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OUR SEGREGATED BRETHREN, PRINCE HALL FREEMASONS

by Tony Pope

Introduction

In theory, Freemasonry acknowledges no colour bar, but opens its doors to 'just, upright and free men of mature age, sound judgement and strict morals', regardless of race, colour or creed, provided they believe in the Supreme Being. In practice, this has not always been so,¹ and is not so today. In the United States of America a system of segregation developed and has been maintained for over 200 years.² From time to time isolated and unsuccessful attempts were made to change this situation. Now a more determined effort has been initiated and is gathering momentum. The acknowledged goal is not complete integration but mutual recognition and intervisitation.

This paper will outline the origins and separate development of Freemasonry among African-Americans, touch gently on the problems of regularity of origin and modern rules of recognition, and record the journey towards desegregation. Where distinctions are made on the basis of race or colour, the terms *Black* and *White* are used throughout this paper (except in direct quotations), as plain and neutral descriptions, devoid (one hopes) of offensiveness. The opinions expressed are those of the person to whom they are attributed. The personal opinions of the author, whether express or implied, are not necessarily shared by any organisation with which he is associated.

The principal participants in the modern situation are the *Black* Grand Lodges of Prince Hall Affiliation and the *White* Grand Lodges of the United States of America and (to a lesser extent) the Grand Lodges of Canada. The United Grand Lodge of England is an 'interested party', both historically and by its current pronouncements, which carry great weight with English-speaking Grand Lodges among the 'spectators'.

The average Australian Mason knows nothing of Prince Hall. Those of us who have studied the subject over the past few years are in much the same position. There are three substantial handicaps for the Australian researcher who would determine the historical facts: first, the 'tyranny of distance', which effectively precludes the search for and examination of primary sources; second, the unreliability of many secondary documents, which include mistakes, personal bias and outright invention; third, the very real differences of historical outlook of *Black* and *White* Americans, their history having been written mainly by and for *Whites*. Nevertheless, some facts can be established beyond reasonable doubt, and others can be substantiated to varying degrees of likelihood, enabling the application of both logical reasoning and Masonic principles towards achieving a satisfactory conclusion.

PART I—PRINCE HALL, AFRICAN LODGE AND BLACK GRAND LODGES

Prince Hall and African Lodge

Two hundred and ten years ago, almost to the day, the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) issued warrant number 459 to 'African Lodge at Boston New England'.³ The lodge was renumbered 370 in 1792⁴ and, like

¹ For example, in India—see generally Walker G E, '250 Years of Masonry in India' (the Prestonian Lecture for 1979) in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* vol 92 pp172 *et seq* and *The Collected Prestonian Lectures 1975–1987*, Lewis Masonic 1988, pp83–103

—and Germany, of which Gotthelf Greiner said in 'German Freemasonry in the present era' (1896 *AQC* 9:55 @72):

Brother J G Findel, of Leipzig, writes me: 'Germany is divided into two parties: one with the principle of Humanitarianism, and the other the Christian principle.' But cross currents would seem to exist, as I learn from Bro. E. Eberlein, W.M. of the Goethe Lodge at Poessneck, that the anti-Semitic feeling has invaded even those Lodges which profess the Humanitarian principle, and is often able to prevent the admission of Jews.

² 'As we enter the 21st century', *North Carolina Mason*, March/April 1994, p1.

³ On 29 (or 20) September 1784 in the Grand Lodge Register of Warrants and Patents, 1784–1812; see Draffen G, 'Prince Hall Freemasonry' in (1976) *AQC* 87:70 @ 75&86.

all other lodges in the former American colonies under the Antients or Moderns, was erased from the rolls by the newly-constituted United Grand Lodge of England in 1814.⁵

The foundation Master of African Lodge was a man named Prince Hall. Much has been written about him—mostly based on imagination or conjecture. His date and place of birth, his parentage and his initiation are all subjects in dispute. William Grimshaw, a Grand Master of the *Black* Grand Lodge established in the District of Columbia as Union Grand Lodge, wrote that Prince Hall was born in Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies, in 1748, the son of an Englishman and a ‘colored’ woman of French extraction.⁶ This version was adopted in the *Prince Hall Masonic Year Book*, an official publication sponsored by the Grand Masters’ Conference of Prince Hall Masons of America,⁷ and by the *White* author and Masonic researcher, Harold Voorhis,⁸ among many others. None of this can be substantiated, and Grimshaw has been totally discredited as an historian.⁹

From more reliable sources, it would appear that Prince Hall was born no earlier than 1735, no later than 1742, and probably in 1737/8. Notices in Boston newspapers of his death in December 1807 referred to him as ‘aged 72’.¹⁰ A founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Dr Jeremy Belknap, in a letter dated 1795, referred to Prince Hall as ‘a very intelligent black man, aged fifty-seven years’. A deposition dated 31 August 1807 reads: ‘I, Prince Hall of Boston in the County of Suffolk, Leather Dresser and Labourer, aged about 70 years...’¹¹ The question was considered in the 1906 *Proceedings* of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and preference was expressed for 1738 as the correct date of birth, based on the Belknap letter, but among the other dates calculated from various sources was one for 1742.¹²

His place of birth and parentage have significance on the issue of whether or not he was ‘freeborn’. That was almost certainly the reason for Grimshaw’s invention. Others have claimed Prince Hall to have been born in Maryland,¹³ England, and Africa. The basis for England as his place of birth is slender but attractive. In 1899 William Upton, a Grand Master of the *White* Grand Lodge of Washington and Quatuor Coronati local secretary for the state of Washington, had the opportunity to study some documents in the possession of the *Black* John T Hilton Lodge, Massachusetts. One of these, known as Prince Hall’s Letter Book, contains a handwritten record of correspondence to and from Prince Hall, and its authenticity and the accuracy of some of it is confirmed by records of the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns). In this book is a copy of a letter from Prince Hall to Rowland Holt, Deputy Grand Master of the Moderns, dated 4 June 1789, in which he reported: ‘...received into the Lodge since August two members, namely John Bean and John Marrant, a black minister from home but last from Brachtown, Nova Scotia’.¹⁴ The phrase ‘from home’ might, in Upton’s opinion, ‘lead some to look to England for his nativity’.¹⁵ Joseph Walkes, author and editor of Prince Hall publications, referring to this letter and others in the letter book, commented:

...there is a very good chance that Prince Hall was from England for it seems strange that an uneducated Black man living in Boston during that time could have had the contacts in England that Prince Hall obviously had.¹⁶

The arguments for Prince Hall being born in Africa are no stronger. George Draffen of Newington, a Past Master of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, noted that Prince Hall seemed to have always referred to himself as an ‘African’, and expressed the view that he was born free and seized in Africa as a youth and sold in America

4 by order of Grand Lodge 18 April 1792: ‘That the numbers of all the Lodges on Record be brought forward in regular Succession, by filling up the dormant numbers, caused by the Lodges erased at sundry Times.’—Lane J, *Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges*, London 1889, p103—and listed in the *Freemasons’ Calendar* for 1793.

5 see table, ‘A list of lodges on the roll of the United Grand Lodge of England, ad 1814’ in Hughan W J, *Memorials of the Masonic Union*, revised edn 1913, pp132–51.

6 Grimshaw W E, *Official History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People of North America*, Washington, DC, 1903; reprinted by Books for Libraries Press, New York 1971, p69.

7 Draffen, *op cit*, p70.

8 Voorhis, H V B, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, New York 1940; *Facts for Freemasons*, Macoy, New York 1951, revised 1953, p135.

9 Walkes, J A Jr, *Black Square & Compass*, Macoy, Richmond 1979, p8; *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, revised edn, Macoy, 1989, p1; Draffen, *op cit*, particularly @ pp71, 74, 85 & plates 1–3.

10 *Boston Gazette, Independent Chronicle*, Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, p3; Draffen, *op cit*, p71.

11 Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, pp3,4.

12 Walkes, *ibid*, p9; see also Upton W H, ‘Prince Hall’s Letter Book’, in (1900) *AQC* 13:54 @ 54.

13 Upton, *op cit*, p54.

14 *ibid*, p60.

15 *ibid*, p54.

16 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, revised edn, p11.

as a slave. He conceded that the youth might have been born into slavery in Africa, or that he might have been born a slave in America.¹⁷ However, Walkes explained the use of the term ‘African’ as a preferred synonym for ‘Negro’:

Using the January 14, 1787 Petition of African Blacks to [the] General Court for aid in establishing an African Colony, which Prince Hall signed, as their basis, there are those who believe that Hall’s place of birth was Africa. But it must be remembered that during this period the term “Negro” was seldom used by Blacks; hence such terms as “The African Church”, “The African School”, or “African Lodge” were more in keeping with what Blacks considered themselves.¹⁸

Draffen’s conviction that Prince Hall was at one time a slave was based on his acceptance of a document of manumission as authentic and relating to the Master of African Lodge. The document in question was published in the *White* research magazine, *Philalethes*, of April 1963:

This may certify [to whom] it may concern that Prince Hall has lived with us 21 [*or possibly* 25] years and has served us well upon all occasions for which reasons we maturely give him his freedom and that he is no longer to be reckoned a slave, but has been always accounted as a freeman by us as he has served us faithfully upon that account we have given him his freedom as Witness our hands this Ninth day of April 1770.¹⁹

The document was witnessed by William, Susannah, Margaret and Elizabeth Hall and dated ‘Boston 12th April, 1770’. It was from the papers of Ezekiel Price (c 1728–1802), in the Boston Atheneum Library, and was published as part of an article by John Sherman, Grand Historian of the *White* Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, who stated that William Hall (c 1696–1771) was a leather-dresser and property owner, and probably set up his freed slave, Prince Hall, in business as a leather-dresser. Harold Wilson, Grand Historian of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New York, disputed Sherman’s assumption that the Prince Hall referred to in the manumission was the eponymous Master of African Lodge, commented that there were several men of that name in Boston in that period, and also pointed out that the document published was a facsimile of a private record kept by Price of his activities as a notary, and not an original notarised document.²⁰ Walkes made unsuccessful efforts to locate the original document and to obtain a public record of anyone named Prince Hall manumitted in 1770.²¹ These points were reiterated by Jerry Marsengill, editor of the *Philalethes* magazine:²²

Another case concerns the manumission certificate which appeared originally in the *Philalethes* magazine. It is a copy of the original which was made by Ezekiel Price for his records. As far as I personally know, no one has seen the original. Regardless of this, if the certificate is a true and exact copy, it does not prove that the certificate was issued to the ‘Masonic’ Prince Hall. More than one man named Prince Hall resided in and around Boston at that time.

Records show that during the War of Independence there were at least three soldiers and one seaman named Prince Hall, who came from Boston or its vicinity, and there were at least seven marriages of persons named Prince Hall. They could not all have been the same man.²³ There is no evidence that the future Master of African Lodge was born into slavery, and none that he was a slave after 1770. Therefore, there are no grounds to say that Prince Hall was not both freeborn and free at the time of his initiation. It matters not, Masonically, that he *may* have been a slave in the interim.

Initiation

On the subject of the initiation of Prince Hall into Freemasonry, Draffen quoted the *Prince Hall Masonic Year Book*:²⁴

On March 6, 1775, Prince Hall and fourteen other free Negroes of Boston were made Master Masons in an army lodge attached to one of General Gage’s regiments, then stationed near Boston This lodge granted Prince Hall and his brethren authority to meet as a lodge, to go in procession on St John’s

17 Draffen, *op cit*, p90.

18 *Black Square & Compass*, p4.

19 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p2.

20 *ibid*, pp10 *et seq.*

21 *ibid*, pp14–17.

22 Introduction to *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*.

23 from various sources gathered by Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*; Draffen, *op cit*.

24 Draffen, *op cit*, p70.

Day, and as a lodge to bury their dead, but they could not confer degrees nor perform any other Masonic ‘work’.

For nine years these brethren, together with others who had received the degrees elsewhere, assembled and enjoyed limited privileges as masons...

Walkes frankly admitted that it is not definitely known when and how Prince Hall became a Mason, ‘as documentation showing dates have not been found’, but went on to quote from the Belknap papers (the source of Dr Belknap’s information presumably being Prince Hall, himself):²⁵

... I must inform you that he is grand master of a Lodge of free masons, composed wholly of blacks, and distinguished by the name of the ‘African Lodge’. It was begun in 1775, while this town was garrisoned by British troops; some of whom held a lodge, and initiated a number of negroes. After the peace, they sent to England, and procured a charter under the authority of the Duke of Cumberland and signed by the late Earl of Effingham.

Walkes went on to say:²⁶

Harry E. Davis, in his history of Prince Hall Freemasonry [*A History of Freemasonry Among Negroes in America*, 1946], wrote that Hall had been initiated in Lodge 441 which was a military lodge working under the Grand Lodge of Ireland and attached to one of the regiments in the Army of General Gage, and that the Master was a “Brother J B Batt”.

It is difficult to ascertain the validity of this. The minutes of African Lodge which have survived raise as many questions as they answer. Prince Hall Freemasonry accepts that date and counts its beginning from that time. Much confusion exists concerning that period. Blacks were formerly uneducated, being restricted by law from acquiring an education, with “Black Codes” legally restricting more than two or three Blacks from assembling or holding meetings. To put the entire period in proper perspective one would need to understand the racial conditions of the time. One can not judge the events of the period in the same context as one judges the early beginning of the Caucasian Colonist...

Draffen compiled a list of British regiments stationed in or near Boston in 1775 that included the 38th of Foot (South Staffordshires), which had a lodge warranted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, number 441. A member of the lodge was John Batt, whose name was registered with the Grand Lodge of Ireland on 2 May 1771. He served in the regiment from 1759 until his discharge at Staten Island (New York) in 1777. Draffen commented:²⁷

Any minutes of the lodge while working as a military lodge are lost and it is impossible to say if John Batt was the Master in 1775. It is equally impossible to say whether or not the meeting at which Prince Hall was initiated was held regularly under the lodge warrant or was a clandestine affair with John Batt ‘initiating’ some gullible Negroes and pocketing the money they paid him. None of those made masons by John Batt on 6 March 1775 are recorded as being members of the lodge in the registers of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. I do not say that this is what happened, merely that it is possible. On the other hand the difficulties of communication with Dublin in the middle of a civil war were enormous and the fact that Prince Hall and his friends were not registered in Dublin is, in itself, no proof that their admission was not perfectly regular.

Before the warrant

In a letter to William Moody, a member of Lodge of Brotherly Love and later Master of Perseverance Lodge, London, dated 2 March 1784, Prince Hall wrote:²⁸

Dear Brother

[*paragraph omitted*]

...I would inform you that this Lodge hath been founded almost eight years and we have had only a Permit to Walk on St John’s Day and to Bury our Dead in manner and form. We have had no opportunity to apply for a Warrant before now, though we have been importuned to send to France for one, yet we thought it best to send to the Fountain from whence we received the Light, for a warrant: and now Dear Br. we must make you our advocate at the Grand Lodge, hoping you will be

25 Walkes, *op cit*, pp3,4.

26 *ibid*, p4.

27 Draffen, *op cit*, p73.

28 Upton, *op cit*, p56.

so good (in our name and Stead) to Lay this Before the Royal Grand Master and the Grand Wardens and the rest of the Grand Lodge, who we hope will not deny us nor treat us Beneath the rest of our fellowmen, although Poor yet Sincere Brethren of the Craft.

Davis published a similar but longer version of this letter, dated 30 June 1784, reproduced by Draffen,²⁹ evidently not copied into the letter book and thus unknown to Upton. It is not completely clear whether these were separate letters or two versions of one letter, but the second version was received by the Grand Lodge of England prior to the issue of the warrant.³⁰ The most significant difference between the two is the statement in the later version ‘... and had no Warrant yet but only a Permet [*sic*] from Grand Master Row [*sic*] to walk on St John’s Day and Bury our dead in form which we now enjoy.’ Thus we have two versions of the origin of the permit or dispensation to African Lodge—Master Batt, of Lodge 441 IC, and John Rowe, Provincial Grand Master for North America (Moderns) from 1768 to 1787³¹—or there may have been two such permits, one from each source. A permit from Rowe may explain in part why Masons made in an Irish lodge should apply to England for a warrant, but does not explain why Rowe himself did not issue the warrant. Sherman, however, speculated:³²

The phrase, ‘a permit from Grand Master Rowe’ has masonic implications, and seems to indicate that he recognized them as masons, but the word ‘Permit’ seems out of place here. One would expect it to be a ‘Dispensation’. On the other hand John Rowe, outside his masonic connection, was active in local politics. He had been a Selectman of the town of Boston for a number of years and a Representative in the Massachusetts Legislature and on 3 June 1781 he was elected Town Moderator. The first death among the members of African Lodge No 1 was that of a Peter Beath on 23 February 1781, and this was recorded in the minutes. These show that the lodge then purchased a ‘Paul’ [pall] which the members could use thereafter when burying their dead. They were required to purchase a share for each one at the time of joining the lodge. It may have been necessary for them also to obtain a permit from the town authorities to go on parade and to hold a funeral as a group. *This is conjecture* [italics added] but it would explain how Prince Hall might have obtained a permit from John Rowe as a public official, but not in his masonic capacity. In his letter to Mr Moody, Prince Hall may have realized that his reference to the permit might be recognized at Grand Lodge as granting him local recognition as a freemason.

Henry Coil adopted this conjecture as fact and went a step further, announcing:

So far from *recognizing* the Negro Lodge No 1 at Boston, Provincial Grand Master Rowe, acting in his civil capacity as a town officer of Boston, issued a *denial* of lodge action or authority by granting them only a ‘a permet [*sic*] to march on St John’s day and bury their dead in form’. [his italics]³³

If there were any substance in Sherman’s conjecture or Coil’s assertion, one would expect John Rowe (or, after his death, the individual Moderns lodges) to have advised the Grand Lodge of England of any objections to African Lodge having been granted a warrant. There has never been even the suggestion of a scintilla of evidence of such correspondence.

