

## Eric C. Lincoln, Professor of Sociology and Religion, 1971

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David Yellin- Now that is interesting you did say about Memphis the sociological set up of Memphis maybe (muffled). Why do you say that?

C. Eric Lincoln- Because I have always seen Memphis as a particular kind of sociological construct, what I am trying to say is that there seems to be a particular tone or kind of social personality that the city has. That might well make it a likely place for this kind of thing to happen.

David Yellin- Is the personality a positive one or a negative one, is it a place where it could happen because Memphis didn't care, or is it because there were certain tensions that leads to this kind of thing.

C. Eric Lincoln- I think obviously there are tensions that lead too this kind of thing but there are circumstances behind the tensions and these are the kind of things that we are trying to get at, what kind of a city is Memphis? What kind of people live there or where do they come from, what are their attitudes or what are their world views, all of these things go into making a kind of social profile by which I believe one can predict certain kinds of things that might happen.

Carolyn Yellin- Let me ask I felt that if I had to describe Memphis in a few words, that I would say it must be like Chicago was 100 years ago in that it is made up of people who come directly from the country. The farm directly into the big city.

Joan Beifuss- I thought they came directly from both.

Carolyn Yellin- Well I guess I was trying to think because most other big cities now...

Joan Beifuss- I thought it was Birmingham, would Birmingham be in any way comparable?

C. Eric Lincoln- Somewhat, somewhat.

David Yellin- Well what are this...

C. Eric Lincoln- But your point about Memphis being made up largely of people that come from rural areas is one that is important, from eastern Arkansas, southern Missouri, Northern Alabama and Northern Mississippi who come to Memphis and take on a patina of sophistication.

David Yellin- But still filling in the profile in a city in which this could happen whatever you want to call it. Is it ....

C. Eric Lincoln- Well certainly it is like people develop a spectrum of values and these values are reflected for example in that the city fathers will for the city and the kind of laws that they make and the kind of codes they have and the kind of educational systems and so on. Attitudes toward (muffled) for example all these things, to some degree the profile of a city is the haphazard aggregation of people,

but when these people live together and work together for time the city it self takes on almost a distinct personality.

David Yellin- Now you make kind of an interesting comment, is this city's personality the result of the city's fathers as you called them, having made their imprint and then the new whole middle class from rural...

C. Eric Lincoln- Well the city father's to a very large degree perhaps to a greater degree then they would like to think reflect the people. you see you can't remain a city father very long without constituents and....

David Yellin- Without some sons.

C. Eric Lincoln- Unless of course you have a kind of political machine I believe as Crump did, then to some degree you are behind the immediate reach of the feeling, but even this can't go on fore ver.

David Yellin- Well now did the people create Crump or did Crump create the people or am I confusing that issue.

C. Eric Lincoln- I think that what happened is that the people permitted Crump to assume a role that they couldn't discharge him from for 23 years.

Carolyn Yellin- If you recall 1947 Crump was still in his hayday the period you were here attending Lemoyne. How was Crump regarded then was there fear of Crump?

C. Eric Lincoln- Oh he was regarded by many as being a kind of benevolent dictator. He was a man who kept the Memphis city streets clean, he was a man who (muffled) prostitution in the Hernando and Beal St. areas. He was a man who kept the niggers in place in a benevolent kind of way. And he was a man who when he finally decided to have black policemen, made his chauffer the leader of black policemen this kind of situation.

Carolyn Yellin- How could he benevolently keep the niggers in their place as you say?

C. Eric Lincoln- Well we had a situation in which if black people wanted something form the city they did not ask for it or demand it as citizens but they went through certain appointed black spokesman who with hand and hand went to eh powers to be and asked for it and they got it. It might be second hand but they got it anyway.

David Yellin- Now wherefore in that is this city in that different than others, Jersey City Philadelphia, New York, Chicago?

Carolyn Yellin- Or Atlanta?

David Yellin- Now Atlanta didn't have a boss, IO am thinking in terms of...

Carolyn Yellin- Oh you are thinking of the boss....the machine.

C. Eric Lincoln- (muffled) Atlanta has a leader and that is the difference in the two.

David Yellin- But didn't the other cities in essence have the same essential problem of the boss situation and minorities coming in?

C. Eric Lincoln- The essential difference between the Memphis and the other cities you mentioned like Chicago and Newark at the time and what was the other city?

David Yellin- Jersey City.

