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## Book Reviews

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## Book Reviews

*The Native American World Beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley.* By John H. Hann (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. Foreword by Jerald Milanich, illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 250. \$55.00 cloth.)

John Hann, site historian for the San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site in Tallahassee, Florida, has produced another in a series of thoroughly researched, well written volumes on the early Historic-period Indians of Florida and adjacent states. The study area (essentially the Florida Panhandle and South Alabama) presents a difficult challenge in that the documentary record for many of the native groups discussed is unusually sketchy, biased, and/or contradictory. Hann handles the resultant problems with skill, marshalling different lines of evidence (archaeological, historical, linguistic) to make arguments concerning ethnicity, political affiliations, and other aspects of the groups discussed. He also does a good job of refuting arguments made by earlier researchers, especially John Swanton, who came to different conclusions using much of the same information. That many of Hann's conclusions remain speculative reflects the fact that much of the evidence is circumstantial. It is questionable whether a better effort than his could be made given this fact.

Although the book is written primarily for scholars, the style is accessible and non-specialists interested in the area will find it a profitable read. Most citizens of the Southeast have heard of the Seminoles and the Creeks, but how many have heard of the Amacanos, the Chines, the Chacatos, the Chiscas, the Pansacolas, or the Uchises? In addition, there are numerous interesting players in the historical narrative such as Antonio Matheos, lieutenant

to the Spanish governor, whose heavy-handed tactics were quite effective at stirring up trouble in the province. Intrigues between Indian tribes and the English, Spanish and French who courted them as allies; slave trading and dawn raids on vulnerable villages; conflicts between native traditionalists and Christianized Indians; open warfare with Indian pitted against Indian: all were part of a bloody microcosm of broader conflicts taking place in Europe and the Indies. There are many stories to be found in this clash of worlds, and Hann uses them effectively to forward the larger narrative of his book. An excellent index will aid readers of any level.

As Hann's research amply demonstrates, one of the more striking aspects of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Indian lifeways in the lower Southeast was the extreme fluidity in settlement patterns, political alliances, warfare, subsistence practices, travel routes, and indeed most aspects of life. Such flux was characteristic of native societies throughout the Eastern Woodlands of North America at the time. The degree to which this is attributable to the deleterious effects of European contact or to what extent it reflects earlier patterns remains poorly known. One important implication is that the direct historical approach so strongly recommended to archaeologists by Swanton and subsequently taken up by generations of researchers is, in fact, of questionable value. Such an approach conditions archaeologists to do what archaeologist Walter Taylor promoted over half a century ago as "cultural anthropology of the past," i.e., trying to construct a series of "ethnographic presents" based on archaeological evidence. There are several theoretical and methodological problems with this approach, the most important one being that artifact styles and other material attributes cannot be assumed to mirror the spatial and temporal distributions of past ethnic groups: there is no one-to-one correlation between style and ethnicity. Thus, the prehistoric phases and "cultures" mentioned by Hann cannot be assumed to be directly linked in an ancestral fashion to the Historic-period groups he discusses. The same kind of problem attends the common practice of delineating prehistoric "chiefdoms" (usually some arbitrary set of sites with a mound site assumed to be a political center) and to a lesser extent the practice of identifying particular archaeological sites with historically documented towns. It is at the interface between the humanities (history) and science (archaeology) that a critical perspective is most needed. Arguably, it is also where such a perspective is most lacking. While Hann is to be commended for

including archaeological information in his work, a more critical perspective on that information would be useful.

In sum, *The Native American World Beyond Apalachee*, winner of the 2007 Rembert Patrick award, is a valuable work that maintains a high standard of scholarship throughout. Hann's exhaustive use of primary source material ranging from letters to the King of Spain to legal statements is bolstered by his own meticulous translation work. The main objective of introducing readers to the poorly known Indian tribes of the study area is well accomplished. Thanks to Hann, they now are not so poorly known.

Evan Peacock

Mississippi State University

***Pharsalia: An Environmental Biography of a Southern Plantation, 1780-1880.*** By Lynn A. Nelson. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2007. List of Maps, foreword, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 295. \$39.95 cloth.)

In this work, Lynn A. Nelson provides an agroecological narrative of Pharsalia, a sprawling Piedmont plantation located in rural Nelson County, Virginia. Nelson creates a model of environmental and agricultural history that transcends its regional focus and presents readers with a challenging argument about the historical relationship between agricultural sustainability and capitalist intensification. Nelson focuses on the Massie family and their attempts at environmental stewardship at Pharsalia. The work ably highlights the conflict between human dominion, ecological sustainability, and economic prosperity on a southern plantation. The author's narrative focuses on William Massie's struggle to settle the land and prosper both agriculturally and economically at Pharsalia. Linking property ownership with cultural identity and personal independence, Nelson points out that many southerners still look to the land as a place to find comfort free from markets, creditors, and bosses. This tenacious desire to be independent brought the Massie family to Nelson County and became the founding purpose for settlement at Pharsalia. The author writes that, "Like the history of the southern landscape, the life story of Pharsalia's agricultural ecosystem tells of an unsuccessful battle to reconcile the southern environment, the marketplace, and the search for personal independence" (232).



Utilizing the meticulous agricultural records of the Massie family, Nelson presents a thorough narrative of Pharsalia from 1796 to 1889. Pharsalia represents one of the most fully documented antebellum southern plantations. Nelson begins with an assessment of how the role of place has historically corresponded with agricultural reform and modernization. The author highlights the importance of early soil conservation pioneers like Hugh Hammond Bennett. Writing within the tradition of Jack Temple Kirby, Steven Stoll and other environmental historians of the South, Nelson reiterates the centrality of the natural environment in Southern history. *Pharsalia* illustrates that, for the Massies and other southern plantation owners, prosperous sustainability was indeed difficult to achieve in an often-challenging environmental setting. Nelson argues that Massie's embrace of capitalist intensification at Pharsalia was a reasoned but risky redefinition of agricultural sustainability after the advice of "book farmers" had failed him. Throughout, the author stresses the evolution of the Massie family and its plantation. New modes of agricultural production helped them respond to local challenges of environment, but their attachment to gentrified status became what Nelson calls the "irreconcilable variable in the equation" (88).