Robert Nairn, a Canberra researcher, commented:³⁴

It must be concluded that London issued the warrant for a Lodge without reference to their own Provincial Grand Master in Boston. Perhaps this was due (later justified) to suspicions of strained relations over the War of Independence or due to delays in correspondence or perhaps London believed Rowe was not being fair to Prince Hall.

Ralph Castle, of Queensland, summarised the activities of the *White* lodges in Massachusetts during and immediately after the War of Independence, and pointed out:³⁵

29 Davis H E, *A History of Freemasonry Among Negroes in America*, 1946, pp33–34; Draffen, *op cit*, p75.

30 This may be deduced from the list of exhibits produced by Bro Haunch on 13 May 1776, when Bro Draffen gave his paper at Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

31 Denslow W R, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, vol 4, Macoy 1961, p76; Cerza A, ‘Colonial Freemasonry in the United States of America’ in (1977) *AQC* 90:218 @222; Draffen, *op cit*, p74.

32 Sherman J M, in a review of Charles H Wesley’s *Prince Hall, Life and Legacy*, in (1977) *AQC* 90:306 @ 311.

33 Coil H W, ‘Negro contentions and defences’, previously unpublished, but included in Sherman’s, ‘The Negro “National” or “Compact” Grand Lodge’, in (1979) *AQC* 92:148 @ 158.

34 Nairn R J, ‘Prince Hall Freemasonry’, *Transactions of the Research Lodge of New South Wales*, (1994) vol 13 #6, p109.

35 Castle E R, ‘An Australian Freemason’s view of Prince Hall Freemasonry’, *Phylaxis*, vol 10 #1, p6.

For the next eight years, 1784–1792, Massachusetts was divided under three Masonic authorities, all somewhat irregular. The semi-active St John’s Grand Lodge under England [Moderns], the unauthorized leadership of Joseph Webb of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Scotland, termed the Massachusetts Grand Lodge, and the schismatic Independent [Grand] Lodge of the Rising States Lodge. So there you have it in early 1784, when Prince Hall wrote to London...

Among the documents examined by Upton in 1899 were ‘a few tattered sheets of paper, upon which are written rough minutes of African Lodge from 1779 to 1787’. They appeared to be notes from which the lodge minutes could be ‘written up’ and, unfortunately, contained nothing of significance to our present quest.³⁶ Walkes demonstrated that *other* ‘minutes’ of African Lodge were inaccurate transcripts of lost originals, made no earlier than 1817 and probably dating from 1825. He concluded: ‘It is clear that the rewritten minutes of African Lodge cannot be used as [a] basis for Masonic research. They have been proved to be completely unreliable.’³⁷ This view was endorsed by Marsengill: ‘The few records which exist cannot be depended on. One such record is the minute book of African Lodge ... Since the minutes were rewritten (and most probably altered) by John Hilton, it is difficult to use them as a source of good evidence.’³⁸ Sherman, in an endnote to his paper ‘The Negro “National” or “Compact” Grand Lodge’, reported that a microfilm reproduction of the records of African Lodge from 1779 to 1846 was made in 1960 (or 15 February 1950³⁹), on the recommendation of the *White* Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, with the cooperation of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.⁴⁰

Draffen⁴¹ stated:

The earliest record of freemasonry among coloured people in the United States is to be found on a sheet of paper in the archives of African Lodge in Boston. The document is dated 6 March 1775 – the final digit is only just legible – and has the heading:

By Marster Batt wose made these brothers	
Prince Hall	Thomas Sanderson
Peter Best	Buesten Singer
Cuff Bufform	Boston Smith
John Carter	Cato Spean
Peter Freeman	Prince Taylar
Fortune Howard	Benjamin Tiber
Cyrus Jonbus	Richard Tilley
Prince Rees	

At the foot of the sheet are certain figures which would seem to show that on the same date, or previously, some fourteen men were made ‘Marsters’, three ‘Crafts’ and thirteen ‘Prentices’. A second sheet shows payments of 45½ guineas which would indicate an initiation fee of approximately three guineas. There is nothing to indicate whether or not all three degrees were conferred on 6 March 1775 but even if this were so it would be nothing to cavil at. It was quite customary for a lodge to confer all three degrees at one meeting in those days, and if the lodge was a military lodge then it might be almost essential for the lodge to confer all three degrees at one meeting – who could tell when the lodge would next be able to meet? The date, 6 March 1775, is important for it was but a few weeks before the first shot of the War of Independence was fired at Lexington, itself but a few miles from Boston.

Christopher Haffner, commenting on the date of the above entry, wrote:

‘This date has been contested in American research with the statement that the ‘5’ is a recent defacement of an original ‘8’. An early microfilm shows a figure too faint to read and the ‘8’ is assumed to have been correct from other pages accompanying the first sheet of paper’.⁴²

On a separate occasion, he remarked:

36 Upton, *op cit*, p55.

37 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, pp8, 27.

38 Introduction to *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*.

39 Sherman’s review, *op cit*, pp308,313.

40 Sherman J M, ‘The Negro “National” or “Compact” Grand Lodge’, in (1979) *AQC* 92:148 @ 171, n1.

41 Draffen, *op cit*, p72.

42 *ibid*, p83.

‘Harold Voorhis wrote an article (which he never published) in which he disputed the date of Prince Hall’s initiation, and thus ‘proved’ that he must have been made outside a chartered lodge. (How is it that no-one else had noticed this previously, and that after Voorhis had handled the original document it was found to have been defaced?)’⁴³

Of course, the fact that the ‘top’ figure is a 5 is no indication that the original figure was not also a 5; it depends on the motive of the person defacing the original—and, in any event, none of the above researchers has pointed to evidence authenticating the document or given its provenance.

Voorhis gave the same list as Draffen, but then claimed:⁴⁴ ‘The candidates paid fifteen guineas for Entering; seven for Passing; and three for Raising.’ He cited no source for this statement.

Among the rewritten minutes of African Lodge which Walkes found to be completely unreliable was a list of fifteen names, giving dates when each was ‘Maid Marster’, during the period 1778–81.⁴⁵ The list is headed ‘Prince Hall—Grand Marster 1778’, and of the other fourteen names about half are identical or very similar to those of the 1775 list given by Draffen and Voorhis. At the end of Sherman’s review of Wesley’s book are photographic reproductions of two documents, Appendixes 1 & 2, which appear to contain the lists ‘Prince Hall—Grand Marster 1778’ (Appendix 1) and ‘By Marster Batt wose made these brothers’ (Appendix 2).⁴⁶ Some entries are indecipherable, and some names are spelled differently or appear in a different sequence from those published by Draffen and Voorhis.

Prince Hall, in his first letter to William Moody, intimated that the lodge had met from 1776, and other evidence of it meeting before the issue of the warrant in 1784 are the by-laws dated 1779,⁴⁷ and a newspaper article in December 1782, to which Prince Hall responded with a letter signed as ‘Master of African Lodge No 1, Dedicated to St John’. It is apparent from Upton’s paraphrase of the first paragraph of Hall’s first letter to Moody⁴⁸ that the latter and his lodge had received and aided visiting brethren from African Lodge prior to March 1784. There is no clear evidence whether or not the lodge performed degree work before the issue of the warrant, but Hall’s letter implies that it did not.

African Lodge No 459

Although the warrant for African Lodge was issued in September 1784 it did not arrive in Boston until May 1787. The story of the delay may be ascertained from the letter book.⁴⁹ Since three of his brethren were in London when the warrant was issued, Prince Hall assumed that they would pay the fees and collect the warrant. When one of them, Prince Spooner, advised that they had not done so, Prince Hall sent £6.0.8 via a ship’s steward, Hartfield; asked Spooner to give the lodge’s hearty thanks to Brother Moody; and wrote direct to the Duke of Cumberland, promising:

I shall in all my lectures endeavour to advance the things as, by the blessing of God, may redound to the honour of the Craft, and also use that discipline in the Lodge as shall make the guilty tremble, and at the same time establish the true honest brother.⁵⁰

In June 1785 Moody wrote to Hall, formally requesting that the lodge pay the fees and collect the warrant,

43 Haffner C, ‘The Antient Charges and Prince Hall’s Initiation’, in *Philalethes*, April 1992, p39, and *Phylaxis*, vol 19 #1 p18. Harold Van Buren Voorhis was initiated in a *White* lodge in 1920. By 1940 he was a strong advocate of the regularity of Prince Hall Masonry, publishing *Negro Masonry in the United States* in 1940, and including favourable comments in *Facts for Freemasons*, 1951 (revised 1953). In September 1943 he even presented a paper to the Prince Hall Lodge of Research of New York (*Phlorony*, vol 1, p35). According to Walkes, by 1963 Voorhis had made a ‘complete about face’ (*Black Square & Compass*, p128), and he, along with Alphonse Cerza, ‘by the very nature of the insensitivity of their writings towards Blacks, have created bitter feelings towards (regular) Freemasonry among Prince Hall Freemasons, and their works have been dismissed as biased’. (*A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p10). Sherman in his review of Charles H Wesley’s *Prince Hall, Life and Legacy*, (*AQC* 90:306 @310), commented that Voorhis withdrew the 1949 (3rd) edition of *Negro Masonry in the United States* when he realised he had been misled by Grimshaw’s book. This change of heart is not reflected in the 1951 and 1953 editions of *Facts for Freemasons*.

44 *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p11.

45 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p8.

46 *AQC* 90:306 @318,319.

47 a copy was sent to England in 1787, with a list of officers on the back (Upton, *op cit*, p59; Draffen, *op cit*, p86); this list, in the possession of the United Grand Lodge of England, does not appear to have been published. Voorhis (*Negro Masonry in the United States*, pp15–17) referred to an unidentified ‘record’ which, on the basis of information he extracted from it, appears to be identical.

48 ‘Thanks him and “the Wardens and Rest of the Brethren of your Lodge” for “kindness to my Brethren when in a strange land”.’ —Upton, *op cit*, p56.

49 Upton, *op cit*, pp57–59.

50 *ibid*, p57.

the fees being £4.4.0 for the warrant, £1.1.0 for enrolment in the list of lodges and 10/6 for 'the under Secretary'. Hall sent two letters in response, in August and December, explaining that he had sent the money via Hartfield on Captain Scott's ship, and asking Moody to act on the lodge's behalf. Moody replied that he had not received the money and Hartfield denied having been given any. Hall sent more,⁵¹ and Moody wrote in March 1787, reporting that he had received the money, obtained the warrant and delivered it to Capt Scott. In May, Prince Hall proudly advertised the arrival of the warrant in a local newspaper, the *Columbian Centinal*, presumably to confound the wisecracks who had published a report about 'St Black's Lodge'⁵² and had inserted the following advertisement:⁵³

SIX SHILLINGS Reward.
LOST, the CHARTER of a certain GRAND
LODGE: Any person that has found the same,
and will leave it with the Printers hereof shall be
intituled to the above reward.
P. H—LL, Grand Secretary.

The warrant, which survived a fire in 1869, has been preserved. It bears the standard wording of an English warrant of the time, and appoints Prince Hall as Master, Boston Smith as Senior Warden and Thomas Sanderson as Junior Warden.⁵⁴ The Master wrote to William White, the Grand Secretary, thanking him for the warrant, and enquiring whether it empowered the setting up of a second lodge⁵⁵—to which there is no recorded reply.

The by-laws of 1779 and the list of members included with it are of considerable interest. A photocopy of this document (Historical Correspondence File 28/A/1) in the possession of the United Grand Lodge of England has been supplied by John Hamill, librarian and curator, who describes the original as 'a single folio now in a delicate condition'.⁵⁶ The original (as photocopied) measures approximately 12 inches by 7½ inches. This has been reduced to 65% of the area of the original for inclusion with this paper (*Appendix A*). A transcription is given overleaf. The text of the document implies that the by-laws were adopted by the lodge before or during January 1779, and this implication has not been challenged. Probably Prince Hall wrote, signed and dated the document as indicated in the text—but only as far as the line 'and in the year of our Lord 1779'.

As shown below, there follows a list of members, and a statement apparently addressed to an official of the Grand Lodge of England in terms consistent with the warrant for African Lodge having been granted. It refers to a forthcoming collection for charity, to be forwarded at the first opportunity. This is consistent with letters written by Prince Hall to William White, Grand Secretary, and Rowland Holt, Deputy Grand Master, dated 17 May 1787, both referring to sending a copy of the by-laws and list of members.⁵⁷ Voorhis mistakenly assumed that the whole document was created in 1779, and constructed elaborate hypotheses to avoid the consequent conclusion that the lodge made Masons before receipt of the warrant.⁵⁸ The list comprises 18 Master Masons other than Prince Hall, 4 Fellow Crafts and 11 Entered Apprentices. From the earlier list of 14 made with Prince Hall in 1775/8, nine names appear in the present list (allowing for variations in spelling)—eight of them as Master Masons and one, Cuff Buffo(r)m still an Apprentice! Given that the lodge was warranted in 1784 and the list supplied in 1787, there are no grounds *here* to suppose that the lodge was doing degree work before the warrant was issued.

The spelling in the document is no better than that of some modern Australian undergraduates, but has been faithfully retained in the transcript for the purposes of comparison and study. The by-laws, termed 'General Regulations', are clearly derived from Anderson, but the spelling and omissions suggest that they were recorded from memory, rather than copied. It is evidence that here is no 'hedge mason', one of 15 'gullible negroes' who went through a fraudulent ceremony and were swindled of their money by a fly-by-

51 as he informed William White, 17 May 1787, *ibid* p59.

52 December 1782, Draffen, *op cit*, p74.

53 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p20.

54 published in full by Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, pp20–22, and *Transactions of the White American Lodge of Research*, New York, vol 1, #1, p65.

55 Draffen, *op cit*, p86.

56 personal correspondence Hamill—Pope, 16 February 1994.

57 Upton, *op cit*, p59.

58 *Negro Masonry in the United States*, pp15–17.

night army deserter in 1778, as some have claimed, but rather an intelligent man of limited education, who had spent a substantial time under instruction, or in private study of the Craft.

The words ‘regulations’, spelled ‘Regutalions’, ‘penalty’, spelled ‘Pelentey’, and ‘enjoy’, spelled ‘Jnioy’, or ‘Inioy’ (capital *I* and capital *J* are written the same) might suggest to a layman the possibility of mild dyslexia.⁵⁹ Note that in this list ‘Masters’ is spelled correctly, unlike in the lists previously mentioned. The officers listed are Senior and Junior Wardens, Secretary, Treasurer, Senior and Junior Deacons, Marshall, Clerk and Tyler (a Fellow Craft). An illegible word after the names of two Apprentices (Smeeth and Horkens) might be a misspelt ‘Steward’. The fact that the Tyler was a Fellow Craft suggests that not only Master Masons were *members* of the lodge, as is the case in America now. The office of Marshall is similar to that of Director of Ceremonies, but ranks below Junior Deacon. The purpose of a clerk, in addition to the secretary, is not indicated. The office of Deacon was unusual in a Moderns lodge and one wonders where Prince Hall got the idea—perhaps from a certain military lodge with an Irish warrant. Sinclair Bruce, in an appendix to his Prestonian Lecture on deacons,⁶⁰ said that the office was not unknown in America, and referred to a Moderns lodge in New York in 1771 which had *a* deacon.

Transcription of by-laws of African Lodge, 1779, and list of members

<p style="text-align: center;">The General Regutalions of the African Lodge</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1</p> <p>As all Mosons are obliged to obey the morral law we therfore Exclud from this Lodge all stupid Athest and Irreligous libertines : yet at the same time we alow Everey man to Inioy his one Religion so that they be men of Honesty and Honour & freeborn</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2</p> <p>We admeet none but [<i>illegible</i>] of a Peaceble subjects to the civeil Powers were thay live free from all Plots and conspiraies against the Peace of the same</p> <p style="text-align: center;">3</p> <p>No member of this Lodge is sufered to be absent therefrom when worned to appear without given sum good Reson for his so doing or Pay the sum of three shillings as a fine to the Lodge</p> <p style="text-align: center;">4</p> <p>We admete none into this Lodge under the Age of Twentey one and haveing a tung of a Good Reporte for this Reson no man can be admitted a member of the same till he hath ben Proponded at lest one mounth that the Brethren may inquire into his charectter</p> <p style="text-align: center;">5</p> <p>All perferment amonge us is by Real worth and Personel merit only for fear of slander being Brought upon the Nobel order and a Disgrace to our Lodge</p> <p style="text-align: center;">6</p> <p>No man can be admitted a member of this Lodge for les money then three pounds and tow good Bondsmen for his good behover within and without the Lodge</p> <p style="text-align: center;">7</p> <p>When met in the Lodge we forbed all perfain Languge all indecent behover in the Lodge under the Pelentey of paying to the Lodge the sum of ten shillings and be leiabel to be expeal'd for six monts</p>	<p>These and all other Laws that the Lodge shall think Proper to make you are to observe as true and sencear men from God that the Nobel Craft may not be Desgraced by your bad conducte by thouse that are Without ; Aman so let Be Prince Hall Mr in the Lodge Rume Boston Janurey [?15] 5779 and in the year of our Lord 1779</p> <p>The subscribers ar a Lest of the membres Masters [<i>this word is written in the left margin, sideways</i>] Cyrus [?] Forbes Thomes Sarndson JW Intered a Prenteses Brister SI[?]ener Cuff Buffom Prince Taler Po[?]me[?] Speer Boston Smeth SW Phiplep Boston Fotain Howard Seoczes Speer John Carter Coto Rusel John Meanes Jorchy Cudmerch Cato Underwood Sⁱ John Bown Jube Hill Tr Sipeo Lard William Gorgi Gregrey Bristol Merrandis Gorge Medelton JD James Smeeth [?] Boston Fadey James Horkens [?] John Brown SD Retcherd Pollord Mershel These are a true Lest Ceser Speer PM of the Leving member of Prince Spooner the Africon Lodge at Present John Hopte thou there is a number absent at this time : we shall Craftes Collect for the found of Ceser Fleet Cherrety the Next Quarterly Sipeo Dolton CI[?]rk meeting and send it the Cear Cambel first opertunity we can get Pompey [?]eads Tiler after words after wishing His Royal Highnes our Nobel Grand and the Grond Lodge all Happness Hear and hereafter I Humbley Beg Leve to Subscribe my self your Humble Servent & B^r Prince Hall</p>
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obverse

reverse

NB The *obverse* of this document may have been written during or before January 1779, but the *reverse* was probably completed in 1787 (see *text*). A reduced photocopy of the original document is contained in *Appendix A* of this paper.

