

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ILLINOIS
CHAPTER



Historical Preservation Society of the
Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party

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Dedicated to Chairman Fred Hampton, the Illinois Chapter, and the
people.

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Chapter 1

Let's Address This Gun Thing

Fight or Flight? Options Against Racial Violence

Black people began looking for ways to protect themselves from racist police, courts, the Klan, and other sources of violence. They found little help in legislation without accompanying enforcement by police and courts.

Investigative journalist Ida. B. Wells began promoting armed self-defense in her Memphis newspaper, *Free Speech and Headlight*. Before her friend Tom Moss was shot to death by a mob of 75 white men, the lynch men asked him if he had any last words, "Tell my people to go west. There is no justice here."

Wells wrote this about her friend Tom and self-defense in her autobiography¹:

"I had bought a pistol, the first thing after Tom Moss was lynched because I expected some cowardly retaliation from the lynchers. I felt that one had better die fighting against injustice than to die like a dog or rat in a trap. I had already determined to sell my life as dearly as possible if attacked. I felt if I could take one lyncher with me, this would even up the score a little bit."

She also wrote, "A Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give."

Some, like Isaiah Montgomery, were early proponents of the

¹ Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, 1892

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complete separation of blacks and whites. Montgomery was born into slavery in 1847 and in 1887 he and a cousin purchased land in the undeveloped wilderness of north Mississippi. Purchasing land was made possible by the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and Montgomery founded a town for freedmen to live without white supervision and oppression. Mound Bayou still exists today.

“Mound Bayou was an oasis in turbulent times. While the rest of Mississippi was violently segregated, inside the city there were no racial codes ... At a time when blacks faced repercussions as severe as death for registering to vote, Mound Bayou residents were casting ballots in every election.” StoryCorps, *Mound Bayou, Mississippi—The Jewel of the Delta*

In 1905, O.W. Gurley and J.B. Stratford purchased large swaths of land in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and would only sell to other blacks. Freedmen moved in and it was soon an established, bustling business district called Greenwood, later known as Black Wall Street.

Still, by 1910, there were millions of black people stuck in the south.

Medical Experiments and Forced Sterilizations

Eugenics had taken hold of the current-day literature and illiterate black people were coerced into signing documents allowing state-sanctioned eugenic sterilizations and unimaginable medical experiments. Doctors would deem them feebleminded and slate them as not being worthy to reproduce. Once used for breeding as many slaves as possible, the population had to be controlled. The medical profession was used as a check for controlling the black population.

While many black women grieved in obscurity, activist Fannie Lou Hamer told the world about how she went in for a minor procedure and the doctor removed her uterus without her consent. Hamer popularized the term “Mississippi Appendectomy,” to those outside Mississippi, a term that was synonymous with forced sterilizations. Eugenics is said to have continued until the 1970s and Hamer’s sterilization happened as late as 1961.

When the Nazis took control of Germany, one of Hitler’s first acts was a sterilization law. When discussing the program, they noted the success of eugenic programs in the United States.²

Following after white southerners, the NAACP hosted Better Baby Contests where children were judged by appearance, measurements, and absence of deformities.

What is curiously not listed as a criterion is skin complexion. Colorism openly took hold in black critique around the establishment of the Talented Tenth and the “paper bag test.” If one’s skin color was lighter than a paper bag, they were considered good-looking and privileged. Darker skin toned people were passed over for fraternities, sororities, and other membership

Referencing the NAACP is relevant in the sense of stark contrasts of organizations being indiscriminately grouped under “civil rights

2 Popenoe P. The German sterilization law. *J Hered.* 1934;25:257–260

Let's Address This Gun Thing groups." The NAACP focused on black intellectuals, and the elite while doing away with the undesirables.

The Black Panther Party focused on the poor, oppressed, and working class.

The Great Migration

Four years before World War I started in 1914, a mass exodus north and west began. The Great Migration would last sixty years, usually classified in two waves. Chicago, Detroit, and New York were some of the northern cities where migrants moved in the first wave from 1910 to 1940. The second wave was from 1940 to 1970 and would see them venture west to Oakland, San Francisco, Portland, and Los Angeles. Migrants congregated together in major cities where Jim Crow laws were less harsh than when living spread apart in the south.

In 1917, as white workers turned soldiers left for WWI, they left jobs in shipyards, stockyards, railroads, and other available places. The migrants gladly accepted these opportunities even at lower wages. Women worked as seamstresses, domestics, and some who could read as secretaries.

In 1919, it was estimated that 500,000 black workers had migrated from the south.³

The New Negro Movement and Self-Defense

Thousands of black men signed up for the war and within one week of President Wilson's declaration of war, the War Department refused additional black recruits.⁴ The United States needed more soldiers and after the May 1917 enactment of the Selective Service Act, over 700,000 blacks joined the military.⁵ 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.

Black newspapers like *The Crisis* featured black soldiers on the cover and organization leaders like Hubert Harrison openly promoted armed self-defense against mob attacks and racial violence.

An excerpt from the *New York Times* in 1917, "Harrison won great applause when he declared the time had come for the negroes to do what white men who were threatened did, look out for themselves, and kill rather than submit to be killed. 'We intend to fight, if fight we must,' he said. '...I would encourage the negroes in the South, or in East St. Louis, or anywhere else who do not enjoy the protection of the law, to

3 "Radical Propaganda Among Negroes Growing and Increase of Mob Violence Set Out in Senate Brief for Federal Inquiry," *New York Times*, Oct. 5, 1919, 112

4 Jami L. Bryan, "Fighting for Respect: African-American Soldiers in WWI," National Museum of the United States Army

5 "African American Participation in World War I," Delaware Historical and Cultural Affairs

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arm for their own defense, to hide those arms, and to learn how to use them⁶...”

Hubert is also quoted as saying, “‘An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,’ and sometimes two eyes or a half dozen teeth for one is the aim of the New Negro.” Advocating self-defense against racial violence was a departure from the meek, submissive, and minstrel roles blacks had been relegated to in the movies and Disney cartoons in American homes. A. Philip Randolph and others begin to rally for workers’ rights.

He also advocated for self-defense in his own definition of The New Negro:

“The social methods are: education and physical action in self-defense. That education must constitute the basis of all action, is beyond the realm of question. And to fight back in self-defense, should be accepted as a matter of course. No one who will not fight to protect his life is fit to live. Self-defense is recognized as a legitimate weapon in all civilized countries. Yet the Old Crowd Negroes have counseled the doctrine of non-resistance.”⁷”

Race Riots and The Red Scare

Black soldiers with a new view of the world returning from war, thousands to northern cities, and white soldiers returning home to a changed demographic and little or no work clashed. Nationwide racial violence gripped the country and the summer of 1919 became known as “Red Summer.” Race riots lasted days and weeks at a time as white mobs attacked blacks. In times past, a lynching or arson incident would last a night. In 1919, black people fought back to full-on riots, including in Chicago.

In October 1919, a Senate Brief by Dr. George Haynes outlined the summer of violence with the title, *Radical Propaganda Among Negroes Growing*, and subtitle, *Reds Inflaming Blacks*.

The Chicago riot described in the brief stated, “At least 36 persons were killed outright, by official report, in race rioting which lasted from Sunday, July 27, to Friday, Aug. 1. According to unofficial reports, the number killed was much larger. House were wrecked and burned, mobs roamed the streets, and it was necessary to put seven regiments of State militia under arms.”

The brief also described conflict between black and white workers, “New industrial contacts between white and negro workers aggravate the problem. Three weeks before the riot last week in Omaha investigators from Washington reported that a clash was imminent owing to the ill-feeling between white and black workers in the stockyards.”

Black militias such as the African Blood Brotherhood formed in inner cities to protect neighborhoods and one year after the first

⁶ Urges Negroes to Get Arms, *New York Times*, Jul. 5, 1917

⁷ Randolph, A. Philip, Owen, Chandler. “The New Negro—What Is He?” *The Messenger*, Aug. 1920, 2

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World War was over, internal violent conflict was at a fever pitch in the United States. The Communist party formed and officials were on high vigilance to prevent a coup of the United States government.

By August 1919, 24-year-old John Edgar Hoover was appointed head of the Bureau of Investigation's Radical Division. The word "radical" was synonymous with Red, Communist, and now, the tone of the New Negro. Hoover was shortly promoted to head of the Bureau itself and it is alleged that once he became director, he fired all the women workers and forbade their rehiring.

Hoover was allowed to carry out illegal operations in the hunt for communists, subversives, radicals, and anyone he deemed disloyal to the United States. Hoover, however, turned a blind eye to the mafia, even during Prohibition, and denied their existence. He would be the driving force to dismantle black organizations, including the Black Panther Party.

White mobs burned down the Greenwood District in Oklahoma in 1921, now called Black Wall Street, and the Ku Klux Klan continued to terrorize blacks in the south. The Great Migration would continue for the next 50 years.

The second wave of the Great Migration, which began in 1940, included parents of Black Panther Party members. Some of the leaders were born south and traveled during the migration. Huey P. Newton and his family migrated from Louisiana to Oakland and Bobby Seale and his family from Texas. Illinois Chapter leaders Bobby Rush and his family from Georgia, and Fred Hampton's family migrated from Louisiana. Hampton himself was born in Illinois in 1948.

Emmett Till and Montgomery, Alabama

The 1954 court decision of *Brown v Board of Education*, which desegregated schools, was mostly a southern issue. In the north, blacks were not allowed to live outside of redlined areas, so integrated schools did little to mobilize large numbers. Legislation without enforcement remained a major issue.

The widespread coverage of the abduction and lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till sparked more calls for self-defense. As was standard practice with southern migrants, young Till was a Chicago youth headed south to spend time with relatives. He was murdered in Mississippi for being too friendly with a white woman.

Chicago was only second to New York with the number of its new population of southern migrants, a great number of them from Mississippi. Till's mother held an open casket funeral and allowed the press to document his body. The Chicago Defender and other newspapers outraged its readers with the murder of Emmett Till and demanded they vote in the largest number possible. The NAACP asked Till's mother to travel throughout the country to speak on his death making it one of their most successful fundraising campaigns.

Emmett Till's murder also sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, organized and spearheaded by Edgar Daniel Nixon. After Rosa Parks was arrested for not giving up her seat on an Alabama bus, Nixon

approached a young Martin King to lead the movement.

Robert F. Williams, An Armed Chapter of the NAACP

As you will read in *The Beginning of the Black Panther Party*, the Black Guard was an important influence on the Black Panther Party. In Monroe, North Carolina, returning Marine veteran Robert F. Williams was voted head of the local NAACP chapter. The chapter was dwindling in membership when he took the reins in 1957. Action-minded people wanted to do more than rely on court decisions and legal approaches by the middle-class NAACP led to people joining other organizations.

Williams sought new members in pool halls, farmers, domestic workers, laborers, and the unemployed. His branch of the NAACP became known as the most militant in the country and attracted the ire of the local Ku Klux Klan. Williams requested a charter from the National Rifle Association and called his group the Black Armed Guard.

He wrote, "Since the city officials wouldn't stop the Klan, we decided to stop the Klan ourselves. We started this action out of the need for defense because law and order had completely vanished; because there was no such thing as a 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution in Monroe, N.C. The local officials refused to enforce law and order and when we turned to Federal and state officials to enforce law and order they either refused or ignored our appeals.

"So we started arming ourselves. I wrote to the National Rifle Association in Washington which encourages veterans to keep in shape to defend their native land and asked for a charter, which we got. In a year we had sixty members. We had bought some guns too, in stores, and later a church in the North raised money and got us better rifles. The Klan discovered we were arming and guarding our community.

"In the summer of 1957, they made one big attempt to stop us. An armed motorcade attacked Dr. Perry's house, which is situated on the outskirts of the colored community. We shot it out with the Klan and repelled their attack and the Klan didn't have any more stomach for this type of fight. They stopped raiding our community. After this clash the same city officials who said the Klan had a constitutional right to organize met in an emergency session and passed a city ordinance banning the Klan from Monroe without a special permit from the police chief.⁸" Williams was suspended from the NAACP.

Nonviolent Civil Rights Movement

The same year Robert F. Williams had a shootout with the Ku Klux Klan, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was organizing the Southern Christian Leadership Council. King was already under threat after a gunman fired a shotgun at his home in December 1956 toward the end of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. His co-organizers had also been victims of violence. C.K. Steele had a cross burned on his lawn on January 3, 1957, and Fred Shuttlesworth had his church home bombed on Christmas 1956.

⁸ Williams, Robert F. *Negroes With Guns*, p. 17

The press release stated: "This conference [SCLC] is called because we have no moral choice, before God, but to delve deeper into the struggle—and to do so with greater reliance on non-violence and with greater unity, coordination, sharing, and Christian understanding."⁹

King partnered with other ministers, church leaders, and organizations to lead a well-publicized nonviolent movement that gained momentum from both blacks and whites. Many watched and waited to see if this strategy would work.

The Nation of Islam and Malcolm X

While sit-ins and nonviolent protests of the Civil Rights Movement dominated the mainstream media, the American public was shocked and troubled when it became aware that an alternate, harsher, view existed. The Nation of Islam (NOI) and Malcolm X reached national awareness through a docuseries produced by Mike Wallace and Louis Lomax: *The Hate That Hate Produced* aired on PBS from July 13 through July 17 in 1959.

They described the NOI as a Black Supremacist group and the film showed members doing military drills, their children going to their own schools, and Malcolm X harshly describing whites in America. Wallace tried to get across to the audience that the group had thousands of followers.

Malcolm X became a public figure and was sought for interviews and debates. He openly criticized the tactics of Dr. King and ridiculed Civil Rights marches and sit-ins for allowing racist police and civilians to spit on, beat, and insult black people without retaliation. Malcolm X, still a member of the Nation of Islam, was restricted from political activity, but his message of self-defense resonated with many blacks who did not agree with King's nonviolent approach.

While many blacks rejected the Nation of Islam's religious doctrine, their influence took root in the community. Young boxing sensation Cassius Clay joined the group and changed his name to Muhammad Ali. He became great friends with Malcolm X. Black singers like Sam Cooke and James Brown grew afros. The Temptations released a song *Give the People What They Want* whose refrain was the same as the Nation of Islam's, Freedom, Justice, and Equality. James Brown released, *Say It Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud*.

After a split with the Nation of Islam in 1965, Malcolm X planned to get politically involved with the human rights movements taking place around the world. His assassination in February 1965 ended the hopes of young people who wanted to join his movement.

Huey Newton, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party, said, "I became disillusioned with the Nation of Islam after Malcolm's assassination. I realized I wasn't really following them, I was following Malcolm."

9 Montgomery Improvement Association, Press Release, January 7, 1957

Deacons of Defense and Justice

Malcolm X's assassination sparked new organizational formations. A home already on the National Register of Historic Places is the home of Bob Hicks. The Deacons of Defense were founded in 1964 in Jonesboro, Louisiana, and on the day of Malcolm X's assassination, February 21, 1965, Hicks founded the first chapter in Bogalusa.

The Deacons were an armed self-defense group that provided protection against the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils for the nonviolent efforts of the NAACP, the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and many others.

Bob Hicks led several legal battles, including a lawsuit against the Bogalusa police chief for not upholding the law against the Ku Klux Klan. The Deacons also threatened the Klan with counterviolence if they burned another cross in Bogalusa. J. Edgar Hoover put the group under surveillance and developed informants within the organization. Federal authorities issued injunctions for local authorities to enforce the law against the KKK.

There were over twenty chapters of the Deacons of Defense and Justice, including one in Chicago, Illinois.