In his introduction, "The Soils of Old Virginia," Nelson provides the historical framework for the southern conservation movement of the early twentieth century. The author deals primarily with Hugh Hammond Bennett and his work with the Soil Conservation Service. Nelson points out that long before Bennett and governmental regulation, Revolutionary-era Virginia planters were describing soils as a natural resource requiring careful husbandry. However, Bennett's tenure as head of the Soil Conservation Service marks an important genesis in the roots of southern conservation history. The environmental biography and agroecological historical framework provides a guiding structure for the narrative of Pharsalia and the Massie family. Nelson's innovative model of "agroecological history" has wide-reaching applications for the history of other regions of the South outside of the Virginia Piedmont.

In "Property Lines and Power before Pharsalia, 1738-1796," Nelson offers a rich account of the natural setting adjacent to Pharsalia prior to the arrival of the Massie family in 1815. He stresses the importance of the English tradition of private property demarcation and the role of property lines in determining

notions of control and power among rural citizenry. In describing the gentry's landscape and the ecological consequences of settlement and property lines, Nelson shows that early settlers used frontier land tracts in the Piedmont to establish themselves as members of an early gentry class.

Nelson traces the evolution of land and ecology in the post-Revolutionary central Virginia piedmont in "Independence and the Birth of Pharsalia, 1796-1830." After 1815, Pharsalia emerged as a more complex and less successful agricultural environment than the Massies had hoped. It is in this second chapter that the author fully introduces us to the narrative of the Massie family and their own search for independence following the Revolutionary War. Pharsalia's land and ownership passes from father to son, and the old frontier farm expands into a second-generation plantation under the direction of William Massie. Nelson is quick to point out that along with the continual evolution of Pharsalia came agricultural intensification leading to soil exhaustion and economic ruin.

For two decades after 1828, William Massie hoped that the agricultural system pushed by conservationists in the antebellum South would make his plantation ecologically and financially independent. Nelson demonstrates that, like many other plantations, Pharsalia struggled in the antebellum agricultural marketplace. Despite a heightened level of agricultural knowledge and awareness (along with innovative attempts at rotating fields of tobacco and hemp), Pharsalia and the Massie family could not overcome several factors contributing to environmental calamity. Nelson attributes invasive pestilence and weeds, disagreeable weather, poor crop prices and difficult markets, and extensive and damaging tobacco cultivation as the primary causes of Pharsalia's ecological crisis. In assessing Pharsalia's last struggle for independence during the 1840s, the author reveals Massie's failed attempts to control, prosper from, and conserve the land on his plantation. At Pharsalia, agroecological boundaries clash directly with attempts at agricultural intensification.

The immediate pre-War years were a period of agricultural and economic transition for the Massie family plantation. From 1848 to 1862, William Massie attempted to implant an integrated system of operation centered on capitalist agricultural ecology. Nelson explains that in order to comprehend changes at Pharsalia, it is necessary to understand capitalism in agroecological terms.

After 1845, the new ethic of capital investment remakes Pharsalia's ecological relationships and ends any possibility of the plantation becoming ecologically independent. In reading the author's description of William Massie's "lost mastery," it is clear that the failure of economic, agricultural, and social control suffered at Pharsalia was indicative and representative of losses incurred by the antebellum southern gentry as a whole. In chapter five, the author examines the slow demise of Pharsalia in the years 1861 through 1889. Although capitalist intensification helped Pharsalia escape its ecological crisis while achieving some profit and stability, the Reconstruction era noticed the protracted devolution of the plantation. As the author states, "Pharsalia's life as a Massie plantation came to an end when it could not deliver on an impossible set of demands" (222).

Nelson's *Pharsalia: An Environmental Biography of a Southern Plantation, 1780-1880* is an excellent work for students and scholars of environmental and southern history. The author provides enormous insight into the historical and agroecological world of antebellum southern plantations. Scholars and students of Virginia and piedmont history will especially enjoy this book, which contains useful endnotes and an extensive bibliography. As the initial work in the UGA Press series on "Environmental History in the American South," Nelson's proficient effort will leave readers eager for the next volume.

Robert E. Krause

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***The Edisons of Fort Myers: Discoveries of the Heart.*** By Tom Smoot. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 2004. Foreword, preface, acknowledgements, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 372. \$24.95 cloth.)

In his study of Thomas Edison's Floridian estate, *The Edisons of Fort Myers: Discoveries of the Heart*, Tom Smoot teases from the archives insights into the personal and social life of the industrious inventor and his family. While the activities of second wife Mina and the children provide an unique portrayal of the home life of the Edison family, the patriarch often seems oddly absent. Even as Smoot digs through an impressive collection of correspondence, reminiscences, and newspapers to reveal the inventor's "love for his 'jungle,'" this softer side of Edison never fully materializes.

Smoot's secondary goal for his text, however, to reveal "the affection that the people of Fort Myers had for him" is a compelling glimpse at Edison's celebrity, his role in American culture, and the development of tourism in early twentieth-century Florida.

The community's pride in Edison manifested itself in gathered crowds upon his arrival, invitations to social events, parades, birthday celebrations, namesake bridges, and memorials. Initially looking to escape "society" on their trips South, Edison, and to a greater extent, Mina, grew to return the town's affections becoming more involved in the community as time passed. Through the press, Smoot traces the Edison family's every move, attesting to the interest of local reporters (and assumedly the public) in the lives of the famous vacationers. Reports on Edison's fishing and road trips with his family and later, fellow entrepreneurs Henry Ford and Harvey Firestone, were public knowledge. From what Mina wore at a social event to the family's grocery order, the reader is treated to a level of minutiae rarely available through archival sources. With such colorful detail dabbled throughout, Smoot's work is an enjoyable read.

While there are admittedly few points of entry into the affections of Edison, the reader is given a full sense of Mina's aesthetics and activities. As president of the local Fruit, Flower and Plant Guild, she won several times at annual shows exhibiting flowers, orchids, stuffed birds, and shell arrangements. She makes preserves from exotic fruits grown on the estate. Her correspondence flows with poetic renderings of the landscape, as she admires birds and flowers, and regrets the changes brought on by dredging and development. Such illuminating details beg for further analysis of Mina's life.

