REBECCA ZORACH

Art for People's Sake: Artists and Community in Black Chicago, 1965–1975

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More than ten years ago, Joanie Friedman and Theaster Gates convened a meeting with Patric McCoy, Sherry Williams, and Ollie Dantzler to help me research material for my 2008 class, "Chicago 1968." This meeting launched me into work on Black Chicago in the 1960s and was the seed of many collaborations (individually and collectively) with Patric, Sherry, and Theaster in particular. The students in the class and others that followed it nourished the research on this book; I hope they got as much out of my answers as I got out of their questions. Laura Gluckman's work in the class, in particular, introduced me to the Conservative Vice Lords and the question of how to find out more about their art gallery.

I come to this project as a white art historian trained as a specialist in European art but one who has studied and taught about activist art and Black art for the past twelve years. I happened to be at the right time to begin to do this research; the artwork itself urged my attention, the discipline had devoted hardly any to it, and, given that I had tenure, my career was not at risk. Within a discipline shot through with white supremacism, to devote attention to Black artists in general and the Black Arts Movement in particular has been, for young scholars and Black scholars in particular, a real risk. I thus must acknowledge others who have worked on this material before me—not only those who have published books and articles that I have been able to study but also those who have been turned aside from it by well-meaning advice or hostile rejection, or who have worked in the field of art education and other adjacent fields where publishing opportunities are not as profuse even as those in art history.

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I dedicate this book to the memory of those who helped make it who have since joined the ancestors, and to the children of Chicago Public Schools.

Introduction

The Black Arts Movement in Chicago

A little girl sways inside a strawberry hula hoop, keeping it magically afloat (figure 1.1). Families and groups of young men stand on stoops. Short-haired women lounge against a car; one gives the camera a skeptical side-eye. A famous poet's visit sends a thrill through the crowd. Another poet, smiling, swings his daughter up onto his shoulder. A speaker declaims from a scaffold. Ice cream bars get eaten. A boy gives a tour of the mural for a quarter. Other boys raise fists. The lady across the street thrusts her cat's-eye glasses out the window with a frown at an artwork in progress: "What is that ugly thing?"

Fleeting fragments of scenes, these images emerge in photographs taken around a mural known as the Wall of Respect created by an activist artist collective in August 1967 on a building on the South Side of Chicago (figure 1.2). The monumental artwork presented portraits of Black heroes and heroines in painting and photography; the inclusion of photography mounted on the wall was a startling innovation. Neighbors who watched it take shape at 43rd Street and Langley Avenue, in a neighborhood traditionally known as Bronzeville or the Black Belt, did all the things they were doing already—but they also created an ongoing, participatory set of performances together with artists and activists and visitors from farther afield.

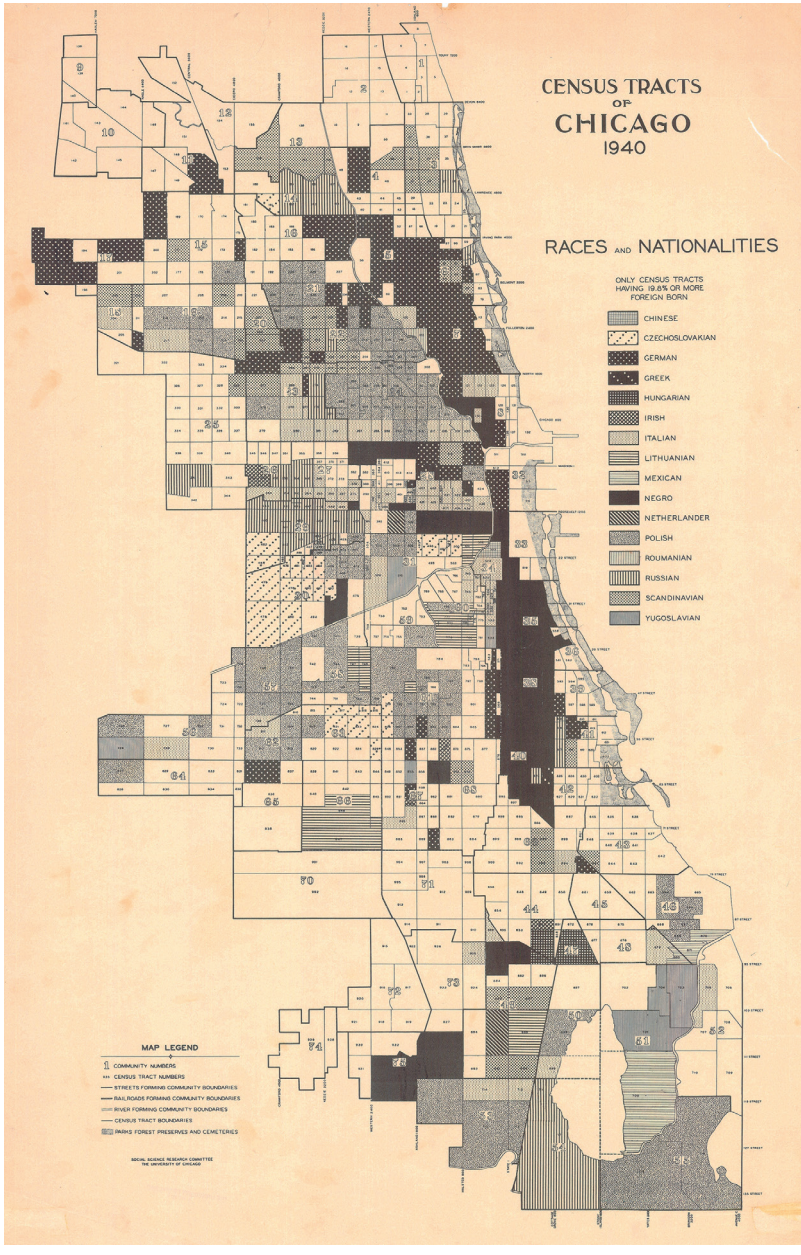
Langley was and is a small residential street running north to south; 43rd Street was a major commercial corridor. (In 2018 this portion of 43rd Street is run-down, with redevelopment more likely to appear as residential townhouses—what now occupies the corner where the Wall of Respect once stood—than as commercial space.) This was the heart of Black

I.1. Girl with hula hoop (Irene Sistrunk) near the Wall of Respect, 1967. Photo by Robert Abbott Sengstacke. Courtesy of Estate of Robert Abbott Sengstacke.

I.2. OBAC Visual Arts Workshop, Wall of Respect (full view), 1967. Mural at 43rd Street and Langley Avenue. Photo by Robert Abbott Sengstacke. Courtesy of Estate of Robert Abbott Sengstacke.

Chicago, which appears already delineated in a map of majority ethnic populations in the 1940 census (figure 1.3). Generations of African Americans traveling north from Mississippi and other southern states had settled in this neighborhood, which ran from Cermak (22nd Street) on the north to 51st Street on the south. Lake Michigan lay to the east; in August 1967, as in other Augusts, its beaches beckoned residents needing to cool down from the summer heat. Housing projects belonging to the Chicago Housing Authority loomed to the west along State Street, rising up from the new Dan Ryan Expressway, which cut (and not by accident) a sharp dividing line between white ethnic neighborhoods and Bronzeville. To the south and east were Kenwood and Hyde Park, prosperous mixed-race neighborhoods where many of the artists who created the Wall of Respect lived and worked.

By 1967, Bronzeville was a neighborhood facing demographic losses and economic decline. When members of the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC, pronounced "Oba-C," to refer to the word *oba,* Yoruba for "leader") made their decision to paint a mural here, it was not with an



I.3. Census Tracts of Chicago, 1940: Races and Nationalities. Produced by Social Science Research Committee, University of Chicago. Map Collection, University of Chicago Library.

agenda of economic development—as might be the case today—but it was nonetheless a significant choice. As a political statement in the Civil Rights era, it was not a gesture toward integration with white society but toward symbolic reintegration into a historically Black neighborhood. These artists, many of them trained in majority-white institutions of higher learning, might have chosen assimilation but did not. Responding to the Black Power moment of the Civil Rights Movement, as well as to local conditions, they allied themselves with "community," making a commitment to working-class Black people.

The Wall of Respect became a symbol of a moment in the political struggle as well as a street museum of heroic figures. It also became a platform for multifarious performances, planned and improvised: rallies, concerts, poetry readings, community events. Opinions differ on whether it was dubbed the "Wall of Respect" from the very beginning; at any rate, by October 1967, two months after its initial unveiling, those three words beckoned from the second-floor balcony, just under the portrait of a triumphant Muhammad Ali. The artists had boldly claimed space and reimagined it, putting forward a pro-Black visual statement that was monumental in size. To the artists, the effects on the neighborhood were palpable. The painter Jeff Donaldson observed that "people feel better when they walk by there, and we made it so."[1] Muralist William Walker described a young man who stood before the Wall of Respect, contemplating it for a long time, before finally saying, "I'm getting my strength."[2]

It was a heady time. It was not without conflict. By October, the Wall had already changed. The OBAC Visual Arts Workshop had succumbed to internal and external pressures. William Walker had created controversy when he essentially took ownership of the Wall and authorized changes that ran contrary to the decisions the collective had made together—changes that many in the group found unforgivable.

Walker had found the building and made the contacts in the community, in particular with the local community organization run by former gang members. They were the ones who had brokered a treaty between two bigger warring gangs, the Blackstone Rangers and the Gangster Disciples, that allowed the art project to move forward. But the mural was the product of the collective, not the property of one individual. For reasons that are still not completely clear, Walker encouraged neighborhood residents to whitewash Norman Parish's "Statesmen" section of the original Wall, and invited Eugene "Eda" Wade to repaint it with entirely different imagery that bespoke a more militant mood: a raised fist (figure 1.4). *Ebony*'s piece on


STOP
SEE!
LISTEN!
LEARN

the mural, published in December 1967, celebrated the revised Wall that appeared there in a photograph by Roy Lewis.[3] For viewers who became aware of the Wall at that point, the rift among the artists was invisible. The Black Power fist became canonical in that first glimpse a national public had of the Wall. For the visual arts, the Wall of Respect can be considered both the founding moment and the founding trauma of the Black Arts Movement.

The artists who created the Wall of Respect saw themselves as making art on behalf of *the people.* The poet Don L. Lee (later Haki Madhubuti) wrote about the Wall that it was "art for people's sake"—in stark contrast to the modernist notion of "art for art's sake."[4] Jeff Donaldson later wrote about the collective AFRICOBRA, which had its roots in this moment, that they made "art for people and not for critics whose peopleness is questionable."[5] From the point of view of visual arts, making art for people's sake implied an emphasis on human subjects and on depicting the humanity of African Americans. But even more, it said something about who these images were for. They were for "the community"—specifically the Black community, the people seen in photographs taken around the Wall of Respect, the neighbors, artists and non-artists alike, who watched the Wall as it unfurled. They commented on it, played around it, protected it from graffiti, painted portions of it, and explained it to visitors.

Later reflections on the contentiousness of the mural's history have tended to personalize the conflict as one between key members of OBAC. It is difficult to discern the contours of community participation. Many of the people depicted in photos of the Wall have died without leaving any trace of what they thought about it, and others are hard to track down. But it is clear that the trained artists of OBAC and their colleagues—most of whom lived elsewhere on the South Side, not in the immediate neighborhood—developed, maintained, and extended relationships to non-artist community members through their work. The Black Arts Movement, which this mural heralded, depended on a particular relationship to "the people." Artists claimed space in and for the community, established spaces for interaction (performance, exhibition, and gathering places throughout the city), depicted community members in their art, and gave voice, directly or indirectly, to community concerns. But "community" involved many different groups, not all of whom agreed with one another, and artists took on complicated relationships with these groups.

I.4. (*opposite*) Wall of Respect, section with raised fist painted by Eugene "Eda" Wade, 1967. Photo by Bob Solari. Public Art Workshop Mural Archive.

"Community art" had already appeared as a prominent term within the Federal Artist Project (FAP) of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration (WPA) of the 1930s and 1940s. It reemerged in the late 1960s and 1970s with the renewed community mural movement that the Wall of Respect helped spawn. More recently, since the 1990s, it has gained currency as a phrase in art criticism and art education. Perhaps it is actually art that is *not* community art that requires explanation: artists have always worked within communities. But in its particular conceptual charge, in recent years it has tended to refer to situations in which professional artists enter communities of non-artists and enjoin their participation, with the goal of channeling some truthful representation of community feeling, and thereby promoting social cohesion. Pablo Helguera describes community art projects as follows: "The typical community art project (for instance, a children's mural project) is able to fulfill its purpose of strengthening a community's sense of self by lessening or suspending criticality regarding the form and content of the product, and, often, promoting 'feel-good' positive social values."[6] Within the art world, the category of "community art" has tended to be viewed as a minor subcategory of art, by both activist artists (who see it as too apolitical) and the prestigious institutions of fine art (who see it as low quality).[7] Both views of "community" understand it as undifferentiated, benign, and culturally predetermined, a univocal entity that tends to quash dissent. As Raymond Williams puts it, "Community can be the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships, or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships. What is most important, perhaps, is that unlike all other terms of social organization (state, nation, society, etc.) it seems never to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term."[8] Adolph Reed puts it even more sharply in his critique of the discourse of community: it is, he suggests, a "mystification . . . and an anti-democratic one at that . . . a warrant to enforce a conformist, punitive moralism."[9] Failing to acknowledge differing interests among African Americans, the notion of "the black community" in particular "presumes homogeneity of interest and perception. A politics stuck in its name is threatened by the heterogeneous tendencies put in motion by open debate."[10]

To sum up, "community," within recent writing on art and politics, has come to be seen as an overly broad and romanticized term, one that emphasizes harmony and reconciliation to the detriment of political contestation and conflict. Inigo Manglano-Ovalle summarizes this position neatly in describing a shift in the 1990s from "sharp terms such as 'difference,' 'the mar-

gin,' or 'the other'" to "the more benign and all embracing 'community.'"[11] This belies the many debates and tensions present within communities. It also implies a certain ahistoricism—a notion that communities maintain singular identities and do not change historically over time. In a more reduced sense, it might simply be a euphemism for "non-artists."

Yet with the Wall of Respect, and in other activities of Chicago's Black Arts Movement, visual artists laid hold of a strong notion of "community," one premised on negotiating rather than erasing difference. Rather than presuming an unquestioned homogeneity of interests, they sought solidarity across lines of class and education and profession. They emulated the "call and response" structure of Black musical forms and adjusted their artistic vision according to the responses they received. They renounced (white) art world frameworks and the aesthetic distortions that white patronage might produce, and sought extended relationships with non-artists in their own and nearby neighborhoods.[12] Perhaps it goes without saying, or perhaps it needs to be said, that they were not always successful in their efforts to integrate their artistic work with the concerns of the community. But this is, in a certain sense, beside the point. The gesture itself needs to be recognized as neither trivial nor inevitable. Black communities were and are not monolithic. When artists made these commitments, the resulting relationships involved negotiation, as they encountered rifts within the "community" that bespoke many differing interests. Gang members, children, parents, businesspeople and professionals, social service workers, artists—all had their own points of view as groups and as collections of individuals. Community was not simple and homogeneous and was not presumed to be so. To explore these relationships was to reveal that fact.

In this book, I study how artists communicated with and collaborated with non-artists in their communities or in other communities. In a spectrum of art *about* community, art *for* community, art *with* community, and art *by* community, I try to bring attention to forms of art that emphasize the agency of community members—"by" and "with"—while necessarily giving some attention to "for," and less to "about." I trace the development of a particular set of questions in and around the Black Arts Movement in Chicago in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It could be called community, or it could be called "the street," or it could be called "the people." The idea of "community art" was still in formation, and would take a different direction—one more entangled with nonprofit organizations and government agencies—as the Black Arts Movement was winding down. Thus, while I freely use the term *community*, understanding it in the more complex way I have just outlined,

I also emphasize the interchange between artists and the street—with the street understood as a real and conceptual place and the people in it.

Art History, Chicago, and the Black Arts Movement

The discipline of art history has neglected the richness and importance of Chicago's Black Arts Movement. Chicago was a hub, perhaps *the* hub, for the visual arts of the Black Arts Movement because artists in the 1960s and 1970s took strength from an array of Black cultural and media institutions built by generations of Chicagoans. This cultural and political movement of Black artists of the late 1960s and early 1970s has been studied much more thoroughly in relation to literature and performing arts than the strictly visual arts.[13] Many of its most visible practitioners—Amiri Baraka comes to mind—worked in these realms. But a thriving visual arts scene gave visual form to the movement and confronted its own specific challenges.

In Chicago, the movement built on the achievements of Chicago's Black Renaissance, which flourished from the early 1930s into the 1950s. Its reputation is dominated by major literary figures, but it also included many visual artists.[14] Their most important meeting place was the South Side Community Art Center at 3831 South Michigan Avenue, a renovated former mansion originally built for grain merchant George A. Seaverns Jr. in 1892. After the WPA announced funding for public art and art workshops and centers in 1935, a coalition of African American artists and art lovers in Chicago took the opportunity to create a neighborhood art center. They raised funds to purchase the building and set up classes and workshops. The FAP brought another group of artists into the picture, members of Chicago's New Bauhaus, largely composed of European émigrés committed to the holistic fusion of art and life in education. With white and Black artisans working together under the Illinois Craft Project (part of the FAP), designers reinvented the interior of the mansion following New Bauhaus principles, transforming the building into an art center that opened in late 1940.[15]

Among the founding members of the center was the artist and educator Margaret Burroughs. Little of what happens in this book could have been accomplished without the groundwork she laid. Burroughs helped found the SSCAC, forged links with popular political graphics in Mexico, taught generations of artists at DuSable High School, and held open an expansive notion of community and of what justice could mean by dedicating herself to teaching for decades in Illinois prisons. Perhaps most importantly, she cofounded the DuSable Museum of African American History, which grew

out of her own personal collection of art and artifacts. It began simply when she first informally opened the collection, in her home at 3806 South Michigan Avenue, to viewing by friends and acquaintances. In 1960, she entered a listing for the "Ebony Museum of Negro History" into the phone book, which unexpectedly brought new visitors in.[16] She began holding meetings with a group of interested supporters in the same year, and the museum officially opened in 1961. It was renamed the DuSable Museum in 1968, and would move into its current location in Washington Park in 1973.[17]

Margaret Burroughs looms large indeed among Black artists in Chicago, though she is almost entirely absent from canonical histories of art. There are several reasons for this. Regardless of race, visual artists in Chicago have been less studied than their counterparts in New York and, to some extent, California. This is in part a matter of the Second City's own secondary status. Since World War II, New York has dominated not only the production of art but also writing about it. And the New York art scene has always looked on Chicago as an essentially unimportant industrial city, a place to leave. In the absence of a high-level art market and of major museum support for local artists (despite the presence of major museums), a relatively high proportion of Chicago artists have historically been educators or worked as commercial artists. Marginal, politically radical, and grassroots communities have also supported the activities of artists in Chicago. Along with the communities around the Chicago Black Renaissance and Black Arts Movements, these have included social crusaders like Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr and the social settlement movement they initiated at Chicago's Hull-House; rebellious bohemians and freethinkers who populated the 57th Street Artist Colony, Washington Park, and Bughouse Square (from the 1890s an outdoor radical soapboxing arena on the near north side); community organizers, surrealists, street theater performers, and labor activists.[18] It would not be too much of a stretch to say that the modern labor movement was born in Chicago. As the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), it was born with a song on its lips. One of its members, Slim Brundage, founded the College of Complexes in 1951. (His former wife, Margaret Brundage, an illustrator of the pulp magazine *Weird Tales*, became the South Side Community Art Center's only white female president in the early 1950s before being voted off the center's board in 1953 along with others, like cofounder Margaret Burroughs, who were suspected of harboring Communist sympathies.[19]) This radical social center and experimental public forum was associated with Beat culture—another component of midcentury Chicago culture and closely connected to the jazz scene on the South Side. In the 1960s, though

the IWW seemed more or less moribund, the Chicago surrealists looked to the union as the precursor of their own notion of radical imagination and anti-miserabilist working-class consciousness.[20]

With the industrial nature of the city came a lot of other things: it was a rail hub, crime syndicate city, city of architectural innovation, and a cosmopolitan worker city packed with migrants. Chicago is also a surrealist and cantankerous city, a palimpsest of a city that liberally layers the real and the imaginary.[21] These characteristics are apparent in the work of the group of white artists known as the Chicago Imagists, particularly the subgroup known as the Hairy Who, who came to epitomize cutting-edge Chicago art of the 1960s and 1970s for the mainstream art world; they are still the only thing most art world people outside Chicago know about the city in the 1960s and 1970s.[22] At the Hyde Park Art Center on the South Side, with artist and curator Don Baum as their impresario, the Imagists exhibited their scrappy aesthetic sensibility with its hybrid, often eroticized and machine-like figurations inspired by comics. They also shared some characteristics with Black Arts Movement artists—bright colors, a focus on the human figure—but their rebellion against art world norms came in the form of raunchy comedy rather than radical politics. In their account of the Imagists at the Bienal de Sao Paulo in 1973, *Chicago Tribune* critics Jane Allen (Jane Addams Allen, the grandniece of Jane Addams) and Derek Guthrie described the work as nostalgic for an old Chicago made up of white working-class kitsch: "If you have ever lived in an unrenewed section of a large city—a neighborhood of homes sporting bay windows with ornamental shades partially obscuring enormous lamps; of old dime stores, cigar stores, lingerie shops, B movie houses, and girlie shows—then you may have some concept of the urban nostalgia animating the Chicago artists going to Sao Paolo." Somewhat more surprisingly, they go on to suggest that the racialized reorganization of space was embedded in that nostalgia: "such neighborhoods in Chicago are fast falling victim to the squeeze between the expanding black ghetto on the one hand and high class urban renewal (to contain the ghetto) on the other."[23] As a matter of the Imagists' subjective artistic choices it might not be fair to expect acknowledgment of these spatial politics, of the city's racial divides. But while Allen and Guthrie pointed to the whiteness of their work, other critics simply took it for granted.

Allen and Guthrie, like many other writers of the 1960s and 1970s, Black and white, use the word *ghetto* for particular neighborhoods of the South and West sides. Even then it was not a simple, straightforward term for "Black and poor neighborhood" and hence deserves some discussion.