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Beginning of the Black Panther Party

In Oakland, 1965, 23-year-old Huey P. Newton was fresh out of jail and in an identity crisis. He had just served six months for an assault charge and was beginning probation. After probation, he had to complete three years on parole. Newton searched for meaning in his relation to society and wanted to be more than just an offender. A few years earlier is when he first met 29-year-old Bobby Seale at a rally to support Fidel Castro during The Cuban Missile Crisis. Newton was pro-Fidel, and Bobby Seale was an advocate of the NAACP and backed the U.S. Government's policies against Cuba.

"I explained to him afterward that he was wrong to support the government and the civil rights organizations. Too much money had already been put into legal actions. There were enough laws on the books to permit Black people to deal with all their problems, but the laws were not enforced. Therefore, trying to get more laws was only a meaningless diversion from real issues...Bobby began to think about this and later came over to my point of view." Huey P. Newton.

He recruited Bobby Seale into the Afro-American Association and, upon his release from jail, Seale told him he had left the group. Newton said, "Like me, like thousands of us, Bobby was looking for something and not finding it." Together, they embarked on a deep analysis of black political organizations and what accounted for their lack of success. Malcolm X was now gone, killed in February, and his loss left a void in

¹ Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, *Huey P. Newton Reader*, 2002 p.44

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Newton. He felt Malcolm died before he could realize the full potential of his Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Seale and Newton could not reconcile how black organizations did not seem to focus on recruiting the very demographic of overcrowded inner cities; the poor, not educated, and often illiterate people society had the most contempt for. Deplorable housing conditions, police intimidation, and extreme poverty were impossible to ignore, and Newton and Seale wanted a bridge between student issues and community issues. Newton and Seale did not plan to start an organization, they wanted to make an existing organization more effective.

They planned to focus their efforts on the “lower-class brothers at [Oakland] City College,” by working through the Soul Students Advisory Council. Soul Students were working on a black history and culture program for the school and were not making much headway with school officials. Newton and Seale presented their plan of an armed self-defense program to Soul Students because they “were concerned that the organization starts dealing with reality rather than sit around intellectualizing and writing essays on the white man.” They presented two tactics, a march with guns on the school, knowing this bold display would attract the grassroots, and police patrols to protect the community from deliberate police violence. Soul Students rejected the armed self-defense program and their parent group, the Revolutionary Action Movement, thought they were suicidal.

In Watts, California, in the two years before Newton and Seale came up with the beginning of their armed self-defense program, black residents held over 250 demonstrations against living conditions, and the police shot nearly 70 black people.² On August 11, 1965, a hot summer day would begin a six-day rebellion involving 34,000 people.³ A California Highway Patrol Officer arrested Marquette Frye for failing a sobriety test. He and the officer had a physical altercation after Frye was handcuffed. By the time more police arrived, a crowd had gathered that grew more and more agitated while watching the scuffle. Tempers flared and when it was over, 34 people were dead, nearly 4,000 arrested, and over 1,000 injured.

City officials met with black organizations to help restore calm and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. arrived the day after it ended. “We had seen his philosophy of nonviolence rejected,” said Huey Newton. “Bobby and I finally had no choice but to form an organization that would involve the lower-class brothers.

Newton and Seale began educating themselves on oppressed people and their struggles for liberation. They knew the problems that existed, now they sought solutions. It is said that Huey Newton could not read until the age of 16 and, out of sheer will, learned how to read

² Watts Rebellion *History* Editors, June 24, 2020

³ Watts Riots, Civil Rights Digital Library

Beginning of the Black Panther Party and study enough to be admitted to Oakland City College in 1959. By 1966, he and Bobby Seale were avid readers of Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Mao Tse-tung, and Che Guevara. All would become required reading material for the Black Panther Party.

It impressed them the way Mao Tse-tung structured his Communist Party, and they wanted to transform the strategies of Guevara and Fanon into methods that would work in American inner cities. Robert F. Williams influenced the self-defense aspect of their new organization. In Monroe, North Carolina, returning Marine veteran Robert F. Williams was voted head of the local NAACP chapter. The chapter was dwindling in membership when he took the reins in 1957. Action-minded people who wanted to do more than rely on court decisions and legal approaches by the middle-class NAACP led to them joining other organizations.

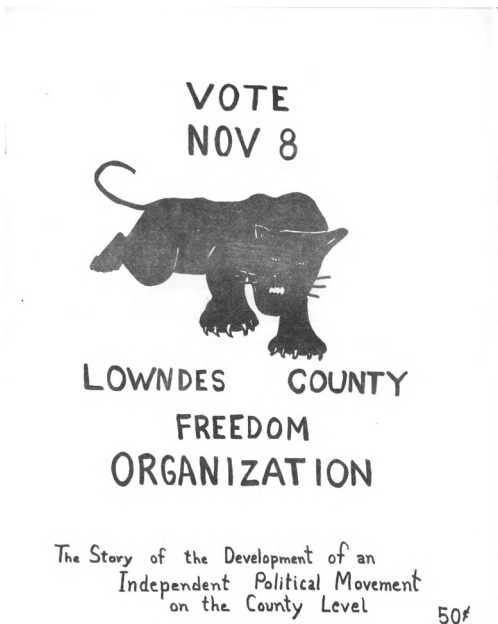
Williams sought new members in pool halls, farmers, domestic workers, laborers, and the unemployed. His branch of the NAACP became known as the most militant in the country and attracted the ire of the local Ku Klux Klan. Williams requested a charter from the National Rifle Association and called his group the Black Armed Guard⁴. Williams ended up being suspended by the NAACP.

Bobby Seale had collected all of Malcolm X's articles and speeches, and Malcolm frequently expressed that black people should arm themselves. Newton and Seale studied Malcolm closely. "The Party is a living testament to his life work," said Newton. The Black Panther Party has been careful not to call their programs "Malcolm's programs," they simply say, "Malcolm's spirit is in us."

The last thing they needed was a name, and it came from a political pamphlet for voter registration in Mississippi. Lowndes County Freedom Organization was the group on the flyer and their symbol was the drawing of a black panther.

Newton suggested the panther as their symbol and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense for their name. Seale agreed.⁵

⁴ Williams, Robert F. *Negroes With Guns*, p. 17



⁵ Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, *Huey P. Newton Reader*, 2002 p.52

Chapter 3

Establishing the Party's Politics and Ideology

In the spring of 1966, Newton and Seale began street counseling sessions with black males in Oakland, Berkeley, Richmond, and San Francisco to test their idea of armed self-defense. These sessions advised young men that they had the constitutional right to bear arms. They expressed the need to protect the community against the police. Not only were the police assaulting the people, but they were also tarnishing law-abiding citizens with criminal records. The response was cool regarding the guns, but warm when it came to the police. Surmising that they could not just talk like they criticized other organizations for doing, they had to take action. In that action, they would demonstrate the idea of self-defense.

In October, at the North Oakland Service Center, they formed the Ten-Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party modeled after the Nation of Islam's Program, What the Muslims Want, What the Muslims Believe. The Party compared American black communities to the African countries that were struggling for liberation against colonialism. They believed everyone had a right to free access and participation in public facilities and institutions and freedom from oppression by these institutions.

The common phrase heard from Party members about "raising contradictions" is from an idea Newton held from V.I. Lenin in *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*; contradictory forces naturally exist in nature and conditions. If the existing forces of contradictions were raised to a level that could not be maintained, complete change, i.e.,

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revolution, would occur. The Party set out to raise the contradictions in the American system that purported freedom and democracy against the conditions of oppression and exploitation of inner-city black residents.

But first, Newton and Seale sat down and wrote the Ten-Point Platform and Program. For the rest of its existence, this program would be the principles that defined the Party's ideology, philosophy, political understanding, initiatives, and social programs. Later, the Party would revise the program to include all members of the poor and working-class and change words; such as black to oppressed.

Ten Point Platform and Program

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 of 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.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1970 PAGE 22

October 1966

**Black Panther Party
Platform and Program**

**What We Want
What We Believe**



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

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.

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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 businessman 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 of the people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST 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 was promised 160 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.

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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 concerning his own position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

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 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 14th 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 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. 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.

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, a 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 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.

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,

Chapter 3

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 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.

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Chapter 4

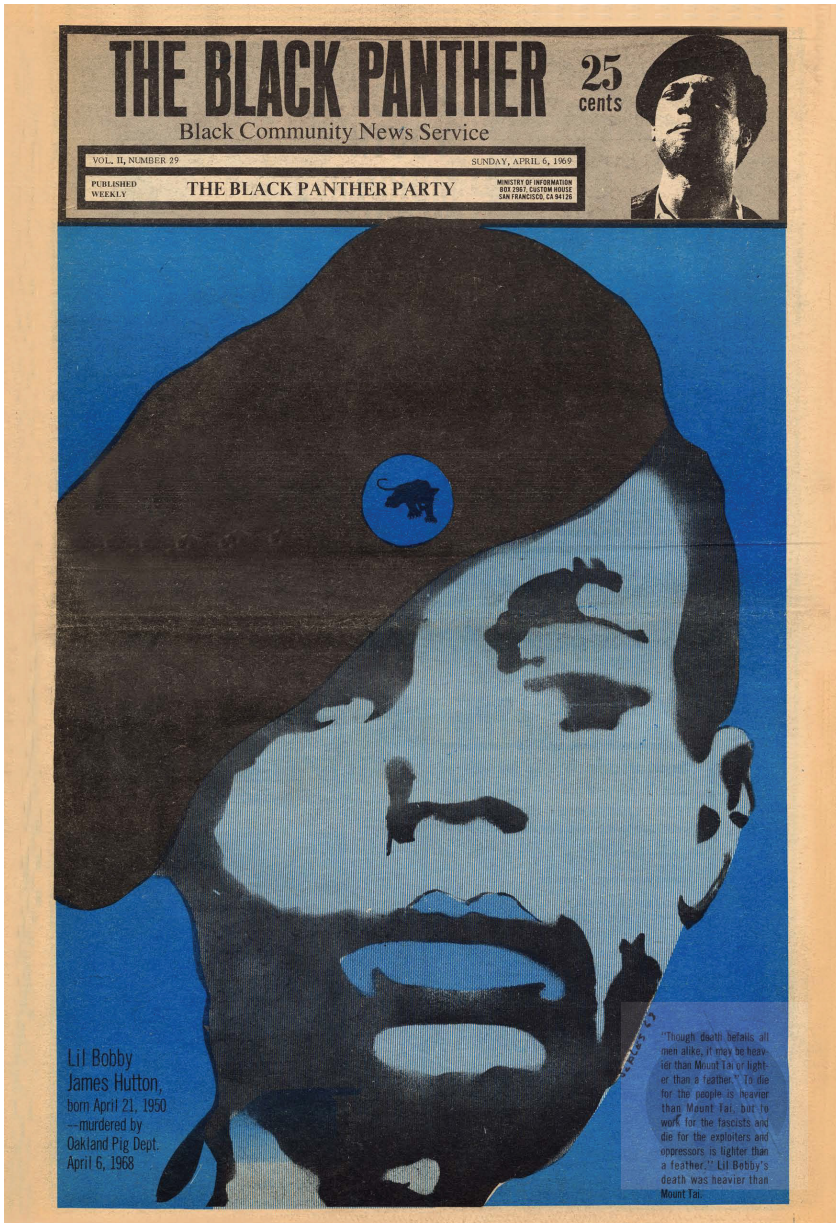
Structure of the Party

For its chain of command, Newton and Seale followed the example of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense would be 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 worker at the North Oakland Service Center. Bobby Seale helped Little Bobby learn how to read and he became Newton's little brother, whom he never had. Little Bobby was also the Party's first treasurer and would be killed by Oakland police on April 6, 1968, two days after Dr. King was assassinated.

As membership increased, the governing body, the Central Committee, was organized with this structure:

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



Chapter 5

Membership Increase

The first initiative of the emerging organization was one they felt would resonate throughout America: patrols of police in black neighborhoods. It was a program developed from Point Seven of the 10 Point Platform and Program: We Want An Immediate End to Police Brutality and the Murder of Black People.

“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.”¹ Huey P. Newton

Newton and Seale believed that the government and police response to the patrols would be a violent takeover or reclaiming of community authority and this would tie black people in America to the global struggle against colonialism happening in other countries. The three members of the Black Panther Party began watching police interactions with people they pulled over during a traffic stop. Newton, Seale, and Hutton would arrive on the scene with arms and stand off at a safe distance, observing. Oakland police did not know what to make

¹ “Eyes on the Prize; Interview with Huey Newton. Part 2,” Film and Media Archive, Washington



of this at first and would leave the scene.

Once the patrols got more regular, residents would also gather and watch. Young men and women began joining the Party and young women were also doing patrols. By now, the police knew who Newton and Seale were and the antagonism grew. The community also knew who they were and, although still leery of the guns, appreciated their presence. The Panther patrols would assist those pulled over by the police by reading them their rights and even bailing them out if an arrest took place. Newton said that police shootings and incidents of brutality decreased while the Party's membership increased.

The Panthers would train recruits to operate within the bounds of the law, so when arguing with police, as long as they did not use profanity, they would not be arrested. When exchanging insults, they used terms like swine, pig, and racist dog against the police.² Outside of the patrols, they went to other areas to recruit. They would spend hours listening to the concerns of the people and educating them on their rights. College campuses, pool halls, restaurants, and bars; wherever the people were, that is where they went.

Huey Newton's search for meaning was over. "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."³

² Newton, p.60

³ Newton, p.65

Chapter 6

New Chapters Across the United States

In a recent interview, Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas, spoke a common phrase, “Colossal events made the Black Panther Party explode.”¹

The Party’s first edition of *The Black Panther, Black Community News Service* newspaper on April 25, 1967, featured an article on Denzil Dowell, killed by police in Richmond, California, on April 1st. The mainstream press had run stories of 22-year-old Dowell running from the police during the scene of an attempted burglary. A sheriff ordered him to stop and shot him with a shotgun when he did not comply. Dowell suffered gunshots in the back of the head and side of the chest, according to the stories.

In the Black Panther Party’s newspaper, the Dowell family questioned the reports because neighbors had heard six to ten gunshots. The police refused to give the family his clothes and allow them to take pictures of his body. During the same month, the Party now very well known, was invited to a radio talk show. Newton explained the Ten-Point Platform and Program and told listeners it was legal and necessary for black men to arm themselves against the police. One listener turned out to be a catalyst for the trip to the state capitol.

State Assemblyman Donald Mulford called into the program and told Newton that he was going to introduce a bill to prevent the Panthers from carrying weapons. Mulford received pushback from the National 1 Emory Douglas, Video Interview, Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, 2022

Chapter 6

Rifle Association and hunters, but he stayed steadfast against the Panthers.

"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."² Donald Mulford.


Bobby Seale and Huey Newton made plans to go to Sacramento. Newton would stay behind to avoid probation violations and raise bail money, and Seale would read a prepared

statement. The Party openly displaying their weapons, dressed in all black, and the Dowell family arrived at the Sacramento Capitol Building on May 2, 1967. Governor Ronald Reagan was giving interviews just a few feet away, and the media swarmed the Black Panther Party.

The statement Bobby Seale read was not a demand to the legislators for protection of their constitutional rights, it was more a manifesto to black people to arm themselves against the racist power structure. It criticized the Vietnam War as a racist war of genocide, named the murders and imprisonment of other non-white people like the Native Americans and Japanese 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.

Radio programs and television shows that were in progress cut to the scene at the capitol. Images of the home of California government occupied by Black Panthers with guns and afros wearing all-black went across nationwide airwaves. Bobby Seale read the statement twice and the media never cut away from the shocking scene. The Party was

HOOVER
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PUBLISHED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

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

² Donald Mulford Interview, KRON Television, 1967



BLACK PANTHERS IN CAPITOL — Members of the Black Panther Party argue with a California State Policeman in the Capitol in Sacramento, Calif., yesterday after he had disarmed them. The armed Panthers entered the Capitol to protest a

bill before the Legislature which would restrict the carrying of loaded weapons within city limits. The guns held by the officer were taken from the Panthers. (AP Wirephoto)

The Daily Advertiser, May 3, 1967

arrested before they were out of city limits and, back home, Newton raised \$50,000 to bail them out.