⁵⁹ Professor Wallace McLeod, after examining the photocopy and pointing out several errors in the transcript, commented: ‘But the exciting thing is the point you note—the incredible contrast between the careful calligraphy and the functional illiteracy. And I am tempted by the marginal dyslexia ... you suggest ...’ (personal correspondence McLeod—Pope, 4 May 1994).

⁶⁰ Bruce S, “‘... not only Ancient but useful and necessary Officers...’ The Deacons’, the Prestonian Lecture for 1985, *The Collected Prestonian Lectures 1975–1987*, p221 @ 256.

Bro Bruce went on to state that in present day American lodges the Junior Deacon performs the duties we allocate to the Inner Guard. He gave a list of Moderns lodges with deacons before the Union of 1813, but did not include any from America.

By-law (regulation) 6 reads (with spelling corrected): ‘No man can be admitted a member of this Lodge for less money than three pounds⁶¹ and two good Bondsmen for his good behaviour within and without the Lodge.’ This was taken by a Bro Denis Scott⁶² to refer to feudal bondage, the ‘no bondman’ requirement of the Old Charges and Anderson’s *Constitutions*. He asked: ‘Does this mean that Bondsmen were members of his lodge?’ Scott further assumed that Prince Hall was unaware in 1779 of the requirement that a Mason be ‘freeborn’. He was mistaken on both counts. The context of by-law 6 clearly indicates that ‘Bondsmen’ was used in the legal sense of a surety for good behaviour, and by-law 1 contains the phrase ‘men of Honesty and Honour & freeborn’. Curiously, Daniel Brathwaite, foundation Senior Warden of the Prince Hall Lodge of Research of New York, accepted the ‘freeborn’ requirement as a valid ‘landmark’ as late as 1943,⁶³ although Walkes asserted that Prince Hall lodges had always been prepared to initiate ex-slaves.⁶⁴ Bernard Jones, in his Prestonian Lecture, dealt fully with the requirement to be ‘freeborn’ or ‘free’. He referred to a court case in England in 1771–72 and commented:⁶⁵

...Lord Mansfield directed judgment in which these words occur:

the state of slavery...is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law...I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged.

From that moment any slave arriving in England could say “I breath free breath”.

Nevertheless, it was not until 1845 that the United Grand Lodge of England changed the requirement from *freeborn* to *free*. However, this very change is a clear indication that the requirement was not a landmark. Christopher Haffner argued that we should not take the ‘freeborn’ requirement ‘legalistically’, on the basis that the Old Charges are exhortations, not regulations; we do not comply to the letter with others of the Old Charges—to initiate only *youths*; that every Mason must be his own Master (self-employed); that all Masons shall work honestly on working days (so Masons who retire from work must retire from Freemasonry); that the *parents* of candidates must be honest (and therefore investigated before ballot).⁶⁶

From the letter book it is apparent that African Lodge faithfully sent contributions to the Grand Charity, via Capt Scott and others, but not all the contributions were received⁶⁷ and not all letters were acknowledged by the Grand Secretary. Hall sent the list of members of the lodge in 1787 and updates in 1792 (?), 1798 (16 new members since 1792), and 1802 (8 deceased & 18 new members). In 1792 the Grand Secretary asked Prince Hall to report on the other Moderns lodges in New England, ‘as we have never heard from them since the commencement of the late war in America, or indeed, long before: and in case they have ceased to meet, which I rather apprehend, they ought to be erased from our list of lodges’. This implies that the Moderns Provincial Grand Lodge and John Rowe had not been in touch with England since 1775. Prince Hall responded with the information that two lodges had amalgamated ‘since the death of their Grand Master, Henry Price’⁶⁸ and that a third lodge met regularly, and some of their members visited African Lodge. It is odd that the Grand Secretary did not mention to Prince Hall that African Lodge had been re-numbered earlier that year, and equally odd that Hall said nothing to the Grand Secretary about the recent formation of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

61 far more likely than the claims that Prince Hall and his brethren paid 15, or even 25, guineas each to be made Masons in 1775 or 1778, and still a goodly sum for the time and circumstances.

62 Scott D, ‘The Paradox of Prince Hall’, *Philalethes*, December 1991, p20 @ 22.

63 Brathwaite D o, ‘The Landmarks of Freemasonry’, *Phlorony*, vol 1 p9 @ 21, reprinted in 1988 *Propaedia* 85 @ 95.

64 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p9.

65 Jones B E, “Free” in “Freemason” and the idea of freedom through six centuries’, in Carr H (ed), *The collected Prestonian Lectures 1925–1960*, p363 @ 373.

66 Haffner C, ‘The Antient Charges and Prince Hall’s Initiation’, in *Philalethes*, April 1992, p39, and *Phylaxis*, vol 19 #1 p18.

67 Upton reports that the lodge sent contributions ‘received in Nov., 1787; Nov. 1789; April, 1792; Nov., 1793; and Nov., 1797, besides others apparently not received. I am not aware that any other New England Lodge ever contributed to it at all.’—*op cit*, p59.

68 As Ralph Castle, of Queensland, pointed out (in ‘An Australian Freemason’s view of Prince Hall Freemasonry’, *Phylaxis*, vol 10 #1, p6), St John’s Lodge No 1 united with St John’s Lodge No 2 in 1783; these were the lodges Prince Hall referred to as numbers 42 and 88. Henry Price (1697–1780) was appointed Provincial Grand Master of New England (Moderns) in 1733. He formed the St John’s Provincial Grand Lodge at Boston and chartered lodges in Massachusetts and neighbouring colonies. He served as Provincial Grand Master in 1733–37, 1740–43, 1754–55 and 1767–68, when he was succeeded by John Rowe, who served from 1768 until his death in 1787—Denslow, *op cit*, vols 3 & 4.

That African Lodge was not entirely ignored by *White* Masons is evident from Hall's letter to Moody (18 May 1787) thanking him for what is assumed to be a copy of Noorthouck's *Constitutions* of 1784, which Hall said he had shown to Masters of other lodges,⁶⁹ and from his statement (1792) that some members of Moderns lodge number 142 visited African Lodge. On the other hand, we have the report of the Rev John Eliot, *DD*, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Fellow of Harvard College and a future Grand Chaplain of the *White* Grand Lodge of Massachusetts:⁷⁰

There is much harmony between blacks and whites. We seldom have contentions, except in houses of ill-fame, where some very depraved white females get among the blacks ... otherwise, they do not associate. Even religious societies, those not of public fellowship, are separate in the town of Boston. And, what is still more remarkable, white and black masons do not sit together in their lodges. The African Lodge in Boston, though possessing a charter from England, signed by the Earl of Effingham, and countersigned by the Duke of Cumberland, meet by themselves; and white masons, not more skilled in geometry than their black brethren, will not acknowledge them. The reason given is that the blacks were made clandestinely in the first place, which, being known, would have prevented them from receiving a charter. But this enquiry would not have been made about white lodges, many of which have not conformed to the rules of Masonry. The truth is they are ashamed of being on equality with blacks.

(Belknap Papers, 1795)

In any event, when the several *White* lodges and Grand Lodges of Massachusetts got together in 1792 and formed the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, African Lodge was not invited to participate. The doctrine of 'exclusive territorial jurisdiction' was being developed in America at this time, and when the successors of Prince Hall and African Lodge No 459 formed their own Grand Lodge, they were declared clandestine on the basis of this doctrine. In turn, this rejection led to a counterclaim that Prince Hall and his brethren had formed a Grand Lodge in 1791, before the creation of the *White* Grand Lodge. If they had indeed formed a Grand Lodge, they concealed it in their correspondence with England. This claim of priority of origin should be kept in mind when examining subsequent events.

Towards independence

William Henry Grimshaw was a doorkeeper and library assistant in the main reading room of the Library of Congress.⁷¹ In 1902 he sent a typewritten letter on official Library of Congress notepaper to the Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England and enclosed a typewritten copy of an alleged patent granted by the Earl of Moira to Prince Hall as 'Provincial Grand Master, with power to constitute and establish a provincial Grand Lodge in Boston, and other Lodges in America ...' dated 27 January 1790. Grimshaw requested a search of records to verify the issue of this document. Henry Sadler prepared a reply, which was sent under the hand of the Grand Secretary, pointing out a number of mistakes and anachronisms which clearly indicated that the document was not genuine.⁷² When Grimshaw published his book, *Official History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People of North America*, in 1903, it contained a much-revised version of the 'patent', now dated 27 January 1791.

Although Grimshaw's 'patent' has been disavowed by Prince Hall researchers such as Harry Davis (1946) and Joseph Walkes (1979), the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts claims to have been founded on 24 June 1791.⁷³ Walkes ascribed this date merely to 'tradition'⁷⁴ and Voorhis described the event as

69 Upton, *op cit*, p61.

70 Quoted by Walkes in *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p22, and Sherman in his review of Charles H Wesley's *Prince Hall, Life and Legacy*, in (1977) *AQC* 90:306 @ 307.

71 *Black Square & Compass*, p8.

72 Terry Haunch, commenting on Draffen's paper, *op cit* pp84–87.

73 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p33; Draffen, (1977) *AQC* 90:295; Voorhis, *Facts for Freemasons*, p137.

74 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*. Walkes gave a 'traditional' list of Grand Officers as at that date: Prince Hall, GM; Cyrus Forbs, SGW; George Middleton, JGW; Peter Best, GTreas; and Prince Taylor, GSec. Peter Best's name appears in both appendixes to Sherman's review of Wesley's book, but on the later list (1778–81) is recorded as 'decist', which accords with Sherman's statement (*op cit*): 'The first death among the members of African Lodge No 1 was that of a Peter Beath [*sic*] on 23 February 1781.' It also accords with the fact that the name is omitted from the list of members accompanying the lodge by-laws of 1779 (*Appendix A*) and supports the contention that the attached list of members was that of 1787, not 1779. However, when I put this to Bro Walkes, he replied: 'In the minute and financial book, 1781–1816 of African Lodge, on page 7 dated 1784 I find that Peter Best received cash from (the) box of 2.8 (whatever that means, shillings I would guess).

‘A general assembly of Colored Masons’ who ‘elected’ Prince Hall as Grand Master.⁷⁵ He cited no specific authority for this statement, but went on to say: ‘It was, in effect, a Provincial Grand Lodge.’

In support of this claim, he referred to Grimshaw’s ‘patent’ and to three instances where Prince Hall was styled ‘Right Worshipful’—a letter from the Grand Secretary of England dated 20 August 1792; a printed pamphlet of a ‘charge’ given by ‘the Right Worshipful Master, Prince Hall’ to African Lodge on 25 June 1792; and a letter from a Peter Mantore of Philadelphia, dated 2 March 1797, to ‘Right Worshipful Prince Hall’.⁷⁶ To these examples might be added another, a printed pamphlet of a ‘charge’ delivered to African Lodge on 24 June 1798 by ‘the Right Worshipful Prince Hall’, which is in the archives of the United Grand Lodge of England.⁷⁷

However, the style ‘Right Worshipful’ does nothing to advance the claim to promotion. As we are well aware, to this day the ruler of a *Scottish* lodge is the Right Worshipful Master. The same usage was prevalent in Moderns lodges in the latter half of the 18th century⁷⁸ and occurred in the minutes of an Irish lodge as late as 1827.⁷⁹

On the other hand, Upton reported an entry in the letter book, with details of a certificate issued to a Bro John Dodd, signed by ‘Prince Hall, GM’, ‘Cyrus Forbes, SGW’ and ‘George Middleton, JGW’, dated ‘Boston, February 16, 1792’.⁸⁰

Pre-dating all of these is the title page of a printed pamphlet of a sermon by ‘the Reverend Brother Marrant, Chaplain’ on 24 June 1789, ‘at the request of the Right Worshipful the Grand Master Prince Hall, and the rest of the brethren of the African Lodge’.⁸¹ This was John Marrant, ordained in England in 1785. Copies of the sermon were apparently sent to the Grand Lodge of England, but the elevation of rank on the title page seems to have received no official comment. ‘Grand Master’ coupled with ‘African Lodge’ suggests that this is merely a distinction drawn between Master Mason and Master of a lodge, sometimes encountered in the 18th century.

It appears that in 1797 Prince Hall issued warrants for two lodges, one in Philadelphia on 24 June and the other in Providence, Rhode Island, on 25 June.⁸² Although this action certainly was not authorised by the warrant of African Lodge—and undoubtedly would have incurred the displeasure of the Grand Lodge of England (perhaps even expulsion and erasure) had it become known—Prince Hall may have been acting in good faith. Researchers such as George Draffen,⁸³ Joseph Findel,⁸⁴ Christopher Haffner,⁸⁵ Wallace McLeod,⁸⁶ Allen Roberts⁸⁷ and Harry Williamson⁸⁸ have cited examples of other lodges (some warranted and some claiming ‘time immemorial’ status) which have warranted other lodges.

William Bathurst gave an example of a group of three lodges at Chester in 1725 which *elected* their own Provincial Grand Master and sent their returns to London, showing the Provincial Grand Master, his Deputy and Wardens as the four principal officers of the senior lodge.⁸⁹ This was recognised by the Grand Lodge of England, in spite of the fact that appointment of a Provincial Grand Master was the prerogative of the Grand Master. Bathurst gave other examples of the ‘pocket Provincial Grand Lodge’, where it was contained within a single lodge, but exercised authority over other lodges.⁹⁰

Then, too, we have frequent examples of military or colonial warranted lodges, or a committee such as the *Leinster Committee* in New South Wales or the *Standing Committee* in Tasmania, issuing a dispensation for

Now since my listing has been typed on 9/9/81 by a friend from Boston, I do not know who died in February 23, 1781.’ (personal correspondence, Walkes—Pope, 1/7/94).

75 *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p27.

76 *op cit*, pp27–29.

77 Draffen, ‘Prince Hall Freemasonry’ in (1976) *AQC* 87:70, @ 86.

78 Gould R F, *History of Freemasonry*, 1st edn, vol 3, p464 footnote; Carr H, *Freemason at Work*, examples contained in answer to Q37, @ 225.

79 minute book of Lodge No 33 IC (Royal North British Fuzileers, 21st of Foot) in possession of the Grand Lodge of Tasmania.

80 Upton, *op cit*, p60.

81 Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, p31.

82 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p34; Draffen, *op cit*, p78.

83 Draffen, *op cit*, p76.

84 Findel J G, *History of Freemasonry*, English translation of 2nd edn, 1868, chapters on Germany.

85 Haffner C, ‘Regularity of Origin’ in (1983) *AQC* 96:111.

86 in commenting on Haffner, *op cit*, @ 130.

87 Roberts A E, ‘Black Freemasonry’, *Philalethes*, April 1989, p16.

88 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p30.

89 Bathurst, the Hon W R S, ‘The evolution of the English Provincial Grand Lodge’, (Prestonian Lecture for 1966), *Collected Prestonian Lectures 1961–1974*, Lewis Masonic, London 1983, @ 64.

90 *ibid*, p67.

another lodge to be formed, pending an application to a Grand Lodge. Who can say with certainty that Prince Hall *knowingly* exceeded his authority?

Indeed, the letter book indicates that Prince Hall continued to write to England as from the Master of a constituent lodge to Grand Secretary. On 15 June 1802 he wrote:⁹¹

... my brethren of the African Lodge, which the Grand Lodge hath highly honoured me to take the charge, and have by the blessing of God endeavored to fulfil my obligations and the great trust you have reposed in me.

I have sent a number of letters to the Grand Lodge and money for the Grand Charity, and by my faithful brethren as I thought, but I have not received one letter from the Grand Lodge for this five years, which I thought somewhat strange at first; but when I heard so many were taken by the French, I thought otherwise, and prudent not to send.

Still without a reply from England since 1796, in August 1806 Prince Hall apparently instructed one of his brethren, Nero Prince, to send to Grand Lodge the returns of members for the past 10 years. This was his last entry in the letter book, and William Upton commented:⁹²

This ends our manuscript, with a melancholy picture of the way the Grand Secretary's office was conducted at that time, and a more pleasant one of the faithful old Mason making Lodge returns to the last. Prince Hall died sixteen months later. Nero Prince succeeded him as Master of African Lodge.

