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PRINCE HALL REVISITED

by Tony Pope

Introduction

The story of Prince Hall and African Lodge has been told many times—often inaccurately and always incompletely. A careful and precise account is readily available to Australian readers in David Gray's *Inside Prince Hall*.¹ In summary, Prince Hall was a man held in high regard in Massachusetts, not only within his own Black community but also among influential Whites. He was foundation Master of African Lodge #459, chartered by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) in 1784, and continued as Master until his death in 1807.

Because racial segregation isolated them from other lodges in North America, Hall and African Lodge laid the foundation of what has become a separate masonic Order, Prince Hall Freemasonry. Despite several attempts to remedy this shameful division of masons according to racial origin, it persisted for more than 200 years, and it is only in the past 15 years that it has begun to be alleviated.

Prince Hall Freemasonry has suffered not only the slights and attacks of mainstream American masons and the indifference of mainstream Grand Lodges worldwide, but also from quarrels and schisms within their own fraternity. There now exist two main groups of Prince Hall freemasons, each declaring the other to be irregular: in one camp the independent state-based alliance of Grand Lodges of Prince Hall Affiliation (PHA), and in the other a National Grand Lodge with subordinate state Grand Lodges of Prince Hall Origin (PHO). In addition, there are individual Grand Lodges and alliances of Grand Lodges formed by renegades from PHA and PHO, and many other allegedly masonic bodies of more dubious origin.

Most of the accounts of the origin of Prince Hall Freemasonry contain particulars of numerous allegations of irregularity and/or defences to these allegations. Many of these are included in the 1994 Kellerman Lecture for South Australia, 'Our segregated brethren, Prince Hall Freemasons'.² Gray³ omits these allegations and refutations because they became irrelevant after the ruling of the United Grand Lodge of England in December 1994, following a lengthy and careful investigation, that Prince Hall freemasonry was regular in origin and is of exemplary regularity today.⁴

This paper will omit much of the history of Prince Hall freemasonry prior to 1847, concentrating on later events and current issues. In particular, it will re-examine the position of the National Grand Lodge (PHO) and the independent state Grand Lodges (PHA), and discuss options for reconciliation and recognition.

African Lodge

Relying on Gray's *Inside Prince Hall* and the authorities cited therein, the history of African Lodge may be summarised as follows:

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- 1 Gray, David: *Inside Prince Hall*, ANZMRC 2003, ISBN 0-9578256-1-7; North American edn, Anchor Communications 2004, ISBN 0-935633-32-4.
 - 2 *AMRC Proceedings 1994*, pp 39–73; *Masonic Research in South Australia*, vol 1 pp 109–150.
 - 3 *op cit*.
 - 4 UGLE Quarterly Communication, 10 December 1994.

- 1776 African Lodge #1 formed as a ‘St John’s Lodge’ (ie without warrant) with Prince Hall as Master.
- 1779 ‘General Regulations’ (by-laws) recorded.
- 1784 Warrant issued for African Lodge #459 by the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) with Prince Hall as Master.
- 1787 Warrant received; first annual returns made (19 MMs, 4 FCs, 11 EAs).
Hall wrote to Grand Secretary, asking if African Lodge had authority to erect a second lodge of the same name; no reply extant.
- 1792 African Lodge renumbered #370 but continued to use #459.
- 1797 Hall authorised two new lodges to work under duplicates of African Lodge’s charter, each using the name African Lodge #459—one in Providence (Rhode Island), the other in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania).
- 1807 Prince Hall died and was succeeded as WM by Nero Prince (1807–09), followed by George Middleton (1809–11), Peter Lew (1811–17), Sampson Moody (1817–26) and John Hilton (1826–27).
- 1810 Middleton chartered a second lodge in Pennsylvania.
- 1811 Lew chartered a third lodge in Pennsylvania.
- 1812 Lew chartered Boyer Lodge in New York.
- 1814 Lew chartered a fourth lodge in Pennsylvania.
The two Grand Lodges in England (*Antients* and *Moderns*) having amalgamated as the United Grand Lodge of England on 27 December 1813, they renumbered their lodges and the result was published in March 1814, omitting all previously listed American lodges—but African Lodge apparently knew nothing of this.
- [1815 The four lodges in Pennsylvania formed a Grand Lodge, First Independent African Grand Lodge of North America.]
- 1824 African Lodge of Boston (Massachusetts) wrote to England, seeking authority to ‘confer the other four Degrees’; letter received but no reply extant.
- 1826 The lodge in Rhode Island having become defunct, a new lodge was chartered from Boston, Harmony Lodge #1 of Providence; the lodge was required to make annual returns and pay one dollar for each initiation (‘yearly tribute’).
Boyer Lodge #1 of New York sought a new warrant, which was approved in 1827.
- 1827 African Lodge declared itself independent (from England) and became a one-lodge Grand Lodge.

These two last-mentioned events are interrelated. Whatever the legality of the earlier warrants issued from African Lodge, it appears that the lodges so chartered were subordinate to African Lodge of Boston, from the 1797 Philadelphia application (we had rather be under our dear bretheren [*sic*] from Boston⁵) to the 1826 charter for Harmony Lodge (annual returns and ‘yearly tribute’). But Boyer’s 1826 application for a second warrant was of a different nature. The committee of African Lodge considered the question of issuing an *independent* charter to Boyer Lodge. They advised that, in order to do this, African Lodge itself had to be independent.⁶ Hence the declaration of June 1827.

African Grand Lodge continued as a one-lodge Grand Lodge until 1847, when, under changed circumstances, African Lodge ceased to exist as a separate entity, and its members were divided between three new lodges. But in 1984 the Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts revived African Lodge #459 by proclamation, as a commemorative lodge.⁷

5 Upton, William H: ‘Prince Hall’s Letter Book’ in (1900) *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 13:56 @ 63.

6 Gray, p 32 (Anchor edn p 30).

7 See Internet websites <<http://www.africanlodge459.org>> and <<http://www.princehall.org/lodge459.html>>.

While African Grand Lodge of Massachusetts merely survived during this period, its offspring were more energetic. First Independent African Grand Lodge of North America (Pennsylvania) lost two of its four lodges. Those two combined with a lodge of dubious origin to form a rival, Hiram Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania (1837). Both Pennsylvanian Grand Lodges were active beyond state borders, chartering lodges in Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey and Ohio. Of these, only Maryland (1845) had formed its own Grand Lodge prior to 1847.

In 1845 Boyer Grand Lodge of New York was erected; according to tradition, it was formed from Boyer Lodge and three other lodges chartered from Boston. It seems to have been preceded by a rival, Philanthropic Grand Lodge, formed in 1844 by unspecified lodges of unknown origin. Sources are agreed that there was considerable dissention among the lodges in New York.⁸

This set the scene for what was to follow.

