

coherent than the three just named. Why? Because the archives are open wider than they were during the Cold War, and because veterans of American literary communism were ready to talk at least somewhat honestly by the time Wald (especially in the 1980s and 1990s) traveled to them with his tape recorder.

After the Miller revelations, the most exciting portion of *Trinity of Passion* for this reviewer is in the acknowledgments and list of sources. Where hasn't Wald been in the past twenty years, and to whom hasn't he spoken, in his massive effort to get this story right? The energy implicit there flows background into main body of the work, a description of the antifascist imagination in its almost infinite individualized forms. Only the most recalcitrant generalizer about radicalism can read this book and then go on dubbing all U.S. communists uncritical dupes. Some were—to be sure—and Wald doesn't hesitate to say so. But when one goes this deeply into a narrative that has been too often told without fine-grained knowledge, one learns that there were as many different literary responses to fascism, racism, and economic crisis in this period as there were people with the urge to write about them.

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Margaret Garb, *City of American Dreams: A History of Home Ownership and Housing Reform in Chicago, 1871-1919* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2005).

Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2005).

Since World War II scholars and popular culture have associated the American Dream with middle-class whites owning single-family homes on spacious lots in the suburbs. These two books, in different ways, challenge that dominant association. Margaret Garb excavates the late-nineteenth century to understand how homeownership became a predominant middle-class phenomenon in the subsequent century. Andrew Wiese examines African American suburbanization in the twentieth century to show that suburbs and 'suburban dreams' were neither exclusively white nor middle-class. While these scholarly accounts take different forms—Garb's book is a tightly-woven monograph of a single city while Wiese's work is a national history—they share themes and methodologies. Both books document and explain working-class participation in homeownership and suburbanization, the role of race and class in stratifying housing markets and informing residential choices, and the role of government in brokering the housing interests of social classes and racial groups. As astute social historians, both focus on the agency of African Americans or immigrant white workers as they achieve homeownership and subur-

ban residence against the backdrop of racial and class-segmented housing markets in a capitalist political economy.

Both Garb and Wiese, drawing on the work of geographer Richard Harris and others, discuss how immigrant white and migrant black wage workers made great sacrifices to acquire their own homes and show how they valued and used property differently from the middle class. In an erratic economy characterized by wage cuts, discrimination, and unemployment, both groups of workers, against the disapproval of middle-class society, used their houses to supplement their unstable and inadequate incomes, renting to boarders, cultivating gardens and raising animals, taking in laundry, and sending women and children out to work. Both historians argue persuasively that past experience with oppression heightened the value of property ownership to immigrant and migrant workers as a bulwark against an unforgiving economy. Wiese, in particular, shows how black migrants' southern and rural past not only influenced their valuation of homeownership, but was decisive in their choice of separate and unequal semi-rural landscapes outside the city limits to enjoy open spaces, fresh air and build family-centered communities (84).

Garb's history demonstrates how immigrant workers aspired to homeownership as a way to achieve "an American standard of living" that compensated for their proletarianization in industrializing Chicago (22). Interwoven in her account, against a backdrop of republican political theory and a history of corporate capitalism, is a conflict between wage workers for whom property rights in housing meant independence and economic survival, and land speculators, subdivision developers, banks, and middle-class home buyers interested in perpetually rising property values that sustained profits (103). Throughout her study, Garb juxtaposes the practice of using housing as sites of domestic production against the emerging ideal of a "family home" separate from market relations (3), presenting an intriguing account of the "strategic use of debt" by white immigrant property owners' who used their property as collateral to procure loans to purchase additional property, fund small businesses, or lend to co-ethnic neighbors or recent arrivals from the homeland as part of the communal credit network that allowed immigrants to endure Chicago's low-wage economy (46). Garb is clear, however, that home ownership did not catapult immigrant workers or their children into the middle-class in the late nineteenth century (53). Wiese elaborates on Garb's briefer depiction of blacks' low homeownership levels (57), showing how higher rents, lower wages and greater restrictions on access to home loans constrained the ability of African Americans to use their property to support themselves or generate an internal credit market for communal progress before World War II (254).

While Garb's discussion of working class 'property rights in housing' adds substantially to the field of urban history, her core argument and the main value of her book is her depiction of the social actors who inadvertently conspired at the beginning of the twentieth century to make homeownership a middle-class phenomenon, both as an ideal and empirical reality. She demonstrates how labour

leaders, health and urban reformers and home builders, separately, and for different reasons, made it more difficult for wage workers to own homes than for salaried workers in Chicago. German and Irish labour leaders' judged the fairness of wages on whether they enabled workers to own a single-family home (52). Garb argues that this practice was more effective at achieving class unity and additional income than their organizing, inadvertently undermining their opposition to industrial capitalists (22-23). Because water and sewage services, promoted by health reformers, were only available in some neighborhoods, and only to those who could afford connection fees, a single-family home was necessary to "purchase good health" (88). Innovative home builders, combining construction, financing and advertising for the first time, used the language of health reformers to market the benefits of single-family homes on the outskirts of the city in open spaces full of clean air and pure water to a new middle-class market in the early years of the twentieth century (120). Lastly, settlement house workers criticized the sharing of rooms by unrelated adults and children that was necessary and common in working-class homes as a violation of an idealized notion of family privacy that could best be secured in single-family dwellings (161-162). Organized labour, civic reformers, and real estate entrepreneurs combined to offer the single-family home as a solution to labour and gender conflict, and a source of improved health and morality, and real estate profits. This elevation of the single-family home to a social ideal, and the accompanying increase in its market value made it less attainable to wage earners by the 1920s.