C. Eric Lincoln- Jersey City, was that in Memphis you have always had a very large percentage of blacks and wherever you have a large percentage of blacks this becomes a crucial and critical factor in the social circumstances and probably was the circumstances of the city. You have this here, and you didn't have it to the same degree in Chicago or in Newark at that time, of course (muffled).

David Yellin- Also of course the minorities I spoke of in those other places (muffled) also broken up. This was a solid group, the blacks.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes.

David Yellin- Now your feeling that this could have happened to Martin Luther King, is that a black and white situation or could it have happened to Robert Kennedy? I mean you are not saying that the murder was possible here?

C. Eric Lincoln- I don't think the likelihood of it happening to Robert Kennedy will (muffled) to Dr. King. I think the (muffled) was definitely decisive.

David Yellin- So it was then. And yet ....

C. Eric Lincoln- Memphis had not matured enough probably still hasn't to be able to accept black people at any situation occurred. Memphis still doesn't know what a black man is so to speak, in stead it has a sort of antebellum interpretation of what it means to be black. You can see this still in some of social relations in Memphis. So Memphis was certainly not ready for Martin Luther King or for anybody that had King's style or King's philosophy.

David Yellin- It wasn't ready for a movement in other wards?

C. Eric Lincoln- No, not by that kind of a black person no.

David Yellin- But why were other city's ready? I mean was it because of what you said the people coming in from the rural areas.

C. Eric Lincoln- None of the other city's were ready either but at the same time the likelihood of an assassination in some other cities were not as great as Memphis. Black life, was always (muffled) to Memphis and because Memphis has never recognized fully that black people are complete human beings then it is no surprise that many people in Memphis never heard about him and didn't know what he was trying to do and couldn't understand why you had 100 reporters from all over the

world who came down because a nigger was killed, who is Martin Luther King? He is just another nigger.

David Yellin- Your statement that black life was held cheap here is the key, because if you take it the other way, I guess Memphis is not the, but one of the few cities of any size in and around the country where no violence took place, overt violence, or confrontation between black and white as a group. Now how do you assess this or evaluate this?

C. Eric Lincoln- Right there was that completely (muffled) .

Carolyn Yellin- This what I was....

David Yellin- I only want to ask you to repeat that because I don't think it was clear enough for the tape.

C. Eric Lincoln- I said that Memphis had no confrontations because of the tradition of intimidation by the police.

David Yellin- Now also by this same token.....

Joan Beifuss- But Birmingham had that didn't it?

David Yellin- Yeah but why were the police more intimidating here than other places, isn't that essentially what you are asking too? I mean the police intimidated blacks other places.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes but there are degrees of intimidation, let me give you an example. Let me give you an example. The police intimidated blacks in Atlanta too. I have not been to Atlanta in 4 years but in traveling for example from Atlanta to Memphis as I frequently did I felt a relative sense of security so long as I was in Fulton County. I felt extremely vulnerable outside of Fulton County and going across Mississippi and coming into Memphis I felt quite as vulnerable and quite as dangerous a situation as I did in Mississippi. So what I am saying is there are degrees of intimidation and the police in Memphis represented to most black people the possibility even the probability of an incident which could lead to sudden death and I have (muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- and you think most black people in Memphis had, would you say you couldn't grow up and live 25 years in this city as a black person and not have some sort of experience like this with the Memphis police?

C. Eric Lincoln- At the time when I left Memphis for good, early 1950's I left because among other reasons that I felt that I could never live in Memphis and (muffled) my manhood. It would certainly mean trouble and possibly death.

David Yellin- I mean that was a real.

C. Eric Lincoln- Turn that thing off and I will...

(Tape Break)

Carolyn Yellin- What you are saying....

David Yellin- That is kind of interesting we said something about relation that the reason that Memphis was pacified for several years was that there was no Stokely Carmichael and Dr. Lincoln said....

Carolyn Yellin- The reason there was no Stokely Carmichael...

David Yellin- Was because he wouldn't have been tolerated in either community.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes I am sure of that. Certainly the black community was not going to tolerate the kind of militants that were started by Stokely Carmichael. And the black leadership of Memphis was not at that time, wouldn't tolerate him either, but probably the most outspoken black leader in Memphis might be in the later 50's early 60's was Jesse Turner. And Jesse Turner was considered by some of his more vibrant colleagues to be a black radical and a crackpot. It is the first time I have ever heard of a banker being radical. But this gives you some idea of the kind of conservative stance that most black Memphians are after.

Joan Beifuss- Ok now why did black Memphians take that conservative position? Because there was still in the middle of the 60's which is very late in terms of other cities in black leadership?