The National Grand Lodge

In June 1847 a convention was held in Boston, attended by delegates from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island,⁹ at which it was resolved to organise a National Grand Lodge.¹⁰ As David Gray observes:¹¹

Precisely who attended, in what capacity or with what authority, and when, is subject to dispute. There are no extant minutes of the meeting, or meetings, and retrospective records are tainted by subsequent events. The indisputable facts are that in June 1847 a body was formed with the title ‘The Most Worshipful National Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Ancient York Masons (Colored) of North America’, and John T Hilton was its first General Grand Master.

According to Matthew Brock, in his *History of the National Grand Lodge* (published circa 1980, presumably by either the MW National Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Ancient York Masons, Prince Hall Origin National Compact, U.S.A., or by the author), the title agreed at the convention was ‘National Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Ancient York Masons for the United States [*sic*] of America and Masonic Jurisdiction’ (page 30), or ‘National Grand Lodge of Color of these United States of America and Masonic Jurisdiction’ (page 31). The convention met again in June 1848, this time in New York, to ratify the formation of the National Grand Lodge, and Brock states (page 33) that from that time the body was known as ‘The Most Worshipful National Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Ancient York Masons, National Compact’. There are many minor variations on the title, the National Grand Lodge having been incorporated in many states without attention to uniformity of wording.

Brock, National Grand Master 1963–75, gives a retrospective exposition of the relationship of the National Grand Lodge and its subordinate Grand Lodges:¹²

The National Grand Lodge is a constitutional body, with powers, duties and obligations defined by its organic laws and statutes. Modeled after the United States constitutional federalism, these potencies are largely supervisory and paternal. Meetings were to be held

8 More information about the rival Grand Lodges in New York in the mid-1800s, including St Philip’s and Osiris Electric Grand Lodges, may soon be available in a book in preparation by PHA researcher Ezekiel M Bey.

9 Walkes, J A Jr: *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, 2 edn, Macoy 1989, pp 62–3, 76, citing the 6th *Triennial Proceedings* of the National Grand Lodge, 18 years after the event.

10 Walkes, op cit, pp 60–62, citing an 1849 report from an eyewitness, Alexander Elston.

11 *Inside Prince Hall*, p 66 (Anchor edn p 62).

12 Brock, M: *History of the National Grand Lodge*, (no details of publisher, location or date, but evidently c.1980), p 33.

triennially at such place as deemed convenient to the members. Special meetings could be convened to solve special exigencies. The focus of its Legislative power is vested in the body at these sessions, while judicial power is vested in both the body and the Supreme Council.

Thus, the National Grand Master and other officers of the National Grand Lodge have only executive power. Clearly therefore the focus of these functions was the general welfare of the craft, leaving the State Grand Lodges the determination of all matters of purely local and internal concern. Its powers extended to the issuance of charters or warrants of constitution to State Grand Lodges, which tended to help the craft proceed along a line of uniform action. It is noteworthy that the power of the State Grand Lodges was not undermined or reduced, instead it was protected: “The State Grand Lodges shall have full power and authority to grant letters of dispensation and warrants of constitution to subordinate lodges within their several jurisdictions, and to establish as many lodges as they deem most expedient.” Thus, the creation of the National Grand Lodge, as the focus of Colored Masonic sovereignty anticipated the problems inherent in a system of State Grand Lodges as claimants of allegiance, and offered a fraternal solution. . .

In the last analysis the advantages of a National Grand Lodge could only be urged on the basis of reason, and not coercion. A National body would have at its disposal the advantage of the ability and prestige of the most intelligent and ablest of Colored Masons, wherever they could be found. It could reconcile differences by exercising Masonic jurisdiction and the Supreme Council (which was organized in 1897). It could plan and forecast with greater ability, resources, and power than any of its component parts. Economic resources could be concentrated and disposed of more effectively and cumulatively to increase the power of Colored Masons than if done piecemeal.

In theory, this might have worked. The participating Grand Lodges that formed the National Grand Lodge (NGL) accepted charters from the NGL, and lodges formed in other states were chartered as subordinate Grand Lodges under the NGL. It is tempting to draw an analogy with other hierarchical masonic bodies, comparing:

- (a) the original participating Grand Lodges with the 20th-century German Grand Lodges that formed the United Grand Lodges of Germany; and
- (b) the post-1847 subordinate Grand Lodges with Provincial or District Grand Lodges under the English or Scottish systems.

However, there were significant differences (apart from the references, above, to a Supreme Council¹³) and the analogy cannot be taken very far. Also, unfortunately, Brock’s theoretical picture of the National Grand Lodge is not supported by citation of contemporary documents or by events. Gray’s *Inside Prince Hall* summarises what is known of the growth of the NGL in the period 1847–1877, and the fragmentation of its constituent parts.¹⁴ The result was that many states had an independent (often ex-NGL) Grand Lodge *and* a Grand Lodge subordinate to the NGL. These subsequently polarised into independent Grand Lodges of Prince Hall Affiliation (PHA) and NGL-subordinate Grand Lodges of Prince Hall Origin (PHO), with the PHA Grand Lodges and individual PHA members scathing in their attacks on the NGL. Gray provides a list of complaints and an (almost) impartial commentary on them.¹⁵

Thirty years on

Events reached a climax in 1877–78, but again there is no clear and unbiased contemporary

13 Brock’s pronouncements about the Supreme Council (formed in 1897 under controversial circumstances) are obscure; there appears to be no cogent evidence of control of the NGL or its affiliate Grand Lodges by the Supreme Council, although—as is common in US Craft jurisdictions—much is made of holding high rank in the Scottish Rite. He may be referring to the ‘Council of Nine’, a group of high-ranking Scottish Rite Masons whom the NGM may consult if he wishes.

14 *Inside Prince Hall*, pp 68–73 (Anchor edn pp 63–68).

15 *op cit*, pp 73–76 (Anchor edn pp 68–70).

record of facts. By 1877 a majority of subordinate Grand Lodges had rebelled and quit the NGL, which had a triennial session scheduled for that year. Most modern PHA historians claim that the session was held in Wilmington, Delaware, and that the delegates voted to end the NGL. However, the earliest record of this claim appears to be 26 years after the alleged event, made by William H Grimshaw in his *Official History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People in North America*, Macoy 1903, and subsequent writers cite no earlier authority. Not only has Grimshaw been thoroughly discredited as an historian,¹⁶ but also the very words of the alleged resolutions are highly unlikely to have been made by delegates of the NGL:¹⁷

Resolved, That the National or Compact Grand Lodge is, and the same is hereby declared to be an irregular and unheard of body in Masonry, and it is hereby declared forever void.