In *Black Square & Compass*, Joseph Walkes said of Prince Hall:

Prince Hall Masonry began with a remarkable individual, Prince Hall, a man who was a credit to his race, his country, universal Freemasonry and himself.⁹³

In order to measure the greatness of Prince Hall, one must review the written documents left by him, his petitions to the Senate and House of representatives of Massachusetts, his Letter Book and his Charges to African Lodge... His lack of a formal education, his bondage, and the racial conditions of the time merely enhance the character of this outstanding individual. His many accomplishments in overcoming all of these handicaps, and the abuses, mistreatment and often viciousness that was heaped on him, his lodge, and later the fraternity he founded, is more than proof that Prince Hall was indeed 'The Master'.⁹⁴

In 'The Antient Charges and Prince Hall's Initiation', Christopher Haffner concluded: 'Without painting a hagiographic picture of Prince Hall, all that we know of this Mason is wholly admirable, and his achievements display him as a man who worked freely for the good of his own race and the whole of the community.'

Prince Hall died on 4 December 1807 and was interred with Masonic ceremony, but the several newspaper notices do not state where he was buried.⁹⁵ There is an epitaph on the back of the gravestone of Sarah Ritchery, who may have been Prince Hall's first wife. It reads: 'Here lies ye body of Prince Hall / First Grand Master of the Colored Grand Lodge of Masons in Mass. / Died Dec. 7, 1807'. The incorrect date of death suggests that the inscription was made years later. His last wife, Sylvia, was appointed 'administratrix' of his estate.⁹⁶ Draffen observed that the interment records were missing.⁹⁷ Many years later, a monument to the memory of Prince Hall was erected in the same graveyard; there is an attractive photograph of it in Roy Wells' book, *The rise and development of organised Freemasonry*, (1986) at page 149.

From Nero Prince to J T Hilton

Upon the death of Prince Hall, Nero Prince succeeded him as Master of African Lodge. Grimshaw claimed that he was a white man, a Russian Jew. Draffen described this as 'one of his wilder stretches of imagination'.⁹⁸ According to Draffen, Bro Prince was raised in African Lodge in 1799; he was a baker who became a sailor and made two voyages to Russia between 1810 and 1812. He then entered the service of a

91 Upton, *op cit*, p63.

92 *loc cit*.

93 Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, p2.

94 *ibid*, p12.

95 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p32.

96 *Black Square & Compass*, p6.

97 Draffen, *op cit*, p72.

98 *ibid*, p78.

Princess Purtoosof and later joined the staff at the court of Tsar Alexander.⁹⁹ He died in Russia in 1825 (Voorhis) or 1833 (Draffen).

The next Master was George Middleton,¹⁰⁰ who had been recorded as Junior Deacon in the 1779/87 list, and was shown as 'JGW' on Bro Dodd's certificate in 1792. According to Voorhis, Middleton granted a warrant for another lodge in Philadelphia, Union Lodge No 2. He was succeeded by Peter Lew, who served from 1811 to 1817 and warranted three lodges—Laurel No 5 and Phoenix No 6, both in Philadelphia in 1811, and Boyer Lodge No 1 in New York in 1812.¹⁰¹ Voorhis did not cite his source, but it was probably one of the several rewritten 'minutes' of African Lodge, shown by Walkes to be inconsistent and unreliable. Other minutes show Boyer Lodge applying for a warrant in 1826.

Voorhis described Nero Prince, George Middleton and Peter Lew as Grand Masters. He asserted that a convention of 'Negro Masons' was held at Boston on 24 July 1808 with representatives of the three lodges—those of Boston, Philadelphia and Providence—present, at which Nero Prince was elected Grand Master, and the Grand Lodge was named 'Prince Hall Grand Lodge'.¹⁰² Dr Eugene Hopp¹⁰³ reported the date as 8 June 1808. These statements are at odds with reliable evidence. They are probably taken from a book headed 'The Book of Records of the Grand African Lodge, No. 459, Boston, November 25, A.L.5825'. This book contains entries dated from 1807 to 1846. From the beginning to mid-1826 the handwriting is in a single hand, and an entry of 21 November 1825 indicates that John T Hilton was authorised to purchase a book and transcribe existing records into it. From mid-1826 onwards, the entries are in several different handwritings.¹⁰⁴

On 5 January 1824, the then Master of African Lodge, Samson H Moody, wrote to 'the Right Worshipful the Grand Master, Wardens and Members of the Grand Lodge of England', petitioning for a renewal and extension of the 'charter' of African Lodge. Moody extended greetings from himself and 'other Companions who have been regularly exalted to the Sublime degree of Royal Arch Masons', some of whom he named, and gave details of the original warrant. He remarked that this warrant only permitted three degrees to be conferred, and sought authority to 'confer the other four degrees'.¹⁰⁵ The signatories were Samson H Moody, WM; Peter Howard, SW; C A DeRandamie, JW (all Companions) and William J Champney, Secretary.¹⁰⁶ There is no record, in England or elsewhere, of any reply to this petition.

Finally, African Lodge accepted its isolation and declared its independence in a notice dated 18 June 1827 and published in the *Boston Advertiser* of 26 June 1827. The notice was headed 'African Lodge No 459' and signed by John T Hilton, RWM; Thomas Dalton, SW; Lewis York, JW; and J H Purrow, Secretary.¹⁰⁷ From 25 June 1827, the minutes of the lodge refer to 'The African Grand Lodge No 459' or 'The Grand African Lodge'.¹⁰⁸ John Telemachus Hilton was the 'Right Worshipful Master' of the lodge at the declaration of independence and became the first Grand Master. It is difficult to determine precisely which details of the history of African Lodge were 'revised' by him.

Black Grand Lodges

Walkes considered that Pennsylvania was the first independent *Black* Grand Lodge. It was established in Philadelphia on 27 December 1815,¹⁰⁹ well ahead of the declaration of independence by African Lodge at Boston in 1827. But Pennsylvania illustrates the problems of regularity of origin and historical accuracy which bedevil the whole Prince Hall scene.

It was in March 1797 that Peter Mantore wrote to Prince Hall and the brethren of African Lodge, congratulating them on their warrant, and reporting that there were 11 brethren in Philadelphia (including five Master Masons) who were ready to 'go to work'. He named the brethren, and the lodges where some of them were *made*, and stated that they had been *tried* by five Royal Arch Masons. He wrote: 'The white

⁹⁹ *loc cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p35.

¹⁰¹ *loc cit.*

¹⁰² *loc cit.*

¹⁰³ Hopp E S, 'Negro Lodges', in *Masonic Papers*, vol 4, Research Lodge of Oregon (1982) pp303–308 @ 307.

¹⁰⁴ *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p26.

¹⁰⁵ In Ireland at this time, the Craft warrant was sufficient authority to confer additional degrees—Gould R F, *Military Lodges*, Gale & Polden, p155.

¹⁰⁶ Letter in the archives of the United Grand Lodge of England, quoted by Draffen, *op cit*, p77.

¹⁰⁷ Sherman's review, p151.

¹⁰⁸ *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p55.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*, p52.

Masons here say that they are afraid to give us a warrant for fear the black men living in *Virginia* would get to be Free Masons, too.¹¹⁰ He added that he and his brethren would rather be under African Lodge, and asked that a brother be sent with the warrant, and expenses would be reimbursed.¹¹¹

Prince Hall replied that he hoped the brethren had received the light of Masonry in a just and lawful manner. He continued as follows:¹¹²

If so, dear brother, we are willing to set you to work under our charter and Lodge No. 459, from London; under that authority and by the name of African Lodge, we hereby and herein [*or hereon*] give you license to assemble and work as aforesaid, under that denomination as in the sight and fear of God. I would advise you not to take in any at present till your officers and your Master be in[stalled] in the Grand Lodge, which we are willing to do when he thinks convenient, and he may receive a full warrant instead of a permit.

It will be noted that Prince Hall was writing as if he had assumed the authority of, at least, a Provincial Grand Master. Voorhis stated that the warrant was granted on 24 June and the lodge formally constituted by Prince Hall on 22 September 1797.¹¹³ The lodge received a copy of the English warrant, and took the name African Lodge No 459 of Philadelphia. The first Master was Absalom Jones, mentioned in Peter Mantore's letter, but not among the 11 listed as *tried* Masons. According to Walkes,¹¹⁴ Jones was a wholly admirable man. Born into slavery, he educated himself, purchased the freedom of his wife, bought a house, and finally purchased his own freedom. He went into business and studied for holy orders. He was ordained Deacon in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1795, at the age of 49, and was ordained Priest in 1804. No one appears to have recorded where or when this just and upright man of mature age—but not freeborn—was made a Mason.

The minutes of the lodge from 27 December 1797 to 15 February 1800 have been preserved and William Upton published some interesting extracts.¹¹⁵ This lodge, a Moderns lodge 'once removed', also had Deacons; there is no mention of a Marshall or a Clerk. On more than one occasion the lodge had visitors whose names and lodge numbers were recorded. Upton assumed the visitors to be *White*.

As previously mentioned, Voorhis stated that the successors to Prince Hall warranted three more lodges in Philadelphia: Union No 2, Laurel No 5 and Phoenix No 6, and Walkes concurred.¹¹⁶ These four lodges formed the First Independent African Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, in 1815. In 1837, two lodges (Union No 2 and *Harmony* No 5—whatever happened to *Laurel* No 5?) broke away, or were expelled, and 'with others' formed the Hiram Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.¹¹⁷

Meanwhile, it would appear that there were several lodges of *Blacks* in the city of New York. Hopp¹¹⁸ stated that Prince Hall Grand Lodge (by which he meant African Lodge, of Boston) chartered lodges numbered 2, 3 and 4 in New York in 1826. Voorhis named similar lodges as Celestial No 2, in New York City; Rising Sun No 3, in Brooklyn; and Hiram No 4, in New York City.¹¹⁹ He did not specifically state that they were warranted from Boston, but this was implied by the context. It is possible that First Independent African Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania also warranted lodges in New York.¹²⁰ Walkes mentioned only one lodge warranted from Boston, Boyer Lodge. According to Voorhis, Peter Lew issued the warrant for Boyer Lodge in 1812¹²¹ but, according to the minute book written by John Hilton, application was made in January 1826 and the matter dragged on until at least August 1827.¹²²

110 In this context, it is interesting to note that Voorhis recorded (*Negro Masonry in the United States*, p33):

Israel Israel, a member of Royal Arch Lodge, No. 3, in Philadelphia (MM May 20, 1794 and GM of Pa 1803–1805) visited this lodge in 1797 and reported its existence to his Grand Lodge (minutes of March 6, 1797).

111 Upton, *op cit*, p63.

112 *ibid*.

113 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p34.

114 Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, p29.

115 Upton, *op cit*, pp63–65.

116 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p52.

117 *loc cit*.

118 Hopp, *op cit*, p307.

119 Voorhis, *Facts for Freemasons*, p139.

120 see Sherman, 'The Negro "National" or "Compact" Grand Lodge', in (1979) *AQC* 92:148 @ 153.

121 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p35.

122 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, pp53–55; Sherman, *op cit*, pp 150, 151.

At least two Grand Lodges were formed in New York, Philanthropic Grand Lodge in 1844 (Sherman)¹²³ and Boyer Grand Lodge in 1845 (Walkes, Draffen).¹²⁴ Voorhis stated that Boyer, Celestial, Rising Sun and Hiram Lodges formed Boyer Grand Lodge, and made no reference to Philanthropic Grand Lodge.¹²⁵ The suspicion arises that Philanthropic Grand Lodge was considered by pro-Prince Hall researchers to have been clandestine, and that Sherman included it for that very reason, because in his view *all* were clandestine.

African Grand Lodge of Maryland was also organised in 1845 but the origin of the constituent lodge or lodges was not recorded by either Walkes or Draffen.¹²⁶ What of Rhode Island? Voorhis stated that Hiram Lodge No 3, of Providence, Rhode Island, was warranted by Prince Hall in 1797. It was composed of members of African Lodge who had moved there from Boston. In 1813 most of the members migrated to Liberia (established as a republic in 1847) and the lodge became dormant.¹²⁷ African Lodge warranted a second lodge at Providence in 1826, Harmony Lodge.¹²⁸ Hopp described this as a re-activation and renaming of Hiram Lodge.¹²⁹

The gap in recorded activity in the various States between 1827 and 1845 may well have been caused by the Morgan affair which so devastated the *White* fraternity. Certainly, in Boston, African Grand Lodge had problems in the 1830s and 1840s. After a succession of Grand Masters, John Hilton was re-elected in 1836 and continued in office until 1847. Even Sherman paid tribute to him:¹³⁰

He was an effective organizer, and if any one man deserves most of the credit for keeping it alive during the late thirties and early forties it was he. He called together the small circle of members remaining active for meetings at his home in the early forties and presided at them.

A National Grand Lodge

By 1847 there was considerable dissension between *Black* lodges and Grand Lodges in several States. In Pennsylvania there was intense rivalry between the Hiram Grand Lodge, which was gaining adherents, and the First Independent African Grand Lodge, which was losing members,¹³¹ and in New York there was ill-feeling between the individual lodges.¹³² With good intentions, African Grand Lodge issued a general invitation to attend a Grand Convention at Boston in June 1847. Who responded, and when, and precisely what took place is impossible to ascertain, but a National Grand Lodge of North America was formed, with jurisdiction over State Grand Lodges, and John Hilton was the first National Grand Master.

When the delegates from Boyer Grand Lodge returned to New York, that Grand Lodge refused to endorse the action of its delegates, which caused a schism, some members accepting a warrant from the National body and others re-organising as an independent Grand Lodge. The Hiram Grand Lodge of Delaware opposed the formation of a National Grand Lodge and issued a pamphlet attacking the legitimacy of African Grand Lodge.¹³³

The National body proceeded to warrant the formation of Grand Lodges in States which already had one, and generally demonstrated that the 'cure' was worse than the 'disease'. Not all State Grand Lodges were opposed to the 'Compact', however. African Grand Lodge accepted a warrant as Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and proceeded to split the original African Lodge into three new lodges: Union No 1, Celestial No 2 and Rising Sun No 3.¹³⁴ The two rival bodies in Pennsylvania united under a warrant from the National Grand Lodge, as Grand Lodge for the State of Pennsylvania. This union was short-lived, and former members of Hiram Grand Lodge withdrew in 1849.¹³⁵ Former members of the First Independent Grand Lodge withdrew the following year.

Ohio withdrew from the Compact in 1868 and within a few years so did many other State bodies. The list given by Walkes¹³⁶ is formidable. Almost all the Grand Lodges that withdrew from the Compact eventually

123 Sherman, *op cit*, p153.

124 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p34; Draffen.

125 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p35.

126 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p34; Draffen.

127 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p34.

128 *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p54.

129 Hopp, *op cit*, p307.

130 Sherman, *op cit*, p152.

131 Sherman, *op cit*, p153.

132 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p59; Sherman, *loc cit*.

133 Sherman, *op cit*, p154.

134 Castle, *op cit*, p20, from his Prince Hall contact, Cleo W Wooten of Massachusetts.

135 Walkes. *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p52.

136 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, pp70–73.

added the name Prince Hall to their titles, and now form part of the Prince Hall Affiliation. They take the view that the National (Compact) Grand Lodge was dissolved in 1877. Sherman and some other *White* researchers take a contrary view, pointing to documentary evidence that *someone* continued to operate under this title. According to John Hamill, there are still 27 Grand Lodges operating under warrants from the National Grand Lodge.¹³⁷

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.

Prince Hall Affiliation

The first *Black* Grand Lodge established beyond the confines of the United States was the Widow's Son Grand Lodge of Canada, at Hamilton, Ontario. It later registered the name 'Grand Lodge of Ontario',¹³⁸ and now bears the title Prince Hall Grand Lodge, Province of Ontario. Walkes and Draffen both gave the date of establishment as 1851, but recent correspondence from the Grand Lodge itself claims 1856,¹³⁹ which is corroborated by Wallace McLeod.¹⁴⁰

A Grand Lodge was erected in the Republic of Liberia in 1867 but, tragically, Freemasonry was extinguished in that country in 1980, when the Grand Master and other officers of Grand Lodge were publicly murdered. They were members of the government which was overthrown by a military coup led by army sergeant Samuel Doe, who issued a total ban on Freemasonry in Liberia. Five years later, President Doe was persuaded to lift the ban, and in 1987 the senior surviving Grand Officer, DGM Philip Brumskine, was installed as Grand Master. Since then, under his leadership and with the support of other Prince Hall Grand Lodges, he has begun a cautious restoration of the Craft in that country.¹⁴¹

Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the Commonwealth of the Bahama Islands was erected in 1951. Union Grand Lodge of Florida, established in 1870, now incorporates a Central American country within its jurisdiction, and is known as *Most Worshipful Union Grand Lodge Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity, Free and Accepted Masons, Prince Hall Affiliation, Florida & Belize, Central America Jurisdiction*. The Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Alaska was organised in 1969, the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Nevada in 1980,¹⁴² and the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the Caribbean (based at Barbados) as recently as April 1993.¹⁴³

Only ten States do not have a separate Prince Hall Affiliation Grand Lodge. Of these, three have one or more lodges warranted from other States: Wyoming from Colorado, Idaho from Oregon and North Dakota from Minnesota. California, which used to have subordinate lodges in Hawaii, now shares jurisdiction as The Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the States of California and Hawaii.¹⁴⁴ In Canada, the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ontario has lodges in Quebec, and some of the other Provinces have lodges warranted from south of the border. Alberta has lodges from Minnesota, and previously had some from Washington State. Minnesota is also represented in Manitoba, and there are Washington lodges in British Columbia. Massachusetts has lodges in Trinidad and Tobago; until last year New York had lodges in Guyana, St Lucia, Dominica and Barbados, and may still have lodges in Guyana, St Lucia and Dominica.¹⁴⁵

Ever since the American Civil War there have been National Compact or Prince Hall Affiliation lodges in military units, and their story was told at length by Joseph Walkes in *Black Square & Compass*.¹⁴⁶ The 1976 *Prince Hall Year Book* recorded more than 60 military lodges in England, Asia, Europe and the Canal Zone

137 personal correspondence, Hamill—Pope, 16 February 1994.