Smoot also traces the reflections of Edison on the latter theme of environmental change. Edison noted the scarcity of fish where he used to reel them in easily, blaming the disappearance of tarpon around his home on commercial fisheries. Smoot weaves changes in transportation to and around Florida into his text, noting which trains the family frequented and following the paving of the Tamiami Trail which allowed more automobile travel through the state. Although Edison did not have a hand in such developments, he did embark on some changes to the Fort Myers landscape. Edison went to great lengths to import royal palms from Cuba, planting them along a main street in town.

Although the reader learns of various plants Edison grew on his estate, Smoot's text disappoints those looking for a sustained

discussion of Edison's experiments with tropical botany. From the bamboo he deduced was the perfect carbon fiber for the incandescent light to experiments with native goldenrod as a replacement for rubber, many of Edison's inventions relied upon plants which could best propagate in the humid climate of Florida. Edison's Fort Myer's estate was more than a vacation spot—it was his tropical laboratory. Omitting his work in favor of his leisure activities, leaves Edison's life in Florida half-told.

Even as Smoot insists it is Edison's "love for his 'jungle'" that draws him to Florida, with few such reflections in Edison's own words, it is difficult to get behind Smoot's claim. Without giving a citation for Edison's use of the word "jungle," which he places in quotes throughout, Smoot's own prose employs "Eden" and "Jungle" to describe Fort Myers. This ambiguity leaves it unclear whether these were Edison's or Smoot's own sentiments towards the landscape.

Given the breadth of the subject, Smoot does an admirable job of tying Edison's vacation time into his business life, mentioning the inventions, business ventures, successes, and conflicts of each year. Primarily this book will be of interest to the modern Fort Myers community and tourists looking for a connection between their activities and those of the past. Edison scholars will find some interesting details, but little analytical discussion, while historians of technology and the environment will wish for more explicit connections. Smoot's meticulous research, however, provides an adept starting point from which future scholars may better contextualize Edison's Floridian activities, as well as the changing landscape of the region.

Kelly Enright,

*Rutgers University, Papers of Thomas A. Edison*

***Black Cloud The Great Florida Hurricane of 1928.*** By Eliot Kleinberg. (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2003. Acknowledgments, endnotes, index. Pp. 283. \$26.00, cloth.)

If you live on the East Coast or the Gulf Coast of the United States you are by nature a gambler. Will this be the year Mother Nature picks your small slice of paradise to pummel with a hurricane? Or will you beat the odds and get off "Scott Free" for another year. In recent years hurricanes like Katrina and Rita have "stacked the deck" against low landers. And who can forget the devastation wrought by earlier hurricanes like Andrew and Carla?

If you live by the sea you cut the cards, throw the dice and hope for the best. If you lived near Palm Beach in 1928 you lost your bet.

Undoubtedly the Hurricane of 1900 that leveled Galveston, Texas, is the worst natural catastrophe in North American history. Eliot Kleinberg, a Florida journalist and author of six books argues persuasively in his latest effort, *Black Cloud The Great Florida Hurricane of 1928*, that this hurricane that struck Palm Beach a direct blow is the second worst natural catastrophe in North American history.

Structurally, Kleinberg modeled *Black Cloud* after Erik Larson's New York Times best seller *Isaac's Storm: A Man, A Time, and the Deadliest Hurricane in History*. Like Larson Kleinberg traced the hurricane's beginnings as a compact grouping of clouds off the African coast and described vividly the fury it unleashed on the West Indies and Caribbean islands. After the storm cleared the Bahamas it slammed into the Florida coast at Palm Beach.

Kleinberg blamed local, state and the federal governments for the huge loss of life and property. In the 1920's state planners decided to build, on the cheap, a dike around Lake Okeechobee. The result was a six foot high dirt embankment, not unlike the levees around New Orleans, that was too flimsy to retain rising water from the lake. Local officials near the lake and in Palm Beach encouraged too many people to settle in these potentially dangerous areas. When the storm hit these officials did not know what to do. And the federal government, with rare exception, developed no contingency plan for such a powerful storm.

Kleinberg differed from Larson when he described in great detail how the "Black Cloud" affected the African American population in the strike zone. Tragically, once the storm passed racism reared its ugly head in South Florida and most Americans stood idly by. Whenever possible the corpses of most white Floridians received a proper burial. Shockingly, the final resting place for over 650 African American victims of this tragedy was a hurriedly dug mass grave on Tamarind Avenue in West Palm Beach.

*Black Cloud The Great Florida Hurricane of 1928* by Eliot Kleinberg is a poignant look at one the greatest natural catastrophes in North American history. Students of meteorology, African American or modern Florida history will enjoy this well written and captivating story.

Donald Willett

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*Key West: History of an Island of Dreams.* By Maureen Ogle. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, source essays, index. Pp. vii, 271. \$24.95 paper.)

In Maureen Ogle's enchanting and informative study, Key West followed a developmental pattern typical of towns on the Midwestern frontier during the same period, albeit with its own unique and colorful deviations. Its island location and favorable weather set Key West apart and became determining factors in the city's history. Enriched with detail from a wealth of primary source materials, the book is written in an easy style characteristic of the place itself.

Ogle traces Key West's beginning to land speculators and town proprietors with schemes for profit much like those in the Midwest. In 1819, John Whitehead saw possibilities for the undeveloped island in commerce, military stations, and government contracts. Key West, however, developed an economy based on goods salvaged from shipwrecks. The author's detailed overview of the wrecking business, avoids even an inference that perhaps not all shipwrecks were accidents. Pirates thwarted the wreckers, seizing ships and cargo before they came close enough to crash on the coral reefs around the island. When lighthouses and other navigational improvements came with Florida's statehood in 1845, Key West's economy shifted to sponging. A thorough description of the early sponging business adds to Key West's exotic image.

As one of their first acts, town proprietors everywhere surveyed their land and laid out streets to create easily-marketed, uniform plats in orderly cities, though often the plat map was the only orderly thing about the place. Key West followed suit, with John Whitehead's brother, William, surveying a grid system of streets in 1828, the year Key West incorporated. The brothers named the streets for family members and important Floridians.