The National Grand Lodge rejects this claim, stating that the 10th triennial session was held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. According to Brock,¹⁸ this is supported by the research of mainstream masonic historian Edward Cusick in correspondence with Brock in 1957, who quoted the whole of a newspaper report from the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, 18 May 1877, page 4, column 3. Confirmation of the contents of Cusick's letter and of the newspaper report have been sought by the present writer. The director of the Chancellor Robert R Livingston Library (New York) has searched the extensive Edward R Cusick Collection without avail; a copy of the newspaper has not yet been located in Pennsylvania libraries, but the Carnegie Public Library in Pittsburgh has yet to be explored. PHA champion Joseph A Walkes Jr is ambiguous on the issue, quoting at length from an earlier PHA historian, Harry A Williamson, as being 'of interest', finding confirmation in the *Proceedings* of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ohio, 1878 (pp 27 & 66) that the 10th triennial was held at Pittsburgh in 1877,¹⁹ but later comments:²⁰

... when the National Grand Lodge, (or such of it as was left) was scheduled to meet in Wilmington, Del., in 1877, there was nothing for the organization to do but dissolve, because, no Grand Lodges were represented to call a meeting.

In view of these facts, the claim that any group of gentlemen insist the National Grand Lodge did not dissolve, is positively fraudulent.

However, one PHA historian, Ralph L McNeal, unreservedly accepts that Cusick's claim is correct, finding confirmation that the tenth triennial was held at Pittsburgh, and not at Wilmington, in comments in the annual *Proceedings* of several PHA Grand Lodges.²¹ The newspaper report is also cited with approval by another mainstream historian, John Sherman.²² It should be noted that the newspaper report, as quoted, records the absence owing to ill-health of National Grand Master Richard H Gleaves and the election of Dr George W Levere, of Tennessee, as NGM. Confirmation that there was a Grand Lodge in Tennessee at that time, which was still loyal to the National Grand Lodge, may be deduced from Walkes.²³ There are indications that a motion to dissolve the NGL was entertained at the

16 see comments of Terry Haunch on Draffen, G: 'Prince Hall Freemasonry' in (1976) *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 87:70 @ 84-87.

17 quoted in Parham, W H: *An Official History of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons for the State of Ohio*, PHGL of Ohio 1906, p 102.

18 Brock, op cit, pp 70-75.

19 Walkes, op cit, pp 69-70, 76.

20 *ibid*, p 73.

21 personal email correspondence.

22 Sherman, J M: 'The negro "National" or "Compact" Grand Lodge' in (1979) *AQC* 92:148 @ 157.

23 Walkes, op cit, p 73.

Pittsburgh session, but of the nine Grand Lodges represented, only New York supported the motion.²⁴

A meeting was called at Wilmington the following year ‘of all the colored grand lodges in the United States and Canada’. This emanated from an NGL resolution at the 10th triennial and was ‘for the express purpose of settling whatever differences that may exist among the craft, and to form a Union satisfactory to all, if possible’.²⁵ The meeting was attended by representatives of some of the independent (state) Grand Lodges, and the outcome was a recommendation for a ‘Grand Lodge Union of the United States of North America’, comprised of elected representatives of each Grand Lodge, with specific and limited powers, to meet every four years under a Presiding Officer of restricted tenure and powers, commencing in 1880, subject to ratification by two-thirds of all ‘colored’ Grand Lodges of North America on or before 31 December 1879. It was recommended that, upon such ratification, the pre-existing NGL should be dissolved.²⁶ Ratification, however, was not forthcoming. This, of course, did not affect the validity of any of the participants of the meeting at Wilmington in 1878, merely that of the proposed new merger. The sequel occurred some years later, in 1888, when NGM Levere’s successor, Captain W D Matthews, gave the ‘rebellious’ Grand Lodges an ultimatum,²⁷ the ‘Great Manifesto’, in effect: Return to the fold within two months, or I will erect new Grand Lodges in your stead. They didn’t, and he did.

The independent (state, or *State’s Rights*) Grand Lodges thrived, spreading through most of the United States, and beyond, eventually forming the association known as Grand Lodges of Prince Hall Affiliation. The National Grand Lodge survives, in fewer states and lesser numbers, and in isolation from mainstream and PHA masonry. It has long been subject to attack from proponents of PHA, in pamphlets and books, in the courts, and now on the Internet.

Hard-liners declare the NGL to have been masonically unlawful from the outset—firstly demonstrating confusion over the modern requirement directed against control by a Supreme Council, that a Grand Lodge should be independent and not subject to outside control, and secondly ignoring the fact that they may be thereby pronouncing their own origins irregular. Others consider the creation of the NGL, while not unlawful, to be an error of judgment—in hindsight, the ‘Great Mistake’. Almost without exception, PHA researchers are convinced that the NGL was dissolved in 1877, and the shell was taken over or resurrected unlawfully in 1878; they appear to accept Grimshaw’s claim and ignore or dismiss Cusick’s research, and thus declare the present body to be irregular from that date.²⁸ The NGL claims an unbroken succession from 1847 to the present date and persuasive evidence to the contrary has yet to be produced. Its origins would appear to be no more irregular than those of the pre-NGL Grand Lodges which formed it. When the United Grand Lodge of England recognised the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in December 1994, it intimated that the formation of this Grand Lodge, at the time it was formed, could be seen as merely eccentric and of acceptable regularity. The present Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts traces its lineage through

24 Email correspondence with a PHO mason, citing the 1877 *Proceedings* of the PHO Grand Lodge in Pennsylvania.

25 Brock, quoting Cusick, op cit, p 78.

26 Transcript of minutes supplied by Joe Snow, PHA Georgia.

27 Brock, op cit, pp83–84.

28 Among the few PHA researchers active on the Internet who concede that the 10th triennial was held in Pittsburgh, where George Levere was elected NGM, and reject Grimshaw’s claim it was held in Wilmington and the NGL dissolved by resolution of the delegates, Ralph McNeal nevertheless considers the NGL to have been irregular from 1847 to 1878—and ‘bogus’ thereafter—but Alton Roundtree, whose long-awaited book is now scheduled for publication in October 2004, considers it to have been regular throughout.

the National Grand Lodge (1847–1873), which suggests that England considered the origin of the NGL also to be ‘merely eccentric’. England, of course, has not had occasion to pronounce on the continued regularity of the NGL beyond 1877.

The problem lies in the dearth of historical research and the lack of reliable, unbiased contemporary records. This is true of both parties, PHA and PHO, from the beginning right up to the end of the 20th century. Those few who have engaged in research have been almost entirely PHA, which, given the rivalry, has seldom resulted in impartiality. Just as, until very recently, the bulk of US mainstream researchers painted a picture of PHA irregularity, so too have PHA researchers given a bad press to the NGL, and the NGL has produced neither the scholars nor the verifiable documentation to refute it.