138 Shaw B, *Grand Lodge of Alberta Bulletin*, June 1990.

139 Provisional Resolution, dated 13 August 1991, and letterhead of correspondence from J Dan Bancroft, PGM, to K W Aldridge, PGM, dated 16 August 1991 (copies obtained from Ralph Herbold, Southern California Research Lodge).

140 McLeod W E, Report of the Grand Historian, in the *Annual Communications of the Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario*, 1992, p92, based on the statement of J Lawrence Runnalls, 'The Coloured Man in Freemasonry', *Papers of the Canadian Masonic Research Association* (PCMRA), No 77 (1964), reprinted in LeGresley C E B (ed), *CMRA Papers*, Cambridge (Ontario) 1986, vol 2, pp1329–1343, at page 1335, to the effect that in 1851 a Bro T C Harnley was deputed by the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New Jersey to erect lodges in the Province of Canada, and on 25 August 1856 three lodges so erected were formed into a Grand Lodge.

141 *Phylaxis*, issues # 2, 1980; # 2, 1987; # 1, 1989.

142 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, pp33–44.

143 Payne C F, 'Capsule History of Most Worshipful (Prince Hall) Grand Lodge of the Caribbean' in *Phylaxis*, vol 19 #3, p7.

144 *Phylaxis*, Spring 1994, p25.

145 Bro Payne (*op cit*) is not clear on this point.

146 and see Vrooman J B & Roberts A E, *Sword and trowel*, Missouri Lodge of Research 1964.

(Panama). Christopher Haffner listed more than 20 lodges in Guam, Hawaii, Japan, Korea, Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand between 1950 and 1981. He said of the modern military lodges:¹⁴⁷

THE MILITARY LODGE CONCEPT

Perhaps the most important thing that is apparent is that, although called ‘Military Lodges’, these differ quite considerably from the early concept of such lodges under England and Ireland, as well as from that envisaged by the first rules for Prince Hall [National Compact] Military Lodges in 1865. The older concept is that such a lodge is attached to a regiment and moves with it to any part of the world; they have *travelling* warrants. The only reason that the newer lodges referred to in this paper are ‘military’ seems to be that they are located on military bases.

Haffner realised the implications, not only for his own District of Hong Kong and the Far East, but also for his United Grand Lodge, when he noted that there were (in 1981) *five* Prince Hall lodges in England,¹⁴⁸ and quoted a statement from *Phylaxis* that there were *White* brethren actively engaged in Prince Hall Masonry in the United Kingdom and parts of Europe.

Blacks in White lodges

On the evidence, few *Blacks* have been admitted to membership of *White* lodges. It may well be, particularly with the Prince Hall alternative, that few have applied, even in jurisdictions without a regulation specifically excluding *Blacks* from membership. Certainly, there are recorded examples of the rejection of men who appeared to be well-qualified, except for the colour of their skin, such as a group of *Blacks* who were not Freemasons, Prince Hall or otherwise, whose requests were denied by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in 1847.¹⁴⁹

Voorhis was able to give only a brief list of *Blacks* in *White* lodges: a visitor to a lodge in New Jersey in 1838 and another to a lodge in Delaware in 1850; a man who was initiated in an Army lodge in 1846 so that he could serve as Tyler; and four men who were admitted to full membership, between 1867 and 1898, in lodges in Indiana, Massachusetts (2) and Vermont.¹⁵⁰

In 1904, Bert Williams, described as ‘Negro comedian and song writer of the American stage’, was made a Mason in a lodge in Scotland. When he died in 1922, the Grand Lodge of Scotland requested that a *White* lodge in New York (an actors’ lodge) conduct a Masonic service for him, which they did.¹⁵¹ There is no record of Bro Williams ever having applied to join a *White* lodge in America.

St Andrew’s Lodge, of Boston, seems to have been an exceptionally enlightened lodge, having initiated at least nine *Blacks* in the mid-19th century. In 1871, eight of them applied to the *White* Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for a dispensation for a new lodge, to be called Thistle Lodge. The petition was rejected.¹⁵²

In 1870 a group of Prince Hall Masons applied to the *White* Grand Lodge of New Jersey to be recognised and to be granted a warrant under that Grand Lodge, for a lodge to be called Cushite Lodge. The application was rejected.¹⁵³

Because of this rejection, a group of *White* Masons presented a petition for a new lodge at Newark, New Jersey, to be called Alpha Lodge. The petition was granted and the lodge was formed with nine members, all *White*. At its first meeting, petitions were read from 13 candidates, 12 of them *Black*, including all the Prince Hall Masons who had petitioned for Cushite Lodge. At a subsequent meeting, before a ballot could be conducted, a representative of the Grand Master demanded and took possession of the warrant, on the grounds that it was alleged to have been obtained by deceit and misrepresentation. The matter was subsequently determined by Grand Lodge, and the warrant was restored by a majority vote of one.¹⁵⁴

147 Haffner C, ‘Notes on Prince Hall Masonry in the Far East’, *Chater-Cosmo Transactions*, (1981) vol 3, pp109–147 @ 114.

148 Haffner, *op cit*, p110.

149 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p102, citing the *Proceedings* of the *White* Grand Lodge of Ohio, 1870, pp24 & 41.

150 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, pp75, 106. Now, in 1994, according to the Research and Development Committee of the *White* Grand Lodge of North Carolina: ‘There are regular African-American Masons. They are members of recognized lodges in New York, New Jersey, Vermont, California, Virginia and many other states.’—*North Carolina Mason*, March/April 1994, p6. The report does not state how many African-American Masons, or how many lodges.

151 Denslow W R, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, vol 4, Macoy 1961, p327.

152 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p108; Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p101.

153 Voorhis, *ibid*, pp78–80.

154 Voorhis, *ibid*, pp88–93.

Of the 12 *Black* petitioners, nine were admitted and three rejected. In 1872, the first year of operation, all nine were initiated, passed and raised, as were three *White* applicants. There was considerable opposition from some of the other lodges in New Jersey. The nine members of Alpha Lodge who were former Prince Hall Masons applied for a warrant for another lodge, Surgam Lodge, but this was refused. Five years later, one of them became Master of Alpha Lodge, the first *Black* Master in a *White* jurisdiction. From statistics obtained from Voorhis, between 1871 and 1938 the lodge had 198 members, 19 of them *White*, 176 *Black*, plus '2 Indians and 1 Hindu'.

Jack Chasin reported in 1943 that members of Alpha Lodge visited a *White* lodge in New York and were welcomed.¹⁵⁵ Ernest Rubin quoted Charles Gosnell, Grand Master of the *White* Grand Lodge of New York, as saying in 1970:¹⁵⁶ 'From time immemorial we had a few black men in our ranks. Some years ago, in upstate New York, one received a fifty year medal.'

In contrast, Walkes wrote, in *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book* (page 88):

From time to time this writer has received letters from members of Alpha Lodge No 116, bitterly complaining of the treatment they receive at the hands of Prince Hall Freemasons, who treat them as clandestine. My standard reply is: there is no reason for a Alpha Lodge No 116 so long as there is a Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New Jersey. They are treated like second class citizens when they travel outside of the State of New Jersey. Mainstream Freemasonry doesn't want them, and Prince Hall Freemasonry rejects them! Also, over the years, I have received letters from mainstream members of the Craft stating that they attended communications with Alpha Lodge with none expressing that sitting in Lodge with Blacks was a 'fraternal experience' but rather a curiosity.

Voorhis recorded only two Grand Lodges that took any action because of the existence of Alpha Lodge, although others expressed disapproval. In 1872 the Grand Lodge of Delaware instructed its lodges to have no Masonic intercourse with Alpha Lodge No 116 of New Jersey. In 1908 the Grand Master of Mississippi severed fraternal relations between his Grand Lodge and New Jersey. His letter read, in part:¹⁵⁷

Yours of August 25th., advising me that negroes are initiated and affiliated in your Grand Jurisdiction is received.

Our Grand Lodge hold differently. Masonry never contemplated that her privileges should be extended to a race, totally morally and intellectually incapacitated to discharge the obligations which they assume or have conferred upon them in a Masonic Lodge. It is no answer that there are exceptions to this general character of the race. We legislate for the race and not for the exceptions.

We hold that affiliation with negroes is contrary to the teachings of Masonry, and is dangerous to the interest of the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons.

Fraternal relations were quietly resumed 20 years later, although Alpha Lodge still thrived.

To this list Walkes added the Grand Lodge of Oklahoma, which severed relations in 1910 but later resumed relations on the understanding that all Masons from New Jersey except members of Alpha Lodge would be welcomed in Oklahoma lodges, and then, 30 years later, he continued:¹⁵⁸

Proceedings for February 14, 1940:

The Grand Lodge of Oklahoma again discovered the existence of Alpha Lodge No 116, at Newark, and again severed fraternal relations with the Grand Lodge of New Jersey, but these were resumed again on February 11, 1942.

He also quoted the Grand Master of the *White* Grand Lodge of Texas, commenting on Article XV of the Constitutions and Laws of that Grand Lodge, as saying in the Texas *Proceedings* for 1947:¹⁵⁹

I suppose it is wholly unnecessary for me to point out that it is the law of our Grand Lodge that the Grand Lodge of Texas does not recognize as legal or Masonic any body of Negroes working under any character of charter in the United States without regard to the body granting such charter, and that this Grand Lodge regards all Negro Lodges as clandestine, illegal and un-Masonic and this Grand Lodge regards as highly censurable the course of any Grand Lodge in the United States which shall recognize such bodies of Negroes as Masons.

155 *Phlorony*, vol 1 (1943), p46.

156 Rubin E J, 'Masonic observations of Prince Hall lodges', in *Masonic Papers*, vol 4, Research Lodge of Oregon, (1982) pp 294-302 @ 297.

157 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p101.

158 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p83.

159 *ibid*, p87.

Walkes concluded: 'Therefore, this would mean that although the Grand Lodge of Texas recognizes the White Grand Lodge of New Jersey, a censure of that grand body is implied over the existence of Alpha Lodge No. 116.'

That bigotry is still alive and well is illustrated by an item in the *Virginia Masonic Herald* of October 1989 (reproduced in full as **Appendix B**). Grand Master Cabell Cobbs found it necessary to intervene on behalf of a *Black* candidate who had twice been rejected on the ballot on racial grounds.¹⁶⁰

In 1990 the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of South Africa, responding to an article in the *California Freemason*, wrote:

The Grand Lodge of South Africa has never discriminated against persons of colour and in fact it has the proud record of leading Masonic protest against such practices in South Africa.

In 1977 the Grand Lodge of South Africa chartered and consecrated two lodges, namely Lodge Perseverance No 126 and Lodge Phoenix No 127. The charters of the Grand Lodge do not permit discrimination.

The founding members of these two lodges were former members of Prince Hall Lodges in South Africa who desired to be full participants and accepted into Freemasonry in South Africa. Further, members of these lodges have advanced to be holders of Grand Rank in the Grand Lodge of South Africa.

He concluded: 'The Grand Lodge of South Africa is very proud of its leadership in this.'¹⁶¹ Perseverance meets at Cape Town and Phoenix at Kimberley.¹⁶²

According to Bob Nairn and Juan Alvarez of New South Wales, there had been 40 brethren in two lodges chartered by the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and they returned their warrants and were accepted *en masse* by the Grand Lodge of South Africa.¹⁶³ Denys Luckin, a South African who moved to Tasmania, provided a more detailed report, including moves from as early as 1972, and the Grand Lodge's approach to the government. He outlined the re-initiation, passing and raising of the 40-odd Prince Hall Masons, the consecration of the two lodges and installation and investiture of officers by the Grand Master, and added:¹⁶⁴

Initially, it was not known how the new Freemasons would be received by the Lodges of the sister Grand Lodges, and they were instructed not to undertake any fraternal visits until the sister Grand Lodges [England, Ireland and Scotland, whose District and Provincial Grand Lodges share the territory with the Grand Lodge of South Africa and a single lodge of the Grand East of the Netherlands] accepted their regularity, which they eventually did.

Voorhis mentioned a *Black* lodge under the Canadian Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia. In 1856 five 'regularly initiated' *Blacks* were granted an English warrant for a lodge in Nova Scotia, and transferred to the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia in 1869.¹⁶⁵ He commented:

For many years it did good work, when it was in the hands of capable brethren and when they confined their candidates to men of Color. About 1910, however they started accepting petitions from any man, and no matter where he resided, whether in Nova Scotia or British Columbia, and occasionally from the United States. About this time the Secretary got short in his accounts too. After an investigation by Grand Lodge, the Charter was forfeited in June, 1916, and the lodge has not functioned since.

In the Grand Lodge of Alberta *Bulletin* of June 1990 was an article by RWBro Bob Shaw, DDGM, District 10. It revealed that Bro Shaw was originally a Prince Hall Mason who was required to 'repudiate his membership in that Craft' to join 'Alberta Masonry'. In his article on Prince Hall Masonry in Canada, Shaw said:

Our current position is that Prince Hall Masons would have to sever all ties with Prince Hall Masonry and then take all three degrees in our Lodges. Whatever your feeling toward black men who

160 in the US, three Grand Lodges permit a negative ballot to be appealed to the Grand Master and set aside if the rejection was on the grounds of race, creed or colour, or for reasons other than moral fitness—Cobbs C F, 'Where are we now?', *Philalethes*, April 1994, p32.

161 *California Freemason*, September 1990, p13.

162 *Yearbook*, 1991.

163 Nairn, *op cit*, pp113 & 127.

164 Luckin D M, 'Negro Freemasonry' in *Transactions* of the Hobart Lodge of Research, vol 39 # 5, p9 (1986).

165 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p108.

are Prince Hall Masons and their Craft, you cannot currently sit in lodge with a Prince Hall Mason. Our Grand Lodge does not recognize that body of Masons. The traditional view held in Canada is that the situation is wrong but it is an American domestic problem. Fortunately, in Canada there is no Masonic colour barrier. To have one must be a violation of the spirit of Freemasonry and we have many black Masonic brethren in the Craft.

Voorhis enumerated ‘just a few of the many cases’ of *Whites* admitted to Prince Hall Masonry.¹⁶⁶ They included a group of 26 men of Italian parentage who joined a New York lodge between 1908 and 1910, a group of four *Whites* who joined a Prince Hall lodge in Georgia in the 1860s, and a case in Michigan where a lodge had agreed to elect a *White* applicant of good repute—but someone dropped a black ball into the ballot.

For a short time there was an entire lodge of *Whites*, except for the Secretary, who happened to be the Grand Secretary of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New York. The lodge was warranted in February 1870. Its returns for that year showed 25 members, almost all of them with Jewish names. By 1874 the lodge had changed allegiance. The *Proceedings* of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge for that year reported: ‘Progress Lodge No 12, New York City, changed to Shakespear Lodge No 750 under the Jurisdiction of the New York Grand Lodge (white).’¹⁶⁷

It is two centuries too late for the admission of *Blacks* into mainstream lodges to be the answer in the United States, and even in Canada, which does not share the same history of refusing to admit *Blacks* to the Craft. Nevertheless, the creed of both branches of Masonry demands that the option must always be open. As Allen Roberts said:¹⁶⁸

We should never refuse to accept a petition from any good man because of his race, creed, religion or color. In the case of Black men, however, we should inform them about Prince Hall Masonry and its need for good leaders. These men should then be left to make their own choice with no persuasion in any way on our part.

The answer for today is a compromise, the recognition of Prince Hall Masonry as regular and equal, allowing intervisitation and whatever other exchanges of mutual respect and appreciation may be required and agreed. For the future, perhaps generations in the future, lies the ideal of merger, the creation of lodges as they should have been from the start, and are in fact in other parts of the world inhabited by a mix of races.

PART II—THE JOURNEY TOWARDS RECOGNITION

Fraternal co-existence

From as early as 1845 there were attempts to obtain recognition of Prince Hall Freemasonry, in order to establish fraternal links. In 1845 Boyer Lodge presented a memorial to the *White* Grand Lodge of New York, seeking recognition, and was rejected.¹⁶⁹

In 1868 a petition signed by 72 members of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was submitted to the *White* Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for recognition. Grand Master William S Gardner made a detailed investigation and scholarly report which was unfavourable to the application, and the petition was denied. The whole investigation is documented in Mackey’s *History of Freemasonry* and has been much quoted elsewhere. William Upton described it as ‘the ablest attack upon the Negro Masons we have seen’, and Harold Voorhis commented: ‘An examination of the report will show that it will not withstand the test of the “square and level”.’¹⁷⁰

A Prince Hall petition to the Grand Lodge of Ohio in 1869 was unsuccessful. Six years later a *White* lodge presented a resolution to the Grand Lodge of Ohio, proposing that the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ohio be accorded fraternal recognition if it agreed to change its name to African Grand Lodge and confine its work to ‘persons of African descent’. The resolution was put to the vote in 1876,¹⁷¹ and was lost 332 to 390.¹⁷²

166 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, pp49–51.

167 Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, p139.

168 Roberts A E, ‘Black Freemasonry’, *Philalethes*, April 1989, @ p17.

169 Voorhis, *Negro Masonry in the United States*, p43; Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p101.

170 Voorhis, *loc cit*.

171 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p162.

172 Gould R F, *History of Freemasonry*, 1st edn, vol 3, p464.

A few years earlier, support for the Prince Hall quest for recognition had come from a surprising quarter, the research of the German historian, Findel. His *History of Freemasonry* was first published in 1861. Writing of the development of the Craft in Massachusetts, he said:¹⁷³

Besides these Grand Lodges with their daughters, there had been established during the war, Lodges of colored people, which worked separately. It was long doubted whether these were legally constituted, until Br. Dr. R Barthelmess of Brooklyn, demonstrated from the history of their first beginning, that such was the case, so that their recognition can no longer with any show of reason, be withheld.