C. Eric Lincoln- Well black leadership in Memphis has been conservative perhaps since they got rid of Bob Church a long time ago. And such that time you will be hard pushed to find anyone who was outspoken who remained in Memphis very long.

David Yellin- Does this all have to do with the police?

C. Eric Lincoln- The police were certainly a factor for example, there was a (muffled) on Florida avenue back in the 50's, who ran (muffled) of the city fathers, so what they did was to simply station a couple of policemen outside of the (muffled) all day every day until the business (muffled).

David Yellin- Was that a black?

C. Eric Lincoln- Yeah that as what's his name...Chicago.

David Yellin- That is interesting that was mentioned in the Crump show and he was never identified as a black...

Joan Beifuss- It was identified in the book.

David Yellin- Oh he is?

C. Eric Lincoln- I know the name well I been introduced many times (muffled).

Joan Beifuss- Well Dr. Liggin the fact that there was no college again back in the early 60's to sit in movement...

C. Eric Lincoln- Back when there was no what?

Joan Beifuss- The fact that there was no black college around which a sit in movement could coalesce...

C. Eric Lincoln- There was a college.

David Yellin- Lemoyne.

Joan Beifuss- But if Dr. Price was holding the line quite firmly at Lemoyne would that have started anything from starting there.

C. Eric Lincoln- Well certainly this would eliminate a potential rallying point for the kind of youthful expressions that were characteristic of other colleges of the 1960's

David Yellin- I would like to make a comment here and see if you agree. I wish you would talk more about the white community in this. I mean I relation to how it developed and so on. Because I think it would be kind of perceptive.

C. Eric Lincoln- Alright what constitutes the (muffled) in Memphis. You have a number of old white families that have money and run businesses and occasionally represented some of the city government. Then you have a vast lower middle class that is made up of people from Mississippi, Arkansas, southern Missouri, and north Alabama and so on. Then you have the transient kind of people who come in from the interims and remain for a short time and move on to St. Louis and Chicago and other places and these transients are both white and black but someone has said and I think not without some justification that in its lack of social maturity Memphis is still essentially a riverboat town but the kind of social morality that characterized the 90's and the n80's and so on, are still not deeply camouflaged or covered in Memphis. At the same kind s of attitudes that made Memphis at one time a rustling, bustling, wide open town and where life was cheap and still are ahead of the camouflaged to some degree. Maybe this is one of the good things that could be said about the Crump regime is that buy a kind of a brute force Crump took over the city and cleansed it so to speak and made it respectable and within the confine of his political machine but was never able and he probably was not concerned with changing the attitudes of maybe what it was before he came.

David Yellin- Am I reading you incorrectly you said that Memphis what makes up the white community in Memphis and you mentioned the aristocracy in a sense?

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes.

David Yellin- Then the lower middle class, does that mean there is a small middle class?

C. Eric Lincoln- That means that this, the middle class is probably not the kind of factor in the determination in the Memphis image as might be the case of some other places. You have a middle class yes, but it is not a socially sophisticated middle class? It is a middle class that has become (muffled) with yesterday, early this morning . And it is still not sure of itself and not sure of its moralities or what moralities its moralities ought to be and is still too close to the status quo (muffled) to feel profitable with itself.

Joan Beifuss- Where would you place the white church, or the religion, the fundamentalist religion in all of this?

C. Eric Lincoln- Well, the white church of course is one of the key structures in the determination of the personality of the city Because the white church is the institution which sanctifies the attitude and the understandings of people and like any other community the church is the prime institution for, well for which the people look for approval and for their family.

Joan Beifuss- Did you think, you said that some of the black and a little display of manhood might have changed, do you think there was a little, was there groups in Memphis, in white Memphis that could have spoken more strongly, could there have been stronger standing up by moderates.

C. Eric Lincoln- Of course.

Joan Beifuss- Were there moderates here do you think.

C. Eric Lincoln- I suppose there have always been moderates, but when moderates are silent.

David Yellin- Silent moderates.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yeah we are talking about the silent majority, you are talking about the silent moderates too. What do you expect from (muffled).

Joan Beifuss- Was there ever any, do you know if there was any attempt by the silent white moderates, any chance for them to get together with the black people who were dissatisfied with people with the way things were going?

C. Eric Lincoln- I don't thin the white moderates made too many attempts with black people who were dissatisfied, they were more likely to get together with black people who were satisfied.