There is a vital need for scholarly and impartial research in both branches of Prince Hall masonry, to fill the many gaps in the historical development of the fraternity in most states and on a national basis. A substantial part of this burden could be assumed by research lodges, if they existed, but they have been rare—and short-lived—in PHA, receiving little encouragement or official support, and they are non-existent in PHO. For the past 30 years the prime source of PHA history has been the *Phylaxis* magazine, and the work of some of its leading members, particularly the books of its founder, Joseph Walkes. Now, with the advent of the new millennium, younger researchers are active in the field of PHA history and ready to publish their work. David Gray, with the encouragement of the ANZMRC, was first; others include Ralph McNeal (a meticulous researcher), Alton Roundtree (an experienced writer and editor), and Ezekiel M Bey of New York. The results are eagerly awaited.

The only readily available historical work from the National Grand Lodge is Matthew Brock’s *History of the National Grand Lodge* (c. 1980), available from the National Grand Lodge at US\$15.00. The author completed secondary education in Georgia, and then received gratuitous private tuition in Ohio. He was employed on the Pennsylvania Railroad for 43 years. He served as National Grand Master from 1963 to 1975, and his forte appears to have been finance, placing first his Grand Lodge (Eureka Grand Lodge of Ohio) and then the NGL on a sound financial footing. From his correspondence with Edward Cusick in the 1950s, it is apparent that Brock had long been interested in the history of his fraternity, and after his term as NGM he was appointed NGL Historian.

The book cannot be judged by its cover, which is of good quality and attractive appearance. Inside, it is seriously flawed as a reference work: it lacks an index; it has no bibliography or list of references, no footnotes or endnotes, and very few indications of sources; clearly it did not receive the attention of a copy-editor or even of a professional proof-reader (a breed which had not yet disappeared in 1980)—probably not even galley-proofing by the author, since large chunks of material are repeated in close proximity to each other. But it cannot be dismissed out of hand. It is the only book available to present the other side of the PHA/PHO story. Some of it is demonstrably wrong (notably the history of Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge in Georgia), but some can be subject to verification (for example the disputed location and outcome of the tenth triennial session of the National Grand Lodge in 1877). Even with agreed facts, it is enlightening to see the different perspective of PHA and PHO.

There is a clear need for a better work on the NGL history, and one is in progress. The author is Cedric Lewis, Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Mississippi (PHO), the present historian and webmaster of the NGL.²⁹

With such a dearth of accessible published material, the Internet is virtually the only source for further investigation, from outside the United States, of the history of the NGL since 1878

29 <<http://www.mwnationalgrandlodge.org>>.

and the present situation. The main problem with material from the Internet is verification, and this should be kept in mind in relation to the next section of this paper.

Prince Hall in cyberspace

Investigation of Prince Hall freemasonry for the 1994 Kellerman Lecture 'Our segregated brethren, Prince Hall Freemasons'³⁰ was necessarily restricted to published material and postal correspondence with mainstream and PHA sources. As stated in the paper:³¹

According to John Hamill, there are still 27 Grand Lodges operating under warrants from the National Grand Lodge.

Walkes and other voices from the Prince Hall Affiliation retort that these are clandestine, spurious and fraudulent. Certainly, there have been and still are *bogus* 'Masonic' groups among African-Americans as well as on the fringe of 'mainstream' Masonry. The National Compact is silent, having no access to the ears of 'mainstream' Masons.

This remained so when research was commenced for *Freemasonry Universal*,³² but by 1997 masons of all ages, hues and persuasions were venturing onto the 'information superhighway', forming or joining discussion groups (e-lists), creating websites, and roaming the worldwide web with the help of search engines. Careful observation and cautious inquiries on general masonic discussion groups led to identification of individual Prince Hall masons with e-names such as *Ruffdawg* and *BlackElegance*, who, reassured by endorsement of the Phylaxis Society and explanation of the research purpose, provided introduction or admission to hitherto-closed PHA discussion groups, and access to information not previously available. Generally, individuals were prepared to pass on what they knew, and some agreed to do local research—but often they received no help from their Grand Lodges, and occasionally were obstructed in their endeavours. For example:

- In one jurisdiction below the Mason–Dixon line the only direct contact was a young Sister of the Order of the Eastern Star, whose brother, father and uncle were PHA masons who did not have Internet access but were willing to gather information. After several delays, the Sister reported that the Grand Master did not wish his Grand Lodge to appear in the same book as the 'white' Grand Lodge in that state, and forbade the supply of any information.
- In a jurisdiction which already had mainstream recognition, over a period of about a year six PHA masons separately agreed to supply information; five disappeared without trace, and the sixth (of fairly high rank) eventually reported that his Grand Master approved the project but required a personal application before releasing information.

This attempt to control the flow of information on the Internet was by no means confined to PHA jurisdictions, but it is true to say that less than half the PHA Grand Lodges had an official website, and few provided much information other than names of current Grand officers, a Grand Master's message, an often inaccurate potted history of Prince Hall and African Lodge, and maybe a guest book. There were, of course, notable exceptions, including the warts-and-all history of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Nevada, whose webmaster was most helpful (and is now GM), and several others which provided a list of lodges, with meeting places, times and dates. All in all, individual PHA masons were helpful, and many

30 Pope, Tony: 'Our segregated brethren, Prince Hall Freemasons' in *Australian Masonic Research Council Proceedings 1994*, Williamstown 1994, pp 39–73; *Phylaxis* magazine, commencing September 1994; *Masonic Research in South Australia*, vol 1, South Australian Lodge of Research, Port Elliot 1995, pp 109–150.

31 *Proceedings*, p 53; *MRSA*, p 126.

32 Henderson, Kent & Pope, Tony: *Freemasonry Universal* (2 vols), Global Masonic Publications, Williamstown 1998, 2000.

Grand Lodges eventually overcame their reticence and established a significant web presence.

Very few PHO masons were identified, and none were much help at that time. There did not appear to be a PHO masons e-list, and only four websites were under construction, including one for the NGL. Information was sparse, and official contacts made no response. As the century drew to its close, it was still true to say: ‘The National Compact is silent, having no access to the ears of ‘mainstream’ Masons.’

But change was taking place. In one respect, PHO has opened up. There is now an open PHO discussion group [National Compact FAAYM], reputedly of several hundred members, including OES Sisters, PHA researchers, a few members of affiliations that PHA classes as bogus, and a couple of mainstreamers. The very forbearing moderator is GM Cedric Lewis, the NGL webmaster, and the National Grand Master is said to be on the e-list, but does not join in the discussions. Indeed, the regular exchanges are confined to less than a dozen participants—often with the PHA researchers ganging up on the rest.

