

monolithic entity. Instead, the Des Moines BPP was an example of how ideas were related on a local level by revolutionaries committed to their constituents. Also, this BPP chapter illustrates how fluid social change was during this period in the black liberation struggle and that there was a high degree of intellectual sophistication among cadres of the BPP that worked outside the major cities. Finally, this story of the Des Moines BPP assists in putting to rest the idea that, by the time of Huey Newton's release from prison, the BPP was no longer a unified entity from coast to coast.

NOTES

1. Mary Rem, personal communication, July 10, 2002.
2. Another major exception to that exclusively male narrative is Erika Huggins who started the New Haven chapter, and there was perhaps another woman leader in another New England branch.
3. A major barrier for women inside the Black Panther Party was the cultural nationalist belief that women needed to adopt a "complementary" role to black male leadership. Another challenge was that Black Panther women wanted to distinguish themselves, and remain autonomous, from the Women's Liberation movement. As far as they were concerned, the Women's Liberation movement that emerged out of activities with the Southern civil rights movement was primarily focused on the goals and interests of white middle-class women, and many Panther women believed that black women had distinctly different relationship dynamics with black men and thus a socialist revolution would be necessary to free black women and the entire community. See Tracye Matthews, "No One Ever Asks, What a Man's Role in the Revolution Is": Gender and the Politics of the Black Panther Party (1966-71)," in *The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*, ed. Charles Jones (Baltimore, Md.: Black Classic Press, 1998), 267-304.
4. See, for example, Jones, *Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*; and Kathleen Cleaver, ed., *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party* (New York: Routledge, 2001). The political life of local branches was also a major topic at the June 2003 Black Panther History Conference at Wheelock College organized by professors Jama Lazerow and Yohuru Williams.
5. James L. Hill, "Migration of Blacks to Iowa, 1820-1960," *Journal of Negro History* 66, no. 4 (1982): 289-303.
6. Ibid.
7. Gayle Narcisse, *They Took Our Piece of the Pie: Center Street Revisited* (Des Moines: Iowa Bystander, 1996), 3-11.

8. Charles Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
9. Rem, personal communication, July 10, 2002.
10. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
11. Narcisse, *They Took Our Piece of the Pie*, 3-11.
12. De Patton, in congressional hearing (1971).
13. Andre Rawls, personal communication, August 21, 2000. *Des Moines Register*, October 16, 1968, 6.
14. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
15. *Des Moines Register*, October 16, 1968, 6.
16. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
17. *Des Moines Register*, October 20, 1968, 1.
18. De Patton, in congressional hearing (1971).
19. Rem, personal communication, July 10, 2002.
20. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.; *Des Moines Register*, April 23, 1969, 1.
24. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
25. *Des Moines Register*, April 23, 1969.
26. Ibid.
27. De Patton, in congressional hearing (1971).
28. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Rawls, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
32. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000. Sam Napier was later killed in a Black Panther internal conflict.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Rawls, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
36. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
37. Ibid.
38. *Des Moines Register*, April 28, 1969.
39. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
40. *Des Moines Register*, April 28, 1969.
41. Art Bronson, personal communication, July 11, 2003.
42. Ibid.; Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
43. Knox, personal communication, August 21, 2000.
44. Ibid.
45. Bronson, personal communication, July 11, 2003.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.