Many towns experienced disasters such as floods, fires, or earthquakes that provided opportunities to rebuild and renew. Key West survived hurricanes, including one in 1846 that destroyed hundreds of structures. In an account reminiscent of Carol Kennicott's struggle to bring culture to a fictional Gopher Prairie in Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*, Ogle describes the efforts of socialite Kate Hart to create a morally upright community complete with temperance societies and middle-class values. In Key West where distinctions blurred between

slave and free, middle class and rich, order and vice, Hart enjoyed only partial success.

Ogle's chapter on the Civil War in Key West is particularly good. Florida seceded from the Union, but because a Union officer stationed on the island occupied Fort Taylor before the fighting began, Key West did not join the Confederacy. Union forces occupied Key West and the Blockade Squadron made it a headquarters. Using information gleaned from correspondence, the author records the feelings of the townspeople toward the war and the occupation troops, and of the Union soldiers toward Key West and its people. Neither group welcomed the arrival in 1864 of the 2<sup>nd</sup> United States Colored Troops occupation force.

Key West's historically close relationship with Cuba helped create an atmosphere that combined "southern leisureliness with Latin ease" (146). Large numbers of Cubans came to Key West in the 1860s, after a new tariff on imported cigars brought disaster to the Cuban cigar industry. In typical Key West fashion, the cigar factories moved to the United States and imported the tobacco from Cuba. By the 1890s, Cubans made up one-third of Key West's population.

Like most urban biographers, Ogle notes the milestones: the coming of the first streetcar, the telegraph, gas lights, and an organized fire department. Key West never really solved the problem of transportation and the island city's lack of easy access kept tourists away until 1912 when Henry Flagler built his Overseas Railroad. Even then tourism failed to reach expectations and transportation remained uncertain. A hurricane in 1935 finally destroyed both the Overseas Railroad and the incomplete Overseas Highway.

The economy was on the verge of collapse in 1928, when Ernest Hemingway first brought his literary friends to the island. The space Ogle devotes to Hemingway and other artistic sojourners seems excessive, perhaps, but the Bohemian element did help determine Key West's character at a formative time in the city's history. In the 1930s the New Deal took over Key West with plans to create a tourist Mecca. A new Overseas Highway opened in 1938, and at last the tourists came. After World War Two, significant development, population growth, and tourists shaped Key West's familiar modern character. And more recently, preservationists attempting to save and restore something of the nineteenth century, have brought Key West full circle and back to the salvagers.



A delight to the casual reader, Ogle's book has much to offer historians as well. Its strengths are the author's engaging writing style and the enormous detail she provides. Her failure to adequately account for that detail is less a weakness than a minor shortcoming. "Sources," at the end of the book, includes a bibliographic essay for each chapter explaining which material came from which one of a myriad of primary and secondary sources, but with no formal citations, these essays tantalize, but fail to satisfy the historian or even the casual reader seeking to know more. The author quotes conversations, attributes motives, and describes emotions, all of which help bring Key West to life, but her wonderful storytelling ability blurs the distinction between fact and imagination. "Whitehead leaned against the railing, passing the time watching turtles amble along the shoreline..." (4). The bibliographic essay cites a report in the *Territorial Papers* and a manuscript by William Whitehead, neither one with page numbers. Many such passages make the book enjoyable, but they may cause some readers to wonder if it is fact or fiction. No matter, *Key West: History of an Island of Dreams* presents the history of Key West in a wonderfully readable style that should interest historians and vacationers alike.

Tana Mosier Porter

Orange County Regional History Center

***Floridian of His Century: The Courage of Governor LeRoy Collins.*** By Martin A. Dyckman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. Foreword, acknowledgements, epilogue, illustrations, maps, notes, index. Pp. xii, 332. \$29.95 cloth.)

V. O. Key in his definitive *Southern Politics in State and Nation* in 1949 described Florida politics as "every man for himself" and as abounding in political fiefdoms, spawning unique leaders. Florida's electoral giant of the first half of the last century, former governor and senator, Park Trammell was the father of the modern U.S. Navy. Another incomparable governor, LeRoy Collins (1955-1961), may have been the most indispensable, consequential Florida politician during the last half of the twentieth century.

Collins' life was one of ambition, faith, striving, and allegiance to the rule of law. His formidable, yet cautious, leadership shaped present-day Florida and influenced future reform-minded governors. In a well written and engrossing biography, Martin A. Dyckman, a long-time Collins admirer and Florida journalist, has

meticulously researched and recounted the compelling life of a complex, principled leader.

Born in 1909, son of a grocer and schoolteacher, and grandson of a Methodist preacher, Collins grew up in Leon County, Florida, at a time when whites "took for granted all the taboos and conventions of segregation" (11). With money scarce, Collins grew vegetables for sale, even while suffering from malaria. He never forgot his grandfather Brandon's admonition, "It isn't a question of what you lost, it's a question of what you can do with what you got" (14). While working as a grocery clerk at the age of thirteen, Collins had served an old black farmer a lunch of lard and syrup. Observing the syrup spilling on the man's leg, Collins cleaned the trouser with a cloth as the old man formed a tear in his eye. Collins remembered, "My sense of injustice went no further," certainly not to "what opportunities they (the farmer's children) would have for a decent break in life" (16). It would be several decades before he would imagine that government could or should do anything about segregation and racial injustice.

Collins graduated from Leon High School, failed in application to the Naval Academy, and attended Eastman College, a business school. He forever felt a keen sensitivity regarding his lack of a conventional college education. Collins completed the one-year law school curriculum at Cumberland which required no previous baccalaureate.

In 1934, Collins defeated the incumbent Leon County state representative and by instinct served as a mild reformer and conservative. He favored clean, competent government, good schools and roads, and strong anti-crime measures. On no account did he oppose "citadels of entrenched privilege" (28). He supported a literacy test for voting, a poll tax, and a property tax; opposed a sales tax; and fought "quickie" divorces, slot machines, and liquor by the drink. Described as "genteel," demanding, and "strait-laced," Collins was elected in 1940 as state senator and sponsored comprehensive reform to finance public schools.

Collins lacked a political base that could catapult him to the mightily coveted governorship until Governor Dan McCarty's death. In the 1954 election to fill the term, Collins narrowly won in a runoff primary against the acting governor, defeated the Republican nominee, and served the remaining two years. He promised to use all his "lawful power . . . to preserve this custom and law" (87) known as segregation.

