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REVIEW ESSAY

Reexamining the Early Career and Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.: Volume I of the *King Papers*

by DAVID R. COLBURN

The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., Volume I: Called to Serve, January 1929-June 1951. Edited by Clayborne Carson, Ralph E. Luker, and Penny A. Russell. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. xxiii, 484 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, chronology, photographs, editorial principles and practices, list of abbreviations, calendar of documents, index. \$35.00.)

Few figures in American history have inspired such an extraordinary amount of historical and biographical literature as Martin Luther King, Jr. Since his death in 1968, innumerable books have been written about King specifically or about his role in the civil rights movement. Four years ago David Garrow edited a series of eighteen volumes on King and the civil rights movement.¹ This past year witnessed the much anticipated publication of the first volume of a projected fourteen volumes of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

What is it about King's life that continues to spark such widespread popular interest and historical revisionism? On a personal level there is the image of a man who was at once larger than life: who was portrayed as having communed with God, walked in the wilderness, and challenged the country to live up to the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence. The image of King as both martyr and national icon has, in fact, been pro-

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1. David J. Garrow, ed., *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights Movement*, 18 vols. (Brooklyn, 1989).

moted by many of his closest advisors, including his widow, Coretta Scott King.²

On another level stood King the man who succumbed to the frailties of life by engaging in sexual affairs and plagiarism. He was at once one of us and yet he also inspired our dreams and aspirations for a better world. Among many citizens too he continues to stir strong emotions. Many African Americans and whites believe that there would not have been a civil rights reform movement without him, and others still begrudge his message and denounce him personally. Much like Abraham Lincoln's life, King's continues to inspire a variety of human emotions, generate particular cultural assumptions, and foster reflection on the fundamental values that define American society.

These factors help explain the continuing public fascination with him. But what about historians? Scholars have been more interested in the man than in the myth, and yet they also find it difficult to ignore the mythical aspects of King's persona. Many writing about King today are part of the generation that took part in and witnessed the overthrow of segregation. For some of these writers the history of King's life has been a way to remedy the inequities of the past and to promote further racial reform in American society. It is as a consequence of such scholarship that Adam Fairclough writes bluntly that "balanced and objective assessments of King have always been difficult to find." He adds that "with the exception of David L. Lewis, King biographers have ill-served their subject."³ Scholars too then have experienced difficulty in moving beyond the image of King as icon.

The analysis of historians has also been influenced by King's efforts to resolve what Gunnar Myrdal called the "dilemma" of American society—the existence of slavery and segregation amidst the great democratic experiment for over 200 years.⁴ The struggle of African Americans for equal rights went to the very essence of American society, and the way in which Americans of all types responded to the resolution of this dilemma continues

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2. Coretta Scott King, *My Life with Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1969).
 3. Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens, 1987), 3.
 4. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944).

to be a central concern of historians. More narrowly, historians are still trying to come to terms with the ramifications of the civil rights movement and the ways in which King shaped and, in turn, was shaped by the movement.

A number of scholars have been particularly interested in the evolution of King's own thinking and the ways in which his views changed as the central goals of the civil rights movement were achieved. The movement was much larger than Martin Luther King, Jr., as a number of local studies have pointed out, but his pivotal role in national and regional developments makes his own thinking and leadership of fundamental importance.⁵ For scholars, then, and indeed for all groups interested in King and the civil rights movement, publication of the *King Papers* holds considerable importance.

Students of the civil rights movement and the career of Martin Luther King as well as the general public will not be disappointed in this first volume of *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.* The edition encompasses the first twenty-two years of King's life, through the completion of his graduate program at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, in May 1951 and before the commencement of his Ph.D. program at Boston University. In the process, it provides readers with insight into the personal, religious, and intellectual development of King. The volume does a very good job of decoupling the real King from the myths that surround him and from the later civil rights period that so dominates our understanding of him.

The editors have included a representative number of King's extant writings during this period of his life and have provided extensive footnotes and marginalia to clarify various events and names for the reader. They have also provided a calendar of King documents and a personal chronology of King and his family. This calendar extends back to 1810 and one of his maternal great grandfathers and from that point forward to June

5. See William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York, 1981); Robert J. Norrell, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee* (New York, 1985); David Colburn, *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877-1980* (New York, 1985); and J. Mills Thornton, "Challenge and Response in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956," in *The Walking City: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-1956*, ed. David J. Garrow (Brooklyn, 1989), 323-79.

1951 and his father's benediction at the NAACP's annual convention in Atlanta. In between there is a very helpful outline of King's first twenty-two years. To facilitate clarity for readers, the editors have detailed their editorial principles and practices and explained abbreviations. The editorial practices are clear cut throughout and serve to enhance the reader's ability to understand this period of King's life.

In preparing this and subsequent volumes, Editors Clayborne Carson, Ralph Luker, and Penny Russell faced extraordinary pressures in meeting the demands of King's many audiences. Public expectations for this volume are very high, yet, to the credit of the editors, they have not let this influence their decisions about what to include, exclude, or edit in the collection of early King papers.

Of particular merit is the extended introductory essay by Carson which is at once balanced and insightful. He has not hesitated to offer his own interpretation of King's early career where appropriate, as when he asserts that King's "basic identity remained rooted in Baptist church traditions that were intertwined with his family's history" (p. 1) or "that his basic religious and social views were decisively shaped, not by his academic training, but by his formative experiences" (pp. 53-54). Beyond these particular insights, Carson provides readers with an intelligent analysis of King's early career that places in context much of what follows in his personal papers.

Those interested in obtaining a more complete picture of King's life and times than is available in this first volume should begin with one of the two monumental, largely biographical, accounts of King: David Garrow's *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* or Taylor Branch's *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*. Both books received the Pulitzer Prize, and they provide an exhaustive treatment of King's life and times.

