

Supportive Services, which gave disabled clients more control over the training and hiring of home-care attendants. They argue that the success of this movement further separated home care from the realm of public employment by ensuring that most workers would be hired (using public funds) either via independent private agencies or from among the family or friends of the disabled themselves. In seeking control as employers, disability activists failed to see their attendants as workers with labor rights. Later, as Boris and Klein show, the most successful union drives were those that highlighted the unity of consumer/client and workers' interests, insisting that "conditions of labor" were inextricably "linked with conditions of care" (17).

Caring for America is essential reading for historians of labor and the welfare state. The book could not be more timely, as the home-care sector is currently undergoing tremendous change. Just last year, the Obama administration ruled that home-care workers would come under the purview of the FLSA for the first time. Yet in the spring of 2014, the Supreme Court will rule on *Harris v. Quinn*, a case brought by conservative activists charging that public-sector workers, including home-care workers, should not be required to pay union dues. Although *Caring for America* is not written for the general reader, Boris and Klein have been actively sharing their findings with a wider public via interviews, op-ed pieces, and even an amicus brief in the *Harris* case, providing an outstanding model of how the work of historians can contribute to present-day debates. Policymakers, organizers, workers, and current and future clients must take stock of the authors' crucial point that working conditions and the quality of care are interdependent.

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**To Render Invisible:
Jim Crow and Public Life in New South Jacksonville**

Robert Cassanello
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192 pp., \$74.95 (cloth)

Robert Cassanello's *To Render Invisible* chronicles the emergence of Jacksonville's black public sphere in the decades following the Civil War. The first two chapters of the book detail the social and cultural upheaval that accompanied the Union army's occupation of the city between 1864 and 1869. During these five years, both the freedpeople and black Union troops struggled with former slaveholders, white Union officers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials to define the public spaces within the city. For black residents, the outcome of this struggle would determine whether the "private and public spaces of the city [would be] democratic" or whether they would relegate black people to "second-class status" (11). In the middle section of the book Cassanello describes how black political leaders exploited party factionalism to carve out a space for political maneuver, often providing the "electoral pivot for fusion tickets and Reform candidates" (41). At the 1885 state constitutional convention, this coalition managed to stay the enactment of a poll tax and between 1887 and 1889, with the crucial assistance of the Knights of Labor, it won control of the mayor's office and the

city council (43–49). However, by 1889, this alliance collapsed in the face of a devastating yellow fever epidemic. The crisis caused by the disease helped Jacksonville's white conservatives depict this interracial government as a "mob-public" that was little more than a "cancer on the exalted system of representative democracy" (40). Calling on the state legislature to restore "responsible government" to the city, these Bourbon Democrats successfully lobbied for the removal of home rule from Jacksonville and the imposition of a poll tax. These two measures largely drove African Americans from public political life and by 1889 Jacksonville's interracial city government was no more.

To Render Invisible does not simply describe yet another narrative of post-Reconstruction decline, however. Carefully establishing the limits of black resistance to Jim Crow, in the second half of the book Cassanello examines how "a black counterpublic" emerged, even as "blacks were slowly pushed out of the public sphere in the 1880s and 1890s" (59). He finds evidence of this black counterpublic in the long history of armed self-reliance and the defense of black men against lynching, in the efforts of black Floridians to maintain access to education as they faced segregation, in the boycotts against Jim Crow streetcars, and in the history of labor unrest among the city's black lumber workers and carpenters. This section of *To Render Invisible* reflects an extended engagement with the work of both Jürgen Habermas and his critics. Cassanello contends that while segregation attempted to render black Jacksonvilleans invisible in the public sphere, it was also the catalyst for the creation of a semiautonomous black counterpublic. By turning segregation into congregation, African Americans established a black public sphere in which they could "foster a consensus about the state of race relations, explore the meaning of black citizenship, and develop strategies to fight white supremacy" (5).

By adopting this theoretical framework, Cassanello draws connections between various otherwise disconnected moments, including the Jacksonville mutiny of 1865 in which black union soldiers revolted against brutal treatment at the hands of their commanding officer, the 1892 defense of black prisoner Ben Reed against a lynch mob, and the establishment of a black-owned streetcar line in 1902. Cassanello usefully brings these incidents to light, but by casting such a broad net he seems to suggest that anything African Americans did to survive or resist Jim Crow evinces this black counterpublic. This stretches the category beyond the limits of its usefulness. It would have sufficed simply to assert that African Americans continued to struggle for first-class citizenship before, during, and after the imposition of Jim Crow. Given the number of richly detailed stories in the book, it could readily have stood on its own without such heavy theoretical scaffolding.