In the 1956 gubernatorial campaign all four major Democratic candidates were committed segregationists. Apparently, however, Collins privately felt that segregation was inconsistent with Christian precepts. Yet, the author notes, "In his mind, no matter what might be wrong about segregation, the consequences of fighting it were worse." He considered the failure to fairly reapportion the legislature his principal failure.

Armed with a sizable advantage in campaign contributions, overwhelming support of Florida's newspapers, and the benefit that the paramount choice was between the competent incumbent and a single-issue candidate, Collins won the first primary by about 14,000 of the 840,000 votes cast. The election victory in November was his last general election triumph.

In his 1957 inaugural address, more sermon than speech, Collins publicly supported segregation but counseled obedience to the rule of law. "The Supreme Court decisions are the law of the land." Collins reasoned, "We can find wise solutions . . . if the white citizens will face up to the fact that the Negro does not now have equal opportunities. . . ." (149, 150). Predictably, Collins vetoed the "last resort" school-closing bill. In a statewide telecast speech in March of 1960, a more moderate Collins called for the resolution of racial grievances and reminded Floridians that, "We can never stop Americans from being free. . . that all men are created equal, that somehow will be a reality. . . ." (195).

Collins' ambition was frustrated as he was denied the role of keynote speaker and a place on the ticket at the 1960 Democratic Convention, a federal Cabinet post, later the presidency of Florida State University, and appointment to the Supreme Court of Florida. He served ably as the president of the National Association of Broadcasters, the first director of the federal Community Relations Service, and Undersecretary of Commerce.

Collins announced long before the 1968 U.S. Senate race that he would be a candidate amid harbingers uncannily similar to Senator Claude Pepper's unsuccessful re-election bid in 1950. The incumbent Pepper had barely won the 1944 Democratic primary; the New Deal's government expansion was growing unpopular, and Pepper had been far too complimentary of the Soviet Union. Similar precursors of Collins' subsequent defeat were numerous: national revulsion at President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, a stalemate in Vietnam, the Republican gain of 46 House seats in the Congress in the 1966 mid-term election, and the election of a Republican governor in

Florida in 1966. Moreover, Collins would confront his most formidable candidate: Republican Congressman Ed Gurney, an urbane, disciplined Harvard law graduate and war hero from Winter Park.

In a bruising Democratic primary, photos of Collins' commendable service at the Selma, Alabama, civil rights march were circulated by supporters of his aggressive Democratic opponent during a summer of sixty race-riots. Collins won the run-off primary but ominously received fewer votes in the first or second Democratic primary in 1968 than he had in his first primary gubernatorial nomination victory in 1956—despite well over a million additional voters in Florida.

In a dispirited and poorly-managed campaign, a wishy-washy Collins lost Leon and 62 other counties in a landslide to Gurney. A new, modern Florida had rejected the man whose judicious, principled leadership had cultivated the business, cultural, and educational environment that would attract millions more to build a prosperous mega-state.

*Floridian of the Century*, winner of the Florida Historical Society's 2007 Charles Tebeau Award will appeal to scholarly audiences and general readers. Anyone who enjoys history, especially political history, and the effect of leaders of integrity and conscience on the course of that history will find this vivid biography fascinating. The author, in a skillful and well-organized fashion, scholarly and thoughtfully proves the case that Collins, if not the greatest Floridian of the last century, is certainly in a vanguard of leaders who created a safe harbor for the gathering of reform elements in public policy, including civil rights, that would permanently and positively influence Florida government and the conscience of its people.

Walter W. Manley II

*Florida State University*

***The Tumultuous Sixties: Campus Unrest and Student Life at a Southern University.*** By J. Stanley Marshall. (Tallahassee: Sentry Press, 2006. Acknowledgements, photographs and artwork, map, footnotes and endnotes, appendix. Pp. xxvi, 316. \$27.50 cloth.)

Many "Baby Boomers" romanticize the late 1960s as a time of heart-felt group activism and individual reflection that led to radical social reforms and significant cultural influences unparalleled

by any generation before or since. Others view the protests and calls for change championed by young people in this era as self-indulgent and irresponsible challenges to authority and the American way of life. Still others see the student activities of this period as well-intentioned and correct in their ideology, but sometimes questionably executed and unfocused. Most would acknowledge that, with the exception of the present and the American Civil War, the country has never been more politically divided than in the late 1960s.

In his book *The Tumultuous Sixties: Campus Unrest and Student Life at a Southern University*, J. Stanley Marshall observes that "Major writers on that period have fallen into three easy-to-identify categories: Those who supported the protesters and their causes, those who opposed them, and those who took a largely unbiased view and tried to analyze events dispassionately" (174). Marshall tries very deliberately to be objective in his descriptions of the events surrounding student protests on the campus of Florida State University in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This is a virtually impossible task, however, since Marshall was thrust unexpectedly into the role of FSU president in February, 1969. Marshall became the symbolic embodiment of the "establishment" that so many students were rebelling against, and a direct participant in the polarizing events that he writes about in this book.

While Marshall does make a valiant effort at objectivity, it is ultimately very valuable that he writes his narrative in the first person, reminding the reader of the writer's very particular viewpoint. At various points throughout the text, Marshall is clearly trying to justify and support the decisions he made in a potentially volatile climate, occasionally bordering on apology. Marshall states that, "I had experienced some criticism for the way I had dealt with the protesters, and I would certainly not claim that my performance was flawless, but the judgment of my actions as President, would, I hoped, be based on the hard evidence: FSU had no injuries or loss of life, only minimal property damage, no loss of instructional time, and no denial of anyone's constitutional guarantees" (232).

Politically conservative readers will probably find Marshall's account of his efforts to curb Viet Nam War protests and other acts of non-conformity commendable and perhaps feel that he could have done even more to establish order on the campus. Politically liberal readers will likely note the irony that while repeatedly claiming his support of free speech, Marshall endorsed the censorship of

a student literary magazine. While writing that he supported peaceful dissent, he refused to allow the peaceable assembly of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) by denying the organization the recognition it needed to use FSU facilities. While acknowledging that the FSU chapter of the SDS did not share the more radical leftist views of the national organization, Marshall repeatedly states that he was trying to avoid violent protests by not allowing the SDS to peaceably assemble. However, the only documented threat of violence resulting from Marshall's dealings with the SDS came from the police who were called in to support Marshall's court-ordered injunction against his students. Those actions, as described by Marshall, very nearly resulted in innocent deaths.