In many ways this first volume could well be the most important and revealing of all because the entries are clearly authored by King and because he had no other agenda (such as civil rights reform) in communicating with family and friends and in writing his school papers. Much of King's later work is very difficult to unravel. As Adam Fairclough has observed, King's later "books, articles and speeches were partly or wholly 'ghosted,' and it is not always easy to determine what King did write." David Garrow

shares Fairclough's view and adds that "King's thinking must be based on wide-ranging usage of his hundreds of unpublished sermons and speeches, materials that paint a far more dependable picture of King's beliefs than the heavily edited and ghost-written works that were published in book or magazine form under King's name during his lifetime." Many of King's writings during the Montgomery period and after were also framed within a civil rights context in which King wrote for a particular audience or sought to convey a certain message. Fairclough has also pointed out that, during the post-Montgomery period, King "did not live in an intellectual vacuum; he had a wider circle of friends, colleagues and advisors with whom he debated tactics and strategy."⁶ For these reasons the papers in this first volume have special importance because they provide readers with a view of the young King, the intellectually maturing King, and the King as yet unadorned by the mantle of civil rights leadership.

What we also see in this first volume is King in his formative years, at a point in time when many of his ideas were first taking shape. It is through this volume that one begins to understand why King came to have such broad appeal. As Rosemary Reuther observed over two decades ago, King's thinking had much in common with an "ideology shared by Americans; a combination of prophetic Christianity and the American civic creed."⁷ This understanding of the philosophical and cultural ideals of American society enabled King to communicate so effectively with Americans from all backgrounds.

Although King's ideology would serve him well in speaking to whites and blacks, readers will note especially in this first volume that King's life was rooted in a very close, extended black family of middle-class means, in a life within the southern black Baptist church, in a black community in a deep South city where racial moderation generally predominated but where racial insults and violence were familiar realities, and in a liberal academic

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6. Adam Fairclough, "Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Quest for Nonviolent Social Change," *Phylon* 47 (Spring 1986), 3; David J. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Influences and Commentaries," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 40 (January 1986), 5.
 7. Rosemary R. Reuther, "The Relevance of Martin Luther King for Today," in *Essays in Honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. John H. Cartwright (London, 1971), 3.

and intellectual environment at Morehouse College and subsequently at Crozer Theological Seminary. In one of his essays in the seminary, King described the importance of a nurturing family life, which conditioned him to be optimistic about human nature (pp. 359-63). He was also very much a part of southern society, and his views as a black Southerner were initially shaped by this culture. This was not yet the man whose own world view bridged lines of communication between blacks and whites and who inspired a generation of black and white folk to join him in the struggle for civil rights reform. But this volume reveals King gradually becoming a man who could move comfortably from the black community to the white and back again, and whose intellectual development was rooted almost exclusively in western ideas— ideas he would eventually incorporate in challenging the dogma of segregation.

One of the central themes of this first volume is the primacy of religion in the evolution of King's thinking. Writers like Walter Muelder have argued persuasively that the principal influences on King's theological and philosophical thought were "that he was born in a Christian home, reared in Christian colleges and seminaries, became a Christian minister, married a Christian woman, established a Christian home, and in the darkest hours of life was sustained by Christian faith and love."⁸

Few would take issue with Muelder, but King's religious life involved more than being a Christian, as Carson comments in his introductory essay. King grew up in a black southern Baptist tradition, and it is that tradition and its influence on King's world view that remained undeveloped in the work of Muelder and many other religious scholars. Although Robert M. Franklin acknowledged that King was first and foremost a Christian pastor, he noted that King "was a pastor who felt compelled to serve in an oppressed community." Franklin added that "King was the product of a black theology of hope" and "as a pastor he affirmed the revolutionary potential of the gospel and the churches." It was this world view that enabled King to be so successful, accord-

8. Walter G. Muelder, "Philosophical and Theological Influences in the Thought and Action of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Debate and Understanding* 1 (1977), 179.

ing to Franklin, and that "made it a compelling attractive possibility to other oppressed persons."⁹

Other scholars have echoed Franklin and highlighted the influence of the southern black Baptist church on him and on the movement. Lewis Baldwin wrote that "King thought of himself above all as a Christian preacher with deep roots in the southern black Baptist Church." In an article in *Ebony* in 1965, King himself commented, "I am fundamentally a clergyman, a Baptist preacher."¹⁰ Like Franklin, James Cone rooted King's theology and his activism in the black church's liberating message of the Gospel and in the oppression of black people. Cone stated further that "in moments of crisis when despair was about to destroy the possibility of making a new future for the poor, King turned to the faith contained in the tradition of the black church."¹¹ Beyond King individually, sociologist Aldon Morris has argued that the black church as an institution provided both the leadership and the organizational structure for the early civil rights struggle.¹²

Although most students now recognize that the southern black Baptist church played a central role in King's social, religious, and intellectual development, remarkably little has been written about the church. Moreover, where King is concerned, we know precious little about how the church's teachings influenced him. In this first volume of King's papers, Carson links King closely to the black Baptist tradition but is unable to provide much additional information to lift the veil on this part of King's life and on his social relationship with the Baptist church. Unfortunately, there are very few King papers that depict the influence of the church.

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9. Robert M. Franklin, Jr., "Martin Luther King, Jr., As Pastor," *Iliff Review* 42 (1985), 4; Franklin, "An Ethic of Hope: The Moral Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 40 (January 1986), 49.
 10. Lewis V. Baldwin, "The Minister as Preacher, Pastor, and Prophet: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *American Baptist Quarterly* 7 (June 1988), 41. The quote from *Ebony* appears in the same article and on the same page.
 11. James H. Cone, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Black Theology-Black Church," *Theology Today* 41 (January 1984), 413.
 12. Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York, 1984).