To this day, people share images from May 2, 1967, on social media. The day became part of the American culture and a symbol of the black struggle of the 1960s. It also became the colossal event that propelled the Black Panther Party for Self Defense to the international stage. The Party exploded with new members and chapters, including Illinois.

Chapter 7

Social Equity Activism, Chicago, 1966

In 1966, while Newton and Seale were testing their idea for an armed self-defense organization in Oakland, 17-year-old Fred Hampton was president of the NAACP Youth Council in Maywood, Illinois. Twenty-year-old Bobby Rush was in the US Army stationed in Chicago and part of the Chicago chapter of SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Bob Brown was also in SNCC and other founding members of the Illinois Chapter, like Billy Brooks, were active in various groups and student movements.

Newspapers described poor whites who had migrated from the Appalachian region of the United States to Chicago as unreliable workers and drunk, wife-beating hillbillies.¹ They were concentrated in the Uptown neighborhood and complained of deplorable housing conditions. Puerto Ricans were protesting the use of police dogs in election precincts and rat-infested housing conditions.² All wanted better housing, and participation in city agencies, and objected to the lack of city services in their neighborhoods.

Chicago was racially segregated. As a result, blacks, whites, and Puerto Ricans protested the same needs but as separate groups from separate neighborhoods. Crossing harsh racial dividing lines

1 "Southern Migrants Flock to Chicago 'Hillbilly Ghetto,'" *The Dispatch* newspaper, June 3, 1969

2 "Puerto Rican Grievances Heard by City," *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1966

Chapter 7

in Chicago was dangerous. It would be Fred Hampton who would later unite younger members of the whites and Puerto Ricans into a Rainbow Coalition; he had early experience as a youth.

Fred Hampton's brother Bill said that their parents, who had migrated from Louisiana, would tell them stories of the south and that "Fred was sensitive and wanted to do something."³ He wanted to help. A year after finishing high school at Proviso East, the principal asked Hampton to participate in a forum aimed at reducing racial tensions. Hampton heard the grievances of white, black, and Latino students and "put together a joint plan" that empowered each group.⁴

Influence from the south was strong in most of the founding members; Rush's family was from Georgia, Billy Brooks' family was from Mississippi, and others had come from Arkansas and Alabama. As was common practice, black parents often sent their children "down south" during summers when school was out. The children would spend time with their cousins and grandparents while the parents continued to work. It was during one of these summers down south that Emmett Till, who Mrs. Iberia Hampton, mother of Fred Hampton, babysat when he was a baby, was murdered.

From a young age, Hampton was involved with social justice and now, as leader of the NAACP Youth Council, he was accompanying the Southern Christian Leadership Council in Chicago. The Youth Council, which he founded and organized, had grown to over 200 members. In January of that year, Dr. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Council announced the Chicago Freedom Movement, an expansion of their nonviolent desegregation and voting movement to "help eradicate a vicious system which seeks to further colonize thousands of Negroes within a slum environment."⁵

Unlike the south and even though political power in Chicago was held by what historian Jon F. Rice called the "politician-mob-police triumvirate,"⁶ black people could vote. King thought Chicago was a good place to start housing efforts in the north because the mayor had far-wielding power that could institute an immediate change.⁷ King did not know the iron fist structure and sophistication of Chicago politics and would try his southern strategy in the north.

There were dinners and festivals when the SCLC arrived and the first major event was a Freedom Rally on July 11, 1966, at Soldier Field.

3 "Still My Brother's Keeper," Interview with Bill Hampton, Ron Herd, 2018

4 *The Assassination of Fred Hampton*, Jeffrey Haas, 2010, p.19

5 King Institute, Stanford University

6 Jon F. Rice, "Black Radicalism on Chicago's West Side, A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party," Dissertation, 1998

7 "Chicago Campaign," King Institute, Stanford University



Boston Globe, July 11, 1966

Thousands of Chicagoans attended the rally, including Hampton, Brooks, and other youth who would become Black Panther Party founders in a short time. After the rally, the crowd marched to city hall and taped 14 demands on the door. The event was nonviolent, but Chicago, like other major cities that summer, would erupt into racial violence even with Dr. King nearby.

In the north, inner-city blacks were relegated to the ghetto, and thousands were concentrated in slums with no personal space for reflection, quiet, and growth.⁸ Rats and roaches terrorized mothers and babies in the apartments and alleys were overflowing with garbage. In summer, the heat was so intense in tenements and kitchenette apartments that black families would sleep outside in parks at night.⁹ Communities were tight-knit, but poverty, crime, violence, and police terrorism were part of daily life.

By 1966, the atmosphere in northern urban ghettos was so explosive that any spark or perceived injustice could ignite an uprising or rebellion. Soon, the Black Panther Party's work would center

⁸ Walter R. Gove, Michael Hughes and Omer R. Galle. "Overcrowding in the Home: An Empirical Investigation of Its Possible Pathological Consequences." *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 44 No. 1. February 1979.

⁹ Leroy Kennedy. Interview. Leila Wills. 2008

Chapter 7

on liberating the energetic forces of the ghetto and constructively focusing them on governmental contradictions and social programs to aid and build the community. The Rainbow Coalition would later unite around an initiative for decent housing.

The day after the Freedom Rally, two Chicago police officers said they spotted a man wanted for armed robbery. The officers said they had seen the man's picture in the daily police bulletin on March 23, 1966, four months prior.¹⁰ On July 12, 1966, the plainclothes detectives spotted William Young, 26, in front of a liquor store on the west side. According to the detectives, Young ran away when they tried to subdue him, screaming that they were trying to kill him. The police gave chase and Young kept screaming. They cornered him in an alley and over 200 people that had gathered began closing in. Other police rescued the first two officers, but the incident caused an uprising that would last three days until the National Guard arrived to restore order.

When announcing the deployment of the National Guard, Mayor Richard J. Daley blamed the civil rights workers in town with Dr. King and said he had recordings of them teaching violence to young people. Daley said the workers were also showing images of the Watts riots to Chicago youth. King vehemently denied the charge and said that the purpose of the images was to show the bad side of rioting.¹¹

That same day, King and other members of the clergy met with Daley to present their demands. Amongst other things, Daley agreed to sprinklers on fire hydrants and to give black people access to swimming pools. The newspaper reports characterized the agreement made as pacification and other black people openly criticized King:

"After an hour-and-a-half meeting, Daley announced that he and those attending the meeting had agreed on five steps to be taken in an effort to pacify residents in the riot area." *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1966.

In August 1966, Dr. King led a series of open housing marches through Chicago's segregated white neighborhoods. Hampton and other youth accompanied him. The residents met King and the marchers with bottles and bricks. Marchers sang songs in front of real estate offices. A rock hit King and he lost his footing. "I think the people from Mississippi ought to come to Chicago to learn how to hate," King said afterward.¹²

Daley met with King for a second time, and this time, they made a more substantial summit agreement. The Chicago Housing Authority agreed to build low-rise public housing to deconcentrate

¹⁰ "Police Tell How Riot Started on West Side," *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1966, p.8

¹¹ "Links Riots and King Aids," *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1966, p.1

¹² "How Mayor Daley Outfoxed Martin Luther King," NBC News, January 16, 2011

Social Equity Activism, Chicago, 1966
the overpopulated ghetto and the Mortgage Bankers Association agreed to make mortgages more available. Dr. King characterized the agreement as a victory and “the first step in a 1,000-mile journey,” while Daley dismissed it as an unenforceable gentlemen’s agreement. Daley figured there were none in Chicago with enough political power to enforce the summit and King acknowledged his critics.

“It appears that for all intents and purposes, the public agencies have [renege]d on the agreement and have, in fact, given credence to [those] who proclaim the housing agreement a sham and a batch of false promises,” Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.¹³

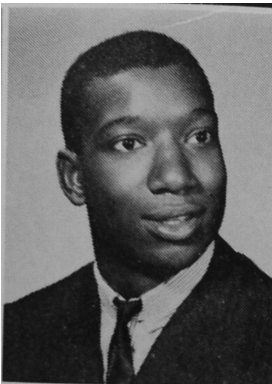
NBC News gave this as a summation in recent years.

“King never made much progress in Chicago. Mayor Richard J. Daley, the father of Richard M. Daley, wanted to keep the city segregated because it guaranteed that middle-class whites didn’t flee to the suburbs. Rep. William Dawson, the black overlord of the South Side, also wanted to keep the city segregated, because the ghetto guaranteed him a captive political base. The Daley-controlled black aldermen known as the ‘Silent Six’ regularly voted against open housing ordinances.” NBC News.

¹³Dr. King at a press conference, March 24, 1967, Stanford University

Chapter 8

Young Fred Hampton



Yearbook photo

Patience was thin with black youth who had seemingly abandoned the philosophy of nonviolence. After being a part of Freedom Summer, Hampton, still in the NAACP, began mobilizing the youth in Maywood. Blacks in the small village to the west of Chicago were not as concentrated as they were in the city, but youth across America were taking action in the climate of social equity and global upheaval.

In June 1967, a month after the Black Panther Party made national headlines at the California State Capitol Building, Hampton led the fight for a swimming pool and recreational services for black people shut out of white areas. Hundreds of young people, led by Hampton, marched through the streets. These marches were nonviolent, but when rocks and bottles were thrown, would end in street fights.

Filmmaker Floyd Webb was also a part of the NAACP Youth Council in Maywood and they were supposed to be nonviolent. He said when he joined, the leadership told him to “just stay away from that Fred Hampton.”¹ Hampton also appeared at Maywood Village

¹ Floyd Webb, Interview, Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, 2021

Maywood Pool, Park District Urged

BY NANCY GIESECKE

Demands for a swimming pool, a community recreation center, and an independent park district were made last week at the first meeting of a committee to study the feasibility of a Maywood pool.

The demands were made by Fred Hampton, 804 S. 17th av., Maywood committee member and spokesman for a number of youths interested in seeing a pool built.

Hampton is one of 18 youths accused of participating in a June 15 demonstration during which a shed was burned and store windows were broken.

Cases Continued

The cases of the 18, charged with mob action and disorderly conduct, have been continued until Aug. 4.

Subcommittees on site, financing, form of government, and feasibility were set up at the meeting. The whole committee, its 27 members appointed by Village President Edgar Elliott, consists

of youth representatives and members of the village board, council and commission on human relations, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the League of Women Voters, and service clubs.

Hampton urged the subcommittees to meet as soon as possible and to present a report to the village board within two weeks. The whole committee will meet again July 12 and plans to present its report July 12.

"Not Too Optimistic"

"We are not going to be too optimistic about the committees," Hampton said. "Last summer, the question of a swimming pool progressed as far as committees, and then it was dropped.

"Some of us at the meeting told the group that we wanted to be on all the subcommittees so that we could keep the thing going. We tried to keep the pressure on the village."

In addition to the swimming pool, Hampton said he advocates a recreation

center and a park district to include the entire village.

Complications Cited

Louis Ancel, village attorney, said that, because of legal complications and time, he recommends that the issue of a pool and recreation center remain under the jurisdiction of the village board.

Maywood now has one operating park district, in the west side of the village. The district is administered by a separate board and is a separate taxing body.

All other parks are administered by a five-member recreation board, appointed by the village president, and is not a separate taxing body. Residents in the west district pay about \$7 each year for park facilities, and all Maywood residents pay about \$3 each year for recreation facilities.

"To create a park district that would include the entire village would be hard now," Ancel said.

He said the creation of a park district, which would undertake the construction of a swimming pool, would take more time than having the recreation board undertake the problem.

Could Be Annexed

"According to statute, the west park district could be expanded by annexation to include the whole village. But people of the village would want to vote in a referendum on the issue," he said. "Otherwise, they might protest it in court."

Other time consuming problems, listed by Ancel, are a referendum for a bond issue and election of park district board.

Ancel said he advocated building a swimming pool with village money and then applying for federal aid for the recreation center. The entire project could cost \$750,000, he said.

He said, tho, that no funds now are available from the federal department of housing and urban development.

Chicago Tribune, July 2, 1967



ST-16002650-0012, Chicago Sun-Times Collection, Chicago History Museum



ST-16002650-0011, Chicago Sun-Times Collection, Chicago History Museum

Queen Contest Sparks Riot

MAYWOOD, Ill. (AP) — Eight persons were arraigned on charges of mob action Friday night following a series of fist-fights between Negroes and whites touched off by the election of five white girls in the homecoming queen contest at Proviso East High School.

One of the eight, Fred Hampton, 19, of Maywood, was also charged with aggravated battery.

Bonds for all those arrested were set at \$2,500.

Three juveniles were also seized, but later were released to the custody of their parents.

The disturbances erupted after Principal Hubert Pitt announced a new election for the school's queen and four-girl court.

A second election was called by Pitt after Negro students, who make up half of the school's 3,500-member student body, protested the earlier election of five white girls to serve

as queen and court.

Several fights were reported during the day at the school and windows were broken in school study halls.

After school, more fights broke out near the school and police were called to disperse the angry rock-throwing crowd in this suburb west of Chicago.

Three persons were treated for injuries after the afternoon disturbance.

The school's homecoming is planned for Oct. 7. A new screening board is scheduled to meet Monday afternoon to decide on a uniform set of questions to be asked all queen candidates.

Homeward Bound

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan. (Reuters) — King Hussein of Jordan left for home by plane Friday after a two-day visit and talks with President Ayub Khan on the Middle East situation.

Finalists for the contest were chosen Thursday night from 48 contestants including 10 Negroes. All will be screened again.

Berlin Police Chief Resigns

BERLIN (N.Y. News) — Berlin Police Chief Erich Duensing resigned under fire Friday as a result of a policeman killing a student demonstrator during last June's visit by the Shah of Iran.

A legislative committee had recommended firing Duensing. Interior Senator Wolfgang Buesch resigned and quit politics after the legislative report was issued.

Duensing asked to resign for health reasons. The city's Senate recommended accepting it.

Duensing's resignation came in the wake of months of student unrest and a long series of demonstrations.

The Spokesman Review, September 23, 1967

meetings and spoke to the council and press to articulate the demands of his group.

In September 1967, Hampton, who was very well-liked by both students and teachers, successfully led the effort to integrate his high school's homecoming queen election. This demonstration also ended in a brawl with white youth, and members of the Hampton group were arrested for mob action. Hampton himself faced an assault charge.

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."²

² *The Assassination of Fred Hampton*, Jeffrey Haas, 2010, p.17

Chapter 9

Beginning of the Illinois Chapter

Young people like Hampton initially focused on integration and participation in city services and institutions. They would now be politicized in a city ruled by an unyielding political machine. In 1968, Hampton was still head of the NAACP Youth Council when he and Lennie Eggleston, a member of the Los Angeles branch of the Black Panther Party, discussed their views. Eggleston was in Chicago doing speaking engagements on behalf of the Party. He impressed upon Hampton the idea that racism was the byproduct of a class struggle.¹

Hampton then invited Stokely Carmichael to speak in Maywood. Carmichael had left the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and had become the Honorary Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. After receiving the invitation, 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.² Bob Brown and Bobby Rush left SNCC along with Carmichael. According to Rush, Carmichael asked them to join the Party so he would have a power base within the organization.³

1 Jon F. Rice, "Black Radicalism on Chicago's West Side, A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party," Dissertation, 1998

2 "Interview with Stokely Carmichael," Conducted for Eyes on the Prize II., Washington University in St. Louis

3 Interview with Bobby Rush, Explorations in Black Leadership, University of

Chapter 9

After Dr. King was assassinated in April 1968, the west side of Chicago went up in flames. Phil Cohran, an artist, and activist, called a meeting of black leadership at his Afro Arts Theater⁴ (sic) on the south side. Another structure with tremendous meaning and importance that should have been preserved, 3947 S. Drexel in Chicago, erased by demolition, later became the home of Jeff Fort and the El Rukns. Fred Hampton was an invited speaker at Cochran's meeting and his captivating talk contained language similar to the Party; it was time for black people to arm themselves.⁵

"Bobby Rush was there, and he was looking for a dynamic speaker, while Hampton was looking for the Black Panther Party chapter to join. They found one another there at that meeting." Jon F. Rice.