Mitchell Duneier has chronicled how African American activists and scholars (in particular Horace Cayton) adopted the term during and after World War II for its resonance with the antifascist struggle in Europe, with the neighborhoods to which Jews in Europe had historically been confined and which experienced intensifying repression under fascism.[24] By the 1960s and 1970s it was an ordinary way to describe poor Black neighborhoods in the United States, and as such it peppers period quotations in this book. As the connotations of the term have evolved, it can appear anachronistic or even racist to use it, so I use it sparingly outside of quotation marks, only when paraphrasing speakers of the time period under discussion—precisely to indicate a location of racial and economic segregation in urban areas, enforced both formally and informally.

The kinds of constraints that marked the "ghetto" were experienced differently by middle-class and aspiring middle-class artists (and other professionals) but they still shaped their lives. Whether because they chose to work in a politically challenging and socially engaged way, or because the communities in which they lived and worked most closely were largely poor, or because of rampant white racism, most of the African American artists I write about in this book—unlike white artists like the Imagists after a certain point in their careers—did not have access to a robust market for their work. Some who are working today still do not. Some of them intentionally avoided white institutions. But for those who did not, they found that galleries would not represent them. Few of their works have been bought by or given to museums. Regardless of the reasons, few of them could command the prices that their talents would manifestly have drawn had they been white. Further neglect flowed from this: major exhibitions have been rare, and comparatively little writing has been done about them, a situation that has begun shifting only in the past few years.

Critics still rely on the notion of an artistic vanguard—there are leaders, and there are followers, and anyone "regional," anyone of color, is a follower (at least until the 1980s). Despite having traveled through postmodernism, art history still unconsciously accepts many of the vanguardist presuppositions of midcentury modernism. If some artists in Chicago (or elsewhere) were working in a different visual or political idiom than the New York avant-garde, it had to be—by definition—because they were *behind.* And if those artists happened to be African American, this impression of belatedness chimes with dominant white supremacist narratives. According to Fred Moten, Rosalind Krauss "once said something to the effect that there must not be any important black artists because, if there were, they would have

brought themselves to her attention."[25] Whether Krauss said precisely this, it was certainly a sentiment expressed openly by white museum professionals in the 1960s and 1970s, as Susan Cahan clearly documents in her recent book, *Mounting Frustration*.[26] White critics and curators routinely failed to make any effort to know anything at all about Black artists, and they assumed, confoundingly, that their ignorance was a sign of the subject's absence.

Whether the field has unconsciously accepted those narratives, or has shown its discomfort with them by looking the other way, art history has failed to recognize that the artists concerned were not just doing identity politics by default. They fully understood themselves to be offering a direct challenge to white avant-garde presuppositions. As bell hooks puts it, "Conscious articulation of a 'black aesthetic' as it was constructed by African-American artists and critics in the sixties and early seventies was an effort to forge an unbreakable link between artistic production and revolutionary politics."[27]

The extraordinary richness of the Black Arts Movement should not have to form part of an identifiable "avant-garde" in twentieth-century art in order to be studied. And yet it is one of only a few art movements tightly tied to an actual political vanguard. But in art history, the tendency is to tell a story of a progressive march through time, as artists got better and smarter and left behind old styles or cleverly reappropriated them. The vanguard story reinforces the selectivity of cultural memory. Different kinds of willed ignorance abet one another until they do not even require willing. Conversely, attentiveness to race also reveals absences that extend beyond race. There are many ways in which the lens of the Black Arts Movement can also allow us to see a different and broader landscape of twentieth-century art.

Historians of African American art have given attention to the Black Arts Movement, beginning with Samella Lewis, who wrote arguably from within the perspective of the Black Arts Movement in her *African American Art and Artists* of 1978. The book opens with the declaration of a "cultural revolution" in progress, and goes on to use language that resonates with Black Arts Movement principles, such as the "functional" character of Black art, and "aesthetic principles derived from Africa."[28] Lewis gives limited attention to Chicago artists, in part because her organization by individual artist, medium, and theme does not permit a focus on the geographic situatedness and community involvements of artists and movements. Given her project of universalizing the relevance of the artists she discusses, rather than particularizing them by region, in many cases the places where artists live and work are not actually discernible in her narrative. For my purposes, the study is still

especially valuable in foregrounding numerous artists around the United States whose work shares political and formal concerns with those active in Chicago.

In his 1997 *Black Art and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (whose second edition in 2002 was titled *Black Art: A Cultural History*), Richard Powell gave the Chicago group AFRICOBRA, which grew out of the OBAC Visual Arts Workshop, a short but sensitive treatment.[29] Similarly, in *African American Art*, published in 1998, Sharon Patton touches on OBAC, the Wall of Respect, and AFRICOBRA in the broader context of Black artists groups, Black art, and Black Power. Other scholars have written on specific artists, and exhibitions such as *The Freedom Principle* and *Soul of a Nation* have addressed AFRICOBRA and some of their contemporaries.[30] In particular, exhibitions curated by Kellie Jones—*Witness* and *Now Dig This!*—have underlined the significance of art made in response to and support of the Civil Rights Movement, on the one hand, and Black art in Los Angeles, on the other.[31] Books on the national mural movement have appeared at a slow but steady pace. Kymberly Pinder's 2016 *Painting the Gospel: Black Public Art and Religion in Chicago* has done pioneering work on Black religious murals, including William Walker's murals on churches.[32] Recent work on race and representation in the 1970s such as Margo Natalie Crawford's *Black Post-Blackness: The Black Arts Movement and Twenty-First-Century Black Aesthetics* (2017) and Darby English's *1971: A Year in the Life of Color* (2016) focus on abstraction in the work of Black artists either inside or outside the Black Arts Movement, suggesting countercurrents to much of the work studied in this book.[33]

Indeed, the fact that until recently there was little scholarship on the period may also reflect the fact that ambitious Black artists of the subsequent generation experienced the Black Arts Movement and its quest for a Black aesthetic as compulsion—a political orthodoxy that established, as English describes it, "constraints on artistic freedom."[34] bell hooks puts it thus: "Rather than serving as a catalyst promoting diverse artistic expression, the Black Arts Movement began to dismiss all forms of cultural production by African-Americans that did not conform to movement criteria. Often this led to aesthetic judgments that did not allow for recognition of multiple black experience or the complexity of black life."[35]

The Black Arts Movement never represented all Black artists in its own time, and for those who initially identified with it, it was a chosen political commitment. Artists of later generations experienced it as a demand that they identify with an essentialist notion of blackness, constituting a rigorously

imposed identity politics that, ironically, reduced the range of possibilities for Black subjectivity. This question might seem to parallel white critics' rejection of political and representational art as doctrinaire and ephemeral in favor of abstraction in the middle twentieth century. For critics invested in African American artists, to critique the Black Arts Movement is not a matter of rejecting political art outright but rather supporting a full range of sophisticated possibilities for political and aesthetic modes of engagement.

Within this context, scholarly attention to the Black Arts Movement might seem to risk romanticizing an essentialist position, and this is not what I aim to do. Rather, I seek a clear view of what was at stake both politically and artistically in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Chicago, reclaiming the complex political and aesthetic ambitions of the work of that period—as a matter of faithful representation of the past, insofar as I am able, and as a resource for the future.

Putting the Black Arts Movement and related projects of the late 1960s into dialogue with the field of art history poses challenges to the discipline. What events, works, people, and projects become indispensable, and which ones seem less important? How does this rewrite the field's key issues and values? What cherished aesthetic oppositions suddenly look more alike than different? What kind of object lessons can it provide for politically engaged art, or art as social intervention, for now fashionable forms of "social practice"? Although art historians no longer identify with midcentury modernist prejudices against representational art, the discipline still tends to view "community arts" that present "positive images" as simply naïve. These modes of artmaking are disparaged as "affirmative" by theoretical discourse that privileges the negative—that is, art that is *aesthetically* antagonistic, preferring irony, ambiguity, and the production of discomfort to declarative political or social statements.[36] From the point of view of American modernist criticism, such art errs in being reducible to language, failing to avail itself fully of the resources of its own medium. I argue in this book, however, that we cannot reduce even the most "affirmative" political art of the Black Arts Movement to linguistic statements. The movement did not seek merely to *tell* its viewers something. It sought to transform them.

Black Experientialism

The Black Arts Movement practitioners I study here could be understood as the inventors of "social practice" before there was a fashionable art world term for it. Today, artists who work in extended community collaborations

(whether under the label of "social practice" or not) have license to think broadly about art as not only product but also process. The work of strategizing, planning, designing, building, arranging, negotiating, and publicizing is legible nowadays—when carried out by recognized practitioners, at least—as art. Even in 1968, for an artist like Christo, working with Chicago's Museum of Contemporary Art (MCA) in preparation for wrapping the building in 1969, the negotiations with the museum and the city were not distinct from the monumental physical "object" created by that process. And from the point of view of current discourse on "relational aesthetics" or "social practice," the work of art (in the sense of labor and of accomplishment) can embrace the pain and pleasure of negotiating and working through challenges and antagonisms, and inventing new forms of social relations and sensory experience.[37]

Mike Sell has argued that the "critical metaphysics" of the Black Arts Movement attacked the circulation and commodification of objects and focused on consciousness and the "performances, artists, and communities that surrounded the object and text."[38] He suggests affinities with other contemporary media and practices—video, installation, conceptual art, and performance. Methods were "transient, situational, performative" and the rapid demise of experimental institutions was assumed as part of a revolutionary process.[39] Paul Carter Harrison, in his *Drama of Nommo*, developed an account of ritual theater tapping into ancestral cultural forms. For him, participation was key. Audience members are participants and actors are activators: "Nommo force is best sustained through the collective-energy commitments of participators and activators." Participators and activators improvise together, though within structure provided by activators.[40] In keeping with this idea, *performance, participation,* and *experience* (not to mention *revolution*) were watchwords for Black art.

In the emphasis on performance, music played a key role. The visual arts might be characterized as improvisational or performance-oriented on the model of jazz or other Black musical forms. Black artists in all genres frequently alluded to the centrality of music and theater as art forms. Black Americans' contribution to music in particular—in the nation and around the world—was unquestionable.[41] Taking a non-European perspective also incited a revaluing of the musical and performing arts: as saxophonist and ethnomusicologist Marion Brown argued in *Black World* in 1973, an emphasis on vision characterized Western societies, while non-Western societies emphasized the aural. Visibility implies a relationship to evidence (hence a reliance on notions of accuracy) and yet "visual relationships are too

detached and do not communicate directly with what is being perceived."[42] From this point of view, the visual arts—painting in particular—implied a detached, Western aesthetic sensibility.

Furthermore, the relationship of makers to "objects"—already a vexing term—was particularly fraught because of the legacy of slavery. Some Black Arts Movement theorists positioned a Black aesthetic against the object—whether because Western aesthetics had reached a dead end in its focus on the object for its own sake, or as the result of the trauma of the Middle Passage and slavery, which irretrievably cut Black Americans off from the heritage of African artifacts and abusively turned human subjects into "objects" of property.[43] Amiri Baraka (then known as LeRoi Jones) wrote in the 1963 *Blues People* that "the artifact was, like any other material manifestation of pure African culture, doomed. . . . Music, dance, religion do not have *artifacts* as their end products, so they were saved." They were "the most apparent legacies of the African past," the art forms best positioned to tap into African heritage, hence the best models for artists reconstructing or excavating black identity.[44]

In his essay "Introduction to Black Aesthetics in Music," published in Addison Gayle's *The Black Aesthetic*, jazz guitarist and writer Jimmy Stewart took this position a step further, affirming performance as an internal and not merely accidental paradigm for Black art. He argues that culture in the white American context was based on "the accumulation of discernible artifacts of a people"—a position that enabled whites to believe that Black Americans had no culture.[45] But, Stewart insisted, music forms "the ideal paradigm of our understanding of the creative process as a movement *with* existence," meaning "to accompany reality, to 'move with it' . . . and not against it, which all, yes *all*, the white cultural art forms do."[46] Here, the "negative" emerges not only as characteristic of modernism but also as a characteristic of the deadness of Western art forms, embalmed in museums and cut off from participation in life.

What might the value be in recuperating community for the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s, precisely as a site of contestation and as an intentional intervention? The mood of the period helped inspire community engagement that often took the form of solidarity across class differences. When abundantly gifted Black artists who had trained at prestigious art schools and colleges, who might otherwise have chosen the path of assimilation into a white art world, embraced blackness instead, it was a deliberate political and aesthetic act. The resulting works were not products of amorphous community feeling or Zeitgeist but of complex negotiations. Collaborations

with community meant dealing with gangs, with schoolchildren, with their elderly neighbors—largely also African American but in many cases quite different from the artists and from one another in aspirations and resources. For many, it was a defining act of racial solidarity to identify as Black rather than as aspiring middle-class American, and one that was not a given. This has not been acknowledged as a conscious decision and new commitment. From the point of view of the white/mainstream art world, this solidarity, if it is considered at all, is simply assumed. In the realm of relational aesthetics and social practice, it is now considered noteworthy and interesting as an aesthetic practice, not only a community practice, when artists work with poor and disenfranchised communities. I suggest that the fact that Black artists in the late 1960s and early 1970s engaged with communities is typically not considered a significant precedent for socially engaged art today because racial solidarity and homogeneity are simply assumed. Indeed, the rhetoric of the time—the rhetoric of nationalism and of white social service agencies alike—encourages this view, as does the way white supremacy reserves complex subjectivity and group heterogeneity to whites. But it oversimplifies the complexity and the consequence of the work, both process and product. Examining work done by Chicago artists of all races making settings in communities, working on and with the street, I hope to make visible this crucial set of practices—largely work done by African American artists—on which later ideas about "social practice" were built.

As John Runcie put it in 1976, the Black Arts Movement produced a "celebration of blackness, the provision of a more positive self-image and the psychological liberation of black people through an art which would publicize black heroes and at the same time legitimize, without romanticizing, the lives of ordinary black people." Middle-class artists "recognized the validity and potential importance of ghetto culture and . . . sought to interpret, reinforce, validate and direct this culture."[47] But this posed problems: How *much* to "interpret, reinforce, validate and direct"? How much to listen, and how much to talk? Whom to teach, and *from* whom to learn?

Vernon Dixon addressed the question of how African Americans who had embraced middle-class white American values could relate to "the brother on the street" in a 1968 essay in *Negro Digest*.[48] He argued that the danger of individualism made itself felt in a desire for self-apotheosis—the personal desire to both receive the affirmation of poor Blacks and serve as their spokesman. Before attempting to assume positions of leadership, Black college students had to overcome their overreliance on an "American value matrix" that promoted individualism, literal over figurative meaning,

and reason over emotion. Dixon suggested that Black intellectuals educated in mainstream contexts needed, too, to develop more fluency in figurative language and sensitivity to the value of emotion.

It is easy to see how art might be understood as a key means to express these intangible values: the figurative and imaginative, emotion, and even communalism. In the formation of the Black Arts Movement, Black intellectuals expressed optimism that art held potential to change people's consciousness. And not only African Americans could benefit, but America as a society—at least according to Lerone Bennett Jr. The editor of *Ebony* wrote in his brilliant (though not well-known) 1964 book, *The Negro Mood*:

> There is still another seed in the Negro community that promises a bountiful harvest: the seed of a certain dark joy. With a tenacity that is somewhat frightening, with a resilience that is very beautiful, the Negro—the middle class excepted—has resisted the corrupting influence of money and machines at any price. In the direct circumstances, in fear and trembling, in blood and suffering, the Negro has retained a certain dark joy—a zest for life, a creative capacity for meeting adversity and transcending it—that is beautiful and meaningful. . . . Americans could use some of that life-giving force.[49]

Hardly anyone would write like this today. It is uncomfortable even to quote it. It appears to reify and romanticize a situation of extreme oppression and social exclusion. But it is worth pausing to comprehend its radicalism, as part of an argument for why a Black revolution is necessary to reshape American society utterly—not only on behalf of Blacks but also on behalf of America. For Bennett, poor African Americans were holders of authenticity, perhaps the nation's sole hope for escaping what already, in 1964, seemed a technocratic nightmare of late modernity. They could play this role not only by default (because, left out of mainstream American culture, they had no access to its false promises and thereby its "corrupting influence") but because they had in fact *resisted* that influence, forging a distinctive culture, distinctive skills, even a distinctive mood, crystallizing a position as both aesthetic and political vanguard.

The sense of poor Blacks in particular as holding an alternative cultural vision suggested forms of class solidarity that sought common ground in a clearer-sighted view from below, an understanding of America's corruption that came from the perspective of the bottom of the social hierarchy. Starting from this position, the sociologist Gerald McWorter, one of the founders of OBAC, drafted an "all-purpose handout" for the organization in 1967

on the topic of "Black Experientialism." He emphasized a notion of shared experience that united all African Americans and suggested that artists and intellectuals not hold themselves to the standards of white society or of other Black intellectuals but instead "use as a barometer of his leadership . . . the man farthest *from* him in the black community—the man who is on the so-called 'top' needs to judge his performance by how the man on the bottom views what he is doing."[50] Present in his text are the outlines of a notion that art, by shaping consciousness and by addressing and resolving tensions between Black people, can move political liberation forward. McWorter wrote, "There is a *cultural revolution* going on which has meaning in terms of what kind of art is being produced, what kinds of experiments are going on, and what is happening in the consciousness of vast numbers of people, as they think about their place in the black community and the nature of this community within which they belong."[51] He thus argued that the new thinking about the role of Black art should reserve a place of honor for "the community." "Creative blackness" would be art not only to hang on the walls but to reshape people, to permeate life. "We can use it to make ourselves more beautiful," he wrote, "and we have to do that—more beautiful to ourselves, more beautiful to each other, more beautiful to everybody, because somebody who knows they are beautiful *Is* beautiful, and that's exactly what we have to do."[52]

The relationship between individual artist and collective community was not a simple one in which the artist served as a funnel or vehicle for a unitary collective feeling. Rather, McWorter wrote, it was the product of tensions.

> Art, as produced by specific individuals, is the end product of tensions that come out of the community experience on the one hand versus the personal experience of the artist. . . . [The] communal aspirations, the communal experiences, the communal hopes, the communal gods, are the context in which art is produced, but on the other hand the artist himself has a particular, personal, individual view of reality, that is obviously related to the communal view of reality, but they are not one and the same. It is out of this kind of tension and interaction between these two things, that art is produced which has integrity of being Black, because it represents the fusion between the communal experience and a Black artist who has a particular kind of insight.[53]

The artist does not simply funnel the expression of the "community" but engages in a dialectical relationship with it that shapes the production of

art.[54] Within possible configurations for the relationship between artist and community, this position sits between two poles. The artist could be a vehicle for community feeling (which risked dissolving the particular qualities of the artist into an undifferentiated union with community), or could be an enlightened preacher to the masses or role model for them (both of which risked overstating the artist's importance and condescending to the rest of the community). The "tension and interaction" kept both artist and community in play as partners in a dialogue, perhaps an idealistic view.

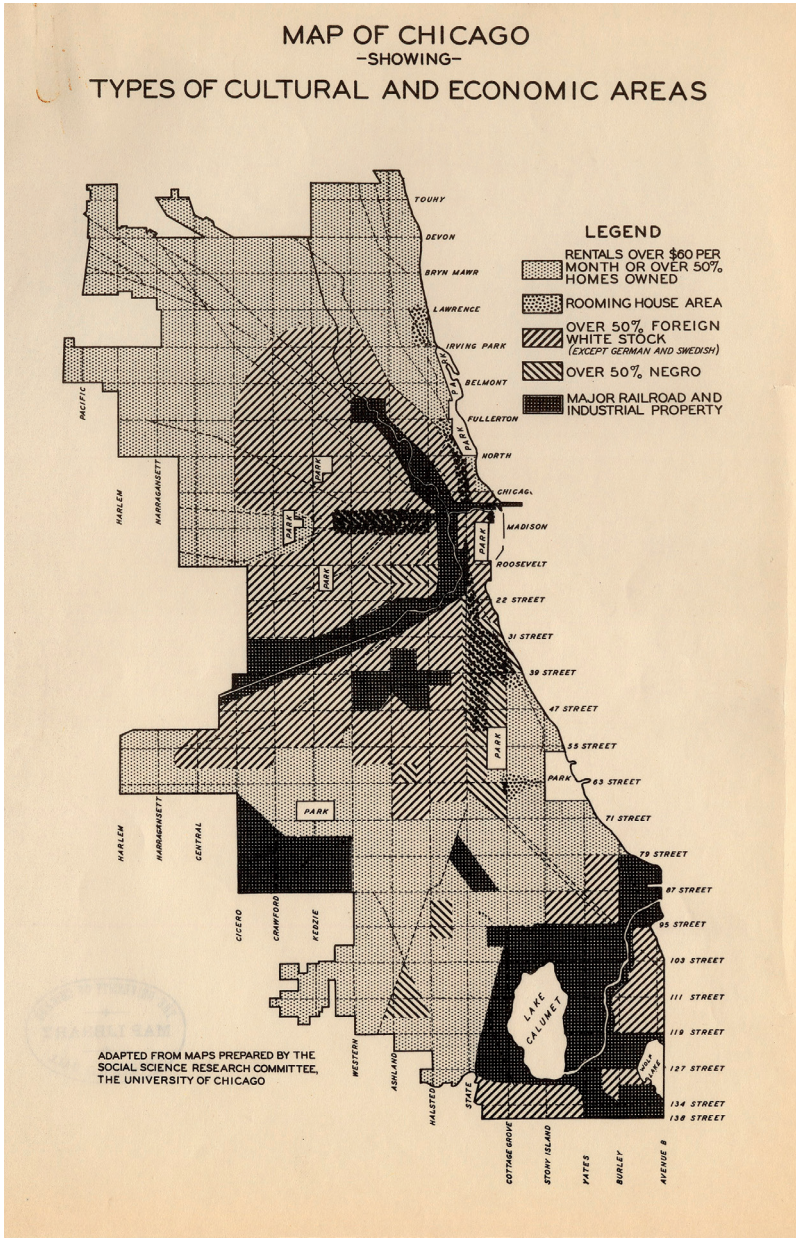
> [The artist's] special gift is brought to bear with the personal sensibility of that person or group of people, and the community out of which he comes, over which he stands against, toward which he is moving his art, for whom he wants to present his art. . . . If the artist who is producing the art is concerned about his Black experience, is concerned about the Black community, and coming to grips with himself as a person with this, and if he deals artistically, out of this context, bringing to bear the Black sensibility in producing a work of art, and if the social context for viewing or experiencing the art has to do with the same Black context, and if the people are the Black community, then the entire process is a Black process.[55]

