative of the BPP was healthcare for the poor. Like the Free Breakfast for Children Program, the party's Free Medical Program would also influence significant changes in the federal government's healthcare policies. Before Chairman Seale mandated health clinics for all BPP chapters in 1970, the Illinois Chapter was already preparing for the opening of the People's Free Medical Center in Chicago in 1969.²³¹

The Politics of Healthcare in 1968-1969

In Chicago, the Great Migration, White flight, and local politics led to the concentration of poverty, hunger, and disease in Black-populated areas with the greatest influx of migrants. These areas were not only "no man's lands," they were "medical wastelands."²³² For example, Woodlawn, a neighborhood on Chicago's south side and adjacent to Hyde Park and the University of Chicago, only had 35 doctors for its 78,000 inhabitants. Cook County's main hospital was used as a poor patient dumping ground on the west side near the ILBPP headquarters. Black students at the University of Chicago were sent to the county's Provident Hospital, which had inferior supplies and machinery, while White students could be seen at the University Hospital.²³³ Provident Hospital in Bronzeville was founded by a black surgeon in 1891, Daniel Hale Williams, who performed the first open heart surgery in the world in 1893.²³⁴ Provident Hospital was a source of pride for Chicago's Black residents but after legislation made discrimination illegal, Provident suffered financial hardships and lacked needed upgrades in the 60s and 70s.²³⁵

In 1968, the Chicago Student Health Organization (SHO) issued a critical report on the federal Medicaid program showing poor people were not receiving adequate healthcare. It also reported that Cook County Hospital was overutilized and overworked. When patients could not pay for services from private doctors, they were referred to the county hospital. Less than 10% of the 1700 doctors who sat on Cook County Hospital's panel of physicians handled most welfare patients. Some of them saw over 150 patients a day; 40% of the doctors did not have hospital affiliations. Doctors without hospital affiliation and appointments noted the report,

²²⁹ A Philosopher's Life, *Chicago Reader* by Grant Pick, June 2, 1998, <https://chicagoreader.com/news-politics/a-philosophers-life/>.

²³⁰ Wills, Free Bus to Prison Program.

²³¹ Ronald Satchel. Illinois Chapter Free Medical Clinic, *The Black Panther Newspaper*. Vol. 3 No. 25, October 11, 1969.

²³² Lawrence S. Bloom, Peter R. Bonavich, Daniel Sudran. Medicaid in Cook County: Present Status and Future Prospects. *INQUIRY: The Journal of Healthcare Organization, Provision, and Financing*. Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1968 p. 15.

²³³ Brown TM, Fee E, Healey MN. Quentin Young (1923-2016): Advocate, Activist, and "Rebel Without a Pause". *Am J Public Health*. 2016 Jun;106(6):1025-7. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2016.303219. PMID: 27153020; PMCID: PMC4880246.

²³⁴ Daniel Hale Williams and the First Successful Heart Surgery, Columbia University Department of Surgery, <https://columbiasurgery.org/news/daniel-hale-williams-and-first-successful-heart-surgery>

²³⁵ Provident Hospital, A Living Legacy, International Museum of Surgical Science, <https://imss.org/provident-hospital-a-living-legacy/>

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suggested lower qualifications than the vast majority (80%) of Cook County doctors who did have hospital appointments.²³⁶

The Illinois Chapter also took part in protesting Cook County Hospital.²³⁷ One flier distributed by the ILBPP was quoted a year later by the American Journal of Public Health:

A significant contemporary social influence on our health system comes from the black militant organizations. In Chicago, the Black Panther Party has been severely critical of Cook County Hospital and its operation. In a flier distributed throughout the Chicago area, early in October of 1969, the party stated: 'The Black Panther Party is opening a free medical clinic for people who need health care and can't get it from those lousy butcher shop hospitals like Cook County.'²³⁸

The SHO report, which was presented to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, cited Title 19 of the Medicaid Act (1967) that made provisions for poor children up to age 21 to receive medical care and dire need of services, in its assessment of Cook County:

"Although Title XIX gives Illinois until 1975 to live up to the Medicaid law, Cook County citizens cannot afford to wait that long. Available evidence points to the continuing deterioration of the health of the poor, especially the Negro poor."²³⁹

It demanded action from the federal government. The poor did not receive adequate healthcare partly because the Medical Assistance Program had not converted the public need into, "an effective economic demand for doctors' services." The Medicaid Program discouraged doctors from practicing in poverty areas by not paying the doctors in a timely manner, requiring an inordinate amount of paperwork for each welfare patient, and facing the possibility of nonpayment from patients without a Medicaid voucher. (A patient without a voucher must apply for coverage, and the doctor may or may not receive payment for his services.)

SHO gave a grave analysis and offered urgent remedies for the government to take to provide healthcare for the poor and lessen the burden on doctors. The SHO report specifically mentioned the Black Panther Party:

"...the demands of community groups for the right to govern their own lives will continue to escalate. This is attested to by their increasing demand for community control by such disparate groups as the Black Panthers..."²⁴⁰

The report also included the following account of the conditions in the Lawndale community:

"The area known as Lawndale is two community areas; one is North Lawndale, the other is South Lawndale. They are community areas 29 and 30, respectively. No two communities could

²³⁶ Chicago Student Health Project 1968. Student Health Organization Of Chicago and Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital 1968.

²³⁷ Photograph is in Appendix A.

²³⁸ Yoder FD, Reed S. Cook County health care facilities and the state health department. Am J Public Health Nations Health. 1970 Sep;60(9):1706-11. doi: 10.2105/ajph.60.9.1706. PMID: 5466720; PMCID: PMC1349066.

²³⁹ Lawrence S. Bloom, Peter R. Bonavich, Daniel Sudran. Medicaid in Cook County: Present Status and Future Prospects. INQUIRY: The Journal of Healthcare Organization, Provision, and Financing. Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1968 p. 13.

²⁴⁰ Chicago Student Health Project 1968. Student Health Organization Of Chicago and Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital 1968.

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be more different even though they are geographically contiguous. North Lawndale is considered a zone 2 poverty area; South Lawndale is not a poverty area.

North Lawndale is more than 90 percent Negro while the other is more than 90 percent White. SHP [Student Health Project] teams worked in North Lawndale and this report will deal only with that community area, No. 29.

There are about 125,000 people living there. The median family income in 1960 was \$4,981; 10 percent of the male labor force was unemployed; 25 percent of the families had incomes of less than \$3,000 per year; 14 percent of the housing was substandard. There has been virtually no new construction in this community since 1930 (when the population was about 112,000) with the exception of a small Chicago Housing Authority unit with 136 apartments.

North Lawndale was in the first quartile (the highest) ranking for all of the *five morbidity-mortality factors.”²⁴¹

*The five morbidity-mortality factors include deaths due to influenza and pneumonia for infants and noninfants, deaths from cervical carcinoma, deaths due to unknown and ill-defined causes, and new tuberculosis cases discovered.

Progressive medical students from the SHO attempted to open an evening medical center in a poverty stronghold, the Robert Taylor Homes Housing Project, on Chicago’s south side. The free clinic was functioning, but the students felt they could not be effective organizers in poor Black, Appalachian, and Puerto Rican neighborhoods:

“Middle-class whites are foreigners to the poor and always will be. Contact with middle-class whites, SHOs [Student Health Organization] own constituency, can teach the same classic lessons.”

The students decided to focus their attention on redesigning their educational experience and, as future health professionals, changing the healthcare system from within.²⁴²

Another organization, the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), under the leadership of Dr. Quentin Young, also wanted to open free medical clinics in poor neighborhoods. The MCHR was established after several doctors worked with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. during the Poor People’s Campaign, led by activists supporting government compensation for the poor. Dr. Young and his colleagues were practicing physicians and had already become medical activists. He recalled how he was approached by ILBPP member Ronald “Doc” Satchel:

“[Satchel] had a commitment to launching clinics in the community following the model of the breakfast programs...and to learn everything about the free clinic movement. We talked and then I gave him some books...I loved the idea of the clinic, was impressed that people were fashioning their own solutions to their own problems.

²⁴¹ *Chicago Student Health Project 1968*. Student Health Organization Of Chicago and Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital 1968, p. 47.

²⁴² *Chicago Student Health Project 1968*. Student Health Organization Of Chicago and Presbyterian-St. Luke's Hospital 1968, p. 4.

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“The Panthers weren’t taking the easy route. The community they picked, Lawndale, was about as depressed as you can get in America. It was the center of the ghetto. Very high joblessness, a very high dependency on welfare, all of the attendant problems.”²⁴³

Hampton explained the rationale behind opening the clinic opening in North Lawndale:

“...our free health clinic is opening up probably this Sunday at 16th and Springfield. Now does everybody know where 16th and Springfield is at? That’s not in Winnetka, you understand. That’s not in Dekalb, that’s in Babylon. That’s in the heart of Babylon, brothers, and sisters.

And that free health clinic was put there because we know where the problem is at. We know that black people are most oppressed. And if we didn’t know that, then why the hell would we be running around talking about the black liberation struggle has to be the vanguard for all liberation struggles?”²⁴⁴

Satchel was now the Deputy Minister of Health for the Illinois Chapter. Young recounted that Hampton and Satchel set up an office within MCHR’s headquarters and worked on the Free Medical Center’s planning. Hampton also became Young’s patient. They decided the center would initially be open two days a week.

Satchel told the *Chicago Tribune*, “Since this is a totally new project for us, we took advice from these groups in order to minimize our mistakes. Dr. Eric Kast, who works with L.A.S.H. [Lawndale Association for Social Health] helped us with construction thru their carpenters’ apprenticeship program.”²⁴⁵

In the same article, Dr. Eric Kast, who would be a primary physician at the center, described the need in Lawndale as “most urgent.” “The center probably will not be completed by September 28, but we at least will be able to begin medical examinations. We don’t want to have to turn anyone away,” Kast told the newspaper.

By October 18, 1969, Satchel again announced in *The Black Panther* newspaper that the clinic would open.²⁴⁶ Unfortunately, Illinois Secretary of State Paul Powell rejected their application to incorporate it. Police raids, harassment, and arrests of leadership also delayed the opening. The Free Medical Center finally opened in January 1970.

Illinois Chapter members Ralph Bostick and Ernestine Crossley, who married Satchel, were co-coordinators of the clinic and worked there daily. Bostick recalled: “After December the 4th [Hampton’s assassination], we were determined to open the clinic.” The Illinois Chapter leafletted and canvassed Chicago neighborhoods announcing the opening. Bostick, who worked closely with Satchel, said, “We wanted them [the people in the community] to accept us first. We didn’t want to just go in.”²⁴⁷

Dr. Young used his contacts to recruit doctors, nurses, lab technicians, medicines, supplies, and equipment. Each member of the Chicago MCHR paid five dollars to support the clinic, and the MCHR supervised the

²⁴³ Quentin Young. *Quentin Young on the Black Panther Party Free Clinic in Chicago*. Am J Public Health. 2016 Oct;106(10):1754-5. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2016.106101754. PMID: 27626343; PMCID: PMC5024359.

²⁴⁴ Speech by Fred Hampton, “It’s a Class Struggle, Godamnit!” Northern Illinois University. November 1969.

²⁴⁵ Clarence Page. “Black Panthers to Sponsor Free Medical Health Center.” *Chicago Tribune*. September 18, 1969, p.15.

²⁴⁶ Ronald Satchel. Illinois Chapter Free Medical Clinic. *The Black Panther* newspaper, Vol. 3 No. 26, October 18, 1969, p. 3.

²⁴⁷ Interview with Ralph Bostick, Historical Preservation Society, June 4, 2022.

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schedules of doctors, nurses, technicians, and medical students. The clinic was open every day except Saturday from 5:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. Patients were seen by general physicians, gynecologists, obstetricians, pediatricians, optometrists, and dentists. There were volunteer nurses, lab technicians, receptionists, and clerks. Dr. Kast was the medical director. The clinic was a success:

Like the Panthers' food-giveaway program, the clinic bolstered the party's credibility in the community, attracted a lot of media attention, and scared the hell out of Daley and other city officials. Kast recruited doctors and scrounged shamelessly from his contacts in the medical community for donations of supplies and prescription drugs. Patients flocked in. 'It was strictly a Marxist clinic,' says Kast. 'The emphasis was on making people aware of class struggle, and there was no idea of spirituality whatsoever. But still the poor were being served.'²⁴⁸

Every patient was interviewed by a member of the ILBPP who served as the Patient's Advocate. The Party also advocated for patients' privacy in healthcare and dignity in treatment.²⁴⁹ No patient had to fill out paperwork or pay to be seen. Doctors were paid if the patients had a medical voucher and, in turn, donated the money to the clinic.²⁵⁰ Public education was also significant. The Party educated the people on lead poisoning, tetanus, venereal disease, and what they described as the inhumane and dehumanizing medical system.²⁵¹ "Medical Mis-Care" and "Medicine Must Serve the People" were common phrases used in the newspaper.²⁵²

The younger doctors, often medical activists, who volunteered usually showed up to the clinic in casual dress. Dr. Young recalled hearing grumblings in the medical community that wearing the white jackets was symbolic of selling out. While Young wore a suit every day, the younger doctors wore jeans and sandals. Distrust of the medical profession had deep roots in southern migrants and their children, who shared stories of eugenics and forced sterilizations.²⁵³ Activist Fannie Lou Hamer spoke out about her "Mississippi Appendectomy," a term used for forced sterilization, and how common an occurrence it was. Hamer underwent a procedure to remove a uterine tumor (fibroid), and the white doctor removed her entire uterus.²⁵⁴

Two weeks after the clinic opened, Ronald "Doc" Satchel gathered the staff and pointed out dozens of white jackets on a rack. According to Young, Satchel said, "Pick the one you like, but we'll expect you to wear a jacket here so the patients will understand that by the outward symbols you are indeed a doctor in addition to your great desire to serve the people."²⁵⁵ From then on, all staff and Party members wore white jackets.

²⁴⁸ Robert McClory. "Heal Thy Neighbor: The Calling of Dr. Eric Kast." *Chicago Reader*. September 15, 1988.

²⁴⁹ Healthcare - Pig Style. *The Black Panther* newspaper, Vol 4. No 9. February 7, 1970, p. 9.

²⁵⁰ Interview with Ernestine Crossley, Leila Wills, September 11, 2023

²⁵¹ Healthcare - Pig Style. *The Black Panther* newspaper, Vol 4. No 9. February 7, 1970, p. 9.

²⁵² *The Black Panther* newspaper, Vol. 3. No. 30., November 15, 1969, p. 16.

²⁵³ Olivia Waxman. "With Free Medical Clinics and Patient Advocacy, the Black Panthers Created a Legacy in Community Health That Still Exists Amid COVID-19." *Time Magazine*, February 25, 2021.

²⁵⁴ Rosalind Early. The Sweat and Blood of Fannie Lou Hamer. *National Endowment for the Humanities Magazine*. Vol. 42. No. 1. 2021.

²⁵⁵ Quentin Young on the Black Panther Party Free Clinic in Chicago. *Am J Public Health*. 2016 Oct;106(10):1754-5. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2016.106101754. PMID: 27626343; PMCID: PMC5024359.

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Party members and community volunteers were trained to conduct screenings, urinalysis, and other tests²⁵⁶ and in April 1971, the BPP began an all-out public outreach campaign on Sickle Cell Anemia. The newspaper carried images of sickled blood cells on the front page, and the middle spread explained the disease.²⁵⁷ The Party criticized the US Government for its lack of response to the disease and set out to test community members.

Illinois Chapter and health cadre member Ralph Bostick recalls the initiative: “We would send people out and we would go out into the community and screen people for Sickle Cell Anemia. We would get people to submit their blood, then we would go back to the lab and analyze it. Then we would notify those, you know, [who had it]. We found a lot of black people had Sickle Cell Trait and we found a few that actually had Sickle Cell Anemia. They would get sick and didn’t know why at the time. That was a major program.” Chapter member and clinic co-coordinator Ernestine Crossley said, “We went door-to-door and tested people from Cabrini Green [public housing], Ida B. Wells [public housing], and partnered with the Red Cross for blood donations. We asked the people about their diets, checked their vitals...the Spurgeon Jake Medical Clinic was holistic care. Psych evaluations and referrals, dialogue with gangs, legal help, we did everything. And, it was really scary what some were doing for self-care.”²⁵⁸

In 1972, the Black Panther Party restructured the Ten-Point Platform and Program and added healthcare. (The 1972 Version of the Ten-Point Platform is in Appendix A, p. 85.)

6. We want completely free health care for all Black and oppressed people.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

Also in 1972, President Richard Nixon signed the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act, which provided funds for education, research, and treatment for those with the disease.²⁵⁹

The ILBPP’s free medical center was in a remodeled storefront at 3850 W. 16th Street on Chicago’s west side (since demolished). Penn Elementary School, located across the street from the medical center at 1616 S. Avers, was the first location of Sickle Cell Anemia canvassing. It still exists today, and the school’s mascot is a panther.

Where other groups could not organize healthcare clinics in poor neighborhoods, the ILBPP community outreach proved successful. The American Journal of Public Health estimated that the Spurgeon Jake Free

²⁵⁶ Interview with Ralph Bostick, Historical Preservation Society, June 4, 2022.

²⁵⁷ Black Genocide, Sickle Cell Anemia. *The Black Panther* newspaper. Vol. 6. No. 11. April 10, 1971.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Ernestine “Ruk” Crossley, now Tauheeda Mustafa, Historical Preservation Society, September 13, 2023.

²⁵⁹ Richard Nixon. Statement on Signing the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act. The American Presidency Project. May 16, 1972.

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Medical Center, named after a fallen BPP member, had 1400 patients registered and saw at least 75 patients a week.²⁶⁰ Dr. Young recalled approximately 100 patients a week.²⁶¹

Ralph Bostick, who worked alongside Ronald “Doc” Satchel, women in the Party, volunteers, and medical staff, emotionally offered his summation of the Spurgeon Jake Winters Free Medical Center: “We had a solid response. We were accepted by the community. We were protected by the community, and the people came.”²⁶²

The Rainbow Coalition

Chicago’s underrepresented neighborhoods were not limited to the South and West Sides. Neighborhoods were racially segregated, but poverty did not discriminate. Poor white families who had migrated from the Appalachian region of the United States were concentrated in the Uptown neighborhood and complained of deplorable living conditions. They were stereotyped by local newspapers as unreliable workers and drunk, wife-beating hillbillies.²⁶³ The Puerto Ricans in Lincoln Park were living in rat-infested homes.²⁶⁴ They may have had their differences, but all wanted better housing, city services, and participation in city agencies.

By 1969, the continuous migration of poor Black, White, and Latino people to Chicago caused more middle-class and upper-class Whites to flee to the suburbs. The city's poor areas turned into slums managed by negligent landlords and overrun with vermin. Stories of people freezing to death in their apartments were not uncommon. Eradication of the slums through Urban Renewal was also causing widespread displacement among the city’s poor residents. Complaints of police brutality were coming from the city’s Puerto Rican, Appalachian White, and Chicano neighborhoods as residents had ongoing conflicts with Chicago police. On February 11, 1969, the Young Lords, a street gang that become a political organization, arrived en masse at the East Chicago Avenue police station on Chicago’s North Side. They were there to protest the violence police inflicted on the Puerto Rican community and demand the commander put a stop to it.²⁶⁵ Instead of an outside protest, they went inside the station wearing purple berets and called for the commander. The crowd of over 200 people used bike chains to chain lock all points of exit and entry and the commander had no choice but to listen to their complaints.²⁶⁶

Fred Hampton saw a report on the police station occupation and met the Young Lords the next day. He met the founder, Jose “Cha Cha” Jimenez, and said, “I want to help you because you’re going to get yourself killed.”²⁶⁷ A few days later, Hampton and Jimenez, the ILBPP, and Young Lords co-sponsored the Third World Unity Conference with B.A.D., Black Active and Determined, led by Cabrini Green activists Marion Stamps and Dan

²⁶⁰ IR Turner. Free health centers: a new concept? *American Journal of Public Health*. October 1972.

²⁶¹ Quentin Young on the Black Panther Party Free Clinic in Chicago. *American Journal of Public Health*. 2016 Oct;106(10):1754-5. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2016.106101754. PMID: 27626343; PMCID: PMC5024359.

²⁶² Interview with Ralph Bostick, Historical Preservation Society, June 4, 2022.

²⁶³ “Southern Migrants Flock to Chicago ‘Hillbilly Ghetto,’” *The Dispatch* newspaper, June 3, 1969.

²⁶⁴ “Puerto Rican Grievances Heard by City,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1966.

²⁶⁵ “Young Lords and the Voice of the Puerto Rican Community.” *Chicago Tribune*. July 3, 2018.

²⁶⁶ Omar Lopez, Young Lords Minister of Information. “The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond.” Educational Video Series. Leila Wills, 2021.

²⁶⁷ Rainbow Coalition Panel, Oakland California Museum. October 23, 2016. Grand Valley State University.

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Underwood.²⁶⁸ Over the next several weeks, Hampton and the Illinois Chapter continued to work closely with Jimenez and the Young Lords.²⁶⁹

At the same time, Illinois Chapter cadre leader Bob Lee, recruited from Northeastern Illinois State College, was sent into the Uptown neighborhood to forge relations with other groups. Lee, Henry “Poison” Gaddis, Ruby Smith, and Jerry Dunigan began working with JOIN, Jobs or Income Now, a primarily White group formed by Students for a Democratic Society organized to confront unemployment. Some of the members left the JOIN organization because of class conflict and formed the Goodfellows, which led to the formation of the Young Patriots.²⁷⁰

Lee’s first speaking engagement at the Church of the Three Crosses was captured in the film *American Revolution 2*. At this meeting, he met Southern Whites William “Preacherman” Fesperman, Jack “Junebug” Boykin, and Doug Youngblood of the Young Patriots. He was captivated by the conflict between the poor Whites at the meeting and the middle-class Whites. When it was his turn to speak, he spoke of class struggle and it became a point of unity between the Young Patriots and the Black Panther Party.²⁷¹

“We asked the Patriots if they could work with the Panthers and they said yes. I didn’t even tell Fred for the first three weeks of meeting with these cats. It wasn’t easy to build an alliance.” Bob Lee.

Lee and his cadre continued to organize the Patriots, most were admitted racists, according to Hy Thurman, co-founder of the Young Patriots, and both groups lost members due to the alliance. Thurman said the Young Patriots had to do a lot of teaching to politicize the group: “It doesn’t do any good to be passive and try to be involved in the system. We tried that before and that didn’t work. The only ones we could really identify with were the Black Panthers.” Hy Thurman.²⁷²

Jose “Cha Cha” Jimenez recalled Hampton asking if the Young Lords would be interested in forming a coalition:

“Two months later [after their initial meeting] in April, at the street corner of Armitage and Dayton, Chairman Fred Hampton and I were talking about police repression of our groups and the then political climate of fascism. He asked me if I or the Young Lords would object to being part of a coalition of forces for all of our protection. He said that the Black Panther Party was working with a new group on the Northside called the Young Patriots whose leader was William ‘Preacherman’ Fesperman. I made it clear we had no issues and agreed on the spot.”²⁷³

Housing, police brutality, and poverty were the top concerns for the group. They also actively campaigned against one of Daley’s top initiatives – urban renewal. Omar Lopez of the Young Lords said the people called it

²⁶⁸ *The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization: A Staff Stud.*, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. US Gov. Printing Office 1976 p.30.