Further complicating the discussion of public and private spaces is that the definition of *private* seems to shift significantly over the course of the narrative. The "private spaces" enumerated in the book include churches, missionary schools, and once even "public school rooms . . . in private schools" (73). Private spaces also seem to include the offices of the local Freedman's Bureau agent, hotels, and meetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The fluidity of this category makes it difficult to keep track of the relationship between the public and private spheres. Significantly, Cassanello overlooks the ways in which the language of the home and family shaped both black and white conceptions of the boundary between public and private. Though he briefly touches on the home as a "private space" twice (21, 70), this topic is not mentioned once in the chapter dedicated to the emergence of the women's counterpublic. This is especially significant given the history of framing black men's political activity as a threat to white

womanhood and, by extension, white families. In addition, a closer examination of the relationships between black men and women within the "private space" of their households would have illuminated our understanding of contestations within the black public sphere. *To Render Invisible* would have greatly benefited from a deeper grounding in the histories of black women's engagement with the public sphere, especially the work of Elsa Barkley Brown, Nikki Brown, Martha S. Jones, and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham.

Despite these shortcomings, *To Render Invisible* fills a significant gap in African American history and will allow future historians to flesh out key chapters in the biographies of three of the most significant civil rights leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, all of whom came of age in the city that Cassanello describes. Both *New York Age* editor Timothy Thomas Fortune and Executive Secretary James Weldon Johnson of the NAACP grew to adulthood in the city. It was also the boyhood home of labor leader Asa Philip Randolph, who would later lead the March on Washington movement during World War Two. *To Render Invisible* is also the first book about Jacksonville that takes a long view of the relationship between race and the city's development following the Civil War. Alongside James B. Crooks's *Jacksonville after the Fire* and Paul Ortiz's *Emancipation Betrayed*, Cassanello's book makes a useful contribution to the literature on the city.

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Birth Marks

Jim Daniels

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112 pp., \$16.00 (paper)

I have felt connected to Jim Daniels and his poetry ever since I read "Factory Jungle" (*Places Everyone*, 1985) while chasing the Chrysler assembly line in mid-1980s Delaware. I had done that since 1969, and this was the first poem I felt matched my consoling fantasies, whereby high factory windows let through afternoon sunbeams like "ropes of light," as Daniels put it, which he (and I) would have liked to climb and

swing around the plant
between presses, welders, assembly lines
past the man working the overhead crane
everyone looking up, swearing off booze, pills,
whatever they think made them see me. (70)

Additionally, Daniels was living my alternate-reality life. *Places Everyone*, his third book, had won the inaugural Brittingham Prize. He graduated from autoworking early on, had a job at Carnegie Mellon, and was publishing poems about working-class families like those from my now shuttered and razed Newark Assembly Plant, where I ended up working thirty-one years, except for a hiatus to finish college and teach overseas. Meanwhile, Daniels's prolific output about folks like us made it hard to believe he was not still humping the line at Ford's. In book after book, he mined the lives of his grandfather, father, broth-

ers, and neighbors for a psychological, social, and spiritual history of the automobile industry from the heart of the American Dream to postindustrial wasteland. In his latest work, *Birth Marks*, Daniels combines craft with common speech to confront these changes, with an ever franker and more nuanced class-conscious lens.

Daniels eases us into the major themes of the book with his title poem "Birth Marks" (11), on its surface a whimsical character study of the narrator's parents and a suggestion about how he composes these not-quite-autobiographical poems:

She used her checkbook
to prop up every minor purchase.
He used cash for the benefit
of its traceless disappearance.

The "magician" father and "nervous assistant" mother

set off enough sparks
to produce me out of a hat,
dazed by their applause.
Technically, I can't remember
that far back, but I can make up
a few things, given the lack
of memory and receipts. (11)

Subtly toying with those postmodern terms I met in grad school ("marks," "traces," "lacks"), Daniels introduces themes that become more explicit as we read on: family, church and spirit (here bride and bridegroom), and our crumbling economic base and social superstructure.

Like trade unionists and other progressives, Daniels grieves for the lost ideology of solidarity in terms workers can relate to. For example, in "I Dreamt I Wrote a Poem About Jazz" (14), Daniels begins "I wrote *Miles, Bird, Trane*" (14), but instead of adding Dizzy Gillespie, he segues to Hall of Fame pitcher Dizzy Dean in a rumination on riot-scarred Detroit. The scene is a famous 1968 Detroit Tigers–Oakland Athletics game he attended, when Tigers pitcher Denny McLain tied Dean's thirty-win record. Meanwhile, "when the wind blew in / off the river, Detroit still reeked wet smoke from the riots" (14). One of Daniels's buddies wins a ham in a stadium lottery, but terrified of Detroit's blacks, he attempts to surrender it to a group of black youth at the bus stop. One replies, "*Keep your damn ham, white boy!*" (14).

Daniels notes other dissonances: Denny McLain's legal troubles, a friend's bad acid trip, Daniels's failure to like jazz. But there is a common root: "We all got our ways of spitting / out the chaos" (16). To redeem these discords, Daniels resorts to a glorious moment in baseball, but sentimentality is not quite enough:

So when black Willie Horton scored
the winning run and Denny McLain hugged him,
we could believe for 3.4 seconds that the city wasn't
going to burn down again. It's never stopped
burning. (16)