Many things are "Black" in this statement: sensibility, context, community, process, and above all experience. McWorter continues: "Now, as with the example of the Blues, Black Experientialism must be lived and realized in the everyday experiences of the people who are involved, or it will remain a possibility and not a reality."[56] He suggests a form of aesthetic solidarity in blackness across class, forged in the crucible of art, that would "unify the various components of the Black community."[57] What this would *look* like was up to visual artists to define, but it would certainly involve the creation of a new "context": "The fact is," McWorter wrote, "that OBAC is an attempt to bring a new context in [*sic*] Chicago, a new situation, a new structure for cultural creativity and expression, a structure which is Black, is rooted in the Black community, and belongs to the Black community."[58] Jeff Donaldson, in notes for an early OBAC meeting, describes experientialism as follows: "We can't go back. We can't create African art forms. That would be phony *and* fraudulent. Because while we love our ancient home and our African brothers, we are Black Americans and we must create visual art which expresses the experience of being Black *right here* and *right now*!"[59]

Art and the Street

Recognizing the differences that separated African Americans, McWorter sought cultural strategies to draw African Americans together into what he called a shared "context," "situation," and "structure" based in cultural expression—what Seymour Sarason, writing contemporaneously, called a "setting."[60] Given the major role Hoyt W. Fuller, then editor of *Negro Digest*, played in the founding of OBAC, we might emphasize the role of periodical literature in creating such contexts in a virtual way at the regional or national level. The Black Arts Movement, as it developed in Chicago, worked in tandem with the important publications that made Chicago the center of the African American publishing industry, in particular the *Chicago Defender* (which became a daily in 1956) and Johnson Publishing Company, which published *Ebony* and *Jet* alongside *Negro Digest* (which was to become *Black World* in 1970). It would not be a stretch to say that *Negro Digest* formed the intellectual core of the Black Arts Movement nationwide.[61]

To consider only the virtual and conceptual ("imagined") community forged by reading matter would be, however, to understate the importance of shared geography. In the 1960s and 1970s Black artists and community members in Chicago also made highly visible claims on changing urban space, and it is worth stopping to gain a more concrete understanding of the histories and geographies of the particular neighborhoods at stake in this book. A 1933 map produced by sociologists at the University of Chicago (figure I.5) adds detail to the census map, showing prosperous and well-established whites living at the edges of the city (with a few choice lakefront exceptions), with an "inner city" of mostly white immigrants, but a few areas of "over 50% Negro" population. These included a strip on the West Side (defined by Damen on the west, the railroads east of Halsted to the east, Roosevelt Road to the north and 16th Street to the south), and a thicker swath heading south from around 22nd Street near Lake Michigan to 71st Street, and (apart from a few outlying pockets) generally contained by Cottage Grove Avenue on the east and State Street on the west. Large parts of it are dotted to indicate "rooming house areas," revealing more transient, economically precarious, and crowded populations. This area was the classic Black Belt, where African Americans heading up the Mississippi from the South during waves of migration found a place to live. Workers and middle-class strivers and wealthy residents lived cheek by jowl in the Black Belt. Intermingling, they built businesses, developed institutions, educated children, and nurtured a distinctive culture. A similar but smaller,



I.5. Map of Chicago Showing Types of Cultural and Economic Areas, 1933. Produced by Social Science Research Committee, University of Chicago. Map Collection, University of Chicago Library.

and generally somewhat poorer, enclave of African Americans established itself on the West Side, where large numbers of migrants from the South settled following World War II.[62]

In this book, I concentrate on the projects of artists and community members who lived and worked in Black and mixed (which might mean changing) neighborhoods on the South and West Sides of Chicago: First, Bronzeville, which held the Black cultural institutions of longest standing. Then, neighborhoods where Black artists were creating spaces and building community—in different ways, depending on whether it was a matter of the mixed university neighborhood of Hyde Park–Kenwood to the south of Bronzeville, or the areas of Black expansion further south and west—Woodlawn south of the university, South Shore on the lakefront to the southeast, Washington Park to the west of Hyde Park, and Englewood further west and further south. On the West Side, I focus on North Lawndale, one of the poorest community areas of Chicago. There, a collaboration between the street organization called the Conservative Vice Lords and the brand-new Museum of Contemporary Art and other cultural and social service organizations created a community art space known as Art & Soul that drew in neighbors as well as artists from around the city.

As Manuel Castells writes in *The City and the Grassroots*, "Cities and space are the unfinished products of historical debates and conflicts involving meaning, function, and form."[63] People who are very poor participate in these debates and conflicts using the means available to them. Without the power to make plans and policy, how would people make themselves visible and audible in the city? In fact, there were many ways to speak in the streets. People engaged in protest marches, pickets, and occupations. For these events they produced signs, banners, music and noisemaking devices, and threatrical props. They marked surfaces with graffiti. All these were ways of taking over urban space.[64]

In her poem "Prodigal Objects," published in 1997, Carolyn Rodgers wrote: "when i lose something, / i am all out in the streets / looking for it."[65] In the remainder of the poem, it becomes clear that what has been lost could be a valued physical object, or it could be a person, or it could be something more abstract: memory, freedom, or culture. This sense of what can be found "out in the streets" suggests the multiple possible resonances of the "street," as people, culture, object, or idea, as a place of sights, sounds, and smells. In the working-class neighborhoods of Chicago, especially in good weather and regardless of race, the street beckoned as a place to look for something—whether it was something you had had and lost, or not. While it had its

hazards, it was also a place for many forms of social life: a place where people could stretch out, show off, pair off, cool off in the summer, conduct business (licit and illicit), dance, hear music, make art. For people living in overstuffed apartment buildings, with few amenities and little privacy, the street could—at times—hold freedom, relaxation, conviviality, and relative safety. The concentration of population and the particularly crowded domestic spaces of Bronzeville produced a particularly intense street culture. People spent time on the street getting from one place to another (in 1960, areas of Chicago with large majorities of African Americans typically had fewer than one car for every four people[66]), but they also saw the street as something more than just a place to pass through. This book considers the idea of the street as a place, a group of people and practices, and a point of view. It was the site of protests and parades, of illicit economies and alternative political structures—that is, gangs—of gossip, murals, ice cream and vegetable vendors, and children playing under the watchful eyes of grandmothers who sat at the window or on the stoop. Some communities for art could only find themselves in the street. I use the term *street* to talk about young people, about the street organizations and behaviors some of them engaged in, and about adults viewed as marginal by society at large. It is a broad term, but I intend it as a respectful one. I examine different kinds collaborations artists had with "the street": their representations of it, and their ways of speaking to it; and also the way the street itself found ways to speak.

One of the ways the street spoke was through the young people's street organizations often known as gangs. If discriminatory housing policy and urban renewal meant that working-class African Americans had difficulty maintaining control over domestic space, their children found ways to lay claim to a measure of power in the streets. It had long been the case that, for purposes of self-defense when crossing neighborhood boundaries, young people had organized themselves into groups defined by place and ethnicity. Irish and Italian children of previous generations formed street associations, and many of those had acquired legitimacy over time. They even produced political figures—including Mayor Richard J. Daley, a leader of the infamous Hamburg Athletic Association, located in Bridgeport. As African Americans moved deeper into South and West Side neighborhoods, young people organized themselves to defend themselves and claim territory, and they did so as part of a long tradition. Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, smaller gangs that ran on particular blocks built power and grew their numbers by joining with rivals they had once fought. Among the resulting organizations were the Blackstone Rangers and Gangster Disciples

on the South Side, and the Vice Lords and Egyptian Cobras on the West Side. The Blackstone Rangers, as their name implies, got their start on South Blackstone—in Woodlawn, just south of Hyde Park—after two leaders, Jeff Fort and Eugene Hairston, met in the youth prison in St. Charles, Illinois. The organization largely skirted around Hyde Park, but it also had strength in Bronzeville. To their west, still on the South Side, were the Gangster Disciples, also formed through the merger of smaller gangs. On the West Side, the Vice Lords fought with the Cobras in the 1950s and, as they gained dominance, eventually pushed them south into an alliance with the Blackstone Rangers.

Youth organizations routinely used visual media to make themselves visible. Gangs expressed group identity with uniforms and logos.[67] The Black Panthers, which emerged in the 1960s as a political organization, also used stylish uniforms to impressive visual effect while selling their newspaper on street corners.[68] Even the police were attuned to the meaning of different items of Black nationalist garb, as documents from the Red Squad files show. People improvised forms of expression that were implicitly or explicitly political. As young people made themselves collectively visible in the streets, they also—some of them—made the streets theirs with copious graffiti. These markings made their way into public consciousness through the media, as in a photo John Tweedle took for the *Daily News* depicting graffiti on the building at the corner of 64th and Blackstone that proclaimed it "Apache Rangers" turf (figure I.6).[69] Graffiti was becoming both more prominent and more politicized, as on the one hand, painted slogans claimed gang territory, and on the other hand, the words "Black Power" began appearing on Chicago walls. This was about more than just expression of group identity, it was also about shaping space.

Marking walls was not the only way street organizations claimed turf and shaped space. They did that with violence too—in the mid-1960s, killings and maimings and other violent crime abounded. But around that time, the Black street gangs of the South and West Sides were also beginning to imagine a different way of operating. This included participating in community development projects and creating cultural capital by partnering with mainstream institutions, new and established. A key argument of this book is that these organizations were important players in the making of art and cultural events in the 1960s and 1970s. This is not to excuse some of the other things they did. But it is to acknowledge this real aspect of the "Black Power" moment: the capacity for street organizations to get things done, the contributions they made to cultural activities, and the potential they held

I.6. Apache Rangers graffiti. Photo by John Tweedle for the *Chicago Daily News*, 1966.

to move even further in that direction, a potential squashed by the War on Gangs that the mayor, police, and federal authorities waged beginning in 1969.

Chapter Outline

This is a story about an unusually rich landscape—or streetscape—of collaborations across race, class, and geography, and the philosophical, political, and aesthetic questions with which these collaborations attempted to come to terms. To imagine the streetscape of this project, I have used newspaper articles, archival materials, photos, interviews, and artworks. In places, I have had to fill gaps with conjecture or analogy.

I begin, in chapter 1, with ways of thinking about and claiming public space that cluster around the Wall of Respect and the creation of independent spaces for art, particularly on the South Side of Chicago. Chapter 2 discusses how Black cultural nationalism nourished community artistic collaborations, largely in the realm of music, that extended to gang members as well as the broader Black community (with projects led by Oscar Brown Jr. and Phil

Cohran). It also introduces white institutions' attempts to insert themselves into the dialogue over community (in this case, Columbia College Chicago's "The Arts and the Inner City" conference), and the ways Black artists responded. Chapter 3 follows in this vein with the major case study of the Conservative Vice Lords' collaboration with the Museum of Contemporary Art and other white institutions on an art center called Art & Soul. Chapter 4 studies the ways in which politicized Black artists, in particular the artists of AFRICOBRA, envisaged their potential impact on community audiences through the ideology of "positive images" and their techniques of production and distribution. In Chapter 5, I provide an overview of the multiracial community mural movement that followed the Wall of Respect, and study how community involvement could often produce results that ran counter to "positive images," mounting a sharp critique of the status quo. In the last chapter, I look at the ways in which film and photography allowed community members to speak for themselves by "seizing the camera," and how this practice rhymed with surreal effects in artworks that combined the real and the imaginary. These political and aesthetic developments unfolded in the context of efforts at reaching broad audiences through film in particular. This closing chapter also addresses the economic and political challenges the Black Arts Movement faced as the 1970s progressed, and the continuing legacy of these projects today.

In writing this book, I am hoping to provide nourishment to contemporary artists and activists looking to the past for inspiration in imagining new forms of political action and autonomy, to art historians reinventing the history of twentieth-century art, to anyone interested in knowing more about art, and especially Black art, in Chicago. Although I hope to create an analytically rich dialogue with the material at hand, I have consciously avoided importing theoretical frameworks from outside its time period in order to allow the rich artworks and sophisticated thinkers of the time to speak for themselves. But I have of course made choices about what to include, how to put the pieces together, and what conclusion to draw from them. I accept the risk of this and hope to open a dialogue—I hope for my words to be critiqued, corrected, and expanded upon.

Notes

Note: *Chicago Defender*, *Chicago Daily Defender*, and *Daily Defender* articles were accessed through the Proquest database service. When no edition is noted following the newspaper title, articles are from the daily edition.

Introduction

1 Norman Mark, "A Matter of Black and White," *Chicago Daily News, Panorama*, May 18, 1968, 3.
2 Victor Sorell, "Interview with William Walker" (excerpt), Abdul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford, and Rebecca Zorach, eds., *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 300–306.
3 "Wall of Respect," *Ebony* 23, no. 2 (December 1967): 49.
4 Don L. Lee, "The Wall," in *Black Pride* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1968), 26, reprinted in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *Wall of Respect*, 39–40. A slightly different version appeared in the *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 29, 1967.
5 Jeff Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1 (African Commune of Bad Relevant Artists): 10 in Search of a Nation,'" *Black World* 19, no. 12 (October 1970): 80–89, 83.
6 Pablo Helguera, *Education for Socially Engaged Art: A Materials and Techniques Handbook* (New York: Jorge Pinto Books, 2011), 10.
7 See, for example, Critical Art Ensemble, "Observations on Collective Cultural Action," *Art Journal* 57, no. 2 (summer 1998): 73–85.
8 Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 76.
9 Adolph Reed, "The Curse of 'Community,'" in *Class Notes* (New York: New Press, 2000), 11.
10 Reed, "The Curse of 'Community,'" 12.
11 Iñigo Manglano-Ovalle, "Simply Agreeing to Appear Together: A Conversation about Street-Level Video; Iñigo Manglano-Ovalle Interviewed by Rebecca Zorach," in *Art Against the Law*, ed. Rebecca Zorach (Chicago: School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 2014), 150.

12 Murry DePillars addressed these points on call and response and aesthetic distortion in his dissertation: Murry DePillars, "African-American Artists and Art Students: A Morphological Study in the Urban Black Aesthetic" (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1976), 113–21.

13 There is a large Black Arts Movement literature with respect to literature and theater. See, for example, James Edward Smethurst, *The Black Arts Movement: Literary Nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Amy Abugo Ongiri, *Spectacular Blackness: The Cultural Politics of the Black Power Movement and the Search for a Black Aesthetic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

14 See Robert Bone and Richard A. Courage, *The Muse in Bronzeville: African American Creative Expression in Chicago, 1932–1950* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011); Anne Meis Knupfer, *The Chicago Black Renaissance and Women's Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Darlene Clark Hine and John McCluskey Jr., eds., *The Chicago Black Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012); Leslie King Hammond, *Black Printmakers and the WPA,* exhibition catalogue (Bronx, NY: The Gallery [Lehman College Art Gallery], 1989); and Stacy I. Morgan, *Rethinking Social Realism: American Art and Literature, 1930–1953* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

15 See George J. Mavigliano and Richard A. Lawson, *The Federal Art Project in Illinois: 1935–1943* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990); John Franklin White, *Art in Action: American Art Centers and the New Deal* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987).

16 Margaret T. G. Burroughs, *Life with Margaret: The Official Autobiography* (Chicago: In Time Publishing, 2003), 99–100.

17 Carline Evone Williams Strong, "Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs: Educator, Artist, Author, Founder and Civic Leader" (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 1994), 180–81.

18 Thanks in large part to Jane Addams's partner Ellen Gates Starr, Hull-House offered classes in arts and crafts, possessed an art gallery with a lending library of art reproductions, and eventually developed a Labor Museum. On art at Hull-House, see Mary Ann Stankiewicz, "Art at Hull House, 1889–1901: Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr," *Woman's Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (spring/summer 1989): 35–39. On early twentieth-century bohemia and protest forums including Bughouse Square, IWW forums, the Dil Pickle, Hobo Colleges, and others, see Sophia Fagin, *Public Forums in Chicago*, with the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration of the State of Illinois (Chicago: Adult Education Council of Chicago, 1940).

19 John E. Fleming, "Dr. Margaret T. Burroughs: Artist, Teacher, Administrator, Writer, Political Activist, and Museum Founder [interview]," *Public Historian* 21, no. 1 (winter 1999): 37; Ian Rocksborough-Smith, "Margaret T. G. Burroughs and Black Public History in Cold War Chicago," in "UMass Conference: Black

Art & Power in Movement," special issue, *Black Scholar* 41, no. 3 (fall 2011): 32. Rocksborough-Smith dates the revocation of Burroughs's South Side Community Art Center (SSCAC) membership to 1956, but other sources suggest the date of 1953, on Burroughs's return from Mexico. See Mattie Smith Cold, "Chicago Art Center Elects New Officers," *Atlanta Daily World*, June 18, 1953.

20 See, for example, Franklin Rosemont, Penelope Rosemont, and Paul Garon, eds., *The Forecast Is Hot! Tracts and Other Collective Declarations of the Surrealist Movement in the United States, 1966–1976* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1997).

21 The art world in Chicago was small enough to be strongly affected by a lecture given by Jean Dubuffet in 1951 at the Arts Club of Chicago titled "Anticultural Positions" in which he enumerated a series of "points concerning the Occidental culture with which I don't agree" and suggested "new myths and new mystics" as the proper subject matter for modern art. Chicago had its rather conservative art establishment, but it also had its share of rebellious and radical artists for whom Dubuffet's talk resonated. Jean Dubuffet, "Anticultural Positions," in *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History*, ed. Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 292–98.

22 European surrealist art was popular among Chicago collectors, and had an impact on Chicago artists. Peter Selz, "Surrealism and the Chicago Imagists of the 1950s: A Comparison and Contrast," in "The Visionary Impulse: An American Tendency," special issue, *Art Journal* 45, no. 4 (winter 1985): 303–6.

23 Jane Allen and Derek Guthrie, "The Tradition," in *The Essential New Art Examiner*, ed. Terri Griffith, Kathryn Born, and Janet Koplos (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), 29.

24 Mitchell Duneier, *Ghetto: The Invention of a Place, the History of an Idea* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016). See also Romi Crawford, "Ghetto: An Historical, Aesthetic, and Theoretical Modality" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011).

25 Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetics of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 233.

26 Susan Cahan, *Mounting Frustration: The Art Museum in the Age of Black Power* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

27 bell hooks, "An Aesthetic of Blackness: Strange and Oppositional," *Lenox Avenue: A Journal of Interarts Inquiry* 1 (1995): 67.

28 Samella Lewis, *African American Art and Artists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1978] 1990), 3–4; Sharon Patton, *African American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 212–20.

29 The orthography of AFRICOBRA is still debated by members. Many of the original members of the group prefer the version in all capital letters, though a strong argument can also be made for "AfriCOBRA." In the early years of the organization one could also find "Africobra," "AfriCobra," and

even "Afro-Cobra" being used. I use AFRICOBRA here for simplicity because, for print purposes, a decision has to be made.

30 Naomi Beckwith and Dieter Roelstraete, eds., *The Freedom Principle: Experiments in Art and Music, 1965 to Now* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Mark Godfrey and Zoé Whitley, eds., *Soul of a Nation: Art in the Age of Black Power* (London: Tate Publishing, 2017). On OBAC, AFRICOBRA, and individual members, see Lisa Farrington, *Creating Their Own Image: The History of African-American Women Artists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 129–31; Kirstin L. Ellsworth, "AfriCOBRA and the Negotiation of Visual Afrocentrisms," *Civilisations* 58, no. 1 (2009): 21–38; George Lewis, "Purposive Patterning: Jeff Donaldson, Muhal Richard Abrams, and the Multidominance of Consciousness," *Lenox Avenue: A Journal of Interarts Inquiry* 5 (1999): 63–69; *nka* 30 (spring 2012), which includes several short essays by AFRICOBRA members; Robert L. Douglas, *Wadsworth Jarrell: The Artist as Revolutionary* (New York: Pomegranate Press, 1996). Susan Cahan mentions the group briefly in *Mounting Frustration*, 37.

31 Kellie Jones, ed., *Now Dig This! Art and Black Los Angeles, 1960–1980*, exhibit catalog (Los Angeles: Hammer Museum and University of California; Munich and New York: DelMonico Books/Prestel, 2011); Teresa A. Carbone and Kellie Jones, eds., *Witness: Art and Civil Rights in the 60s*, exhibition catalogue (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum; New York: Monacelli Press, 2014).

32 Kymberly Pinder, *Painting the Gospel: Black Public Art and Religion in Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016). Earlier books on the mural movement include James Prigoff and Robin J. Dunitz, *Walls of Heritage, Walls of Pride*; Eva Cockcroft, John Pitman Weber, and James Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977); African-American Historical and Cultural Museum, *The People's Art: Black Murals, 1967–1978* (Philadelphia: African-American Historical and Cultural Museum, 1986). On the Wall of Respect, see Margo Natalie Crawford, "Black Light on the *Wall of Respect*," in *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement*, ed. Lisa Gail Collins and Margo Natalie Crawford (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 23–42; Jeff Donaldson, "The Rise, Fall, and Legacy of the Wall of Respect Movement," *International Review of African American Art* 15, no. 1 (1998): 22–26; and Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*. On Black artists in Los Angeles, see Kellie Jones, *South of Pico: African American Artists in Los Angeles in the 1960s and 1970s* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

33 Margo Natalie Crawford, *Black Post-Blackness: The Black Arts Movement and Twenty-First-Century Black Aesthetics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017); Darby English, *1971: A Year in the Life of Color* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

34 Darby English, *How to See a Work of Art in Total Darkness* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 59.

35 hooks, "Aesthetic," 68.

36 See Claire Bishop, "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics," *October* 110 (fall 2004): 51–79; Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012).

37 There is now an extensive literature on social practice. Terms that form part of its genealogy include relational aesthetics (see Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* [Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2002]) and "new genre public art" (see Suzanne Lacy, *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* [Seattle: Bay Press, 1995]). A few key texts in social practice include Mary Jane Jacob, Michael Brenson, and Eva M. Olson, eds., *Culture in Action: A Public Art Program of Sculpture in Chicago* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995); Grant Kester, *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); and Tom Finkelpearl, *What We Made: Conversations on Art and Social Cooperation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), as well as other works by these and other authors.

38 Mike Sell, "The Black Arts Movement: Performance, Neo-Orality, and the Destruction of the 'White Thing,'" in *African American Performance and Theater History*, ed. Harry J. Elam Jr. and David Krasner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 58.

39 Sell, "Black Arts Movement," 63.

40 Paul Carter Harrison, *The Drama of Nommo* (New York: Grove, 1972), 231.

41 See, for example, Diane Weathers, "The Collective Black Artists," *Black World* 23, no. 1 (November 1973): 74: "Of all the art forms that have contributed to shaping the Afro-American creative experience, music has been its strongest component."

42 Marion Brown, "Improvisation and the Aural Tradition in Afro-American Music," *Black World* 23, no. 1 (November 1973): 15.