David Yellin- And their approach was that the best cure for Memphis is to keep things quiet, not change anything.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes the traditional kind of thing to you know black men and white ministers(muffled) but not at any level of (muffled). But merely to be saved, we talked.



Carolyn Yellin- This was repeated (muffled) took place during the strike where that mere fact that he mayor did talk or did listen was considered by many people a real reason to commend him..

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes this was considered (muffled) to action.

David Yellin- Yes I think it wasn't a question of him talking but he felt that communication was taking place because he went down tot eh union hall and spoke tot eh black workers and said come back and trust me and that was communication and he was sorely disappointed when they didn't respond to this. And so that in a sense bears out, of course I don't know have you been back recently say in the last year or two that you can make an assessment of what it might be today in relation to the power structure?

C. Eric Lincoln- No I do not feel qualified to comment on the power structure, (muffled).

David Yellin- I a still trying to flush in and flush out your setting that what happened here in the assassination could have indeed taken place. And I in order to keep it clear are you suggesting that it was and it would be possible and indeed might have been in fact probable that there was a conspiracy for it to happen?

C. Eric Lincoln- No I don't think there was a conspiracy for it to happen here. I am saying that cities like people have a certain (muffled) of personalities. For example Memphis is a noticeably different kind of city from let's say Nashville or let us say Atlanta. For one would not have expected Dr. King to be assassinated in Atlanta Georgia. One would not have expected Dr. King to be assassinated in Nashville for example.

David Yellin- Yeah I believe you when you say it but tell me why?

C. Eric Lincoln- It is very difficult to express what the particular qualities are that make a city or what it is but by analogy nobody would have been surprised if Martin Luther King would have been assassinated in Birmingham Alabama, or Memphis Tennessee. I am trying to draw two different kinds of constructs. I am putting for example Atlanta and Nashville on one side and Memphis and Birmingham on the other. And I am saying that these two cities on either hand are essentially different from any two.

David Yellin- Is part of it the physical set up? When you talk in my mind I see Atlanta and for some reason the little I know of the city and not too much of it I have a feeling that I understand what you mean but it is not the physical make up of Atlanta it is the make up of he people that give it its personality.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes I am saying that essentially that (muffled) give it it's personality but you know interestingly enough the make up of the people also have something to do with the (muffled) of the city.

Joan Beifuss- The kind of buildings they build and the kind of decorations.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes let's look at Memphis and Atlanta for example, I lived in Memphis for a long time and I lived in Atlanta for a long time. The mood of Atlanta is essentially different from the one of Memphis. The feeling of even black people in Atlanta that we are an aggressive liberated city so to speak, 15 years ago, which moved Atlanta for example to the university of the south and professional baseball and professional football and things no (muffled) sort and long before Memphis drew...I don't know whether this is a plus or a minus to me it (muffled) the movement of traffic and so there is a mood of the people in Atlanta that is essentially different of that of people in Memphis. Or be it Atlanta is in Georgia and Memphis is in Tennessee whatever that means. Memphis is in Tennessee but psychologically Memphis has always been in Mississippi. It is pleasant in Tennessee (muffled).

Carolyn Yellin- Let me ask you, let me name a northern city, do you think Martin Luther King could have been assassinated in Chicago?

C. Eric Lincoln- I think he almost was.

Carolyn Yellin- And this is what there's...

David Yellin- Of course he walked out in the open.

Carolyn Yellin- So that this whatever you are talking about this personality of the city certainly and yet you would not expect it in New York perhaps?

C. Eric Lincoln- Probably not, again there is a certain sophistication in New York where this kind of a thing would not probably happen, it could have happened in Chicago but for very different reasons from the probability of happening in Memphis. Chicago is made up quite differently and the ethnic groups particularly the east Europeans in Chicago and in Cleveland for example constituted different kinds of factors from the make up of say Memphis or essentially the only two ethnic groups are white and blacks and Anglo Saxons, essentially with relation. But I was in Cleveland a few months ago and I was surprised at here in (muffled) 20 years and talk about the importance of the ethnic groups in eastern Europe and there hostility for blacks. Or rather I should say the hostility between the two (muffled). The same kind of thing of course in Chicago particularly on the west side, but these hostilities have different kinds of (muffled) from the hostilities between the blacks and white in Memphis or Mississippi.

Carolyn Yellin- Then I was going to pursue this further, then Malcolm X was assassinated in New York but again for totally different reasons, you would have expected that to happen there but not necessarily Martin Luther King because they were so different.