²⁶⁹ Omar Lopez, Young Lords Minister of Information. “The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond.” Educational Video Series. Leila Wills, 2021.

²⁷⁰ Hy Thurman, the Young Patriots. “The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond.” Educational Video Series. Leila Wills 2021.

²⁷¹ Dave Strano. “Young Patriots And Panthers: A Story Of White Anti-Racism.” *Redneck Revolt*. 2005.

²⁷² Hy Thurman, the Young Patriots. “The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond.” Educational Video Series. Leila Wills 2021.

²⁷³ Interview with Jose “Cha Cha” Jimenez on original Rainbow Coalition. *FightBack!News*. July 1, 2019.

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Urban Removal.²⁷⁴ Thurman said, “One of the first things Daley would do to an area slated for Urban Removal was put a college in it.”²⁷⁵ The University of Illinois on Chicago’s West Side and Harry Truman College in the Uptown neighborhood removed thousands of people and hundreds of businesses.²⁷⁶

By May 1969, with the Young Lords identifying and targeting slumlords with large building takeovers, the Young Patriots doing police patrols, and the ILBPP politicizing other groups and everyday people, the Daley Administration and the Chicago Police faced difficulty maintaining the status quo. Young people were demanding participation in city government and control of city institutions. Chicago remained segregated but activists were regularly crossing racial boundaries and inspiring new organization formations throughout the city. While the ILBPP, the Young Lords, and the Young Patriots were the nucleus of the Rainbow Coalition, ILBPP was also involved in coalition building, or developing relationships, with the following groups before the FBI intervened²⁷⁷: (Full list of interviews can be found in Appendix G)

- Students for a Democratic Society
- Black Guard
- Rising Angry
- Black Disciples
- Latin Eagles
- Cobra Stones
- American Indian Movement
- Vice Lords
- In July 1969, Black P. Stones Leader Leonard Sengali and Black Disciples’ Norman Swift held a press conference announcing a truce.²⁷⁸
- The Young Comancheros

By July, the Young Lords, Young Patriots, Rising Angry, and others were hosting free breakfast programs for children, planning free medical centers, and publishing newspapers. Their newspapers were used as organizing tools and for educating their communities on the BPP, the repression of the Gang Intelligence Unit, the Chicago police, and the importance of solidarity.

The Rainbow Coalition was also quick to criticize activity they deemed extreme. Coalition representatives Hampton, Jose “Cha Cha” Jimenez, head of the Young Lords, Michael Klonsky, head of the Revolutionary Youth Movement, and Pablo “Yoruba” of the New York chapter of the Young Lords, held a press conference at Holy Covenant Church (925 W. Diversey Parkway) on October 10, 1969, to condemn the Days of Rage. The

²⁷⁴ Omar Lopez, Young Lords Minister of Information. “The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond.” Educational Video Series. Leila Wills 2021.

²⁷⁵ Hy Thurman, the Young Patriots. “The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond.” Educational Video Series. Leila Wills 2021.

²⁷⁶ The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago. Chicago Historical Society. 2005.

²⁷⁷ FBI Records: The Vault, “COINTELPRO.” <https://vault.fbi.gov/cointel-pro>. FILE NUMBER. 44-HQ-44202.

²⁷⁸ *Rising Angry Newspaper*, July 1969. p.9.

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three-day violent protest was led by the Weatherman, a radical offshoot of the Students for a Democratic Society. The protest was set to occur during the Chicago Eight Trial.

The Young Patriots, led by the ILBPP, continued to organize and form alliances. The Young Lords were already adept at forging relationships but with the coalition, namely Fred Hampton, they went beyond their communities. “He was the dynamo,” said Omar Lopez, Minister of Information for the Young Lords.²⁷⁹ Crossing Chicago’s racial dividing lines was dangerous, but Hampton had experience. By combining forces, the coalition was able to increase its political clout. The alliance was a threat to Mayor Richard J. Daley’s political strongholds. This led to the highest level of coordination between the FBI and the Cook County State’s Attorney, resulting in Hampton’s assassination.

The Assassination of Fred Hampton

Despite FBI claims that Chicago’s crime rate was the second lowest of the country’s six major cities, Cook County State’s Attorney Edward Hanrahan issued a “war on gangs.”²⁸⁰ The *Chicago Tribune* backed Hanrahan’s claim of untold gang violence and placed the blame on the Black Panther Party.

Newspapers outside of Chicago quoted a White man named Chuck LaPaglia, a youth worker who worked with the Blackstone Rangers, who accused Hanrahan of lying:²⁸¹

“The fact is that the crime rate on the south side has been declining for the last three years, and just last week the police went on television saying there was a great decline in juvenile crimes. Hanrahan is making a picture of a very severe situation, which doesn’t exist.’ LaPaglia who estimated Ranger membership at 4,000, said the gang was cooperating with the community in attempts to unseat aldermen handpicked by Mayor Richard J. Daley’s Democratic organization.”

On the same day, May 9, 1969, the *Chicago Tribune* ran another story, “Police Strive to Halt Teen Gang Violence,” without citing a journalist:

“Smith was working as a guard at a drug store at that address when two youths wearing red berets similar to those worn by the Blackstone Rangers gang entered followed by two other youths wearing blue berets like those worn by the Disciples, a rival gang. The youths in the blue berets fired several shots at the red berets and then fled. All shots missed. Police are trying to determine if the shooting resulted from an attempt by the Black Panthers to force members of the Blackstone Rangers to merge with them. Lt. Maurice Donnelly of the Washington Park task force unit said it was learned during questioning gang members that the Rangers were given a deadline to accept the Panthers’ offer. Donnelly said that he believes that when the Rangers refused to agree, the East Side Disciples, who had previously taken sides with the Panthers, struck out against the Rangers.”²⁸²

The City took precautions against the “threat.” Chicago Police Department increased their tactical teams from 53 to 58 and increased arrests from 16,326 to 41,814. They also instituted a Task Force Helicopter section. The

²⁷⁹ Omar Lopez, Young Lords Minister of Information. “The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond.” Educational Video Series. Leila Wills 2021.

²⁸⁰ “Hanrahan Hits Public Apathy Over Killings.” *Chicago Tribune*. May 7, 1969.

²⁸¹ “Wave of Chicago Slayings is Blamed on Negro Gangs.” *Miami Herald*, May 9, 1969, p. 138.

²⁸² “Police Strive to Halt Teen Gang Violence.” *Chicago Tribune*. May 9, 1969.

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CTA Task Force --the public transportation task force -- increased by 38%, and arrests by the CTA Task Force increased by 800%. Referrals to Juvenile Court increased from 13,000 to 17,000.²⁸³ The City of Chicago was not the only organization out to get the ILBPP. They had a powerful ally – the FBI.

John Edgar Hoover, who served as the Director of the FBI from 1924 – 1972, rose through the agency ranks largely because of his work compiling an extensive list of “subversives.” He was involved in the first Red Scare, where he detained over 10,000 U.S. citizens on suspicion of being communists. In 1956, he created COINTELPRO.²⁸⁴ Initially established to break up Communist Party activities occurring in the U.S., the parameters of the program were expanding in 1960 to disrupt domestic organizations the FBI deemed extremist.²⁸⁵

On July 16, 1969, the UPI released a story: *J. Edgar Hoover: Black Panther Greatest Threat to U.S. Security*: “The Black Panther party represents the greatest threat among the black extremist groups to the internal security of the United States,” FBI director J. Edgar Hoover said today. Hoover said in his fiscal 1969 annual report the increased activity of ‘violence-prone black extremist groups’ had put more investigative responsibilities on the FBI.”²⁸⁶

The FBI concocted numerous schemes and used informants to cause violence and humiliation directed at the Illinois Chapter and the BPP. In Chicago, they devised plans to end coalition building, cause friction with the Nation of Islam, destroy *The Black Panther* newspaper, and create animosity with the Blackstone Rangers. In the national leadership of the BPP, the FBI congratulated itself for aggravating dissension between Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver. When the FBI found out that attorney Charles Garry was going to represent Bobby Seale in the October 1969 “Chicago 7” trial, they sent letters to “cooperative news media” in Chicago claiming Garry was a Communist.²⁸⁷ The FBI was keenly aware of the success of *The Black Panther* Newspaper and took measures to decrease its circulation and use it as a means to cause divisions between the BPP and other groups. In 1969, the San Diego FBI office read an article in *The Black Panther* that was critical of Ron Karenga—the leader of the rival Black nationalist group, US Organization—and devised a plan:

“The article, which is an attack on Ron Karenga of the US organization, is self-explanatory. It is felt that if the following letter be sent to Karenga, pointing out that the contents of the article are objectionable to members of the US organization in San Diego, the possibility exists that some sort of retaliatory action will be taken against the BPP.”²⁸⁸

In another incident, the FBI signed the name of Elbert “Big Man” Howard—the editor of *The Black Panther*—to a letter to stoke division between Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton.

²⁸³ Chicago Police Annual Report 1969. Chicago Police Department.

²⁸⁴ “A Huey P. Newton Story - People - J. Edgar Hoover & the FBI,” PBS, 2002, https://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/people/people_hoover.html.

²⁸⁵ FBI Records: The Vault, “COINTELPRO.” <https://vault.fbi.gov/cointel-pro>.

²⁸⁶ “J. Edgar Hoover: Black Panther Greatest Threat to U.S. Security,” *United Press International Archives*, July 16, 1969.

²⁸⁷ *FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party*, Homeland Security Digital Library. p 23.

²⁸⁸ *FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party*, Homeland Security Digital Library. p.6.

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“...I’m disgusted with things here and the fact that you’re being ignored... It makes me mad to learn that Huey now has to lie to you. I’m referring to his fancy apartment which he refers to as the throne.”²⁸⁹

The FBI contacted United Airlines to inquire about the increase of shipment rates of the newspaper by 40%.²⁹⁰ The New York FBI Office reported that it was working on actions against the newspaper’s production and distribution. The next year, the circulation manager of *The Black Panther*, Sam Napier, was murdered on a visit to New York.²⁹¹ The FBI used similar tactics to reduce sales of *The Black Panther* and the Nation of Islam’s newspaper by use of informants:

“We feel that our network of racial informants, many of whom are directly involved in the sale of NOI and BPP newspapers, are in a position to cause a material reduction in NOI newspaper sales. Our sources can bring the fact of revenue loss directly to NOI leader, Elijah Muhammad, who might well be influenced to take positive steps to counteract the sale of BPP papers in the Negro community. We feel that with careful planning and close supervision an open dispute can be developed between the two organizations.”²⁹²

The ILBPP’s distribution of *The Black Panther* was also under attack by the FBI, as noted in an internal memo from FBI Headquarters to Chicago:

“The Black Panther Party newspaper is one of the most effective propaganda operations of the BPP. Distribution of this newspaper is increasing at a regular rate thereby influencing a great number of individuals in the United States along the black extremist lines...It is the voice of the BPP and if it could be effectively hindered, it would result in helping to cripple the BPP.”²⁹³

The leadership of the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, and many other groups were under constant police harassment. Fred Hampton, Cha Cha Jimenez, and Obed Lopez of the Latin Defense Organization were arrested for mob action within 15 minutes of arriving at a protest.²⁹⁴

Hampton had already experienced similar harassment while living in Maywood. On July 10, 1968, the summer before the official Illinois Chapter opened, a Good Humor ice cream salesman drove his ice cream van to Irving Elementary School’s playground in Maywood, Illinois. (The school is located across the street from Fred Hampton’s childhood home and is where he attended as a child.) According to court records, the salesman began selling ice cream to the children who had gathered. Before long, older children began demanding free ice cream. A scuffle broke out and the salesman said they beat him before he could drive off. He returned to the playground with police officers who led him to identify Hampton—who arrived on the scene after the salesman was allegedly beaten—as the person who beat him and stole \$71 worth of ice cream.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁹ *FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party*, Homeland Security Digital Library. p.17.

²⁹⁰ *FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party*, Homeland Security Digital Library. p.25.

²⁹¹ *The Black Panther* newspaper. Vol. 6 Nos. 13-14. May 1, 1971.

²⁹² FBI Memo from G.C. Moore to W.C. Sullivan. June 26, 1970.

²⁹³ FBI Headquarters Memo to Chicago. May 15, 1970.

²⁹⁴ Interview with Jose “Cha Cha” Jimenez on original Rainbow Coalition. *FightBack!News*. July 1, 2019.

²⁹⁵ “The People v. Hampton.” Justia Law. November 26, 1969.

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Fred Hampton was booked for a television show in January 1969 when the FBI arranged for the Maywood police department to liaise with the Chicago police department to arrest Hampton for a warrant for the alleged ice cream robbery. The Chicago police arrested him at the television station and in front of studio personnel and 25 Party members. The FBI bragged about how embarrassing it was for the Illinois Chapter and Hampton personally.²⁹⁶

On May 27, 1969, Cook County prosecutors arranged for the ice cream salesman to leave the Vietnam War to testify against Hampton. A Black judge, Sidney Jones, had indicated Hampton would receive probation. But Hanrahan held a press conference and blasted the Black Panther Party and the trial judge for even considering probation. Judge Jones sentenced Hampton to two to five years in an Illinois penitentiary.²⁹⁷

At dawn on June 4th, the next week, the FBI and Chicago police raided the Illinois headquarters office under the premise of a fugitive search. They arrested eight Party members, seized paperwork and legal guns, and destroyed food for the breakfast program.²⁹⁸

The Illinois headquarters was raided again on July 30, 1969, and three ILBPP members were brutalized and arrested. Witnesses said the Chicago police opened fire on the building and occupants without provocation. The judge dismissed the cases on cross-examination of the officers by attorney Flint Taylor. A few days later, Hampton's appeal was accepted, and he was released on bond on August 13, 1969.²⁹⁹

After Hampton was released, filmmakers Howard Alk and Mike Gray, who were shadowing the Illinois Black Panther Party for a documentary called *American Revolution*, captured a pivotal speech made by Hampton on August 15, 1969:³⁰⁰

“I was born in a so-called bourgeois community and had some of the better things, you could say, of life. And I found out that even some of the better things of life for black people wasn't too cool. And I found out there was more people starving than there was eating. And I found out there was more people [who] didn't have clothes than did have clothes. And I found out that I just happened to be one of the few. And I made a commitment to myself that I wouldn't stop doing what I'm doing until all those people were free...Let me say in the spirit of liberation—I've been gone for a little while, at least my body's been gone for a little while. But I'm back now and I believe that I'm back to stay.

“I believe that I'm going to do my job and I believe that I was born not to die in a car wreck; I don't believe that I'm going to die in a car wreck. I don't believe I'm going to die slipping on a piece of ice; I don't believe I'm going to die because I got a bad heart; I don't believe I'm going to die because of lung cancer.

“I believe that I'm going to be able to die doing the things I was born for. I believe that I'm going to be able to die high off the people.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ *FBI's Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party*, Homeland Security Digital Library.

²⁹⁷ Jeffrey Haas, p.48-52.

²⁹⁸ People's Law Office, “Report of the January 1970 Grand Jury. U.S. District Court,” 1970.

²⁹⁹ Jeffrey Haas, p.53.

³⁰⁰ Fred Hampton. “I Believe I'm Going to Die.” *NY Times*. July 21, 1971.

³⁰¹ Howard Alk, Mike Gray. *The Murder of Fred Hampton* documentary. 1971.

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Despite Hampton's release, police continued to harass him and the ILBPP. The Illinois headquarters was raided, and Party members were viciously brutalized again on October 4, 1969. By now, Fred Hampton knew the police were out to kill him and destroy the ILBPP. He spoke openly about it to Flint Taylor, who recalled: "Fred was speed-rapping about the cops, describing them as out to get him."³⁰² Hampton and the ILBPP took additional precautions to shield his whereabouts from embedded informants and established a phone chain.³⁰³ If someone needed to reach him, they called the next person on the chain to get a message to him and later, Hampton would call.

On December 3, 1969, Hampton was the guest speaker at Chicago City Colleges Southeast Campus.³⁰⁴ Later that night, he held a Political Education class at the People's Church. All branches in the Midwest were called to attend, including Mark Clark from the Peoria Branch. A few weeks earlier, Hampton purged all members from the chapter, took their titles, and made them community workers. (Full list of interviews can be found in Appendices.) They would have to earn their rank back. The meeting on December 3rd was an organizing session for the ILBPP to regroup after months of severe clashes with the police. Hampton also raised bail money for ILBPP members arrested on December 2nd.³⁰⁵ After the meeting, Hampton and others met at the "Panther crib" at 2337 W. Monroe to continue talking;³⁰⁶ his bond from the ice cream charge had been revoked and he had to turn himself in on December 13th. Plans were made for him to go underground and flee to Canada and then to Cuba. Bobby Rush believes an informant told the FBI of these plans.³⁰⁷

The final raid of 1969 was during the pre-dawn hours of December 4th. Fourteen officers from State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan's personal Chicago police force, with the coordination of the FBI and the aid of an informant, fired 99 shots in the Panther apartment containing Fred Hampton, Deborah Johnson, who was eight months pregnant with his son, Illinois Defense Captain Mark Clark, Deputy Minister of Health Ronald "Doc" Satchel, Verlina Brewer, Brenda Harris, Blair Anderson, and Louis Truelock. Mark Clark, the primary organizer of ILBPP efforts in Peoria, was killed instantly. A single reflexive shot from his gun hit the ceiling. Mark was on security and stationed at the door when the police started firing from outside the apartment through the door. No other Party member was armed. Deborah Johnson, sleeping with Hampton, said he never really awakened and that one of the raiders executed Hampton at point-blank range. Blood tests would later reveal that Hampton had been drugged with secobarbital.³⁰⁸ The seven survivors were arrested and charged with attempted murder, aggravated battery, and unlawful use of weapons.

Sergeant Daniel Groth, who oversaw the squad, reported that the ILBPP fired the first shots. According to Groth, a woman inside the building fired a shotgun after the police identified themselves. He claimed that the members refused to surrender, estimated there were six or seven shooters, and guessed that over two hundred shots were fired between them.³⁰⁹

³⁰² Jeffrey Haas, p.62.

³⁰³ Interview with Lynn French. Leila Wills. August 26, 2023.

³⁰⁴ Fred Hampton's Last Speech at Chicago City College, SE Campus. Chicago Courier. Dec 1969.

³⁰⁵ Interview with Lynn French. Leila Wills. August 26, 2023.

³⁰⁶ Interview with Michael McCarty. Leila Wills. September 3, 2023.

³⁰⁷ "Rep. Bobby Rush on the Deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark," Ebony Magazine, December 4, 2017

³⁰⁸ Report of the 1970 Grand Jury. U.S. District Court. People's Law Office.

³⁰⁹ Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 177.

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The police left the crime scene open and unattended. The day after the shooting, Bobby Rush and Chaka Walls led reporters through the building and identified what they determined to be proof that the police initiated the shooting. They asserted that the raid was an excuse to murder their comrades and that the incident was part of a national effort to eradicate Black nationalist organizations.³¹⁰ A television crew accompanied by lawyers for the BPP filmed the wreckage inside the apartment.³¹¹

The ILBPP encouraged the public to tour the apartment to see the bloody aftermath inside: “The hundreds of people who have trooped through represent a broad spectrum of Chicago’s black community,” John Kifner of the *New York Times* wrote: ‘There are youths, workmen in paint-stained clothes, middle-aged women in flowery hats, neatly dressed office workers, elderly people, and postal workers in gray uniforms. Many give a clenched fist salute when they leave.’ ”³¹² Forty black U.S. mail carriers in uniform stopped to raise their fist as they entered.

On the weekend after the raid, Hampton’s body was viewed by thousands as he lay in repose at Raynor Funeral Home on the city’s west side. Five thousand people viewed his open casket the following Monday at the First Baptist Church in Melrose Park. Mourners filled the church at the memorial service that followed. ILBPP members in black leather jackets served as pallbearers; among them were Bobby Rush and William O’Neal, the head of security. Several people delivered eulogies at the ceremony, including Ralph Abernathy, Jesse Jackson, and Bobby Rush. After the service, Hampton’s casket was placed in a hearse and driven to O’Hare Airport, where it was transported to Haynesville, Louisiana, Hampton’s birthplace, where another service was performed before he was buried at the cemetery at Bethel Baptist Church.³¹³

Investigations on the December 4, 1969, Raid

While Hampton’s death received national attention, Chicago’s coverage of the raid that resulted in his death became a story as the press published contradictory versions of the incident. The *Chicago Tribune* supported the police and reported Groth’s account of the shooting. The story included that the police said they had a warrant to search the premises and that they seized numerous weapons. It also announced that Hanrahan’s office would seek murder charges against the surviving ILBPP members.³¹⁴ Not everyone believed the police; this was especially true for those who visited the apartment where the raid took place. Brian Boyner, from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, reported that the bullet holes in the apartment did not match Hanrahan’s narrative; the bullet holes were fired into the closed door of the apartment rather than being fired from within the apartment to the outside. When his editors buried the story in the back of the newspaper, he quit.³¹⁵ Boyner and other journalists covering the story were concerned that other interpretations of the raid as a police “shoot-in” rather than a BPP “shoot-out” were not getting to the public. They used the independent journalism publication, the *Chicago Journalism Review*, to publish a detailed account of the incident. The *Review* dedicated its entire

³¹⁰ Biles, *Richard Daley* p. 177.

³¹¹ “The Murder of Fred Hampton.” Documentary. Howard Alk, Mike Gray. 1971.

³¹² Robert Mitchell, “The police raid that killed two Black Panthers, shook Chicago and changed the nation.” *The Washington Post*, Dec. 4, 2019.

³¹³ Haas, pp. 161-163.

³¹⁴ Ronald Koziol and Edward Lee. “Attempted Murder Charges Eyed in Panthers Gun Fight,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 5, 1969. p.3.

³¹⁵ “A Doubt Spread Around the World.” *Vancouver Sun*. January 22, 1970. p.5.