43 See Patricia J. Williams, "On Being the Object of Property," *Signs* 14, no. 1 (autumn 1988): 5–24; Mike Sell, *Avant-Garde Performance and the Limits of Criticism: Approaching the Living Theatre, Happenings/Fluxus, and the Black Arts Movement* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), in particular chapter 7; Charles H. Fuller Jr., "Black Writing: Release from Object," *Liberator* 7 (September 1967): 17, 20; and James Stewart, "The Development of the Black Revolutionary Artist," in *Black Fire*, ed. Amiri Baraka and Larry Neal (New York: Morrow, 1968), 3–10.

44 LeRoi Jones, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Morrow, 1963), 16.

45 Jimmy Stewart, "Introduction to Black Aesthetics in Music," in *The Black Aesthetic*, ed. Addison Gayle (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 79.

46 Stewart, "Introduction," 80.
47 John Runcie, "The Black Culture Movement and the Black Community," *Journal of American Studies* 10, no. 2 (August 1976): 193.
48 Vernon Dixon, "The Black Student and the Brother in the Streets," *Negro Digest* 18, no. 1 (November 1968): 28–35.
49 Lerone Bennett Jr., *The Negro Mood* (Chicago: Johnson, 1964), 112.
50 Gerald McWorter [Abdul Alkalimat], "OBAC: Organization of Black American Culture (all-purpose handout)," in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*.
51 McWorter, "OBAC," 134–35.
52 McWorter, "OBAC," 136.
53 McWorter, "OBAC," 146.
54 In a 1972 article Johari Amini also pursues this dialectical thinking, arguing that the artist creates from "what he Is individually and collectively, alone and as part of his people." Johari Amini, "Re-Definition: Concept as Being," *Black World* 21, no. 7 (May 1972): 4–12, 11.
55 McWorter, "OBAC," 146–48.
56 McWorter, "OBAC," 148.
57 McWorter, "OBAC," 149.
58 McWorter, "OBAC," 131.
59 Jeff Donaldson handwritten index cards, box 7, OBAC folder, card #6, Jeff Donaldson Papers, Archives of American Art (AAA hereafter).
60 Seymour Sarason, *Creation of Settings and the Future Societies* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972). I discuss Sarason's notion of the setting at more length in chapter 3.
61 Jonathan Fenderson, "Journey toward a Black Aesthetic: Hoyt Fuller, the Black Aesthetic, and the Black Intellectual Community" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 2011). On Black publishing in Chicago, see also Adam Green, *Selling the Race: Culture, Community, and Black Chicago, 1940–1955* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Ethan Michaeli, *The Chicago Defender: How the Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2016); Myiti Sengstacke, *Chicago Defender* (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia, 2012).
62 Charles M. Christian mapped the economic status of black neighborhoods of Chicago in 1950 and 1960 in his *Social Areas and Spatial Change in the Black Communities of Chicago, 1950–1960*, Occasional Publications of the Department of Geography, Paper no. 2 (Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1972). See also Amanda Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
63 Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 318.

64 In 1961 protesters of the demolition of the near West Side neighborhood that became the site of the University of Illinois Circle Campus placed a mock coffin at the site with a sign that read, "Buried here by Mayor Daley is his promise of a better community which will never come true." "Vacant Property Razed for UIC, 1962," *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/3620.html.

65 Carolyn Rodgers, "Prodigal Objects," *Carolina Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (fall 1997), 61.

66 U.S. Census data, National Historical Geographic Information System, accessed June 19, 2017, http://www.nhgis.org.

67 Natalie Moore and Lance Williams, *The Almighty Black P Stone Nation: The Rise, Fall and Resurgence of an American Gang* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2011).

68 On the Black Panthers, see (among many recent publications) Jane Rhodes, *Framing the Black Panthers: The Spectacular Rise of a Black Power Icon* (New York: New Press, 2007); Kathleen Cleaver and George Katsiaficas, eds., *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy* (New York: Routledge, 2001); and Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams, eds., *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

69 The Apache Rangers were a subgroup of the Blackstone Rangers. The address of the building appears on the back of the *Chicago Daily News* photograph, August 1, 1966 (author's collection).

Chapter 1. Claiming Space, Being in Public

1 City of Chicago, *1968 Progress Report, Workable Program for Community Improvement* (Chicago: Department of Development and Planning, 1969), 54, table 2.

2 On the Stroll and the cultural and intellectual life of the Black Belt, see Davarian Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

3 Arnold R. Hirsh, "Restrictive Covenants," in *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, ed. Janice L. Reiff, Ann Durkin Keating, and James R. Grossman (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1067.html.

4 Quoted in St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1945] 1993), 70.

5 On the Great Migration in general, see Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York: Random House, 2010). On Chicago as destination, see James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

6 Map showing change in white and nonwhite population in Hyde Park, 1950–56, a map prepared by Sol Tax for paper on problems of the local community, given February 4, 1957; data from urban renewal survey, NORC, and Chicago Community Inventory, Map Collection, University of Chicago Library.

7 Mary Pattillo provides a useful account of how this process worked in North Kenwood, a neighborhood adjacent to Bronzeville, in her book *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

8 These conditions and the struggle against them are chronicled in Beryl Satter, *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America* (New York: Macmillan, 2009).

9 See Hilary Herbold, "Never a Level Playing Field: Blacks and the GI Bill," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 6 (winter 1994–95): 104–8.

10 David Young, "Trying to Achieve Business 'Renaissance': Lawndale Fights to Halt Industry's Flight," *Chicago Tribune*, May 9, 1972.

11 See William J. Grimshaw, *Bitter Fruit: Black Politics and the Chicago Machine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Mike Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago* (New York: Signet, 1971), 167–70.

12 See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), particularly chapter 2, "The Uses of Sidewalks: Safety," 29–54.

13 Brian J. L. Berry, Sandra J. Parsons, and Rutherford H. Platt, *The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Business: The Hyde Park-Kenwood Case* (Chicago: Center for Urban Studies, University of Chicago, 1968), 117.

14 On "creative disorder," see Arthur Waskow, *From Race Riot to Sit-In, 1919 and the 1960s: A Study in the Connections between Conflict and Violence* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967).

15 *Gregory v. City of Chicago*, 394 U.S. 111, 124 (1969).

16 On the disillusionment of the late 1960s Civil Rights Movement, see Alan B. Anderson and George Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

17 Cornel West, "The Paradox of the Afro-American Rebellion," *Social Text*, no. 9/10 (spring–summer 1984): 49.

18 Donald J. Bogue and Richard McKinlay, *Militancy for and against Civil Rights and Integration in Chicago: Summer 1967* (Chicago: Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1968), 17, table 1.

19 Bogue and McKinlay, *Militancy*, 8.

20 Bogue and McKinlay, *Militancy*, 17, table 1.

21 Haki Madhubuti, interview with author, June 11, 2013.

22 See Mavigliano and Lawson, *Federal Art Project in Illinois*, 67–71, 79–81.

23 "Art Center Will Be Object Lesson on Art," *Afro-American*, July 27, 1940. The article identifies Ollie Bell Anderson, Stanford Welcker, Perthay Dillard, Harriette Pulson, Theodore Kigh, Burtis Simson, Sidney Baumstein, Stanford

Drennan, Charles Glass, Harold Jones, George Johnson, Leonard Havens, Torre Bueno (Theodore Torre-Bueno), and George Heyman as participants. Anderson and Pulson were introduced as designers to the center's board at a meeting in July 1940. Minutes of July 1940 Meeting, part 1, box 1, folder 4, South Side Community Art Center (SSCAC hereafter) Archives. Bredendieck had been a student of Moholy-Nagy's at the Bauhaus in Germany, and upon immigrating to the United States, he became a teacher at the New Bauhaus in Chicago. When the New Bauhaus reopened as the School (later Institute) of Design, he did not immediately rejoin but rather joined the FAP Design Workshop as a special consultant; Walley was the director. John Walley, "The Influence of the New Bauhaus in Chicago, 1938–1943," in *Selected Papers* (Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago, 1975), 76. Bredendieck was skilled in plywood lamination and built "devices for the hot and cold forming of plywood." Mavigliano and Lawson, *Federal Art Project in Illinois*, 47. As a teacher at the NB-SD-ID, Bredendieck gave workshop instruction in the foundation course and made "hand sculptures, which could be held in the hand and perceived by the sense of touch." Lloyd C. Engelbrecht, *Moholy-Nagy: Mentor to Modernism* (Cincinnati: Flying Trapeze Press, 2009), 561–62.

24 "Art Center Will Be Object Lesson on Art."

25 Walley, "Speech Delivered at Chicago Artists Union—October 1940," *Selected Papers*, 17–24, 22.

26 This was first mentioned to me by Faheem Majeed, former director of the center.

27 South Side Community Art Center, "Open the Doors . . . to the South Side Community Art Center," n.d., "Miscellaneous pamphlets, catalogs, etc.," Chicago History Museum (CHM hereafter).

28 Bill Mullen, *Popular Fronts: Chicago and African-American Cultural Politics, 1935–46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 85.

29 Unprocessed archival materials, SSCAC Archives. Several individuals who knew Dr. Burroughs have confirmed to me that she was sympathetic to Communism if not a Party member.

30 Louis P. Dumetz, "8 American Artists Make Cultural Tour of Russia," *Chicago Defender* (*National Edition*), October 15, 1966.

31 FBI Operation SOLO documents, Airtel, March 8, 1966, http://vault.fbi.gov/solo/solo-part-100-of-101/view.

32 Fleming, "Dr. Margaret T. Burroughs," 37.

33 Roi Ottley, "Artist Promotes Negro Culture: Motivated by Deep Belief," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 20, 1959.

34 Fleming, "Dr. Margaret T. Burroughs," 39.

35 Cold, "Chicago Art Center Elects New Officers"; confidential source.

36 Fleming, "Dr. Margaret Burroughs," 39–40.

37 Mark Durham, "Museum Traces Negro Past," *Chicago Tribune*, July 9, 1967.

38 Fleming, "Dr. Margaret Burroughs," 41–42.

39 "Afro-American History Classes at Museum," *Chicago Defender* (*National Edition*), August 26, 1967, national edition; "Afro-American Course Has 65 Students Enrolled," *Chicago Tribune*, November 24, 1968.

40 See "Calendar of Community Events," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), November 23, 1968.

41 Sarah Ross and Erika Meiners, "'And What Happens to You Concerns Us Here': Imaginings for a (New) Prison Arts Movement," in *Art Against the Law*, ed. Rebecca Zorach (Chicago: School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 2014), 15–30.

42 "Lincoln Centre Begins Hull House Affiliation," *Chicago Defender* (*National Edition*), September 24, 1966.

43 "Name Library for Editor," *Chicago Daily Defender*, September 16, 1969.

44 Eugene Perkins, "We Are Discovering Our Heritage and Our Hope: The New Voices Sing of Black Cultural Power," *Chicago Daily News, Panorama*, December 7, 1968.

45 "New Art Gallery to Bow," *Chicago Daily Defender*, February 29, 1968. See also "Calendar of Community Events," *Chicago Daily, Defender*, April 16, 1968. Louis Boyd also painted on the Wall of Truth, across from the Wall of Respect, and exhibited work at Art & Soul in 1969. "Today's Events," *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 11, 1969.

46 "Keeping Pace with the Lively Arts: Art and Exhibits," *Chicago Defender* (Big Weekend Edition), May 12, 1973.

47 Gerald Williams, personal communication, July 22, 2015.

48 "You are respectfully summoned . . . ," invitation to OBAC meeting, box 7, Jeff Donaldson papers, AAA.

49 "New Donaldson Works in Lakeside Gallery," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 9, 1968; "Calendar of Community Events," *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 24, 1968; Barry L. Plotkin, interview with author, June 8, 2015.

50 In meeting minutes she was also sometimes referred to as Bejai, a phonetic spelling of her initials.

51 Harold Haydon, "Memo to Ray E. Brown," n.d. (probably late 1950s or early 1960s), box 1, folder 13, Lorado Taft-Midway Studios Papers, University of Chicago Library. The studio had previously been occupied by the painter James McBurney. Mulligan is listed with that address in the *Cliff Dwellers Year Book* (1916), p. 39. Jarrell also heard from the artist Bacia Gordon, the owner of the building, that it had been occupied by a sculptor who worked on the Columbian Exposition. Wadsworth Jarrell, personal communication, November 2012; "Calendar of Community Events," *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 24, 1968.

52 Barry Plotkin, interview with author, June 8, 2015. At the 57th Street Art Fair, Reggie Madison also met Hans Morgenthau, a University of Chicago professor who gave him advice on travel to Europe. Reginald Madison, interview with author, August 2011.

53 The *Chicago Defender* chronicled the Englewood Concourse Art Fair in many articles. On the three originally sponsored by the CCUO, see "Art Fairs Successful," *Chicago Daily Defender*, September 3, 1969.

54 "Union of Black Artists," directory, 48, box 9, folder 7, Frances Minor Papers, Vivian Harsh Collection (VHC hereafter), Carter Woodson Library, Chicago Public Library.

55 William Walker also saw Eugene "Eda" Wade's painting of Malcolm X there for the first time. Eugene "Eda" Wade, unedited transcript of interview with author and Marissa Baker, April 17, 2015. For the address of The Arts, "Art Collectors?" classified ad, *Chicago Tribune*, March 19, 1967. Regarding meetings there, Darryl Cowherd, interview with author, April 19, 2015.

56 "Union of Black Artists," directory, 36, box 9, folder 7, Frances Minor Papers, VHC.

57 "Confetti," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 12, 1969; "Today's Events," *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 19, 1969.

58 "'Birdland' Continues at Afam Gallery," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 15, 1970.

59 "Gallery Ensemble Jam for Poor Arts," *Chicago Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), July 21, 1973.

60 Box 10 of the Jeff Donaldson Papers includes reports and program from the conference and its task forces. AAA.

61 "Unusual Goods at Unique Shop Here," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Daily Edition*), December 14, 1972; "Baraza Wa Afrika, an In Place," *Chicago Defender*, December 13, 1973. The Native Shop also sold African crafts, at 2606 E. 79th Street. "Surveying businesses . . ." (photo caption), *Chicago Defender* (*Daily Edition*), August 27, 1974.

62 "ANKH Studio: A Center of Creativity," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), September 2, 1972; "Lester Lashley," interview with Rebecca Zorach, Beverly Normand, and Howard Wiley, *The Time Is Now! Art Worlds of Chicago's South Side*, exhibition catalogue (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, 2018).

63 For more on the Catalyst, see Damali Carol Adams, "In the Black," in *Rise of the Phoenix: Voices from Chicago's Black Struggle, 1960–1975*, ed. Useni Eugene Perkins (Chicago: Third World Press, 2017), 216–22.

64 DePillars, "African American Artists," 129.

65 "Opportunity Centers to Stage Art Show," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 24, 1967. Robert Paige (along with Amir Nour) was listed as a member of AFRICOBRA in the program for CONFABA, the conference Jeff Donaldson organized at Northwestern in 1970. "CONFABA. Conference on the Functional Aspects of Black Art," program, unpaginated, box 10, Jeff Donaldson Papers, AAA.

66 Wadsworth Jarrell, email to author, February 21, 2013. On the Woodlawn Experimental School, see Barbara Sizemore, *Walking in Circles: The Black Struggle for School Reform* (Chicago: Third World Press, 2008).

67 "Black Art Gallery Now at Illinois Federal," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), May 22, 1971.

68 Anna M. Tyler, "Planting and Maintaining a 'Perennial Garden,' Chicago's South Side Community Art Center," *International Review of African American Art* 11, no. 4 (January 1994): 36.

69 "Wanted: A Printer and a Weaver," flyer, part III, box 20, Administrative: Board of Directors, SSCAC Archives.

70 I draw here on records assembled by Marissa H. Baker in work for the SSCAC. "Marvin M. Young," flyer, part I, box 4, folder 21, SSCAC Archives; Thomas Willis, "But after You've Figured 'Em Out?," *Chicago Tribune*, January 26, 1969; Doris E. Saunders, "Confetti," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 18, 1969; *The Image of Man: An Exhibition of Paintings by Garrett Whyte*, flyer, part I, box 4 (1957–71), folder 23, SSCAC Archives; "Show Eskimo Masks at Field Museum," *Chicago Tribune*, November 23, 1969 (with additional reference to Garrett Whyte exhibition), "C. Rodger Wilson—Douglas R. Williams Exhibit," exhibition Checklist, part I, box 5 (1970–71, undated), folder 5, SSCAC Archives; "Two for the Show Opens at Southside Art Center," *Chicago Daily Defender*, September 21, 1970; "Frank Hayden Art Show Here Sunday," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 21, 1971; Harold Haydon, "The Artist's Role as Pioneer," *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 19, 1970; *A Man and His Work: A Memorial Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by the Late Elliott Hunter, 1938–1969*, flyer, part I, box 4 (1957–71), folder 14, SSCAC Archives; Reference to Herbert Salone show in Grace N. Leaming, President's Annual Report: 1970, part I, box 5 (1970–71, undated), folder 2, SSCAC Archives; Stan Williamson, Press Release, undated, part 1, box 5 (1970–71, undated), folder 11, SSCAC Archives; "Britton and Jose: Paintings, Prints, Drawings, Sculpture," flyer, part I, box 5 (1970–71, undated), folder 8, SSCAC Archives; "Paul Collins: Pictures from an African Journey," flyer, part I, box 5 (1970–71, undated), folder 9, SSCAC Archives; "Gary Jones, Writin on the Wall: Geographic Testaments of Black Sentiment," flyer, part I, box 5 (1970–71, undated), folder 14, SSCAC Archives; "A Decade of the Art of Norman Parish," flyer, part III, box 20, folder 1973 (1), SSCAC Archives; Jane Allen and Derek Guthrie, "Norman Parish's Black Pride Shows thru the Whitewash," *Chicago Tribune*, July 16, 1972; "Calendar of Events," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 29, 1973; "Clifford Lee: An Exhibit of Paintings and Drawings," flyer, part III, box 20, folder 1973, SSCAC Archives; "Show Ralph Arnold's Art at S.S. Center," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), July 14, 1973.

71 "Black Expressions '69," flyer, part I, box 4 (1957–71), folder 22, SSCAC Archives; "Black Heritage: An Exhibition of African Sculpture and Artifacts," flyer, box 7, folder 21, William McBride Papers, VHC. The exhibition also

included anonymous loans and works from Etta Moten Barnett's and Joseph Kersey's collections.

72 "Seeds Within," flyer, part III, box 20, folder 1973 (1), SSCAC Archives.

73 "Afro-Cobra Art Exhibit Is Well Received," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), August 18, 1973; *Afri-cobra*, flyer, part III, box 20, Administrative: Board of Directors, folder 1973 (1), SSCAC Archives.

74 "Black Art Is Alive and Well in Chicago: Yaounde Olu, Douglas Williams," flyer, part III, box 20, folder 1973 (1), SSCAC Archives.

75 "Fragments: Geraldine McCullough," news release, November 1, 1973, part III, box 20, folder 1973 (1), SSCAC Archives; "Fragments: Geraldine McCullough," flyer, part III, box 20, folder 1973 (1), SSCAC Archives.

76 "Mary Reed Daniel and Sylvester Britton," flyer, part III, box 20, folder 1974, SSCAC Archives; "Art Exhibit at Center," *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 19, 1974; "Art Legacy to Go Public," *Chicago Daily Defender*, September 25, 1974; "Art and the Black Woman," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), October 12, 1974.

77 My discussion of the Wall of Respect here shares a great deal with my contributions to Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, which were composed in tandem with this text. I am grateful to my coeditors, Northwestern University Press editors, and external readers for helpful comments that shaped this text.

78 Donaldson, "Rise, Fall and Legacy," 25.

79 Committee for the Arts [pre-OBAC], "Invitation Letter and Statement of Purposes." In Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 113–14. Hoyt Fuller also enclosed the "Statement of Purposes" in an April 30, 1968, letter to Mirron Alexandroff, Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. Record group 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records. Unprocessed. College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.

80 OBAC, "Festival of the Arts," March 19, 1967, in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *Wall of Respect*, 117–18.

81 Alicia L. Johnson, "On May 21 for a Dedication," in *Realities vs. Spirits* (n.p., 1969), unpaginated.

82 A document in the Vivian Harsh Collection, Carter Woodson Library, Chicago Public Library, details the judicial outcome for one participant. "Injustice in America's Courts . . . Again—Report by Afroamerican Student Association on Trial and Conviction of Darryl Fields," box 4, folder 27, Leonard Wash Papers, VHC. According to the report on Fields's conviction, he was "guilty of attempting to aid a photographer who was beaten to the ground by police who had kicked six of his ribs in."

83 Jeff R. Donaldson and Geneva Smitherman Donaldson, "Upside the Wall: An Artist's Retrospective Look at the Original 'Wall of Respect,'" in *The People's Art: Black Murals 1967–1978* (Philadelphia: African American Historical and

Cultural Museum, 1986), unpaginated. Douglas Williams, interview with author, June 1, 2013.

84 "You are respectfully summoned . . . ," invitation to OBAC meeting, box 7, Jeff Donaldson Papers, AAA.

85 Jeff Huebner, "The Man behind the Wall," *Chicago Reader*, August 28, 1997.

86 Because of Walker's experience as a muralist and his role in bringing the Langley wall to the group's attention, it was clearly "Walker's wall" to some participants. Darryl Cowherd, interview with author, April 19, 2015.

87 Jeff Huebner, "William Walker's Walls of Prophecy and Protest," in *Art Against the Law*, ed. Rebecca Zorach (Chicago: School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 2014), 38.

88 Robert Sengstacke, interview with author, September 2016; "'Wall' Neighborhood Vexed by Black Power Connection," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 1, 1967.

89 Ziff Sistrunk, interview with author, May 2018.

90 McWorter, "OBAC," 147–48.

91 Dates of the receipt for scaffolding rental from Gilco Scaffolding are August 11 to August 28. "Lease of Equipment," box 7, Jeff Donaldson Papers, AAA.

92 Donaldson and Smitherman Donaldson, "Upside the Wall." Another discrepancy in this list is the omission of James Baldwin, whose portrait in the "Literature" section is absent from some later photographs of the Wall. Robert Sengstacke, interview with author, September 2016.

93 James Earl Jones appears in Gerald McWorter [Abdul Alkalimat], "Who Is on the Wall and Why," in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 164. Dick Gregory substitutes for him in Jeff Donaldson's list, in Jeff Donaldson, "Rise, Fall, and Legacy," 26, but this seems to be an error.