The Central Committee was under tremendous strain; Huey Newton was in jail. Oakland police arrested him after an encounter. On the last day of his probation, Newton was ready to celebrate. Instead, he was shot during a traffic stop and beat while on a hospital gurney and an Oakland police officer was dead.⁶ The highly-publicized trial would last over two years. Oakland launched the "Free Huey" campaign which became another colossal rallying call. New groups calling themselves Black Panthers sprung up nationwide. It would be 1971 before Newton would be cleared and he communicated with Bobby Seale and the Central Committee with tape recordings passed back and forth by his attorney.

Rush accompanied Carmichael to Oakland for authorization to start the Illinois chapter, but Seale said they already had Panthers in Chicago.⁷ 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.⁸

Rush, Hampton, Brown, Brooks, and a dozen or so founding

Virginia

4 Semmes, Clovis E. "The Dialectics of Cultural Survival and the Community Artist: Phil Cohran and the Afro-Arts Theater." *Journal of Black Studies* 24, no. 4 (1994): 447–61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784564>.

5 Jon F. Rice, "Black Radicalism on Chicago's West Side, A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party," Dissertation, 1998

6 Earl Caldwell. "Huey Newton Cleared of Charges." *New York Times*. December 16, 1971, Page 53

7 Interview with Bobby Rush, *Explorations in Black Leadership*, University of Virginia

8 Ibid



Left to right:
Chairman Bobby Seale, Illinois Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton, D. C. Field
Marshall Central Committee, Ray "Masai" Hewitt Central Committee and Bob Rush,
Deputy Minister of Defense Illinois B.P.P. Chapter.

1968, Photographer unknown

members began operations that summer. "There were so many people involved at that embryonic stage," said Brooks. The group collectively decided their positions and roles. Attempting to follow the structure of the national organization, the leadership structure of the Illinois chapter comprised deputy ministers and field secretaries. Bobby Rush became the Deputy Minister of Defense, Fred Hampton became Deputy Chairman, and Bob Brown preferred working in the background and did not want an official position. Brooks was Deputy Minister of Education, and Rufus Chaka Walls, Deputy Minister of Information. They created numerous other leadership roles that were filled by both men and women. After becoming an official chapter, they stabilized the hierarchy and trimmed several positions to reflect the official structure.

By the time the Democratic Convention converged on Chicago in August 1968, they were fully organized and took part in the protests. The group did organizing and recruitment at schools and universities. Wilson Junior College, now Kennedy King, was a major organizing hub. In October 1968, Bobby Rush went to Alderman Sam Raynor for assistance. Raynor rented a space for them at 2350 W Madison Street, the location is now a Walgreens, on Chicago's west side. Still not an official chapter, Alderman Raynor, who was a supporter of theirs, turned on the gas, electric, and phone service so they could begin operating.

In November 1968, two members of the Central Committee in Oakland, DC Cox and Raymond Masai Hewitt were traveling by plane

Chapter 9

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 was 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. Cox and Hewitt were arrested.

Oakland Party officials were unable to reach the other group that called themselves Panthers, but the Rush, Hampton, Brown group had an office. Oakland called the office for help and because they gave assistance and were in full operation, the group received official authorization and recognition as a chapter. Members of the other group joined the official chapter and Stokely Carmichael brought Fred Hampton to Oakland to receive an orientation.⁹

⁹ "Interview with Stokely Carmichael," Conducted for Eyes on the Prize II., Washington University in St. Louis

Chapter 10

Illinois Chapter Organizational Structure

The Illinois chapter, like headquarters, required every member to be 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 Party programs and initiatives.

Deputy Ministers and Leaders of Cadres

Deputy Minister of Defense
Deputy Chairman
Deputy Minister of Information
Deputy Minister of Education
Deputy Minister of Health
Communications Secretary
Deputy Minister of Finance
Deputy Minister of Culture

Field Secretaries

Responsible for organizing cadres and troubleshooting

Field Lieutenants

Oversaw Section Leaders

Chapter 10

Section Leaders

Responsible for organizing every community area

Members

Members worked on all the programs.

Chapter 11

Recruitment and the Midwest Region

School and education were important for the first, second, and third generations born of southern migrants. Church was still on Sunday, but black students were becoming more politicized and the sociopolitical climate in America was creating unrest in Chicago high schools and college campuses across Illinois. At the televised 1968 Olympics, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, wearing black leather gloves, raised the Black Power Fist during the National Anthem. The spectacle was shocking and galvanizing. Intuitively, they knew this political stand at the Olympic Games would end their careers, but it invigorated black youth, wherever they were, to take a stand for equal rights.¹

While undoubtedly student groups debated the various paths black organizations were taking, after the October 16, 1968 Olympics, black student unions pushed their institutions for one area upon which they agreed: Black Studies. Students invited speakers from various movements to address the student body and Fred Hampton could organize them while teaching the philosophical views of the Black Panther Party. Organizing at high schools, colleges, and universities led to organizing locations throughout the state of Illinois.

The Black Panther Party was gaining membership too fast to control and the headquarters office was extremely busy. Another concern was unauthorized and unmanaged groups touting guns starting their own local chapters. Oakland's Central Committee

¹ John Carlos. Interview by Leila Wills. 2010.

THE COMPLETE GUIDE
to
1936-1938
BOOKS & PAPERS
READING 781-5574

EVENING POST

No. 992 FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1938 5¢

SHOP WISELY—
SHOP ALWAYS
Walden's
Reading

FLASHBACK TO THOSE SALUTES Yesterday's Post picture of Smith and Carlos raising their fists in a "black protest"

Olympic 'black fist' stars suspended

RESERVED—FOR BERKSHIRE C.C.

TRACK SPRINTERS Tommie Smith and John Carlos were suspended from the United States Olympic team in Mexico today and ordered "to remove themselves" from the Olympic Village because of the incident on Wednesday during the ceremony in which they received their Olympic medals.

Tom muscle wrecks the



instructed the Illinois chapter to send field secretaries throughout Illinois and the Midwest to establish contact with these groups.

The Illinois chapter sent field secretaries throughout Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and other states to train and organize these groups. They had to be educated on the Party's philosophies and practices outside of armed resistance. The Illinois groups became branches of the Illinois chapter and had to report to the Illinois Central Committee. College speaking engagements also inspired organizing on the ground and Party programs like Free Breakfast for Children were instituted.

Chapter 12

Political Education

The Black Panther Party was a political party that focused on freedom of oppression. Political education was central to their programs and initiatives. Mandatory reading for every member was the 10-Point Platform and Program, Rules of the Black Panther Party, and each issue of *The Black Panther* newspaper. New recruits were required to attend six weeks of political education classes.

These classes were primarily headed by Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton and Deputy Minister of Education Billy Brooks. Section leaders organizing in the field also taught political education to the community. *The Black Panther* newspaper was a political education program unto itself. More on the newspaper can be found in the Survival Program section.

Branches and organizers from other cities were required to attend political education in Chicago if the Illinois headquarters did not send an organizer to their location. That location would then be responsible for politically educating its local community.

Chapter 13

Demographics of the Illinois Chapter

The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party attracted members across the age and class spectrum. While there were some members over the age of 30, the young ages of this influential chapter are notable: high school and college students made up the bulk of recruits; ages 14 - 24.

Nationally, the Women's Rights Movement was demanding "true equality" for all women in America. Betty Friedman, president of the National Organization for Women, said at a press conference, "[Women] were in relatively little position to influence or control major decisions." The role women played in the Illinois chapter contrasted with the U.S. Government, most white employers, black civil rights, and black liberation organizations at the time.

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.

Chapter 14

Survival Programs and Initiatives

Since the Black Panther Party's inception in 1966, Survival Programs, not formally named then, existed in some form; the police patrols, a stop sign in front of a school, and SAFE; Seniors Against a Fearful Environment, where the Party escorted seniors to pick up their social security checks, delivered their groceries, and more.¹ Social programs were the framework and foundation for the Party's public service and organizing activity. The goal was for the Party to start the programs and then for the people to take them over.² Huey P. Newton explained the programs were not solutions, they were to answer the deep needs of the community and to be an example of how to build community. He referred to them as "a survival kit." The Survival Programs were developed from the 10-Point Platform and Program.

"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." Huey P. Newton.

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

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

Chapter 15

Free Breakfast for Children Program

The first official Survival Program was the Free Breakfast for Children Program. In January 1969, the Black Panther Party announced that it had begun working with and for an Oakland church's breakfast program.¹ The Party made a call for all members and others to get involved with the "revolutionary program" and that the Board of Education should have already instituted such a program. The article asks, "How can children learn anything if most of their stomachs are empty?" There was a dire medical emergency in poor black communities. Growing children, often suffering silently, were not receiving protein, milk, vegetables, and fruit.

In May 1968, CBS News ran a special report, *Hunger in America*,² that horrified the American public with graphic images of starving children in the United States. The critical analysis said that America spent \$1.5 billion to feed the rest of the world while ignoring starving people at home. Before the report, the Field Foundation sent six doctors to selected cities to investigate hunger and malnutrition in the United States. The report issued by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry³

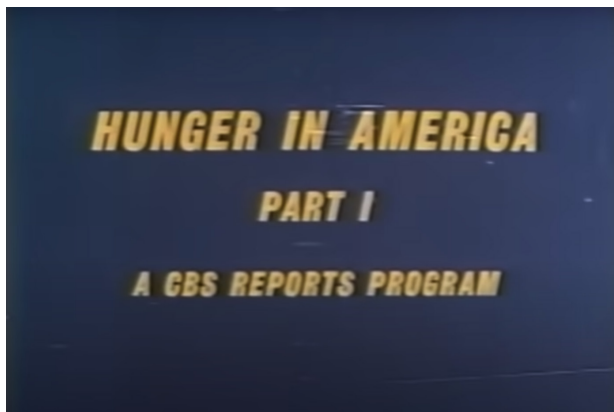
1 "Breakfast for School Children," *The Black Panther* newspaper, January 15, 1969, p. 7

2 *CBS Reports: Hunger in America*, Peabody, 1968

3 "Hunger U.S.A.", A Report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry, Beacon Press, 1969

Chapter 15

went largely unacknowledged until CBS put faces with the data. Even though the Child Nutrition Act was passed in 1966, hunger and



Screenshot from *Hunger in America*

malnutrition were still plaguing millions of Americans. The report said that out of the 200 million people in the American population, 30 million were in poverty, and 10 million were going hungry. Slow starvation and malnutrition had become a way of life. Children were listless and suffering from irreversible brain damage from starvation. What should be done with food abundance from America's farmers was left to the Department of Agriculture because the government was too busy with the Vietnam War.⁴

The report said that the Department of Agriculture turned \$227 million back to the U.S. Treasury instead of feeding the poor. Food was being destroyed, pigs slaughtered and buried, while babies in America were dying. Poor people were surviving on commodities handed out by the government; lard, rice, butter, flour, and beans were the usual foods.

⁴ Drafted into the War on Poverty: USDA Food and Nutrition Programs," 1961-1969, Agricultural Historical Perspective, 1990, p. 154

Doctors pointed out that obesity was not a negation of malnutrition. Malnutrition was the lack of protein, nutrients, and calories. Weight gain was because poor children and adults were eating starchy diets of potatoes, bread, rice, and beans with no fruits, vegetables, protein, or milk.

The Food Stamp Act was signed in 1964 and gave states the power to determine eligibility. Poor people had to buy food stamps with cash every two weeks or every month.⁵ If a poverty-stricken family could not muster \$30 in cash, for example, they could not purchase food stamps. With food stamps, a family could purchase more food than allowed by cash alone. Without food stamps, the family relied only on commodities.

⁵ Food Stamp Act of 1964, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Chapter 16

Geographical Poverty in Chicago

The United States Census is done every ten years. For the relevant time of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party beginning in 1968, we rely on the 1960 census and data from a 1961 report by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.¹

Primary migration patterns of the Great Migration concentrated blacks on Chicago's south side. By 1960, over 250,000 also lived on the west side and near north side. The Black Panther Party would serve each of these parts of the city. In 1960, Illinois' black population was 1,037,000. Chicago's black population had risen 65% in a decade from 492,265 to 812,637, making it 23% of the city's population. A little less than half of this growth, 47%, was because of the Great Migration, while 53% of this growth was due to the birth rate. Over 170,468 black children were born in Chicago between 1950 to 1960.

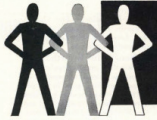
By the time the Breakfast Program started in 1969, many of these children would still be school-age. According to the 1960 census, 29.7% of black families in Chicago were living in poverty.² This figure comes with the caveat that there were undoubtedly great numbers of people who avoided census takers for various reasons, such

1 "Non-White Population Changes 1950-1960," *Human Relations News of Chicago* newsletter, Chicago Commission on Human Relations, July 1961

2 Steve Bogira, "A Dream Unrealized for African Americans," *Chicago Reader*, August 21, 2013

Chapter 16

as welfare eligibility and hiding the number of people in the home from the landlord. The census in 1960 was also the first year of “self enumeration” where the form was mailed to the home. Illiteracy rates



HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS
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Non-White Population Changes 1950-1960

Introduction

The Commission on Human Relations has prepared this special issue of Human Relations News to analyze the changes in the non-white population which occurred between 1950 and 1960 in the State, the Metropolitan Area, the Suburbs and the City. The study is based on the official figures of the U. S. Bureau of Census for 1950 and 1960. Maps are included which illustrate the distribution of Negroes in 1950 and 1960 by Census tract.

Noted in this report are shifts of population from the center of the city to outlying neighborhoods; the impact of this movement on the composition of the population in the community areas; a consideration of the comparable rates of growth between the white and non-white population (97 per cent of the non-whites in Illinois are Negro), and a comparison between the relative growth of non-whites in the state, the suburbs, the metropolitan area and the city.

Illinois

In 1910, when there were 9,000,000 Negroes in the United States, the eleven states of the Old Confederacy claimed 81 per cent of the Negroes. Today, fifty years later, those same southern states have 82 per cent of the nation's 18,000,000 Negroes. In 1960, New York led all fifty states in Negro population; Illinois with 1,637,000 ranked next far behind Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana. Between 1950 and 1960, Arkansas and Mississippi suffered a net loss in Negro population. Under present conditions this northward mi-

POPULATION OF ILLINOIS AND CHICAGO BY RACE 1950-1960

	ILLINOIS		CHICAGO	
	1950	1960	1950	1960
Total Population	10,081,128	8,712,176	3,550,484	3,630,962
White	9,000,252	8,048,008	3,212,748	3,111,222
Negro	1,081,076	864,168	337,736	519,740
Other	9,500	66,000	81,000	100,000
Japanese	14,013	11,246	11,273	10,829
Chinese	7,627	6,247	5,082	4,514
Other	4,361	8,514	4,645	4,667
All Other	4,284	2,812	2,443	2,659

*Not listed in 1950.

