Victory Without Violence: the First Ten Years of the St. Louis Committee of Racial Equality (Core), 1947-1957

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tions and issues that pushed the civil rights agenda forward in the 1940s and '50s, culminating in the 1967 election of Richard Hatcher as the first black mayor of Gary, Indiana.

Professor Thornbrough gives good verbal descriptions of cities and counties in Indiana, but the lack of maps sometimes makes it difficult for a reader not intimately familiar with the state to fully appreciate the information being offered. A more serious problem is the lack of an introduction discussing the thesis, methods, and principal questions employed in the writing of this study, giving *Indiana Blacks* a somewhat episodic and less analytical quality.

On balance, *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century* is the best available general study of African Americans in Indiana. It should find its way on to the shelves of anyone interested in the history of Indiana or of African Americans in the Midwest. Iowa historians may find Thornbrough's statewide scope and emphasis on state legislation useful for studying African Americans in Iowa, because it allows discussion of small and widely dispersed African American populations in states with few urban industrial centers. Such scholars would also benefit from reading two 2001 releases, Charlene Barnes's *Life Narratives of African Americans in Iowa* (Arcadia Press), and *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (State Historical Society of Iowa).


"What a moving experience was CORE. Beautiful people, working unselfishly, with very little conflict, in a most democratic environment," recalled Al Park when asked about the founding chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality in St. Louis (114). Huston Smith remembered, "What a great feeling to be involved with durable friends in a noble cause" (119). These reflections reveal the most powerful characteristic of this group memoir, the story of the formation of a community, of strangers who became friends.

A shared commitment to integration as a means to racial equality and to the "Gandhian philosophy of patient negotiation and nonviolent direct action" brought this small group of veterans, students, and
professionals together in 1947 (91). St. Louis CORE focused its action program on the desegregation of downtown eating establishments. Through a detailed description of the organization's tactics and experiences between 1947 and 1957, Victory Without Violence establishes the members' role in the passage of the 1961 public accommodations ordinance outlawing segregated facilities. St. Louis CORE successes came about through determination, courage, and patient persistence. The slow, steady progress of their campaign involved the conversion of individuals through goodwill. Irvin Dagen explained, "The whole idea of CORE from the beginning was to win over to our way of thinking people who initially were opposed to what we were trying to accomplish" (93). CORE members tried to change attitudes and to promote integration in their city by building an interracial community among themselves. By developing friendships, marrying, and socializing across racial lines in 1950s America, they undertook their most daring and radical activism.

The authors based their book on a 1994 questionnaire developed by a small group of founders and distributed to 30 former members of St. Louis CORE. The editorial committee followed with oral history interviews and collected documents. Margaret Dagen and Mary Kimbrough compiled the members' memories and provided reproductions of important documents from the chapter's activities, such as a leaflet used in 1948 to promote the public accommodation ordinance, a handout of picket line rules, and a 1951 issue of its newsletter.

Victory Without Violence represents an important publication because what little published material on the Congress of Racial Equality exists focuses on CORE as a national organization. Future histories need to study CORE's individual, autonomous branches. This memoir is not only an important building block in exploring CORE through detailed studies of local chapters, but it also draws attention to many themes often missing from civil rights literature. Scholars are just beginning to discover the rich civil rights history of the Midwest and to explore the nonviolent direct action campaigns that preceded the student sit-in movement of 1960.

Those interested in pursuing the St. Louis CORE story further can consult two excellent sources: the papers of the Congress of Racial Equality archived at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (available on microfilm) and the surveys, interviews, and documents collected for Victory Without Violence, part of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri–St. Louis.
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