94 Florence Hawkins, interview with author, April 2015.

95 Paul Robeson appears on Jeff Donaldson's list, but not in photographs of the Wall.

96 See "White Women Set off Two-Hour Melee in Chicago," *Jet* 32, no. 9 (June 8, 1967): 7.

97 Gwendolyn Brooks, "II. The Wall" (part of "Two Dedications"), in *In the Mecca* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 42–43.

98 "Wall of Respect," *Ebony* 23, no. 2 (December 1967): 49.

99 Many of the heroes and heroines depicted on the Wall also visited it, for example, Nina Simone (depicted in a 1968 photograph by Roy Lewis in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *Wall of Respect*, 245) and Muhammad Ali (depicted in a photograph, photographer and location unknown, auctioned by Lelands in 2016, https://lelands.com/bids/bidplace?itemid=80765, accessed December 15, 2017).

100 The contrast between the two poems has been noted frequently. See William H. Hansell, "Aestheticism versus Political Militancy in Gwendolyn Brooks's 'The Chicago Picasso' and 'The Wall,'" *CLA Journal* 17, no. 1

(September 1973): 11–15; D. H. Melhem, *Gwendolyn Brooks: Poetry and the Heroic Voice* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), 178–81; and Daniel Punday, "The Black Arts Movement and the Genealogy of Multimedia," *New Literary History* 37, no. 4 (autumn 2006): 789–92.

101 Margaret G. Burroughs, "Voice of the People," *Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1966.

102 Margaret Burroughs, "On Civic Center Plaza," unpublished (to my knowledge), unprocessed Burroughs papers, SSCAC Archives.

103 "Picasso 5-Story Sculpture Slated for Civic Center," *Chicago Tribune*, September 15, 1966.

104 Sheila Wolfe, "What's It Has Town Talking," *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1967; Phil Lanier, writer/producer, *Pablo and the Boss* (Chicago: Network Chicago/ WTTW, 2001).

105 "Statue 'What You Make It,'" *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1967.

106 Mike Royko, "Picasso and the Cultural Rebirth of Chicago," *Chicago Sun-Times*, August 16, 1967.

107 *The Letter Edged in Black Press v. Public Building Commission of Chicago*, 320 F. Supp. 1303 (1970), U.S. National Archives, Great Lakes Region, Chicago; Hartmann to Penrose, July 28, 1967, exhibit attached to Hartmann Deposition.

108 Gwendolyn Brooks, "I. The Chicago Picasso," part of "Two Dedications," in *In the Mecca* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 40–41.

109 "Governor Kerner," in *Letter Edged in Black*, exhibit attached to Hartmann Deposition.

110 Chicago Surrealist Group, "This Too Will Burn," in *The Forecast Is Hot! Tracts and Other Collective Declarations of the Surrealist Movement in the United States, 1966–1976*, ed. Franklin Rosemont, Penelope Rosemont, and Paul Garon (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1997), 21–22.

111 The sign is visible in two films of the event, *The Bride Stripped Bare* (Tom Palazzolo, 1967, 12 minutes) and *Pablo and the Boss*.

112 "35,000 Black Students Return to School after Showing Power," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 16, 1968.

113 Pemon Rami, personal communication to author, March 10, 2014. According to Rami, among the planners were Victor Adams from Harrison High School, Rhonada Masequa Myers from Calumet, Patricia Smith from Marshall High School, Harold Green from Lindblom, Steve Hurst from Wendell Phillips, Riccardo James from Austin, Omar Aoki from Lindblom, Sharron Matthews from Harrison, Harold Rush from Englewood, and David Jenkins from Harlan.

114 Faith C. Christmas, "Boycotters 'Bury' School Bd. in Loop Rite," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 29, 1968.

115 Faith Christmas, "4,000 Jam Civic Center," *Chicago Daily Defender*, September 23, 1969.

116 A photo also appeared in the *Chicago Daily News*, March 31, 1970. Toni Anthony, "Jail Fr. Clements in Evictions: Nab Fr. Clements in Evictions," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 31, 1970; Toni Anthony, "Joe Robichaux on CBL Spot," *Chicago Daily Defender*, April 6, 1970.

117 Don L. Lee, "The Wall," in *Black Pride* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1968), 26. Leroi Jones, "Black Art," in *Black Magic: Sabotage, Target Study, Black Art* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), 116; Don L. Lee, "The Wall," in *Black Pride* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1968), 26, reprinted in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *Wall of Respect*, 39–40. A slightly different version appeared in the *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 29, 1967.

118 Eugene Perkins, "Black Culture," in *Black Is Beautiful* (Chicago: Free Black Press, 1968), 8. Also published in Catalysts Cultural Committee, *Black Cultural Directory Chicago '69* (Chicago: Catalysts, 1969), 12, and reprinted in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *Wall of Respect*, 41–42.

119 Perkins, "Black Culture," 8.

120 John Fry, *Fire and Blackstone* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1969), 3.

121 Jae Jarrell, personal communication, September 2017.

122 "Black Pride Theme for Dedication Festivities," *Chicago Defender* (*National Edition*), September 30, 1967.

123 In addition, sign painter Curly Ellison painted the lettering "Wall of Respect." Victor Sorell, "Interview with William Walker (excerpt)," in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 301; "William Walker Discusses the Wall," in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 310.

124 "William Walker Discusses the Wall," 310. Later, Elijah Muhammad personally asked that his portrait be removed, and Walker obliged.

125 Crawford, "Black Light on the *Wall of Respect*," 26. See also DePillars, "African-American Artists," 122.

126 DePillars, "African-American Artists," 122.

127 Rebecca Zorach and Marissa Baker, "Interview with Eugene 'Eda' Wade" (edited transcript of April 17, 2015, interview) in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 313.

128 Allen and Guthrie, "Norman Parish's Black Pride."

129 Robert Sengstacke, interview with author, September 2016.

130 Roy Lewis, transcript of School of the Art Institute of Chicago symposium, April 2015.

131 Jeff Donaldson, *The HistoryMakers* interview, April 23, 2001. Jeff Donaldson (The HistoryMakers A2001.023), interview by Julieanna Richardson, April 23, 2001, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive, session 1, tape 4, story 1, Jeff Donaldson discusses the Wall of Respect, FBI disruption of OBAC and the mural movement.

132 E.g., Investigator's Report, "Activity Report Relative to a Meeting Held in the 43rd Block of Langley," October 1, 1967, Coordinating Council on Black Power

files, box 195, file no. 1054, Red Squad Collection, CHM, and subsequent related reports. The existence of several reports suggests the presence of multiple police officers, at least one of them recording the proceedings on audiotape. Police also recorded license plates of all the cars that were present and checked owners' names against existing files.

133 Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, 4.

134 Barbara Jones-Hogu, personal communication. See Jeff Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," *Black World* (October 1970): 80–89; and Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, 4.

135 Adalisha Safi, personal communication; "Crowds Gather," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 2, 1967. See also Donald Mosby, "Gun Cache Found at Black Power Hangout," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 31, 1967, and Donald Mosby, "Wall Neighborhood Vexed by Black Power Connection," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 1, 1967; Red Squad Collection, CHM.

136 Lee, "The Wall," 26, reprinted in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *Wall of Respect*, 39.

137 Lee, "The Wall," 26, reprinted in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *Wall of Respect*, 39.

138 Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, 4.

139 Mark, "A Matter of Black and White."

140 "Wall of Respect," *Ebony* 23, no. 2 (December 1967): 49.

141 Ziff Sistrunk, interview with author, May 2018. As Robert Sengstacke put it, "The kids used to charge a little fee to explain the Wall. They made money explaining who's on the Wall, the sections and all that. They didn't charge much, but they made a nice piece of change." Robert Sengstacke, interview with author, September 2016.

142 On the Conference for New Politics, see Simon Hall, "'On the Tail of the Panther': Black Power and the 1967 Convention of the National Conference for New Politics," *Journal of American Studies* 37, no. 1 (April 2003): 59–78.

143 Roy Lewis, Transcript of "The Wall of Respect and People's Art since 1967," School of the Art Institute of Chicago symposium, April 18, 2015.

144 Brooks, "The Wall," 43.

145 See Christian, *Social Areas and Spatial Change*, 1, 12, 13, 24, 36.

146 Howard Wood, "Chicago Points New Way to Slum Clearance: Private Initiative Paves Way for Rehabilitation," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 14, 1938.

147 Prigoff and Dunitz, *Walls of Heritage*, 64.

148 "C[osmopolitan] C[hamber] of C[ommerce] Unit Joins Drive to Save Wall," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 26, 1969; "Save the Wall Drive Gains Steam," photo, *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 26, 1969.

149 "Applaud 43rd St. Wall Razing Delay," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 28, 1969.

150 "Soon to be destroyed," photo caption, *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 8, 1970.

151 "Wall of Respect Tumbles Down," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 29, 1972. This date revises an error that crept into Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect,* 4.

Chapter 2. Cultural Nationalism and Community Culture

1 Richard Christiansen, "Chicago Gang Puts on Negro Revue," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1967. Christiansen wrote for the *Chicago Daily News*.
2 David Katzive, "Oscar Brown Jr. and the Rangers Triumph," *Hyde Park Herald*, May 31, 1967. Christiansen was also largely favorable, though not quite so ecstatic. Christiansen, "Chicago Gang."
3 "Rangers' Show Aired Sunday," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 23, 1967.
4 "Opportunity Please Knock," *Ebony* 22, no. 10 (August 1967): 104.
5 Oscar Brown, Jr. (The HistoryMakers A2000.010), interview by Julieanna Richardson, September 19, 2000, The HistoryMakers Digital Archive, session 1, tape 3, story 3, Oscar Brown Jr. recalls his dismissal from the Communist Party.
6 Oscar Brown Jr., *Opportunity Please Knock* (playscript), Oscar Brown Jr. Papers, Maggie Brown Collection.
7 Fry, *Fire and Blackstone*, 12. The Woodlawn Organization obtained a large grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity to fund a job training program that employed gang leaders as subprofessionals and gave a stipend to the trainees; this is the program discussed in the introduction. Other support came from the Kettering Foundation.
8 James Porter, "Brother, Where Art Thou?" (interview with Oscar Brown Jr.), *Roctober* 15 (2005), reprinted in Jake Austen, ed., *Flying Saucers Rock 'n' Roll: Conversations with Unjustly Obscure Rock 'n' Soul Eccentrics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 23. The interview is also quoted in Moore and Williams, *The Almighty Black P Stone Nation*, 43–44.
9 "Opportunity Please Knock" (*Ebony*).
10 Oscar Brown Jr., "Gang Gone Good" (unpublished manuscript), 13, Oscar Brown Jr. Papers, Maggie Brown Collection.
11 Harold Cruse, *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: Quill, 1967), 456.
12 Bennett, *The Negro Mood*, 112.
13 Bernard Goss, former husband of Margaret Burroughs, provided art direction, and presumably also—perhaps even from Margaret Burroughs's own collection—the African sculpture that adorns Alex's apartment.
14 I refer of course to Audre Lorde's classic short essay "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, ed. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (Latham, NY: Kitchen Table Press, 1981), 98–101.
15 Clovis Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony and African American Development* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 237.

16 Doris Saunders, "Confetti," *Chicago Defender*, January 17, 1967, and February 21, 1967.

17 ProQuest stats for *Chicago Defender*, accessed January 29, 2012. Many of the references to "black" are presumably not racial, and in any event these numbers should not be taken as absolute—rather, they should be understood in relative terms.

18 Mary Ellmann, "Chicago! Behind the 'I Will' Spirit It Is Nervous and Erratic," *New York Times*, July 14, 1968.

19 Malcolm X, "Malcolm X and Revolutionary Black Nationalism," in *Let Nobody Turn Us Around: Voices of Resistance, Reform, and Renewal: An African American Anthology*, ed. Manning Marable (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 417.

20 William Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–1975* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 131.

21 Val Gray Ward, Gerald McWorter, and Hoyt Fuller, "Black Power Leader Forms Group Here," *Chicago Tribune*, August 13, 1967.

22 Abiola Irele, "Negritude or Black Cultural Nationalism," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 3, no. 3 (October 1965): 321.

23 Quoted in Bradford Chambers, ed., *Chronicles of Negro Protest: A Background Book for Young People, Documenting the History of Black Power* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 291.

24 Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 171.

25 E. U. Essien-Udom, "The Nationalist Movements of Harlem," *Freedomways* 3, no. 3 (summer 1963): 342, where he also called nationalists the "wing of Negro protest which is most insistent on self-assertion and self-help by the Negro as a group."

26 William Van Deburg, ed., *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 215.

27 Carolyn Rodgers, "Breakforth in Deed," *Black World* 19, no. 11 (September 1970): 14. This echoes Sigemonde Wimberli, who refers to himself as a "medium" (in both the artistic and the "spirit" sense). Sheryl Fitzgerald, "Chicago's Black Artists: A New Breed," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 17, 1968, 1.

28 See Alondra Nelson, *Body and Soul: The Black Panther Party and the Fight against Medical Discrimination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 54, quoting Huey P. Newton, "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement," in *The Black Panthers Speak*, ed. Philip S. Foner (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1995), 50.

29 Cruse, *Crisis*, 343.

30 Cruse, *Crisis*, 344.

31 James Turner, "The Sociology of Black Nationalism," in "Black Politics," special issue, *Black Scholar* 1, no. 2 (December 1969): 18.

32 Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 83.

33 Ronald Milner, "Black Theater, Go Home!," *Negro Digest* 17, no. 6 (April 1968): 10.
34 Ron Karenga, "Black Cultural Nationalism," in *The Black Aesthetic*, ed. Addison Gayle (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 34.
35 Bill Mullen's *Popular Fronts* is an examination of the political views and artistic contributions of this generation.
36 Oscar Brown Jr., The HistoryMakers Digital Archive, session 1, tape 3, story 3, Oscar Brown Jr. recalls his dismissal from the Communist Party.
37 Robert Paige, personal communication, November 2016.
38 Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," in *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan*, ed. William Van Deburg (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 52–56, 53, 52. See also Martin Favor, *Authentic Blackness: The Folk in the New Negro Renaissance* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
39 James Porter, *Modern Negro Art* (New York: Dryden Press, 1943), 90.
40 There are many examples; among others, see E. Patrick Johnson, *Appropriating Blackness: Performance and the Politics of Authenticity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 22–25; Valerie Smith, *Not Just Race, Not Just Gender: Black Feminist Readings* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 67.
41 House of Umoja, "'UMOJA': A proposal for the development of a positive expression of Black Unity and Brotherhood," "House of Umoja File" (folder), Illinois Arts Council, Administrative Files, 1963–76, record series 312.001, Illinois State Archives. This is one of many folders kept by the IAC on organizations active in the arts in Illinois.
42 Jeff Donaldson, "The Role We Want for Black Art," in *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan*, ed. William Van Deburg (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 219.
43 Amiri Baraka, "Speech to the Congress of African Peoples, 1970," in *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan*, ed. William Van Deburg (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 148.
44 Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon*, 186.
45 Barbara J. Jones, "Black Imagery: The Black Experience" (master's thesis, Illinois Institute of Technology, 1970), 43.
46 Barbara Jones-Hogu, interview by Rebecca Zorach and Skyla Hearn, Never the Same, 2012, https://never-the-same.org/interviews/barbara-jones-hogu/.
47 Barbara Jones-Hogu, interview by Rebecca Zorach and Skyla Hearn.
48 I thank Bridget Madden, Paul Jaskot, Erika Stuart, Suzanne Blier, and Marguerite Horberg for help deciphering this photo.
49 James Yuenger, "$50,000 Gang Report Is Worthless, McClellan Charges," *Chicago Tribune*, October 12, 1968.
50 Daniel Lewis and Christian James, eds., *FBI Files on Black Extremist Organizations* (Bethesda, MD: LexisNexis, 2005–10), November 4, 1966. The report is located in Record Group 65: Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation,

1896–2008. Series: Classification 157 (Civil Unrest) Case Files, 1957–78. File Unit: Chicago, [Illinois]—157-1465 ("Coordinating Council for Black Power"). National Archives and Records Administration.

51 Lawrence Landry, "'There Is No Such Thing as a Bad Boy'—Unless He Happens to Be Black," working paper/speech, box 2, folder 14, Leonard Wash Papers, VHC.

52 Lewis and James, *FBI Files*, Coordinating Council for Black Power, Files on Stokely Carmichael, May 16, 1967 (event was at Princeton Hall on May 14, 1967). The report is located in Record Group 65: Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1896–2008. Series: Classification 157 (Civil Unrest) Case Files, 1957–1978. File Unit: Chicago, [Illinois]—157-1297-Sub A-v.1 [Classification—Civil Unrest] Stokely Carmichael. National Archives and Records Administration.

53 Lerone Bennett Jr., "How to Stop Riots," *Ebony* 22, no. 12 (October 1967): 35.

54 Sol Tax, ed., *The People vs. the System, a Dialogue in Urban Conflict: Proceedings, Community Service Workshop* (Chicago: Acme Press, 1967), 414.

55 Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996).

56 Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement*, 89.

57 Bennett, "How to Stop Riots," 29.

58 "Art as a Social Vehicle towards a Better Pattern of Living," typescript statement, part 1, box 1, folder 9, item 33, SSCAC Archives.

59 See Stanley S. Madeja, "Art and Government: A Review of Activities and Projects in the Visual Arts Supported by the Arts and Humanities Program," *Art Education* 21, no. 3 (March 1968): 22.

60 "U.S. Cash Aids Negro Spiel of White Hatred: Enacted in Makeshift Harlem Theater," *Chicago Tribune*, December 1, 1965.

61 See Anthony C. Gibbs Jr., *The Woodlawn Organization Youth Project: Final Report*, Office of Economic Opportunity Grant CG8734 A/O (Chicago: Woodlawn Organization Youth Project, 1968).

62 Bennett Schiff and Stephen Goodell, *The Office of Economic Opportunity during the Administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson, November 1963–January 1969* (Washington, DC: n.p., 1969), 79.

63 Schiff and Goodell, *Office*, 80–81.

64 Schiff and Goodell, *Office*, 81.

65 Eugene Perkins, "Introduction," in *Black Expressions: An Anthology of New Black Poets*, ed. Eugene Perkins (Chicago: YMCA, 1967), unpaginated.

66 Lawrence William Sherman, "Youth Workers; Police and the Gangs: Chicago, 1956–1970" (master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1970).

67 It followed a program called S.T.R.E.E.T.S. that had been dismantled by the CCUO following the candidacy of a youth worker (Fred Hubbard) for alderman. Sherman, "Youth Workers," 26.

68 David Dawley, *A Nation of Lords* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1992), 112.
69 "Keep a Cool Summer: An Editorial," *Chicago Defender* (*National Edition*), July 15, 1967.
70 See, e.g., Andrew Kopkind, "White on Black: The Riot Commission and the Rhetoric of Reform," in *Cities under Siege: An Anatomy of the Ghetto Riots, 1964–1968*, ed. David Boesel and Peter H. Rossi (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 234–35.
71 "Youth Concert Rocks Beach House," *Hyde Park Herald*, August 9, 1967.
72 "Neighborhood Happenings," *Hyde Park Herald*, May 10, 1967.
73 "Neighborhood Happenings." Funding came from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; schoolchildren were bused in for the show.
74 Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony*, 235; George Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself: The AACM and American Experimental Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 124–25.
75 Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself*, 124.
76 Kelan Phil Cohran, interview by Rebecca Zorach, Never The Same, 2011, https://never-the-same.org/interviews/phil-cohran/.
77 In the second year, artists involved in teaching and directing the program included Useni Perkins, Richard Muhal Abrams, Lawrence Kabaka, Jenny Peters (the dance instructor), and Donnie Ray Carter (a visual artist). Douglas Williams, interview with author, July 2016.
78 Perkins, "Introduction," unpaginated.
79 Gwendolyn Brooks "II. The Wall," 43.
80 Brian Ward, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 294–95.
81 Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself*, 164–65.
82 B. Jones, "Black Imagery," 36.
83 Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony*, 237.
84 Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself*, 110–11.
85 Kelan Phil Cohran, interview, Never The Same.
86 "On the Beach Final Sketch: duSable's Life," *Chicago Defender*, August 26, 1967.
87 Kelan Phil Cohran, interview, Never The Same; Lewis, *A Power Stronger Than Itself*, 119.
88 Bob Hunter, "District Police Padlock Affro Arts Theater," *Chicago Daily Defender*, April 1, 1968.
89 The Affro-Arts Theater is not to be confused with the Afro Arts Theater in Atlanta, though its name was often confusingly misspelled with one "f."
90 Pemon Rami, interview with author, March 2012.
91 This information derives from Hunter, "Officials Act to Re-Open Affro Arts Theatre," *Chicago Daily Defender*, April 9, 1968; and letter from Howard Whittaker of Cleveland Summer Arts Festival to Julius Cahn, Asst. to the Vice President, May 16, 1968. Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968.

record group 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records. Unprocessed. College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.

92 Kelan Phil Cohran, interview, Never The Same.

93 Hunter, "District Police Padlock."

94 "Malcolm X Day Rites Erupt in 2 City Schools," *Chicago Tribune*, February 22, 1968.

95 The event was titled "Smash Their Jelly-White Justice," and LeRoi Jones, Gwendolyn Brooks, Muhammad Ali, and many others attended. "Smash Their Jelly-White Justice," poster, Posters 1958–1981, Hoyt W. Fuller Papers, Atlanta University Center.

96 Kelan Phil Cohran, interview, Never The Same.

97 Hunter, "District Police Padlock."

98 Hunter, "District Police Padlock."

99 Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 82.

100 See Satter, *Family Properties*.

101 University of Chicago Law Review, "Criminal Justice *in Extremis*: Administration of Justice during the April 1968 Chicago Disorder," *University of Chicago Law Review* 36, no. 3 (spring 1969): 612.

102 Sally Fitzgerald, "Chicago Gangs Aid in City Violence Control Efforts," *Chicago Daily Defender*, April 9, 1968; Clay Risen, *A Nation on Fire: America in the Wake of the King Assassination* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2009), 193.

103 Fitzgerald, "Chicago Gangs."

104 Hunter, "Officials Act to Re-Open."

105 Bob Hunter, "Cohran Vows to Keep Affro-Arts Closed," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 9, 1968.

106 Alexandroff's account of the conference appears in his *A Different Drummer: The History of Columbia College Chicago* (Chicago: Columbia College Chicago, 2003), 91–94.

107 "The Arts and the Inner City" (mission statement). Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. RG 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records, unprocessed, College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.