Clarified in the volume is King's experience with racism and how it shaped him. Early biographies of King have made much of the fact that he encountered racism at an early age and sufficiently, if not repeatedly, to be forever influenced by the episodes. King underscored his first encounter when he wrote in *Stride Toward Freedom* that he remembered feeling discrimination around the age of four when a white neighbor refused to allow her children, who happened to be among King's closest friends, to play with him any longer.¹³

In these papers King expresses his views on southern race relations in a letter to his father and in subsequent correspondence to the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. During the summer following his junior year in high school, King worked with Morehouse College students on a tobacco farm in Connecticut. He wrote his father about the absence of segregation in the North and the open contact between blacks and whites. "On our way here," he wrote, "we saw some things I had never anticipated to see. After we passed Washington the [sic] was no discrimination at all [sic] the white people here are very nice. We go to any place we want to and sit any where we want to" (p. 112). Racism was thus something that he was just beginning to understand, and the trip north gave him a context and comparative perspective for evaluating segregation. During the summer following his sophomore year at Morehouse College, King articulated his views further in a letter to the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. He explained to whites in the region: "We aren't eager to marry white girls, and we would like to have our own girls left alone by both white toughs and white aristocrats. We want and are entitled to the basic rights and opportunities of American citizens" (p. 121).

Upon graduating from high school, King followed his father's wishes and attended Morehouse College, which served as one of the nation's centers of learning for young black men. The impact of the Morehouse years on King's intellectual development has been debated by scholars, and it remains unresolved by this volume. David Garrow was among the first to argue that

13. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York, 1958). Also see David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Leadership Christian Conference* (New York, 1986), 33.

the impact of Benjamin Mays, Morehouse president, and religion professor George D. Kelsey on the young King has been overstated. Garrow pointed out that King was a marginal student at Morehouse and that faculty members regarded him as an under achiever. He was known principally because of the prominence of his father in the Atlanta community. Only Kelsey seemed to appreciate King's potential when he wrote in a letter to Crozer that "his ability exceeds his record at Morehouse."¹⁴

There is little light shed on King's years at Morehouse in this first volume of papers, and what there is seems to uphold Garrow's interpretation. Yet, there is also the clear implication that this was a young man whose personal and intellectual maturity were evolving rapidly toward the end of his student days at Morehouse. Historians would be unwise to assume that little occurred during King's years at the school. Kelsey clearly recognized King's development, even if Mays was not so sure. How to come to terms with King's experiences in these years will not be easy, however, since the written record reveals very little. Oral interviews of schoolmates and teachers clearly will count a great deal in this assessment.

When King matriculated at Crozer, he became part of a small religious community steeped in liberal thinking from the president through the faculty. Taylor Branch described Crozer as being at a critical point in its own history when King arrived in the fall of 1949. With the institution at financial risk, the trustees asserted that liberalism was the source of its small enrollment and its financial insecurity, but President Edward Aubrey and the faculty fought back and sought to preserve its liberal heritage by expanding the incoming class with an unprecedented number of black students. Whether it was pressure on the faculty and president to succeed or a deep-seated belief in liberal religious thought among the Crozer faculty, the seminary's academic approach, according to Branch, involved tearing "down the students' religious belief system and . . . building a body of religious knowledge as rationally as possible," much like a military boot camp.¹⁵

14. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 7. Also see Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 37-38.

15. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York, 1988), 70-73.

King entered this environment rather poorly prepared for its academic rigors, but he worked hard, and, with the aid of small classes and a dedicated faculty, his intellectual abilities matured rapidly. This first volume includes a number of King's research papers at Crozer, and they give evidence of his seriousness as a student and his emerging intellectual sophistication. Scholars are divided over the nature and the extent of the influences on King during these years, but this volume does underscore the central role played by Professor George Davis in King's education. David Garrow noted that King scholars have been remiss in not recognizing Davis's influence: King "took thirty-four of 110 course hours [with Professor Davis] during his three years at Crozer."¹⁶

Garrow based his observations largely on Ira Zepp's doctoral dissertation and his subsequent book with Kenneth Smith, entitled *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1974). Among Davis's personal letters, Zepp found one from King in 1953 in which he stated: "I must admit that my theological and philosophical studies with you have been of tremendous help to me in my present studies. In the most decisive moments, I find your influence creeping forth." Zepp observed in his dissertation that among King's early biographers, only David Lewis referred to George Davis and then only with reference to Davis's interest in Gandhi.¹⁷

While acknowledging King's debt to Davis, Harold DeWolf, King's mentor at Boston University, saw his intellectual development relying heavily on the teachings of Jesus Christ and Edgar Brightman's and DeWolf's personalistic philosophy, of which George Davis was himself a leading disciple. King wrote in *Stride Toward Freedom* that "personalism's insistence that only personality—finite and infinite—is ultimately real strengthened me in two convictions: it gave me metaphysical and philosophical

16. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 439.

17. Ira G. Zepp, Jr., "The Social Vision of Martin Luther King, Jr." (Ph.D. diss., St. Mary's Seminary, 1971), 5, 8; republished in 1989 by Carlson Publishing, Brooklyn, NY. Also see Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, Jr., *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Valley Forge, 1974). None of King's early biographers, including Louis Lomas, Lerome Bennett, John Williams, or Coretta Scott King, mentioned Davis.

grounding for the idea of a personal God, and it gave me a metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality."¹⁸ DeWolf wrote that King's acceptance of personal liberalism encouraged his "liberal method, his warm evangelical spirit and his social concerns."¹⁹

In this volume of King's papers, several of the class projects that underscored his commitment to personal liberalism during his days at Crozer are included. He wrote in Davis's course "Christian Theology for Today" that humanity, not God, stands at the center of the process of redemption (p. 263). The concept of "a society governed by the law of love" (p. 272) resonated well with King's concern for the place of African Americans in the nation and became the basis for the concept of the "Beloved Community" that stood at the center of his civil rights leadership.