Suburban Non-White Distribution

The overwhelming majority of nonwhites in Illinois, 92,000 according to the 1960 census, live in the state's six northeastern counties, Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will, comprising the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (CSMSA). In Cook County, including Chicago, there are 630,832 non-whites. Excluding Chicago, Cook County has 51,196 nonwhites.

Within the six-county metropolitan area, sixteen suburbs had a Negro population of more than 1,000: Aurora (2227), Chicago Heights (5029), Durometer (1855), East Chicago Heights (2794), Elgin (1395), Evanston (9126), Harvey (1066), Joliet (4483), La Grange (1084), Markham (2505), Maywood (5229), North Chicago (4377), Phoenix (2744), Robbins (2410), Summit (1870), and Waukegan (4485).

Metropolitan area suburbs with a nonwhite population of more than five per cent in 1960 were Chicago Heights (19%), Durometer (69%), East Chicago Heights (18%), Evanston (12%), Glenview (7%), Harvey (7%), Joliet (7%), La Grange (7%), Markham (22%), Maywood (28%), North Chicago (23%), Phoenix (6%), Robbins (9%), Waukegan (5%), and Zion (5%).

Only six suburbs with a population of 10,000 or more, Villa Park, South Holland, Rolling Meadows, Northbrook (97 per cent of Illinois nonwhite population are Negro), nonwhite population figures are a reliable index to the number of Negroes.

could also affect participation in the census. The poverty percentage of 29.7% could be quite higher.

Question from the 1960 Census:³

SECTION A - In this section list:

1. Everyone who usually lives here, whether related to you or not.
2. All persons staying here who have no other home.

PLEASE BE SURE TO LIST -

- All members of your family living with you, including babies.
- All other relatives living here.
- Lodgers and boarders living here.
- Servants, hired hands, others not related to you who are living here.
- Any one else staying here but who has no other home.

The concentration of poverty geographically created “no-man’s lands” on Chicago’s west and south sides. No outsider dared to venture into these territories except 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. Children were anemic, had little resistance to infections, and were ridden with parasites. The collective political ills were resignations of powerlessness to change

Geographical Poverty in Chicago
the conditions, distrust of politicians, and nonparticipation in the electoral process.⁴

Against this backdrop, Huey P. Newton wrote, "Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed."⁵ Newton said the United States was in a civil war against black people and that hunger was a means of oppression. Besides strong language of condemnation of the American government in their newspaper, the Party created the Free Breakfast for Children Program as a means of defense and as a means of survival.

4 Douglas S. Massey, Andrew B. Gross and Kumiko Shibuya, "Migration, Segregation, and the Geographic Concentration of Poverty," *American Sociological Review*, 1994, p. 446

5 Huey P. Newton, "A Functional Definition of Politics," *The Black Panther* newspaper article, January 3, 1969

Chapter 17

The Illinois Chapter's Free Breakfast Program

The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party opened its first and longest running Free Breakfast for Children Program on April 1, 1969¹ at North Lawndale's Better Boys Foundation (BBF), 1512 S. Pulaski in Chicago. BBF Founder, Joseph Kellman, was forced to drop out of school to work in the family business. After 45 years, he founded the Archie Moore Boxing Gym in 1961. By that time, the neighborhood was primarily black and Kellman wanted to help the youth in the area. The after-school boxing club was considered neutral ground for gangs. The Egyptian Cobras and Vice Lords could both play basketball and take boxing instruction. 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." Kellman was also elected president of the Greater North Lawndale Conservation Commission.²

Deputy Minister of Education Billy Brooks was a member of the Better Boys Foundation. In strategizing the first breakfast program, Brooks and Hampton thought the BBF would be a good place to offer the breakfast program. Kellman and BBF board member Marv Zimmerman provided critical support after Brooks and Hampton met

¹ "Illinois Press Release," *The Black Panther* newspaper, April 27, 1969, p. 15

² BBF Center for the Arts. *Our Founder*. BBF Center for the Arts Website

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with directors Warner Saunders and Eugene Perkins.³ The first Free Breakfast for Children location opened at the BBF at 7:00 a.m. on April 1st, 1969.⁴ Lawndale still suffers from disinvestment, crime, and poverty. The BBF is still at the same location and still serves youth in Lawndale. Under Criterion Considerations E, the original structure has been replaced with a state-of-the-art facility.

“Designed by famed architect Lucien Lagrange and constructed by FCL Builders, the BBF Center is a gift to the community from the Joseph Kellman Family Foundation and represents the culmination of the work Joe started when he shifted BBF’s focus away from sports and toward comprehensive youth development programming. The energy-efficient building is fully accessible to people with disabilities.

“The BBF Center offers a safe haven to the youth and families of North Lawndale. Students are transported directly from school to the center, where high-density glass, security cameras, and dedicated staff ensure their safety and proper engagement. In addition, BBF’s beautiful courtyard provides a safe, peaceful outdoor location for children that can be enjoyed irrespective of any external neighborhood crisis.” BBF Center of the Arts.

A second Free Breakfast For Children location opened around the same time in the Bronzeville neighborhood on the south side of Chicago. The Coretta Scott King YWCA, 500 E. 37th Street, is now an empty lot. 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.⁵

Sample Menu⁶

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 juice

With protein, milk, or juice with every breakfast, if the children did not receive another nutritional meal that day, although not ideal, they could still survive until the next breakfast. Wanda Ross, the main developer of the Illinois Chapter’s breakfast program set up a nonprofit

3 Billy Brooks Interview. Leila Wills. June 2022.

4 Interview with Billy Brooks, Historical Preservation Society, 2022

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

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



Illinois Chapter members at Wanda Ross' and Chaka Walls' Panther wedding officiated by Chairman Fred Hampton, Paul Sequiera, Getty Images, August 1, 1969

corporation, Free Services Incorporated.

“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.” Wanda Ross.⁷

Ross assembled a board, opened a bank account just for the program, and was able to continue raising donations like Joe Louis Milk, Parker House Sausages, and other quality foods. The Panther Party provided instructions to each chapter and to the community on how to set up a program, including traffic control, waste management, cleanliness, cooks, servers, and enlisting property owners.⁸

Party members from the Illinois chapter, male and female, solicited donations from business people, 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. At its peak, the Free Breakfast for Children Program in Chicago served 4,000 children a day.⁹

The Free Breakfast for Children program at St. Bartholomew, now True Vine Missionary Baptist Church, 6720 S. Stewart, was one place

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

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

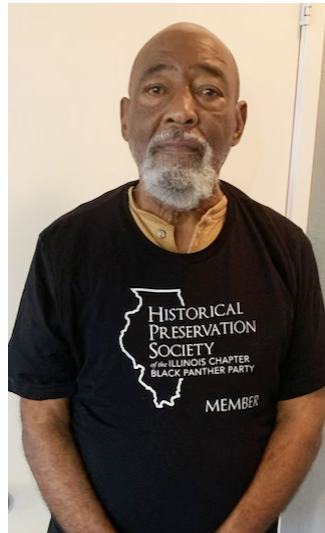
9 F Rice, *Up on Madison, down on 75th Street : Part 1 : A History of the Illinois Black Panther Party* (Evanston, Ill.: The Committee, 1983).

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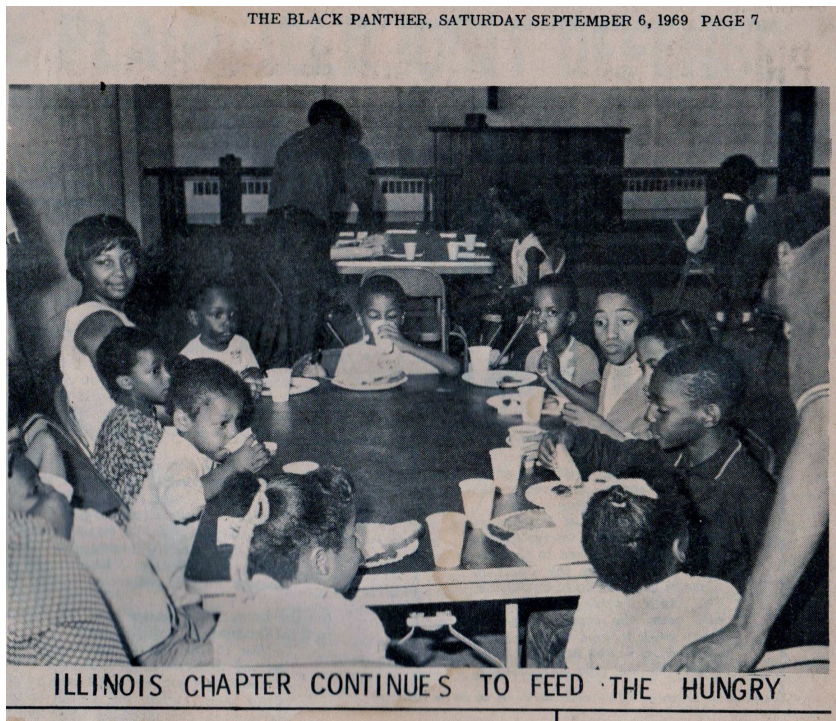
where the intent of the Party to start a breakfast program and have the people take it over happened as soon as it started. St. Bartholomew was renamed True Vine Church and is a local landmark.

Walter Johnson, a 15-year-old member of the Black Panther Party, attended Englewood High School. He enlisted his cohorts 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 the food and serve elementary school children. The Student Union students would eat if there was food left over after the younger ones finished. Johnson said, "Man, they took that thing over."¹⁰

The Party is often credited for the amendments to the Child Nutrition Act that included free breakfast at school and



Walter Johnson, Illinois Chapter



THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 6, 1969 PAGE 7

ILLINOIS CHAPTER CONTINUES TO FEED THE HUNGRY

¹⁰ Interview with Walter Johnson, Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, July 3, 2022

The Illinois Chapter's Free Breakfast Program expansion of the WIC Program, Women, Infants, and Children.

Quotes from the History Channel:

"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," Ruth Beckford, a parishioner who helped with the program, 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.¹¹

¹¹ Erin Blakemore, "How the Black Panthers' Breakfast Program Both Inspired and Threatened the Government," The History Channel

Chapter 18

Creating Alliances and Building Community

Whether working on behalf of a grieving family like the Dowell's¹, whose son was killed by Oakland police in 1967, or partnering with student unions and other groups, the Party created alliances and organized the community around various issues since its beginning. The first interracial alliance came in 1968 with the anti-war Peace and Freedom Party. Partnering with a white organization raised questions in the movement.

In California in 1968, the Peace and Freedom Party registered over 100,000 voters under its party and achieved ballot status. In its first convention, they nominated Black Panther Party Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver to run for president with vice presidential nominee Peggy Terry, a southern-born white activist from Chicago.

Black Power consciousness was very strong in 1968 and Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, clarified the political position of the Black Panther Party in allying itself with a white organization. Some groups were black nationalists and pan-Africanists and were not willing to work with whites. Newton rejected the idea of "culture nationalism" as reactionary and that returning to Africa's customs and identity would not bring political freedom. He used Papa Doc in Haiti as an example; pro-Africanism while replacing white oppressors with black oppressors.

"The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black

¹ "Why Was Denzil Dowell Killed." *The Black Panther* newspaper. April 25, 1967

Chapter 18

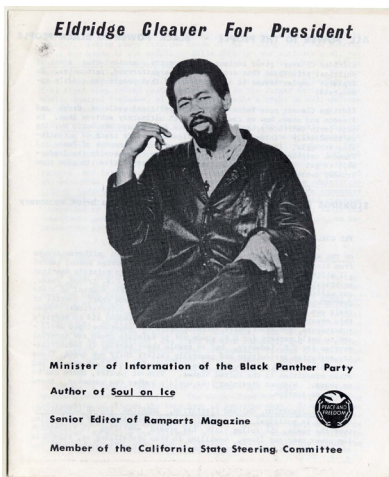
people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary, and it's not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us." Huey P. Newton, 1968 interview in *The Movement*.

Newton reasoned that there was an inherent psychological relationship in America between whites and blacks and that this mindset had to be changed in the revolutionary struggle for liberation from oppression.² He said that the historical relationship was that of the mind and body. And, that the slavemaster had been the mind while the enslaved person was the body. The body carried out the orders that the mind demanded. Because of this, the slavemaster had been permanently positioned as the controller in the office while blacks continued to use their bodies to fill menial and physical positions, even in the movement. Newton said the people held power to change their condition and that revolutionary nationalism would achieve freedom from political oppression.

"Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power...The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism."

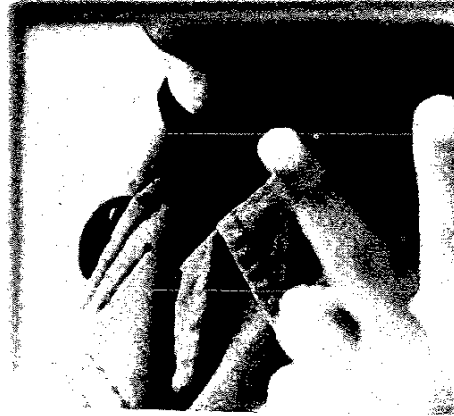
While extremely critical of white liberals as the mind that controlled some of the black organizations, the Black Panther Party, Newton said, was not afraid of "Mother Country Radicals." The mother country was England, and the radicals were whites who were fighting for revolution.

"The Black Panther Party has never been controlled by white



² "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement." *The Movement* newspaper. August 1968

HUEY NEWTON TALKS TO THE MOVEMENT



people. The Black Panther Party has always been a black group. We have always had an integration of mind and body. We have never been controlled by whites and therefore we don't fear the white mother country radicals. Our alliance is one of organized black groups with organized white groups. As soon as the organized white groups do not do the things that would benefit us in our struggle for liberation, that will be our departure point."

Chapter 19

Rainbow Coalition Leads to December 4, 1969

In Illinois, Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton expanded on the idea of alliances and became the driving force in organizing the political power that the people, including gangs, already possessed. His success in creating and executing the Rainbow Coalition despite segregation lines challenged the political control of Mayor Richard J. Daley and directly led to the highest level of coordination between the FBI and the Cook County State's Attorney for his assassination.

While Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale was on trial in Chicago, a faction of the Students for a Democratic Society broke from the group. They called themselves "The Weathermen" based on a line from the Bob Dylan song *Subterranean Homesick Blues*: "You don't need a weather man to know which way the wind blows."¹ The Weathermen wanted to "Bring the War Home" to Chicago and planned several days of anarchy. Fred Hampton called their actions "revolutionary child's play" and said they would lead people to a massacre. He denied any affiliation between the Party and the Weathermen and said the press were creating the connection.²

"I think it is important [to disavow a link to the Weathermen] because there are a lot of people that watch the Black Panther Party

¹ Daniel Hautzinger. "Chicago's Forgotten Days of Rage." WTTW Chicago. October 8, 2019

² Fred Hampton Interview. ABC News. October 9, 1969.

Chapter 19

for an example. They observe us and participate with us and if we can be connected up with this then it would be very unadvantageous to the people and to the struggle.”

Hundred of people were arrested and injured during the Days of Rage and on October 10, 1969, the Rainbow Coalition held a pivotal meeting and press conference at *Holy Covenant Church, 925 W. Diversey in Chicago*. Holy Covenant gave the Coalition protection and refuge by housing them during the Days of Rage. Though the Party was portrayed as violent in the media, the Coalition publicly condemned the violent actions of the Weathermen and urged the people not to participate. Present were 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. Holy Covenant is listed in this MPD under Criteria Consideration A; a religious property of historical importance.