108 Information gleaned from multiple items in Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. RG 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records, unprocessed, College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago. See also Alexandroff, *A Different Drummer*, 92.

109 Invitation. Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. RG 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records, unprocessed, College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.

110 Sheryl Fitzgerald, "Whites Can't Interpret Our Art: Black Group," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 14, 1968.

111 Hoyt Fuller to Mirron Alexandroff, April 30, 1968. Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. RG 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records, unprocessed, College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.

112 Hoyt Fuller comments on press release, box 10, Jeff Donaldson Papers, AAA.
113 Robert Paige, discussion with Rebecca Zorach after screening of *Medium Cool*, "Revolution on Film" series, Reva and David Logan Center for the Arts, July 12, 2013, http://africobra.uchicago.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/AFRICOBRA_robert_paige.pdf.
114 Robert Paige, discussion with Rebecca Zorach after screening of *Medium Cool*.
115 "What Happened," typescript. Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. RG 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records, unprocessed, College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.
116 Sheryl Fitzgerald, "Black Artists in 'Food Boycott' at Banquet," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 16, 1968.
117 Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 82.
118 Thomas Willis, "Arts and the Inner City Conference: Happening Almost Missed Happening," *Chicago Tribune*, May 19, 1968.
119 Willis, "Arts and the Inner City."
120 Fitzgerald, "Whites Can't Interpret Our Art."
121 Mark, "A Matter of Black and White," 3.
122 "What Happened," Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. RG 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records, unprocessed, College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.
123 Sheryl Fitzgerald, "Affro-Arts Theater Open Again; July 4 Fete Is Set," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 2, 1968.
124 "Afro-Arts Theater May Get License," *Chicago Tribune*, August 4, 1968; Fitzgerald, "Affro-Arts Theater Open Again."
125 "Affro-Arts Theatre Sets Black Cinema," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 5, 1968; Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony*, 239.
126 "Afro-American Course Has 65 Students Enrolled," *Chicago Tribune*, November 24, 1968.
127 "College Grad Joins Afro Arts Staff," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), August 31, 1968.
128 Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 80.

Chapter 3. An Experimental Friendship

1 Sigemonde Kharlos Wimberli, "Procession for the URBAN MAU MAU," in *Ghetto Scenes* (Chicago: Free Black Press, 1968), 27.
2 Don McIlvaine, "Dreams of a Better Life," in "A Sense of Identity: Nine Centers of Pride," special issue, *Art Gallery* 13 (April 1970): 48.
3 Donald Mosby, "Westside Gang Plans Business Ventures," *Chicago Daily Defender*, April 4, 1968.
4 Conservative Vice Lords, Inc., Proposal to Rockefeller Foundation (signed Alfonso Alford, to Joseph Black, Director, Humanities and Social Sciences), 2, Rockefeller Foundation Records, record group (RG hereafter) 1.2 (Projects),

series 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," Rockefeller Foundation Archives (RF hereafter).

5 "Revised Proposal," Speech of Bobby Gore at the Founding of Operation Bootstrap, February 14, 1968, 5, Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), series 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF. This story is repeated verbatim in many of the CVL's proposals.

6 "Revised Proposal," Speech of Bobby Gore at the Founding of Operation Bootstrap, 6.

7 "Revised Proposal," Speech of Bobby Gore at the Founding of Operation Bootstrap, 7.

8 Bobby Gore, interview with author, June 2011.

9 David G. Dawley, "Vice Lords, Inc. 'Where All the Fellows Meet,'" 5, Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), series 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF.

10 Dawley, *Nation of Lords*, 111–14.

11 Kopkind, "White on Black," 241.

12 Conservative Vice Lords, Inc., Proposal to Rockefeller Foundation (signed Alfonso Alford, to Joseph Black, director, Humanities and Social Sciences, December 20, 1967), Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), series 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF.

13 "Response to JEB—Proof of Not-for-Profit Status," undated letter from Alford to Black received January 11, 1968, Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), series 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF.

14 "Response to JEB—Proof of Not-for-Profit Status," Memo from PH to JEB, January 12, 1968, Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), series 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF.

15 "JEB and CVL Meet," January 19, 1968, Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), series 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF.

16 Conservative Vice Lords, Inc., Proposal to Rockefeller Foundation (signed Alfonso Alford, to Joseph Black, director, Humanities and Social Sciences, December 20, 1967), RF.

17 YMCA Chicago "Grant in Aid," February 18, 1968, Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), subseries 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF.

18 Wanda Ross, interview with author, January 2012.

19 Dawley, *Nation of Lords*, 164.

20 R. Lincoln Keiser, *The Vice Lords: Warriors of the Streets* (Boston: Wadsworth, 1979), 11.

21 Dawley, *Nation of Lords*, 8.

22 Richard Kraus, "Providing for Recreation and Aesthetic Enjoyment," in "Governing the City: Challenges and Options for New York," special issue,

Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science 29, no. 4 (1969): 98. Krauss also pointed to the inadequacy of "emergency recreation services" in particular because they existed only in summertime (99).

23 Bobby Gore, interview with author, June 2011.

24 David Dawley includes a document in his *Nation of Lords* that shows the CVL organization requesting parents' cooperation in keeping their children from interfering (through rough play and sabotage) with two neighborhood construction projects. "To the Parents of Lawndale," in *Nation of Lords*, 130.

25 Raymond Broady, interview with author, January 2010.

26 Press release, Conferences, "Arts and the Inner City," May 1968, Columbia College Chicago Archives.

27 Conservative Vice Lords, Inc., *Report to the Public* (Chicago: Conservative Vice Lords, Inc., 1969).

28 Bobby Gore, interview with author; Keiser, *Vice Lords*, 52.

29 Lewis and James, *FBI Files*, Coordinating Council for Black Power, Files on Stokely Carmichael, May 16, 1967 (event was at Princeton Hall on May 14, 1967).

30 Oscar Brown Jr., "Gang Gone Good," 10–11, Oscar Brown Jr. Papers, Maggie Brown Collection.

31 BBR Youth and Training Center of the Chicago Youth Centers, "Open House and Black Soul," event program in record series 312.001, Illinois Arts Council, "Administrative Files," "Black Soul" (folder), Illinois State Archives.

32 According to the "Calendar of Community Events," *Chicago Daily Defender*, February 29, 1968, "The Roman Saints Variety Show of original acts will be performed at the Central Park Theatre, 3535 W. Roosevelt Rd. at 5 and 8 pm." The caption to a photo the previous week noted that the Saints had put together the event without outside help. *Chicago Daily Defender*, February 22, 1968.

33 *The Lord's Word* 1, no. 3 (July 7, 1968); "Field Foundation Beautification. Newsletter to Joseph E. Black." Rockefeller Foundation Records, RG 1.2 (Projects), subseries 200, box 113, folder 997, "YMCA-Chicago—Youth Groups, 1967–1970," RF.

34 Bobby Gore, interview with author, June 2011.

35 Daniel transferred to Marshall High because he skipped so much school; he did not know as many people at Marshall so the thought was that it would be "a better environment." Zelle, personal communication.

36 Eugene "Eda" Wade, interview with author and Marissa Baker, April 17, 2015; Mark Elder, personal communication, December 30, 2013; Michelle-Renee Perkins, personal communication, November 2017.

37 Jerry Hetherington, interview with author, July 2011.

38 Seymour Sarason, *Creation of Settings and the Future Societies* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972), ix.

39 Sarason, *Creation of Settings*, 2.

40 Stephen Carr and Kevin Lynch, "Where Learning Happens," in "The Conscience of the City," special issue, *Daedalus* 97, no. 4 (fall 1968): 1285.

41 Richard Feigen, *Tales from the Art Crypt* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

42 Jan van der Marck, application, statement ("Some Social and Cultural Aspects of the Museum of Fine Arts in Contemporary Society"), 3, Rockefeller Foundation records, RG 10.1, fellowships, fellowship files, 1917–1979, Series 650, subseries 650.E, Box 407, Folder 5888, RF.

43 Jan van der Marck, letter to John Marshall, enclosure, "The Art Museum in America: Its contribution in the realm of communication," August 20, 1958. Meyer Schapiro and Sigfried Kracauer both noted van der Marck's eagerness to absorb American methods of sociology, an eagerness neither could wholly endorse. Rockefeller Foundation records, RG 10.2, fellowships, fellowship recorder cards, box 5, "Jan van der Marck" (folder), RF.

44 Jan van der Marck, "The American Art Museum in Contemporary Society" (1958), 5. Rockefeller Foundation records, RG 10.1, fellowships, fellowship files, 1917–1979, Series 650, subseries 650.E, Box 407, Folder 5888, RF.

45 In the MCA's 1967–68 Annual Report he pursued the themes of his earlier research: "It would seem that the first battles are won. Chicago finally has a museum of contemporary art. Now we must direct our attention to an optimum use of the institution with which we are entrusted. There is concern within the profession that until now museums have cared more for the objects we present than for the people to whom we present them. We have . . . to study the most effective methods to reach those segments of our urban community that until now were hopelessly beyond our reach." Jan van der Marck, "Director's Report," Museum of Contemporary Art Annual Report 1967–1968 (n.p.), Publications Archive, MCA Collection of Non-Departmental Publications, 1967–2011, box 3, folder 1, Museum of Contemporary Art (MCA hereafter) Archives.

46 See Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Levine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 88–103.

47 See Rebecca Zorach, "A Potpourri of Harangues," *Proximity* 8 (winter 2010): 83–89.

48 Elizabeth Stevens, "The Arts and the Ghetto: Getting Museums and Ghetto Together: 'Art Belongs to the People,'" part IV of "The Urban Museum Crisis," *Washington Post, Times Herald*, July 2, 1972, F1 and F7.

49 With the notable exceptions of Yayoi Kusama and Niki de Saint-Phalle, they were almost exclusively white and male: Claes Oldenburg, Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, James Rosenquist, Jean Tinguely, Niki de Saint-Phalle, Christo, Yayoi Kusama, Les Levine, François Dallegret, Tony Smith, Robert Morris, Robert Smithson, Hans Haacke, Billy Apple, and others. Proposal, June 1, 1967, box 592/394A, folder "Museum of Contemporary Art," Ralph Newman Papers, CHM.

50 At the time the MCA was on Ontario Street; the trustees may have met at a club or hotel on Delaware Place, and van der Marck added "Riviera" to indicate the glittering scale of his original ambitions. Untitled presentation by van der Marck to Collector's Forum, 2005. Jan van der Marck Papers, AC0006, Box 1, Folder 14 (MCA Related Activities) MCA Archives.

51 "Sesqui Statues," *Chicago Tribune*, October 29, 1968, B3.

52 Van der Marck to Newman, letter, July 9, 1968, Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S—Proposals," Newberry Library.

53 The institute was originally planned for a vacant World War I Negro Regiment armory at 36th and Giles. Memo, Joyce Warshaw to RGN and VLS [Ralph G. Newman and Ver Lynn Sprague], October 31, 1966, "Re: Discussion on Negro Cultural Center"; Letter, Ralph G. Newman to Robert M. Johnson, October 31, 1966; A. L. Thomas letter ("Dear Friend"), August 8, 1967, and enclosed materials, all in Ralph G. Newman Papers, box 592, folder "Museum of African American History," CHM.

54 Various documents in the folder "Heritage, Negro." Ralph G. Newman Papers, ISC, Box 390, CHM.

55 Margaret Burroughs to Helen Garrity, July 1, 1967; Margaret Burroughs to Ralph Newman, July 21, 1967; William E. Keller to Margaret Burroughs, July 11, 1967; Michael W. Bergen to William E. Keller, July 6, 1967. "Museum of African American History" folder, CHM.

56 Ralph Newman to Officers and Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society and Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, undated letter (September or early October 1968), incorporating letters from several organizations. Box 387, "Du Sable Heritage Committee Folder," Ralph G. Newman Papers, CHM.

57 Memo from Anne Coyne to Ralph G. Newman, Don Howorth, and Evelyn Nelson, April 8, 1968, box 387, "Du Sable Heritage Committee Folder," Ralph G. Newman Papers, CHM. Coyne traveled to St. Charles, Missouri, to verify that that was actually the grave site of *Chicago*'s Du Sable.

58 Daniel Walker, *Rights in Conflict: The Violent Confrontation of Demonstrators and Police in the Parks and Streets of Chicago during the Week of the Democratic National Convention of 1968* (New York: New American Library, 1968), 1–2.

59 Mike Alk and Howard Gray, dirs., *American Revolution 2* (Chicago: Film Group, 1969).

60 B. Jones, "Black Imagery," 41.

61 "City Project Brings Arts to Street Corner," *Chicago Tribune*, July 28, 1968. According to Cohran, the program organizers insisted that the white group take precedence by performing first.

62 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," August 4, 1968, Jan van der Marck Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, Archives of American Art (AAA hereafter). All pages from the Time Sheet are in the same folder. Another copy exists in Jan van der Marck

Papers, AC0006, Box 1, folder 19, "Art and Soul—Zelle," MCA Archives. The original is located in Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S Organizing Timeline," Newberry Library.

63 "The Lord's Word" 1, no. 3 (July 7, 1968).

64 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," October 2, 1968.

65 "Meeting on Proposed West Side Art Project," August 12, 1968, Jan van der Marck Papers, Box 7, Folder 17, AAA. Jan van der Marck Papers, AC0006, Oversized Box 1, folder 4, "Art and Soul—Zelle," MCA Archives. Also in Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S—Proposals," Newberry Library.

66 "Meeting on Proposed West Side Art Project."

67 "Meeting on Proposed West Side Art Project."

68 James Houlihan, interview with author, January 2010.

69 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," October 2, 1968.

70 Ann Zelle, interview with author, November 2010.

71 "Free University 1972" (course listings), box 19, folder 7, "Free University, 1972" (folder name), Office of Student Activities Records, University of Chicago Library. See also Zorach, "A Potpourri of Harangues."

72 Ellmann, "Chicago! Behind the 'I Will' Spirit."

73 Students for a Democratic Society, *The Port Huron Statement*, 2nd ed. (New York: Students for a Democratic Society, 1964), 4.

74 Karl Meyer, interview with author, March 2012.

75 U.S. census data. On North Lawndale in the 1990s, see Eric Klinenberg, *Heat Wave: A Social Autopsy of Disaster in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

76 Arcilla Stahl discovered the works and I identified them as Arnold's missing collage piece.

77 Robb Baker, "A Violence in the House," *Chicago Tribune*, November 10, 1968, A8.

78 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," October 17, 1968, and October 29, 1968.

79 "Culture Consciousness in Chicago," *Negro Digest* 16, no. 10 (August 1967): 87. An invitation to an OBAC Visual Arts Workshop meeting did indeed pose this question, although the word *artist* was repeated rather than *writer*. Invitation to OBAC meeting, box 7, Jeff Donaldson Papers, AAA.

80 A useful account of this distinction is in Van Deburg's *New Day in Babylon*. In the realm of visual art, an excellent account of this shift and of the responses of artists is chapter 5, "Black Is a Color," in Powell, *Black Art and Culture in the Twentieth Century*.

81 "Negro Art to Go on Display in Center," *Chicago Tribune*, October 10, 1965, SCL2.

82 "Sesqui Statues," B3.

83 Grace Glueck, "Negroes' Art Is What's in Just Now," *New York Times*, February 27, 1969, 34.

84 "Biography," in *The Sculpture of Richard Hunt*, exhibition catalogue, Springfield, Illinois State Museum, 1977), n.p.

85 "Biography," n.p.
86 B. Jones, "Black Imagery," 3.
87 See also Vincent Harding, "Black Students and the Impossible Revolution," *Journal of Black Studies* 1, no. 1 (September 1970): 84: "Black students have learned that the eyes of blackness are the eyes of the majority of the peoples of the earth. They are the eyes of the colonized, the eyes of the oppressed and the humiliated, the eyes of those who search for a new coming of their deepest powers. (To see such things surely invites revolution.)"
88 The copy of the book at the library of Loyola University Chicago (where he chaired the art department) must have come from his book collection; it is inscribed with his name.
89 "Arts Reach Out to Inner City," *Chicago Tribune*, July 6, 1968, N16; "W. Side Store Front Becomes Sculpture Studio," *Chicago Daily Defender*, August 18, 1969.
90 Ann Zelle, interview with author, November 2010; "Ralph Arnold Show Works in Loyola Galleries," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), February 21, 1970.
91 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," September 30, 1968.
92 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," October 1, 1968.
93 James Houlihan, interview with author, February 10, 2010.
94 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," October 31, 1968.
95 "Art and Soul, a Community Art/Book Center for All Ages," program, Jan van der Marck Papers, AC0006, Box 7, Folder 17, AAA; "Art & Soul Time Sheet," July 10, 1968. See also Jan van der Marck Papers, AC0006, box 1, folder 10, "Art and Soul—Zelle," MCA Archives
96 Robert Nolte, "Artists Paint a Bright Spot on West Side," *Chicago Tribune*, November 14, 1968.
97 James Houlihan, interview with author, February 10, 2010.
98 Illinois Arts Council, *African Sculpture 1969–1970: A Traveling Exhibition Organized for the Illinois Arts Council, an Agency of the State of Illinois, by the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago: Huron Press, n.d.). The catalog lists twenty-eight objects (one of which consists of five Ashanti gold weights), mostly masks and figures from West and Central African countries. Twelve objects are illustrated. Seven were gifts to the AIC from Herbert Baker, who also took an interest in Art & Soul. The exhibition was curated by Allan Wardwell.
99 "An Evening of Black Poetry," MCA news release, May 2, 1969, Jan van der Marck Papers, Box 7, Folder 18, AAA. Jan van der Marck Papers, AC0006, box 1, folder 10, "Art and Soul—Zelle," MCA Archives.
100 Ann Zelle, interview with author, November 2010.
101 CVL, Inc., "A Unique Friendship between the Street and a Museum: Art and Soul," grant proposal, 1969, Jan van der Marck Papers, Box 7, Folder 18, AAA. Jan van der Marck Papers, AC0006, box 1, folder 10, "Art and Soul—Zelle," MCA Archives.

102 Steven Pratt, "Sesquicentennial Group Helps Gang to Open Art Gallery-Studio," *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1968, W2.
103 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," October 2, 1968.
104 "Art & Soul Time Sheet," October 7, 1968.
105 In addition, in the film *Lord Thing*, what appears to be one of Barbara Jones-Hogu's prints also appears on the wall inside the African Lion clothing store run by the CVL. See my detailed discussions of figures 3.16 and 3.17 in chapter 4, where I discuss how these artworks represent the Black family theme of AFRICOBRA.
106 "Black Expressions," checklist, part I, box 4 (1957–1971), folder 22, SSCAC Archives.
107 "Black Esthetics," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 29, 1970, p. 20.
108 Bobby Gore, interview with author, June 2011.
109 Richard Foster, "Soul Is the Agenda of Lawndale Gallery," *Chicago Sun-Times*, November 14, 1968.
110 Wadsworth Jarrell and Jae Jarrell, interview with author, August 2012.
111 Reginald Madison, interview with author, August 2011.
112 Peter Gilbert, interview with author, December 2010.
113 Jerry Hetherington, interview with author, July 2011.
114 An extensive unpublished narrative of the Foundation Years program exists in Dartmouth's archives: Howard Hawkins, "A Tale of Two Communities: The Foundation Years Program Revisited," DA-29, box 8975, "Foundation Years Program (Tucker Foundation)," Office of Public Affairs Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College.
115 Invitation, September 15, 1968, DA-114, FY Budgets, Office of Public Affairs Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College.
116 John D. Vasilopoulos, "Vice Lords Founder Off to College," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), September 20, 1969, 1–2.
117 Conservative Vice Lords, Inc., Proposal to Rockefeller Foundation (signed Alfonso Alford, to Joseph Black, director, Humanities and Social Sciences, December 20, 1967), 2–3.
118 Meeting of Leadership Group at Sears YMCA. MCA time sheet, August 8, 1968.
119 Conservative Vice Lords, Inc., Proposal to Rockefeller Foundation (signed Alfonso Alford, to Joseph Black, director, Humanities and Social Sciences, December 20, 1967), 2–3.
120 David Dawley, "Vice Lords, Inc.: Where All the Fellows Meet," RG 1.2, series 200, box 113, folder 997, RF.
121 Baker E. Morten, "Cellar Boheme Revue Has Thin Spots, but Talented Performers," *Chicago Daily Defender*, May 12, 1960, A17.
122 Reginald Madison, interview with author, August 2011.
123 Jerry Hetherington, interview with author, July 2011.

124 Hanrahan, quoted in John Hagedorn, *A World of Gangs: Armed Young Men and Gangsta Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 79.

125 "Boyle Defends Shamberg in Setting Bond," *Chicago Tribune*, November 15, 1969, 9.

126 Perry, quoted in Vasilopoulos, "Vice Lords Founder Off to College," 2.

127 Among other articles, see James Strong, "Negroes Pack Civic Center Plaza in Protest of Job Discrimination," *Chicago Tribune*, September 23, 1969, 9. See also Dawley, *Nation of Lords*, 132; Andrew Diamond, "From Fighting Gangs to Black Nations: Race, Power, and the Other Civil Rights Movement in Chicago's West Side Ghetto, 1957–1968," *Revue française d'études américaines*, no. 116 (February 2008): 51–65. The Picasso had of course itself given work to industrial laborers in Gary—most of whom, to judge from the U.S. Steel publicity photos, were white.

128 Hagedorn, *World of Gangs*, 66–72.

129 Sigmund Kunstadter to Joseph Shapiro, letter, September 3, 1968, Joseph Shapiro Papers, AC0010 Box 1, Folder 13 (MCA Administrative Documents), MCA Archives. Shapiro's papers include an article referring to Bobby Gore's arrest (Thomas J. Dolan, "Hanrahan Criticizes Groups That Give Money to Street Gangs," *Chicago Sun-Times*, November 15, 1969) in Box 2, Folder 1 (Correspondence), AC0010. Jan van der Marck was unhappy with Joseph Shapiro's refusal to continue funding. Van der Marck to Joseph Shapiro, June 30, 1969, in Box 2, Folder 1 (Correspondence), AC0010, on the termination of Ann Zelle. "Art and Soul, with the coming of summer, has entered upon a new round of activities, funded by various individuals, foundations and community organizations. Ann will continue working at Art and Soul as an unpaid volunteer for the duration of the summer. There are strong indications that the University of Illinois at Circle Campus will take Art and Soul under its wing . . . If we consider our service to the community and the public enhancement of our image through identification with the struggle among blacks for cultural equality, then I believe that the alliance has been highly rewarding for the museum. I very much regret that the Board does not feel sufficiently encouraged to continue the collaboration and make a budget available for that purpose."