Branch, Garrow, Lewis, and several other scholars have pointed out that, while at Crozer, King was also introduced to the works of many leading philosophers, particularly Walter Rauschenbusch and Reinhold Niebuhr, both of whom had at least as much influence on King's world view as personalism. Branch contended that it was Rauschenbusch's commitment to social ethics as opposed to metaphysics and piety that played a central role in shaping King's thinking. Rauschenbusch's social ethics represented an obvious extension of King's belief that humanity, not God, stands at the center of the process of redemption. For King and others, Branch argued, "Rauschenbusch rescued religion from sterile otherworldliness by defining social justice as the closest possible human approximation of God's love."²⁰ Branch and Garrow agreed on the prominence of Rauschenbusch in King's thought at this stage in his life, and Garrow

18. King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 100.

19. L. Harold DeWolf, "Martin Luther King, Jr., as Theologian," *The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center* 4 (Spring 1977), 8. King himself wrote subsequently in *Strength to Love* (New York, 1963), "More than ever before I am convinced of the reality of a personal God." Davis believed that injustice and exploitation would eventually fall before the forces of liberty and justice and that "for the fully religious man nothing less than the world can be his parish." Zepp and John Ansbro observe that Davis was also a pacifist and an advocate of nonviolence as a means of social change. It was these views that King came to embrace.

20. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 73-74.

added that King was taken with Rauschenbusch's optimism about human nature.²¹

These scholars and many others have also argued that Reinhold Niebuhr was a major influence on King's thinking, although there remains less certainty on precisely how Niebuhr influenced him as opposed to Rauschenbusch. King encountered Niebuhr's work at Crozer in his studies with Davis and Kenneth Smith. According to Garrow, Niebuhr revealed to King the darker side of man and challenged Rauschenbusch's social activism as misplaced and naive. Garrow and others remained convinced, however, that King was more persuaded by Rauschenbusch than Niebuhr about man's natural goodness, but, due to Niebuhr, he gained a better understanding of the complexity of human motives.²² For Walter Muelder, Niebuhr's social ethics and applied Christianity spoke persuasively to King, but the future civil rights leader was troubled by and eventually resisted Niebuhr's neo-Augustinian view of people and his argument that there was no intrinsic moral difference between violent and non-violent resistance.²³

In his introductory essay Clayborne Carson adds to the debate about Niebuhr's influence on King, contending that scholars have overstated King's attraction to Niebuhr in *Stride Toward Freedom*. Carson observes that the documentary record of his years at Crozer reveals that few of his papers even mention Niebuhr and that King's "increasing awareness of the neo-orthodox critique of liberalism derived from a variety of sources in addition to Niebuhr" (p. 55).

The many biographies and other writings on King emphasize various theological and philosophical influences on him, ranging from Jesus Christ to Gandhi, A. J. Muste, and Henry David Thoreau, and from Immanuel Kant and Georg Friedrich Hegel to Karl Marx.²⁴ King was introduced to the works of all these

21. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 42.

22. *Ibid.*, 42-43. Also see James P. Hanigan, "Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Shaping of a Mind," *Debate and Understanding* 1 (Spring-Summer 1974), 193-96.

23. Muelder, "Philosophical and Theological Influences in the Thought and Action of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 185-86.

24. For further reading see C. Eric Lincoln, *Martin Luther King, Jr., A Profile*, (New York, 1970); Lenwood Davis, *I Have a Dream. . . . The Life and Times of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Westport, CT, 1969); David L. Lewis, *King: A*

men at various stages in his education at Morehouse and Crozer, but with the exception of Christ, Rauschenbusch, and Niebuhr, his intellectual indebtedness to the others is not so obvious at this point in his life and is not clearly revealed in this first volume of the *King Papers*. He was exposed to many new ideas while at Crozer, but the *King Papers* suggest that only a few were central to his own thoughts.

During much of King's life, and especially following his death, many historians and religious scholars have tended to view King's intellectual roots through the prism of his civil rights activism. Thus, scholars like Stephen Oates and others have argued that King's thinking was shaped significantly by the writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi on nonviolence, Walter Rauschenbusch's social gospel, and Reinhold Niebuhr's Christian realism. Oates wrote that King "read Rauschenbusch in a state of high excitement. Here was the Christian activism he longed for."²⁵ Such an intellectual heritage and emotional attachment, of course, fit conveniently with King's civil rights activism.

The influence of Thoreau also squared nicely with the American tradition of social protest, but again there is little in King's own writings at this stage in his life, or for that matter after he became a civil rights activist, to suggest that Thoreau played a major role in his thinking. Some scholars have simply assumed a connection during his days at Morehouse and Crozer and have gone on to describe the intellectual linkages between King and Thoreau.²⁶

Intellectual ties to Gandhi appealed further to those who sought to link King to an international movement on behalf of the oppressed. Oates contended that "King embraced Satyagraha as the theoretical method he had been searching for." The Reverend J. Pious Barbour, a prominent black religious leader and close friend to King during his days at Crozer, was among those

Critical Biography (Chicago, 1978); Lerone Bennett, Jr., *What Manner of Man: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Chicago, 1969); Smith and Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community*; and John S. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY, 1982).

25. Stephen B. Oates, "The Intellectual Odyssey of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Massachusetts Review* 22 (Summer 1981), 305.
26. Donald Smith, "An Exegesis of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Social Philosophy," *Phylon* 31 (Spring 1970), 89.

who contended that King was influenced by Gandhi's pacifism. He claimed that King read and re-read books on Gandhi and argued with him all through the night on several occasions in favor of Gandhi's methods.²⁷ Muelder also asserted, as have others, that King first became fascinated with Gandhi after hearing a lecture by Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University and that he was especially attracted to Gandhi's "campaigns of non-violent resistance."²⁸ Not surprisingly, literally all Indian scholars who have written about King alleged his debt to Gandhi.²⁹

Garrow is among several who have challenged this depiction of King's intellectual heritage. Garrow noted that when Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation visited King during the Montgomery protests, King acknowledged having read some of Gandhi's writings but said that "I will have to say that I know very little about the man." There is also little evidence in this first volume that King had developed an intellectual affinity for Gandhi, but it is also clear that he had some familiarity with Gandhi and had read A. J. Muste, a leading American pacifist and exponent of Gandhi's views.³⁰

The first volume of King's papers is at best sketchy on King's ties to these political and social activists. It is clear, however, that at this point in his life, King was first a student of theology. His interest in Rauschenbusch, Thoreau, and Gandhi grew out of his theological training and not out of his desire to become a social activist.