The open PHA discussion groups have been reduced to one large one [PHA Research], moderated by David Gray, Richard Num, Ezekiel M Bey and an OES Sister who is also on the ANZMRC discussion group, Joyce Reeves. In addition to many PHA brothers and ‘sisters’, list members include: a number of mainstream researchers (such as Wally Lindblad, Nelson King, Michael Poll, Brian Fegely, Peter Renzland, Joe Ohland, Ed Halpas, Chad Simpson, Steve VanSlyck, Neil Morse, to mention a few); apparently very few PHO members; occasional brave souls from the PHA ‘bogus’ categories, including some ‘Clock Moors’—a category which will bear separate investigation—and even a member of the Grand Lodge of South India. There is also a PHA closed list [bluelite], moderated by Ezekiel Bey, which the present writer could not penetrate despite his credentials.

Thirty-one (of 46) PHA Grand Lodges now have a website containing useful information,³³ and there are five PHO Grand Lodge websites (out of 25).³⁴ The NGL website is now more informative, but that of Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge (Georgia) has withdrawn behind a fortress wall. In 1998 it was open for all to view, but in 2003 one needed a password to enter, and entry was refused the present writer. This is probably in response to a devastating attack by members of the Phylaxis Commission on Bogus Masonic Practices, conducted largely on the [National Compact FAAYM] discussion list. They demonstrated the PHO history of Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge on the website to be false, and challenged PHO listers to publish the true history—if they could discover it. As a direct result, nearly all the members of one PHO lodge in Georgia, Berkshire #664, defected and joined the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Georgia (PHA), forming a new lodge, now Exodus #593. The response was a restricted entry to the website, guarded by webmaster Akil Muhammand, and the commissioning of a member, Herschel Grangent, to research and write the history of Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge.

Such traffic does not flow in only one direction, PHO to PHA. The move from Berkshire Lodge (PHO) to Exodus Lodge (PHA) was spectacular, but individuals have quietly travelled in the other direction, for example to Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge (PHO) and to Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Mississippi (PHO). Both PHA and PHO also pick up converts from the ‘bogus’ category, and recently a PHO lodge was formed in Arkansas, Nubian Prince UD (under dispensation, pending issue of a warrant or charter, and administered from Mississippi), comprised of defectors from King David Grand Lodge AFAM (listed under *Arkansas* at page 204 of *Inside Prince Hall*). The extent of the ‘healing’ procedure on such

33 See Paul Bessel’s list of PHA websites, <<http://bessel.org/glspha.htm>>.

34 see the list at <<http://www.mwnationalgrandlodge.org/GLAFFILIATES.htm>>.

occasions depends on the jurisdiction concerned, ranging from a simple re-obligation to full initiation, passing and raising ceremonies.

Some affiliate Grand Lodges under the NGL do not confine their fraternisation with brethren of exotic origins to Internet exchanges. In South Carolina, Palmetto Grand Lodge (PHO) is associated with Grand Lodges of Modern Free & Accepted Masons (B' Natural Grand Lodge), International Free & Accepted Modern Masons (King Solomon Grand Lodge), the John G Jones group (Williams Grand Lodge AF&A Scottish Rite Masons) and—allegedly—the PHA Grand Lodge,³⁵ in a 'Brotherhood of Grand Lodges'.



Palmetto Grand Lodge (PHO) building, South Carolina

Their stated purposes are: 'to acknowledge the existence of one another, to work together in peace and harmony to further the purpose and ideals of Freemasonry'; to 'foster friendship, fellowship and brotherly love that ought to exist between Masons in South Carolina'; and to 'share in a joint project to promote cooperation, respect, assistance, fellowship and trust'. They declare they have no interest in merging Grand Lodges, 'simply recognition and fraternal cooperation'. They organise joint fundraising activities for charity; there is no indication whether intervisitation is permitted. Palmetto has a sturdy Grand Lodge building and 53 lodges.

The following information about the National Grand Lodge has been supplied by Cedric Lewis (PHO Mississippi) and Herschel Grangent (PHO Georgia):

- The National Grand Master, National Deputy Grand Master, National Grand Wardens, National Grand Treasurer, National Grand Secretary and a Board of Directors (3) are elected triennially, and the other National Grand Officers (District Deputy Grand Masters, Deacons, Stewards, Chaplain and Marshall) are appointed.
- Affiliate Grand Lodges are required to pay fees triennially to the National Grand Lodge (Grand Lodge warrant continuance fee of \$100 and per capita membership fee of \$15), but usually pay in annual instalments.
- At the triennial meeting, each Grand Lodge has three votes, exercised by the Grand Master and Grand Wardens (or their proxies); each Grand Lodge pays the expenses of these delegates. A triennial session usually lasts one week, and is hosted by the Grand Lodge in whose jurisdiction it is held. All Master Masons are permitted to attend.
- There is no fixed headquarters for the National Grand Lodge; the official address is that of

35 <<http://palmettograndlodge.org/pglhistory.php>>.

the National Grand Master. There are no salaried positions but some (unspecified) receive a stipend.

- For the past 20 years or so, all lodges under the NGL have been required to use the *Official Handbook of the MWNGL, F&AAYM, National Compact*, a plain text ritual (not sighted), whereas previously they used Duncan's or Lester's. The Lesser Lights, which are placed in various positions around the altar in US jurisdictions, are placed East, North and South in most PHO lodges, with the point of the triangle towards the Master.
- The NGL has a quarterly publication, *York Rite Bulletin* (not sighted).

Herschel Grangent (Georgia) and Cedric Lewis (Mississippi) also supplied information about their own Grand Lodges:



Inner Chamber Military Lodge, Georgia (PHO)

Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge (PHO Georgia) has 105 lodges and imposes an annual per capita charge on the lodges, but membership numbers not supplied. The main progressive Grand offices are elective, and the Grand Master has a five-year tenure. The Grand Lodge meets annually for four days and all Master Masons are members of the Grand Lodge. There is no masonic library or museum, and no research body. There are no lodges chartered outside the state, but in 2001 a military lodge was chartered, Inner Chamber Military Lodge #753, with a monthly stated meeting in Atlanta and weekly meetings in Forest Park for a study group. Within two years this lodge raised \$10,000 to support a college scholarship. The brethren (see photo, above, from website) wear a black, military-type uniform.³⁶

Prince Hall Grand Lodge (PHO Mississippi)³⁷ was chartered by the NGL in 1899 and incorporated in 1900; there are four active lodges in the jurisdiction, plus an otherwise unattached lodge in Arkansas. The headquarters (since 1949) is at Moss Point. The Grand Lodge meets twice yearly; each meeting is for three days. Every financial brother is a member of the Grand Lodge, with full voting rights. The Grand Master is elected annually, with maximum tenure of six years. Other elective offices are DGM, GSW, GJW, GTreas, GSec and three trustees. The other Grand offices (DDGMs, Grand Deacons, Stewards, Chaplain & Tyler) are appointive. The Grand Master and Grand Secretary are salaried. In this jurisdiction membership dues include \$10 capitation fee to Grand Lodge, \$25 to Grand Charity, \$15 NGL capitation fee, and a district assessment fee of \$5. In addition, each lodge pays a warrant continuance fee of \$25 and a similar amount for 'scholarship assessment'. There is no masonic library or museum, or research body, but the Grand Lodge has a 'committee on history' which reports annually. The Grand Lodge supports the United Negro College Fund and the NAACP annually, and individual lodges are active in charitable efforts.