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newspaper to the murder of Fred Hampton and the contradictions reported in the press. The article quoted Alderman Sam Raynor as saying the killing was “an assassination.”³¹⁶

The *Sun-Times* soon became more critical of the police and the articles in it, and the *Chicago Daily News* – both owned by the same company –challenged the police’s versions of the raid. Less than one week after the attack, the *Chicago Daily News* headline read, “Panther story of killings,” in which the surviving ILBPP members, through their defense lawyers, claimed that the police gave no warning, obtained access to the apartment via forced entry, and killed Hampton while he was in his bed. The *Tribune* countered with a story provided by Hanrahan, who contested “the orgy of sensationalism in the press and on television.” He claimed that he and the police did not know that Hampton and Clark were in the apartment and provided pictures which he asserted verified that the ILBPP members instigated the shooting. In another attempt to bolster their story, the police reenacted their account of the raid on a film aired on Chicago’s CBS affiliate, WBBM-TV. The day after the *Tribune* ran its story, the *Sun-Times* disputed the article’s photographic evidence, claiming that the so-called bullet holes Hanrahan insisted were from ILBPP gunfire were nail heads. Legendary columnist Mike Royko, then with the *Chicago Daily News*, reported that the story, touted by Hanrahan and Chicago police, did not coincide with what he saw when he visited the apartment on several occasions.³¹⁷

Popular opinion regarding the police raid became increasingly negative. A divergent group of people descended on Chicago to protest Hampton’s murder, including students, civil rights activists, worker rights advocates, religious groups, Black Panther Party Chief of Staff David Hilliard from Oakland, Minister and Civil Rights activist CT Vivian, and United States Representative John Conyers of Michigan. State Senator Harold Washington, United States Representative Adam Clayton Powell, and seven other congressmen called for an independent investigation.³¹⁸ The NAACP announced its own investigation and the public conducted marches and protests. The Afro-American Police League called for Hanrahan and his police to be indicted. The public declared the act a conspiracy. U.S. District Attorney Cecil Poole, the first black U.S. Attorney, said, “Whatever they say they’re doing, they’re out to get the Black Panthers.” On March 7-8, 1970, Mrs. Angie Dickerson of the World Peace Council, activists Ossie Davis, Dick Gregory, Ralph Abernathy, Roy Innis, and Bobby Rush held a National Emergency Conference to Defend the Right of the Black Panther Party to Exist.”³¹⁹

The conference brochure said:

“We must stop the Panther annihilation now! We cannot wait for them to rip off the Panthers, then the peace protesters, the workers on strike, the student dissenters. The Panthers are the bulls-eye but the black community is the target! There can be little question left in the minds of most people. National observers of all political persuasions rocked by the brutal slaying of Illinois Panther leader, Fred Hampton, in his bed by police, now recognize the truth of such a plot.”³²⁰
The conference held a People’s Inquest on March 8, 1970, at the First Baptist Congregational Church, 1613 W Washington. A trial was held where a jury of six community leaders was to hear

³¹⁶ Henry De Zutter, “The Death of Fred Hampton: A Special Report.” *Chicago Journalism Review*. December 1969.

³¹⁷ Robert Mitchell, “The police raid that killed two Black Panthers, shook Chicago and changed the nation.” *The Washington Post*, Dec. 4, 2019.

³¹⁸ “Panther Raid Probe Set By Legislators.” *Chicago Tribune*. December 20, 1969.

³¹⁹ *The Carolina Times*. February 7, 1970.

³²⁰ *The Carolina Times*. February 7, 1970.

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the charges against Hanrahan and the police involved in the raid. At the inquest, the ILBPP survivors of the December 4th raid spoke publicly about the incident for the first time. Deborah Johnson recounted the events of Hampton's death, in which she repeated the words of the officer who fatally shot Hampton, "He's good and dead now."³²¹ While invited to the inquest, Hanrahan and the officers did not participate. Still, statements they made publicly about the raid were provided to the jurors. After hearing the evidence, the jury declared that Hanrahan and the officers were guilty of murder. While the decision had no legal ramifications, it fulfilled a goal of the ILBPP, which was to educate the public and involve them in police matters.³²²

In addition to the inquest, four separate investigations were held on the raid. There was the police's internal investigation, which cleared the officers who took part in the raid of any wrongdoing. Then there was the coroner's jury, who ruled the killings of Hampton and Clark as justifiable homicides. Both investigations were completed quickly – the coroner's jury took twelve days, and the results of the internal police investigation were announced fifteen days after the raid. The sources of the investigations and the speed in which they were produced led many to believe there was a coverup, and pressure for impartial inquests intensified.³²³ A special state grand jury and a federal grand jury were subsequently scheduled.

The federal grand jury, which was on January 5, 1970, issued its findings on May 15, 1970, in a 249-page report that rejected the previous investigations and harshly criticized the actions of the police. Citing FBI ballistics reports, the grand jury report refuted police claims of a shootout, as only one bullet of the 82 to 99 shots fired matched a gun belonging to the ILBPP. The report also cited testimony from the police firearms expert who claimed he lied about the shots fired as he was told he would be fired if he did not sanction the inaccurate ballistic report. A private pathologist who had been the coroner's chief pathologist performed a second autopsy at the funeral home. The ILBPP and Francis "Skip" Andrew of the People's Law Office had hired him. "A toxicologic study of blood samples collected at the second autopsy indicated high concentrations of the drug Seconal (secobarbital), about the level of 4.5 milligrams percent."³²⁴ The jury also found that the coroner's office falsified accounts of Hampton's injuries; tests had proven that Hampton was shot from above while he lay in bed. It was clear from the evidence that the raid was a one-sided, decisive assault on the ILBPP.³²⁵ As the *Washington Post* opined, "One cannot read the entire report ... without being appalled at the conduct of law enforcement agencies in Chicago."³²⁶

However, the jury did not bring charges against the police because the members of the ILBPP who survived the raid would not testify. Their refusal was in part due to the state's charges against them for attempted murder.³²⁷ Rush held a press conference in which he explained the survivors' position: "It has been our experience that grand juries, including the one that indicted the seven survivors and refused to indict the police who took part in the raid, are illegal shams used to excuse illegal actions of the police. We want to testify, but we feel the grand

³²¹ Haas, pp. 172-173.

³²² Haas, pp. 173 – 174.

³²³ Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 178.

³²⁴ People's Law Office, "Report of the January 1970 Grand Jury. U.S. District Court," 1970.

³²⁵ Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 178.

³²⁶ Robert Mitchell, "The police raid that killed two Black Panthers, shook Chicago and changed the nation." *The Washington Post*, Dec. 4, 2019.

³²⁷ Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 178.

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jury is rigged.”³²⁸ The ILBPP’s lawyers did request that the state turn over all names of informants in their case against the survivors and the information they provided. Attorney James Montgomery also requested the names of any informants who may be defendants in the case. At the next hearing, the judge dismissed the case against the seven survivors.³²⁹

The federal grand jury report rebuked the police, coroner’s office, press, and ILBPP, which was portrayed as a violent activist group and provocateur. No one was prosecuted for Hampton’s murder. The Black community demanded justice, the Afro-American Patrolmen’s League continued to seek charges against Hanrahan and the officers, and the NAACP continued with its own investigation.³³⁰ The ILBPP filed a civil suit against the city, which dragged on for thirteen years.

The widespread disapproval of the federal grand jury’s reports amongst various groups was enough to compel Chief Criminal Court Judge Joseph Power to appoint a special prosecutor. This was highly uncommon, for it meant that the chief judge, appointed by the Democratic Party, was accusing the prosecutor, also from the Democratic Party, of either being unfit or having a conflict of interest. This had only happened once before in the county’s history.³³¹ Barnabas F. Sears, the former president of the Chicago Bar Association and the American College of Trial Lawyers, was selected to lead the special state grand jury’s investigation. Sears had a solid reputation and quickly established his independence from Mayor Daley’s political machine. In April 1971, after collecting evidence for almost one year, the grand jury prepared indictments against Hanrahan and the officers involved in the raid. Unlike Sears, however, Judge Power, who presided over the jury, was a close friend of Daley and refused to unseal them.³³² Sears was also fined \$100 for contempt for telling the media that Judge Power had no legal recourse to hold a closed meeting with the jurors, where he instructed them to hear the testimony of every witness who appeared before the federal grand jury—which would include Hanrahan. Judge Power then fined Sears \$50 an hour until he called all the witnesses.³³³ After Hanrahan was called back and testified for twenty hours, Judge Power called for a special friend of the court to see whether Sears had inappropriately swayed the jury. Judge Power continued to delay the proceedings, which prompted Sears to appeal to the Illinois Supreme Court. Finally, on August 24, 1971, the Illinois Supreme Court directed that the indictments be delivered, which they were later that day. Hanrahan, his assistant, and the officers involved in the raid were charged with conspiracy to obstruct justice. Judge Power reassigned the case to Philip J. Romiti, another one of Daley’s supporters, who later cleared Hanrahan of wrongdoing on November 6, 1972, almost three years after the raid.³³⁴

Chicago Politics after Hampton

Hanrahan was acquitted, but the case ended his political career. His actions surrounding the ILBPP raid and Hampton's death furthered the racial divide in the Democratic Party. When Paul Simon and Neal Hartigan, candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, respectively, specified downstate’s disapproval of

³²⁸ Haas, p. 180.

³²⁹ Interview of James D. Montgomery. *1969, Year of the Panther, O’Neal and Chairman Fred*. Leila Wills. 2021.

³³⁰ Haas, p. 184.

³³¹ Haas, p. 190.

³³² Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 179.

³³³ John Kifner, “Prosecutor Fined by Chicago Judge,” *New York Times*, April 26, 1971.

³³⁴ Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 180.

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nominating a candidate under indictment, Daley dropped Hanrahan and supported another candidate for reelection.³³⁵³³⁶ Hanrahan won the primary. The ILBPP leafletted communities with flyers entitled, “A Commitment of Conscience.” Voters were encouraged to sign the declaration that said they would not vote for Hanrahan, who had “assassinated Fred Hampton during election season.”³³⁷ Black voters defected from the Democratic Party and elected a Republican to replace Hanrahan in 1972.³³⁸ Defeating Hanrahan demonstrated Hampton’s political strategy behind the Rainbow Coalition, in which underrepresented groups gained political strength when they united along socioeconomic rather than racial lines.³³⁹

Unlike Hanrahan, Daley’s political career remained largely unscathed. He was able to repair relationships with more liberal members of his party, which soured over his support of Hanrahan and the Vietnam War, and in 1970, Chicago Democrats won all county and state elections.³⁴⁰ He won reelection in 1971 by a landslide despite being widely unpopular with Black voters. Turnout for the election was the lowest in 36 years, mostly in Black wards, where most voters opted to stay home rather than support the Republican candidate. Daley’s policies on public housing may have branded him a racist by the Independent Voters of Illinois. Still, they helped him win the vote of White voters in Chicago’s Southwest and Northwest bungalow belts. Many Republican voters cast their ballots for Democrats for the first time. Daley had weathered his fourth term marked by race riots, the 1968 Democratic Convention, police brutality, and segregation in public housing.³⁴¹ Despite his many failings, he continued to receive praise for his management of the city; his reelection proved that his policies were still favored by Chicago’s White voters.³⁴²

Daley was reelected for a sixth term in 1975 but died in office of a heart attack the following year. He was succeeded by Alderman Michel Bilandic of the 11th ward, who was selected by the city council in the interim until a special election could be held. He had stipulated that he would not run in the election to complete Daley’s remaining term but changed his mind, ran for election, and won. He soon fell out of favor with voters, as he proved he lacked Daley’s ability to run the city. He lost the 1979 election to Jayne Byrne, his former commissioner of consumer sales, whom he fired after she alleged that he colluded with Chicago’s taxi drivers on fare hikes.³⁴³ Black voters supported Byrne in 1979, but she soon alienated them by resuming her connection to Chicago’s political machine and employed the same tactics Richard J. Daley did in her campaign bid against his son, Richard M. Daley, who she would face in the 1983 mayoral primary. To pull White ethnic groups away from Richard M. Daley, Byrne redrew districts in three Black wards to eliminate Black electoral majorities, decreased the number of Black representatives on the school board and the public housing authority, and placed less qualified candidates from White ethnic groups in leadership positions in her administration over Black candidates. Black voters, fed up with Byrne, supported Harold Washington, a former beneficiary of

³³⁵ Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 180.

³³⁶ Seth S. King, “STATE’S ATTORNEY DROPPED BY DALEY.” *New York Times*, Dec. 21, 1971.

³³⁷ Interview with Lynn French. Leila Wills. August 26, 2023.

³³⁸ Rejected Prosecutor. *Chicago Tribune*. Dec. 21, 1971.

³³⁹ McPherson, Craig. “You Can’t Kill Chairman Fred: Examining the Life and Legacy of a Revolutionary.” *Journal of African American Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2019, pp. 276–98. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45281870>. Accessed June 25, 2023, p. 292.

³⁴⁰ Biles, *Richard Daley*, pp. 183-184.

³⁴¹ Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 184-185.

³⁴² Biles, *Richard Daley*, p. 185.

³⁴³ Michael Bilandic, “Daley Successor in Chicago, Dies at 78.” *New York Times*, January 17, 202, Section B, p. 9.

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Daley's political machine who ran as a reformer. Daley and Byrne split the vote among White voters and Washington won the primary. He went on to beat Bernhard Epton, the Republican candidate whose decidedly racist campaign exploited White residents' concerns over a Black mayor, by nearly 50,000 votes.³⁴⁴

Washington had served as a U.S. Congressman, an Illinois congressman, and a state senator before becoming Chicago's first Black mayor. His win has been credited to the support from the Rainbow Coalition of Blacks, Hispanics, White Liberals, women, and the elderly who banded together after Hampton was killed to take on the city's Democratic Machine.³⁴⁵ Most of the Black aldermen were beholden to the Democratic machine, and Washington, who campaigned on a Neighborhoods First agenda, knew he could not rely on them. The original members of the coalition came to Washington's aid to get minorities and liberal Whites out to vote for him and others who challenged the machine. Washington won with 73% of the Black vote, 79% of the Puerto Rican vote, 68 % of the Mexican American vote, 52% of the Cuban American vote, and 38% of the Jewish vote.³⁴⁶

Both Rush and Klonsky attributed Washington's win to Hampton's death and the principles he founded in Chicago.³⁴⁷

During his first term, he met a lot of resistance from aldermen who still had ties to the Democratic machine and were desperate to maintain the power, patronage, and other perks that came with their position.³⁴⁸ After a lengthy battle, Washington was able to break the hold the Democratic machine had on the city. While in office, he supported women and minorities by giving them more city contracts and increasing their prospects in public employment. He also established the first city-wide ordinance on ethics. He introduced the city's first Freedom of Information Act.³⁴⁹ Washington was able to win reelection in 1987, only to die in office less than eight months into his second term.

Washington inspired many future political leaders, including Barack Obama, who came to Chicago because of Washington. Obama used Washington's coalition-building methods – hailed from the original Rainbow Coalition—as a blueprint when he took a position as a community organizer in 1985. When he overwhelmingly lost to Rush in 2000 in his bid for US Congress, Obama created an alliance of Black and White liberal voters, which helped elect him to the Senate and ultimately the presidency.³⁵⁰ Jeffrey Haas, the attorney who represented ILBPP members in their civil suit, has said Obama is the “direct descendent and beneficiary of that legacy” of the original Rainbow Coalition, which formed to beat Hanrahan and elect Washington.³⁵¹ Rush, the

³⁴⁴ Biles, *Richard Daley*, pp. 235-236.

³⁴⁵ “Harold Washington,” Washington, accessed September 4, 2023, <https://www.chicagotribute.org/Markers/Washington.htm>. Edward McClelland, “How Fred Hampton Gave Way to Obama.” *Chicago Magazine*, Jan. 18, 2021.

³⁴⁶ Marable, Manning. “HAROLD WASHINGTON AND THE POLITICS OF RACE IN CHICAGO.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 17, no. 6, 1986, pp. 14–23. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41067324>. Accessed August 12, 2023.

³⁴⁷ Jacqueline Serrato, “Fifty Years of Fred Hampton's Rainbow Coalition.” *South Side Weekly*, September 27, 2019.

³⁴⁸ Marable, Manning. “HAROLD WASHINGTON AND THE POLITICS OF RACE IN CHICAGO.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 17, no. 6, 1986, pp. 14–23. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41067324>. Accessed August 12, 2023.

³⁴⁹ “Harold Washington,” Washington, accessed September 4, 2023,

<https://www.chicagotribute.org/Markers/Washington.htm>.

³⁵⁰ Edward McClelland, “How Fred Hampton Gave Way to Obama.” *Chicago Magazine*, Jan. 18, 2021.

³⁵¹ Robert Mitchell, “The police raid that killed two Black Panthers, shook Chicago and changed the nation.” *The Washington Post*, Dec. 4, 2019.

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only politician to have beat Obama, credits Hampton for paving the way: “Fred Hampton sacrificed his life, and with that sacrifice, the politics of the nation, the politics of the African American community, and the politics of Chicago changed forever.”³⁵²

ILBPP’s Civil Trial Against Chicago, Cook County, and the Federal Government

In 1971, one year after the ILBPP filed suit against the city, county, and federal government, an anonymous group called the Citizens Committee to Investigate the FBI broke into the Bureau office in Media, Pennsylvania, and discovered the FBI’s COINTEL-PROGRAM. The group circulated confidential FBI memos to the press, which exposed the abuses Black, political, and other organizations suffered under the program.³⁵³ The documents revealed that Hoover intended to “disrupt, misdirect and otherwise neutralize” Black nationalist groups and stop powerful and dynamic Black leaders.³⁵⁴

In 1975, a Senate Intelligence Committee chaired by Democrat Frank Church was charged to investigate misconduct in the government’s intelligence agencies. COINTELPRO was one of the programs being investigated, even though Hoover had claimed it had been dissolved in 1972.³⁵⁵ The following year, the United States Senate issued *The FBI’s Covert Action Program To Destroy The Black Panther Party*, which reported that the Black Panther Party, including the Illinois Chapter, was the primary focus of the Counter Intelligence Program and was the target of 233 out of 295 “Black Nationalist” actions.³⁵⁶

According to the Senate report, the FBI and the Chicago Police Department were working together and sharing information regarding the ILBPP.³⁵⁷ A Special Agent who liaised between the FBI’s Racial Matters Squad (responsible for monitoring BPP activity in Chicago) and the Panther Squad of the Gang Intelligence Unit (GIU) of the Chicago Police Department from 1967 through July 1969 testified that he visited GIU between three and five times a week to exchange information.³⁵⁸ The Bureau and Chicago Police both maintained paid informants in the ILBPP, shared informant information, and the FBI provided information which was used by Chicago police in planning raids against the Chicago BPP.”³⁵⁹

An attorney on the committee notified the lawyers of the People’s Law Office, the ILBPP lawyers for the civil suit, that documents attained by the committee established a connection between COINTELPRO and the

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Mark Mazetti. “Burglars Who Took on FBI Abandon Shadows.” *New York Times*. January 14, 2007.

³⁵⁴ Chicago Sun Times Editorial Board, “The killing of two Black Panthers, the secrets of the FBI — and our nation’s long fight for police reform,” *Chicago Sun Times*, Jan. 24, 2021.

³⁵⁵ Haas, p. 330.

³⁵⁶ *FBI’s Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party*, Homeland Security Digital Library. P. 187.

³⁵⁷ Special Agent Deposition, February 26, 1975. p.90

³⁵⁸ Special Agent deposition, 2/26/75, p. 84. The Agent also testified that other FBI agents in the Racial Matters Squad were also involved in the “free flow of information between the Racial Matters Squad and GIU,” and that at, one time or another, every agent had exchanged information with GIU.

³⁵⁹ Memorandum from Chicago Field Office to FBI Headquarters, 12/3/69, p. 2; memorandum from Special Agent to Chicago Field Office, 12/12/69.

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December 4, 1969, raid.³⁶⁰ The civil suit finally went to trial in 1976. The lawsuit, filed by the ILBPP members who survived the raid and relatives of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, charged that their civil riots were violated. The lawsuit named Hanrahan and several city, county, and federal officials and sought \$47.7 million in damages. It had already been made public that the FBI used an informant, William O'Neal, who joined the Illinois Chapter at the behest of his FBI handler, Roy Mitchell, a member of the FBI Chicago office's Racial Matters Squad.³⁶¹ More information about the role of the FBI in the raid was revealed in the court proceedings in which O'Neal Jr., who served as the ILBPP's Chief of Security, testified that he had provided the FBI with a floorplan of the apartment where Hampton and the other ILBPP members lived. The FBI shared the floorplan with Hanrahan and the Chicago police, who used it to plan the raid. The lawyers for the ILBPP were already privy to that information and knew of the FBI's attempts to cover up the raid. When Mitchell testified, he unintentionally revealed that the FBI had not produced all the files they had—200 volumes—pertinent to the case.³⁶² The FBI, directed by the judge, produced the files that included orders to end the ILBPP's Breakfast for Children Program and hinder the circulation of the BPP newspaper; reports that Fred Hampton was a target and O'Neal was instructed to encourage ILBPP members to break the law; and logs from wiretaps that included discussions between BPP members and their attorneys. O'Neal's control file was included in the volumes, which memorandums regarding the bonus the FBI paid him for his role in the raid, which was described to be of "tremendous value."³⁶³

O'Neal had told the FBI that Hampton was responsible for the growth and stability of the ILBPP, which would fail without him. The head of the FBI's Chicago office, Marlin Johnson, confirmed under testimony that in 1967, he was given orders to establish a COINTELPRO organization in Chicago to render the Black leaders ineffective and "prevent the rise of a messiah" who could consolidate the Black movement.³⁶⁴

Before sending the case to the jury, the judge presiding over the case, Judge Joseph Sam Perry of Federal District Court, dismissed charges against 21 of the 28 defendants, and he directed not-guilty verdicts for the remaining defendants when the jury reached a stalemate on their liability. The plaintiffs appealed the decision, and in 1979, the United States Court of Appeals ruled that the Federal Government had withheld pertinent information regarding the case, thereby obstructing the judicial process. The Court restored the case against 24 defendants and ordered a new trial.³⁶⁵ The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which declined to dismiss it and in 1980, sent it back to the U.S. District Court for trial. In 1982, after a year of negotiations between government attorneys, the plaintiffs, and the judge, a \$1.85 million dollar settlement equally divided by the federal, county, and city governments was paid to the survivors of the raid and the mothers of Hampton and Clark. At the time, the settlement was believed to be the largest awarded in a civil

³⁶⁰ "The Assassination of Fred Hampton: 47 Years Later," People's Law Office, December 5, 2016, <https://peopleslawoffice.com/the-assassination-of-fred-hampton-47-years-later/>.

³⁶¹ David Young. "Panther Tip on Hit Squad: Informer Aids FBI in Quiz." *Chicago Tribune*. February 3, 1973. p.1.

³⁶² Flint Taylor and Jeff Haas, "New Documents Suggest J. Edgar Hoover Was Involved in Fred Hampton's Murder," *Truthout*, Jan. 19, 2021.

³⁶³ "The Assassination of Fred Hampton: 47 Years Later," People's Law Office, December 5, 2016, <https://peopleslawoffice.com/the-assassination-of-fred-hampton-47-years-later/>.

³⁶⁴ Haas, pp. 349-350.

³⁶⁵ Nathaniel Sheppard Jr, "PLAINTIFFS IN PANTHER SUIT 'KNEW WE WERE RIGHT'," *The New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1982.

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rights case; the 18-month trial was considered the longest federal trial. Taylor, one of the lawyers representing the ILBPP, called the settlement an admission by the federal, county, and city governments that they conspired to kill Hampton and Clark and destroy the BPP.³⁶⁶

In 2021, over 40 years after Hampton's death, a new FBI file obtained by historian and writer Aaron Leonard through a Freedom of Information Act request was released that confirmed that William C. Sullivan, director of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division Director William C. Sullivan, and the Extremist Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division head George Moore, were involved in the raid and the coverup. It did not reveal whether Hoover took part in the planning of the raid or the coverup, but the records in the file were heavily redacted.³⁶⁷ Hoover did congratulate Chicago FBI Agent Roy Mitchell for the success of the raid and authorized a bonus for the informant who supplied crucial information to kill Hampton.³⁶⁸ (O'Neal allegedly committed suicide on January 15, 1990, after a television interview on his role as an FBI operative.)