In much of the early scholarship about King's thinking, there is remarkably little reference to the fact that he was a black theologian. In the aftermath of King's death, Herbert W. Richardson claimed that King was "the most important theologian of our time."³¹ Yet King's position as a black theologian had

27. Stephen B. Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York, 1982), 30. Also see Hanigan, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," 191; and King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 84-85, 96-98, 217-18.

28. Muelder, "Philosophical and Theological Influences," 185.

29. See Hanigan, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," 83.

30. Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 11. Also see Carson, et. al., eds., *King Papers*, 434-35.

31. Herbert Warren Richardson, "Martin Luther King-*Unsung* Theologian," *New Theology*, no. 6, ed. Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman (New York, 1969), 178.

almost no place in Richardson's essay. Four years later Walter Steinkraus made reference to the influences on King as a trained philosopher. Although his primary purpose in this essay was to look at the originality in King's thinking, Steinkraus made no reference to the fact that King came out of a black southern Baptist tradition.³² In an essay in *The Journal of Religious Thought*, Paul Garber, while noting that the purpose of his scholarship was the exploration of King's intellectual thought, argued appropriately that it "leaves us with a rather pale copy of the man and his thinking." Garber suggested that King could not be understood fully "as long as his participation in the Black experience in America is ignored."³³ In *A Black Theology of Liberation*, James Cone also noted King's connection to other historic black preachers when he wrote that King revived the struggle for freedom begun by black preachers during the antebellum period.³⁴

What these writers did not fully appreciate and what the King Papers make clear is King's debt to his father for both his Christian faith and his commitment to racial justice. Several King biographers have noted the tension between King and his strong-willed father, and this first volume underscores that relationship, but it also points out that King began to understand and appreciate his father much more once he got out from underneath his shadow. This Freudian relationship with his father and King's own sense of history and intellectual maturation were more crucial to his role as a civil rights leader than were his connections to other black preachers and social activists.

In the maturation of King's thinking at Crozer, did the writings of Karl Marx have any significant impact on his intellectual development? For many scholars, this remains an intriguing debate. If, as some have argued, King was shifting toward a Marxist

32. Warren E. Steinkraus, "Martin Luther King's Personalism and Nonviolence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34 (January-March 1973), 103.

33. Paul R. Garber, "King Was A Black Theologian," *Journal of Religious Thought* 31 (Fall-Winter 1974-1975), 16-19. Also see John Rathbun, "Martin Luther King: The Theology of Social Action," *American Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1968), 38.

34. James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (New York, 1970), 77-78. Also see James H. Smylie, "On Jesus, Pharaohs, and the Chosen People: Martin Luther King as Biblical Interpreter and Humanist," *Interpretation* 24 (January 1970), 76-77.

perspective near the end of his life, then at which point in his life did he begin to weigh the pros and cons of Marx's writings? Barbour has noted in his own comments about the Crozer years that King "was economically a Marxist . . . and [stated] that we wouldn't solve these [racial] problems until we got a new social order." Martin Luther King, Sr., observed in his autobiography, *Daddy King*, that he and his son differed frequently about the value of capitalism and that his son "often seemed to be drifting away from the basics of capitalism and Western democracy."³⁵ Adam Fairclough has insisted that King became a Marxist near the end of his life and believed that a fundamental change in American capitalism was essential to the well being of black Americans and the poor.³⁶

Whether this argument has merit or not, it is certain that King began to inquire into the writings of Marx during his days at Crozer, as the first volume of his papers points out. It is equally clear, however, that, at this stage in his life, Marx's arguments were at best peripheral to King's intellectual development. King was troubled by Marx's atheism, and he had trouble reconciling that with his own religious commitment, but King also had doubts about the ability of capitalism "to meet the needs of the masses" (p. 436).

Not all scholars are persuaded that the religious and philosophical roots of King's thoughts are critical to understanding his career as a civil rights advocate. Fairclough, for one, has pointed out how difficult it is to determine the impact of religious inspiration on King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Rather than wrestle with what he perceived to be the uncertainty of the role of the church and King's own religious and philosophical training, Fairclough opted to leave it out and focused instead "on the rational calculation behind SCLC's actions, on logic rather than emotion."³⁷

In the conclusion of his introductory essay on King's academic career at Crozer, Clayborne Carson writes, "He had been dutiful,

35. See Garrow, "The Intellectual Development of Martin Luther King, Jr.," 9; and Martin Luther King, Sr., *Daddy King: An Autobiography* (New York, 1980), 147.

36. Adam Fairclough, "Was Martin Luther King a Marxist?" *History Workshop Journal* 15 (Spring 1983), 121-23.

37. Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 9.

inquisitive, well read, and able to win the approval of his professors, but his theological beliefs were subtly derivative, based on a priori assumptions about the nature of divinity and increasingly suited to his anticipated needs as a preacher rather than a scholar" (p. 57). Carson's assessment here is influenced in part by David Lewis, who wrote of King later in life that "his intelligence was essentially derivative" and that he "lacked the comprehensive critical apparatus and the inspired vision that bless good philosophers."³⁸ There can be little doubt that King had yet to become a scholar with independent views when he left Crozer Seminary in 1951, but his thinking was clearly evolving and becoming more sophisticated. He increasingly brought his own life experiences to bear on his reading and learning, and something of the religious activist was beginning to take form. In his desire to be objective, Carson perhaps underestimates the intellectual development of King at this point in his life.