C. Eric Lincoln- No, Malcolm X was assassination would have probably have easily have occurred in Chicago or Los Angeles or Cleveland or even (muffled) of that

matter as far as I am concerned because Malcolm assassins and Martin Luther King's assassins were certainly differently motivated.

Carolyn Yellin- And you wouldn't necessarily though it would have been less likely for Malcolm X to be assassinated in Memphis?

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes..

Carolyn Yellin- We really (muffled)

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes it would have been considerably slightly, but what I am saying however is that Malcolm could have as easily been assassinated at sea for that matter. The assassination attempt was made on Malcolm and the.....(Tape Break)

C. Eric Lincoln- Wherever he was.

David Yellin- this is going to be in your new book?

C. Eric Lincoln- Probably.

Carolyn Yellin- Well the reasons I pursued...

C. Eric Lincoln- I ain't going to tell the whole story though because I don't want to be assassinated.

David Yellin- Would you like some more water?

C. Eric Lincoln- I'm fine.

Carolyn Yellin- Would you like something else to drink?

C. Eric Lincoln- No this is fine.

Carolyn Yellin- The reason that I am pursuing this is that there are those especially in white Memphis that say it could have happened anywhere. And that Martin Luther King could have been assassinated anywhere it could have happened at sea.

David Yellin- (muffled)

Carolyn Yellin- And you said Malcolm X could have happened at sea and they say Martin Luther King's assassination could have happened at sea.

C. Eric Lincoln- In a sense they are right, I will concede that, I will concede that Martin Luther King had made the kind of enemies and had disturbed a certain element of arrogance to the degree that theoretically he could have been assassinated home in his bed. But at the same time I am also saying that the make up of Memphis is such as I interpret it that the mood and understanding of Memphis is such the attitude toward black people in Memphis is such that there conducive circumstances for him being assassinated here by a native, I think that the fact that

James Earl Ray came and assassinated him and was outside of Memphis was purely incidental.

Carolyn Yellin- Do you think that there could be a point made that James Earl Ray would feel comfortable in this atmosphere, simply suggesting that a native might have done...

C. Eric Lincoln- To a degree.

Carolyn Yellin- (muffled).

C. Eric Lincoln- To the degree that Ray may have felt himself acting on a mandate of a segment of people. I don't know whether this was in fact the motivating factor in the case but I am saying that the mood of a significant element of people in this area was such that an assassination of King would not have been unlikely.

David Yellin- So that when there were recorded remarks and overheard remarks, good. This is reflective of...

C. Eric Lincoln- (muffled)

David Yellin- That when the announcement was made that he, good was some of the reactions. Of course (muffled).

Carolyn Yellin- Or surprised it didn't happen sooner. A lot of people said. And I think the reason I am wondering on this is that we are really talking about exactly what really got us into this entire project so you are really at the heart of it and this question of why did it happen in Memphis I think is worthy of this kind of speculation and I just ask this that and given, Joan said a moment ago, a paid killer and let's assume that he assassination was paid, and this was certainly a common assumption about James Earle Ray. He then does have some freedom of choice of how he sets it up, any paid killer would have this and so that there could be....may I ask you do you think there could be a choice that he should make whether it should happen here or Atlanta or Jackson Mississippi.

C. Eric Lincoln- (Muffled).

Carolyn Yellin- He has a choice to make, he has a certain freedom to decide when he is going to do this contracted for assassination and this could get him to a point that we have been talking at length. The kind of personality that the city has and how (muffled) and comfortable he feels to act and perform this act that he is going to do somewhere. The fact that one city would seem to him more hospitable to his needs than another city because of its personality. Am I putting words in your mouth?

C. Eric Lincoln- no. Those are your words.

Carolyn Yellin- Those are words in my mouth.

David Yellin- Yeah, the feeling of I think the feeling to be specific in this may not be....but the fact that the police might be more apt to cooperate or not cooperate against him. That the whole aspect of where he could buy things and I guess overall just the sense the climate of the atmosphere here is what we are talking about.

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes I am not willing to say that James Earl Ray probably contemplated the, oh that the police would look the other way, I don't believe that at all. As a matter of fact the police in Memphis have had a quite a reputation for the swift apprehension of criminals like (muffled). They also have a reputation for treating them differently but my suspicion is that the police who have acted as quickly to apprehend the slayer of Martin Luther King as they would anybody else. So I don't think that Ray necessarily counted on that. He may have counted on other kinds of supporting circumstances, other people in Memphis and other kinds of circumstances and so on but I do not believe that he counted on the cooperation of the police.