(l-r) Fred Hampton, Pablo “Yoruba” Guzman, Cha Cha Jimenez, Michael Klonsky at Holy Covenant Church, Photo from Cha Cha Jimenez’ collection

By 1969, the continuous migration of poor blacks, whites, and Latinos to Chicago caused middle-class and upper-class whites to flee to the suburbs. The poor areas of the city turned into slums with negligent landlords and were overrun with vermin. Stories of people freezing to death in their apartments were not uncommon. The poor argued that Daley wanted to create a suburb within the city to keep white voters and began displacing thousands of city residents. Daley, the poor contended, instituted this plan through an initiative called Urban Renewal.

“The new legislation had three primary functions. First, it expanded the city’s power of eminent domain and enabled it to seize property for the new “public purposes” of slum clearance or prevention. Second, it pioneered the “write-down” formula which permitted the city to convey such property to private developers at its greatly reduced “use”

Rainbow Coalition Leads to December 4, 1969 value after the municipality subsidized its purchase and preparation. Last, the state provided assistance in relocating site residents—an absolute necessity in a time of severe housing shortages to enable the clearance of crowded, inner-city sites.” Chicago Historical Society.³

Omar Lopez of the Young Lords said the people called it Urban Removal.⁴ Hy Thurman of the Young Patriots said, “One of the first things Daley would do to an area slated for Urban Removal was put a college in it.”⁵ 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.^{6,7}

As poor residents were being displaced, complaints of police repression grew from areas outside of Chicago’s segregated black neighborhoods. Puerto Ricans, Appalachian whites, and Chicanos were having a nonstop conflict with Chicago police. On February 11, 1969, the Young Lords, formerly a street gang now a political organization, arrived en masse at the East Chicago Avenue police station on Chicago’s north side. They were there to protest police brutality inflicted on the Puerto Rican community and demand the commander put a stop to it.⁸ 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.

Fred Hampton saw a report on the police station occupation and went to meet the Young Lords the next day. He met Young Lords’ founder Jose “Cha Cha” Jimenez and said, “I want to help you because you’re going to get yourself killed.”⁹ A few days later, Hampton and Jimenez, the Black Panther Party, and Young Lords co-sponsored the Third World Unity Conference with B.A.D., Black Active and

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

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

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

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

7 Joe Ward. Fighting Displacement In Uptown Has Gone On For 200 Years. *Block Club Chicago*. July 6, 2021

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

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

Chapter 19

Determined, led by Cabrini Green activists Marion Stamps and Dan Underwood.¹⁰ Over the next several weeks, Hampton and the Illinois Chapter continued to work closely with Jimenez and the Young Lords.

During this same time, Illinois Chapter cadre leader Bob Lee, recruited from Northeastern University, was sent into the Uptown neighborhood to forge relations with other groups. Bob Lee, Henry "Poison" Gaddis, Ruby Smith, and Jerry Dunigan began working with JOIN, Jobs or Income Now, a primarily white group organized around 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.¹¹

Lee's first speaking engagement was at the Church of the Three Crosses located at 1900 W. Sedgwick in Chicago and was captured in the film *American Revolution 2*. The church is no longer there. It was at this meeting that he met southern whites William "Preacherman" Fesperman, Jack "Junebug" Boykin, and Doug Youngblood of the Young Patriots. Lee 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.¹²

"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, and both groups lost members behind 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.

In April 1969, Hampton asked Jimenez 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

¹⁰ *The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization: A Staff Study*, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. US Gov. Printing Office 1976 p.30

¹¹ Hy Thurman, the Young Patriots. "The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond." Educational Video Series. Leila Wills 2021

¹² Dave Strano. "Young Patriots And Panthers: A Story Of White Anti-Racism." *Redneck Revolt*. 2005

Rainbow Coalition Leads to December 4, 1969 called the Young Patriots whose leader was William 'Preacherman' Fesperman. I made it clear we had no issues and agreed on the spot." Jose "Cha Cha" Jimenez.¹³

Housing, police brutality, and poverty were the top issues and young people were demanding participation in city government and control of city institutions. Led by the Black Panther Party, the Young Patriots continued to organize and form alliances. The Young Lords were already adept at forging relationships but with the Black Panther Party, namely Fred Hampton, they went beyond their communities. "He was the dynamo," said Omar Lopez, Minister of Information for the Young Lords.¹⁴

By May 1969, with the Young Lords identifying and targeting slumlords with large building takeovers, the Young Patriots doing police patrols, and the Party politicizing other groups and everyday people, the Daley Administration, Urban Renewal, and the Chicago Police were facing constant disruption to the status quo. Chicago remained segregated but these young groups were regularly crossing boundaries and inspiring new organization formations throughout the city.

The Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, and the Young Patriots were the nucleus of the Rainbow Coalition. Some of the other groups allied with the Black Panther Party, coalition building, or where a relationship was in progress before the intervention of the FBI include:

Students for a Democratic Society

Black Guard

Rising Up 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.¹⁵

The Young Comancheros

Mayor Daley himself was a politicized gang member before he entered the system as an anointed precinct captain and City Council clerk by Joseph "Big Joe" McDonough.¹⁶ Politicization of gangs and

¹³ Interview with Jose "Cha Cha" Jimenez on original Rainbow Coalition. *FightBack!News*. July 1, 2019

¹⁴ Omar Lopez, Young Lords Minister of Information. "The Rainbow Coalition and Beyond." Educational Video Series. Leila Wills 2021

¹⁵ *Rising Up Angry* newspaper, July 1969. p.9

¹⁶ James Krohe Jr. "The Politics of Necessity." *Chicago Reader*. January 15, 1998

Chapter 19

youth organizations made the threat to Daley's rule both implicit and explicit. According to the FBI, Chicago's crime rate actually dropped during this time to the second lowest in six major urban areas in the United States; Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Houston, Chicago, and Philadelphia.¹⁷ Nevertheless, on May 9, 1969, Cook County States Attorney Edward Hanrahan announced the city's "War on Gangs."

"State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan rebuked the public yesterday for ignoring the rising murder rate. The time has come, he said, for the public to be as outraged as he is over the way Chicagoans are deliberately slaughtering each other. 'It just appalls me that people have such a reckless disregard for life,' the prosecutor said."¹⁸

Newspapers outside of Chicago quoted a white man named Chuck LaPaglia, a youth worker who worked with the Blackstone Rangers. LaPaglia accused Hanrahan of lying.¹⁹

"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."

The FBI's Counter Intelligence documents had yet to be revealed in May 1969. But tactics used to destroy the Black Panther Party included planted media stories to discredit the organization. In announcing Hanrahan's War on Gangs, the *Chicago Tribune* backed Hanrahan's claim of untold gang violence and placed the Black Panthers as possibly responsible for one of them.

"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."

They cited no journalist in the above *Chicago Tribune* article,

¹⁷ Chicago Police Annual Report 1969. Chicago Police Department

¹⁸ "Hanrahan Hits Public Apathy Over Killings." *Chicago Tribune*. May 7, 1969.

¹⁹ "Wave of Chicago Slayings is Blamed on Negro Gangs." *Miami Herald*, May 9, 1969 p. 138

Rainbow Coalition Leads to December 4, 1969
"Police Strive to Halt Teen Gang Violence," on May 9, 1969. The 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 public transportation task force, CTA 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.

From Hanrahan's announcement of the War on Gangs, 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.²⁰ One previous arrest of Fred Hampton's came calling on May 27, 1969. 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. Irving is located across the street from Fred Hampton's childhood home. 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 being able to drive off. He returned to the playground with police officers. Hampton testified that he arrived on the scene after the alleged beating and that the police officers led the salesman to identify Hampton as the person who beat him and stole \$71 worth of ice cream.²¹

On May 27, 1969, Hanrahan's Cook County prosecutors went through the tremendous trouble of arranging for the ice cream van driver to leave the Vietnam War to testify. 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.²²

Fred Hampton would file an appeal but he went to prison at that time. 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 which turned out to be their own informant, George Sams, from Connecticut.²³ They arrested eight Party members, seized paperwork,

20 Interview with Jose "Cha Cha" Jimenez on original Rainbow Coalition. *FightBack!News*. July 1, 2019

21 "The People v. Hampton." Justia Law. November 26, 1969.

22 Jeffrey Haas. *The Assassination of Fred Hampton*. Lawrence Hill Books. 2010 p.48-52

23 Haas. p.51

Chapter 19

and legal guns, and destroyed food for the breakfast program.²⁴

By July 1969, the Young Lords, Young Patriots, Rising Up Angry and others were hosting their own free breakfast for children programs, planning free medical centers, and publishing their own newspapers. Their newspapers were used as organizing tools and for educating their communities on the Black Panther Party, the repression of the Gang Intelligence Unit, the Chicago police, and the importance of solidarity.

Then, on July 16, 1969, the UPI came out with the 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 group" had put more investigative responsibilities on the FBI."

The United States Senate 1976 report, *The FBI's Covert Action Program To Destroy The Black Panther Party*, dates this Hoover quote as far back as September 8, 1968²⁵ and the 1969 annual report that is publicly available does not have this quote.²⁶ By July 1969, 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.²⁷

The Senate report explains:

"Information from Bureau files in Chicago on the Panthers was given to Chicago police upon request, and Chicago Police Department files were open to the Bureau."²⁸

A Special Agent who handled liaison 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.²⁹

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

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

26 FBI Annual Report 1969. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Internet Archive

27 Homeland Security Digital Library. P. 187

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

29 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.



Illinois Chairman Fred Hampton at the People's Church, Photo: Screenshot from the film, *The Murder of Fred Hampton*.

The Bureau and Chicago Police both maintained paid informants in the BPP, shared informant information, and the FBI provided information which was used by Chicago police in planning raids against the Chicago BPP.³⁰

The Illinois headquarters was raided again on July 30, 1969, and three Party members were brutalized and arrested. Witnesses said the Chicago police opened fire on the building and occupants without provocation. On cross-examination of the officers by attorney Flint Taylor, the judge dismissed the cases. A few days later, Hampton's appeal was accepted and he was released on bond on August 13, 1969.³¹

Before Hampton was released, filmmakers Howard Alk and Mike Gray were shadowing the Panthers for a documentary called *American Revolution*. The film provided unprecedented access during raids, speeches, and meetings. The People's Church at 201 S. Ashland, now the Epiphany Arts Center, on the west side of Chicago, had become the primary place for Illinois Chapter public meetings. The film captured a pivotal speech made by Hampton after his release. The film was released in 1971 under the title, *The Murder of Fred Hampton*. The speech was printed in the *New York Times* and continues to circulate over 50 years later.³²

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

31 Haas. p.53

32 Fred Hampton. "I Believe I'm Going to Die." *NY Times*. July 21, 1971

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Excerpts:

"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 be able to die high off the people." Fred Hampton, August 15, 1969³³

The FBI devised numerous schemes³⁴ to use informants to cause violence and humiliation directed at the Illinois Chapter and the Party as a whole. In Chicago, they devised plans to end coalition building, cause friction with the Nation of Islam, cripple the Party by destroying *The Black Panther* newspaper, and create animosity with the Blackstone Rangers. In regard to the national leadership of the Party, 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.

Fred Hampton was booked for a television show in January 1969 and 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 in front of studio personnel and 25 Party members. The FBI bragged about how embarrassing it was for the Illinois Chapter and Hampton personally.³⁵

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 Party. He spoke openly about it to Flint Taylor, "Fred was speed-rapping about the

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

34 Homeland Security Digital Library.

35 Homeland Security Digital Library.

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.

cops, describing them as out to get him."³⁶

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 Party 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 who was 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.³⁷

Hoover congratulated Chicago FBI Agent Roy Mitchell for the success of the raid and authorized a bonus for the informant that supplied crucial information to kill Hampton.³⁸

³⁶ Haas. p.62

³⁷ People's Law Office

³⁸ J. Edgar Hoover. Personal Memo to FBI Agent Roy Martin Mitchell. December 10, 1969.



Top: Sergeant Daniel Groth. Bottom: Officer James "Gloves" Davis Photos: Screenshots from the film, *The Murder of Fred Hampton*.

Speaking of Groth, the statement alleged: "The sergeant he aimed at the chairman (Hampton). He emptied his gun. Then he called for a machine gun."

In an excerpt referring to Davis, the statement charged: "Gloves laid his revolver on his elbow, like this, and aimed right at the chairman's body."

Davis, one of two black policemen indicted, was known as "Gloves" from his habit of wearing black leather gloves in dealing with persons under investigation.

The Chico Enterprise Record, July 29, 1972

June 27, 1969

PERSONAL

Mr. Roy Martin Mitchell
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The very capable manner in which you performed in a matter of intense interest to the Bureau in the racial field was certainly admirable and I want to commend you.

As a result of your effective and skillful guidance of a confidential source who furnished valuable information concerning this undertaking, you were responsible in part for the successful discharge of our obligations. I am appreciative of your splendid efforts.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10
JUN 27 1969
COMM-FBI

1 - SAC, Chicago (Personal Attention)
Re: Black Panther Party

1 - Miss Usilton (Sent Direct)

JAB:jhr (5) 67-574640

Based on memo Moore-Sullivan 6-20-69 re Black Panther Party, Chicago Division, Racial Matters.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

December 10, 1969

PERSONAL

Mr. Roy Martin Mitchell
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am certainly pleased to commend you and to advise that I have approved an incentive award for you in the amount of \$200.00 for your outstanding services in a matter of considerable interest to the FBI in the racial field. Enclosed is a check representing this award.

Through your aggressiveness and skill in handling a valuable source, he is able to furnish information of great importance to the Bureau in this vital area of our operations. I want you to know of my appreciation for your exemplary efforts.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 20
DEC 10 1969
COMM-FBI

Enclosure
1 - SAC, Chicago (Personal Attention) Enclosure
Re: Black Panther Party

You should personally present this award and should this not be possible or should presentation be unreasonably delayed by your absence official acting for you should present it. Inform employee net amount of check represents this award less withholding tax.

1 - Mrs. Randolph (Sent Direct)

BLA:jhr

(5)

67-574640

Award #650-70
Based on memo Moore-Sullivan 12/2/69 and addendum Administrative Division 12/4/69 re Special Agent Roy Martin Mitchell, Recommendation for Incentive Award, Chicago Division.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Chapter 20

National and Local Impact of the Assassination of Illinois Chairman Fred Hampton

The seven survivors were arrested and charged with attempted murder, aggravated battery, and unlawful use of weapons. In the days after the raid, Hanrahan and his police squad dominated the headlines and airwaves with their versions of the story. WBBM in Chicago aired Hanrahan's police squad reenacting their version of the raid.¹ The survivors had remained quiet and Deputy Minister of Defense, Bobby Rush, spoke to the press. It would be at the People's Inquest on March 8, 1970, at First Baptist Congregational Church, 1613 W Washington, when the survivors finally spoke at the National Emergency Conference to Defend the Right of the Black Panther Party to Exist. The First Baptist Congregational Church is included in this MPD under Criteria Consideration A; religious properties with historical importance.

A reporter from the *Chicago Sun-Times* quit after writing the first report of the bullet holes in the apartment not matching 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. The reporter's editors buried the story in the back of the newspaper.² Chicago Journalism Review, written by employed

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

2 "A Doubt Spread Around the World." *Vancouver Sun*. January 22, 1970. p.5

The Panthers and the rest of us

The crash and flicker of pre-dawn gunfire, a cache of weapons, two dead black men — they were familiar scenes for police and the Black Panther Party. Yet this time, the shots that killed Fred Hampton, 21, and Mark Clark, 22, in Chicago on December 4 somehow began to echo around the world. To the surprise of the police, the Panthers, and the press, they gave the community a brief burst of illumination, by which it tried again to see itself.