Marshall's description of the "Night of the Bayonets" at FSU on March 4, 1969, encourages comparisons to the tragic massacre at Kent State University in Ohio, on May 4, 1970, that resulted in the deaths of four college students at the hands of National Guardsmen. Marshall reflects on the tragedy saying, "I'm sure there were parents of those students who wished the University had taken steps to prevent the undisciplined actions that cost their children their lives. College students in that period often made much of their standing as adults, but making that claim did not by itself convey adult behavior." It should be noted as a point of historical clarification that two of the four students shot and killed at Kent State were in no way involved in the Viet Nam War protest that the National Guard had been deployed to control. While Allison Krause and Jeffrey Miller were among the student protesters when they were killed, Sandra Scheuer and William Schroder (a member of the campus ROTC chapter) were shot dead while walking to class.

Marshall still seems annoyed, decades later, that many FSU faculty, particularly in the college of Arts and Sciences, did not support his actions aimed at maintaining order on campus, but did support student efforts to express their ideas in various ways. Marshall says that "After the Night of the Bayonets on March 4, the [Faculty] Senate majority, again speaking through the Steering Committee, made its position clear: it believed that my decisive actions in handling the occupation of the building were inappropriate—'beyond the pale of propriety' they said. It felt that I should have granted recognition to SDS, and it let me know that it did not support many of my policies for governing the University" (160). Marshall spends several pages of his book ascribing possible ulterior motives to the faculty for disagreeing with his positions.

Marshall also describes a complex relationship with the FSU student newspaper the *Flambeau*. In many instances he chastises the newspaper's editorials and articles supporting the student movement, accusing the writers of being biased or uninformed. On other occasions when isolated student letters or editorials support Marshall's positions, he points to the newspaper coverage as proof that his positions were correct.

Although this book clearly reflects a particular view of a multifaceted situation, it still serves as a very valuable source of information about this period, written from an "insider's" perspective. In his book, Marshall refers to the doctoral dissertation of Stephen Parr, which aided the author in his research. That document is written from the perspective of a student protester at FSU. Together, these writings can provide the balance needed when examining such polarizing issues as student protests of the late 1960s.

Benjamin D. Brotemarkle

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***History and Hope in Heart of Dixie: Scholarship, Activism, and Wayne Flynt in the Modern South.*** Edited by Gordon E. Harvey, Richard Starnes, and Glenn Feldman. Volume in the Modern South Series. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2006. Editors' introduction, notes, contributors, index. Pp. vii, 224. \$50.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Wayne Flynt has been an important and influential academic leader in Alabama higher education for almost 40 years. Now retired from the History Department at Auburn University after a long and distinguished career, Dr. Flynt's work continues to challenge Alabamians to consider the overlooked and forgotten people in their history so that they might better understand why serious social and economic problems persist in their state. His scholarship has given voice to those most vulnerable, the poor and politically dispossessed on the margins of a society dominated largely by the legacy of an agricultural and industrial caste system that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century South. These are people who, in the memorable title of Flynt's award winning book, remain "poor but proud," whites and sometimes blacks who have survived in poverty for generations and yet have remained dedicated to, and even defensive of, a state and a region hostile to political and economic reforms that might improve their lot.

What makes Flynt's work so appealing for many who study the American South is that he is an accomplished professor whose dedication to his subject extends beyond arid lecture halls and seminar rooms. To his admirers, Flynt's passionate desire to improve the social conditions of the state he has spent so much time studying represents the lost art of the conscientious public intellectual. Not only is he a first-rate historian, but he is also considered an activist and a reformer and, unlike many in the academy, he does not mind integrating his faith commitments as an ordained Southern Baptist minister into the causes he champions. Indeed, in addition to writing about the inequities and miseries that have so long characterized the lives of many in his region, much of his work also seeks to uncover the contributions of those progressives who have fought against long odds to change the status-quo in Alabama.

In honor of Flynt's accomplishments eleven scholars of southern history who have been influenced by his commitment to the principle of the academic as activist produced the festschrift *History and Hope in the Heart of Dixie*. This collection of essays on the social, religious, and political history of the modern South seeks to further the themes explored in Flynt's scholarship. To that end, each author, several of whom are former students of Flynt, offer their contribution to the goal of putting original research in the service of the region's powerless. Most of the contributors trace the familiar theme of race relations in the twentieth-century South, but they do so from different perspectives and with different emphases.

John Shelton Reed opens the volume with a tribute to Flynt that highlights both his academic accomplishments as well as the role his faith has played in cultivating his sense of justice. This introduction to the uniqueness of Flynt's work is followed by two essays that consider how poverty has impacted race relations in the region. Brooks Blevins examines the history of LaCrosse, Arkansas, to uncover why it appears poor blacks and poor whites lived together relative harmony in the upper South as opposed to the lower South; and Susan Youngblood Ashmore offers a political history of how Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 came to be rejected by many southern politicians because they interpreted it as civil rights bill in disguise. The next two essays explore another Flynt's favorite subjects: the relationship between evangelical religion and progressive social reform. Richard Starnes looks at the role Baptists played in reform efforts in North Carolina from 1900 to 1925 and con-



cludes that within limits Baptists indeed embraced a progressive tradition that applied Christian understandings of social justice to the world around them. Andrew Manis continues this theme by examining how specific Protestant efforts in Macon, Georgia, in the 1930s contributed to the beginnings of interracialism in that state.

The three essays that follow consider politics and progressivism in Flynt's home state of Alabama. The break-up of the New Deal coalition in Alabama's Democratic Party is the subject of Glenn Feldman's contribution. Feldman surveys how the New Deal met fierce attacks from conservatives who argued that Roosevelt's policies were both un-American and anti-southern. He concludes that opponents of the New Deal in Alabama were in fact sounding a prelude to the eventual defection of many southern Democrats into the Republican fold. Gordon Harvey finds a hopeful, if fleeting, moment for Alabamians in the 1970 gubernatorial primary between the moderate Albert Brewer and George Wallace. Brewer offered a progressive platform for reforming the state's perennial problems with illiteracy, poverty, and a regressive tax system, but Wallace, intent on capturing the governor's office at almost any cost, unleashed a vicious race-baiting campaign that defeated Brewer by 40,000 votes and subsequently stalled reform efforts over a decade. Jeff Frederick argues that in addition to the legacy of George Wallace many interests groups, such as the Farm Bureau, stifled progress in Alabama by initiating grass-roots movements to uphold a tax system that continues to hurt undereducated and impoverished citizens in the state.