Legacy of the BPP and the ILBPP

After the death of Hampton, the ILBPP continued with its social programs and initiated new ones. In 1971, on the second annual observance of the December 4, 1969, assassinations of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the Illinois Chapter launched its Fred Hampton and Mark Clark Free Food Program. The Spurgeon Jake Winters Free Medical Program, which Hampton helped initiate, opened after he was killed.³⁶⁹ The Chapter's Free Bus to Prison Program began in 1972. In 1973, the Illinois Chapter drafted an ordinance that called for Citizen's District Police Boards and sued the Board of Election Commissioners to force them to deputize members of the "City-Wide Campaign for Community Control of the Police."³⁷⁰ According to the ILBPP, over 600,000 eligible people, mostly Black and poor residents, were not registered to vote. The ordinance called for transferring the power of supervising and administering the Chicago Police Department from the Chicago City Council to the citizens of Chicago.

Unfortunately, the concerted effort of the FBI, with the support of local authorities, to systematically destroy the BPP took a toll on the organization. (For a list of acts of violence and raids against ILBPP members, see Appendix C). In 1976, the BPP decided to focus its attention on Oakland, and the Illinois chapter sent its resources to California. The Illinois chapter closed that year and the Oakland chapter closed in the early 1980s.

The contributions the BPP and its chapters made to the country are still in effect. Their social initiatives – specifically the Free Breakfast Program- have inspired federal programs such as the USDA's National School Breakfast Program and the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) Program.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ Tim Franklin and William Crawford Jr, "County OKs Panther deaths settlement,"

Chicago Tribune (1963-1996); Nov 2, 1982; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune pg. A1.

³⁶⁷ Chicago Sun Times Editorial Board, "The killing of two Black Panthers, the secrets of the FBI — and our nation's long fight for police reform," *Chicago Sun Times*, Jan. 24, 2021.

³⁶⁸ J. Edgar Hoover. Personal Memo to FBI Agent Roy Martin Mitchell. December 10, 1969.

³⁶⁹ *The Black Panther* newspaper, page 3, April 15, 1972.

³⁷⁰ *The Black Panther* Newspaper, May 26, 1973, page 3.

³⁷¹ Debbie-Marie Brown, "All power to the people: A conversation with members of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party," *Chicago Reader*, Dec. 21, 2022.

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The ILBPP, which was successful in its own right, overthrew Daley's long-standing Democratic machine by establishing alliances among the underrepresented classes through the Rainbow Coalition. Members of the coalition also began running for office; their knowledge of organizing led to the election of Chicago's first Black mayor, Harold Washington.³⁷² Washington's use of coalition building ultimately led to the election of the nation's first Black president.

The legacy of the ILBPP has also continued to live on through its efforts in community policing. After the 2014 killing of 17-year-old LaQuan McDonald by Chicago police officer Jason Van Dyke, the public demanded the Department of Justice send someone to investigate the Chicago Police Department. Attorney James D. Montgomery, Sr., who represented Deborah Johnson after the assassination of Fred Hampton, said, "I've been thinking about how the Fred Hampton case relates to protests regarding LaQuan McDonald. People should understand history before calling for a federal prosecutor and Justice Department investigations. That's what happened in the Panther case. Instead, there should be a demand for the appointment of an independent special prosecutor."³⁷³

Chicago formed the Civilian Office of Police Accountability in 2016.³⁷⁴ But it was not until 2021 that Chicago's City Council passed the ordinance to create Empowering Communities for Public Safety, which established a Community Commission for Public Safety, directly involving the community in police matters by having police district leadership and community members determine local concerns and collaborate on community safety plans. By doing so, the city established what is considered to be the country's most democratic policing system.

There have been many setbacks in the efforts to gain racial equality since Hampton's death, but the victories that have occurred along the way are reminders that the mission of the BPP was bigger than the Party itself. In the words of Hampton:

"Don't worry about the Black Panther Party. As long as you keep the beat, we'll keep on going. If you think that we can be wiped out because they murdered Bobby Hutton and Bunchy Carter and John Huggins, you're wrong. If you think because Huey was jailed the party's gonna stop, you see you're wrong. If you think because Chairman Bobby was jailed, the Party's gonna stop, you see you're wrong. If you think because they can jail me you thought the Party was gonna stop, you thought wrong. You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail revolution. You can lock up a freedom fighter, like Huey Newton, but you can't lock up freedom fighting."³⁷⁵

³⁷² Rainbow Coalition Panel, Oakland California Museum. October 23, 2016. Grand Valley State University.

³⁷³ James D. Montgomery, *Full Circle: Race, Law, and Justice* (Third World Press 2018).

³⁷⁴ "Our History," Civilian Office of Police Accountability, August 9, 2023, <https://www.chicagocopa.org/about-copa/our-history/>.

³⁷⁵ Haas, p. 106.

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F. General Registration Requirements

All Properties nominated under this Multiple Property Document (MPD) must meet these requirements:

1. The property must be located within the boundaries of Illinois as described in Section G.
2. The period of significance must be within the years 1968 - 1974.
3. The property must illustrate a close relationship to the work, programs, and initiatives of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party in one or more of the associated historic contexts defined in Section E.
4. The property must be eligible at least under Criterion A or Criterion B of the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation
5. The property must retain sufficient integrity.

Criteria for Evaluation³⁷⁶

All properties nominated under the Multiple Property Document (MPD) must be eligible for historic significance under one or more of the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation:

- A. Association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or,
- B. Association with the lives of persons significant in our past; or,
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Properties nominated for Criterion C, architectural significance, must also be listed for historic significance under Criterion A or B under the MPD. Properties nominated under Criterion B for historic persons will need to be compared to other properties to demonstrate that they are the most closely associated with the persons' productive life.

Criteria Considerations³⁷⁷

Certain individual properties are typically not considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Those properties can be listed if they meet the one of the four Criteria for Evaluation, have sufficient integrity, and meet the applicable Criteria Considerations:

³⁷⁶ National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, p. 2.

³⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 2.

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- A. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- B. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- C. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life; or
- D. A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, from association with historic events; or
- E. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- F. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or,
- G. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

While it is possible that any of the considerations may apply, it is most likely that Criterion Consideration A would be most applicable under the MPD as the survey of ILBPP historic resources identified many churches where ILBPP activities occurred.

Areas of Significance

While a property may be eligible for any criteria, all properties nominated under the MPD will have significance under Social History Ethnic Heritage, Black History due to their association with the Illinois Black Panther Party.

Level of Significance

All properties nominated will establish their significance on either a national, state, or local level. Most properties will have local significance, but given the themes discussed in the MPD, it is anticipated that some properties will be nominated for statewide or national significance.

Period of Significance

The period of significance, 1968-1974, corresponds to the years the ILBPP was active.

Integrity

The National Park Service offers the following guidance when assessing a property's integrity that is nominated for a historic event or significant person:

A property that is significant for its historic association is eligible if it retains the essential physical features that made up its character or appearance during the period of its association

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with the important event, historical pattern, or person(s). If the property is a site (such as a treaty site) where there are no material cultural remains, the setting must be intact.³⁷⁸

Properties that have been extensively modified may still be eligible depending upon the significance and rarity of the resource:

Comparative information is particularly important to consider when evaluating the integrity of a property that is a rare surviving example of its type. The property must have the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic character or information. The rarity and poor condition, however, of other extant examples of the type may justify accepting a greater degree of alteration or fewer features, provided that enough of the property survives for it to be a significant resource.³⁷⁹

Many properties that were crucial to the operations of the ILBPP were located in disadvantaged neighborhoods that were neglected by the city. After the ILBPP disbanded, the City of Chicago deemed areas on the west side, near north side, and south side of Chicago as 'blighted' neighborhoods. By the 1990s, many policymakers decided that vacant properties were contributing to violent crimes in these neighborhoods, and in 1992, Mayor Richard M. Daley announced that the city aimed to demolish 1,200 abandoned buildings that year. "Chicago steadily increased spending on demolitions, from \$2.5 million in his first full year in office in 1990 to almost \$10 million in 1993. He proposed spending \$15 million in 1994."³⁸⁰ Shortly afterward, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) agency argued for the demolition of hi-rise public housing projects, which had high concentrations of crime and cyclical poverty. HUD had taken over the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) in 1995 after it claimed the city of negligence and mishandling of its public housing.³⁸¹ Daley was able to regain control of CHA after promising HUD that Chicago would drastically alter its approach to public housing. The agreement hinged upon Daley's "Plan for Transformation," which was to tear down almost 18,000 units of neglected public housing and build or rehab 25,000 units in 5 to 7 years. In exchange, HUD entered into an agreement with CHA to provide it with more flexibility over expending federal funds in order to fulfill the Plan's goals.³⁸² North Lawndale, Bronzeville, and Cabrini Green suffered the greatest losses. Additionally, when the City of Chicago demolished these buildings, the residents were displaced.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 46.

³⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 47.

³⁸⁰ Tony Briscoe, Haru Coryne and Mick Dumke. "Disinvested: How Government and Private Industry Let the Main Street of a Black Neighborhood Crumble." ProPublica. Nov. 11, 2020. <https://www.propublica.org/article/disinvested-how-government-and-private-industry-let-the-main-street-of-a-black-neighborhood-crumble>.

³⁸¹ Grace Del Vecchio, "The Chicago Housing Authority Explained," South Side Weekly, February 25, 2022. <https://southsideweekly.com/the-chicago-housing-authority-explained/>, Accessed 09/21, 2023.

³⁸² Jake Bittle, Srishti Kapur, and Jasmine Mithani. "Redeveloping the State Street Corridor," *Southside Weekly*. Jan. 21, 2017. <https://southsideweekly.com/chicago-unfulfilled-promise-rebuild-public-housing/>.

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During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the ILBPP had a visible presence in these neighborhoods that were targeted for redevelopment and in many housing projects that were demolished like Cabrini Green and the Robert Taylor Homes. A survey of properties associated with the ILBPP revealed that many of the resources have been demolished:

1. Chicago, The assassination of Fred Hampton building, 2337 W. Monroe in Chicago
2. Chicago, ILBPP headquarters, 2350 W. Madison Street.
3. Chicago, South Side office, 4233 S. Indiana.
4. Chicago, Spurgeon Jake Winters Medical Center, 3850 W. 16th Street on Chicago's west side
5. Chicago, Better Boys Foundation, 1512 S. Pulaski (replaced by new building, 2007). Site of the first ILBPP Free Breakfast Program.
6. Chicago, Coretta Scott King YWCA, 436 E. Pershing Road. Location of ILBPP's free food program and site of the second ILBPP Free Breakfast Program.
7. Chicago, Cabrini Green, St. Dominic's Church, 357 W. Locust,
8. Chicago, Robert Taylor Homes, Trinity Lutheran Church, 4837 S. State St.
9. Chicago, Marcy Newberry Association, 1539 S. Springfield
10. Chicago, Fairfax House, 135 S. Central Park
11. Chicago, Madden Park, 500 E. 37th Street
12. Carbondale, Mt. Olive Freewill Baptist Church, 409 N. Marion Street
13. East St. Louis, 10 N. 16th Street, (demolished)
14. Fairgrounds Housing Center. 1050 W. Jefferson Street, Rockford, IL 61103
15. Grace United Methodist Church 1451 W. State Street, Rockford, IL 61102, Romanesque Revival
16. Saint Elizabeth Community Center, 1536 S. Main Street, Rockford,
17. BPP Rockford Headquarters, 529 Pierpoint Avenue, Rockford

Others, like the Billy Brooks Residence (1320 S. Kedvale) and Our Redeemer Lutheran Church (6430 S. Harvard), both in Chicago, are considered threatened. Since these resources are largely located in areas susceptible to redevelopment, abandonment, and/or widespread demolition, the preservation of the extant properties and sites associated with the ILBPP is of utmost importance.

Property Types Associated with Section E Historic Contexts

Property Types associated with this Multiple Property Document illustrate a close relationship to the work, programs, initiatives, and significant events of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party as described in Section E, the historic significance in Section E, and integrity considerations for specific properties. Properties must be eligible under either Criterion A; associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, or Criterion B; associated with the lives of persons significant in our past. Primary locations submitted in this MPD are mostly within a three-mile radius of the Chicago Chapter's headquarters, six property types were identified from a survey conducted of the state's historic resources associated with the ILBPP:

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1. Religious Facilities
2. Residential
3. Educational Facilities
4. Sports Facilities
5. Non-Archeological Sites

Religious facilities

Significance:

Religious facilities are the most common property type associated with the ILBPP which is understandable given that religious institutions shared the same mission as the BPP in addressing the social needs; were located within the neighborhoods that needed assistance; and had ample meeting space for the BPP to hold meetings, rallies, training, and other events. Several churches are already listed in the National Register, but none are for their association with the ILBPP. Most of the churches were built in styles traditionally associated with religious properties. The First Baptist Church of Melrose Park was the only church in the geographical boundaries that was Mid-Century Modern.

Most of the religious facilities identified in the survey were hosts of the ILBPP's Free Breakfast Program. Others were places of significant events. The Church of the Epiphany hosted free breakfasts but also was significant for its use for important meetings and rallies. Since the offices of the ILBPP are gone, the church is the property that has the closest association with the organization. It was also the site of Fred Hampton's last speech before he was murdered. First Baptist Congregational Church hosted the People's Inquest where the public was invited to hear charges against Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and the Chicago policemen involved in the raid that took the life of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The following religious facilities were identified in the survey:

1. Chicago, The Church of the Epiphany (People's Church), 201 S. Ashland - Romanesque Revival (Individually Listed in the National Register)
2. Chicago, Precious Blood Church, 2411 W. Congress Pkwy. --Classical Revival,
3. Chicago, Jackson Boulevard Church, 2413 W. Jackson --Collegiate Gothic
4. Chicago. St. Andrews Episcopal Church, 48 N. Hoyne, Chicago -- Gothic Revival
5. Chicago St. Bartholomew Church (now True Vine Missionary Baptist Church) 6720 S. Stewart Ave. -- Late Gothic Revival Meetings & Rallies,
6. Chicago, Stone Temple Baptist Church, 3622 W. Douglas -- Classical, Moorish, and Romanesque Revivals (Individually Listed in the National Register)
7. Chicago, St. Martin De Pores Church, 5112 W. Washington Blvd -- Late Gothic Revival
8. Chicago, Altgeld Gardens, Our Lady of the Gardens Church, 13300 S. Langley --Mid-Century modern (Listed as a contributing resource in the Altgeld Gardens-Philip Murray Homes Historic District)
9. Chicago, Our Redeemer Church, 6430 S. Harvard -- Late Gothic Revival
10. First Baptist Congregational Church, 1613 W. Washington -- Gothic Revival (Listed in the National Register under Union Park Congregational Church and Carpenter Chapel
11. Chicago, Holy Covenant Church, 925 W. Diversey -- Victorian Gothic
12. Melrose Park, First Baptist Church of Melrose Park, 2114 Main St. --Mid-Century Modern

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Outside of MPD geographic area:

1. Peoria, Ward Chapel AME Church, 511 N. Richard Allen Drive -- Mid-Century Modern

Registration Requirements:

For a religious facility to be eligible for listing under the MPD, the exterior and main interior space must have a high degree of integrity. Exceptions can be made in instances where the event is of primary importance to the ILBPP or if the resource is the only remaining property associated with an ILBPP function. In those instances, either the interior or exterior must have good integrity. Modifications made during the period of significance will have acquired importance and the removal of such material in the main spaces (sanctuary) may adversely affect the property's integrity, depending on the degree of the alteration and the spaces primarily associated with ILBPP use.

Residential

Significance:

Residential properties associated with the ILBPP can be important for both associations with significant persons and/or events associated with the ILBPP. Those identified in the survey consisted of single-family houses, two- and three flats, and multiple property dwellings. Unlike the religious facilities, the residential properties tended to be modest in design. All but one was associated with ILBPP events. The two-flat at 1510 S. Hamlin and the Public Housing Complex at 124 N. Hoyne Public Housing hosted Free Breakfast programs. The single-family, minimal traditional house at 8841 S. Merrill Properties offered daycare. Billy Brooks's Residence –a three-flat located at 1320 S. Kedvale in North Lawndale, was important for its use as an organizing hub for the Chapter. Members also met there regularly to encourage unity within the community. The Queen Anne house at 6110 S. Dorchester, Chicago is where Bobby Rush, Bob Brown and others met to discuss the formation of the ILBPP. The childhood home of Fred Hampton, located at 804 S. 17th Avenue, in Maywood should be considered for national significance, as it is the property most closely associated with Hampton's life. The brick 2-flat achieved local landmark status from the village of Maywood in 2022.

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Childhood home of Fred Hampton



Leadership Organizing, Billy Brooks residence



1. Maywood, Fred Hampton Childhood Home, 804 S. 17th Avenue, Two-flat
2. Chicago, 124 N. Hoyne Public Housing, Multiple Dwelling
3. Chicago, 8841 S. Merrill. Single Residence, Minimal Traditional
1. Chicago, 6110 S. Dorchester, Chicago –Single Residence, Queen Anne
2. Chicago, 1320 S. Kedvale, Chicago - Billy Brooks Residence – Three-flat
4. Chicago, Brotherhood of Boys Republic, 1510 S. Hamlin, Brick Two-flat

Registration Requirements:

Integrity thresholds for residential properties listing under the MPD will correspond with the significance of the event or person. In instances where the event is of primary importance to the ILBPP, or if the resource is the only remaining property connected with an ILBPP function, either the interior or exterior must have enough integrity to be identifiable with the person or event it is associated with. Modifications made during the period of significance will have acquired importance and the removal of such material may adversely affect the

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property's integrity, depending on the degree of the alteration and the spaces primarily associated with ILBPP use.

Educational Facilities

Significance:

The ILBPP's speaking engagements at high schools, colleges, and universities led to organizing locations throughout the state. These talks have led to the formation of organizational meetings and the establishment of branch offices. More information is needed regarding the exact location of these talks and their impact in order to establish their significance.

ILBPP Speaking Engagements were held at the following Illinois College Campuses:

1. Wilson Junior College, 6301 S. Halsted, ongoing organizing beginning July 1968
2. Crane Junior College, 2250 W. Van Buren, November 15, 1968
3. UIC Circle Campus, 1200 W. Harrison, November 26, 1968
4. Northern Illinois University, 1425 W Lincoln Hwy, DeKalb, IL 60115, November 26, 1968
5. Northeastern Illinois State College, 5500 N. St. Louis, Chicago, IL, December 10, 1968
6. Roosevelt University, 480 S. Michigan, Chicago, IL, January 8, 1969
7. YMCA College, 211 W. Wacker, Chicago, January 14, 1969
8. DePaul University, Chicago, May 9, 1969
9. Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, April 18, 1969
10. DePaul University, Chicago, May 9, 1969
11. Loop City College, 30 E. Lake Street, Chicago, March 7, 1969

Areas outside of the MPD geographic location:

1. UIC Champaign, 901 West Illinois Street, Urbana, IL 61801, February 4, 1969
2. Northern Illinois University, 1425 W Lincoln Hwy, DeKalb, IL 60115, March 23, 1969

Penn Elementary School, on the other hand, may be eligible for its association with the ILBPP's sickle cell anemia program. Located at 1616 S. Avers in Chicago, it was the first location of Sickle Cell Anemia canvassing. (The school's mascot is a panther.) The ILBPP's free medical center, the Spurgeon Jake Winters Medical Center, was demolished. It was located at 3850 W. 16th Street --across the street from Penn Elementary but was subsequently demolished. The school is believed to be the only extant building associated with the ILBPP's medical programs.

Registration Requirements:

Integrity thresholds for educational facilities listing under the MPD will correspond with the significance of the event or person. In instances where the event is of primary importance to the ILBPP, or if the resource is the only remaining property connected with an ILBPP function, either the interior or exterior must have enough integrity to be identifiable with the person or event it is associated with. Modifications made during the period of significance will have acquired importance and the removal of such material may adversely affect the

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property's integrity, depending on the degree of the alteration and the spaces primarily associated with ILBPP use.

Recreational Facilities

Significance:

One recreation facility, the Aquatic Center at 300 Oak Street in Maywood, was identified in the survey of resources associated with the ILBPP. The center was the result of Hampton's advocacy for a local swimming pool in Maywood, as Black people were denied access to the nearest pool in Melrose Park. His fight to have a local pool was one of his earliest causes. The Mid-Century Modern pool center was dedicated to him after his death.

Registration Requirements:

The Aquatic Center was the only recreational facility identified, but if subsequent facilities are discovered, the integrity thresholds for those listing under the MPD will correspond with the significance of the event or person. In instances where the event is of primary importance to the ILBPP, or if the resource is the only remaining property connected with an ILBPP function, either the interior or exterior must have enough integrity to be identifiable with the person or event it is associated with. Modifications made during the period of significance will have acquired importance and the removal of such material may adversely affect the property's integrity, depending on the degree of the alteration and the spaces primarily associated with ILBPP use.

Non-Archeological Sites

Significance:

While most of the places identified in the survey were buildings, there are also places – such as streets or public places – that may be associated with significant events associated with the ILBPP. The 1967 rally held by the ILBPP to protest the support the arrest of BPP co-founder Huey Newton is one example.

Registration Requirements:

For a non-archaeological historic site to be eligible for listing under the MPD, it would have to possess sufficient integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. The site would have to be recognizable as it was at the time of the event it was associated with.

G. Geographical Data

The MPD is confined to resources in Cook County, Illinois.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Method

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Name of Property
County and State
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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Interviews with members of the ILBPP aided the initial compilation and identification of sites associated with the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Sites were organized by activity conducted at the property, i.e., Meetings, Programs, etc.

Windshield surveys and surveys through Google Maps were used to view the current state of these properties. Many properties that were in blighted areas have been demolished.

A review of the Black Panther Party’s newspaper for these properties was conducted to search for articles, advertisements, and reports on activities at these properties. Newspaper archives of the *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Chicago Defender*, and other local and national publications were researched to confirm activities at these properties. The *Sun-Times* photo collection archived at the Chicago History Museum was researched to document these activities. Note: Some of the photos are mislabeled, and additional research was required to confirm the locations of photos taken.

National Register listings and City of Chicago Landmarks were consulted, and two significant properties were found. The Epiphany Center of the Arts was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1998, and Truevine Missionary Baptist Church became a Chicago landmark in 2007.

Research is ongoing. Mapping of properties and an electronic database were done by the authors of the current list of properties. A formal mapping project is underway by DesignTrust Chicago. Placemaking and historic markers are planned by the Historical Preservation Society.

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Appendix A: Ten-Point Platform and Program, 1966

1966

1. We Want Freedom. We Want Power to Determine the Destiny of Our Black Community.

We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We Want Full Employment for Our People.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the White American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We Want an End to the Robbery By the Capitalists of Our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us, and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We Want Decent Housing Fit for The Shelter of Human Beings.

We believe that if the White Landlords will not give decent housing to our Black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We Want Education for Our People That Exposes the True Nature Of This Decadent American Society.

We Want Education That Teaches Us Our True History and Our Role in the Present-Day Society. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

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6. We Want All Black Men To Be Exempt From Military Service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the White racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military by whatever means necessary.

7. We Want An Immediate End to Police Brutality and the Murder of Black People.

We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We, therefore, believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We Want Freedom For All Black Men Held in Federal, State, County and City Prisons and Jails.