This volume offers an important opportunity for scholars to revisit King's early career and to reexamine the extensive literature on King's religious, intellectual, and social formation. It should be especially valuable in prompting scholars to reevaluate King's intellectual formation and the nature of his world view before he became a civil rights activist.

During his own lifetime, King recognized the importance of history and his connection to both a black past and an American past. It was within the context of history that King challenged America's racial traditions and called upon the nation to live up to the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence. To understand King fully and to appreciate the evolution and complexity of the man and the movement, scholars have to look beyond his civil rights activism and the civil rights movement. In King's case, one must keep in mind that he belonged to a rich racial, religious, and intellectual heritage that defined him individually yet also connected him to the larger black and white communities of his time. This first volume of the *King Papers* will do much to assist us in this regard.

38. Lewis, *King*, 45. Also see Harold DeWolf, "King as Theologian," 1-11.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Auburn University

- Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– “Manchac, the Small Tribes and the Descoudreaux-Thomas Rivalry” (continuing study).
Ethan A. Grant– “They Stayed on: The British Settler Community at Natchez, 1763-1800” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
Owe J. Jensen– “The Defense Forces of West Florida in the American Revolution” (master’s thesis in progress).

Emory University

- Lois Virginia Meacham Gould– “In Full Enjoyment of Their Liberty: The Free Women of Color of the Gulf Ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, 1769-1860” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

- John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster (faculty)– “From a Springtime of Hope: The Life of Chloe Merrick Reed” (continuing study).
Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– “James Hudson: Civil Rights Leader in Tallahassee, Florida, 1955-1975”; “Madison County, Florida, 1830 to 1860: A Case Study in Land, Labor, and Prosperity”; “The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865”; “The Role of the Florida Overseer, 1821-1865”; “A Statistical View of Florida Overseers and Drivers in Florida, 1821-1865”; “A Statistical View of Land and Slaveownership in Florida, 1821-1865”; “The Role and Status of Antebellum Physicians in Middle Florida, 1821-1865”; “The Role and Status of Antebellum Lawyers in Middle Florida, 1821-1865”; “The Role of Female Slaves on the Antebellum Florida Plantation”; “Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834”; “Regulation of Free Blacks in Territorial Florida, 1828-1845: The Case of Nicholas Pargos” (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

- Donald W. Curl (faculty)– “Romance in Stone: Mediterranean Revival Architecture in Florida,” with Fred Eckel (publication forthcoming); “The Privatization of Palm Beach’s Ocean Boulevard”; “Howard Major’s Palm Beach Architecture”; “Lost Palm Beach,” with Fred Eckel (continuing studies).
- Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– “Florida Seminole Tribal Government in the Early Years, 1957-1979” (continuing study).
- William H. Kramer– “Walter Reid Clark: Broward County’s Legendary Sheriff” (master’s thesis completed).
- Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– “The Pattern of Race Relations in Miami since the 1920s”; “Building the Second Ghetto in Miami, 1940-1960”; “‘South of the South’: Blacks, Jews, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960” (publications forthcoming); “Race and Labor: Progressive Unions and Race Relations in Miami, 1940-1960”; “The Latinization of Florida” (continuing studies).
- Martin Shaw– “The Jews of Greater Miami: A Historical Perspective” (master’s thesis completed).
- Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– “Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy” (study completed); “Lucius B. Northrop and the Second Seminole War”; “Lincoln’s Loyalists in Florida”; “Ft. Pierce’s Naval Amphibious Training Base, 1943-1946” (continuing studies).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

- Henry Baker– “Archaeological Excavations at Fort Foster” (publication forthcoming).
- John H. Hann– “The Mayaca and Jororo and Missions to Them”; “Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695”; “Leadership Nomenclature Among the Spanish Florida Natives and Its Linguistic and Associational Implications”; “The Missions of Spanish Florida”; “The Apalachee of the Historic Era” (publications forthcoming); “Florida’s Timucua”; “Survey of Spanish Florida’s Natives” (continuing studies).
- Bonnie G. McEwan– “The Spanish Missions of La Florida” (publication forthcoming).

- James J. Miller and Louis Tesar– “Florida’s Historic Contexts: A Framework for Management” (publication forthcoming).
- Louis Tesar– “Johnson Sand Pit (8Le 73): A Paleoindian-Early Deptford Base Camp in Leon County” (publication forthcoming).
- Brent R. Weisman– “Archaeology at the Fig Springs Mission”; “The Origin and History of Florida’s Seminoles and Miccosukees,” with John K. Mahon; “Crystal River: Ceremonial Mound Complex on the Florida Gulf Coast” (publications forthcoming); “Pioneer in Space and Time: John Mann Goggin and the Development of Florida Archaeology” (continuing study).

Florida Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee

- Joe Knetsch– “The Armed Occupation Act of 1842”; “A General History of Florida Land Policies” (continuing studies).
- Joe Knetsch and Edward Keuchel– “The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida” (continuing study).

Florida Museum of Natural History

- Kathleen Deagan (faculty)– “Archaeological Investigation of the Original Town Settlement and Forts of Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine” (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– “Voices from the Land– An Introduction to Native American Indians of Early Colonial Florida” (publication forthcoming).
- Jerald T. Milanich and Kathleen A. Deagan (faculty)– “The Timucua Indians” (publication forthcoming).

Florida Southern College

- James M. Denham (faculty)– “Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida”; “William Pope DuVal” (continuing studies).
- Mary M. Flekke (faculty)– “Frank Lloyd Wright: An Oral History of Florida Southern College” (continuing study).