Carolyn Yellin- I interrupted you Joan, you had something that you have now forgotten. I wanted to ask one other question, when we moved here it gave me a very eerie feeling to go to the Memphis water (muffled) and have it explained in the chamber of commerce bulletin or the welcome wagon booklet for newcomers or something as if it were a matter of civic pride it seem dot me. That the cobblestones on the Memphis (muffled) had been laid by slaves a hundred years ago. Would another city do this.

C. Eric Lincoln- Probably. But you must remember that the whole Memphis was still the home (muffled). Of the biggest slave traders of all time but it was the same (muffled) who founded the ku klux klan and Memphis was the same bash of calvary ex-slave (muffled) who rode his horse into the (muffled). I imagine there are all kinds of these things, that (muffled).The confederate soldier on the forest shot everything living even though they said surrender because the union forces had the audacity to include(muffled). These are the kinds of things that left us (muffled).

(Tape Break)

C. Eric Lincoln- These are the kinds of things that left us last remember.

David Yellin- I don't know that this has to do with anything and reading one of your books I want to (muffled) I have been meaning to ask somebody such as you this question. How much, I guess I use the word blame if you don't then don't except the question, could you put to the clergy for what happened to the blacks in America? Beginning back in...

C. Eric Lincoln- What is our question now?

David Yellin- How much blame could you put to the clergy for sanctifying slavery and sanctifying the subhuman condition and subhuman designation from blacks from the clergy?

C. Eric Lincoln- Well obviously quite a lot, because in the first place the churches not only made no effort to let us say (muffled). But were constantly concerned to do (muffled) less the old road that sanctification brings about (muffled). Then when they finally did agree to the (muffled). The specific understanding that the Christianization of slaves was not working. Then it was only a short step to the dictation to the clergy what should be preached and what was preached and what was the old (muffled). So the church became deeply involved in the propagation of slavery and the whole matter of absolving Christians from any kind of claim. It was the church (muffled) that with admission of the church to rescue the black heathens from Africa and to bring them under the (muffled) of western civilization and that they were instantly better off being slaves in a Christian society than being free (muffled).

David Yellin- Well then maybe you get my, I was leading up to this loaded question and maybe you answered it, How come then that Christianity is so strong within blacks?

C. Eric Lincoln- Well there are, there could be any number of reasons, let's pick out one. Christianity had a tradition in black Africa long before the slave trade became. This is something that we overlook completely. We frequently assume that blacks had no contact with the Christian church until they were (muffled). Which was not the case in the first place there were blacks in the very beginning on the day of Pentecost when the gospel was first proclaimed. Secondly the Coptic church in Ethiopia, and the church of Alexandria of Egypt and the church in North Africa have for hundred of years (muffled). Who were important figures in the founding of Christian church and the propagation of it and again factors which are not commonly known. However, it is true that the legion of West Africa from which most of the slaves were taken, was not at that time Christianized. But the Africans had other religions many of them who were Muslim and I will tell you an interesting thing, I (muffled). And (muffled) insisted that all the blacks (muffled) were Muslims. I dismissed this as being a figment of his imagination. Because I can not find anywhere in the literature that would (Muffled) to substantiate this. (muffled) It did become clear to me that at least a large numbers of these people were Muslim but others of course were not. But the point is this. That whatever religion the blacks started with they were forbidden to practice. They were forbidden absolutely to practice and blacks of who happened to be at the same (muffled) or to (muffled). Because this (muffled) always made for the potential (muffled).

David Yellin- This was purposely done?

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes, so then there was several things the blacks must not do. They can not worship. They could not communicate in the language which they brought with them. And they could not of course they were discouraged from marrying (muffled). So the policy was one of discouragement always. Now this meant then that for approximately 100 years blacks were granted no religion at all. So that when they were, I will use the term reintroduced to Christianity then it was in a sense an answer. Because it provided for them not only a religious escape

(muffled) it provided important kinds of social human and economic expressions that they (muffled).

David Yellin- A sense of community?

C. Eric Lincoln- Yes. So then blacks did become Christians but we in no (muffled) but the blacks were being talked to as they sat in the galleries of white churches was not (muffled). They had their own teachings that they heard in the swamps and the bayous and so on, (muffled). Talk about her mother going down to the woods with the other slaves which (muffled) so that this caught the (muffled). But what frequently happened was that blacks made their own churches (muffled) gathered and listen to the preacher exalt them to be content and so on and then (muffled)  
(Tape End)