³⁶ Lodge website <<http://icml753.bravehost.com/index.html>>.

³⁷ see <http://www.mwnationalgrandlodge.org/M_W_PHGL-MS.htm>.

Gleanings from the Internet

A number of books and documents were promised by several individuals, including the NGL *Constitutions*, ritual book, minutes of old and new triennial meetings, and membership lists, but the only ones received were Brock's *History* and the (incomplete) minutes of the 1921 triennial. However, those, and more than six months concentrated study of websites and email discussions have gleaned the following:

- At present the National Grand Lodge has 25 affiliated Grand Lodges, and individual lodges in two other states. Some of these Grand Lodges are very small in numbers; for example Mississippi (PHO) has about 45 members in four lodges. Generally speaking, both PHO and PHA lodges are small compared with mainstream US lodges, more like the size of many Australian or European lodges (for example, one active PHA lodge in Arizona has 35 members and a regular attendance twice monthly of 20), but 45 members between four lodges seems dangerously low.
- It has proved impossible to ascertain total membership of the NGL for any date later than 1921. This is disappointing, in view of the fact that affiliated Grand Lodges are required to pay a poll tax to the NGL. In these circumstances there might, of course, be a temptation to understate membership, but surely *some* figure would have to be supplied either annually or triennially, and surely the NGL would keep a record, if only for financial purposes. There might be a temptation to hide falling numbers, but if numbers had been falling continuously since 1921, the NGL would have disappeared by now. And one might expect either jubilation at increases or recruiting activity to offset losses, and neither is evident from the few documents or the many discussions observed. The 1921 figures are shown at *Appendix A*. One PHO guesstimate for 2003 is 20,000 all up, but no basis stated; individual PHA researchers dismiss PHO numbers as 'negligible', yet expend so much missionary zeal on PHO. [There is no cause for complacency about numbers in the PHA camp, with an overall drop (in round figures) from 240,000 in 1992 to 178,000 in 2003, with twelve Grand Lodges having less than 400 members each, two of them with less than 100.]
- The larger affiliate Grand Lodges own their own buildings but one suspects that some of the smaller ones, like their PHA counterparts, operate from the home of the Grand Master or Grand Secretary. The NGL has never had a headquarters, but plans are in hand in 2004 to establish at least a receptacle for archives, apparently for the first time—which goes a long way towards explaining the lack of reliable documentation.
- The (incomplete) minutes of the 1921 NGL triennial session indicate that there were 28 affiliate Grand Lodges at that time, plus two lodges in Minnesota administered from Illinois (*see Appendix B*). This provides some comparison with Brock's 1978 list of 29 and the 2003 NGL website list of 25. Between the three lists, 33 states are included (*see Appendix B*). It was in 1921 that the NGL was accepted as a member of the ill-fated International Bureau of Masonic Affairs at Geneva, Switzerland.³⁸ This was seen by the NGL as recognition, and as 'becoming a world Masonic power'. There is a curious reference to the production of 'the old warrant of Delaware. A document over 20 years old'—curious because African Harmony Grand Lodge of Delaware was chartered by the NGL in 1855, but the explanation can be deduced from the historical account on the Grand Lodge website.³⁹ One of its lodges, Union #5, was expelled in 1882 and it carried off the NGL charter. The NGL met in triennial session in Delaware in 1895, and quite possibly it was on this occasion that a replacement charter was issued—to be described in 1921 as 'a document over 20 years old'. There are other items of interest to be noted in these *Proceedings*. Among the reports of the National District Deputy Grand Masters, the one

38 See entry 'International Masonic Organisations' in Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia, rev edn 1995, Macoy, Richmond VA 1996, pp 329–30.

39 <<http://www.mwnationalgrandlodge.org/Delaware.htm>>.

for New Jersey produced a warrant showing that the Grand Lodge had been organised in 1891, and the one for Illinois ‘gave a splendid account of affairs in his state’; Ohio’s NDDGM was granted 90 days in which to pay his tax. In response to remarks from Alabama, the National Grand Master recommended that lawsuits be discouraged and disagreements be settled out of court. The reports of Georgia, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and West Virginia ‘showed great advancement’. One resolution which was carried at the 1921 triennial was a forerunner to an instruction to be given 83 years later: *All articles for publication for the NGL or any subordinate lodge shall be reviewed by the NGM before printing.*⁴⁰

- The Texas Grand Master reported having healed 12 ‘State Rite’ (PHA) masons, including one who had been PHA for 40 years. The PHO Grand Lodge in Texas at that time would have been St John Grand Lodge. In 1969, under NGM Brock, it amalgamated with another Grand Lodge, St Joseph, to become St John–St Joseph Grand Lodge, and was still under the NGL in 1978, but not for long. Grand Master Anderson had high hopes for advancement to National Grand Master; he reached the rank of Deputy NGM in 1977,⁴¹ but was not elected NGM. He pulled his Grand Lodge out of the National Compact and it is now known as Federated Grand Lodge of Texas.⁴² Since then, the NGL has chartered two lodges in Texas, Wisdom Lodge #133 in Dallas (1999), and Rising Star #281 in Houston (2004), both in the care of Eureka Grand Lodge of Ohio (PHO).
- Grand Master Johnston of Prince Edwin Grand Lodge of Indiana *sent* his report, regretting he could not attend. It told a woeful tale of events in Indiana: after the Grand Lodge’s reorganisation in 1899 it had ten prosperous years, but then GM Toney demanded unnecessary money from the brethren and ‘concluded his un-Masonic career as GM’ by ‘selling out’ to the PHA Grand Lodge, enabling them to win a lawsuit; GM Clement, his successor, was convicted of a serious charge and jailed; Clement was succeeded by GM Jackson, who proved ‘incapable’ and money went astray; then one McKibbon, claiming to be National District Deputy for Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, collected money for a lawsuit, refused to share it with GM Jackson, and the money disappeared; after allegations against another NDDGM, Hyder, in 1919, GM Johnston asked for financial aid, counsel and advice.
- The 1921 *Proceedings* reinforces the general impression that PHO has an even stronger leaning than PHA towards overtly Christian prayers and emphasis. Sermons and prayers are incorporated in the NGL sessions; after one sermon, it is recorded in the minutes ‘The sermon was well built and full of power, the entire audience showing visible signs of the Holy Ghost.’ The National Grand Master’s address includes the statement ‘No man can be a good and true Mason who is not a Christian’, and he went on to say ‘It would be a great blessing to our order if we would unload some of our dead matter, and eliminate that class of men from among us who are rascals, thieves and plunderers and grafters, and drunkards, whose mongers and lies are driving good men who would be an honor to the craft away from us. I repeat, that only Christians can live the principles of Masonry.’