He went on to give an account of African Lodge and the formation of African Grand Lodge, and mentioned that Prince Hall's correspondence, including the Letter Book, had been published in the German Masonic magazine *Bauhütte* in 1861. Concerning 'exclusive territorial jurisdiction' in the United States, he said:¹⁷⁴

The right of district, which permitted but one dominant Grand Lodge to exist in each state, and interdicted single lodges from joining any other foreign masonic superior power, was suffered in 1809 to pass into a law, though narrowmindedness and the love of power gave it birth.

These sentiments so pleased and heartened Prince Hall Masons that Lewis Hayden, Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, bestowed honorary membership and rank of Grand Master on Findel, sent him the appropriate regalia, and dedicated his own book, *Masonry Among Colored Men in Massachusetts*, to Findel.¹⁷⁵

The Prince Hall Grand Lodges of Ohio, Massachusetts, Missouri and New York began to seek Masonic recognition abroad, with some measure of success, as reported by Gould in his *History of Freemasonry* a few years later:¹⁷⁶

These coloured or "lesser Grand Lodges," have been more or less recognised as legally constituted bodies in France, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Peru and Liberia ...

I am inclined to think that the claim of the Black Mason to be placed on a footing of equality with the White one, is destined to pass through a somewhat similar ordeal in America, to that which has been (in part) undergone by the famous Jewish question in Germany.

To the list of foreign recognitions, Walkes added the Dominican Republic,¹⁷⁷ and O H Biggs, of Tasmania, added Switzerland, but cited no authority.¹⁷⁸

The next move was made in the far northwest of the United States. In 1897 there was no Prince Hall Grand Lodge in the State of Washington. Two Prince Hall Masons who lived there wrote to the *White* Grand Lodge and asked if a way could be devised to permit them to visit a lodge in that State. One Past Grand Master is reported as saying: 'Throw it in the wastebasket.'¹⁷⁹ After some debate, the request was referred to a committee under the chairmanship of the Grand Senior Warden, William H Upton. He was California-born and the other two committee members, the Grand Secretary and a Past Grand Master, hailed from Kentucky and Alabama—on the face of it, not a committee likely to favour racial integration.

However, Upton, a Superior Court judge and a student of Masonry, made a careful and comprehensive study of Prince Hall Masonry, and his findings convinced the other members of the committee. They reported back in 1898 with a series of resolutions which were printed *verbatim* in Mackey's *History of Freemasonry*,¹⁸⁰ and which may be summarised as follows:

- 1 Neither race nor colour is a proper test of fitness of a candidate.
- 2 Washington lodges and their members are entitled to recognise, as brother Masons, *Blacks* who have been initiated in lodges which trace their origin to African Lodge No 459.
- 3 Having regard to social conditions and preferences, if regular Masons of African descent wish to establish lodges (and eventually a Grand Lodge) in Washington, wholly or mainly for brethren of their own race, and regulated according to the landmarks and Masonic law, then the Grand Lodge of Washington would not regard this as an invasion of jurisdiction.

173 Findel J G, *History of Freemasonry*, English trans of 2nd edn, London, 1868, @ 370.

174 Findel, *op cit*, p518.

175 Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, p101.

176 Gould, *loc cit*.

177 Walkes, *Black Square & Compass*, p100.

178 Biggs O H, 'Negro Masonry' in *Transactions* of the Hobart Lodge of Research, vol 7 # 5, p10 (1954).

179 1991 *Proceedings* of the *White* Grand Lodge of Washington, p218.

180 1921 edition, vol 6, p2008.

The Grand Lodge of Washington adopted the resolutions unanimously, and elected Upton Grand Master, but he was obliged to spend his year defending the action of his Grand Lodge against the outcry from other American Grand Lodges, not all from the south. After 17 Grand Lodges had severed relations with Washington, the following year a resolution was passed (with only three dissentients): ‘upholding our historic contentions, but consenting to waive them in practice’. The only benefit from this debacle was the publication of the original report, in pamphlet form, entitled *Light on a dark subject*, and in extended form by Upton as a book, *Negro Masonry, being a critical examination*.

Upton felt so strongly about the issue that he assigned publication rights to the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and made a provision in his will that no monument should be erected over his grave until *Black* and *White* Masons could stand beside it as brothers.¹⁸¹ Among the ways in which Prince Hall Masons have honoured Upton is to name lodges after him, in Montana (since defunct), South Carolina and Washington State.¹⁸²

A second fiasco was to occur in Boston almost 50 years later. In 1947 a committee reported to the *White* Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, acknowledging the legitimate origin of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. The committee did not recommend formal recognition or intervisitation, merely an acknowledgment of legitimacy. The committee’s report was adopted. As with Washington, so with Massachusetts. Other Grand Lodges withdrew recognition and in 1949 Massachusetts rescinded its resolution.¹⁸³ Ralph Castle commented: ‘How can men of high mind and heart surrender principles to expediency...?’¹⁸⁴

Twenty years later, *White* brethren of Massachusetts wrote an open letter to their Grand Lodge:¹⁸⁵

... The 1949 committee report concluded with the pusillanimous decision that unity and harmony are vastly more important to the Fraternity than debates about Negro Freemasonry. This statement, questionable then, today is clearly untrue.

... In 1947, the Grand Lodge had the courage and the moral conviction to do what was right rather than what was most expedient. Since 1949 it has remained intimidated, lacking the wisdom to realize that what is righteous and just will survive any storm...

Let us remember that all that is necessary for injustice to prevail is that good men do nothing.

...

The letter was signed by Masters, Past Masters and officers of four lodges, and three brethren who bore ‘outside’ appointments—the editor in chief of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Commissioner of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination.

Recognition in the United States

Times were already changing. From a cautious beginning in Wisconsin in 1960 and a brave practical application of brotherhood in Connecticut in 1966 have grown the present positive moves in many parts of the United States and Canada. In recent years the situation has become more complex and, for the sake of clarity, in this section of the paper, events will be recorded according to the type of action taken, rather than follow a strictly chronological sequence. This section will rely heavily on articles in the Fall 1993 issue of the Prince Hall research journal *Phylaxis*, to supplement the information available from *White* sources, and is particularly indebted to the scholarly paper presented to the Phylaxis Society by John B Williams, FPS, ‘Recognition of Prince Hall Grand Lodges in America’.¹⁸⁶

Black and *White* Grand Lodges in Wisconsin began formal discussions, moving cautiously towards an accord. In Connecticut the *Black* and *White* Grand Lodges jointly sponsored a ‘Brotherhood-in-Action’ community programme, in which they were joined by the (Roman Catholic) Knights of Columbus and the (Jewish) B’nai B’rith. The two Masonic bodies also combined in a blood-donor scheme, together with Eastern Star, Rainbow, DeMolay, Shrine and Red Cross groups.

181 achieved in 1991, as reported later in this paper.

182 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p96, *Black Square & Compass*, p138.

183 Williams J B, ‘Recognition of Prince Hall Grand Lodges in America’ in *Phylaxis*, Fall 1993, p17.

184 Castle, *op cit*, p21.

185 Walkes, *A Prince Hall Masonic Quiz Book*, p93.

186 Any factual statement (as opposed to expression of opinion) to which no other source is attributed, is derived from Bro Williams’ paper, or from the *Proceedings* of the particular Grand Lodge referred to.

After 12 years of contact, the *White* Grand Lodge of Wisconsin felt sufficiently confident to amend its *Code*, to make it crystal clear that it had no colour bar, and three years later it endorsed a report that the doctrine of exclusive territorial jurisdiction was not a barrier to fraternal recognition. In 1977 the *Whites* of Wisconsin acknowledged the legitimacy of Prince Hall Masonry. Then, in 1980, the *White* Grand Master proposed to the *Black* Grand Master that they consider complete integration—a merger of the two Grand Lodges. As John Williams put it: ‘This bold step was too much for the Prince Hall Grand Lodge. Fraternal recognition was their immediate goal.’

After 23 years experience of working together outside the temples, *Black* and *White* Masons in Connecticut felt that they could work harmoniously inside, at least to the extent of visiting each other. In September 1989 the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Connecticut made a formal request for fraternal recognition. The preliminaries were quickly attended to, and on 14 October 1989 both Grand Lodges met separately and voted to extend fraternal recognition and visitation rights to the other. If the *Whites* prayed for courage to stand fast and not wilt before the storm, as Washington and Massachusetts had before them, their prayers were answered. Only one Grand Lodge went so far as to withdraw recognition.¹⁸⁷ The response of other Grand Lodges varied.

A month after Connecticut Masons agreed to recognition and intervisitation, Nebraska Masons went a step further. The *Black* and *White* Grand Lodges granted full, complete and unrestricted Masonic recognition of each other.¹⁸⁸ From Connecticut, the *White* Deputy Grand Master attended a Northeast Conference, at which Prince Hall Masonry and racism in Masonry were discussed, and the *White* Grand Master attended the Conference of Grand Masters of North America, in Utah, where he gave an address on ‘Connecticut and Prince Hall Masonry’ which was well received.¹⁸⁹ *Black* and *White* Masons visited each other in lodge and Grand Lodge on a number of occasions, with many expressions of good will.

By the end of 1990, Washington State and Wisconsin had joined Connecticut and Nebraska in establishing fraternal relations in their own States. In Washington it was made clear that the Master of a lodge could invite a Prince Hall Mason or any other visitor to perform degree work, provided it was ‘Washington’ work.¹⁹⁰ Early in the new year Colorado was added to the growing number. In April, Minnesota agreed to mutual recognition, but the *White* Grand Master instructed his brethren that intervisitation could not be implemented until both Grand Lodges had agreed on proper identification methods. There is no Prince Hall Grand Lodge in North Dakota, but there are lodges warranted by the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Minnesota. Consequently, the *Black* Grand Lodge of Minnesota and the *White* Grand Lodge of North Dakota recognised each other in June 1991.

As in North Dakota, there is no Prince Hall Grand Lodge in Idaho but there is a lodge warranted from elsewhere, the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Oregon. The difference is that in Oregon, unlike Minnesota, the *Black* and *White* Grand Lodges have not reached fraternal accord. Therefore, the *White* Grand Lodge of Idaho risked censure when it entered into negotiations with the *Black* Grand Lodge in neighbouring Oregon. In September 1991 a special committee reported to the Grand Lodge of Idaho that they recommended full recognition of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Oregon, on the Nebraska pattern, stating: ‘*In our research during the past year we find no Masonic Law, regulation, or custom which provides for partial recognition of a Grand Lodge; it is either regular and entitled to recognition or it is not entitled to any recognition at all.*’ The recommendation was adopted. The Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Oregon had already accorded full recognition in June, subject to reciprocity.

At last the conditions could be met for a headstone to be placed on the grave of William Upton. In June 1991 the Grand Lodge of Washington and the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Washington met in special communication and then, together, an estimated 400 Masons, *Black* and *White*, marched to the graveside for the ceremony. Also present were four descendants of Past Grand Master Upton, a grandson, a granddaughter and two great-granddaughters. Following the invocation by the *White* Grand Chaplain, the Prince Hall Grand Lecturer gave the keynote to the dedication ceremony, the oration was given by the *White* Grand Orator and the benediction by the Prince Hall Grand Chaplain. In the words of Brother Clemon Modisett, the Prince

187 or two (*Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Utah, 1991, p93), or none (Williams J B, *op cit*, p18).

188 Norman Senn, of Alberta’s Fiat Lux Lodge of Research, reported (March 1990) that Nebraska GM John McHenry described this as including ‘freedom to apply for affiliation across the two bodies’.

189 as an aside, jazz fans may be pleased to learn that Brother Lionel Hampton was speaker at a Connecticut ‘Brotherhood-in-Action’ meeting in September 1990, and expressed his wish that joint recognition in Connecticut would be emulated throughout the world.

190 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Washington, 1991, p32.

Hall Grand Lecturer, 'Our meeting today to lay the headstone upon Brother Upton's grave is evidence that his work was not in vain. His dream is now realized! His request is now fulfilled!'¹⁹¹

In October 1991, the Grand Master of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Washington wrote to the United Grand Lodge of England regarding the possibility of opening communications between the two Grand Lodges. The reply was to the effect that it would be more appropriate, initially, for England to confer with the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. Such talks have been instituted, and are continuing.¹⁹²

Juan Alvarez reported (November 1993) that the *White* Grand Lodge of Connecticut is in the process of extending recognition to all Prince Hall Grand Lodges that establish fraternal relations with the *White* Grand Lodge of their own State, but this had not been achieved when the *Pantagraph 1994 List of Lodges, Masonic* went to press. For the record, the *White* Grand Lodge of Idaho seems to have been the first to recognise a second Prince Hall Grand Lodge; the *1994 List of Lodges, Masonic* credits Idaho with recognition of Oregon and Washington.

John Williams, commenting on the general situation, remarked that *White* Grand Lodges that have extended recognition appear to be firm and resolute in maintaining their position. He added:¹⁹³

This is not to say that resolutions granting recognition to Prince Hall Grand Lodges has not met with a degree of opposition and will not continue to do so.

As has been pointed out [by Joseph A Walkes Jr], 'There are those within our beautiful fraternity [Prince Hall] who want the status quo to remain, that want no dealings with Whites, who are just as racist and bigoted as some of our counterparts.'

On the other hand there are legal as well as moral imperatives forcing the issue of mutual recognition between Black and White Masons ... A Past Grand Master and lawyer from Virginia [Cabell F Cobbs] makes a legal case for acceptance of Prince Hall Masonry because 'we are seeing a steady march of the law, legislative and judicial, to eliminate discrimination from our social fabric, be it private or public.' There is hope that the all-male standing of the fraternity may stand, but ipso facto segregation will not long survive...

Intermediate measures

Several Grand Lodges or Grand Masters, while not extending formal recognition to a Prince Hall body, made the decision to permit their members to visit lodges in jurisdictions where Prince Hall Masons might be visiting. These included New Hampshire in 1991,¹⁹⁴ Montana¹⁹⁵ and California¹⁹⁶ in 1992, and the Canadian Grand Lodges of Manitoba (specifically for visiting in Minnesota and North Dakota)¹⁹⁷ and British Columbia (for Washington).¹⁹⁸ Some other Grand Lodges do not find it necessary to make a separate provision, because their practice, on the question of regularity of persons present in a lodge they visit, has always been to accept the judgement of the Master and the sovereignty of the Grand Jurisdiction in which they visit. Others would consider this attitude naive and insist on protecting their visiting members from Masonic association with members of a body not recognised by the visitors' Grand Lodge. These conflicting practices existed in the United States and elsewhere, even before the modern question of Prince Hall visitors arose. Most British and Australian Grand Lodges, for example, have long specified the circumstances under which their visiting members must politely leave the lodge they are visiting.¹⁹⁹

In December 1991 the Grand Lodge of Belgium, where American NATO troops were stationed, requested the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts to discuss a treaty of friendship.²⁰⁰ A committee appointed by

191 *ibid*, p221.

192 personal correspondence Hamill—Pope, 16 February 1994.

193 Williams, *op cit*, p20.

194 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Utah, 1991, annual report of the fraternal relations committee, p93.

195 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan, 1993, p48.

196 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Canada (in Ontario), 1992, p220; Nairn, *op cit*, p114.

197 *Tasmanian Mason*, June 1992.

198 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Canada (in Ontario), 1992, pp106, 220; *Phylaxis*, Winter 1993, p19.

199 but see the argument of PGM Cabell F Cobbs, of Virginia, in 'Principles of Grand Lodge Recognition', presented to the Phylaxis Society on 4 March 1993, (*Phylaxis*, Fall 1993) in which he concludes (p8):

It would appear ... that the United Grand Lodge of England and several of our American jurisdictions are ... in error in forbidding or limiting visitation of their members to lodges holden under those Grand jurisdictions which have fully recognized or established visitation rights with Prince Hall Grand Lodges in their respective states and provinces.

Under any Masonic authority of which I am aware, it is the law of a particular Grand jurisdiction which governs the legitimacy of Masons and Masonic visitations within its jurisdiction.

200 Williams, *op cit*, p20.

the Grand Lodge of New York sought contact with the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of New York.²⁰¹ The results of these moves, like the outcome of similar initiatives in California, Kansas and Rhode Island, are not yet known.

Alaska took a different approach. In an article in that Grand Lodge's publication, *North Star*, the Grand Master wrote:

Brethren, many of you have expressed an interest in granting some type of fraternal recognition to Prince Hall Lodges in this state. Others have said, 'No way.'

For this Grand Lodge to legally recognize Prince Hall we will have to make some constitutional changes to our Masonic Code. This will take 2 or 3 years to accomplish.

Therefore, the purpose of this article is to determine how many of you would like to see fraternal recognition granted to Prince Hall Lodges. If the majority of you would like to recognize Prince Hall, we will draft resolutions to make the necessary changes in our code.

