Black San Francisco: the Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900-1954
Republican. These clear limits imposed on the postwar civic culture framed the best efforts of Lipin’s subjects to wring the most modest concessions.

Therefore, his argument that postwar Democrats provided a viable vehicle for such negotiation seems particularly problematic. Like Iowa and other midwestern states, Indiana experienced a promising third party movement of farmers and workers in the 1870s. Barred from power by seemingly insurmountable Republican majorities in the North, desperate Democrats often assimilated insurgent rhetoric, platforms, and candidates. More plausibly, this use of producerist or traditional republican language reflected rather than nourished workers’ interests; practice indicates a negotiation that required everything of insurgent citizens and little from politicians.

Nevertheless, Lipin’s analysis of class formation in its economic, social, cultural, and ideological dimensions is well researched and presented. The book’s strengths (as well as omissions) are rooted in current scholarship, and his political interpretation is provocative if unconvincing. Most importantly, the book has recovered the experience of two more unique industrial communities of the Gilded Age.


REVIEWED BY WILLIAM L. HEWITT, WEST CHESTER UNIVERSITY

In Black San Francisco, Albert Broussard describes a city that had no black ghetto before World War II (5). Yet in 1966 the city erupted in five days of racial rioting after a white police officer killed a black teenager who had allegedly stolen an automobile. Broussard sets out to explain how this could happen as he attempts to fill a void in scholarship left because “the history of blacks in the twentieth century urban West has been largely neglected” (1).

Blacks were not drawn to San Francisco in large numbers before 1940, when they constituted only one percent of the population, because of limited economic opportunities and competition with nonwhite groups for unskilled jobs. Furthermore, San Francisco’s distance from the South made it more difficult for blacks to migrate there than to many northern or midwestern cities. The small black population, nevertheless, faced discrimination in employment and social life. San Francisco’s black elite challenged sensational examples of racial hatred, as did the black elites in Iowa cities such as Des Moines and Sioux City. Blacks supported the NAACP, but rejected
Marcus Garvey’s call for African redemption. As a rigid social segregation developed, whites grew increasingly apprehensive over the idea of interracial mixing, which coincided with an increase in interracial violence beginning in the 1920s. Broussard concludes that San Francisco’s reputation for “white liberal progressivism” was little more than a patina of civility that masked a long tradition of ingrained racism.

The Great Depression retarded advances the black community had made. Although the diversity of San Francisco’s economy served as a temporary buffer for blacks, who lost their jobs at a slower rate and in smaller percentages than their counterparts in heavily industrialized cities, competition with nonwhite workers made it more difficult for blacks who did lose their jobs to reenter San Francisco’s labor market. The eventual economic hardship resulted in a political shift in the black community. The strain on the established leadership of the black community led to disenchantment with Republican leadership and policies, and some blacks left the GOP during the 1920s and early 1930s for the Democratic Party.

Broussard convincingly shows how a population explosion during World War II was a watershed for black San Francisco, bringing thousands of southern migrants to the bay area to work in war industries. The city’s black population increased from fewer than 5,000 in 1940 to 43,460 in 1950. The wartime economy provided—for the first time, according to Broussard—a significant number of jobs in semiskilled, skilled, and white-collar occupations. New black migrants, in tandem with native black residents, formed coalitions with white liberals to attack racial inequality more vigorously and successfully than at any previous time in San Francisco’s history. Many black migrants were not content with menial jobs and the increasingly calcified racial caste system that black residents had been fighting for decades. Instead, black migrants expected a greater degree of personal and economic freedom and economic equality than white San Franciscans were willing to concede. Black workers were faced with a paradox. On the one hand, a broader spectrum of jobs was open to them. On the other hand, employment discrimination was still widespread in both public and private sectors, preventing them, in effect, from gaining access to many jobs. The newer arrivals also faced resistance from more established black residents, who were often condescending toward black migrants.

An irony can be seen in the new elite’s improved relations with sympathetic whites. They created the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, which became the most ambitious interracial organization in the city. Despite their efforts to promote racial harmony, residential
segregation and a severe housing shortage crowded and exasperated the black community. By the mid-1960s the residential situation in San Francisco's black community resembled a northern city such as Chicago, which had a well-defined black ghetto. Broussard concludes that the city "never came to grips with racial discrimination in many areas and that the black community had grown increasingly frustrated by the mid-1960s with the lack of progress" (242). Based on solid scholarship and sound conclusions, this work admirably illustrates the black experience in the urban West.


REVIEWED BY MYRON A. MARTY, DRAKE UNIVERSITY

*All Our Yesterdays* is the story of a house, a home, a family, a neighborhood, and a town, all set in their broad social and economic context. Because the authors are players in the story, having made the house a home for their family, it bears the marks of an autobiography. Indeed, the entire work is autobiographical in character, for the house and the traces of its former owners often speak for themselves.

Although writers of local history in other regions of the country cannot reach as far back into the past as could the authors of this book, it is in many respects a model of what can and should be done with local resources. The wistful reflections on what is no more are not out of place in a work like this; rather, they add to its considerable appeal.

In 1967 James Oliver Robertson, a historian, and Janet C. Robertson, a novelist, purchased an aged, decrepit house in Hampton, Connecticut, a town encompassing 25.3 square miles, which recorded a population of about 1,500, the largest in its history, in the 1990 census. The town, say the authors of this book, "seems to have survived from a forgotten time. It is still very rural. Its only businesses are its three or four farms, a general store, a garage, an insurance agency, a gas distributor, and assorted small manufacturers and cottage industries. It is still governed by the direct democracy of a town meeting" (2). The Robertsons' participation in the political, economic, and social affairs of the town deepened their grasp of the lives and circumstances of those who had lived in their house through the decades.

When the Robertsons found the house that became their home, they "walked into a time warp" (2). Although it had not been lived in for years, it was filled with leftovers from the lives of those who