130 Two different letters from Alfonso Alford to Jan van der Marck (beginning "As we prepare . . ." and "For the past several months . . ."), both dated February 10, 1969, Ann Zelle Papers, folder "Ann Zelle—Art & Soul," Newberry Library.

131 Warren Gilmore, *Y.O.U.* (Washington, DC: Youth Organizations United, 1970), copy in Ann Zelle Papers, folder "Youth Organizations United," Newberry Library.

132 Jerry Hetherington, interview with author, July 2011.

133 "Ex-Youth Gang Runs a Smart African Boutique in Chicago," *Jet* 36, no. 17 (July 31, 1969): 48–49.

134 "Proposal for a Joint Program between the Conservative Vice Lords of Chicago, Illinois and the Department of City and Regional Planning of Harvard University," 1970. The GSD History Collection, Academic Affairs. Subseries DB: Sponsored Research—Other Sponsored Research. Folder DB007. Special Collections, Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University.

135 "Booming Paper Business: Ghetto Groups Thrive on Cast-Off Products," *Chicago Daily Defender*, December 9, 1969, 6. See also West Side Community Development Corporation, *West Side Community Development Corporation* (Chicago: West Side Community Development Corporation, [1970?]).

136 Model Cities proposal, p. 70, box 1, folder 6, School of Urban Planning and Policy, Center for Urban Studies Archives, Records, 1967–1982, record ID 006-06-01-01, University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC hereafter) Archives.

137 "Request for immediate action with regards to continuing the Art & Soul art workshop," letter from the Conservative Vice Lords Inc., Art & Soul Workshop, to Simon Steiner, Chairman, Department of Art, UIC, on Art & Soul stationery, with no personal signature (dated July 1969 in handwriting at the top of the page, which is consistent with the reference to ten months of operation), Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S—U of I, Chicago," Newberry Library.

138 Memorandum, August 20, 1970, from James C. Griggs, Educational Assistant Program, to Lenora Cartwright, Center for Urban Studies, Heruanita McIlvaine Collection.

139 "Lake Meadows Art Fair Presented June 17–18," *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 14, 1961.

140 "Teacher Tries to Spark Creativity in Youths," *Chicago Tribune*, February 2, 1969, A16. The idea of Art & Soul also got some moral support from a report written by Arthur Rissman as a consultant for the Community Colleges of Chicago; he suggested that "Store-Front Arts Workshops" should be sponsored by institutes of higher learning, and thereby used as incubators for educational innovation. The report was carbon copied to several faculty members at UIC. Memo from Arthur Rissman, Consultant, to Meyer Weinberg, Coordinator, Innovations Center, Re: Neighborhood Arts Workshop Inquiry, April 25, 1969. Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S—Chicago City College," Newberry Library.

141 "A Proposal Prepared by the Center for Urban Studies" (University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, June 1969), 2, Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S—U of I, Chicago," Newberry Library.

142 Proposal for sensory gymnasium, box 25, folder 5, John Walley Papers, record group 006-03-20-01, UIC Archives.

143 "Photography and Typography," State of Illinois Board of Higher Education Title I proposal, box 8, folder 1, John Walley Papers, record group 006-03-20-01, UIC Archives.

144 "The development of behavioral patterns that will increase the possibility of vocational success," box 25, folder 3, John Walley Papers, record group 006-03-20-01, UIC Archives.
145 Jackie Hetherington to the Members of the Art & Soul Advisory Council, July 10, 1969, Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S Advisory Board," Newberry Library.
146 Burt Lazar to Kenneth Parks, July 24, 1969, Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S Advisory Board," Newberry Library.
147 Burt Lazar to Kenneth Parks, July 24, 1969, Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S Advisory Board," Newberry Library.
148 Kenneth Parks to Art & Soul Staff, Art & Soul Board of Advisors, July 25, 1969, Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S Advisory Board," Newberry Library.
149 "Cacophony in Black Echoes in Huge Mural," *Chicago Tribune*, November 9, 1969.
150 *College of Architecture and Art Annual Report*, 1968–69, College of Art, Architecture, and Urban Sciences, Publications—Annual Report 1962/3–1970/71, record group 006-00-02, UIC Archives. Edward Dean and Peter Gygax are listed as "Vice Lords Project Faculty."
151 "Art & Soul Fills Need," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 12, 1970, 22.
152 Photo (no title), *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 23, 1969, 8.

Chapter 4. The Black Family

1 Donaldson, HistoryMakers interview.
2 OBAC, "Visual Arts Workshop Report," June 29, 1967, in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 124–25.
3 For a summary of the group's philosophy as of 1973, see Barbara Jones-Hogu, "The History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics of AfriCOBRA," AREA *Chicago*, no. 7 (fall 2008), originally published in *Afri-Cobra III* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1973), revised by the author, http://www.areachicago.org/the-history-philosophy-and-aesthetics-of-AFRICOBRA/ and reprinted as Barbara Jones-Hogu, "Inaugurating AfriCOBRA: History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics," *nka* 30 (spring 2012): 90–97.
4 Jones-Hogu, "History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics."
5 Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 86.
6 Fitzgerald, "Chicago's Black Artists."
7 Gerald Williams, interview with author, September 2012.
8 In the end, the group did not appear in the documentary, which showcases the DuSable Museum and Zambezi Artist Guild. Many thanks to Anna Burkart for providing access to the film. WGN News, *Black Pride*, November 30, 1968; see also "TV Highlights for This Week," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), November 30, 1968.

9 It does not represent their own family, or only partially. Jae provided the model for the mother, and a photograph of an unknown man on the street served as the model for the father. The Jarrells' oldest child, Wadsworth Jr., was born in January 1968, and was thus old enough to serve as the model for the younger child in the painting. Personal communication, Jae and Wadsworth Jarrell, June 2013.

10 Margo Natalie Crawford, "Must Revolution Be a Family Affair? Revisiting *The Black Woman*," in *Want to Start a Revolution?*, ed. Dayo Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 188. Jean Carey Bond and Patricia Peery, "Is the Black Male Castrated?," in *The Black Woman*, ed. Toni Cade (New York: Mentor, 1970), 114, wrote that Moynihan's ideas were "so successfully popularized that even Blacks have swallowed his assumptions and conclusions hook, line, and sinker."

11 See Hortense Spillers's brilliant analysis, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," in "Culture and Countermemory: The 'American' Connection," special issue, *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (summer 1987): 64–81.

12 B. Jones, "Black Imagery," 38.

13 Juan Declan, dir., *AfriCOBRA: Art for the People* (New York: TV Land, 2011).

14 See Erina Duganne, *The Self in Black and White: Race and Subjectivity in Postwar American Photography* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2010), 10–12, for a discussion of the idea of positive images as articulated in the discourse of photography.

15 Barbara Jones-Hogu, interview, Never The Same.

16 Margo Crawford and Bob Crawford, unedited interview transcript, October 23, 2008 (edited version published at http://areachicago.org/bob-crawford-and-margo-natalie-crawford).

17 Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 83, 85.

18 Ralph Ellison, "Romare Bearden: Paintings and Projections," *Crisis* 77, no. 3 (March 1970): 81.

19 In Fanon's diagnosis of René Maran's character Jean Veneuse as an "abandonment-neurotic," he argues that the behavior that seems to typify him as a Black man seeking white approval by marrying a white woman (yet never feeling worthy of her) is a pathology, not the statement of an essential racial type. The chapter, a psychological analysis of the possibly autobiographical main character of René Maran's *Un homme pareil aux autres*, begins with the suggestion that when Black men desire white women it is as an ultimate sign of freedom and as an expression of the desire to be, themselves, understood as white. René Maran, *Un homme pareil aux autres* (Paris: Arc-en-ciel, 1947).

20 "For the satisfaction of being the master of a European woman . . . without my knowledge I am attempting to revenge myself on a European woman for

everything her ancestors have inflicted on mine throughout the centuries." Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles L. Markmann (New York: Grove, [1952] 1967), 78, citing Maran, *Un homme pareil aux autres*, 185.

21 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 86.

22 Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (Milton Keynes, UK: Open University, 1997), 272.

23 In "The Ego-Function of the Rhetoric of Protest," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 4, no. 2 (spring 1971): 71–91, Richard B. Gregg notes that the need to combat negative self-image is a significant theme in 1960s protest speech. Gregg's article is deeply flawed and full of prejudice, but he does identify several strategies movements used to establish a more positive ego formation, including the identification of enemies, the supportive role of group cohesion, and style.

24 The Committee for the Arts (pre-OBAC), "Invitation Letter and Statement of Purposes," in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 113–14. The Statement of Purposes was also enclosed with Hoyt Fuller, letter to Mirron Alexandroff, April 30, 1968, in Conferences: Arts and the Inner City, May 1968. RG 03.07, Mirron "Mike" Alexandroff Records, unprocessed, College Archives and Special Collections, Columbia College Chicago.

25 This is evident from statements from the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians (AACM), for example, which strove "to set a high moral standard for musicians and to return the public image of creative musicians to the level of esteem which was handed down from past cultures" and to "stimulate Spiritual growth." Ronald Radano, "Jazzin' the Classics: The AACM's Challenge to Mainstream Aesthetics," *Black Music Research Journal* 12, no. 1 (spring 1992): 85.

26 Martin Berger, *Seeing through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

27 Harrison, *Drama of Nommo*, 220.

28 Tax, *The People vs. the System*, 343.

29 Napoleon Hill and W. Clement Stone, *Success through a Positive Mental Attitude* (New York: Pocket Books, 1960), 22.

30 Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 187.

31 I am grateful to E. Patrick Johnson for helping me clarify this point.

32 Reginald Butler, "The People's Art: Introductory Essay," in *The People's Art: Black Murals, 1967–1978*, quoted in Prigoff and Dunitz, *Walls of Heritage*, 26.

33 S. Hall, *Representation*, 274.

34 Michèle Wallace, *Invisibility Blues: From Pop to Theory* (London: Verso, 1990), "Introduction," 1–10, and "Negative Images: Towards a Black Feminist Cultural Criticism," 241–55.

35 Wallace, *Invisibility Blues*, 1.

36 Jones, "Black Imagery," 34.
37 Jones, "Black Imagery," 37.
38 Jones, "Black Imagery," 34.
39 Jones, "Black Imagery," 35.
40 Jones, "Black Imagery," 40.
41 Jones, "Black Imagery," 39–40.
42 Barbara Jones-Hogu, interview, Never the Same.
43 Margaret Walker, "For My People," *Poetry Magazine* 51, no. 2 (November 1937): 81–83; Marion Perkins, *Problems of the Black Artist* (Chicago: Free Black Press, 1971), 10; McWorter, "OBAC," 158.
44 Muhal Richard Abrams and John Shenoy Jackson, "Special Reports: The Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians," *Black World* 23, no. 1 (November 1973), 74.
45 M. Perkins, *Problems of the Black Artist*, 2.
46 Eugene Perkins, "The Black Arts Movement: Its Challenge and Responsibility," in *The Black Seventies*, ed. Floyd Barbour (Boston: P. Sargent, 1970), 86.
47 Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 83.
48 M. Perkins, *Problems of the Black Artist*, 2, 5.
49 Clyde Taylor, "The Re-Birth of the Aesthetic in Cinema," in *The Birth of Whiteness*, ed. Daniel Bernardi (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 15–37.
50 Carolyn Lawrence, "Art for Black Students: A Change in Objectives," *School Arts* 68, no. 6 (February 1969): 19.
51 Robert Motherwell, "The New York School," in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, ed. Stephanie Terenzio (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 78. See also Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).
52 Motherwell, "New York School," 80.
53 This "freedom" was also being mobilized as international Cold War propaganda—painting a portrait of specifically American freedom even as police batons were raining down on Civil Rights demonstrators. See Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011). On the relationship between abstract expressionism and the left, see David Craven, *Abstract Expressionism as Cultural Critique: Dissent during the McCarthy Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
54 Charles W. Mills, *The Racial Contract* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).
55 See, for example, Romare Bearden, Sam Gilliam Jr., Richard Hunt, Jacob Lawrence, Tom Lloyd, William Williams, and Hale Woodruff, "The Black Artist in America: A Symposium," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27, no. 5 (January 1969): 245–60.
56 Margaret Burroughs, "To Make a Painter Black," in *The Black Seventies*, ed. Floyd Barbour (Boston: P. Sargent, 1970), 135.

57 On the Black Arts Movement in Chicago, see "Black Light on the *Wall of Respect*," an important essay by Margo Natalie Crawford. In the same collection, *New Thoughts on the Black Arts Movement*, ed. Lisa Gail Collins and Crawford (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), is an essay by Mary Ellen Lennon, "A Question of Relevancy: New York Museums and the Black Arts Movement," 92–116, which addresses issues in New York similar to those the present chapter addresses for Chicago.

58 See, for instance, the essays collected in Addison Gayle Jr., ed., *The Black Aesthetic* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971).

59 James C. Hall, *Mercy, Mercy Me: African-American Culture and the American Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5.

60 Meeting minutes, June 11, 1972, Gerald Williams Collection.

61 The exposures were done at Advantage Silkscreen and at the studio of Ruben Aguilar (not a member of the group). They were sold for ten dollars, mainly at art fairs, exhibitions, and conferences. Barbara Jones-Hogu, interview with Rebecca Zorach and Skyla Hearn, July 1, 2011. When printed by group members, the cost per print was twenty-six cents for ink and paper. Minutes of meeting, June 20, 1971, Gerald Williams Collection.

62 Meeting minutes, July 11, 1971, Gerald Williams Collection.

63 "C. Siddha Webber," interview by Rebecca Zorach, Never the Same, 2013–14, https://never-the-same.org/interviews/c-siddha-webber/.

64 KeRa Upra, interview by Robert A. Sengstacke, January 9, 1971.

65 Veela Sengstacke, personal communication, June 2018.

66 Amus Mor, "The 'Ghetto Psychic' Expanded Black Thought: KeRa Upra, S. Side Cosmic Speaker," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), February 26, 1972, 6.

67 Mor, "The 'Ghetto Psychic,'" 6. Mor, born David Moore, also delivered his Beat-flavored verses on Muhal Richard Abrams's *Levels and Degrees of Light*.

68 Robert A. Sengstacke, text on poster, "We Are the Spirit of the Original Black Man." Robert Sengstacke personal collection and personal communication, December 2014.

69 Amus Mor, *The Coming of John* (Chicago: 21st Century Atoma, 1969).

70 Notable too is that Mor places Coltrane in a butterfly chair, the type of chair in which Huey P. Newton also sat for an iconic photograph.

71 Malcolm Preston, "The Image: Three Views—Ben Shahn, Darius Milhaud and James Baldwin Debate the Real Meaning of a Fashionable Term," in *Conversations with James Baldwin*, ed. Fred L. Standley and Louis H. Pratt (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989), 24–31.

72 Don McIlvaine, "Developmental Uses of the Black Art Medium Project," proposal, undated (probably early 1970s), Heruanita McIlvaine Collection.

73 Comments preceding reading of "Blackman/An Unfinished History," on Don L. Lee, *Rappin' & Readin'*, recorded at Wayne State University, 1970.

74 "Mural of Black History," *Tribune* staff photo by Roy Hall, *Chicago Tribune*, June 28, 1970.

75 Virginia Julien, director of the Negro History Action Committee, to the Officers and Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society and the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, September 10, 1968 (with cover letter from Ralph Newman), Ralph Newman Papers, Box 387, "DuSable Heritage Committee" folder, CHM.

76 Phyl Garland, "The Gang Phenomenon: Big City Headache," *Ebony* 22, no. 10 (August 1967): 96–103.

77 "Negro History Museum Planned," *Chicago Defender* (*National Edition*), May 20, 1967.

78 Lerone Bennett Jr., *The Challenge of Blackness* (Chicago: Johnson, 1972), 194–95. This text is extensively quoted in DePillars, "African-American Artists," 105.

79 On Rodgers, see Cheryl Clarke, *After Mecca: Women Poets and the Black Arts Movement* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), especially 14–16, 69–70.

80 Carolyn Rodgers, "Feelings Are Sense: The Literature of Black," *Black World* 19, no. 8 (June 1970): 11.

81 Rodgers, "Feelings Are Sense," 11.

82 Rodgers, "Feelings Are Sense," 11.

83 Compare Don L. Lee's "A Poem Looking for a Reader," in *Don't Cry, Scream* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1969), 61: "black is not / all inclusive, / there are other colors. / color her warm and womanly, / color her feeling and life, / color her a gibran poem & 4 women of simone. / children will give her color / paint her the color of her / man."

84 Jimmy Stewart, "Introduction to Black Aesthetics," 80.

85 Gayle, introduction, in *The Black Aesthetic*, xxii. Obviously, there are also questions of gender to be addressed here.

86 For a plea for humanism from a member of an older generation of African American writers profoundly affected by the Black Arts Movement, see Margaret Walker, "The Humanistic Tradition of Afro-American Literature," *American Libraries* 1, no. 9 (October 1970): 849–54.

87 In 1974 a photo of Moore together with Amiri Baraka and Jeff Donaldson at the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Tanzania appeared in *Ebony*. Lerone Bennett Jr., "Pan-Africanism at the Crossroads," *Ebony* 29, no. 11 (September 1974): 152. James Turner was the chair of the U.S. delegation.

88 "The Black Scholar Interviews: Queen Mother Moore," *Black Scholar* 4, nos. 6–7 (March–April 1973): 53.

89 "Opening Session of OBAC," April 19, 1967, box 7, OBAC folder, Jeff Donaldson papers, AAA.

90 Cade, "On the Issue of Roles," in *The Black Woman*, ed. Toni Cade (New York: Mentor, 1970), 103. See also Gwen Patton, "Black People and the Victorian

Ethos," in Cade, *The Black Woman*, 143–48; and Robert Staples, "The Myth of the Black Matriarchy," *Black Scholar* 1, nos. 3–4 (January–February 1970): 8–16.

91 Linda La Rue, "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation," *The Black Scholar* 1, no. 7, BLACK REVOLUTION (May 1970): 39.

92 Cade, "On the Issue of Roles," 110.

93 Carolyn Rodgers was quoted in an article in *Ebony* saying that "the feminist movement is one of middle-class white women. . . . White women have been do-nothing dolls and one gathers that they now want to be white *men* or something else." Helen H. King, "The Black Woman and Women's Lib," *Ebony* 26, no. 5 (March 1971): 68–76. See Crawford, "Must Revolution Be a Family Affair?" Meanwhile, many Black women saw white women not only as equal oppressors but sometimes even worse oppressors than white men, for example, in case of false accusations of rape. "The Black Scholar Interviews," 48.

94 Erika Doss implies that the BPP's vision of Black masculinity was uniformly accompanied by sexist attitudes toward women—a view I think is too simple—in her "'Revolutionary Art Is a Tool for Liberation': Emory Douglas and Protest Aesthetics at the *Black Panther*," *New Political Science* 21, no. 2 (June 1999): 245–59.

95 Michele Wallace, "Daring to Do the Unpopular," *Ms.* 2 (September 1973): 24.

96 Personal communication, Gerald Williams, July 2018.

97 The division of labor was observed both for the printmaking process and for the task of exhibiting the work at art fairs and the Black Expo, for example, for which members presented a printmaking demonstration, and maintained a detailed schedule detailing individual time commitments. Minutes, June 13, 1971, and Minutes, September 12, 1971, Gerald Williams Collection. "Perform at Expo Cultural Section," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), October 2, 1971.

98 Minutes, June 11, 1972, Gerald Williams Collection. Money questions—such as the financing of the production of Donaldson's print (which was considerably more expensive than the others) and the cost of rental of the group's Chicago studio—produced some strain. Gerald Williams, personal communication, July 2018.

99 Gerald Williams, personal communication, July 2018. Jones-Hogu resigned from the group by the end of 1975 and Lawrence in September 1975. Barbara J. Hogu to AFRICOBRA, March 7, 1975; Barbara J. Hogu to AFRICOBRA, December 29, 1975; Carolyn Lawrence to AFRICOBRA, September 29, 1975, all in Gerald Williams Collection.

100 Barbara Jones-Hogu, personal communication, July 2011.

Chapter 5. Until the Walls Come Down

1 Jeff Huebner, "Moving Pictures: Mural Artist John Pitman Weber Reflects on the Slow Process of Change," *Chicago Reader*, December 17, 1998.

2 On the Chicago Mural Group, see chapter 6, "The Chicago Mural Group," Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, 148–68.
3 Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, 150.
4 "Malcolm X Offers Mural Painting," *Chicago Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), November 17, 1973, 23.
5 Chicago Mural Group, "Annual Report," 1970, 15, Chicago Public Art Group (CPAG hereafter) Archives.
6 "William Walker Discusses the Wall: Chicago Mural Group Conversation," in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 311.
7 I am especially grateful to Romi Crawford for sharing her deep knowledge of the photography of this time period in the course of working on *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*. In the same volume see in particular her "Black Photographers Who Take Black Pictures," 193–211.
8 See Rebecca Zorach, "Painters, Poets, and Performance: Looking at the Wall of Respect," in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 22; "William Walker Discusses the Wall," 302.
9 Robert Sengstacke, interview with author, September 2016.
10 bell hooks, "In Our Glory: Photography and Black Life," in *Art on My Mind: Visual Politics* (New York: New Press, 1995), 57.
11 hooks, "In Our Glory," 59, 60.
12 "Photos of Love, Pride, and Strength: Bob Sengstacke," *Negro Digest* 18, no. 1 (November 1968): 88.
13 Kathy Slade, "'Hip World' . . . A Photographic Statement," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 7, 1967.
14 Slade, "'Hip World.'"
15 Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) and Fundi (Billy Abernathy), *In Our Terribleness* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), unpaginated.
16 "Roy Lewis Photo Show Due at Southside Community Art Center," *Chicago Daily Defender*, February 7, 1968.
17 Roy Lewis, "Black and Beautiful Photographic Proposal," March 1968, proposal; minutes, Advisory Panel on Art Meeting, Tuesday, May 21, 1968, Illinois Arts Council, "Advisory Panel Minutes," Record Series 312.003, Illinois State Archives.
18 Council meeting minutes, May 24, 1968, Illinois Arts Council, "Council Minutes," Record Series 312.002, Illinois State Archives.
19 Minutes, Advisory Panel on Art Meeting, June 6, 1968, Illinois Arts Council, "Advisory Panel Minutes," Record Series 312.003, Illinois State Archives.
20 "New Walls for City," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 22, 1968, 14.
21 "New Walls for City." Roy Lewis's mural also appears in Catalysts Cultural Committee, *Black Cultural Directory Chicago '69*, 29. Crawford's wall is also visible in a photograph of the Umoja Center that accompanied an article on a student boycott: "Chicago Pupils Boycott; Board Member Agrees," *Jet* 35, no. 4 (October 31, 1968): 28.