However, if the majority do not want to grant this recognition, there is no reason to waste a lot of time on an issue that will be defeated. Let us know how you feel. The opinion of all Master Masons is welcome.²⁰²

In Iowa, a committee reported back to its Grand Lodge after talks with a committee from the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Iowa, with the recommendation that Grand Lodge wait until England should act upon the request from the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Washington for recognition.²⁰³ They were either unaware of England's response or chose this method to sit on the fence. Even more peculiar was the recommendation of the Grand Master of Massachusetts in 1990 that it would not be advisable to 'go against the United Grand Lodge of England', which had not recognised Prince Hall Grand Lodges,²⁰⁴ a sentiment which amazed Past Grand Master Kenneth Aldridge, of Quebec, among others.²⁰⁵ Michigan, also, decided to 'wait and see'.²⁰⁶

Adverse responses

In 1989 the *White* Grand Master of Louisiana, a brother by the name of Love, quickly issued an edict severing all fraternal ties with Connecticut—but no one else followed suit. Observers are not in agreement on subsequent events.²⁰⁷ However, the 1993 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana indicate the following: the edict was approved by Grand Lodge in 1990, just before Bro Love handed over to the new Grand Master, Bro Tidwell. At the end of his year, Bro Tidwell recommended that the edict be revoked and a 'Grand Master's statement of position' on clandestine and irregular Masonry be published and forwarded to all Grand Jurisdictions. This recommendation was approved unanimously by Grand Lodge, but the incoming Grand Master, Bro McDuffie, decided to delay implementation of the recommendation. At the end of his year, Bro McDuffie submitted a resolution to restore recognition to Connecticut. The resolution was defeated at the 1992 annual communication. The incoming Grand Master, Bro Delaney, thereupon issued an edict, reiterating that Connecticut members were not permitted to visit Louisiana lodges, and prohibiting Louisiana members from visiting in Connecticut. This did not extend to prohibiting Louisiana members from visiting lodges in *recognised* jurisdictions where a Connecticut visitor was also present. At the annual communication in 1993 this edict was considered by the Committee on Masonic Law and Jurisprudence, which ruled that the edict was effective during his term of office, but would only be effective thereafter if approved by the delegates at the annual communication. It was not approved by the delegates. Instead, they voted in favour of resolution number 1993-6, to rescind the original edict and issue a position statement, just as Bro Tidwell wanted in 1991. It would appear that for technical reasons this resolution, although successful, would have to be re-submitted in 1994 and then obtain a two-thirds majority vote. The 1994 *Proceedings*, when available, should contain the answer.²⁰⁸

When the *White* Grand Lodge of Idaho recognised the *Black* Grand Lodge of Oregon, the *White* Grand Lodge of Oregon was not pleased. Grand Master Ivan Rinck said:²⁰⁹

201 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Saskatchewan, 1993, p49.

202 *North Star*, April 1993, quoted by Ralph Herbold, SCRL *Fraternal Review* no 673.

203 *Phylaxis*, Winter 1993, p20.

204 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Canada (in Ontario), 1992, p228.

205 position paper presented at the 'All Canada' Conference, 1992.

206 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Canada (in Ontario), 1992, p229.

207 *Phylaxis*, vol 19 # 3, 1993, p20 would appear to be correct, but see also: *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodges of Canada (in Ontario), 1992, p225; Utah, 1991, p93; Washington, 1991, p142; Saskatchewan, 1993, p45.

208 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, 1993, pp22, 48, 55, 57, 110.

209 *Phylaxis*, vol 19 # 3, 1993, p21.

We have no rules against black men petitioning in our fraternity. We do have black members. In fact, the Senior Warden of Research Lodge No. 198 of Oregon is a black brother.

I had a letter from one of our members asking me to send him a list of all black members in Oregon, with names and addresses and phone numbers. My reply to him was, 'We do not keep records of the color of our members, our petitions do not ask the question and we have no desire or reason to know.' I further related to that brother that his question about color was un-Masonic. If Prince Hall members want to belong with us they should join us in our regular lodges.

... Many brothers in this jurisdiction, and others, try to convert this problem to a black and white issue, which it is not. The facts are simple: the Grand Lodge A.F. & A.M. of Idaho now recognizes two Grand Lodges in Oregon when we do not.

Grand Master Rinck declared Idaho's action 'an unlawful invasion of Oregon's exclusive territorial jurisdiction' and severed relations with Idaho in December 1991. Cabell Cobbs, a Past Grand Master of the *White Grand Lodge of Virginia* and a strong advocate of recognition of Prince Hall Grand Lodges, described Oregon's action as based on jurisdictional grounds rather than obstructionism.²¹⁰ The Oregon entry in the *1994 List of Lodges, Masonic* reads: 'At publication the Grand Lodge of Oregon does not recognize the Grand Lodge of Idaho.'

Georgia severed relations with Idaho in 1992, in support of Oregon, a fact duly noted in the *List of Lodges, Masonic*. The Grand Master of Georgia instructed his lodges that no visitor from a Grand Jurisdiction which had granted recognition to Prince Hall Masonry was permitted to visit a lodge in Georgia without his permission. A resolution was also passed in Georgia that '[We] strongly disapprove and condemn the action of any other Grand Lodge' which thereafter makes such recognition.²¹¹

Several other southern *White Grand Lodges* took steps to register their disapproval, short of the withdrawal of recognition. West Virginia, by successive edicts of the Grand Master, has forbidden brethren to visit lodges in the jurisdictions which have recognised Prince Hall Grand Lodges.²¹² South Carolina declared its position in a resolution adopted in 1992:

It has been the position of this Grand Lodge for many years that Prince Hall Grand Lodges are clandestine and visitation by South Carolina Masons is forbidden. South Carolina has recognized only one Grand Lodge in each Grand Jurisdiction as Regular; however, we have recognized the right of any Grand Lodge to establish relations with whomsoever they desire. Because of these recent actions all South Carolina brethren should be alert if visiting in one of the above mentioned Jurisdictions. Should a Mason from a Lodge considered to be irregular be present, the South Carolina Mason must excuse himself and leave.

The *White Grand Master of Mississippi* reported that he had attended the Grand Masters Conference in Utah, and continued:²¹³ 'We learned that some states are making what we feel are radical changes, reducing memory work required, and recognizing masonry we consider clandestine.' He subsequently issued a letter warning his brethren that if they visited lodges in Connecticut or Nebraska and encountered *Black* Masons, it would be their responsibility to determine if they were Prince Hall or 'regular' Masons; they were not to converse with or sit in any lodge with Prince Hall Masons.²¹⁴ Kentucky took similar action.²¹⁵

American problems

There can be no doubt that racial bigotry still exists in the United States, and not only in the south. That it still finds its way into Masonic lodges is attested by *Black* and *White* Americans,²¹⁶ as well as by visitors.²¹⁷

210 Cobbs C F, 'Principles of Grand Lodge Recognition', *Phylaxis*, Fall 1993, p3.

211 *Fraternal Review* No 636, Southern California Research Lodge, 15 October 1991.

212 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario, 1993, p253.

213 *Proceedings*, 1991, p13.

214 *Proceedings*, 1991, of the *White Grand Lodge of Minnesota*, p87.

215 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Canada (in Ontario), 1992, p225.

216 extracts from a letter published in the *Wisconsin Masonic Journal*, December 1993, Letters to the Editor, have a ring of truth:

I am a lost member of Forest Lodge No 130 F&AM of Wausau, Wisconsin. I say lost because I haven't sat in the lodge since September 1984. That obviously requires an explanation. I was a soldier: my military duties took me away from Wausau and my home in Wisconsin to a small southern town that will remain nameless.

I sought affiliation with the local lodge and was welcomed with open arms. That is until I declined membership in another local "fraternal" organisation. We have all heard of this group. They wear their bed linens instead of sleep on them ... I moved again and eventually ended my travels and Army career here in Augusta, Georgia. I don't sit or participate in lodge here either. At one lodge I was not even allowed into the hall. It all has something to do with the Wisconsin Grand Lodge allowing cross visitation with Prince Hall Masons.

Indeed, it is confirmed by some of the pronouncements of some of the Grand Lodges. However, not all of the problems concerning recognition of Prince Hall Grand Lodges can be ascribed solely to bigotry.

We have seen that there remain questions of the regularity of initiation of Prince Hall and his brethren, and of the propriety of some of the actions by African Lodge and its Master—which are more convincingly answered by the issue of the warrant from the Grand Lodge of England, and by demonstrating that greater irregularities than these, by other lodges and Masters, have been healed, forgiven or quietly overlooked, rather than by attempting to prove regularity and propriety, point by point. Similarly, the irregularities in the formation of the various Prince Hall Grand Lodges in the 19th century are in some instances excusable on the ground of necessity, and with others the ‘crime’ is much less than that of those ‘regular’ Grand Lodges which categorically denied the privileges of Freemasonry to *every* African-American on the basis of race. Surely it would be better for the Craft as a whole if all concerned could forget the past, and concentrate on the present and the future. No evidence of present irregularity has been advanced.

There remains, however, a question of Masonic jurisprudence yet to be resolved in some States. That is the American doctrine of exclusive territorial jurisdiction. Some Grand Lodges, such as Virginia, have no problem with this particular issue because their constitutions provide for the possibility of sharing jurisdiction by mutual consent.²¹⁸ As Henry Coil pointed out, exclusivity has not been practiced uniformly by American Grand Lodges, which have been prepared to make exceptions when they chose.²¹⁹ All that is needed is the will to change.

Of course, not all have the will, or the capacity, to change, but even in the south Grand Lodges are at least discussing the problem and some members are speaking out in favour of it, as evidenced by the Southeastern Masonic Conference, held at Atlanta, Georgia, in August 1993. Even more encouraging is the decision by the Grand Master of North Carolina to organise seminars to re-educate his brethren. This training includes admissions of racial intolerance, that until recently the *Code* prohibited the admission of African-American applicants, and that there are no *Black* members of North Carolina lodges, but encourages members to receive ‘regular’ African-American Masons from other jurisdictions as visitors, and to welcome petitions from African-Americans. It teaches something of the history of Prince Hall and the development of Prince Hall Masonry—not very accurately, but the mistakes are mostly favourable to Prince Hall—and falls just short of advocating recognition.²²⁰ And in the northwest, Bob Jensen, Master of Walter F Meier Lodge of Research, summarised as follows:

When I see all the differences in opinion on the Prince Hall recognition question, I realize that some of us will always be seeing Brotherhood in a different light ... [Let] me say that I am proud of Washington State and all the others that have recognized Prince Hall Masonry. I have enjoyed a number of meetings with my Prince Hall Brethren, and have learned from them. I now believe I have a better understanding of what Masonry should be.²²¹

Robert Nairn put the issue squarely in his paper in Sydney last year:

There must be a method of granting recognition which over-rides these problems of historical regularity or at least considers them to be of less importance. Surely the most relevant questions are: ‘Are they good Masons?’ [and] ‘Do they reflect Freemasonry’s principles today?’²²²

Cabell Cobbs added the weight of his legal training:

So here I am, a lost member of Forest Lodge ...

I would love to return home to Wisconsin again, but ... for now I will stay here and enjoy my memories of Freemasonry and what it meant to me. Its teachings have served me through a very rough nine years—
Donald M Herrmann Jr.

reprinted by Ralph A Herbold, Southern California Research Lodge, 1 April 1994;

and an article in the *North Carolina Mason* (‘Race and Freemasonry’, March/April 1994, at p7) includes the following statement:

Masonry is a reflection of our society. The history of our country is a history of racial intolerance. Masonic racial intolerance is not a North versus South issue. In fact, official and unofficial racial intolerance was and is practiced in Northern lodges as well as Southern lodges.

217 Wallace McLeod and John Hamill, to name two.

218 Cobbs, ‘Principles of Grand Lodge Recognition’, p6; Seymour J, ‘Prince Hall Affiliated: Legitimate—we should recognize’, Minutes of the Southeastern Masonic Conference, Georgia, August 1993, p39.

219 Coil H W, *Coil’s Masonic Encyclopedia*, Macoy 1961, entries for *American doctrine* and *Louisiana*.

220 ‘As we enter the 21st century’, *North Carolina Mason*, March/April 1994, pp1, 6&7.

221 Jensen B J, ‘Be Ye All Of One Mind ...’, in *Masonic Contemplations*, Lodge of Research No 218, Melbourne 1994, p148.

222 Nairn R J, *op cit*, p115.

Aside from the moral and legal aspects of recognition of Prince Hall Masonry and the compelling argument that its regularity and genuine Masonic structure has been established by two hundred years of history, it is submitted that any scholarly and unbiased examination of its origins, its Masonic practices, and its attachment to the principles which the so-called regular Grand Lodges espouse, make it clear that it is entitled to reception as a full and honorable partner in the spectrum of our Fraternity.²²³

Preston Pope, chairman of the Prince Hall Recognition Committee which worked with its 'mainstream' counterpart in Connecticut, said:

... the separation between Masons across the country should never have occurred in the first place. It was wrong then and it is still wrong today ... I am proud to say to the Freemasons of Connecticut, Well Done, Brothers, And Rightfully So.²²⁴

Joseph Walkes pointed out that the issue has not been fully resolved:

Until such time as the Prince Hall Freemason can knock on any Masonic Lodge door in the United States, and be allowed entry, then American Freemasonry will remain a mockery.²²⁵

Recognition in Canada

There is only one *Black* Grand Lodge in Canada, the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ontario, established in 1856. It is the second-oldest Grand Lodge in Canada—only the Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario is older, by one year. The Prince Hall Grand Lodge also has lodges in Quebec, and some American Prince Hall Grand Lodges have lodges in some of the other Provinces of Canada.

Masonic protocol requires the junior Grand Lodge to petition the senior for recognition. The Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ontario, being the second-senior, foresaw complications with this, and took the unprecedented step of declaring that it would agree to exchange fraternal recognition and intervisitation with any of the Grand Lodges in Canada (which it listed) if that Grand Lodge should so desire.

Among the leading *White* advocates in Canada of the regularity of Prince Hall Grand Lodges are PGM Kenneth Aldridge, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Quebec, and Prof Wallace McLeod, a PM of Quatuor Coronati Lodge and Grand Historian of the Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario. In 1992, after papers had been presented by these two, and others, a resolution was presented at the 1992 annual conference of the nine independent Grand Lodges of Canada and the English and Scottish District Grand Lodges of Newfoundland, as follows:²²⁶

The Conference of Grand and District Grand Lodges of Canada held in Winnipeg on March 21, 1992, unanimously recommends the acceptance of Prince Hall Grand Lodges, as approved by the Conference of Prince Hall Grand Lodges, as being regular Masonic Grand Lodges.

The representatives of the nine Grand Lodges and the two District Grand Lodges passed the resolution unanimously, and it was taken back to the various Grand Lodges. This was an acknowledgement of regularity, not a recommendation for recognition of a specific Prince Hall Grand Lodge.

The resolution was presented to at least seven of the nine Grand Lodges at their next communication, and Alberta, Manitoba and Canada (in Ontario) formally adopted the resolution. Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have gone further. In September 1993, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Quebec reported:²²⁷

The situation in Canada is that the Grand Lodges of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec all recognize the M.W. Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ontario and Jurisdiction. *The recognition has included the exchange of Grand Representatives.* [italics added] To say that the recognition reaction was positive would be a gross understatement. Inter-jurisdictional lodge visits have been numerous and the reports fed back to this office indicate that meetings were attended with high levels of emotional brotherhood. Nothing in the history of the Grand Lodge of Quebec has so captured the genuine spirit of brotherhood as these history-making inter-lodge visits.

223 Cobbs C F, 'Principles of Grand Lodge recognition', *Phylaxis*, Fall 1993, pp6,7.

224 Pope P L, (PGM, Chairman of Prince Hall Recognition Committee, Connecticut) 'The Freemasons of Connecticut', *Phylaxis*, Fall 1993, p21.

225 Walkes J A, 'Opening address, 20th anniversary Phylaxis Society', *Phylaxis*, Fall 1993, p3.

226 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Alberta, 1992, p111; of the Grand Lodge of Canada in Ontario, 1992, pp36, 105; and others.

227 personal correspondence Aldridge—Pope, 15 September 1993.

The Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ontario has lodges only in Ontario and Quebec,²²⁸ but its members have now been accorded the right to visit ‘mainstream’ lodges in four Provinces. Three others, Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia, have Prince Hall lodges warranted from Minnesota and Washington—where *Black* and *White* Grand Lodges have reached accord. Two of these three Canadian Grand Lodges (Manitoba and British Columbia) already permit their members to visit American lodges where Prince Hall Masons may be present. Advance news from the 1994 annual communication of the Grand Lodge of New Brunswick includes a recommendation of the fraternal relations committee for recognition of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Connecticut. Further moves may be contemplated. No problems have arisen in Canada, so far.

England

The official attitude of the United Grand Lodge of England is that the present practices of Prince Hall Grand Lodges appear to be regular, but their origins were unconstitutional, even by the standards in force at the time of origin.²²⁹ For most of this century, England has required as one of its ‘basic principles’ that for a Grand Lodge to be recognised by England it must have a regular origin, defined as having been ‘established lawfully by a duly recognized Grand Lodge or by three or more regularly constituted Lodges’. This creates a substantial barrier to recognition by England of Prince Hall Grand Lodges, a barrier which England is attempting to surmount by discussion with the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, the offspring of African Lodge No 459 and progenitor of the other Prince Hall Grand Lodges.

Meanwhile, in June 1990 the United Grand Lodge of England warned its members that (from its point of view) Prince Hall Grand Lodges were ‘unrecognised’, and that brethren visiting North America should be more than usually alert to avoid sitting in lodge with brethren under unrecognised Grand Lodges. This warning was followed, in March 1991, with a specific instruction that until further notice brethren should not visit lodges under the Grand Lodges of Connecticut, Wisconsin, Nebraska and Washington. Brethren from those Grand Lodges would still be welcome to visit English lodges. The following June the Grand Master, HRH The Duke of Kent, added Colorado to the list, and said:²³⁰

We all hope it will not be long before a solution to this particular problem is found, but in the meantime bans like this, which are not imposed lightly, are essential if we are to continue to adhere to the basic principles for Grand Lodge recognition. The principles are important as guardians of Masonic regularity, and I wish those concerned well as they work to preserve Freemasonry as we and other regular Grand Lodges know it.