Wiese's study matches Garb's depth with a breadth that does not sacrifice keen social distinctions and nuanced explanations for black residential choices. Wiese's pioneering book rectifies a gap in the scholarly literature on suburbs by surveying the twentieth century to discover that a large and unacknowledged number of African Americans chose to live in suburbs (5-6). The reader will appreciate Wiese's demographic analysis which charts the increasing numbers of black suburbanites, their growing proportion in black metropolitan populations, their location in different regions and their changing class character during the twentieth century. Wiese finds that before World War II, working class migrants were more likely to choose to live on the "outskirts of town" than the smaller middle-class (17-19). He argues that early black suburbanites lived either in isolated enclaves, usually in unincorporated metropolitan areas, near industrial plants or in undesirable black sections of white suburbs where they worked as domestic servants or provided other services to more affluent white residents (66). The postwar growth of the black middle-class spurred a shift in the class character of black suburbanization (112). Wiese makes it clear, however, that while middle-class black suburbanites after 1970 increasingly resembled their white counterparts in education, occupation and neighborhood decorum, their race meant they paid higher prices and taxes, earned lower property values, and accrued less capital than the iconic suburban subjects (261).

The strength of Wiese's work is his attempt to account for the roles that race and class play in structuring housing markets and influencing the residential

choices that give black suburbanization its social, economic and political character. He places the agency of black home buyers, real estate brokers, and civic elites at the center of his study. His attention to regional differences not only shows how the black suburban experience was different in the Jim Crow South than the North and the West, but also points to a reevaluation of the federal government's role in serving "Negro housing" (165). Heretofore, scholars have rightly emphasized the racist practices of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Through closer observation, however, Wiese discovers that in the early 1950s, FHA, with internal lobbying by African American "race relations advisers" provided more and better, if segregated, housing to blacks than earlier acknowledged, especially in the South (140). One of the many strengths of Wiese's history is his scholarly attention to the little-studied "black real estate industry" and black federal housing officials that played a key role in delivering more and better housing to black citizens in the post-war period (133-134).

Wiese's book is steeped in scholarly and popular controversies over the significance of race and class regarding the black middle class's social position, residential choices, and politics. He understands that race and class inform each other and combine to shape the social and political behavior of middle-class blacks (144-145). Wiese documents the persistence of racial discrimination and segregation in US housing markets throughout the century, effectively using scholarly studies, black newspaper and magazine articles and personal interviews to emphasize the importance of racial identity to black middle-class suburbanites who valued the cultural familiarity and refuge of black middle-class residential space. In Wiese's spatial analysis race becomes an even more pervasive factor constraining the choices of blacks who were most able to take advantage of a class-stratified housing market (291). In these ways, Wiese argues, race still matters.

But class matters to Wiese also, although not in the same way. He admirably resists the practice of evaluating the black middle class's behavior on racialist terms that interpret normative class interests as bleaching an essential blackness (144). Instead, he promotes sociologist Mary Patillo-McCoy's formulation that one can legitimately be both black and middle-class (154). Wiese does not pull any punches as he reports the long-standing bigotry of elite and middle-class blacks who sought to escape poor and working class residents whom they blamed for rundown and dangerous central city neighborhoods (160-162). He also discusses how postwar suburbs used zoning and municipal incorporation to enforce class segregation (and racial segregation under race-neutral criteria) (97). But when he analyzes black middle-class agency, however, class is too often limited to household residential decisions, or ambiguous intraracial 'connections' whose nature Wiese does not explore enough (159). The over-determination of race in housing markets and US society, according to Wiese, means middle-class blacks cannot escape their "linked fate" with poorer blacks (261). However, is there something more than an abstract connection to the "common struggle" for racial equality that middle-class

blacks contributed to by courageously challenging housing's color line (127, 224)? Since Wiese features numerous black middle-class individuals who question what they have in common with black wage earners, the reader might wonder if there is a basis for solidarity and political action (264-269). In explaining that "community service" and "profit-seeking" were not necessarily contradictory to black real estate brokers securing more housing for black clients, Wiese points to "the malleability of civil rights rhetoric for private gain" (133). I would extend his insight beyond "civil rights" to suggest that the pliability of race was key to explaining the political agenda of postwar black real estate, government and civic elites. Wiese interprets their politics as contributing to a "tradition of spatial nationalism" that incorporated "self-help" and "black power" and culminates in the black elite politics typified in Prince George's county (277). I would argue instead that by emphasizing the "malleability" of racial interests, this "territorial nationalism" also represents a class politics that flowered in Prince George's county from the seed planted by black policy elites fifty years ago.

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Harvey Amani Whitfield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006).

Blacks on the Border does double duty as important scholarship on the growing literature on the Black transatlantic experience, all the while also breaking out of the well-worn mold of Canada-US history focused narrowly on business relations between the two countries. The author's stated goal is to bring to life the transnational connections between blacks in the Mid-Atlantic's Chesapeake and the Lowcountry districts with those in Nova Scotia, both regions home to thriving slave economies during the Eighteenth century. In fact, Whitfield reminds us that for a time following the American Revolutionary War, Nova Scotia developed into a 'colonial slave society', as American expatriates, turned Loyalists, exported with them firmly held beliefs about the value of black life and the questionable benefits of freedom for enslaved Africans. Whitfield posits that for "American exiles, the institution of slavery became an important link to their former home as they expanded the institution in Nova Scotia. Thus slavery, as much as freedom, influenced Loyalist culture and society" (22). In truth, the Crown often rewarded white Loyalists with persuasive financial incentives when heading to the Canadian Maritimes, granting them larger land lots when they immigrated with their chattel. Whitfield claims that despite the great distance between Halifax and Baltimore, for example, as a result of slavery, war, and the shuttle migration of African Americans, there developed a rich and often times complicated exchange between black com-