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BISHOP'S ADDRESS: The Negro Leaves God—God Leaves The Negro.

BISHOP C. R. HARRIS' VIEWS.

Dear Brethren: We stand in the gloomy shadows of a great political defeat. I speak not as a churchman but as a Negro and as a Republican, for in the last election, unfortunately for the Negro, the two terms were synonymous. What adds bitterness to our cup of woe is the sad fact that we brought it on ourselves. As a politician if not as a people, during the last three decades, the Negro has been departing from God; now God has departed from the Negro, and left him at the mercy of an exultant, determined, but as I trust he will prove a generous victor, as well as just. Still the doleful lamentation of Cardinal Wolsey as interpreted by the poet comes forcibly and distinctly to my ear, in words running somewhat thus: "O Cromwell, Cromwell! had I but served my God as I have served the king, He would not now have left me penniless." So may the Negro now cry, "O preacher, preacher! had I but served my God as I have served my party, He would not now have left me prostrate and bleeding. Oh! may he also, with the Psalmist say in the near future, "Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now I observe thy word."

But the party—the mere politician—may demand of me, wherein have we gone astray? Let the political history of the Negro Republican party in the State and of the South answer. Thirty years ago or more God was for the Negro and the Republican party. Soon the party lash was applied so vigorously by Democrats that the Negro could not find enough good Republicans to fill the offices at his disposal so he filled out his ticket with bad Democrats and unprincipled men of any party or of no party. In vain did good Negroes protest. He was told you must vote for your party, regardless of the moral principle of the men—measures, not men, is the true political maxim. Still we protested, and the cry is heard as it has been on the other side, Ostracise him, abuse him if he does not or won't vote the straight ticket, and he too drew the fatal color line. Fools that we were, we forgot the white Democrats could afford to adopt that rallying cry for there are two whites to one black; and with every race "blood is thicker than water," except Negro blood—that makes up in color what it lacks in thickness.

But as with Israel in the days of old, God did not suffer us to desert Him without a Prophet to warn and persuade us. He saw the Negro had just emerged from the black night of slavery; he can not easily discriminate between right and wrong in party politics. I will try him with a moral is-

sue. So in 1881 He sends upon the political arena a prophet like Isaiah and Jeremiah, who like them, entered into politics; not however, as a partisan. God even here "tempered the wind to the shorn lamb." He separated it from the the word "Party" and named it "Bill"—Prohibition Bill. In the contest that ensued God, with His preachers, white and black, were found upon one side, allied with the best people of the State, Republicans as well as Democrats. Then came the tide which, taken at the flood by the North Carolina Negroes, would lead to victory, and the color line would forever be abolished. But no, they let that tide pass, and its ebb drug back the Negro into well nigh irretrievable defeat, "because he knew not the day of his visitation." What was the result? Righteousness was defeated without regard to color or party, and corruption has ruled politics since.

The preacher as a potent factor in politics is unknown; God has deserted the party. Under like circumstances the Negro has not only been defeated, but one by one in several states he has been disfranchised, on account of his color. But, thank God, North Carolina is a better State than Mississippi. The colored people are too intelligent and the white people too fair, too just, to allow or demand disfranchisement of the Negro as a Negro. Indeed, the "White Supremacy Party" in the last campaign repeatedly denied any such intention. Let us for once give them the credit of sincerity.

The Negro ought never to have been a partisan. A Democratic Negro is as good as a Republican Negro, if, as Henry Ward Beecher said of the white man and the black man, "he is as good." It is a question of morals and not of party. Now I never have voted a Democratic ticket in whole or in part, but I have never been a mere partisan. First I was a straight-out Republican, then an Independent or Prohibition-Republican. Now, thanks to the mooted White Man's Republican party, I am simply an Independent—at least until some new party shall arise which will utterly ignore the color line and will be a Moral Reform party.

While we are properly anxious about our rights as American citizens, it is equally important that we perform our duties corresponding to these rights. Among these is that of paying our taxes. These are the price we pay the government, whether National, State, county or municipal, for the protection afforded us as to life and property and the pursuit of happiness in our several vocations. The poll tax may be looked up as the price for the privilege of voting. Hence every voter should at least pay his poll tax. If

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THE OUTLOOK GLOOMY

"What Must We Do to Be Saved"
---Our Rights Asked For.

BY BISHOP A. WALTERS, D. D.

It is the concensus of opinion among the leaders of our race that the outlook just now for the Negro in America is gloomy.

President McKinley, in obedience to a command from the South, has seen fit in his lengthy message to Congress to remain silent on the outrages in Illinois and North and South Carolina; recent events in the South have revealed his real motive for doing so.

The Governor of Illinois is ready to blow to pieces with Gatling guns any Negroes who dare enter his domain to take the places of white men who have refused to work.

The officials of the States of North and South Carolina claim that they are powerless to protect us in our rights.

The city officials of Wilmington, N. C., were the leaders of the mob that ruthlessly murdered more than a dozen Afro-Americans on the 10th of last November.

