

The fulcrum of Contreras's story is his discussion of Latino activism and the War on Poverty. This section of Contreras' book adds to a vibrant and growing body of scholarship demonstrating the direct and complex relationship between movement organizations and community antipoverty agencies. Contreras argues that the focus on *latinidad* that began in the 1950s and 1960s with organizations like ULAA and others, including the Catholic Council for the Spanish Speaking (CCSS) and the Centro Activista Latino Americano (CALA), "culminated with the successes and challenges spawned by the War on Poverty" (p. 104). In Contreras's telling, the community-based activism that had already developed in the Mission District in the 1950s and 1960s linked directly with the community-based emphasis of the War on Poverty, particularly its Community Action Programs (CAPs). The War on Poverty in San Francisco offered Latinos both the opportunity for needed services and the framework to help build a base of Latino political power. Contreras successfully demonstrates that "the War on Poverty presented Latinos with a watershed in ethnic recognition, citizen participation and grassroots mobilization" (p. 130). That *latinidad* activism emanating from the War on Poverty, though, at times led to different visions of community control and *latinidad*.

The final section of Contreras's work describes the shift from civil rights and Great Society liberalism to cultural liberalism. Despite some divisions among Latinos over issues related to gender roles and the sexual revolution, Contreras argues that, throughout the twentieth century, Latinos in San Francisco supported all forms of an evolving liberalism. Contreras concludes that "liberalism and *latinidad* . . . consistently framed and influenced Latinos' aspirations and the trajectory of their political engagement" (p. 253). Contreras's book makes significant contributions to Latino history, urban history, the history of San Francisco and California, and the history of twentieth-century liberalism.

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*Housing the City by the Bay: Tenant Activism, Civil Rights, and Class Politics in San Francisco.* By John Baranski. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2019. xiv + 306 pp.)

This book is an excellent addition to the growing literature on the history of public housing in the United States. John Baranski is especially adept at

connecting San Francisco's public housing history to national political history. The recent spate of volumes on the subject has sought to overturn the view of public housing as a total failure in the United States. These scholars show that even though the number of units produced was low, the image of total failure, as indicated by the razing of Pruitt-Igoe and Cabrini Green, do not represent the whole story. One of Baranski's main arguments is that working-class, labor, and civil rights historians should consider how the struggle for access to public housing propelled grassroots activism in the broader battle for a more just city and nation.

Baranski begins with the 1906 earthquake when proposals by progressive reformers to improve housing for the thousands of displaced residents resulted in new building codes and zoning regulations. During the Great Depression, public housing advocates gained a foothold with the creation of the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) in 1938. However, white elites led the city's public housing movement, and activism by the community was limited. The first project, Holly Courts, opened in 1940 in Bernal Heights. By the 1950s, the SFHA was producing housing but not a large number of units. Politics and racism kept the public housing in short supply, especially for the growing African American community. White politicians and residents resisted calls for integration of housing projects. African American tenants and community leaders mobilized to fight discriminatory housing policies that excluded African Americans from public housing in white neighborhoods and only allowed them to reside in units in traditionally black neighborhoods. Getting approval for more units was restricted after the passage of Proposition 10 in 1950 that required local voter approval of any new public housing.

Despite these obstacles, tenant organizing developed in the 1960s. The San Francisco Public Housing Tenants Association demanded public housing integration, improved maintenance, fair hiring, and safety reforms. Tenant unions lobbied the SFHA and city officials and organized tenant strikes. They fought the eviction of elderly Filipino tenants from the International Hotel in the 1970s. The author could have described the role of the Asian American university student movement in organizing the tenants and the Asian community to resist the I-Hotel evictions.

The author chronicles how the city's elites transformed working-class areas into business/tourist developments and places for middle- and upper-class housing. City officials and business leaders worked to limit tenant organizing. By the 1970s, the focus of revanchist redevelopment was South of Market, an

older area of single-room occupancy hotels, and the Western Addition. There was tenant resistance by poor blacks, whites, and Asians to the redevelopment schemes of the elites. However, after the 1970s, elite opposition, tenant disunity, and budget cuts to SFHA reduced tenant activism. The privatization of public housing further diminished tenant activism, and elites painted public housing as a giant failure. A surge in tenant activism occurred in the Mission District where a mostly Latino (Mexican and other Central American) community gentrified into a dot.com yuppie heaven in the 1990s. Activists increasingly bypassed the SFHA and organized voters and nonprofits in the quest for power and affordable housing.

This is a solid history, very well researched, and clearly written. As the city's housing crisis continues, the book provides sharp analysis of how elites increasingly catered to business interests to produce a city where poorer and even middle-income residents find it very difficult to remain in the city. However, the history of tenant activism suggests a pathway to a more equitable housing future.

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JOSEPH A. RODRIGUEZ

*The City Is More Than Human: An Animal History of Seattle.* By Frederick L. Brown. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2016, 331 pp.)

Frederick Brown extends the history of Seattle to include the animals critical to the city's founding and growth. Most observers considered cows, horses, dogs, cats, chickens, and salmon beneath mention. Of course, the animals wrote nothing, so they forfeited the job of explanation to a self-absorbed species that viewed them primarily as food and property. Without a whole lot of direct evidence to go on, Brown mulls absences and silences. He ponders the impressions the animals left in the historical record.

Brown argues that animals entered and exited the city via the politics of sorting and blending. From the start of Seattle's history, people drew lines with animals. Wild animals belonged outside the city; and the harvesting of salmon, deer, bears, and other unowned creatures for subsistence was deemed savage by the early white settlers, who adopted cows as their totems of progress and civilization. Decades later, the cows lost their hoof-hold on the city when middle-class improvers denounced them as remnants of the frontier and ruiners of flower gardens. Official line-drawers sorted cows, pigs, and sheep to the rural outskirts while horses remained, overlapping with trucks