The final three essays by Dewayne Key, Bailey Thomson, and Don Carter conclude the book by offering anecdotal assessments of how Wayne Flynt has contributed personally both to the public welfare of his state and the discipline of history.

In general, the essays are well-researched, well-written, and accessible to the non-specialist. Moreover, beyond solid history writing the book does provoke readers, especially those in academic professions, to consider their broader obligations to the public good. However, as might be expected with a tribute volume, certain potentially difficult aspects of Flynt's work are taken for granted without much elaboration such as how Flynt defines the public good, or the premise that religious convictions can serve the public good responsibly in a pluralistic society even if that society is in the South.

W. Jason Wallace

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***The Supreme Court of Florida, 1917-1972.*** By Walter W. Manley II and Canter Brown, Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. Preface, acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 428. \$59.95 cloth.)

The present volume follows the largely successful *The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Court, 1821-1917* (1997), both of which were sponsored by the Florida Supreme Court Historical Society. Divided into five distinct time periods, this volume follows a consistent pattern: first, a general history of the state, then, an institutional history of the court, which includes biographical portraits of the justices who joined the court during that period, and finally, an examination of representative court cases, grouped alphabetically by subject. The most compelling aspects of this book are the institutional and procedural changes for the court, the tensions created between the federal Supreme Court and Florida's highest tribunal, and the conduct or ideology of certain justices.

Consequential changes affecting the court included efforts to relieve the justices of an ever-increasing workload and improvements to the reputations of bench and bar. Diminished workload was achieved with additional seats (although the seventh seat served more as a tie breaker in close cases), utilizing two divisions, experimenting with a short-lived commissioner system, and amending the state constitution in 1957 to create three district courts of appeal to serve as final arbiters in a number of jurisdictional issues (the same measure also mandated age 70 retirement for all future justices). Bar improvements included integration by mid century and an end to the law school diploma privilege. Public perception of the court improved when the lottery system for selecting the chief justice was replaced by a rotation system based on seniority, and in 1972 Florida voters abandoned the election of justices in favor of executive nomination and appointment. This last change marked the end of an era and presumably prompted the authors to conclude their study at 1972, although they never explicitly state this.

The authors maintain commendable objectivity in describing the struggle between the Florida court and its federal counterpart. In several instances the federal court reversed decisions of the state tribunal, most notably in the areas of race relations and religion in public schools. What the authors sometimes overlook, however, as an aid to further research, is to provide adequate case citations for these federal court opinions (i.e. specifically identify *Engel v. Vitale*

and *Abington School District v. Schempp* as the federal cases related to prayer and Bible reading in schools). In addition, while the conflict between federal and state courts is amply demonstrated, the relationship between the Florida court and support from the federal bench could be further developed. For examples, one year after the Florida court's rejection of Jehovah's Witnesses' refusal to salute the flag, the federal court took a similar view in *Minersville v. Gobitis* (reversed three years later in *West Virginia v. Barnette*); in the case of a lawyer suspected of Communist party membership, the federal court two years later in *Schwartz v. Board of Bar Examiners* and *Konigsberg v. State Bar* lent support to the Florida court ruling that rejected disbarment.

By overlooking relevant federal court decisions, the authors leave the impression that *Gideon v. Wainwright* was "the beginning of a series of cases dealing with the right to counsel" (286), but *Gideon* was not the first right to counsel case where the Florida court was overturned. In both *Cash v. Culver* (1959) and *McNeal v. Culver* (1961) the federal court chided the Florida court for its denial of a writ of habeas corpus in cases where petitioners were deprived of due process for lack of counsel. Equally revealing in these decisions is that then state Attorney General and future Florida Justice Richard Ervin represented the state both times in the denial of counsel. Similar disregard for federal court decisions leads the authors to suggest that *Baker v. Carr* established the "one person, one vote" principle, when, in fact, *Baker* decided only that legislative apportionment was a justiciable issue. Not until one year later would the "one man, one vote" principle be articulated in *Gray v. Sanders* and then the following year be applied to both congressional and state legislatures.

The biographies that supplement each time period, which occasionally tend towards state bar memorials, portray several characters who exhibit questionable judicial judgment or behavior. Justice Tolbert Hobson's unconventional lifestyle and work habits alienated him from the rest of the court, and B. K. Roberts was suspected of using *ex parte* communications with influential business leaders to influence court decisions. At the time of his appointment Justice John Matthews was accused of being racist, and Glenn Terrell (the longest serving member of the court) publicly supported racial segregation following the historic *Brown* decision. The most controversial lapses of judgment involved several justices from the final time period amid the backdrop of

Watergate. Their missteps included five divorces (four from the same justice), heavy drinking, an age discrimination suit against the court, and possible impeachment for three justices (two resigned à la Nixon). What distinguishes this episode, aside from David McCain's conviction, disbarment, and fugitive status, is that it occurred post-1972, putting it beyond the intended scope of the present volume. Including it, though, indicates how difficult it is to separate the personal history from the institutional.

One consequence of introducing justices during the time period they joined the court is that several justices who figure prominently in the first period have biographies in the earlier volume. Another consequence of this compartmentalized structure is that incidents or characteristics of individual justices are repeated with regularity from the biographies to the narrative, or visa versa, such as when Justice Roy Chapman's appointment leading to criticism of political favoritism is duplicated within nine pages, including identical supporting quotations from James Adkins.