South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi by statutory enactments have practically disfranchised their Negro population. The Southern pulpit and press, aided by a number of Northern pulpits and not a few daily newspapers and weekly magazines, are doing all in their power to mold public sentiment against us.

Truly, the outlook is gloomy. But we have seen gloomier times than the present (a short while before the war, when the fugitive slave law was passed) and were brought triumphantly through by the God of battles.

The most astonishing thing to me is that in the face of these discouragements, there are a number of so-called leaders of the race who are opposed to our uniting for self-protection. They advise us to be silent and let the white man have his own way; burn, hang, rob, insult and discriminate against us in every way, and we are to kiss the hand that smites us. Nay, nay, my brethren, the time has come when the Negroes must unite. The President of the United States, whose duty it is to see that the citizens are protected, has abandoned us to our fate. The only sources to which we can turn for help in this dark hour are, (1st) to our heavenly Father, who has fought our battles in the past; (2nd) to our loyal white friends who have ever been for fair play and equal justice; and lastly, to ourselves. The crisis is upon us; we must face it like men. If we remain silent and surrender all that has been given us as citizens, we shall prove ourselves unworthy of the name of FREEMEN.

Let Afro-American men and women from all parts of the United States who are interested in the future welfare of their race,

gather at Washington on the 29th of December, not as an angry mob, but as sober, loyal and thoughtful citizens, and consult together as to what is best to do in this crisis. The effect of such a meeting cannot be otherwise than helpful to us. It will show to the world that since the President and the Governors mentioned above have abandoned us, we (10,000,000 Afro-Americans) have decided by the assistance of God to help ourselves.

We have in our possession saving agencies, such as character, industry, intelligence and a firm trust in God; what we need to do is to get together and agree among ourselves as to the best way to utilize these agencies. Now is the time to mold sentiment in our favor, since the South is doing everything in its power to create sentiment against us. Our cause is just, for we simply ask for our rights, which have been guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country; therefore we are sure that God is on our side.

Let us meet together and agree upon a day of prayer to Almighty God for help. Let us meet together and organize a permanent council that will have the following (or something better that may be suggested at the coming meeting) as its objects:

1st. To create a healthy public sentiment in favor of fair play towards the Negro.

2nd. To urge that a fair representation be given to Afro-Americans in the government of the country, both State and national.

3rd. To devise ways and means to raise funds to prosecute all perpetrators of lynchings and other outrages, and to test the constitutionality of laws enacted by some of the Southern States, which have for their object the disfranchisement of the Negro, and which are contrary to the letter and spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

4th. To resist to the utmost the tyrannical usages of railroads, steamboats and other corporations that discriminate against us.

5th. To labor for the reformation of our penal institutions, where barbarous, cruel and un-Christian treatment of our convicts is practiced.

6th. To urge that moneys be appropriated by the Federal government (which should have been done at the time of our emancipation) to supplement the school funds of the Southern States, in order to make intelligent the great mass of ignorant colored voters in that section.

7th. To recommend a healthy emigration from terror-ridden sections of our land to more law-abiding sections.

8th. To encourage both industrial and higher education.

9th. To promote all kinds of business enterprises.

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UTILIZE OUR GIFTS.

The Text Will Apply to Every
Department of Life.

BY REV. J. H. MCMULLEN.

Neglect not the gift that is in thee.—I. Tim. 4:14.

Paul gave this advice to Timothy the young preacher, because it was much needed. We all have numerous possibilities that lie dormant, only a few of which will germinate and bear fruit.

The advice, "Know thyself," is a good one, and yet few, if any, have ever solved the problem. We do not understand ourselves well enough to know what trials we can endure, how easily we can be tempted, or how little strength we actually have.

The text enjoins upon us to make the best use of the gift that is in us, doing everything possible within our means with a firm trust in God, and life will be worth living. There must be a development of the gifts. We cannot afford to be passive and at rest. Everything, animate and inanimate, moves, works, changes.

There is no department of life to which the advice of Paul may not apply. There are undeveloped Edisons, Beethovens, Hershalls, Franklins, Canon Farrars, Beechers and Hoods everywhere, the cultivation of whose gifts will reveal them.

Paul had in mind possibly the religious work when he wrote to Timothy, and I cannot lose sight of that thought. The child is entitled to a religious education and training. No matter how perfect the germ is in the seed, no crop comes without cultivation. The gift must be recognized and not neglected. Carlyle has well said: "Every new opinion at its starting is precisely a majority of one. In one man's head alone there it dwells as yet. One man alone in the whole world believes it." Emerson says, "Every man is a divinity in disguise, a god playing the fool. It seems as if heaven had sent its insane angels into our world as to an asylum, and here they will break out into their native music and utter at intervals the words they have heard in heaven."

There is a gift in us all not taken cognizance of by our senses. We know it is there. The light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world illumines the chamber where his soul lives. Nature without and nature within are one, and as Pope has well told the story:

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole

Whose body nature is, and God the soul."

"In this dual," Carlyle says, "Nature herself is the umpire, and can do no wrong; the thing which is deepest rooted in nature, what we call trust, that thing and not the other will be found

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