The overall picture, from Brock’s *History*, the 1921 *Proceedings*, and the gleanings from the Internet, is of the ups and downs of an organisation which has never quite achieved its potential, an illustration of the application of *Murphy’s Law*, and a demonstration that good intentions are not sufficient to overcome the sheer size of the geographical area to be administered and the perversity of human nature. But, one wonders, is this not true of freemasonry in general, the wonderful concept and the pitfalls—one might almost say the pratfalls—in putting it into practice?

40 This form of censorship is not unknown elsewhere in the Anglophone masonic world.

41 Brock, *op cit*, p 161.

42 personal correspondence, Cedric Lewis & Ralph McNeal.

A new millennium or same old same old?

History loves dates, and it may not be entirely coincidental that the next event of note occurred early in 2001, the turn of the century, the dawn of a new millennium.⁴³ As David Gray recounts it:⁴⁴

Something completely unexpected happened in March 2001, when the Phylaxis Society met at Atlanta, Georgia. The venue was used, at the suggestion of the Society's president, Joseph A Walkes Jr, for a meeting between the [National] Grand Master and senior officers of the National Grand Lodge on the one part, and five PHA Grand Masters, including the current president of the Conference of PHA Grand Masters and the immediate past president, on the other. The meeting was organized by Walkes, who proposed the meeting for a discussion about a *union* of the two bodies. The meeting extended over two days; neither Walkes nor any officer of the Phylaxis Society was present, nor had any input in the discussion. The result was not a *union*, but a form of *recognition* agreed upon and signed by the participants.

The terms of that agreement are given in *Appendix C*, a reproduction of the front cover of the *Phylaxis* magazine, vol 26, special edition 2001.

This was not a meeting between equals. While the NGM could speak for the NGL, the PHA GMs involved could not bind the other PHA GMs, and it was necessary to wait for the next Conference of PHA GMs which, in turn, referred the proposal to a committee. The committee recommendations have not been published but it is clear that neither recognition nor union in terms acceptable to the NGL is on the PHA agenda in the foreseeable future.

The recognition fiasco and the demolition of Smooth Ashlar Grand Lodge's alleged history, culminating in the serious loss of membership in Berkshire Lodge, were probably strong motivators when NGM Felton Ferguson announced in his 2004 address:⁴⁵

With regard to a National Headquarters, Grand Master Tufts, Jr. has graciously offered archive space in Ohio. As we take a long-term view of this initiative, a building remains the goal and it is important that we start working with the available space that is offered.

To that end, I am asking every Grand Master and National Department Head to forward a copy of the minutes from your annual communication within sixty days to our National Secretary, Hon. Lee Singleton. This will insure that we begin the preservation of our history going forward. Other Masonic jurisdictions seem to derive pleasure from researching our history. From my prospective, [*sic*] this is unacceptable and this practice must come to an end, immediately. One small caution: I cannot accept excuses for non-compliance. The generations that follow us will want to know who we were, and exactly what did we achieve. We have historically passed large portions of our story by word of mouth; however compiling the minutes of our proceedings will be a major step forward to insure that the differences between facts and fiction are clear.

This was interpreted by some, on various Internet discussion groups, as censorship, a ban on making information available to other masonic jurisdictions—a case of one step forward, and two steps back! Cedric Lewis has a different view, interpreting the phrase 'this practice must come to an end' as referring to past failure to preserve NGL history. Only time will tell which interpretation is correct.

Conclusion

Although reconciliation between PHA and PHO seems far off, in the light of recent events, it

43 Behind the scenes, the event was kick-started by Ralph McNeal (Chairman of the Phylaxis Society's Commission on Bogus Masonic Practices) and Cedric Lewis (now GM of a PHO Grand Lodge, and Grand Historian for the National Grand Lodge) encountering each other on the Internet, leading to discussion between their principals, the President of the Phylaxis Society and the National Grand Master.

44 Gray, *op cit*, p 79 (Anchor edn, p 73).

45 <<http://www.mwnationalgrandlodge.org/NGMsAddress-2004.htm>>.

is a worthwhile exercise to assess the evidence in an attempt to determine firstly whether the National Grand Lodge is regular in origin and conduct, and if so, secondly what problems remain to be solved before recognition could occur, just as was done prior to the reconciliation between PHA and US mainstream.

We have seen that the isolation of African Lodge led to some unusual practices, from ignorance or to ensure survival, and that the United Grand Lodge of England determined that these were eccentricities which fell short of irregularity. It is argued that the formation of the National Grand Lodge, which was a part of the history of the descendants of African Lodge, was part of that eccentricity. The separation of parent and offspring is not always consensual; it may be seen as justifiable by the offspring and reprehensible by the parent. So with lodges and Grand Lodges; the formation of several Australian Grand Lodges occurred without consent of parent 'Home' Grand Lodges, but reconciliation and recognition were eventually achieved. So, also, with US mainstream Grand Lodges; neither the 'Home' Grand Lodges nor their American offspring are deemed irregular because of the breakaway.

We have seen that the National Grand Lodge was a sovereign body, and that there is some similarity between its subordinate Grand Lodges and Provincial or District Grand Lodges. Alternatively, there is a similarity with the history of freemasonry in Brazil, where state Grand Lodges were formed by breaking away from the Grand Orient of Brazil; England and some other mainstream Grand Lodges preferred to recognise the Grand Orient, while US Grand Lodges chose to recognise Brazilian state Grand Lodges, but more recently the tendency has been to recognise both.

It is open to us to conclude that the National Grand Lodge was regular in origin, and—in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary—did not cease to exist, or to be regular, when many of its constituent parts rebelled against its rule. The surviving part of the National Grand Lodge, however small, was certainly entitled to replace the insubordinate parts, as was done following the 'great manifesto' of 1888.

Is the NGL still regular in conduct? Certainly, on the evidence available, the NGL and its affiliates seem to have had their share of miscreants, but that is misfortune that has befallen other Grand Lodges. An example close to home is the early Grand Lodge of Tasmania, which chose as its first Grand Secretary a man named Steele, and to their sorrow he lived up to his name and left them broke;⁴⁶ and a little while later the Deputy Grand Secretary followed suit.⁴⁷ And there are allegations, or hints, of practices past or present among some affiliates of the NGL which might call for investigation; until documentation is available or questions answered, caution requires some reservation on this point. With such issues clarified, we may well conclude that PHO and PHA are two sides of the one coin—different in some superficial respects but essentially the same.