22 Lewis, "Black and Beautiful."
23 "New Walls for City."
24 "New Walls for City."
25 Eugene Perkins and Roy Lewis, *West Wall* (Chicago: Free Black Press, 1968).
26 Angela Parker, "Portraying the Black Heritage on City Walls," *Chicago Tribune*, July 18, 1971.
27 "William Walker Discusses the Wall: Chicago Mural Group Conversation," 311.
28 This scene is depicted, to my knowledge, in a single photograph taken by a German photographer (currently in my personal collection).
29 Rebecca Zorach and Marissa Baker, "Interview with Eugene 'Eda' Wade" (edited transcript of April 17, 2015, interview), in Alkalimat, Crawford, and Zorach, *The Wall of Respect*, 318. See also Pinder, *Painting the Gospel*, 87–88.
30 DePillars, "African-American Artists," 127.
31 The story of Green's mural is told in Robbyelee, "Vandals Destroy Mural: It Makes You Stop and Think," *Liberation News Service*, January 27, 1971, and, in a slightly different version, in Eva Cockcroft's "Women in the Community Mural Movement," *Heresies* 1, no. 1 (January 1977): 14. There is little record of Green after this, though she received a bachelor's degree from Columbia College Chicago in June 1976 (Columbia College Chicago, Digital Commons, http://digitalcommons.colum.edu), and died in 2011 at fifty-eight (http://whitepages.com).
32 "Cacophony in Black Echoes in Huge Mural," *Chicago Tribune*, November 9, 1969. I am making the assumption that the paint was lead.
33 "Cacophony in Black."
34 Jerry Crimmins, "Paint Jobs Slated for 27 Pedestrian Underpasses," *Chicago Tribune*, August 2, 1970.
35 Mary Lou Jones, "Until the Walls Fall Down, Paint Them," *Chicago Tribune*, January 17, 1971.
36 "'People's Art' Colors Booths," *Chicago Tribune*, December 12, 1971.
37 Untitled photo and caption, *Chicago Defender*, September 12, 1973, 1.
38 "Art & Soul Fills Need," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 12, 1970. The July article states, "The wall, 'Black Man's Dilemma,' is an Art & Soul project sponsored by the Conservative Vice Lords." "People and Pictures in the News," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 15, 1970, 16.
39 McIlvaine, "Dreams of a Better Life," 48–50.
40 McIlvaine, "Dreams of a Better Life," 49.
41 "Cacophony in Black."
42 I thank Georg Stahl for suggesting this connection to me. See also John Towns, "Aesthetics of Transformation: The African-American Experience of the Chicago Community Mural Movement, 1967–1970" (EdD diss., Northern Illinois University, 2002), 251–52.
43 M. Jones, "Until the Walls Fall Down."

44 "People and Pictures in the News," 16.
45 Mario Castillo, personal communication, October 2017.
46 Mario Castillo, personal communication, November 2017.
47 See Lilia Fernández, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 225–37.
48 Sam Yanari, interview with author, November 17, 2010.
49 Yamashita showed other work there in May 1969, along with work by his students at Prairie State College—a group of sculpture students calling themselves the "Oriental Space Design Group." Poster in the Ann Zelle Papers, folder "A&S—Programs," Newberry Library.
50 Sam Yanari, interview with author, November 17, 2010.
51 Sam Yanari, interview with author, November 17, 2010.
52 Irene Piraino, "He's Out to Paint the Town," *Daily News Suburban Week*, June 13 and 14, 1973.
53 Sue Roll, "One Artist's Colorful Plan to Dress Up Our Naked City," *Chicago Today*, February 1, 1974, 35.
54 See Eva S. Cockcroft and James D. Cockcroft, "Cityarts Workshop—People's Art in New York City," *Left Curve* 4 (summer 1975): 14; Janet Bloom, "Changing Walls," *Architectural Forum* 138, no. 4 (May 1973): 25.
55 Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, 20.
56 Chicago Mural Group (CMG) recording, tape 17, Chicago Mural Group Collection, CPAG Archives; Minutes, Architecture and Environment panel meeting, February 28, 1972, Illinois Arts Council, "Advisory Panel Minutes," Record Series 312.003, Illinois State Archives.
57 CMG recording, tape 17, CPAG Archives.
58 Minutes; "A Proposal for People's Art in Public Housing," Architecture and Environment panel meeting, February 28, 1972, Illinois Arts Council, "Advisory Panel Minutes," Record Series 312.003, Illinois State Archives.
59 Barbara S. Howorth, a public relations staffer at the CHA, was the mural group's contact. "Cherokee Charlie Says," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), May 22, 1971; CMG recording, tape 3, CPAG Archives. They also coordinated with an organization called Common Concern.
60 CMG recording, tape 3, CPAG Archives.
61 "Proposal for People's Art in Public Housing."
62 "Proposal for People's Art in Public Housing."
63 CMG recording, tape 3, CPAG Archives.
64 CMG recording, tape 3, CPAG Archives.
65 CMG recording, tape 3, CPAG Archives.
66 CMG recording, tape 3, tape 17, CPAG Archives.
67 CMG recording, tape 3, CPAG Archives.
68 CMG recording, tape 17, CPAG Archives.
69 CMG recording, tape 19, CPAG Archives.

70 John Pitman Weber, interview with author, October 2016.
71 John Pitman Weber, interview with author, October 2016.
72 "Murals for the People," *Chicago Tribune*, February 10, 1971.
73 "Unlicensed Clinic on West Side Aids Latin Community," *Chicago Tribune*, October 14, 1971; "Contemporary Art: A Clash of Emotion and Object," *Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 1971.
74 "Hold Seminar on Black Art," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), September 18, 1971, 3.
75 Parker, "Portraying the Black Heritage."
76 "On Chicago Walls," *Hyde Park Herald*, November 8, 1972.
77 Terri Schultz, "Slum Art Slightly Disturbing, but Only Slightly," *Chicago Tribune*, May 23, 1971.
78 Schultz, "Slum Art Slightly Disturbing."
79 Georgia Geis, "Jazz in the Alley Celebrates History, Rebirth," *Hyde Park Herald*, August 8, 2007, 16.
80 Jeff Huebner, "Wailing Walls," *Chicago Reader*, February 26, 1998.
81 "Caton—'The Stranger' Tells of His Latest Creation," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 4, 1971.
82 Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft, *Toward a People's Art*, 159.
83 CMG recording, tape 17, CPAG Archives.
84 John Pitman Weber, interview with author, October 2016.
85 CMG recording, tape 11 (side 1 of 2), CPAG Archives.
86 Mitchell Caton, "Wall of Pride and Self-Awareness," Annual Report and Documents, 1973, CPAG Archives.
87 See the brief discussion of the Foundation years program in chapter 3 and note 113.
88 C. Siddha Webber, interview with author, February 2012.
89 Bloom, "Changing Walls," 20.
90 John Pitman Weber, writing in CMG annual report, 1971, 13, 18, CPAG Archives.
91 Mitchell Caton, "Philosophy of the Spiritual," Annual Report and Documents, 1972, CPAG Archives.
92 Caton, "Philosophy of the Spiritual."
93 Caton, "Philosophy of the Spiritual."
94 CMG recording, tape 3, CPAG Archives.
95 Mitchell Caton, "The Alley," Annual Report and Documents, 1974, CPAG Archives.
96 Caton, "The Alley."
97 CMG recording, tape 16, CPAG Archives.
98 Jimmy Stewart, "Introduction to Black Aesthetics," 80.
99 CMG recording, tape 16, CPAG Archives.
100 For a study of one of Walker's murals that addresses the question of the negative in the making and afterlife of the mural, see Caitlin Frances Bruce,

"Public Art, Affect, and Radical Negativity: The Wall of Daydreaming and Man's Inhumanity to Man," *Subjectivity* 10 (2017): 223–41.

101 Gerald Williams, interview by Rebecca Zorach, Never The Same, November 2011, https://never-the-same.org/interviews/gerald-williams/.

102 See Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002).

103 "The Jazz Bit," *Chicago Daily Defender*, March 15, 1965.

104 Harriet Choice, "Tribute to Pop of Bop," *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1971, B17.

105 Brown was a multitalented writer who migrated with his family from Kansas City, Missouri, to Chicago; he was the first author to read short stories (as opposed to poems) to jazz accompaniment. His life was cut short by leukemia at the age of thirty-four—the same age at which Bird had died of hard living.

106 Punctuation has been emended. Frank London Brown, "Bird Lives," *Daily Defender*, April 4, 1960, 13. My thanks to Robert A. Sengstacke for identifying the author from his initials.

107 "Wadsworth Jarrell and AFRICOBRA: Sheets of Color, Sheets of Sound," interview with Graham Lock in *The Hearing Eye: Jazz and Blues Influences in African American Visual Art*, ed. Graham Lock and David Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 155.

Chapter 6. Starring the Black Community

1 On the criticism the film faced, see Norma R. Jones, "Sweetback: The Black Hero and Universal Myth," *CLA Journal* 19, no. 4 (June 1976): 559–65. On "queer Sweetback," see Adam Coombs, "Queer Oedipal Drag in *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* and *Baadasssss!*" *African American Review* 50, no. 1 (spring 2017): 41–58, and Robert F. Reid-Pharr, *Once You Go Black: Choice, Desire, and the Black Intellectual* (New York: New York University Press, 2007). On *Sweetback* and revolution, see Benjamin Wiggins, "'You Talkin' Revolution, Sweetback': On Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song and Revolutionary Filmmaking," *Black Camera* 4, no. 1 (winter 2012), 28–52.

2 "Black TV: Its Promises and Problems," *Ebony* 24, no. 11 (September 1969): 89. See also Walter M. Gerson, "Mass Media Socialization Behavior: Negro-White Differences," *Social Forces* 45, no. 1 (September 1966): 40–50. See also bell hooks's quote on learning critique in Sasha Torres, *Black, White, and in Color: Television and Black Civil Rights* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

3 Don McIlvaine spoke of television as a narcotic: "In this area hope is rather a hopeless thing and fantastic dreams are a favorite pastime. Television becomes a narcotic . . . an escape—a ready escape." McIlvaine, "Dreams of a Better Life," 48. Studies done with children in New York suggested that "ghetto children employ much more fantasy in their descriptions of objects and events"; researchers tried to coax them to believe "that the real world

holds as much excitement as their imaginary world." Francis Shoemaker, "Communication Arts, the Humanities, and the Urban Community," in "Communicating," special issue, *High School Journal* 52, no. 8 (May 1969): 448.

4 Chester Higgins Sr., "Black Films: Boom or Bust?," *Jet*, June 8, 1972, 59.

5 Earth, Wind & Fire had been formed in part by members of the Pharaohs, which overlapped in its membership with the Artistic Heritage Ensemble, and had come to be the house band at the Affro-Arts Theater. Earth, Wind & Fire's Maurice White learned how to play the electrified mbira by watching Cohran play the frankiphone. See Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony*, 240.

6 James P. Murray, "Black Movies/Black Theater," *Drama Review* 16, no. 4 (December 1972): 56.

7 "TV and Movies: Harmful to Mental Health of Black People," box 1, folder 16, Bill Lathan Collection, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University Library.

8 Huey P. Newton, "He Won't Bleed Me: A Revolutionary Analysis of *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*," *Black Panther*, June 19, 1971.

9 Val Gray Ward, "Does Sweetback Harm Black Art?," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 15, 1971.

10 Jean-Paul Sartre, "Existentialism Is a Humanism," in *Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre*, ed. Walter Kaufman (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 287–311.

11 HWF [Hoyt Fuller], "On the Paris Scene," *Negro Digest* 15, no. 5 (March 1966): 49–50. Van Peebles's screenplay for *Panther*, a 1995 film directed by his son Mario, has Eldridge Cleaver refer to Sartre.

12 See also Frances Foster, "Changing Concepts of the Black Woman," *Journal of Black Studies* 3, no. 4 (June 1973): 433–54. "Whereas whites have always included their politics in their art but denied its presence and have denounced as propagandistic and nonaesthetic any politics not in line with theirs, Blacks are quite frank about political writings" (447).

13 *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*, script, http://www.aellea.com/emruf3/sweetback.html.

14 Lerone Bennett Jr., "The Emancipation Orgasm: Sweetback in Wonderland," *Ebony* 26, no. 11 (September 1971): 106.

15 Bennett, "Emancipation," 108. Blacks are "immobilized by the conflicting demands of contradictory images."

16 Bennett, "Emancipation," 110.

17 Bennett, "Emancipation," 110.

18 Bennett, "Emancipation," 110.

19 Val Gray Ward, "Kuumba's 'Sweetback' Stand," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 14, 1971.

20 Val Gray Ward, "Black Artists Here Assail 'Sweetback,'" *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 12, 1971. "The way she curls her legs around the boy make

this and other scenes like it more fit for stag films—to be shown to white people—than as part of any film for black people."

21 Ward, "Does Sweetback Harm."

22 Ward, "Does Sweetback Harm."

23 Michael L. Culbert, "Films of 'Hip Black Dudes': Good or Bad Image?," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), September 30, 1972; Gaddi Ben Dan, interview with author, November 30, 2014.

24 Eugene Perkins, *The Image Makers*, script (presented October 1973), series I, box 1, folder 9, Special Collections, Kuumba Theatre Collection, Harold Washington Library, Chicago Public Library.

25 D. Soyini Madison, "Image Making: Kuumba Workshop and Black Liberation Theatre," in *Rise of the Phoenix: Voices from Chicago's Black Struggle, 1960–1975*, ed. Useni Eugene Perkins (Chicago: Third World Press, 2017), 51.

26 Perkins, *The Image Makers*, 28.

27 Perkins, *The Image Makers*, 28.

28 Paul Henley, *The Adventure of the Real: Jean Rouch and the Craft of Ethnographic Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

29 "Contraband Movie Is Scheduled Here," *Chicago Daily Defender*, July 31, 1967.

30 McWorter, "OBAC," 145–46.

31 Harrison, *Drama of Nommo*, 220.

32 Ward, "Does Sweetback Harm."

33 "For the world's richest country, we live under some of the worst living conditions extant. Every Black father, mother and child knows or will learn this. That's definite!" Don L. Lee, "The Bittersweet of Sweetback; or, Shake Yo Money Maker," *Black World* 21, no. 1 (November 1971): 43–48, 45.

34 Jeff Donaldson, "AfriCOBRA 1," 86.

35 AFRICOBRA's idea of mimesis was initially articulated in Jeff Donaldson's "AfriCOBRA 1," 85. The idea of "mimesis at midpoint" appears in Jones-Hogu's "History, Philosophy, and Aesthetics." It seems to have derived from a Yoruba concept that Robert Farris Thompson, the historian of African art, labeled "mimesis at the mid-point" in his "Esthetics in Traditional Africa," *ARTnews* 66, no. 9 (January 1968): 45.

36 Jimmy Stewart, "Introduction to Black Aesthetics," 80.

37 Untitled review, *Time*, October 16, 1964, 59.

38 Fitzgerald, "Chicago's Black Artists," 1.

39 Douglas Williams, interview with author, July 2016.

40 José Williams, interview with author, January 2016.

41 Harding, "Black Students," 95–96. Originally published in *Ebony* 24, nos. 10–11 (August–September 1969).

42 Don D. Bushnell, "Black Arts for Black Youth," *Saturday Review* 53 (July 18, 1970): 44.

43 "Filmmaking: A New Area for Youths," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), March 31, 1973.

44 Sharon Scott, "Community Film Workshop Group Doing Its Thing for Filmmakers," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), February 26, 1972.
45 Don McIlvaine to Margaret Standish, Playboy Foundation, November 16, 1970, Heruanita McIlvaine Collection.
46 Van der Marck to McIlvaine, May 6, 1970; van der Marck to Bernard Rogers, May 6, 1970, both in Heruanita McIlvaine Collection.
47 Margaret Burroughs to Leonard S. Pas (Illinois Arts Council), June 1, 1970; Don McIlvaine, "Proposal Re: Film Workshop," on DuSable letterhead, 1971, both in Heruanita McIlvaine Collection.
48 McIlvaine, "Proposal Re: Film Workshop."
49 Letter from Don McIlvaine to Len Borman, June 15, 1971, Heruanita McIlvaine Collection.
50 McIlvaine, "Developmental Uses of the Black Art Medium Project." Heruanita McIlvaine Collection.
51 McIlvaine, "Proposal Re: Film Workshop."
52 He never heard anything, and was then surprised to see a very similar story appear in the 1974 film *Uptown Saturday Night*. Heruanita McIlvaine, personal communication, conversations 2013–16.
53 McIlvaine, "Proposal Re: Film Workshop."
54 There is a growing bibliography on *The Spook Who Sat by the Door*. See Elizabeth Reich, "A New Kind of Black Soldier: Performing Revolution in The Spook Who Sat by the Door," *African American Review* 45, no. 3, Special issue: On Black Performance (fall 2012): 325–39.
55 Harding, "Black Students," 95–96.
56 Sam Greenlee, *The Spook Who Sat by the Door* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, [1969] 1990), 81–82.
57 Dorothy Cohen, "Advertising and the Black Community," *Journal of Marketing* 34, no. 4 (October 1970): 3–11.
58 Cohen, "Advertising," 9 and 9n37.
59 Cohen, "Advertising," 10 and 10n39.
60 West, "Paradox of the Afro-American Rebellion," 62. He also critiques the Black petite bourgeoisie: "Like any other petite bourgeoisie, the 'new' black middle class will most likely pursue power-seeking life styles, promote black entrepreneurial growth, and perpetuate professional advancement" (55).
61 Cruse, *Crisis*, 439–40.
62 Julian Mayfield, "You Touch My Black Aesthetic and I'll Touch Yours," in *The Black Aesthetic*, ed. Addison Gayle (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 29.
63 Mayfield, "You Touch," 29.
64 Angela Y. Davis, "Afro Images: Politics, Fashion and Nostalgia," *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 1 (autumn 1994): 37.
65 Amini, "Re-Definition," 8–9.
66 Don L. Lee, "Contradiction in Essence," in *black pride* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1968), 28.

67 Carolyn Rodgers, "Breakthrough," in *Songs of a Black Bird* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1969), 31–33. See also Don L. Lee, "History of the Poet as a Whore (to all negro poets who deal in whi-te paronomasia)," in *Black Arts: An Anthology of Black Creations*, ed. Ahmed Akinwole Alhamisi and Harun Kofi Wangara (Detroit: Black Arts Publications, 1969), 98.

68 "Coke's Black Art Van Ends Its Chicago Tour," *Chicago Daily Defender*, November 15, 1969; "Lewis Towers Art Exhibit Features Black Artists," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), November 25, 1969.

69 "Black Art Exhibit Opens January 13th," *Chicago Daily Defender*, January 4, 1971.

70 "Southside Art Center Names New Director," *Chicago Defender* (*National Edition*), June 4, 1966.

71 Douglas Williams, interview with author, July 2016.

72 "Ex-Prisoner Artists Set Exhibition," *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), June 13, 1970; photo, *Chicago Daily Defender,* October 8, 1970, 6; photo, *Chicago Daily Defender*, June 22, 1971, 12; photo, *Chicago Daily Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), April 15, 1972, 22; photo, *Chicago Defender*, February 20, 1973, 6; photo, Chicago Defender, February 27, 1973, 7; "Englewood in Tribute to Art," *Chicago Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), June 23, 1973; Earl Calloway, "A Great Day in Harpers Ct.," *Chicago Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), July 7, 1973; photo, *Chicago Defender* (*Big Weekend Edition*), August 3, 1974, A12; Joy Darrow, "Finding a New Way of 'Doing Time,'" *Chicago Defender*, September 29, 1975. Exhibition flyer, University of Chicago Center for Continuing Education, 1972, Ben Bey Collection.

73 Turtel Onli, interview by Reecca Zorach, Never The Same, 2012, https://never-the-same.org/interviews/turtel-onli. Robert Paige, personal communication.

74 Robert Paige, discussion with Rebecca Zorach after screening of Medium Cool, "Revolution on Film" series, Reva and David Logan Center for the Arts, July 12, 2013, http://africobra.uchicago.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/AFRICOBRA_robert_paige.pdf.

75 Among other articles, see Murray Smith, "Double Trouble: On Film, Fiction, and Narrative Author(s)," *Storyworlds: A Journal of Narrative Studies* 1 (2009), 1–23.

76 Roger Ebert, "Haskell Wexler: See, Nothing Is 'Real,'" *Roger Ebert Interviews* (blog), August 10, 1969, http://www.rogerebert.com/interviews/haskell-wexler-see-nothing-is-real.

77 Ebert, "Haskell Wexler."

78 Phil Cohran, personal communication.

79 John Kifner, "Chicago Panther Mourned: Raid Scene Visited," *New York Times*, December 10, 1969.

80 Video was a medium newly available to consumers with devices such as the Sony Rover, introduced in 1967. Michael L. Culbert, "W. Sider Hit-Run Victim: En Route FORUM Parley," *Chicago Daily Defender*, October 19, 1972, 35; Culbert, "Films of 'Hip Black Dudes,'" 6.

81 Gwendolyn Brooks, "Boy Breaking Glass," *Negro Digest* 16, no. 8 (June 1967): 53. Later published in *In the Mecca,* 36–37.

82 Nathan Caplan, "The New Ghetto Man," in *Cities under Siege: An Anatomy of the Ghetto Riots, 1964–1968*, ed. David Boesel and Peter H. Rossi (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 351.

83 Kopkind, "White on Black," 246. He is describing the view of the younger social scientists working for the Kerner Commission who were "released" from commission staff after producing a politically charged section for the commission's report.

84 See Dawley, *Nation of Lords*, 107.

85 Douglas Williams, interview with author, June 1, 2013.

86 John Walley, "Creativity," in *Selected Papers* (Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago, 1975), 34–35.

87 Gwendolyn Brooks, *Riot* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1970), 15, 18.

88 It seems the original plan was for it to be on the cover, but the publisher, Dudley Randall, wanted "the single large word R I O T burning across the cover." Gwendolyn Brooks to Jeff Donaldson, October 10, 1969, box 10, Jeff Donaldson Papers, AAA.

89 Nicholas Miller, "Vulnerable to Violence: Jeff Donaldson's Ala Shango and the Erasure of Diasporic Difference," *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* 36 (May 2015), 40–47.

90 Jones, "Black Imagery," 19.