Florida State University

- Canter Brown, Jr.– “Fort Meade, 1849-1900”; “Race Relations in Territorial Florida, 1821-1845”; “Lower Peninsular

- Florida's Political Economy During the Second Spanish Period"; "The Southern Loyalist Convention, the Congressional Elections of 1866, and Black Suffrage"; Bishop Payne and Resistance to Jim Crow in Florida During the 1880s" (studies completed); "Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1913"; "Biography of John J. Dickison," with David J. Coles (continuing studies).
- David J. Coles-- "Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- David J. Coles, Don Hillhouse, and Zack Waters-- "The Florida Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg" (continuing study).
- Tracey Denise-- "Florida's Tax Structure and the Modern State" (master's thesis in progress).
- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty) and Joe Knetsch-- "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida" (continuing study).
- Kevin Kline-- "The Pork Chop Gang: Florida's Bourbon Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Mary Jane Le Poer-- "Changing Roles and Expectations of Women in Leon County, Florida, During World War II" (master's thesis completed).
- Kathleen McCarron-- "Prohibition in Leon County, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Clay Outzs-- "The Democratic Presidential Primary of 1976: How Jimmy Carter Won the Nomination" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- J. Anthony Paredes (faculty)-- "Paradoxes of Modernism and Indianness in the American Southeast" (continuing study).
- Patrick Riordan-- "Finding Freedom in Florida: African Americans, Native Americans, and Escape"; "Rye House Schemes and Carolina Dreams: The Conspiratorial Background of the Scottish Settlement at Port Royal, S.C." (studies completed); "Seminole Genesis: Europeans, Africans, and Native Peoples in the Lower South" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty)-- "A History of Goodwood Plantation and the Croom Family," with Erica Clark; "Florida in the 1920s and 1930s"; "A History of the

Rosewood, Florida, Episode of 1923," member of five-person team preparing report for the Florida Legislature and Board of Regents (continuing studies).

Cecile-Marie Sastre— "A History of Florida Land Grants in the Second Spanish and Territorial Periods" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Francis Abreu, Boom-Time Architect of Ft. Lauderdale" (continuing study).

Victor Triay— "Al Capone in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Sally Vickers— "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's Congresswoman and Diplomat" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Stanley C. Bond, Jr.— "Archaeological Investigations of North Beach, a Post-Contact Native-American Site" (report completed).

Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Susan Parker, and Bruce John Piatek— "Archaeological Investigation of Ribera Gardens Site," with Julie Wizorek (report completed); "Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Government House"; "Interpretation of St. Augustine's Colonial Defense Lines"; "History and Archaeology of the Eligio de la Puente Site (SA24)"; "Fatio Lot/Sixteenth-Century Cemetery Lot (SA23)," with Valerie Bell (continuing studies).

Susan R. Parker— "Spanish St. Augustine: Family Life"; "Childhood"; "The Triracial Community"; "'Urban' Indians' Property Ownership" (continuing studies).

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Tina Bucuvalas— "South Florida Folklife" (publication forthcoming).

Brent Cantrell— "South Florida Folklife"; "Afro-Caribbean Religions"; "First Generation Africans in South Florida"; "Nicaraguan Arts in South Florida"; "Trinidad Carnival" (continuing studies).

Robert S. Carr— "Archaeology of Dade County" (continuing study).

Paul S. George— "Aviation History of Dade County"; "Maritime History of Dade County" (continuing studies).

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS 359

Arva Moore Parks– “Dade County”; “City of Miami Centennial” (continuing studies).

Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian, Remko Jansonius– “Detroit Photocroms of Florida, Cuba, and the Bahamas” (exhibition forthcoming).

W. S. Steele– “Seminole Wars in South Florida” (continuing study).

Patsy West– “Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees”; “Seminoles in Tourist Attractions and Expositions”; “The Settlement of the Everglades: A Miccosukee Cultural History” (continuing studies).

Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (faculty)– “The East Gulf Blockading Squadron and the U.S. Second Florida Cavalry” (study completed); “The Union Sailor-Confederate Deserter Alliance in Florida” (publication forthcoming).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– “A History of Florida’s Frontiers, c. 1500 to c. 1870” (continuing study).

Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus

Paul S. George (faculty)– “A History of the Burdine (Department Store) Family”; “The Hurricane of 1926”; “The Armed Occupation Act of 1842”; “The Maritime History of Greater Miami”; “Floridians and the Tuskegee Project (‘Experiment’)” (continuing studies).

Monroe County May Hill Russell Library

Alex Vega– “Key West Fire Department” (continuing study).

John Viele– “Florida Keys History” (continuing study).

Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

Jeana E. Brunson and R. Bruce Graetz– “Florida’s Civil War Flags” (continuing study).

Julia S. Hesson– “Florida Farm Kitchens of the 1920s and 1930s, Home Extension Work in Florida”; “Florida on the

Eve of the Great Depression”; “General stores, c. 1900” (permanent exhibits forthcoming).

Charles R. McNeil– “Pensacola Red Snapper Industry”; “Fishermen’s Labor Union in Pensacola”; “Union Bank Minute Book” (continuing studies).

North Florida Junior College

Joe A. Akerman, Jr. (faculty)– “The Life and Times of Jacob Summerlin” (continuing study).

Pensacola Junior College

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– “Brick Road to Boom Town: The Story of Santa Rosa County’s ‘Old Brick Road’” (publication forthcoming); “History of Santa Rosa County”; “History of the West Florida Citrus Industry”; “Antebellum Pensacola” (continuing studies).

Rollins College

Jack C. Lane (faculty)– “The Other Side of Paradise: Writer’s Critical of Florida,” with Anne Rowe (continuing study).

Saint Leo College

James J. Horgan (faculty)– “The Origins of Higher Education in the State of Florida” (continuing study).

The St. Augustine Foundation Inc., Flagler College

Eugene Lyon– “Translations, Revillagigedo Archives”; “Pedro Menéndez de Avilés” (continuing studies).

St. Augustine Historical Society

Page Edwards– “Turpentine Manufacturing and Naval Stores in St. Johns County”; “Medical Practices in Territorial Florida”; “The Battle of Natural Bridge”; “Divorce Procedures in Florida, 1890-1921” (continuing studies).

State University of New York at Albany

Stanley C. Bond, Jr.– “Tradition and Change in First Spanish

Period Architecture (1565-1763): A Search for Colonial Identity" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Sciences

Eleanore Lenington-- "Home Remedies, Cure-alls, and Doctoring in Rural Leon County, 1888" (continuing study).