Assuming that all is in order, is it to the NGL's advantage to seek acceptance by PHA and mainstream? The answer must be yes, for the same reasons that PHA gains advantage from mainstream acceptance: fellowship, self-esteem, assistance at home and abroad, exchange of ideas, more effective charitable efforts, improved public image, and avoidance of the penalties of isolation. Much the same benefits would be derived by the bodies recognising the NGL.

But there are big problems to formal recognition, as David Gray pointed out:⁴⁸

A bigger stumbling block is the very existence of a *National* Grand Lodge and its subordinate Grand Lodges. Formal recognition can only occur between sovereign bodies—equals! So it would have to be recognition between PHA Grand Lodge 'A' and the National Grand Lodge;

46 Minutes of half-yearly Communication, Grand Lodge of Tasmania, 26 July 1894.

47 Minutes of Grand Lodge, 23 February 1906.

48 Gray, *op cit*, pp 79–80 (Anchor edn p 74).

PHA Grand Lodge 'B' and the National Grand Lodge; and so on. Similarly, it would be recognition between mainstream US Grand Lodge 'A' and the National Grand Lodge; etc. Further afield, it would be (for example) recognition between the United Grand Lodge of England and the National Grand Lodge.

Within PHA Grand Lodges there might be individual Grand Lodges so strongly against recognition that *withdrawal of recognition* might occur between PHA Grand Lodges of opposing views. And US mainstream Grand Lodges would be hamstrung by the doctrine of exclusive territorial jurisdiction, even in a modified form. Recognition of the National Grand Lodge by *any* US mainstream Grand Lodge could only occur if *all* US mainstream Grand Lodges which have both PHA and PHO Grand Lodges in the same state have recognized the PHA Grand Lodge in 'their' state (or perhaps by a US mainstream Grand Lodge which has *no* PHA presence in that state). England, following present practice, would require approval of every US mainstream Grand Lodge which had a PHO Grand Lodge in the same state *and* of every PHA Grand Lodge (recognized by England) which had a PHO Grand Lodge in the same state. Those mainstream Grand Lodges which tamely follow England's lead would be similarly hog-tied.

But some mainstream Grand Lodges outside of USA do not consider themselves bound by the restrictions outlined by Gray. For example, two Australian Grand Lodges (Tasmania and South Australia) have exchanged recognition with the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Georgia, despite the fact that this Grand Lodge lacks recognition of the mainstream Grand Lodge of Georgia or the United Grand Lodge of England. With that kind of courage, they could exchange recognition with the National Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Ancient York Masons, National Compact, if they were satisfied the NGL met their criteria, and if the NGL was willing to leave its partly self-imposed isolation.

Other Grand Lodges, more hedged by restrictions, would have to be willing to change their procedures. It will be interesting to review the situation in another ten years, a second revisitiation.

Acknowledgements

I am particularly indebted to the Worshipful Master and brethren of the Victorian Lodge of Research for motivating me to research now rather than later, and to Ralph McNeal (PHA Arizona) and Cedric Lewis (PHO Mississippi) for generous gifts of their knowledge and time. I also wish to thank the following: Anthony Bailey, Christopher Graham, Herschel Grangent, Charles Lloyd, Thomas White (PHO), Bernard Bethea, Ezekiel Bey, Dez Ingram, Ron Robinson, Alton Roundtree, Joe Snow, Joseph Walkes (PHA) and Tom Savini (Livingston Library)—and the authors listed below, and all those helpful brethren whose names I have *temporarily* forgotten.

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Appendix A

Members & lodges of Grand Lodges under NGL, 1921			
<i>Grand Lodges</i>	<i>lodges</i>	<i>members</i>	<i>av per lodge</i>
Alabama	36	745	21
Arkansas	12	100	8
California			
Delaware		303	
District of Columbia	3	100	33
Florida	5	35	7
Georgia	400	4139	10
Illinois	11	342	31
Indiana		125 (*507?)	
Kansas	32	800	25
Kentucky			
Louisiana		192	
Maryland	18	877	49
Michigan			
Minnesota (Illinois)	2		
Mississippi			
Missouri	7	114	16
New Jersey			
North Carolina			
Ohio	15	800	54
Oklahoma	10	161	16
Oregon		*41	
Pennsylvania			
South Carolina	400	2000	5
Tennessee	16	*200	13
Texas		*591	
Virginia		*520	
Washington			
West Virginia	80	1320	17
28 GLs			

* membership calculated from poll tax paid (@ 25¢ each)

Appendix B

Affiliate Grand Lodges under the National Grand Lodge		
Triennial minutes	Brock's <i>History</i>	NGL website
1921	1978	2003
Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
Arkansas	—	[1 new lodge]
California	California	California
—	Colorado	—
Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
District of Columbia	District of Columbia	District of Columbia
Florida	Florida	Florida
Georgia	Georgia	Georgia
Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Kansas	Kansas	—
Kentucky	—	—
Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana
Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
[2 lodges]	Minnesota	Minnesota
Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi
Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
—	Nebraska	—
New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
—	New York	New York
North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina
Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Oklahoma	Oklahoma	Oklahoma
Oregon	—	—
Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
South Carolina	South Carolina	South Carolina
Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Texas	Texas	[2 lodges]
Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Washington	—	—
West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
—	Wisconsin	Wisconsin

Appendix C

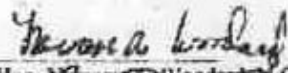
The Most Worshipful National Grand Lodge of F. & A.A.Y.
Masons, Prince Hall Origin, National Compact, U.S.A.

Resolution

HOLIDAY INN
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

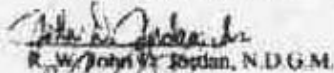
MARCH 3, 2001

Be it resolved, that the Prince Hall Grand Lodges and the National Grand Lodge have agreed to mutually recognize each others existence as representative of the African American Masonic Family. Be it further resolved, that going forward, our goal will be Masonic Fellowship and the upward mobility of the African American Community.


Hon. Norman A. Woodard, G.M.

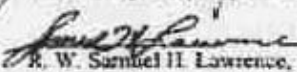

Howard L. Woods, G.M.


Dr. William O. Jones, G.M.


R. W. John W. Boston, N.D.G.M.



R. W. Clyde Sheppard, N.W.


R. W. Joseph W. Heston, N. Treas.



R. W. Samuel H. Lawrence,
N. Trustee


Deary VanGom, E.P.M.

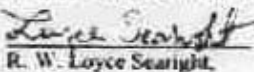

Andrew F. Donaldson, G.M.


Rev. Dr. Donald C. Wharry, G.M.


R. W. Felton N. Ferguson, N.S.W.


R. W. Lee F. Singleton, N. Sec.


R. W. Clarence Daniel, Chems Trustee Bd


R. W. Loyce Searight,
N. Trustee