We believe that all Black People should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We Want All Black People When Brought to Trial To Be Tried In Court By A Jury Of Their Peer Group Or People From Their Black Communities, As Defined By the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical, and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and we are being, tried by all-White juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community.

10. We Want Land, Bread, Housing, Education, Clothing, Justice And Peace.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect of the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes

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which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

1972

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black and oppressed communities.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black and oppressed communities.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in

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currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of the self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and in the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. We want completely free health care for all Black and oppressed people.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about because of our oppression, but which will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desire of the United States ruling circle and government to force its domination upon

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the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the United States government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. We want freedom for all Black and oppressed people now held in U.S. federal, state, county, city and military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in United States prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the United States military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace, and people's community control of modern technology.

When, during human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind is most disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, then to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

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Appendix B: Survival Programs, Nationwide

1967 - 1982

1. Alameda County Volunteer
2. Benefit Counseling
3. Black Student Alliance
4. Child Development Center
5. Consumer Education Classes
6. Community Facility Use
7. Community Health Classes
8. East Oakland CIL (Center for Independent Living) Branch
9. Community Pantry (Free Food Program)
10. Disabled Persons Services/Transportation and Attendant
11. Drug/Alcohol Abuse Awareness Program
12. Drama Classes
13. Drill Team
14. Employment Referral Service
15. Free Ambulance Program
16. Free Breakfast for Children Programs
17. Free Bussing to Prisons Program
18. Free Clothing Program
19. Free Commissary for Prisoners Program
20. Free Dental Program
21. Free Employment Program
22. Free Food Program
23. Free Film Series
24. Free Furniture Program
25. Free Health Clinics
26. Free Housing Cooperative Program
27. Food Cooperative Program
28. Free Optometry Program
29. Community Forum
30. Free Pest Control Program
31. Free Plumbing and Maintenance Program
32. Free Shoe Program
33. GED Classes
34. Geriatric Health Center
35. GYN Clinic

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36. Home SAFE Visits
37. Intercommunal Youth Institute (becomes OCS in 1975)
38. Junior High and High School Tutorial Program
39. Legal Aid and Education
40. Legal Clinic/Workshops
41. Laney Experimental College Extension Site
42. Legal Referral Service(s)
43. Liberation Schools
44. Martial Arts Program
45. Nutrition Classes
46. Oakland Community Learning Center
47. Outreach Preventative Care
48. Program Development
49. Pediatric Clinic
50. Police Patrols
51. Seniors Against a Fearful Environment
52. SAFE Club
53. Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation
54. Son of Man Temple (becomes Community Forum in 1976)
55. Sports Program
56. Senior Switchboard
57. The Black Panther Newspaper
58. Teen Council
59. Teen Program
60. U.C. Berkeley Students Health Program
61. STD Preventative Screening & Counseling
62. Visiting Nurses Program
63. WIC Program (Women's, Infants & Children)
64. Youth Diversion and Probation Site
65. Youth Training and Development³⁸³

³⁸³ BLACK PANTHER PARTY COMMUNITY SURVIVAL PROGRAMS @ BPPALN.org — Black Panther Party Alumni Legacy Network

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Appendix C: Police Shootings, Suspicious Killings of Illinois Chapter Members

1. Larry Roberson, shot by police on July 17, 1969, was hospitalized and died September 4, 1969, 610 N. California
2. Spurgeon "Jake" Winters, killed by police, 5801 S. Calumet, Nov. 13, 1969,
3. Lance Bell, shot by police, 5801 S. Calumet, 5801 S. Calumet, Nov. 13, 1969,
4. Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton, killed by police, 2337 W. Monroe, Dec. 4, 1969,
5. Defense Captain Mark Clark, killed by police, 2337 W. Monroe, Dec. 4, 1969,
6. Brenda Harris, Harold Bell, Verlina Brewer, Ronald "Doc" Satchell, Deborah Johnson, Blair Anderson, Louis Truelock, several, not all, shot by police, 2337 W. Monroe, Dec. 4, 1969,
7. Sterling "Pinky" Jones, killed by an unknown assailant, Altgeld Gardens, Dec. 25, 1969,
8. Babatunde Omowale found dead, Illinois Central Railroad tracks, south of the loop, July 27, 1970,
9. Medical Center, unknown, 3850 W. 16th Street, December 31, 1970, bullets fired into location,
10. Joe Smith, killed by police, John Deshields Homes, 1235 McCasland Ave, East St Louis, IL 62201, May 15, 1971.

Police Raids

1. Office, 2350 W. Madison, June 4, 1969, FBI & CPD
2. Office, 2350 W. Madison, July 30, 1969, CPD
3. Office, 2350 W. Madison, October 4, 1969, CPD
4. Panther Pad, 2337 W. Monroe, December 4, 1969, Hanrahan's CPD
5. Panther Pad, Altgeld Gardens, 972 E. 132nd Place, Bldg. 1043, March 25, 1971, CPD
6. Southside Office, 4233 S. Indiana, June 2, 1973, CPD

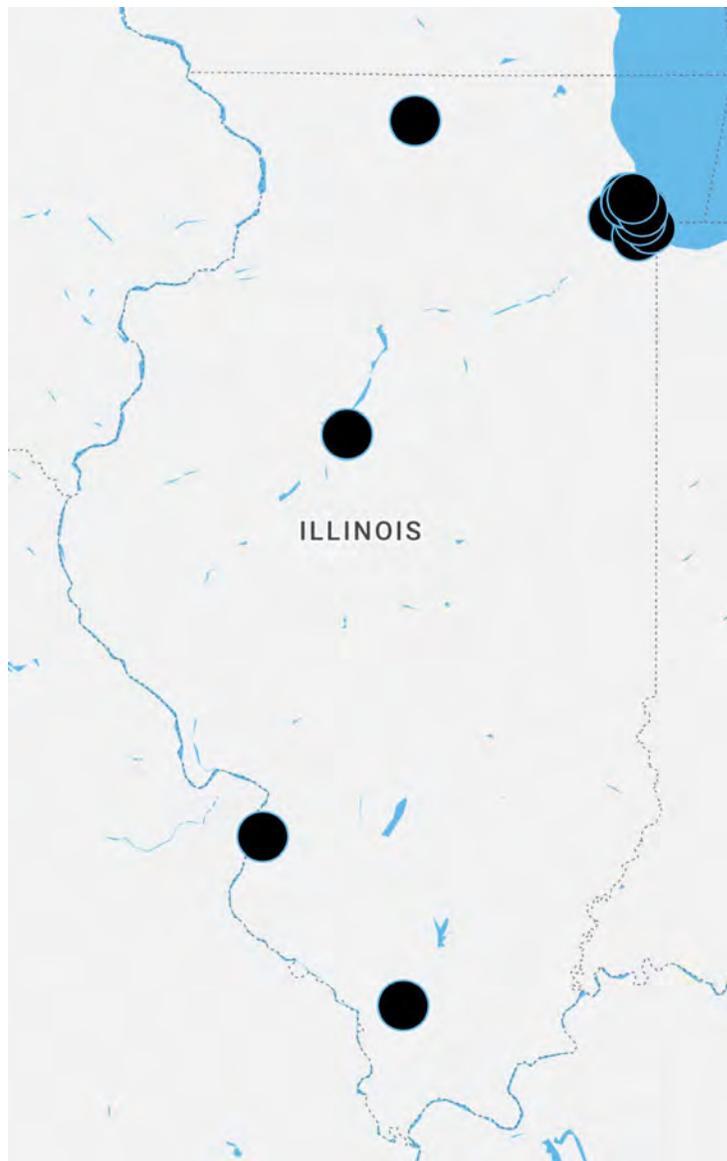
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Appendix D: Maps; Offices, Meetings, Rallies

Sites of the ILBPP: Offices, Meetings, Rallies, and More



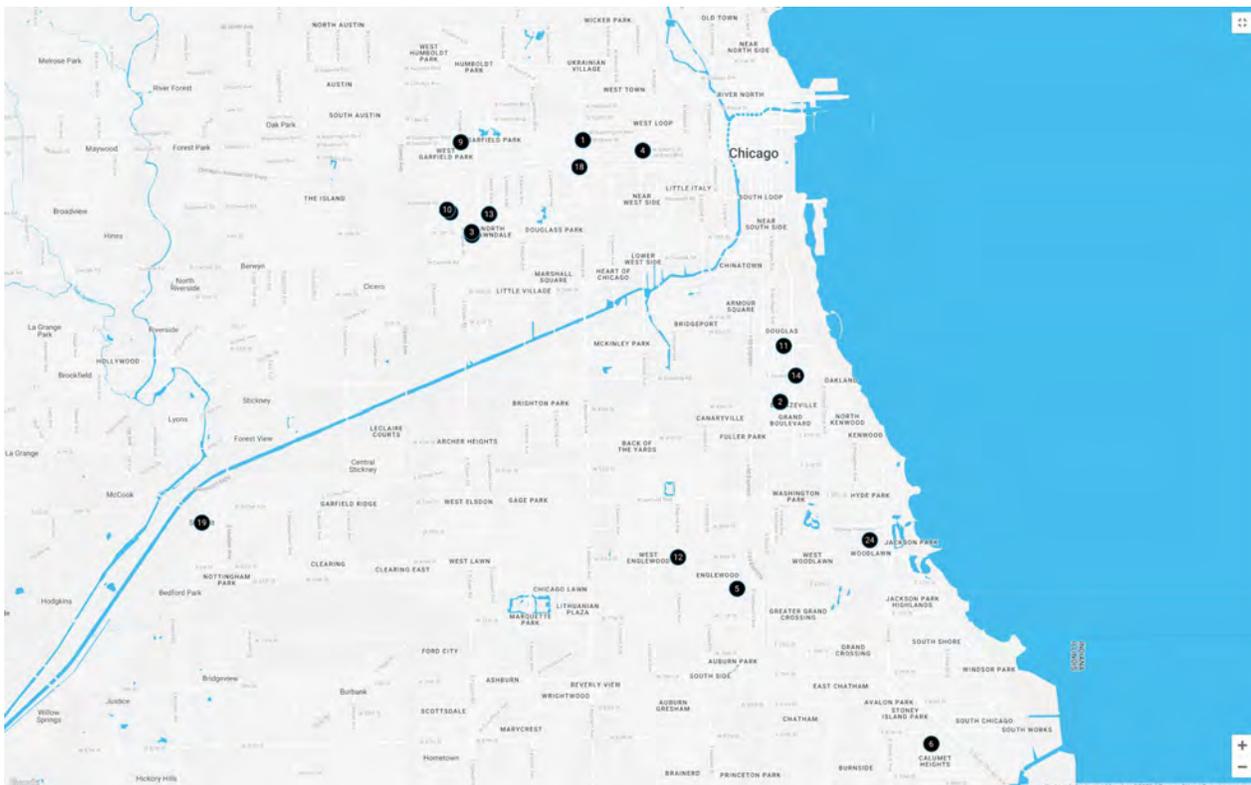
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Sites of the ILBPP: Offices, Meetings, Rallies, and More



Offices

1. Chapter Headquarters 2350 W Madison St, Chicago, IL 60612, USA
2. Southside Office 4233 S Indiana Ave, Chicago, IL 60653, USA

Medical Clinic

3. Spurgeon Jake Winters Free Medical Clinic, 3850 W 16th St, Chicago, IL 60623
4. Sickle Cell Anemia Testing, First Location: Penn Elementary 1616 S Avers Ave, Chicago, IL 60623

Meetings and Rallies

5. People's Church, now Epiphany Center of the Arts, 201 S Ashland Ave, Chicago, IL 60607

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6. St. Bartholomew Church (now True Vine Missionary Baptist Church) 6720 S Stewart Ave, Chicago, IL 60621

Free Daycare Center

7. Private residence, 8841 S Merrill Ave, Chicago, IL 60617

National Committee to Combat Fascism Community Centers and Offices (still working on these addresses)

8. 401 N Washington St, Carbondale, IL 62901
9. S Racine Ave & W 109th St, Chicago, IL 60643
10. W Madison St & S Pulaski Rd, Chicago, IL 60624
11. S Keeler Ave & W 13th St, Chicago, IL 60623
12. 253 E 35th St, Chicago, IL 60616
13. W 63rd St & S Racine Ave, Chicago, IL 60621

Free Food Program

14. Stone Temple Baptist Church, 3622 W Douglas Blvd, Chicago, IL 60623
15. YMCA, 436 E Pershing Rd, Chicago, IL 60653

Political Education

16. Southside Office: 4233 S Indiana Ave, Chicago, IL 60653
17. Headquarters: 2350 W Madison St, Chicago, IL 60612
18. Precious Blood: 2411 W Congress Pkwy, Chicago, IL 60612
19. People's Church: 201 S. Ashland Ave, Chicago, IL 60607

Branches

20. West Suburban Branch: Various locations; Maywood, Argo, Harvey, Summit, IL
21. Rockford: Branch Headquarters: 529 S Pierpont Ave, Rockford, IL 61102
22. Peoria: Branch operated from various locations, Peoria, IL
23. East St. Louis: Branch Headquarters, 10 N 16th St, East St Louis, IL 62205

Leadership & Program Organizing

24. 1320 S Kedvale Ave, Chicago, IL 60623
25. Meeting to Start the Chapter, 6110 S Dorchester Ave, Chicago, IL 60637

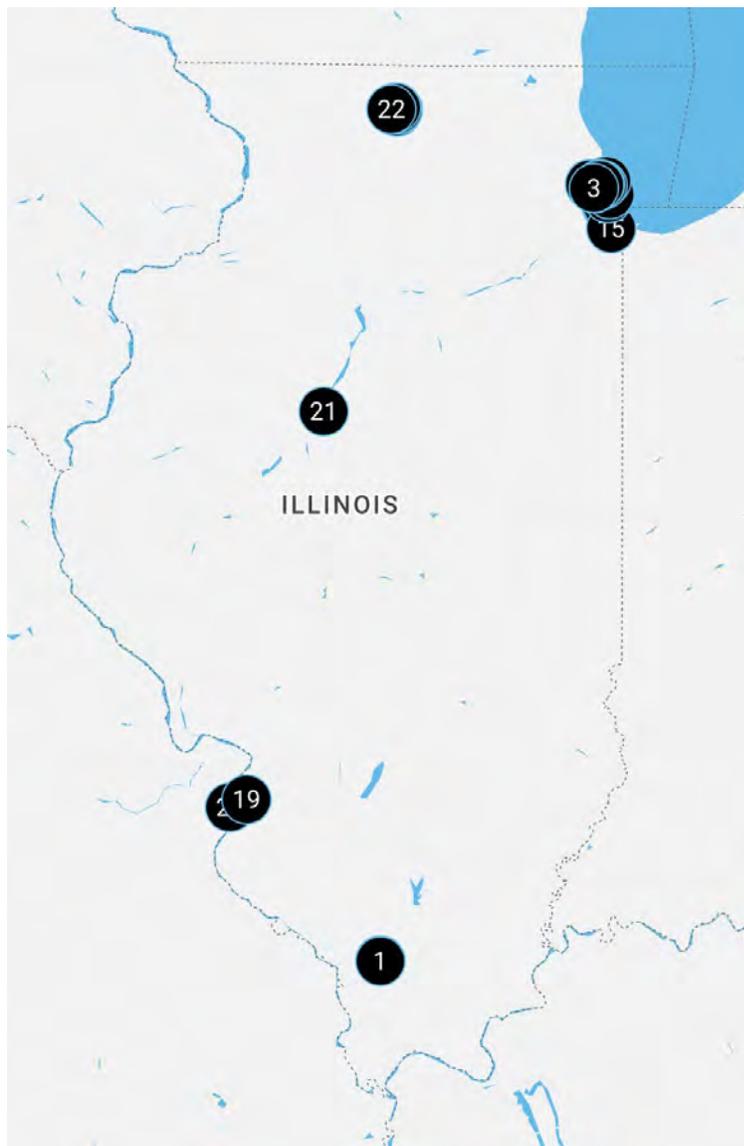
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Appendix E: Maps; Free Breakfast for Children Program

Sites of the ILBPP: Free Breakfast for Children Program



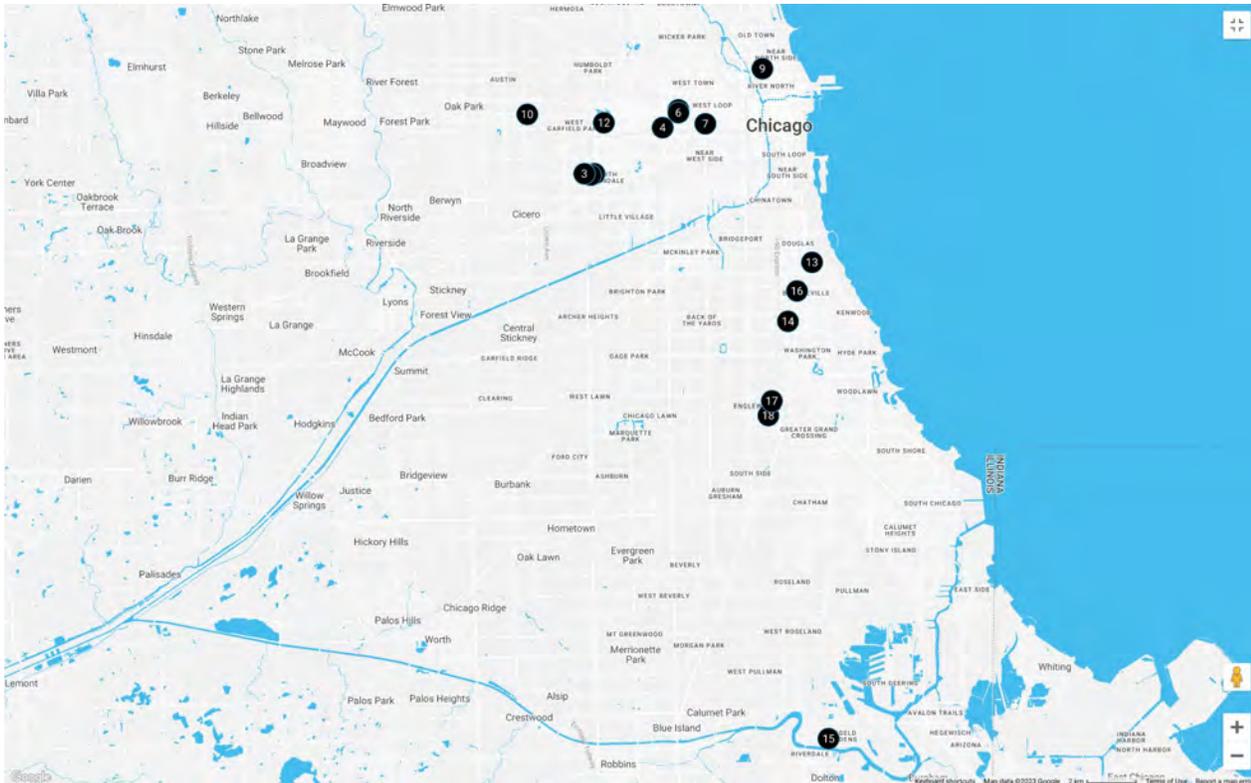
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Free Breakfast for Children Program Locations



Carbondale

1. Carbondale: Crispus Attucks School, Carbondale, IL
2. Mt. Olive Freewill Baptist Church, 409 N Marion St, Carbondale, IL 62901

Chicago

3. Better Boys Foundation, 1512 S Pulaski Rd, Chicago, IL 60623
4. Jackson Blvd Church, 2413 W Jackson Blvd, Chicago, IL 60612
5. Marcy Newberry Association, 1539 S Springfield Ave, Chicago, IL 60623
6. St. Andrews Episcopal Church, 48 N Hoyne Ave, Chicago, IL 60612
7. People's Church, Church of the Epiphany, 201 S Ashland Ave, Chicago, IL 60607
8. Henry Horner Homes, 124 N Hoyne Ave, Chicago, IL 60612
9. St. Dominic's Church, Cabrini Green, 357 W Locust St, Chicago, IL 60610

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10. St. Martin De Pores Church, 5112 W Washington Blvd, Chicago, IL 60644
11. Brotherhood of Boys Republic, 1510 S Hamlin Ave, Chicago, IL 60623
12. Fairfax House, 135 S Central Park Ave, Chicago, IL 60624
13. Madden Park, 500 E 37th St, Chicago, IL 60653
14. Trinity Lutheran Church, Robert Taylor Homes, 4837 S State St, Chicago, IL 60609
15. Our Lady of the Gardens Church, 13300 S Langley Ave, Chicago, IL 60827
16. Southside Office, 4233 S Indiana Ave, Chicago, IL 60653
17. Our Redeemer Church, 6430 S Harvard Ave, Chicago, IL 60621
18. St. Bartholomew Church (now True Vine Missionary Baptist Church), 6720 S Stewart Ave, Chicago, IL 60621

East St. Louis and St. Louis

19. 10 N 16th St, East St Louis, IL 62205
20. St. Stephens Church, 3949 Wilmington Ave, St. Louis, MO 63116

Peoria

21. Ward Chapel AME Church, 511 North Richard Allen Drive, Peoria, IL 61605

Rockford

22. BPP Branch Headquarters, 529 S Pierpont Ave, Rockford, IL 61102
23. Fairgrounds Housing Center, 1050 W Jefferson St, Rockford, IL 61101
24. Selavere Court, Rockford, IL
25. Sabruke Project, Rockford, IL
26. Fairground Projects, 1015 W Jefferson St, Rockford, IL 61101
27. Grace United Methodist Church, 1451 W State St, Rockford, IL 61102
28. Saint Elizabeth Community Center, 1536 S Main St, Rockford, IL 61102

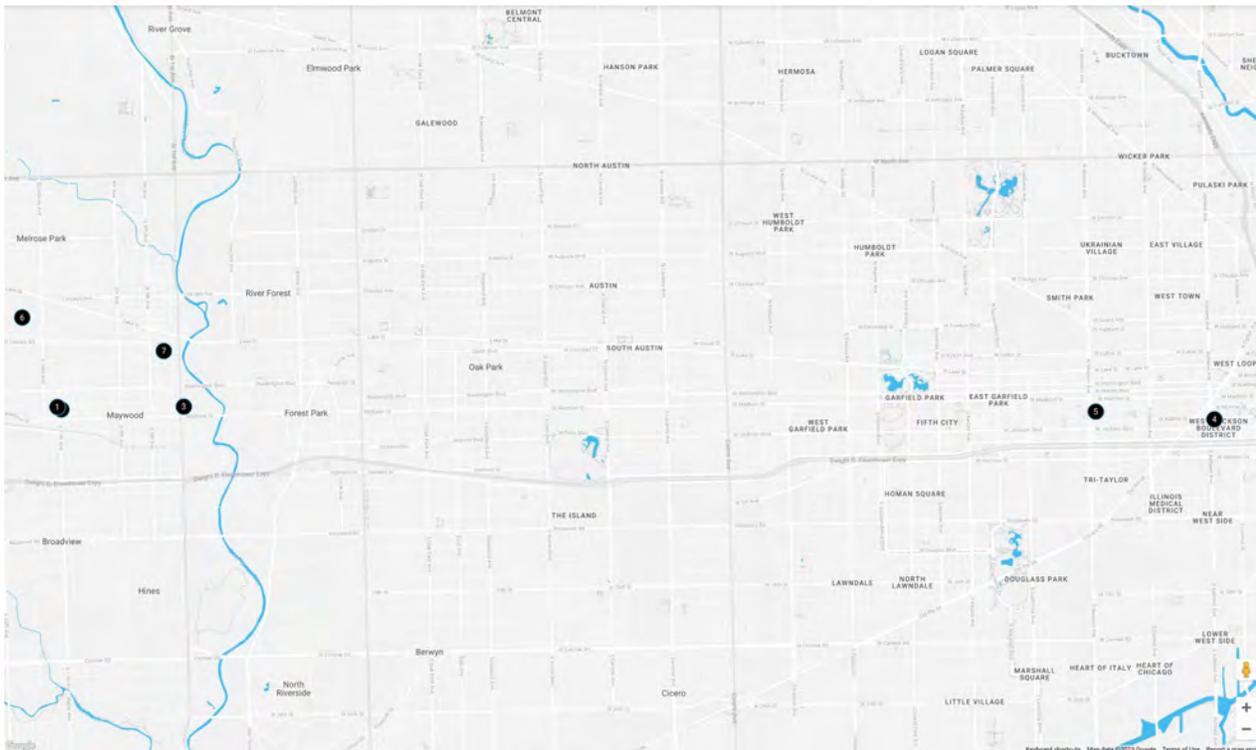
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Appendix F: Maps; Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton

Sites of the ILBPP: Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton



Significant Locations

1. Childhood Home, 804 S 17th Ave, Maywood, IL 60153
2. Elementary School, Irving Middle School, 805 S 17th Ave, Maywood, IL 60153
3. High School, Proviso East High School, 807 S 1st Ave, Maywood, IL 60153
4. Last Public Speech, People's Church, now Epiphany Center of the Arts, 201 S Ashland Ave, Chicago, IL 60607
5. Assassination Site, 2337 W Monroe St, Chicago, IL 60612
6. Funeral Site, First Baptist Church of Melrose 2114 Main St, Melrose Park, IL 60160
7. Fred Hampton Aquatic Center, 300 Oak St, Maywood, IL 60153

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Appendix G: Interview Subjects

ONGOING INTERVIEWS: 2019 to present.