The preceding example also illustrates one minor shortcoming of the present volume as a reference: the index overlooks the duplication and therefore gives a partial listing. More significant, the index treats relevant subjects inconsistently. For examples, Justice William Ellis's views on Franklin Roosevelt are indexed, but his diminishing eyesight and vigorous campaigning for re-election and subsequent withdrawal from the race on the immediate subsequent pages are not. Likewise, concerning cases later appealed to the federal Supreme Court, Justice Hugo Black is indexed for his opinion in *Gideon* but not for his opinion in *Chambers v. Florida*, although the authors rely on quotations from both opinions. Finally, significant public figures, such as Senator Estes Kefauver, Associate Justice Stanley Reed, and future Florida Justice Leander Shaw, who make multiple appearances in the text are absent from the index entirely.

Comprehensive and well researched, the present volume contributes materially to Florida state history and the role of its judiciary. The narrative flows easily, and the general reader will find much to fascinate, such as Justice Alto Adams's return to the court after sixteen years' absence to receive senior retirement status. The personal stories illumine a court struggling to keep apace of the legal challenges that typified the times. Considering the extraordinary changes and challenges the Florida court faced in the last quarter of the twentieth century—appointments under the

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new selection system resulted in the first African American justice (1975) and the first woman (1985)—subsequent volumes will undoubtedly present a more diverse and possibly divisive court as the nation focused attention on Florida and the outcome of the 2000 presidential election.

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***Mockingbird Song: Ecological Landscapes of the South.*** By Jack Temple Kirby. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Preface, prologue, epilogue, photographs, notes, index. pp. 361. \$29.95 cloth.)

By all estimates, the growth of environmental history during the past three decades has been explosive. The dynamic between nature and culture, which is to say between humans and landscapes, has proved to be an endlessly rich source of material for historians. Yet, *southern* environmental history continues to lag behind other regions of North America.

The publication of a new book, *Mockingbird Song: Ecological Landscapes of the South*, by Jack Temple Kirby, should inspire new environmental histories of the South in general and Florida in particular. Kirby's narrative wanders with purpose through episodes and landscapes from before the arrival of Europeans to the rise of the exurban landscapes.

In the Prologue, Kirby leads the reader on a peripatetic reverie from Marjorie Kinnans Rawlings's life story to her gift for situating her characters (for the most part Florida crackers) in a natural context — place. Jodie's (*The Yearling*) trip on the St. Johns River provides the opportunity for Kirby to introduce William Bartram, who devoted some of his journey through the South to the St. Johns, and Bartram's younger contemporary, John James Audubon. And it is Audubon's account of an unaccountable slaughter of a colony of cormorants and pelicans that returns Kirby to fiction—James Fenimore Cooper's *The Pioneers* and other stories of rampages on animals, real and imagined. Oscillating between Rawlings and Bartram, Kirby discusses Carolina parakeets, snakes, alligators, and water hyacinths. In the hands of a less adept storyteller, the narrative might disintegrate into a series of unrelated anecdotes. Instead, the reader leaves the Prologue with a grasp of the breadth and depth of issues facing those who have called the South home.

Kirby has a knack for grabbing the reader's attention. For example, Elvis Presley's Indian heritage leads off the chapter on "Original Civilizations." Initially surprising, such references remind the reader that historical episodes still resonate with present day interests. Kirby also explores De Soto's follies and the responses of Florida Indians (ranging from passive acquiescence to combat and ritual sacrifice). But it is the humanity or perhaps "human-ness" of the Indians that interest Kirby most and he echoes other environmental historians, particularly the anthropologist Shepard Krech, when he reveals Native Americans' ability to manipulate and transform the landscapes they occupied. He supports the growing consensus that neither the myth of the savage Indian nor that of the noble savage captures the truly human complexity of the people who first managed the landscapes of the Southeast.

If the institution of slavery left its mark on southern landscapes in the form of fields planted with tobacco and cotton, the war that ended slavery rendered the landscape barren and lifeless. After the Civil War, many of the wooden plantation homes had burned. So had the fences that defined the boundaries between plantations; gone were many of the young men who comprised the plantation system, slave and planter alike. Livestock, especially cattle and swine, had been consumed or stolen by marauding soldiers. Nevertheless, despite the destruction and collapse of the infrastructure underlying slavery, planters strove to recreate the institution *de facto*. Kirby explores the postbellum plantation system and its implications for economics, sociology, nutrition, and the environment.

The view of the South as a commons (for exploitation by all) draws together open range hogs, the naval stores industry, and of course industrial timber. Kirby suggests that one of the most devastating ecological effect of swine on the southern landscapes was their preference for the buds of young long-leaf pines and he attributes the extirpation of long leafs in Virginia to pigs. Though more diffuse, perhaps, the impact of turpentine (naval stores industry) was at least as destructive to the southern pine forests. Moreover, the industry entrapped numerous convicts (predominantly freedmen) in a cycle of debt and abominable labor conditions. Even more destructive for the landscape was industrial forestry, which laid bare huge swaths of the South. While Kirby explains the social structures that underlay each of these phenom-

ena, he leaves the reader to ponder the psychology of forest arson (fairly widespread during the twentieth century).

Blood sports have played a central role in the southern history and Kirby delves into the affinity southern men (for the most part) have for hunting as well as dog fights and cock fights. To get at this connection, Kirby introduces two hunters-turned-soldiers whose exploits were glorified by Hollywood films. Still, the broader distinction between market hunting and the sportsmanship of the elite also applies to the South, as Kirby shows. Elite sports clubs were slow to arrive in the South, but women and evangelical ministers fought to curb the violent and brutal activities of southern hunters.

Some environmental historians argue that the clearest point of access to the field is through the stomach. By linking the recent obesity epidemic to historic cases of pellagra, Kirby supports this view. He reflects on gardening (traditionally within the woman's sphere), which brings him back to Marjorie Kinnans Rawlings and her account of the clan of herdsman, almost all men except the head of the household. Another gardener was Eugene Odum, one of the most celebrated scientists of the twentieth century. Kirby locates the flowering of ecosystem ecology in the south, primarily in the work of Odum at the University of Georgia and his younger brother Howard Odum at the University of Florida.

The title, *Mockingbird Song* perfectly captures the diversity of topics Kirby addresses ranging from the prehistoric to the present, from the literary to the historical, from the pre-modern to the post-modern, and from the natural to the cultural. *Mockingbird Song* draws together the disparate themes of southern environmental history and weaves a rich tapestry that will inform and inspire a new generation of environmental historians.

Frederick R. Davis

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