Gwendolyn B. Waldorf-- "James Page in Leon County: Plantation Preacher and Community Leader" (continuing study).

University of Central Florida

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)-- "History of Altamonte Springs"; "History of Florida," with William Coker (continuing studies).

University of Florida

Robert Austin-- "Archaeology of the Kissimmee River Valley" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Brinnen Carter-- "Archaeology of Early Archaic Period Peoples" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Samuel Chapman-- "Seventeenth-Century Native Settlement Systems in North Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

James C. Clark-- "The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary between Claude Pepper and George Smathers" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Shelia Croucher-- "Imagining Miami: Toward a Theory of Ethnicity in the Post-Modern World" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

James Cusick-- "An Archaeological Study of Ethnicity in Second Spanish Period St. Augustine" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Herbert J. Doherty (faculty)-- "History of the Florida Historical Society"; "Railroads of North Central Florida"; "Biography of David L. Yulee" (continuing studies).

Michael V. Gannon (faculty)-- "Sesquicentennial History of Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Sherry Johnson-- "Casualties of Peace: The Floridano Diaspora in Cuba, 1763-1791" (continuing study).

Stuart Landers-- "Anatomy of a Movement: Protest and Ac-

tivism in Gainesville, Florida, 1963-1973" (continuing study).

David McCally— "An Environmental History of the Florida Everglades" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Dixie Neilson— "Keepers of the Flame: Early Lighthouse Keepers in St. Augustine, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Larry Odzak— "Odysseys to America: The Origins and Growth of Greek-American Communities in the Southern United States" (continuing study).

Susan R. Parker— "Economic Relations in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Florida" (continuing study).

Claudine Payne— "Political Complexity in Chiefdoms: The Lake Jackson Mound Group and Ceramic Chronology in Northwest Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Ruth Rocolli— "Gender and Conquest: The Role of Women in the European Colonization of La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Donna Ruhl— "Paleoethnobotany of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Spanish Mission Sites in Coastal La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Richard K. Scher (faculty)— "The Modern Political Campaign" (continuing study).

Richard K. Scher, Jon Mills, and John Hotaling, "Voting Rights: Law, Politics, and Democracy" (study completed).

Thomas Vogler— "The Use of Aerial Remote Sensing to Interpret Aboriginal Settlement Systems in the Lake Okeechobee Basin" (master's thesis in progress).

Bertram Wyatt-Brown (faculty)— "The Percy and Related Families" (publication forthcoming).

University of Miami

Gregory W. Bush (faculty)— "Miami and the Culture of Spectacle in Modern America"; "Anti-Communism and South Florida Political Culture, 1930-1960" (continuing studies).

Patricia R. Wickman— "Discourse and Power: Native Americans and Spaniards Negotiate a New World in La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of North Florida

James S. Crooks (faculty)– “Jacksonville Since Consolidation” (continuing study).

University of South Florida

Keith Haldeman– “Blanche Armwood” (master’s thesis in progress).

Janet M. Hall– “School Desegregation in Hillsborough County, Florida” (master’s thesis completed).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– “Florida During World War II” (continuing study).

Robert E. Snyder (faculty)– “World War II Films Made in Florida” (continuing study).

University of West Florida

Frances Barrow– “History of Okaloosa County in the Twentieth Century” (master’s thesis in progress).

Richard Brosnaham– “Pensacola Historic Preservation Board” (master’s thesis in progress).

Jane E. Dysart (faculty)– “Indians in West Florida, 1500-1830” (continuing study).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– “A History of the Civil War in Pensacola” (continuing study).

Vanderbilt University

Jane Landers (faculty)– “Florida, The World Around Us”; “Race and Society in Florida: The African American Heritage from 1565 to the Present,” with David R. Colburn (publications forthcoming); “Free and Slave”; “Florida’s Colonial Plantations,” with Susan Parker (continuing studies).

Consulting, Research, and Local Historians

J. Allison DeFoor, II– “Odette Phillippe at Tampa Bay” (continuing study).

J. Larry Durrence– “The Influence of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Florida” (continuing study).

Julius J. Gordon– “Facts About Afro-Americans in Hills-

borough County, Florida, 1870-1890"; "Census of Hillsborough County, Florida, 1890" (studies completed); "Vessels Entering Tampa Bay, Nineteenth Century"; "Church History, Hillsborough County, Florida, 1840-1900" (continuing studies).

Bruce John Piatek— "Washington Oaks State Park (Flagler County) and Archaeological Survey" (report completed).

Zack C. Waters— "Florida's Confederate Soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia"; "Fifteenth Confederate Cavalry (Florida and Alabama Troops) and the War in the Florida Panhandle" [continuing studies].

Patricia R. Wickman— "Osceola's Journey: The Seminoles Remember the Florida Wars"; "The Uncommon Man: Senator George A. Smathers of Florida" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama Press, forthcoming publications

Elizabeth Shelfer Morgan— *Uncertain Seasons*.

University Press of Florida, forthcoming publications

D. Bottcher and F. Izuno, *Everglades Agricultural Area: Its Water, Soil, Culture, and Environmental Management*.

Mitchell Marken, *Pottery Recovered From Spanish Shipwrecks: Finds from the 16th Through 18th Centuries*.

Jerald Milanich, *Voices From the Past: Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*.

Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor, *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia* (first paperback edition).

Ferdie Pacheco, *Ybor City Chronicles*.

Nicolas Patricios, *Marvelous Miami: The Building of a City*.

William H. Sears, *Fort Center: An Archaeological Site in the Lake Okeechobee Basin* (first paperback edition).

Ann Shoemeyan, ed., *Florida Statistical Abstract*.

H. Stevenson and B. Anderson, *The Birdlife of Florida*.

Roger Tarr, ed., *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings' Short Fiction*.

Woody Walter, *Visions of Florida*.