Most easily seen was the doubt. There was doubt that Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan's police had shown "bravery," restraint, and discipline in a search for illegal weapons, as Hanrahan himself insisted. And it spread to doubt in law enforcement, doubt in ourselves, doubt — especially — that doubt could ever be resolved. "This is a tragic story for Chicago," was the view of Clayton Kirkpatrick, editor of the *Chicago Tribune* and a staunch supporter of law and order.

Officials, journalists and revolutionaries were not prepared for the changing public mood: Hanrahan's announcement of a heroic police raid against "vicious" Black Panthers, press photographs of 18 seized weapons (including, police said, one sawed-off shotgun), the personal accounts of the policemen themselves — it was the route that Hanrahan had taken successfully as a crumbusting federal district attorney.

But this time, black Alderman A.A. (Sammy) Rayner charged that the killing of Panther Chairman Hampton was an "assassination." Nine Congressmen called for an independent investigation. Thousands of local black students mourned. The white mayor of suburban Maywood (where Hampton grew up) demanded murder indictments against Hanrahan's raiders. Ralph Abernathy, Jesse Jackson and Dr. Spock eulogized Hampton and joined 5,000 persons at a memorial service.

For many, doubt about Hanrahan's story revived doubts about the scores of police raids and the twenty deaths of Panthers in the past three years. Hanrahan hit the issue squarely:

"I would have thought our office is entitled to expect to be believed in by the public. Our officers wouldn't lie about the act. I'm talking about the credibility of our officers here and myself."

At first, the news media too misjudged the public mood. First reports flatly accepted the police definition of the incident as a "shootout." *Chicago Today*

blared: "Panther bosses killed in cop shootout."

It was a familiar case of journalistic doubletalk, since doubt was present even in the city rooms where those first stories were written. One *Sun-Times* reporter quit when editors buried his story — the first report that the location of bullet holes in the Panther apartment did not square with the police version of the raid.

Another editor told a group of reporters who wanted to dig deeper that "nobody would be interested in it."

Yet, a week later, local newsmen rushed to catch up with the story, seeking rumored witnesses and charting investigations. *Chicago Today* was declaring, in a front page editorial: "Mr. Hanrahan should step aside" from investigations of the raid.

It wasn't that the media were whipping up the citizenry, as Hanrahan had charged: the media were being pushed by the community — especially the black community, some of whom even sought a 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. "curfew" for whites in black neighborhoods. Loudly and more clearly than ever before, the community was saying that it didn't trust the system.

Why was the doubt spreading? Partly, there was the physical evidence which challenged the police story; partly

Panthers, and are just afraid to open their mouths." Yet in all of Chicago these past weeks, only one black leader, United States District Judge James B. Parsons, was heard to defend the police against the Panthers. The newfound unity of the black community against the raid was striking indeed, embracing even Mayor Daley's loyal black aldermen.

"It's about time," the state's attorney's policeman had said, "that people stand up and be counted as to what they believe in."

And forty black mail carriers in uniform raised their fist in solidarity before filing through the apartment where Hampton was slain.

"I see this," said law enforcement professor, A.C. Gernann, a consultant to the U.S. Department of Justice, "as just a kind of normal, routine police operation. Police have never worried too much about legality, or morality, or compassion. The aim has been getting the job done, like American businessmen."

If one looked at the talented prosecutor who applied Mafia-busting tactics to Chicago's militant gangs and the revolution-minded Panthers, or at James (Gloves) Davis, one of the police raiders, who said on television that he was a "colored" officer



Bobby Rush (left) and Fred Hampton: "He was ready. Are you?"

the universal dread of midnight raids; partly the contradictions in the policemen's story; partly the account which the Panthers themselves gave of the incident; partly the growing numbers of Panther raids and deaths nationwide. As the Panthers' general counsel, Charles Garry of San Francisco, put it: "I have satisfied myself that there is a national scheme by the various agencies of government to destroy and commit genocide upon members of the Black Panther Party."

Beside the specifics of Hampton's death, doubt grew because the cliches police and the news media had applied to Fred Hampton and the Black Panthers clashed wildly with reality.

"I firmly believe," said a top cop in the state's attorney's office, "that 95 per cent of the blacks are terrorized by these Black



Paul Simpson

and who earned his nickname as an old-style cop who beat troublemakers while wearing black gloves, or at the inertia of the news media in explaining the raid and the Black Panthers or at the shrewd silence of Mayor Daley — if one looked at the city at work, it was possible to see in the death of Fred Hampton a great threat to the routines of the old order, and first stirring of the new.

Last June, in testimony before the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, Fred Hampton said:

"I just went to a wake where a young man had been shot in the head by a pig. And you know this is bad. But it heightens the contradictions in the community. These things a lot of times organize the people better than we can organize them ourselves."

Chicago Journalism Review, December 1969

mainstream journalists, dedicated its entire newspaper to the murder of Fred Hampton and the contradictions in the press. The article quoted Alderman Sam Raynor who rented the Illinois chapter their office at 2350 W. Madison as saying the killing was "an assassination."³ Nine congressmen called for an independent investigation, the NAACP announced their own investigation, and the public demanded entry into the courtrooms and conducted marches and protests.

After the raid, the police left the crime scene open and unattended. The Illinois Chapter encouraged and allowed the public to tour the apartment to see the bloody aftermath inside. Forty black US mail carriers in uniform stopped to raise their fist as they entered. The Afro-American Police League called for Hanrahan and his police to be indicted. And, a television crew accompanied lawyers for the Party

National and Local Impact of the Assassination of Chairman Fred Hampton and televised the wreckage inside the apartment.

It would be another year before J. Edgar Hoover's Counter Intelligence Program was exposed, but the public asserted a conspiracy. U.S. District Attorney Cecil Poole, who was the first black U.S. Attorney, said, "Whatever they say they're doing, they're out to get the Black Panthers." Mrs. Angie Dickerson of the World Peace Council, Ossie Davis, Dick Gregory, Ralph Abernathy, Roy Innis, and Illinois Deputy Minister of Defense Bobby Rush called for the "National Emergency Conference to Defend the Right of the Black Panther Party to Exist."⁴

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."

A divergent group of people descended on Chicago; students, civil rights activists, worker rights advocates, religious groups, Black Panther Party Chief of Staff David Hilliard from Oakland, CT Vivian, and State Representative Jon Conyers attended the National Emergency Conference to Defend the Right of the Black Panther Party to Exist. The survivors of the December 4th raid finally spoke publicly during the Emergency Conference when the Party held a "People's Inquest." They described the raid in great detail.

During the discovery phase of their criminal trial, their lawyers requested that the state turn over all names of informants 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.⁵

Panther lawyers managed to bring an indictment against Hanrahan and then sued the city of Chicago. Hanrahan, a protégé of Richard J. Daley, was eventually acquitted. Daley would stay in office another five years but dropped Hanrahan in 1971. Daley supported another candidate for reelection. Also in 1971, an anonymous group called Citizens Committee to Investigate the FBI broke into the Bureau office in Media, PA, and discovered the COINTEL PROGRAM. The group circulated confidential FBI memos to the press and the abuses the Black Panther Party and Illinois Chapter plus other organizations suffered became exposed.⁶

4 *The Carolina Times*. February 7, 1970

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

6 Mark Mazetti. "Burglars Who Took On FBI Abandon Shadows." *New York*

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In Chicago, for the first time, black voters defected from the Democratic Party and elected a Republican to replace Hanrahan in 1972.⁷ Panther and Rainbow Coalition members began running for office and their knowledge of organizing led to their organizing around the election of Chicago's first black mayor Harold Washington.⁸

On February 3, 1973, the FBI's use of informant William O'Neal, who directly aided the FBI and in so doing, indirectly aided Hanrahan's police, became public.⁹ O'Neal was born on December 9, 1943 and joined the Illinois Chapter at the behest of his FBI handler, Roy Mitchell. The addresses the FBI had on file for O'Neal were 3811 West End Ave in Chicago, which is an empty lot, and 1544 Springfield in Chicago. The Springfield address appears to be the original structure. These addresses are informational only and not included in this MPD. Aliases of O'Neal include William McKinley and William McKinney. O'Neal allegedly committed suicide on January 15, 1990 after a television interview on his role as an FBI operative.

Times. January 14, 2007

⁷ Robert D. McFadden. Rejected Prosecutor. *Chicago Tribune*. December 21, 1971. p.28

⁸ Rainbow Coalition Panel, Oakland California Museum. October 23, 2016. Grand Valley State University

⁹ David Young. "Panther Tip on Hit Squad: Informer Aids FBI in Quiz." *Chicago Tribune*. February 3, 1973. p.1

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Medical Center, Sickle Cell Anemia Testing

In line with Police Patrols and the Free Breakfast for Children Program, the next major initiative of the Black Panther Party was another urgent matter—healthcare for the poor. The Free Medical Program would become an initiative that would again lead to significant changes in government policy. Chairman Bobby Seale mandated health clinics for all Black Panther Party chapters in 1970 but the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party was already busy preparing for the opening of the People's Free Medical Center in Chicago in 1969.¹

The Politics of Healthcare in 1968-1969

As shown in the section on the Breakfast Program, the Great Migration, white flight, and local politics concentrated poverty, hunger, and disease in black areas with the greatest influx of migrants. These areas were not only “no man’s lands,” they were “medical wastelands.”² For example, Woodlawn, a neighborhood on Chicago’s south side and adjacent to Hyde Park and the University of Chicago, was left with 35 doctors while it housed over 78,000 people. White students of

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

2 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.

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the University of Chicago could be seen at their hospital while black students were sent to the county's Provident hospital with inferior supplies and machinery.³ Cook County's main hospital was on the west side, near the IL-BPP headquarters, and was used as a poor patient dumping ground.

In 1968, the Chicago Student Health Organization issued a critical report on the federal Medicaid program and how poor people were not receiving adequate healthcare. It also described Cook County Hospital as overutilized and overworked. Private doctors constantly referred the indigent to the county hospital when the patient could not pay for services. The Student Health Organization's report demanded action from the government and was presented to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Of the 1700 doctors who sat on Cook County Hospital's panel of physicians, 100 handled 70% of the welfare patients. Some of these doctors handled over 150 patients a day and 40% of them did not have hospital appointments. Not having hospital affiliation and appointments, noted the report, suggested lower qualifications of the doctors than the 80% of Cook County doctors who do have hospital appointments. The report cited the 1967 Title 19 of the Medicaid Act that made provisions for poor children, up to age 21, to receive medical care and the dire need of services.

"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."⁴

Adequate healthcare was not received by the poor 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, an inordinate amount of paperwork required for each welfare patient, and patients presenting themselves without a Medicaid voucher. A patient without a voucher would have to apply for coverage and the doctor may or may not receive payment for his services. The Student Health Organization (SHO) gave a grave analysis and offered urgent remedies the government could take to alleviate the lack of healthcare for the poor and the burden on doctors. The SHO report mentions the Black Panther Party by name:

³Brown 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.

⁴ 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.

“...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...”⁵

Part of the report on the Lawndale community, the future site of the People’s Free Medical Clinic, shows the conditions at the time.

“The area known as Lawndale is actually two community areas; one is North Lawndale, the other is South Lawndale. They are community areas 29 and 30, respectively. No two communities could 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.”⁶

*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 cases of tuberculosis discovered.

The Party Joins the Push for Free Health Clinics

Progressive medical students from the Student Health Project attempted to open an evening medical center in a poverty stronghold called 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

5 Chicago Student Health Project 1968. Student Health Organization Of Chicago and Presbyterian-St. Luke’s Hospital 1968

6 Student Health Organization Of Chicago and Presbyterian-St. Luke’s Hospital 1968, p. 47

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the healthcare system from within.⁷ 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. King during the Poor People's Campaign. Dr. Young and his colleagues were practicing physicians and had already become activists within the profession.

Dr. Young recalled how he was approached by Illinois Black Panther Party 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.

"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."⁸

Chairman Fred Hampton said this about 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?"⁹

Satchel was now the Deputy Minister of Health for the Illinois Chapter and Young wrote that Fred Hampton and Satchel set up an office within MCHR's headquarters in Hyde Park at 1512 E. 55th Street in Chicago, 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

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

8 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.

9 Speech by Fred Hampton, "It's a Class Struggle, Godamnit!" Northern Illinois University. November 1969

Medical Center, Sickle Cell Anemia Testing 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."¹⁰

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 once again announced in *The Black Panther* newspaper that the clinic would open¹¹ but the Illinois Secretary of State Paul Powell rejected their application to incorporate it. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover had already vowed 1969 to be the end of the Party, and police raids, harassment, and arrests of leadership also delayed the opening. The Illinois Chapter, like all chapters nationwide, was under severe police repression and the constant raids, arrests, and then the assassination of Illinois Chairman Fred Hampton, the Free Medical Center did not open until January 1970.

Illinois Chapter member Ralph Bostick worked in the medical center every day. "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."¹² The Illinois Chapter also took part in protests against Cook County Hospital¹³ and one flyer that was kept 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 flyer 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.'"¹⁴

Dr. Young used his contacts to recruit doctors, nurses, lab

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

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

12 Interview with Ralph Bostick, Historical Preservation Society, June 4, 2022

13 Photograph is in appendix

14 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.

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technicians, medicines, supplies, and equipment. Each member of the Chicago MCHR paid five dollars to support the clinic and the MCHR supervised the 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.

“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.’”¹⁵

Every patient was interviewed by a member of the Black Panther Party who served as the Patient’s Advocate. The Party also advocated for patients’ privacy in healthcare and dignity in treatment.¹⁶ No patient had to fill out paperwork or pay to be seen. 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.¹⁷ “Medical Mis-Care” and “Medicine Must Serve the People” were common phrases used in the newspaper.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ Activist Fannie

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

¹⁶ Healthcare - Pig Style. *The Black Panther* newspaper, Vol 4. No 9. February 7, 1970, p. 9

¹⁷ Healthcare - Pig Style. , p. 9

¹⁸ *The Black Panther* newspaper, Vol. 3. No. 30., November 15, 1969, p. 16

¹⁹ 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

Medical Center, Sickle Cell Anemia Testing
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.²⁰

Two weeks after the clinic opened, Ronald “Doc” Satchel gathered the staff and pointed out dozens of white jackets hanging 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.”²¹ From then on, all staff and Party members wore white jackets.

Sickle Cell Anemia

Party members and community volunteers were trained to conduct screenings, urinalysis, and other tests²² and in April 1971, the Black Panther Party 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.²³ The Party criticized the US Government for its lack of response to the disease and set out to test members of the community.

Illinois Chapter and health cadre member Ralph Bostick recalls, “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.”

In 1972, the Black Panther Party added healthcare to their Ten-Point Platform and Program:

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

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

21 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.

22 Interview with Ralph Bostick, Historical Preservation Society, June 4, 2022

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



Ralph Bostick

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 disease²⁴. The Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party's free medical center was a remodeled storefront at 3850 W. 16th Street on Chicago's west side. It is now an empty lot.

Penn Elementary school, 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 were unsuccessful in organizing health care clinics in poor neighborhoods, the Panther Party's community outreach was a well-oiled machine. The American Journal of Public Health estimated that the Spurgeon Jake Free Medical Center, named after a fallen Illinois Chapter member, had 1400 patients registered and saw at least 75 patients a week.²⁵ Dr. Young recalled approximately 100 patients a week.²⁶

Ralph Bostick who worked alongside Ronald "Doc" Satchel, women in the Party, volunteers, and medical staff emotionally offers 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."²⁷

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

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

26 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.