CONDUCTED BY: Historical Preservation Society of The ILBPP

MEMBERS: Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

- 1 Blair Anderson
- 2 Ralph Bostick
- 3 Billy Brooks
- 4 Willie Calvin
- 5 Donna Calvin
- 6 Robert Campbell
- 7 Jamal Craft
- 8 Emory Douglas
- 9 Lynn French
- 10 Henry Gaddis
- 11 Lonnie Hall
- 12 Brenda Harris
- 13 Larry Jenkins
- 14 Walter Johnson
- 15 Ann Campbell-Kendrick
- 16 Sam Latson
- 17 David Lemieux
- 18 Michael McCarty
- 19 Joan McCarty
- 20 Stan McKinney
- 21 Gregory Middlebrooks
- 22 Tondalaya Millsap
- 23 Tauheedah Mustafa formerly Ernestine Crossley
- 24 Henry Nesbitt
- 25 Diana Nesbitt
- 26 Dr. Cheryl Peterson
- 27 John Preston
- 28 Wanda Ross

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- 29 Bobby Rush
- 30 Linda Wills-Davidson
- 31 Tony Wills

RAINBOW COALITION AND BEYOND

- 32 Walter Coleman, Students for a Democratic Society
- 33 Mary Driscoll, Rising Up Angry
- 34 Jeffrey Haas, People's Law Office
- 35 Mike James, Rising Up Angry
- 36 José "Cha Cha" Jimenéz, Young Lords
- 37 Omar Lopéz, Young Lords
- 38 James Montgomery, People's Law Office
- 39 Jon Rice, Historian
- 40 Flint Taylor, People's Law Office
- 41 Hy Thurman, Young Patriots
- 42 Floyd Webb, NAACP Youth Council

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Appendix H: Pictures



Poster of (l-r) Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton, circa 1971, Photographer Unknown

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THE BLACK PANTHER WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1968 PAGE 5

10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

- 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.**

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.
- 2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.**

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.
- 3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.
- 4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.**

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.
- 5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.**

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.
- 6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.**

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.
- 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.**

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.
- 8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.**

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the schools authority.
- 9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.**

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.
- 10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.**

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights, within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power so such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are tolerable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and facts, pursuing invariably the same object, revolve a design to reduce them to absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

"IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENT UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNITY hasn't become a member of this UNION of BLACK STUDENT UNIONS send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.s and stop meeting on an individual basis. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth. divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

BLACK STUDENT UNION
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3196 SHATTUCK ST.
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

COMING SOON

THE
BIOGRAPHY OF
**HUEY P.
NEWTON**

By Bobby Seale
and Those Who
Know Huey. With
an introduction by
Eldridge Cleaver.



Ten-Point Platform and Program for Black Student Unions. These student groups were primarily responsible for inviting speakers from the Black Panther Party. Photo: Black Panther Newspaper

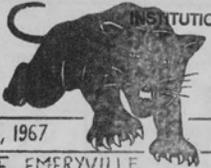
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HOOVER
FEB 19 1993

<p><i>The</i> BLACK PANTHER</p>		<p>BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE</p>
<p>VOLUME 1 APRIL 25, 1967</p>	<p>NUMBER 1</p>	
<p>P.O. Box 8641 OAK, CALIF. EMERYVILLE BRANCH</p>		<p>PUBLISHED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE</p>

WHY WAS DENZIL DOWELL KILLED

APRIL FIRST
3:50 a.m.

"I BELIEVE THE POLICE MURDERED MY SON" SAYS THE MOTHER OF DENZIL DOWELL.

Brothers and Sisters of the Richmond community, here is the view of the family's side of the death of Denzil Dowell as compiled by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, concerned citizens, and the Dowell family. As you know, April 1st, 1967, Denzil Dowell (age 22), was shot and killed by an "officer of the Martinez Sheriff's Department", so read the newspaper.

But there are too many unanswered questions that have been raised by the Dowell family and other neighbors in the North Richmond community. Questions that don't meet the satisfaction of the killing of Denzil. The Richmond Police, the Martinez Sheriff's Department, and the Richmond Independent would have us Black people believe some thing contrary to Mrs. Dowell's accusation. That is, her son was "unjustifiably" murdered by a racist cop.

There are too many questionable facts supporting the Dowell family's point of view.

These questionable facts are as follows:

1. Denzil Dowell was unarmed so how can six bullet holes and shot gun blasts be considered "justifiable homicide"? (Cont Page 2)



WE BLACK PEOPLE ARE MEETING SATURDAY 1:30 AT 1717 SECOND STREET LET US SUPPORT THE DOWELL FAMILY EVERY BLACK BROTHER AND SISTER MUST UNITE FOR REAL POLITICAL ACTION

The first edition of *The Black Panther, Black Community News Service* newspaper, was distributed on April 25, 1967. Source: Marxists.org

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Democratic Lawmaker Willie Brown Jr. (C) Talks To A Panther
... armed with guns, they protest law against loaded weapons

I Declare!
By Malcolm B. Johnson
Tie Candidates, Free The Voter

That Senate movement to erase party lines in Florida primary elections might be all right if it applied to voters, not to candidates. We should keep our candidates tied to parties, but free our voters. The Democratic major-

Armed Men Stun California Solons
Black Panthers Invade Capitol
Protesting A Ban On Firearms

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (AP) — A stunned California Legislature surveyed its security precautions today while Negroes who burst into the Capitol bearing a variety of loaded guns Tuesday were summoned to court. Twenty-six youths aged 17 to 25 were arrested by city police with drawn revolvers, and from the Watts district of Los Angeles, Bill Greene — considered a militant advocate of Negro rights — commented: "This action was not militant, it was senseless. No person black or white can condone this action." Jim Rooney, one of three sergeants-at-arms manning the swinging gates that block off the Assembly chamber door 50 feet

A news clipping that captured the Black Panther Party at the state capitol in Sacramento protesting the Mulford Act that prohibited the public carrying of loaded firearms without a permit. Source: Tallahassee Democrat, May 3, 1967

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A news clipping that captured the Black Panther Party at the state capitol in Sacramento protesting the Mulford Act that prohibited the public carrying of loaded firearms without a permit. Source: *The Daily Advertiser*, May 3, 1967

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Behind bars and facing the death penalty, Huey P. Newton became the embodiment of injustices against the Black community. The demand for Newton's release became a rallying cry among radicals. Source:

The Black Panther Newspaper, Vol. 2, No. 5, September 7, 1968, marxists.org

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EXTRA

25 cents **THE BLACK PANTHER**
Black Community News Service

VOLUME II, NO. 6 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1968

PUBLISHED WEEKLY **THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY** P.O. BOX 8461 OAKLAND, CALIF. 94668

PANTHERS WILL FREE HUEY

Huey's Statement on Racist Decision — Page 2

Garry Explains on TV Talk Show — Page 5

Free Huey Delegation goes to U.N. — Page 3

Kathleen Cleaver Editorial - - - — Page 8

Summary of Trial — Page 4

Third-World Appeals For Huey's Freedom — Page 4

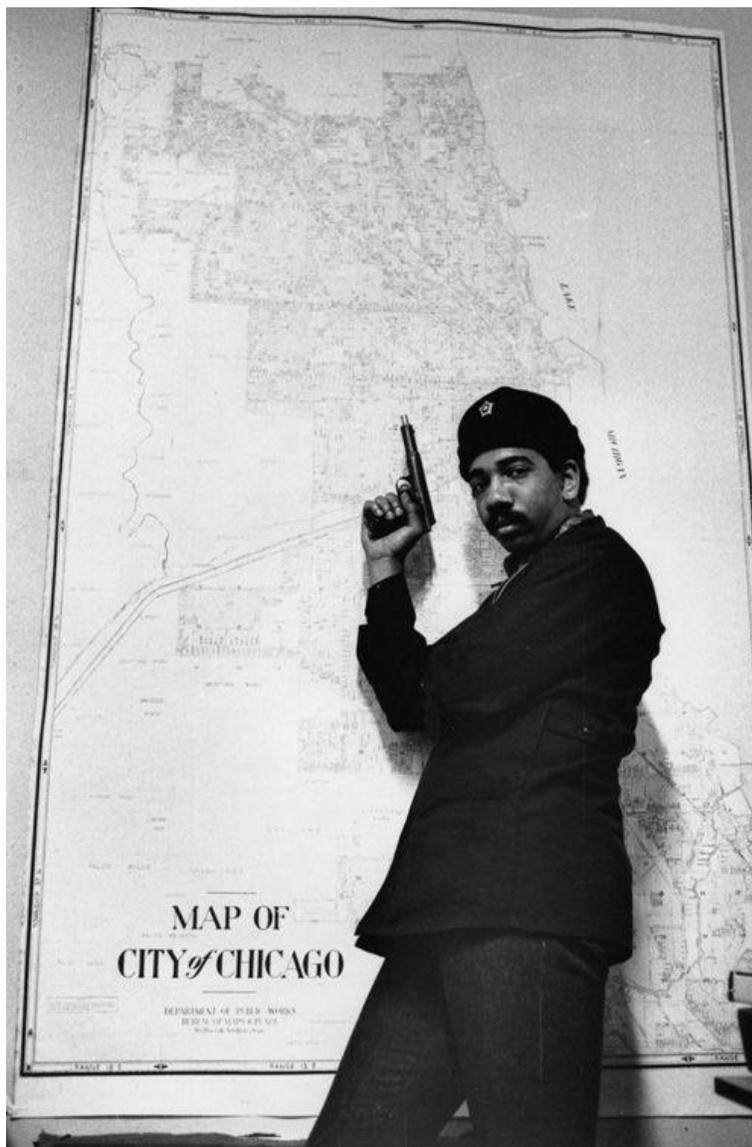
EDITOR'S NOTE:
Because of limited space in this special "Extra Edition," the Black Panther Party's pocket lawyer is omitted from this issue.

Detailed story and photos of National Headquarters sabotage in next issue

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Bobby Rush at the Black Panthers Party office, 2350 W. Madison, Chicago, Illinois, 1969. Photo: Paul Sequeira/Getty Images

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Fred Hampton leads a youth protest and is arrested for mob action. Photos of Hampton being arrested in front of Proviso East High School on October 1, 1967: ST-16002650-0012, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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Hampton also protested a paddy wagon used to patrol student activities. News clipping: *Chicago Tribune*, July 2, 1967.

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Fred Hampton protests bias in the Proviso East High School Homecoming Queen vote. News clipping: *The Spokesman-Review*, September 23, 1967

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Negro Youth Leader Seized

The leader of a Maywood N. A. A. C. P. group was arrested last night on charges he led a band of youths in beating and robbing the driver of an ice cream truck.

Maywood police said the driver was assaulted at 16th and Warren avenues in the suburb by a group of 15 to 20 Negro youths. The driver, Nelson Suitt, 19, of 6200 Menard av., said the youths demanded ice cream, but refused to pay for it.

Driver Resists Pressure

He said when he told them he could not give them ice cream without receiving payment for it, they warned him, "Don't you know you are in a black power neighborhood?"

Suitt said he continued to resist the gang of toughs until one of them said, "Now you're going to have to give

us the ice cream—here comes our leader."

At this point, Suitt said, Fred Hampton, 19, of 804 S. 17th av., president of the youth council of the Maywood National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, drove up.

Climb Into Truck

Suitt said Hampton got into the cab of the Good Humor company ice cream truck and began to beat him. When Suitt was successful in shoving Hampton from the truck, the driver said, the rest of the gang joined in and beat him.

They broke all the windows of the truck and took his load of ice cream and his coin changer.

The driver flagged down a passing police car after the beating and robbery. Maywood police drove with Suitt near the scene of the crime and Suitt picked out Hampton as he walked on the street.

Hampton was charged with

robbery, criminal damage to property, and battery. He was held in \$4,000 bond for appearance Aug. 2 in West District court in Oak Park.

Hampton was involved in racial disorders in Maywood last September.

Lake Forest College

Elects 3 Trustees

Joseph E. Rich, vice president of Morton International incorporated, Arthur G. Highland Jr., vice president of Johnson & Higgins, and Henry W. Meers, partner in White, Weld & co., have been elected to the board of trustees of Lake Forest college, Elliott Donnelley, board chairman, announced yesterday. Charles L. Brown Jr., a vice president of Illinois Bell Telephone company and a national trustee of the college, was named a charter trustee.

This arrest on July 10, 1968, would follow Fred Hampton until his last night with the ILBPP on December 3, 1969. His bond was revoked and he was ordered to turn himself in on December 13. He was murdered in the pre-dawn hours of December 4, 1969. News clipping: *Chicago Tribune*, July 11, 1968.

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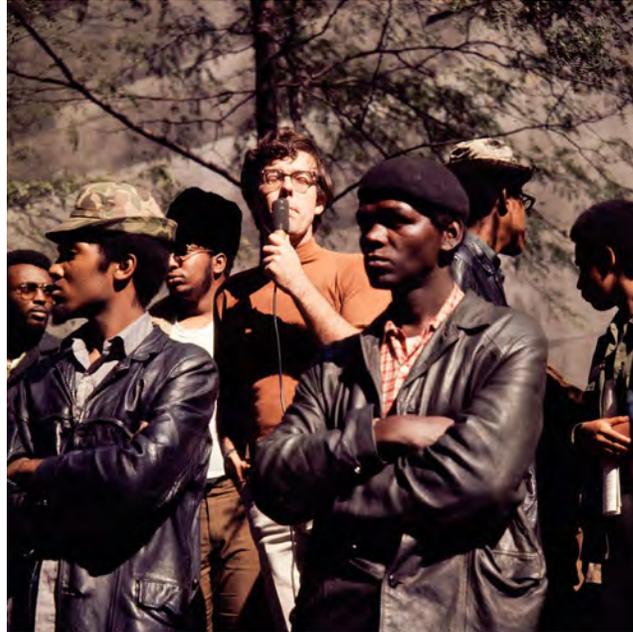
Left to right:
Chairman Bobby Seale, Illinois Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton, D. C. Field
Marshall Central Committee, Ray "Masia" Hewitt Central Committee and Bob Rush,
Deputy Minister of Defense Illinois B.P.P. Chapter.

Photo after the Illinois Chapter became an authorized chapter in 1968. Source: *The Black Panther
Newspaper*

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The ILBPP protested the arrest and trial of Chairman Bobby Seale in front of Chicago's Federal building in 1968. Photos: Chicago History Museum, ICHi-076569; Stephen Deutch, photographer

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(Top) Women in the ILBPP laugh as Fred Hampton performs the Panther Wedding of Chaka Walls and Wanda Ross on August 1, 1969. In the front, far-right is Deborah Johnson. Johnson, who shares a son with Hampton, was with him when he was assassinated. Photo: Paul Sequeira

(Bottom, l-r) Yvonne King, Ann Campbell, and Christina May hold a press conference at 2350 W. Madison in Chicago on April 29, 1969, announcing a protest against Huey P. Newton's imprisonment. Photo: Chicago Sun-Times Collection/Chicago History Museum/Getty Images

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Women outnumbered the men in the ILBPP and held leadership positions. Pictured is Fred Hampton with Ann Campbell, Communications Secretary for Illinois. The photographer is most likely Paul Sequeira.

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Vintage sign from headquarters office, 2350 W. Madison in Chicago.

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Two boys at the Better Boys Foundation, the first location of the Free Breakfast for Children Program, 1512 S. Pulaski in Chicago. April 1, 1969. Photo: Chicago Sun-Times Collection/Chicago History Museum

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Jerry "Odinga" Dunigan at the Free Breakfast for Children Program in Chicago. Photographer and location unknown.

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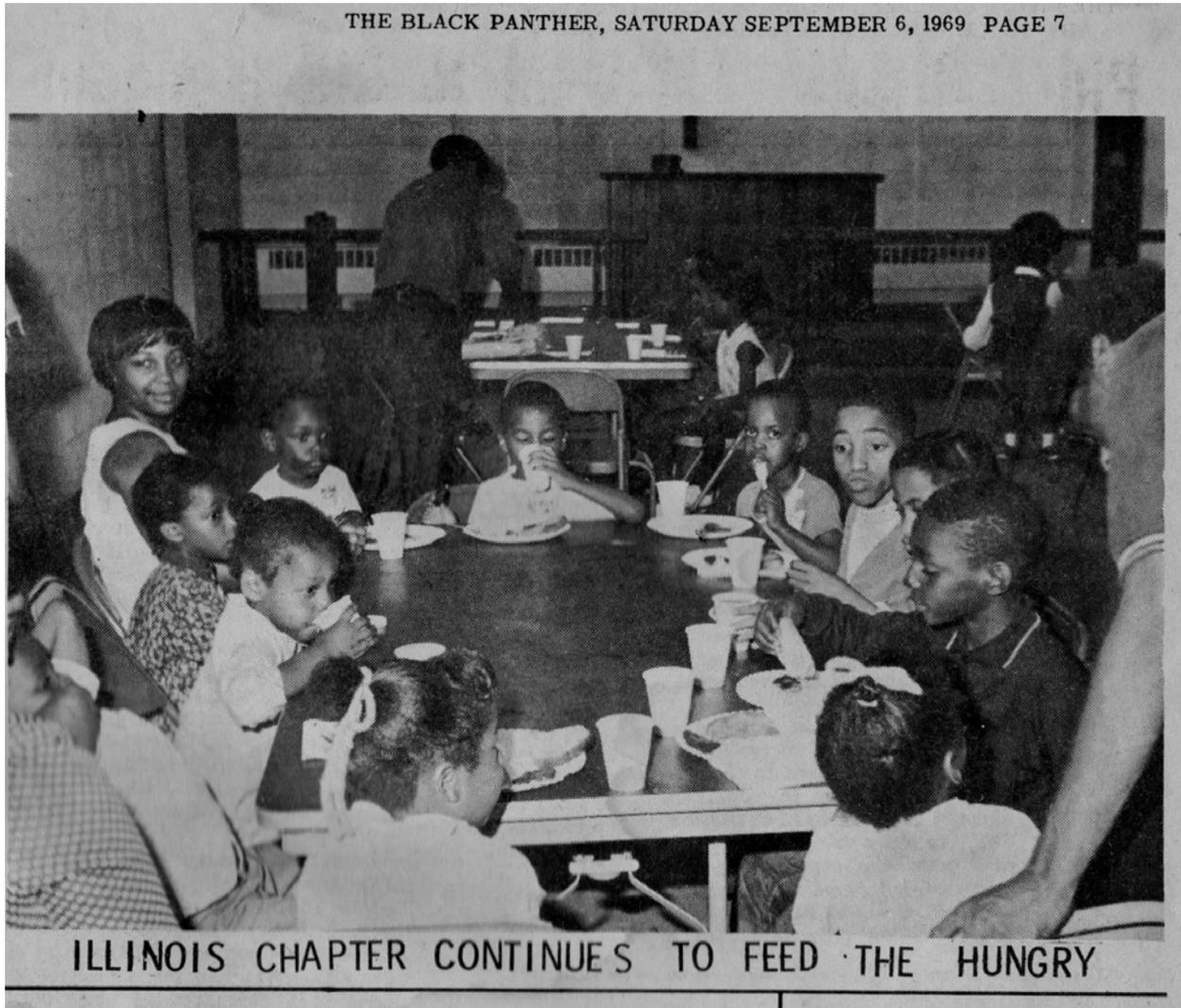


A boy at the Better Boys Foundation, the first location of the Free Breakfast for Children Program, 1512 S. Pulaski in Chicago. April 1, 1969. Photo: Dave Fornell, ST-19031010-0009, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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News clipping from *The Black Panther Newspaper*. Source: marxists.org

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**OVER 2,000
FREE BAGS OF
GROCERIES**
(WITH A CHICKEN IN EVERY BAG)

Will be given away by the
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
ILLINOIS CHAPTER

April 1st

**12:00
to
2:00p.m.**

Bobby Rush giving away free bags of food to the people of the Lawndale community Dec. 4, 1971.

Fred Hampton Mark Clark
**Free
FOOD
PROGRAM**

**CORETTA SCOTT KING
YWCA
436 E. PERSHING RD.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

ews clipping from *The Black Panther Newspaper*. Source: marxists.org

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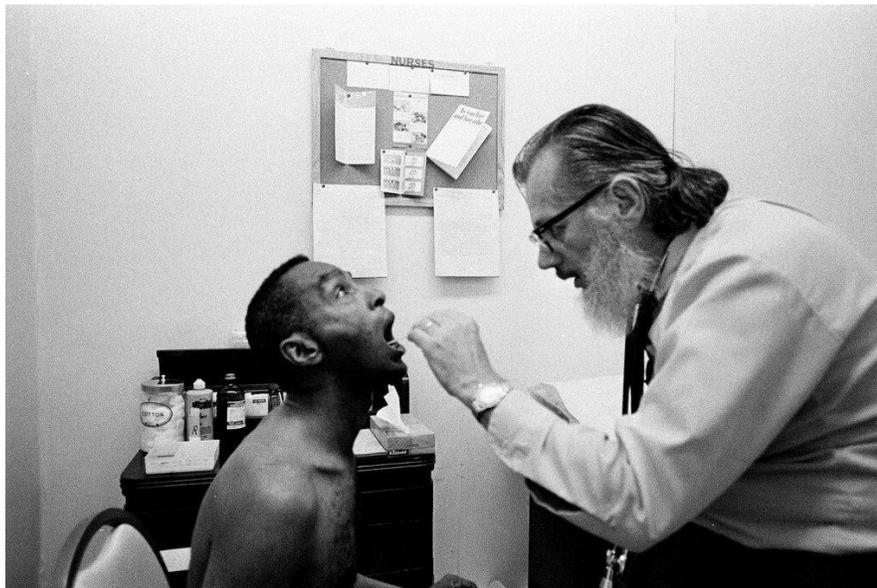


ILBPP protests conditions at Cook County Hospital. Photographer unknown.

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Spurgeon Jake Winters People's Medical Center, 3850 W. 16th Street in Chicago. (Top) Photographer unknown. (Bottom) Dr. Eric Kast, the clinic's primary physician, examined a patient circa January 1970. Photo: John H. White, ST-19030984-0020, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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(l-r) Ralph Bostick, Florence Watson, Ronald “Doc” Satchel at the Spurgeon Jake Winters People’s Medical Center, 3850 W. 16th Street in Chicago, January 1970. Photo: Howard D. Simmons, ST-19030953-0008, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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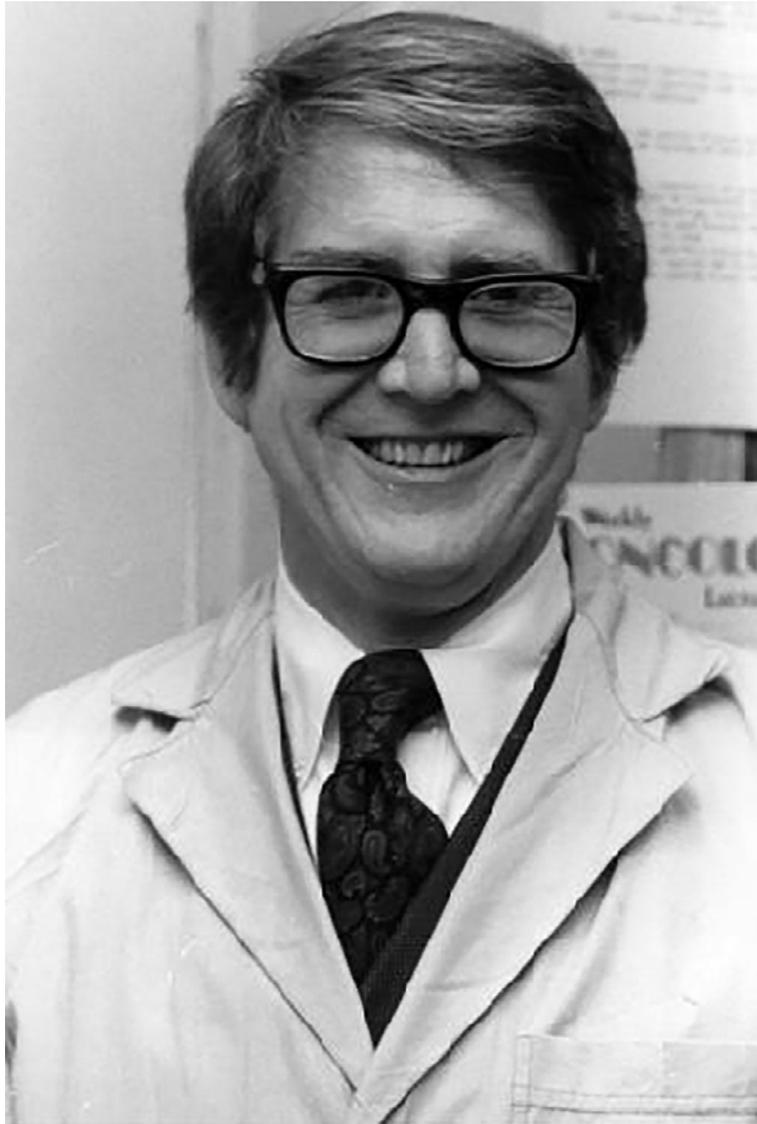


Patients visit the Spurgeon Jake Winters People's Medical Center, 3850 W. 16th Street in Chicago, January 1970. Photo: John H White, ST-19030984-0012, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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Dr. Quentin Young used his contacts to recruit doctors, nurses, lab technicians, medicines, supplies, and equipment. Hampton and Satchel set up an office within Dr. Young's offices and worked on the Free Medical Center's planning. Hampton also became Young's patient. Photo: WTTW, <https://news.wttw.com/2016/03/08/dr-quentin-young-physician-and-activist-dies-92>

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Bobby Rush and Ann Campbell speak to reporters at the Spurgeon Jake Winters People's Medical Center.
Photo: Larry Graff, ST-19030952-0021, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE 25 cents

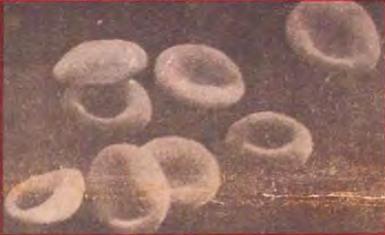
VOL. VI NO. 11 Copyright © 1971 by Huey P. Newton SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1971

PUBLISHED WEEKLY **THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY** OFFICE OF INFORMATION 200 7TH CALIFORNIA ST. SAN FRANCISCO CA 94111



BLACK GENOCIDE

SICKLE CELL ANEMIA

All left are red blood cells taken from a patient in a sickle cell crisis. Three of the cells are stilled and the other stretching away from its normal, donut shape. The picture at right shows normal, donut shaped, red blood cells.

GENOCIDE: THE SYSTEMATIC KILLING OR EXTERMINATION OF A WHOLE PEOPLE.

In Western and Central Africa, where there is a high incidence of Malaria, particularly the most severe type of Malaria, *Plasmodium falciparum*, a natural immunity against this dreaded disease was built up in some of the people. Since the Malaria germ attacks the red blood cells, some Western and Central Africans began to develop an immunity to the germ. The actual shape of the red blood cells in these people began to transform. Instead of being the normally round, donut shape,

their blood cells became elongated into a sickle-like shape. When the Euro-American slave traders invaded the African continent and forcibly removed the people from their homeland to the U.S., the people naturally began to be affected by this new environment. That is, what was once an advantage in their homeland, became a disadvantage in their foreign environment. These sickle-shaped red blood cells are those needing them to fight off the malaria germ,

began to suffer serious consequences of their transplantation from one continent to another. For example, as these blood cells are transferred from generation to generation (who are hereditary), Black People in the U.S. began to suffer from anemia from these sickle-shaped red blood cells. This sickle cell anemia has, then, been peculiar, for these reasons, to Black People.

COMPLETE STORY
CENTER PAGE

In 1971, the Black Panther Party initiated a nationwide Sickle Cell Anemia Campaign. Photo: *The Black Panther Newspaper*. Source: marxists.org

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THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1971 PAGE 14



FIGHT SICKLE CELL ANEMIA

In Western and Central Africa, where there is a high incidence of Malaria - particularly the most severe type of Malaria, Plasmodium falciparum, a natural immunity against this dreaded disease was built up in some of the People. Since the Malaria germ attacks the red blood cells, some Western and Central Africans began to develop an immunity to the germ. The actual shape of the red blood cells in these people began to transform. Instead of being the normally round, donut shape, their blood cells became elongated into a sickle-like shape.

When the Euro-american slave traders invaded the African continent and forcibly removed the people from their homeland to the U.S., the people naturally began to be affected by this new environment. That is, what was once an advantage in their homeland, became a disadvantage in this foreign environment. Those who had the sickled red blood cells, no longer needing them to fight off the Malaria germ, began to suffer terrible consequences of their transportation from one continent to another. For eventually, as these blood cells are transferred from generation to generation (they are hereditary), Black People in the U.S. began to suffer from anemia from these sickled red blood cells. This sickle cell anemia has, then, been peculiar, for these reasons, to Black People.

YOU CAN SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO: DR. BERT SMALL, CHAIRMAN, PEOPLE'S SICKLE CELL ANEMIA FUND, c/o THE GEORGE L. JACKSON PEOPLE'S REE HEALTH CLINIC P.O. BOX 8246, EMERYVILLE, CALIFORNIA 94608 OR CALL: (415) 653-2534 (415) 848-7740



BLACK GENOCIDE

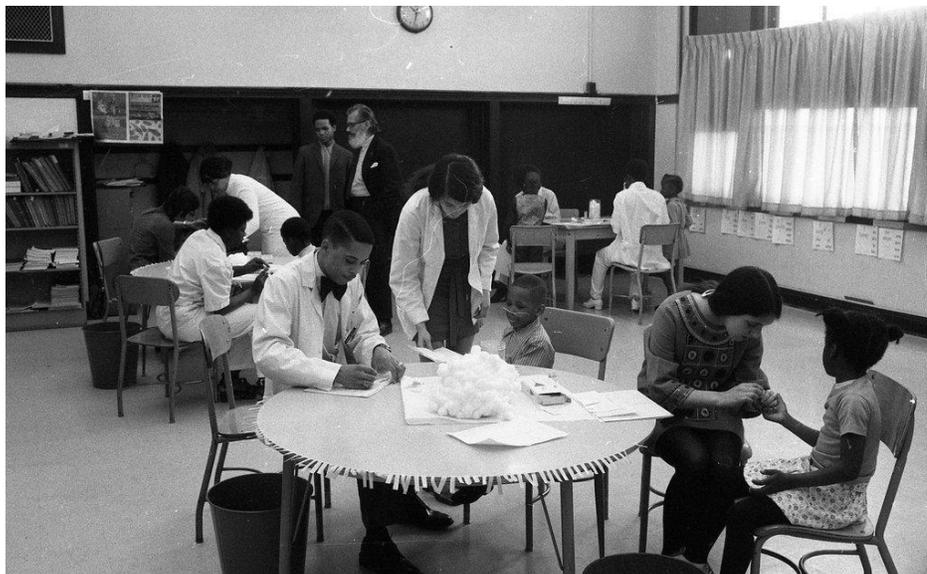
The above photo is of Julius Evans, age 8, who is a positive sickle cell case. He is standing in front of a magnified illustration of red blood cells taken from a patient in a sickle cell crisis. The cells are sickled, stretching away from their normal donut shape.

Photo: *The Black Panther Newspaper*. Source: marxists.org

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(Top) Nurse Lois Webb and ILBPP member Ernestine Crossley conduct the first public school testing for sickle cell anemia at William Penn Elementary School, 1616 South Avers Avenue. (Bottom) Ronald “Doc” Satchel and Dr. Eric Kast supervise testing at Penn Elementary. Today, Penn’s school mascot is a panther. Photos: Duane Hall, ST-17100001-0023 and ST-17100001-0033 , Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum.

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Fred Hampton formed the Rainbow Coalition with the Young Lords and Young Patriots. It soon grew to include the Students for a Democratic Society, Rising Up Angry, and others. Fred Hampton of the Black Panther Party, Michael Klonsky of the Revolutionary Youth Movement II, Cha Cha Jimenez of the Young Lords, and others at a press conference to announce plans for a peaceful march to oppose the Vietnam War and honor Albizu Campos. October 1969. Photo: ST-17112848-0004, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum.

United States Department of the Interior
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Appendices Page 143 Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party



(l-r) Jack “Junebug” Boykin, Young Patriots Organization (YPO), Black Panther Party’s Sam Latson, Bill ‘Preacherman’ Fesperman (YPO), ILBPP’s Bobby Lee, Billy “Che” Brooks, and Fred Hampton hold a rally near the band shell of Grant Park, Chicago, Illinois. The exact date is not recorded. Photo: Paul Sequeira/Getty Images

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

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News clipping from *The Pittsburgh Courier*, November 22, 1969.

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United States Department of the Interior
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Appendices Page 145 Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

revolutionary struggle and until Sister Beverlina

Panthers And Young Lords Serve The People

New York (LNS)--The federal government, the government of the state of New York, and Governor Rockefeller simply do not have the resources to meet the needs of the people, what with all the more important things that have to be done like sending three clowns to the moon and dumping bombs and napalm on the peasants of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Guatemala, and other countries around the world. So when this year's budget rolled round they were forced to make major cuts in the welfare clothing allowance. A grievous situation for all concerned, they assured us, but sadly unavoidable.

What made it so sad for the pigs was that quite a few of the welfare mothers weren't taking this sitting down. Instead they were taking it to the streets, pushing a school boycott that shut down several New York schools almost completely during the first weeks of the school year.

And what made it even sadder for the pigs was that there are some people around who understand that serving the people is their primary task and who make that their life's work--the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords Organization. So when it became clear that this racist government had no more intention of clothing children than it had of giving them



them that now the people were going to get something back. They collected over three tons of new and used clothes and let the community know that it would all be distributed for free.

More than 500 people were lined up outside Intermediate School 201 when the Panthers and Lords told them to come in and help themselves to the truckloads of clothing that covered long rows of tables. All the items were marked, telling what they were and what size. Panthers and Lords stood behind each table, ready to give help to any who needed it. And people who had spent months fighting to win some kind of help from this government began to understand in a new and real way how this pig government works not for the people but for their oppressors. Because there were the clothes they needed, and there were the Panthers and Lords who had gotten them for them, and there were pamphlets and papers explaining why the Panthers and Lords serve the people.

And the state was nowhere to be seen, except for a few pigs who kept a nervous eye on what was going down, afraid to vamp on the Panthers and Lords when the people could see what that was all about.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

HAPPY PEOPLE RECEIVED OVER THREE TONS OF CLOTHES--FREE

a decent breakfast, the Panthers and Lords announced that they would do it.

They moved on the businessmen who have been robbing from the community for years and put it to

K-4 Honolulu Star-Bulletin Thurs., Nov. 27, 1969

Coalition: Panthers, Poor Whites, Puerto Ricans

(C. N. Y. Times Service)

NEW YORK — The Black Panther Party has joined with two former Chicago street gangs of Southern Appalachian and Puerto Rican youths to form the Rainbow Coalition, an amalgam that combines the ambience of "West Side Story" with the theory and discipline of the National Liberation Front.

The union of the three groups — the two others are the Puerto Rican Young Lords Organization and the Appalachian Young Patriots — was formalized last spring in Chicago and the coalition is now recruiting in New York City.

at a march at Fort Dix held to protest alleged brutality in the stockade.

The number of members in the component groups is something their leaders refuse to discuss for what they say are security reasons. But a consensus of various police and radical sources indicates that the Panthers, who recently completed a purge of suspected police agents and "cultural nationalists" from their ranks, have about 200 fully committed members in the city. Their sympathizers probably number in the thousands.

The Lords are believed to have fewer than 100 members, while the Patriots, who began organizing here with

movement, the three groups share an unusual position on the left. Like the progressive Labor Party, they are pro-Chinese Communists, but unlike the P.L.P. they do not revile the North Vietnamese for having gone to the negotiating table.

Like some elements in the Students for a Democratic Society, they profess to believe that armed revolutionary struggle will ultimately be necessary to bring about a socialist order. But they regard the recent confrontation of Chicago police by the Weatherman Faction of S.D.S. as "provocational and counterproductive" — the latter a reference to Gen. George Custer's instant and fatal in-

Coalition and other radical groups is the coalition's rejection of college campuses and, to some extent, even factories as potentially fertile recruiting ground for revolutionaries.

It is in the streets of the slums and the shacks of Appalachian squatter that the Panthers, the Lords and the Patriots say they are looking for their cadres.

"Our analysis is that you have to start with the most oppressed elements in society — the hungry, the badly housed and badly dressed," explained Arthur Turci, a 25-year-old Patriot defense captain, who has come here from Chicago to organize chapters

that will act as a "revolutionary spearhead."

Since the Panthers are the best organized of the groups and since the left generally feels that blacks are the largest oppressed element in American society, Turci sees the black group as the leaders of the coalition.

AS FOR STUDENTS, Turci, who is himself a New York-born, law-school graduate, feels that they, too, are oppressed but not as severely as the poor, and while he welcomes them as allies he insists that they recognize the leadership of "the most downtrodden."

He agrees with Yoruha, the 18-year-old minister of

group, that the present stage of the "revolutionary struggle" is one of "education and information to raise revolutionary consciousness."

At the Lords storefront office, on Madison Avenue and 111th Street, where young men and women in purple berets congregate throughout the day and night, Yoruha explained the organization's work.

"All the Lords are on duty 24 hours a day, wherever they are. In the street, in homes, in stores. They talk to the people to show them how it is the capitalist system that keeps them poor."

"See, the man has psyched the people into thinking they

lished in San Francisco and distributed in several cities throughout the nation, plans to let the Lords and the Patriots run their own articles on the back pages.

AT THE PANTHER OFFICE in Harlem, Yearwood said the major significance of the coalition was that it showed that capitalism and not racism was the major problem.

"We believe that racism comes out of class struggle, and it's just part of the divide-and-conquer tactics of the establishment and a product of capitalism. When we provide free breakfasts for poor kids, we provide them for poor whites and poor blacks,"

Yearwood said.

Suppose the leaders of the three groups were asked, all Negroes, Puerto Ricans and poor whites as well as most students were ultimately enlisted in the effort to establish a "revolutionary base," wouldn't that still leave more people against them than with them in a polarized society?

Yoruha answered by citing Mao Tse-tung. "All that my enemy affirms, I reject, and all he rejects, I affirm."

"How do I know there are only 20 million blacks people in the country?" Yoruha asked. "I've never seen a census taker. There may be 80 million, or more."

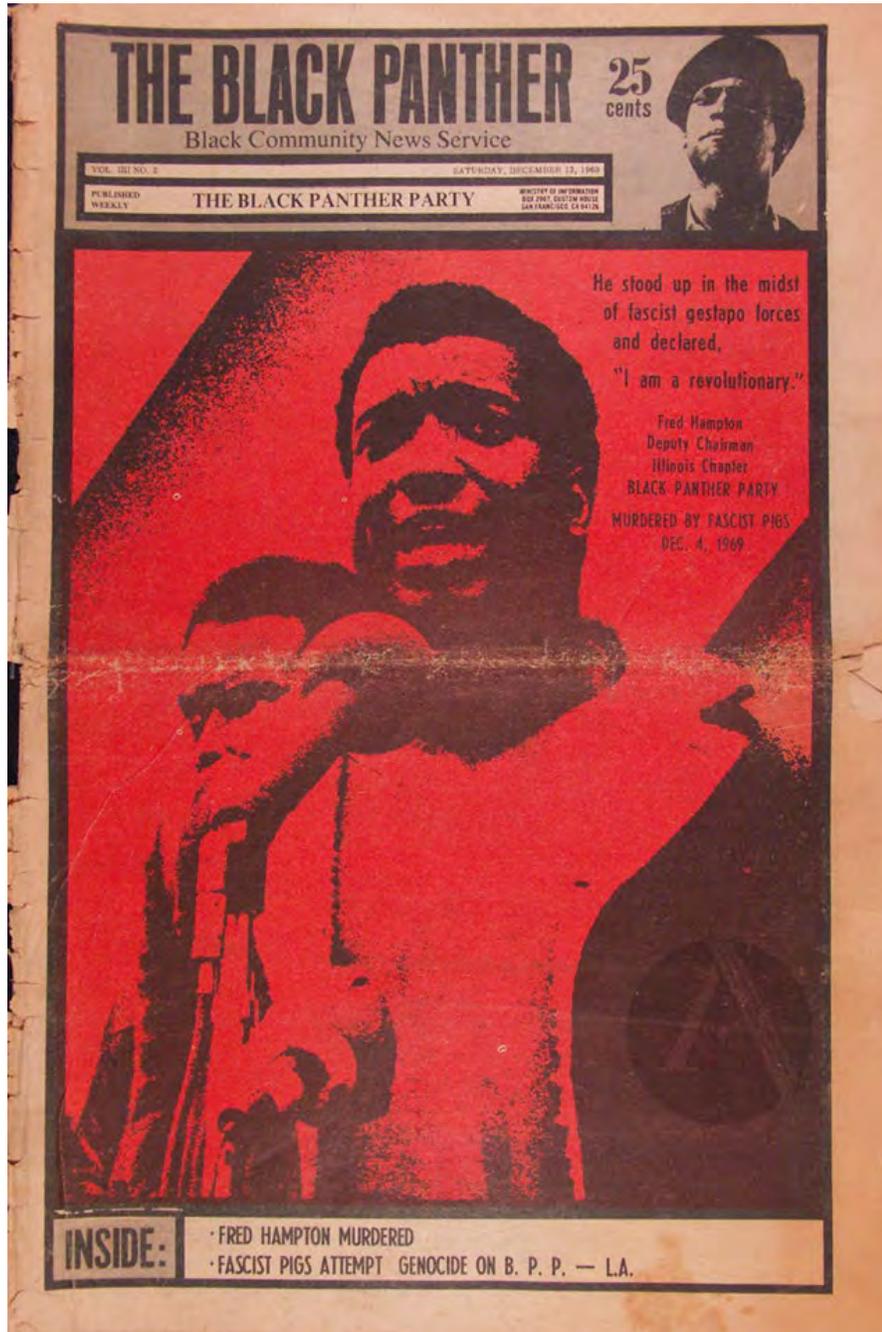
(Top) News clipping from *The Black Panther Newspaper*, October 11, 1969

(Bottom) New clipping from the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 27, 1969

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Front page of *The Black Panther Newspaper*. December 13, 1969. Source: marxists.org

DRAFT

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News clipping from the Vancouver Sun. January 22, 1970. The Chicago Journalism Review dedicated its entire newspaper to the murder of Fred Hampton and the contradictions reported in the press. The article quoted Alderman Sam Raynor as saying the killing was "an assassination."

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Lawyers from The People's Law Office and attorney James Montgomery represented the family of Fred Hampton and survivors of the raid. (Top) Francis "Skip" Andrews. Photo: Screenshot from *The Murder of Fred Hampton* documentary. (Bottom, l-r) Attorney Jeffrey Haas, Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, Attorney Flint Taylor. Photo: Jim Frost, ST-19030988-0023, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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(Top) Attorney James Montgomery represented Deborah Johnson, the family of Fred Hampton, and survivors of the raid. Photo: Jim Frost, ST-19030988-0043, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum (Bottom) Deborah Johnson describes the police raid that killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Johnson and Hampton's son was born three weeks after his death. Photo: Screenshot from *The Murder of Fred Hampton* documentary.

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On December 6, 1969, Ralph Abernathy (not shown) tours the apartment building and speaks to bystanders at 2337 West Monroe Street in Chicago, where police killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark during a planned raid. Later investigations revealed that the FBI and Chicago police colluded to assassinate Fred Hampton to quell the Black Panther Party movement. Photo: John H. White, ST-19030972-0010, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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ILBPP bringing in evidence, including mattresses, door panel, and window, for coroner's inquest regarding the murders of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by police. January 19, 1970.