27 Interview with Ralph Bostick, Historical Preservation Society, June 4, 2022

Chapter 22

Other Programs and Initiatives

Community Control of Police

Issues the Black Panther Party took on as initiatives are still being fought today. Since the beginning of the Black Panther Party, members circulated petitions for community control of the police. 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."¹

In Chicago, the Party said there were over 600,000 eligible people, mostly black and poor, 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. Since the efforts of the Black Panther Party, police accountability has continued to be a hot-button issue. 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 an investigator to investigate the Chicago Police Department.

Attorney James D. Montgomery, Sr. who represented Deborah Johnson after the assassination of Fred Hampton said,

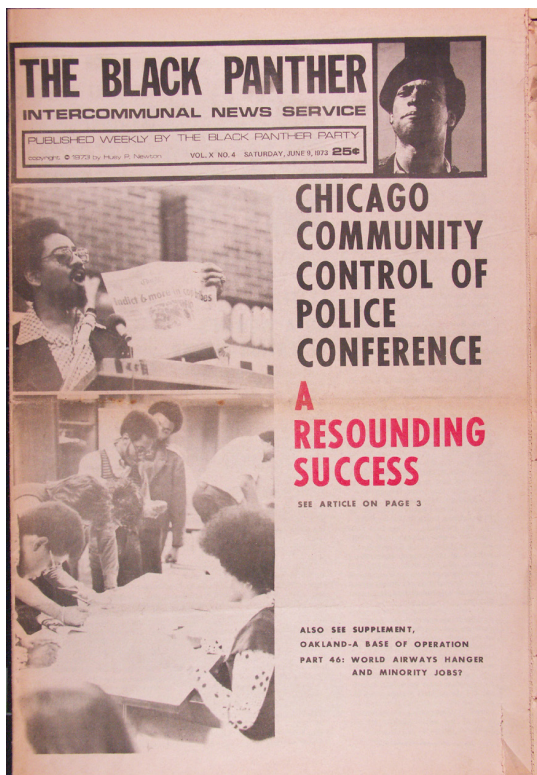
"I've been thinking about how the Fred Hampton case relates to protests regarding LaQuan McDonald. People should understand history before calling for a federal prosecutor and Justice Department

¹*The Black Panther* Newspaper, May 26, 1973, page 3.

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investigations. That's what happened in the Panther case. Instead, there should be a demand for the appointment of an independent special prosecutor."²

The city of Chicago formed the Civilian Office of Police Accountability in 2016.³



The Black Panther Newspaper

The Black Panther Newspaper

The Party's newspaper was key to public outreach and an organizing tool for members. It was a political education program on its own and members were required to read each issue cover-to-cover. *The Black Panther* was published every Wednesday and the Illinois Chapter was a major distribution center that eventually got its own newspaper press. The newspaper cost 25 cents, and it was said that sellers got to keep 10 cents from each sale.

Circulation was 100,000 copies a week, which grew to 300,000.⁴
2 James D. Montgomery, *Full Circle: Race, Law, and Justice*. Third World Press. 2018

3 Chicago.gov

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

In Chicago, the Illinois Chapter's distribution service was a sound functioning operation and each member, from those in leadership to the newest recruit, was required to sell it. The Party published the newspaper from 1967 until 1980 and the Illinois Chapter ceased printing operations circa 1975. The Young Lords and other organizations fashioned their newspaper after the Party's.⁵ The newspaper was so influential that the FBI created many schemes to decrease its circulation and cause other groups to attack the Party with violence. In 1969, the San Diego FBI office read an article in *The Black Panther* that was critical of Ron Karenga from US Slaves and devised a plan to cause violence.

"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."⁶

Elbert "Big Man" Howard was the editor of *The Black Panther* and the FBI signed his name to a letter to stoke division between Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton.

"...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."⁷

The FBI contacted United Airlines to inquire about the increase of shipment rates of the newspaper by 40%.⁸ In 1970, the New York FBI Office reported that it was working on actions against the production and distribution. The following year, the circulation manager of *The Black Panther*, Sam Napier, was murdered on a visit to New York.⁹

Operations in Chicago

FBI Memo:

"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

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

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

7 Homeland Security Digital Library. p.17

8 Homeland Security Digital Library. p.25

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

helping to cripple the BPP.”¹⁰

Newspaper sales by the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party became so demanding that Chicago purchased its own newspaper press. The FBI discussed another operation to cause friction and 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.”¹¹

Free Bus to Prison Program

The Black Panther Party referred to the United States prison system as “the most wretched and inhumane of any that can be found in the world...”¹² and in 1970, they instituted the Free Bussing to Prison Program. In Chicago, the War on Gangs and over-incarceration took a toll on families. “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.”¹³ They found similar incarceration rate disparities in the other oppressed, working-class, and over-policed communities where the Party and Rainbow Coalition served.

Statistics from 1969 are repeated from the Rainbow Coalition section: The 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 public transportation task force, CTA 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.

On May 17, 1972, Lucy Montgomery, an activist, and philanthropist who supported civil rights and anti-war movements, purchased a 15-year-old Greyhound bus and donated it to the Illinois Chapter.¹⁴ The 10 FBI Headquarters Memo to Chicago. May 15, 1970

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

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

13 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/>.

14 Stan McKinney, Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Interview by Leila Wills. 2020

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 inhuman 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 fascist 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's 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

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bus could seat 39 passengers, had air conditioning, and a bathroom. The bus ran a regular, dependable schedule of every Sunday, visiting two prisons a week. The bus left from the west side headquarters, 2350 W. Madison, and the south side office, 4233 S. Indiana.¹⁵

"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.¹⁶"

Free Food Program

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. Primary locations were the Coretta Scott King YWCA, 436 E. Pershing Road, now an empty lot, and Stone Temple Baptist Church, 3622 W. Douglas. Stone Temple is listed in the National Register and this MPD

¹⁵ Wills, Free Bus to Prison Program.

¹⁶ *The Black Panther Newspaper*, June 17, 1972, page 12.

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will not currently amend the listing as more Party initiatives at the church are being researched.

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.¹⁷

**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

CORETTA SCOTT KING
YWCA
436 E. PERSHING RD.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

**12:00
to
2:00p.m.**

Dolby Bush giving away free bags of food to the people of the Lawndale community Dec. 4, 1971.

Fred Hampton Mark Clark
Free
FOOD
PROGRAM

The Black Panther Newspaper

Free Daycare Program

The Illinois Chapter operated a Free Daycare Program in a single family home on Chicago's south side at 8834 S. Merrill.

National Committee to Combat Fascism

The NCCF grew out of the United Front Against Fascism conference held in Oakland in July 1969. All people who wanted to join the struggle were welcome.

Closing of the Illinois Chapter

By 1976, the Black Panther Party decided to focus its action 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.

¹⁷ *The Black Panther newspaper*, page 3, April 15, 1972.

Chapter 23

Black Panther Party Sites in Illinois

The Historical Preservation Society, IL-BPP is working on a Multiple Property Submission for sites affiliated with the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party to the National Register of Historic Places.

The National Register of Historic Places is the official list of the historic places in America worthy of preservation. A multiple property submission (MPS) is a thematic group listing of the National Register of Historic Places that comprises related properties that share a common theme submitted as a group.

The National Register of Historic Places has been accepting multiple property nominations since 1977. Over one-third of the 66,300 National Register listings are part of multiple property submissions. We are confident that the profound history of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party qualifies as part of our national, state, and local heritage.

For structures that no longer exist, we are working to get plaques placed at the sites that mark the Illinois Chapter. For structures that are already landmarks, such as the People's Church, we are working to amend their listings to reflect the history of the Illinois Chapter.

Thank you to all the Party members who continue to make themselves available for our interviews, questions, and clarifications. We cannot do this without your participation.

Meeting to Start the Chapter, August 25, 1968

1. 6110 S. Dorchester in Chicago

Chapter Offices

1. 2350 W. Madison
2. 4233 S. Indiana

Branches

1. East St. Louis, 10 N. 16th Street
2. Peoria, IL, operated from various locations
3. Rockford, IL, 529 Pierpoint Ave
4. West Suburban Branch, includes Argo, Maywood, Harvey, no office

National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Community Centers and Offices

1. 63rd and Racine (need exact address)
2. 253 E. 35th Street
3. Keeler and 13th St. (need exact address)
4. Madison and Pulaski (need exact address)
5. 109th and Racine (need exact address)
6. Carbondale, IL, 401 N. Washington Street

BPP Organizers on the Ground, No Office

Joliet, Dekalb, Peoria, Waukegan, Gary, IN, Cairo, Edwardsville

Organizing

1. 1320 S. Kedvale

Meetings and Rallies

1. The People's Church, 201 S. Ashland
2. Christ Temple Apostolic, 14 S. Ashland
3. St. Bartholomew Church, 6720 S. Stewart
4. First Baptist Congregational Church - 1613 W Washington, People's Inquest, 3/8/70
5. Holy Covenant United Methodist Baptist Church, 925 W. Diversey
6. 6430 S. Harvard

Chairman Fred Hampton

1. Childhood Home, 804 S. 17th Ave., Maywood
2. Aquatic Center, 300 Oak Street, Maywood
3. Irving Middle School, 805 S. 17th Ave, Maywood
4. Proviso East High School, 807 S 1st Ave, Maywood
5. Precious Blood Church, 2411 W. Congress Pkwy, Chicago, IL (last speech given, Dec. 3)
6. Assassination site, 2337 W. Monroe, Chicago
7. Funeral at First Baptist Church of Melrose Park, 2114 Main St, Melrose Park, IL 60160

Breakfast Program

1. Better Boys Foundation, 1512 S. Pulaski
2. Jackson Boulevard Church, 2413 W. Jackson
3. Marcy Newberry Association, 1539 S. Springfield
4. St. Andrews Episcopal Church, 48 N. Hoyne
5. The People's Church, 201 S. Ashland
6. Henry Horner Homes, 124 N. Hoyne

Black Panther Party Sites in Illinois

7. Cabrini Green, St. Dominic's Church, 357 W. Locust
 8. St. Martin De Pores Church, 5112 W. Washington Blvd
 9. Brotherhood of Boys Republic, 1510 S. Hamlin
 10. Fairfax House, 135 S. Central Park
 11. Madden Park, 500 E. 37th Street
 12. Robert Taylor Homes, Trinity Lutheran Church, 4837 S. State St.
 13. Altgeld Gardens, Our Lady of the Gardens Church, 13300 S. Langley
 14. Southside Office, 4233 S. Indiana
 15. Our Redeemer Church, 6430 S. Harvard
 16. Harold Ickes Housing Projects, Madden Center 22nd & State
 17. East St. Louis, 10 N. 16th Street
 18. St. Louis, St. Stephens Church, 3949 Wilmington Ave., St. Louis, MO
 19. Carbondale, Mt. Olive Freewill Baptist Church, 409 N. Marion Street
 20. Carbondale, Crispus Attucks School- having trouble finding address for 1970
 21. Peoria, Ward Chapel AME Church, 511 N. Richard Allen Drive
 22. Rockford, Fairground Projects - 1015 W Jefferson St - addr needs verification
 23. Rockford, Sabruke Project - need help with this address
 24. Rockford, Selavere Court - need help with this address
 25. Fairgrounds Housing Center. 1050 W. Jefferson Street, Rockford, IL 61103
 26. Grace United Methodist Church 1451 W. State Street, Rockford, IL 61102
 27. Saint Elizabeth Community Center, 1536 S. Main street, Rockford
 28. BPP Rockford Headquarters, 529 Pierpoint Avenue, Rockford
- Spurgeon Jake Winters Medical Center**
1. 3850 W. 16th Street
- Political Education**
1. Main Office, 2350 W. Madison Ave.
 2. Southside Office, 4233 S. Indiana,
 3. Precious Blood Church, 2411 W. Congress
- Daycare**
1. 8834 S. Merrill
- Free Food Program**
1. YWCA, 436 E. Pershing Road
 2. Stone Temple Baptist Church, 3622 W. Douglas
- Bus to Prison**
1. Westside office - 2350 W. Madison
 2. Southside office - 4233 S. Indiana
- Shootings**
1. Shot by police on July 17, 1969, hospitalized, died September 4, 1969, Larry Roberson, 610 N. California, July 17, 1969
 2. Killed by police, Spurgeon Jake Winters, 5801 S. Calumet, Nov. 13, 1969

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3. Shot by police, Lance Bell, 5801 S. Calumet, 5801 S. Calumet, Nov. 13, 1969
4. Assassinated, IL Chairman Fred Hampton, 2337 W. Monroe, Dec. 4, 1969
5. Assassinated, Peoria Defense Captain Mark Clark, 2337 W. Monroe, Dec. 4, 1969
6. Shot by police or shot at by police, the seven other victims, 2337 W. Monroe, Dec. 4, 1969, Brenda Harris, Harold Bell, Verlina Brewer, Ronald "Doc" Satchell, Deborah Johnson, Blair Anderson, Louis Truelock,
7. Unknown assailant, Sterling "Pinky" Jones, Altgeld Gardens, Dec. 25, 1969
8. Suspected murder, Babatunde Omowale, Illinois Central Railroad tracks, south of the loop, July 27, 1970
9. Killed by police, Joe Smith, 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. Medical Center, 3850 W. 16th Street, December 31, 1970 - No raid, CPD suspected to have shot up location from outside
5. Panther Pad/Crib, 2337 W. Monroe, December 4, 1969, Hanrahan's CPD
6. Panther Pad/Crib, Altgeld Gardens, 972 E. 132nd Place, Bldg 1043, March 25, 1971 CPD
7. Southside Office, 4233 S. Indiana, June 2, 1973 CPD

College Campus Speaking Engagements

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 University, 5500 N. St. Louis, Chicago, IL, December 10, 1968
6. Roosevelt University, 480 S. Michigan, Chicago, IL, January 8, 1969
7. UIC Circle Campus, 1200 W. Harrison, Chicago, January __, 1969
8. YMCA College, 211 W. Wacker, Chicago, January 14, 1969
9. UIC Champaign, 901 West Illinois Street, Urbana, IL 61801, February 4, 1969
10. UIC Champaign, 901 West Illinois Street, Urbana, IL, February 8, 1969
11. UIC Circle Campus, 1200 W. Harrison, Chicago, February 10, 1969
12. UIC Champaign, 901 West Illinois Street, Urbana, IL, February 17, 1969

Black Panther Party Sites in Illinois

13. UIC Circle Campus, 1200 W. Harrison, Chicago, February 17, 1969
14. Crane Junior College, 2250 W. Van Buren, February 17, 1969
15. Crane Junior College, 2250 W. Van Buren, February 18, 1969
16. Northeastern University, 5500 N. St. Louis, Chicago, IL, February 20, 1969
17. Chicago State Teachers College, 6800 S. Stewart, Chicago, February 20, 1969
18. Northern Illinois University, 1425 W Lincoln Hwy, DeKalb, IL 60115, February 25, 1969
19. Loop City College, 30 E. Lake Street, Chicago, March 7, 1969
20. Beloit College, Beloit, WI, March 23, 1969
21. Northern Illinois University, 1425 W Lincoln Hwy, DeKalb, IL 60115, March 23, 1969
22. Roosevelt University, 480 S. Michigan, Chicago, IL, March 26, 1969
23. Dominican College, Racine, WI, March 27, 1969
24. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, April 2, 1969
25. Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, April 18, 1969
26. DePaul University, Chicago, May 9, 1969

*Our research is ongoing. Do you have additional dates and locations?
Please email contact@ILBPP.org.*



HELP KEEP THE LEGACY ALIVE

Our mission is to preserve, research, document, and present the history and legacy of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Join our efforts. Donate today and become a part of preserving this history.

The Historical Preservation Society of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party (HPS, IL-BPP) is a 501(c)(3) organization incorporated in the state of Illinois.

All donations are tax-deductible.

BECOME A MEMBER OR DONATE TODAY

ILBPP.org