Photo: ST-17101282E-0042, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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(center) January 7, 1970, ILBPP's Bobby Rush and Dennis Cunningham, attorney from The People's Law Office's during inquest regarding the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by police, Chicago, Illinois. Photo: ST-17101282D-0028, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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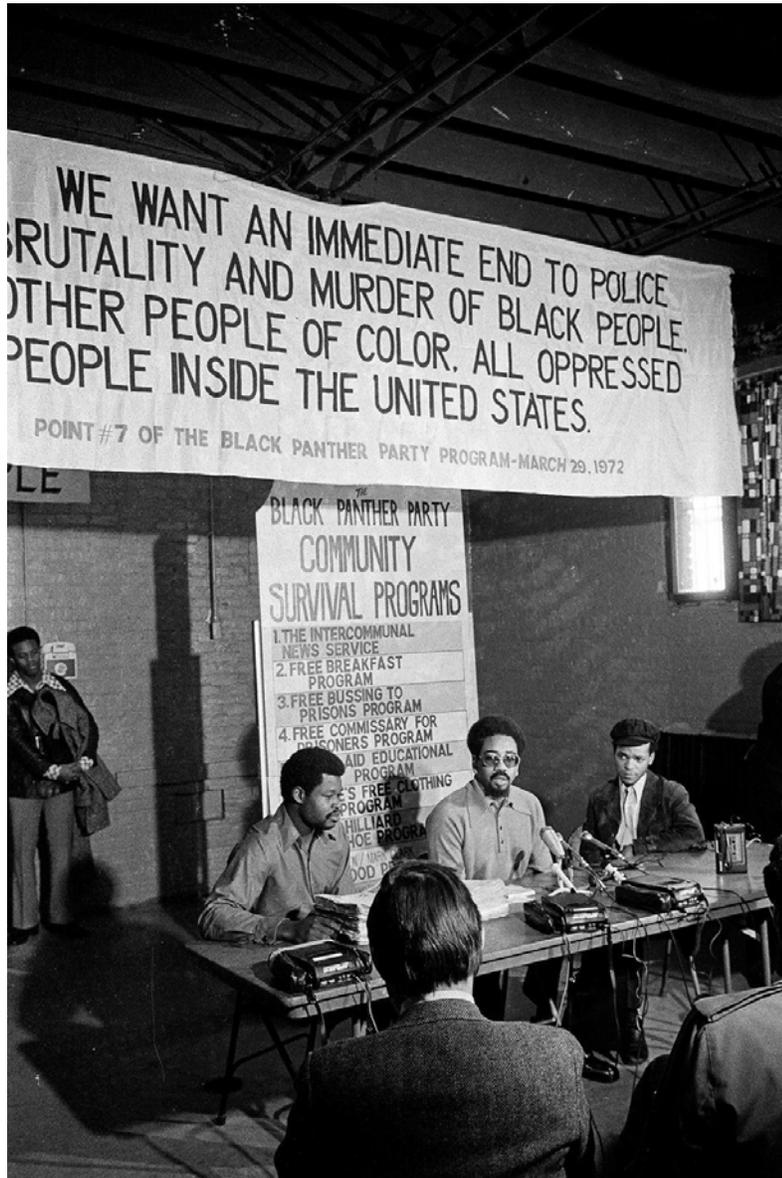


The ILBPP held a “People’s Inquest” where survivors of the raid that killed Hampton and Clark spoke publicly for the first time. President of Malcolm X College, Doctor Charles Hurst, leads the People’s Inquest at First Congregational Church, 40 North Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Hurst acted as coroner for a twelve-person jury that decided the shooting deaths by police of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark should be considered murder. (Top) Jewel Cook. Photo: Photo by Paul Sequeira/Getty Images. (Bottom) Survivor Brenda Harris. Photo: March 8, 1970. Howard D. Simmons, ST-19210153-0001, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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October 26, 1972, Black Panther leader Bobby Rush holds a press conference condemning the trial of State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan. He is accompanied by Harold Bell (left) and Ronald Satchel (right), survivors of the 1969 planned police raid on a Black Panthers apartment building that killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Stan McKinney is in the rear. Photo: ST-19030980-0023, Chicago Sun-Times collection, Chicago History Museum

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THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1972, PAGE 2



The link between the outside and the inside will be stronger because of the new PEOPLE'S BUS. You won't need no ticket, you just get on board.

YOU DON'T NEED NO TICKET

BLACK PANTHER PARTY'S ILLINOIS CHAPTER OWNS FIRST PEOPLE'S BUS!

The prison system of the United States is beyond a doubt the most wretched and inhumane of any that can be found in the world, and reflects the entire corrupt social system of America. The administrators of the prisons and jails of this country no longer seem to be making an attempt to convince the people that their function is to "rehabilitate inmates", but are showing us, more and more, that the true function of the prison is to contain, brutalize, and even murder the masses of Black and poor people who are trying to survive the "American experience".

Once Brothers and Sisters in the Black and oppressed community are thrown into prison, the fascist prison authorities and racist goon-squad guards immediately begin their program of intimidation and terror against us, in an effort to rob us of our dignity, our humanity. They have been doing this because there has really been no one to monitor their actions at the prisons, which are almost always located hundreds of miles away from the Black and poor communities from which the inmates usually come. The pigs know that this distance severely limits the ability of the prisoners' friends and relatives to visit them regularly.

Understanding this, the Black Panther Party initiated a Free Bussing to Prisons Program in the summer of 1970. All over the country, the various Chapters and Branches of the Black Panther Party began such a program. The Chapter or Branch would rent busses to take the members of our community to prisons, free of charge, so that they could visit with their loved ones. In Illinois, the program began in September, 1970, and began making regular visits possible for Black people and other poor people to three Illinois prisons: Vandalia, Vienna, and Menard. The trips were always sporadic because of the cost (a rented coach trip to these prisons, for example, costs \$350.00 round trip). Rented school buses would very often, then, be used for the Free Bussing Program, but they were never in the best of condition, even though outrageous prices were charged to rent them. In Illinois, then, as in most areas, the busses would run on a somewhat touch-and-go basis.

On May 17, 1972, however, the situation changed. The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party acquired a bus that was worthy of the People, a 1957 Model 1404, Greyhound Coach Bus. The Bus was a donation, given by those who understood the necessity of the People's Free Bussing to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

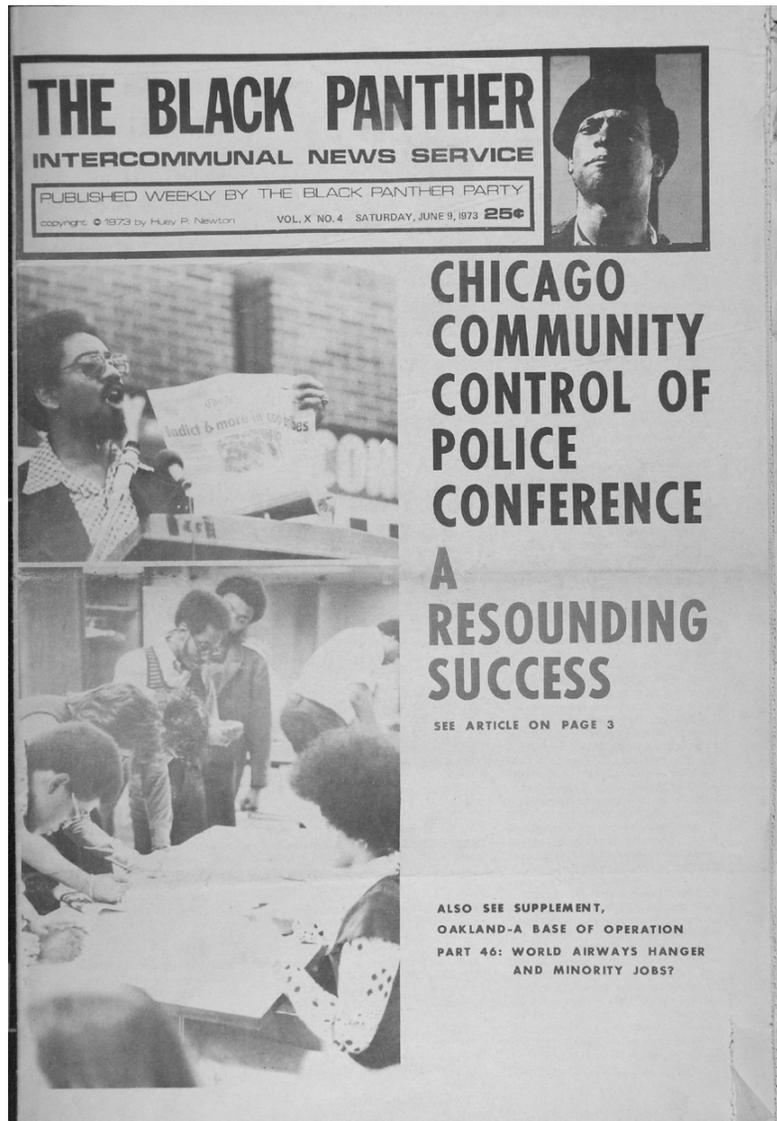
After meeting Bobby Rush in 1970, Irving Thalberg, Jr. purchased a 15-year-old Greyhound and donated it to the Illinois Chapter. The bus could seat 39 passengers, had air conditioning, and a bathroom. The bus ran a regular, dependable schedule every Sunday, visiting two prisons weekly. The bus left from the west side headquarters and the south side office. News clipping from *The Black Panther Newspaper*. Source:

marxists.org

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In 1973, the Illinois Chapter drafted an ordinance that called for Citizen’s District Police Boards and sued the Board of Election Commissioners to force them to deputize members of the “City-Wide Campaign for Community Control of the Police.” According to the ILBPP, over 600,000 eligible people, mostly Black and poor residents, were not registered to vote. The ordinance called for transferring the power of supervising and administrating the Chicago Police Department from the Chicago City Council to the citizens of Chicago. News clipping from *The Black Panther Newspaper*. Source: marxists.org

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The Illinois Chapter also operated a Free Daycare Program in a single-family home on Chicago's south side. Lynn French started the daycare at 8841 S. Merrill in a home Bobby Rush purchased for the Party. Ronald "Doc" Satchel and Ernestine Crossley also lived in the home.

United States Department of the Interior
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Appendix I: Section F Property Types – Lost Resources

Loss of Resources: (left) ILBPP Headquarters, 2350 W. Madison, (top right - bottom) Fred Hampton and Mark Clark assassination site, 2337 W. Monroe, Southside Office, 4233 S. Indiana, Spurgeon Jake Winters People's Free Medical Center, 3850 W. 16th Street.



**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

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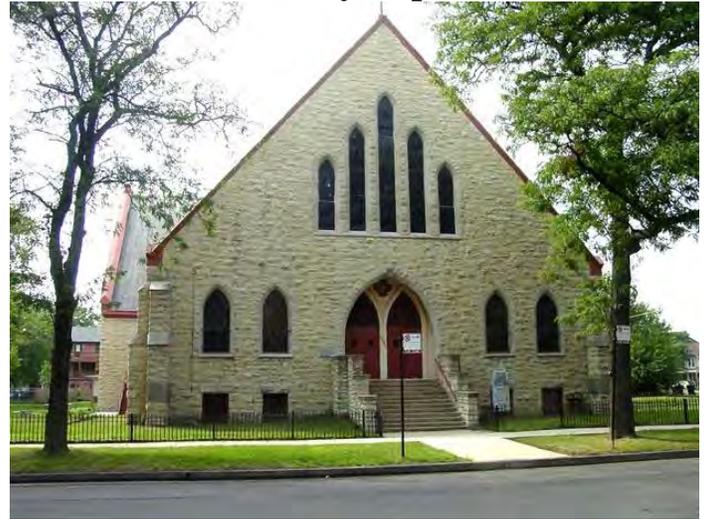
Appendices Page 160 Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Section F Property Types – Religious Facilities

**Church of the Epiphany, The People’s
Church**



True Vine Missionary Baptist



United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

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Section F Property Types – Residential

Childhood home of Fred Hampton



Leadership Organizing, Billy Brooks residence



DRAFT

Letters of Support

Loyola University Letter of Support



History Department
Lake Shore Campus
1032 W. Sheridan Road
Crown Center 546
Chicago, IL 60660
Phone (773) 508-2231 | Fax (773) 508-2153

August 28, 2023

Illinois Department of Natural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
One Natural Resources Way
Springfield, IL 62702

Attn: Amy Hathaway, Survey & National Register Specialist
Re: Letter of Support for Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Dear Ms. Hathaway,

I support the proposed Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP. As you will recall this was a project started by two graduate students in the Loyola University Public History Program in 2021. They worked closely w/Ms. Wills, who has long had a deep commitment to the history of the Black Panthers.

Preserving the history of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party includes cultural heritage resources significant to our state and national history. The ILBPP's history in Chicagoland and the state is essential to the Great Migration story and the 1960s and 1970s struggle for human rights. This listing will enhance preservation efforts, educational opportunities, planning, and tourism to underserved communities.

Its Survival Programs led to national legislation. The Free Breakfast for Children Program led to amendments to the Child Nutrition Act that authorized free breakfast at schools and the expansion of the Women Infants and Children program. Free healthcare and Sickle Cell Anemia testing led to President Richard Nixon signing the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act of 1972, which provided funds for education, research, and treatment for those with the disease. The Black Panther Party ran over 60 programs, and this listing will ensure its history in Illinois is accurately documented.

The Loyola Public History Program fully supports the proposed Thematic Listing and looks forward to continuing our partnership in this initiative.

Sincerely,

Theodore J. Karamanski
Professor of History
Director, Public History Program
Loyola University Chicago

DRAFT

Landmarks Illinois Letter of Support



**LANDMARKS
ILLINOIS**

People Saving Places for People

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August 30, 2023

Illinois Department of Natural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
One Natural Resources Way
Springfield, IL 62702

Attn: Amy Hathaway, Survey & National Register Specialist

Re: Letter of Support for Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Dear Ms. Hathaway,

On behalf of Landmarks Illinois, I would like to express our support for the Multiple Property Document for the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party (ILBPP) by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP. Landmarks Illinois has supported the efforts of the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP since 2020.

The ILBPP was an important social and political force whose influence bettered the lives of people across Chicagoland and nationwide. The organization led over sixty survival programs addressing immediate community needs, some of which led to national legislation. The Free Breakfast for Children Program led to amendments to the Child Nutrition Act that authorized free breakfast at schools and the expansion of the Women Infants and Children program. Free healthcare and Sickle Cell Anemia testing led to President Richard Nixon signing the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act of 1972, which provided funds for education, research, and treatment for those with the disease.

The successful listing of the Multiple Property Document will provide a path to rightfully recognize the significance of cultural heritage resources associated with the Illinois Black Panther Party's critical work in Illinois. Landmarks Illinois fully supports this nomination and looks forward to continuing our partnership in this initiative.

Sincerely,

Kendra Parzen
Advocacy Manager

DRAFT

Preservation Chicago Letter of Support

PRESERVATION CHICAGO

CITIZENS ADVOCATING FOR THE PRESERVATION OF CHICAGO'S HISTORIC ARCHITECTURE

August 29, 2023

Ms. Amy Hathaway
Survey & National Register Specialist
Illinois Department of Natural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
One Natural Resources Way
Springfield, IL 62702

Re: Letter of Support for Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Dear Ms. Hathaway,

Preservation Chicago is honored to support the proposed Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP.

The Hollywood release of *Judas and the Black Messiah* did a great job of removing the veil of uncertainty involving the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party and its leader Fred Hampton. We led efforts to Landmark Mr. Hampton's childhood home in Maywood in 2022.

The members of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party did great work at incredible personal sacrifice to improve the lives of underprivileged and underserved Illinoisans. Their collective works should be honored in this way to tell an underrepresented story of American history.

Preserving the history of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party includes cultural heritage resources significant to our state and national history. The ILBPP's history in Chicagoland and the state is essential to the Great Migration story and the 1960s and 1970s struggle for human rights. This listing will enhance preservation efforts, educational opportunities, planning, and tourism to underserved communities.

Its Survival Programs led to national legislation. The Free Breakfast for Children Program led to amendments to the Child Nutrition Act that authorized free breakfast at schools and the expansion of the Women Infants and Children program. Free healthcare and Sickle Cell Anemia testing led to President Richard Nixon signing the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act of 1972, which provided funds for education, research, and treatment for those with the disease.

DRAFT

Ms. Amy Hathaway

August 29, 2023

Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Page 2 of 2

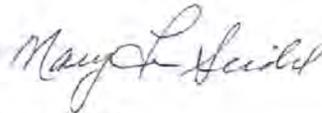
The Black Panther Party ran over 60 programs, and this listing will ensure its history in Illinois is accurately documented.

We enthusiastically support this Thematic Listing nomination. Please let us know if you have any questions or need additional information.

Sincerely,



Ward Miller
The Richard H. Driehaus Executive Director
of Preservation Chicago



Mary Lu Seidel
Director of Community Engagement

DRAFT

Design Trust Chicago Letter of Support

Design Trust Chicago

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL JUSTICE BY DESIGN

August, 31st, 2023

Illinois Department of Natural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
One Natural Resources Way
Springfield, IL 62702

Attn: Amy Hathaway, Survey & National Register Specialist
Re: Letter of Support for Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Dear Ms. Hathaway,

I support the proposed Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP. I have collaborated with the Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party to share and document the party's community spaces that have shaped Chicago neighborhoods all past, present, and future. Design Trust Chicago leveraged its tool created in the community called MAPPED (Making a People's Pathway for Engaging Design) which is a digital library dedicated to documenting Chicago's community projects—built, envisioned, or planned.

Our partnership contributed to identifying, mapping, and digitally memorializing the Black Panther Party sites in MAPPED and preserving the legacy of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. The ILL BPP's history in Chicagoland and the state is essential to the Great Migration story and the 1960s and 1970s struggle for human rights. This listing will enhance preservation efforts, educational opportunities, planning, and tourism to underserved communities.

Its Survival Programs led to national legislation. The Free Breakfast for Children Program led to amendments to the Child Nutrition Act that authorized free breakfast at schools and the expansion of the Women Infants and Children program. Free healthcare and Sickle Cell Anemia testing led to President Richard Nixon signing the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act of 1972, which provided funds for education, research, and treatment for those with the disease. The Black Panther Party ran over 60 programs, and this listing will ensure its history in Illinois is accurately documented.

I fully support the proposed Thematic Listing and look forward to continuing to bring awareness to this initiative.

Sincerely,



Emma Jasinski
Community Designer
Design Trust Chicago

Design Trust Chicago
www.designtrustchicago.org | hello@designtrustchicago.org

DRAFT

Historian Jon Rice Letter of Support

September 3, 2023

Illinois Department of Natural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
One Natural Resources Way
Springfield, IL 62702

Attn: Amy Hathaway, Survey & National Register Specialist

Re: Letter of Support for Thematic Listing of the Illinois Black Panther Party

Dear Ms. Hathaway,

I support the proposed Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP.

Preserving the history of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party includes cultural heritage resources that are significant to our state and our national history. This history in the Chicago Metropolitan Area is an essential part of the Second Great Migration of African Americans to the North and their struggle for human rights here. This listing will enhance preservation efforts, give educational opportunities about democracy, and bring tourism to our communities.

As you may know, the ILBPP survival programs led to amendments to the Child Nutrition Act that authorized free breakfast at schools and the expansion of the Women, Infants and Children program. Free healthcare and sickle Cell Anemia testing pioneered by the ILBPP led to President Richard Nixon signing the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act of 1972, which provided funding for education, research and treatment of people afflicted with Sickle Cell anemia. The Black Panther Party's programs and this listing of their sources will see that this Illinois History is documented.

I support the proposed Thematic Listing and look forward to lending my support to your organization.

Sincerely,

Jon F. Rice, PhD.
Chicago Minority History, Northern Illinois University Alumni

DRAFT

Oak Park Library Letter of Support



Main Library
834 Lake St.
Oak Park, IL 60301
p 708.383.8200
f 708.697.6917

Dole Branch Library
255 Augusta St.
Oak Park, IL 60302
p 708.386.9032
f 708.386.0023

Maze Branch Library
834 Gunderson Ave.
Oak Park, IL 60304
p 708.386.4751
f 708.445.2385

September 1, 2023

Illinois Department of Natural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
One Natural Resources Way
Springfield, IL 62702

Attn: Amy Hathaway, Survey & National Register Specialist

Re: Letter of Support for Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Dear Ms. Hathaway,

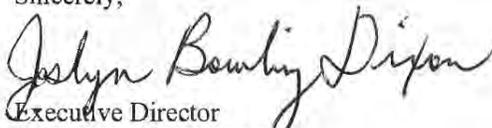
I support the proposed Thematic Listing of the Black Panther Party by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP.

In the past, Oak Park Public Library has partnered with the Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party to create programs highlighting this organization and its important work. A goal of Oak Park Public Library and its Special Collections is to support the making of historic collections accessible, which this initiative by the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party is striving to do. With Oak Park Public Library's Strategic Plan focused on anti-racism, its goal is to build diverse and inclusive collections and elevate the voices of historically marginalized people. Through the Thematic Listing of the Black Panther Party by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP, they will provide the broader story of the Black Panther Party in Illinois and its significant historical context in local and national history.

The Black Panther Party is responsible for multiple significant achievements, including the Free Breakfast for Children Program and the expansion of the Women Infants and Children Program. Their efforts with Sickle Cell Anemia testing contributed to the signing of the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act. With the Thematic Listing of the Black Panther Party, it will ensure that this important historical legacy of this organization is documented, celebrated, and made accessible to communities.

My organization fully supports the proposed Thematic Listing and looks forward to partnering with them in the future.

Sincerely,


Executive Director
Oak Park Public Library

DRAFT

Edgar Miller Legacy Letter of Support



September 5, 2023

Illinois Department of Natural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office
One Natural Resources Way
Springfield, IL 62702
Attn: Amy Hathaway, Survey & National Register Specialist

Re: Letter of Support for Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

Dear Ms. Hathaway,

On behalf of Edgar Miller Legacy, I support the proposed Thematic Listing of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party by the Historical Preservation Society of the ILBPP.

The history of the ILBPP has important significance to our organization. In 1928, the late artist-craftsman Edgar Miller (1899-1993) helped construct an avant-garde artist colony in what would become known as Chicago's Old Town neighborhood. Located at 1734 North Wells Street, the building is today called the Kogen-Miller Studios. Designed in an eclectic arts and crafts style, and embedded with artworks by Edgar Miller and his artistic collaborators, over the decades, this building acted as a critical nexus point while Old Town grew into one of Chicago's prominent countercultural enclaves by the 1950s and '60s.

In 1969, a social activist named Lucy Hassell Montgomery (1911-2001) purchased the building. The coach house unit of the building, a.k.a. The Glasner Studio, is considered Miller's masterwork in art, design, and architecture. (A virtual tour can be viewed here: www.edgarmiller.org/glasner-studio-virtual-tour)

Montgomery, originally from North Carolina, was educated as a social worker and later married a wealthy lawyer in Chicago. By the 1960s she was a passionate activist, donor, and organizer, especially for Black rights. Montgomery frequently hosted Panther leaders at her home, including Fred Hampton, Bobby Rush, and Huey Newton, among many others. Hampton and other Panthers were interviewed and recorded at The Glasner Studio in October 1969, by a documentary crew called Videofree. Copies of the recording can be found at the SAIC Video Data Bank (www.vdb.org/titles/fred-hampton-black-panthers-chicago).

To better enhance preservation efforts, educational opportunities, planning, and tourism to underserved communities, the State of Illinois should recognize and honor the impactful cultural legacy of the Black Panther Party in Illinois. We strongly support the Thematic Listing to help preserve this significant aspect of Black history in Illinois.

Sincerely,

Zac Bleicher
Executive Director
Edgar Miller Legacy