Thereafter, England added names to the list as they occurred. In April 1991, the *White* Grand Lodge of Massachusetts hosted a meeting of representatives of the *White* Grand Lodges of Colorado, Connecticut, Nebraska, Washington and Wisconsin with representatives of the United Grand Lodge of England. From several sources it appears that views were frankly, even forcefully, exchanged, but the problem was not resolved.

Historically, a number of English-speaking Grand Lodges have adopted the English ‘basic principles’, and therefore the natural inclination to follow England’s lead in recognition of Grand Lodges is reinforced by this agreement of ‘principles’. It so happens that South Australia is among those which have adopted the first of them, which provides this writer with an excuse to examine the pronouncement in some detail.

There is a preamble to the English list:

Basic Principles for Grand Lodge Recognition
Accepted by Grand Lodge, September 4, 1929

THE M.W. The Grand Master having expressed a desire that the Board would draw up a statement of the Basic Principles on which this Grand Lodge could be invited to recognize any Grand Lodge applying for recognition by the English Jurisdiction, the Board of General Purposes has gladly complied. The result, as follows, has been approved by the Grand Master, and it will form the basis of a questionnaire to be forwarded in future to each Jurisdiction requesting English recognition. The Board desires that not only such bodies but the Brethren generally throughout the Grand Master’s Jurisdiction shall be fully informed as to *those Basic Principles of Freemasonry for which the Grand Lodge of England has stood throughout its history.* [italics added]

228 personal correspondence McLeod—Pope, 4 May 1994.

229 personal correspondence Hamill—Pope, 16 February 1994.

230 *Quarterly communication*, UGLE, 12 June 1991, p193.

There follows a list of eight ‘principles’, of which numbers 2–8 are indeed principles of Freemasonry which have been practiced by the *United Grand Lodge of England* since the Union in 1813. Whether they were *all* uniformly practiced prior to that date by both the Grand Lodges forming that Union is open to debate, but that is not germane to the issue. Nor is the fact that the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland have adopted a list similar to principles 2–8. What is significant is that Scotland has not adopted the leading item, regularity of origin, as a ‘basic principle’ for Grand Lodge recognition. Wisely, Scotland has left the question of origin undefined, providing room for variation where it might be justified. George Draffen of Newington said of this:²³¹

That does not, of course, necessarily mean that the Grand Lodge of Scotland does not take account of the question of origin in dealing with requests from new Grand Lodges for recognition. It may be that Scotland, in making no mention of origins, was influenced by a letter sent to a Grand Master Mason in about 1878 by Albert Pike ... [who] wrote: ‘There must come a time, in the nature of things, when enquiry into the original title of a Masonic Power is barred by lapse of time ...’. Pike was here referring to something that had taken place as recently as in 1845, some thirty years before the date of his letter. It is well-known that laws may become time-barred or fall into desuetude.

Some Grand Lodges have a regularity-of-origin requirement worded slightly differently from that of England. For example, the list used by the Grand Lodge of Alberta, called ‘rules’, not ‘basic principles’, requires that the Grand Body seeking recognition ‘has been lawfully established by three or more regularly constituted Lodges; *by this Grand Lodge* or by a Grand Body recognized by this Grand Lodge’ [italics added]. South Australia, while omitting the English preamble, echoes the first of the English ‘basic principles’ *verbatim*:²³²

1. Regularity of origin; i.e. each Grand Lodge shall have been established lawfully by a duly recognised Grand Lodge, or by three or more regularly constituted Lodges.

This ‘rule of three’ has provided material for several interesting papers, as to its origin, practice and validity,²³³ but its only relevance at this point is in the English requirement, as adopted by South Australia and others, as a ‘basic principle’. It cannot accurately be described as one of ‘those Basic Principles of Freemasonry for which the Grand Lodge of England has stood *throughout its history*’, because England has not always adhered to it. The prime example is the French National Grand Lodge [GLNF], formed by two lodges which broke away from the Grand Orient of France in 1913, and immediately recognised by England. As Cyril Batham pointed out:²³⁴

It is sometimes contended by opponents of regular Freemasonry that as this Grand Lodge [GLNF] was founded by only two lodges it cannot be considered regular, as the conditions for Grand Lodge recognition stipulate a minimum of three founding lodges. As these conditions were not introduced until 1929, however, they obviously could not apply in 1913, and so the argument is groundless.

Luxembourg claims a foundation date of 1868, but was only recognised by England in 1969.²³⁵ According to Wallace McLeod, it was formed by a single lodge.²³⁶ Among the other Grand Lodges formed by fewer than three lodges, subsequently recognised by England, are Georgia (formed by two lodges in 1786), New Hampshire (two lodges in 1784) and Rhode Island (two lodges in 1791).²³⁷ New Jersey was neither warranted by another Grand Lodge nor erected by a group of lodges—it was formed by an assembly of Masons in 1786—but it has been recognised by England.²³⁸ In New York, a committee was appointed in 1787 to consider methods of forming an independent Grand Lodge. The committee concluded that its Provincial Grand Lodge was already acting independently, and required only a change of name.²³⁹ England has since recognised this accidentally-formed Grand Lodge. South Australia also recognises all these Grand

231 in comments on Christopher Haffner’s paper, ‘Regularity of Origin’, (1983) *AQC* 96:111 @ 134.

232 Conway M, ‘International Masonic relations: an overview’, delivered to the South Australian Lodge of Research 18 February 1994, in press.

233 in particular, see Lionel Seemungal’s remarks in (1977) *AQC* 90:300, commenting on Draffen G, ‘Some aspects of International Masonic Law and customs’, (1975) *AQC* 88:85.

234 Batham C N, *Freemasonry in England and France*, AMRC 1993, p188.

235 Henderson K W, *Masonic World Guide*, Lewis Masonic 1984, p205.

236 *Proceedings* of the Grand Lodge of Canada (in Ontario), 1992, p92, relying on *Coil’s Masonic Encyclopedia* (1961) p389.

237 Henderson, *op cit*, pp277, 294; Haffner C, ‘Regularity of origin’ in (1983) *AQC* 96:111 @ 117; Seemungal L A, in (1977) *AQC* 90:300.

238 Henderson, *op cit*, p295.

239 Henderson, *op cit*, p298.

Lodges, even though they do not meet the requirements of the first ‘basic principle’. So do the other Australian Grand Lodges, with the exception that New South Wales and Western Australia do not recognise Luxembourg.²⁴⁰

All but one of these examples occurred well before the English pronouncement of 1929. Clearly, they were not taken into account when the ‘basic principles’ were formulated. It may merely be a question of semantics. John Hamill writes:²⁴¹

For England to go the same way [as Connecticut, Nebraska and the others] would require us to stand our *Basic Principles for Grand Lodge Recognition* on their head. If principles are to mean anything they cannot be set aside for expediency’s sake.

Perhaps ‘basic principles’ is the wrong phrase. Perhaps Alberta’s ‘rules’ is a better term. We do tend to be rather rigid about *principles*, but more flexible about *rules*. If a *principle* is something England has always adhered to, as intimated in the preamble to the English list, then by definition the first item on that list cannot be a principle, since England has ignored it so often, at least prior to 1929. On the same basis, South Australia is precluded from calling the first item on their list a principle. A list of rules may well *include* a list of principles, plus other rules. If we call the list *rules*, we may then amend or even delete those which do not consist solely of a dogmatic statement of principle.

Alternatively, if the semantic argument is not acceptable, we may bravely admit: ‘We got it wrong. When we formulated the principle, we did not word it correctly. We gave it a retrospectivity which did not accord with historical fact. We may have erred in other ways. It may be that the principle, as worded, is only valid as a criterion for Grand Lodges which are erected *after* the date of this pronouncement, not for those formed a century or more ago. Let us re-examine the principle itself, and see if we can improve upon our wording of it.’

Perhaps England and the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts have already examined this approach. Only time may tell. Wallace McLeod, as Master of Quatuor Coronati Lodge, remarked on Christopher Haffner’s paper on regularity of origin: ‘We always like to think that the premier Grand Lodge is itself immutable, at least so far as essentials are concerned, and that it is the arbiter of regularity. Yet Bro Haffner’s collection of precedents makes it clear that English Freemasonry is evolving too.’²⁴²

Australasia

The six Grand Lodges of Australia and the Grand Lodge of New Zealand share a common heritage and geographical region, and consequently make intermittent attempts to achieve a measure of uniformity within the group. For example, each Grand Lodge makes its own provisions for determining recognition and maintaining fraternal links with other Grand Lodges of the world, but liaison between members of the Australasian group is the responsibility of a designated brother, the fraternal relations co-ordinator. In recent years, this office was filled by RWBro Frank Oldfield, of Victoria, until his death in 1992, and is now held by RWBro Murray Yaxley, of Tasmania.

In April 1994, officers of all the Australasian Grand Lodges came to Adelaide for the installation of a new Grand Master of South Australia. A few hours prior to the Grand Installation, fraternal relations representatives of the seven Grand Lodges met under the chairmanship of Bro Yaxley, with Prince Hall Masonry as one topic on the agenda. Before dealing with the agenda items, the chairman reviewed the procedure for granting recognition, and the representatives unanimously agreed that:

[If] an application for recognition is received by any one Grand Lodge, a copy be forwarded to the Coordinator and he circularise all other Grand Lodges to see if they have received an application. The Coordinator then seeks a response from each Grand Lodge regarding its attitude towards granting the recognition, investigates the matter, and advises all Grand Lodges of his recommendation. If the Coordinator recommends granting recognition, all should then follow to

240 *List of Lodges, Masonic*, Pantagraph Publishing Co, Bloomington, Illinois, 1994.

241 personal correspondence Hamill—Pope, 16 February 1994.

242 Haffner C, ‘Regularity of origin’ in (1983) *AQC* 96:111 @ 129. A curious example of evolution is the recognition of the National Grand Lodge of Greece by England in September 1993; seven lodges of the Grand Lodge of Greece broke away in 1986 and formed the National Grand Lodge; England continued to recognise the older Grand Lodge of Greece for another seven years, until it became involved in political activity in 1993, whereupon England de-recognised the older Grand Lodge and, three months later, declared the breakaway Grand Lodge to be *regular in origin*, and granted recognition—*Quarterly Communication* of the United Grand Lodge of England, 8 September 1993, pp496, 503.

make recognition uniform, at least to the point of recommending to [the Board of General Purposes] that recognition be granted.

In each of these Grand Lodges, except South Australia, it is the Board of General Purposes which makes the decision on recognition, subject to the Grand Master's approval. In South Australia, the decision is made directly by the Grand Master. The delegates further agreed that each Grand Lodge should have two documents readily available—guidelines for recognition of Grand Lodges; and a 'Declaration of Principles' of the Grand Lodge.

Prince Hall Masonry was item 9 on the agenda. It was pointed out that undoubtedly Prince Hall Masons come to Australia and New Zealand, particularly as sportsmen and as members of the US armed forces.²⁴³ The question was posed: 'Morally, how can we exclude them from our lodges?' It was the general opinion of the representatives that Prince Hall Masons should be allowed to visit Australasian lodges, in the same way as other visitors, and that Australian and New Zealand Masons should be permitted to visit Prince Hall lodges. It was agreed that any American Mason should be asked for a current dues card and then tested in the normal way.

The Grand Lodge of Tasmania acted swiftly on the recommendation. On the instruction of the Board of General Purposes, in May the Grand Secretary issued a notice to all lodges, to be read to all brethren, which included the following item:

RECEPTION OF AMERICAN MASONS

It is normal for American brethren to carry a current dues card. After the brother has presented the dues card he should be tested in the normal way. All American brethren including members of Prince Hall Lodges should be treated in the same way.

The second part of the April recommendation, permission to visit Prince Hall lodges, has not resulted in any specific instruction to Tasmanian brethren. They are well-informed about contemporary Masonic events around the world, by their lively newspaper, the *Tasmanian Mason*, and have a standing instruction to consult the Grand Secretary or the Fraternal Relations Officer, before visiting overseas. Implementation of this part of the recommendation, therefore, would depend on what advice the Fraternal Relations Officer (Bro Yaxley) would be prepared to give. Personal enquiry elicited the following: 'My advice would be to visit only if invited and accompanied by a Prince Hall Mason.' With regard to visiting a lodge overseas where a Prince Hall visitor is present, Bro Yaxley takes the pragmatic view: '... if the WM of the lodge is happy with his individual visitors, then the visitors ought to be happy with each other.'

In Queensland, the Board of General Purposes received the report at their April meeting and supported the recommendation at the Grand Communication in June, whereupon it was adopted. No written instruction has been issued to lodges, but a reliable source reports that the United Grand Lodge of Queensland has no objection to Prince Hall Masons visiting, subject to the usual requirements, regardless of the fact that the Prince Hall Grand Lodges have not been formally recognised by Queensland. On the other hand, Queensland brethren are only permitted to visit lodges in jurisdictions where there is formal recognition.

The South Australian Liaison Officer for Fraternal Relations expressed a minority opinion, that Australasian Grand Lodges should wait until the result of talks between the United Grand Lodge of England and the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts is known. He has since stated that he does not intend to make a recommendation to his Grand Master. In New Zealand, the matter was referred to their Fraternal Relations Committee in May, and the committee merely agreed to keep the matter under review.²⁴⁴ Contacts in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia have reported no action as yet, so there is a possibility that one or more will also decide to admit Prince Hall visitors.

Who else in the world but Australians would be prepared to ignore protocol, precedent, and Masonic jurisprudence completely, and without a qualm, if they conflict with an innate sense of justice and fair play? It remains to be seen whether any problems arise from this attitude, and whether others will follow the lead set by Tasmania and Queensland.

²⁴³ for example, on one occasion in mid-July 1994 there were 5000 US servicemen docked at Fremantle, Western Australia, and then at Hobart, Tasmania.

²⁴⁴ letter from the Grand Secretary, dated 2 August 1994.

CONCLUSION

There will always be some doubts in relation to the origin of Prince Hall Freemasonry. On the one hand, it must be accepted that Prince Hall was a free man when he was initiated, and there is no evidence that he was other than freeborn. On the other, there is no conclusive proof that the initiation itself was regularly conducted—something which could be said of many an 18th-century Mason. If there were irregularities before September 1784, it is strongly argued that any such irregularities were cured by the issue of the warrant for African Lodge. The attacks on the validity of the warrant itself are twofold: that England had no right to issue the warrant; and that it was obtained by deception. The argument in support of the first objection is weak, and of the second is pathetic.

There is some substance in some of the claims of irregularities after the issue of the warrant. It may be that there were degree workings conducted before receipt of the warrant at Boston in 1787, but returns of membership were faithfully made and the Grand Lodge of England did not demur. It is possible that Prince Hall sometimes acted as if he had the authority of at least a Provincial Grand Master, but the enforced isolation of African Lodge, and the example set by some of his alleged betters, mark these complaints as petty. There is no doubt that Prince Hall led his brethren well for 30 years, that he and they understood and lived their Freemasonry, and were a credit to the Craft.

Technical irregularities in the formation of Grand Lodges derived from African Lodge cannot be denied. It does not make them regular to point out irregularities in the formation of *other* Grand Lodges now accepted as regular. What it does do is support the contention that they are being discriminated against on the basis of race, that whatever legitimate objections there may be are tarnished by illegitimate and shameful motives. If, after 200 years of discrimination and isolation, brethren of the Prince Hall Affiliation are regular in their conduct and beliefs, they deserve better than that. How many of us could have kept the faith in such circumstances? It is submitted that they have earned the right to forgiveness, over and over again, for the sins of their forefathers—real or imagined. That really is the key to acceptance, the undisputed fact that modern Prince Hall Masons have the same qualifications as ‘mainstream’ American Masons, the same organisational structure, work the same ritual, and share the same beliefs.

Those lodges and Grand Lodges which truly practice Masonry admit worthy men to their ranks regardless of skin colour or alleged ‘race’, and thus there are some *Blacks* in ‘mainstream’ lodges and some *Whites* in Prince Hall lodges, but the proportion is very small. The ideal solution would be the merger of both Orders, and a complete intermingling of *Blacks* and *Whites*, but it is impossible to set back the clock 200 years. In many instances, with the best will in the world, this would not be harmonious because of cultural and social differences. It would also be asking too much of the Prince Hall brethren, to forgive the slights and discrimination of two centuries, and to place their trust so completely in the hands of the *White* majority, by surrendering their autonomy. ‘Mainstream’ Freemasonry will have to earn that trust in the coming years.

The practical solution at this stage is for both Orders to agree that the other is regular, and to accord each other the privileges of fraternal recognition, to visit and get to know each other, and to work together. It will take time and understanding, forgiveness and good will on both sides. The good news is that a start has been made, and that those involved are standing firm against opposition—which is not as virulent as it was a century ago.

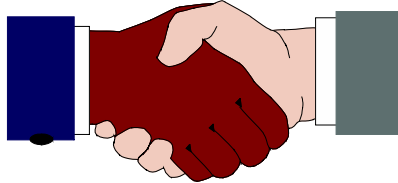
The actual number of recognitions so far is quite small. In the United States it involves only seven Prince Hall and eight ‘mainstream’ Grand Lodges, but some of these extend beyond State boundaries. The straightforward recognitions are between the ‘mainstream’ and Prince Hall Grand Lodges of Colorado, Connecticut, Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington and Wisconsin. The more adventurous recognitions are between ‘mainstream’ North Dakota and Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Minnesota, and ‘mainstream’ Idaho and the Prince Hall Grand Lodges of Oregon and Washington. In Canada, the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Ontario has exchanged recognition with four of the nine other Grand Lodges, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick has extended beyond national boundaries to exchange recognition with the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Connecticut. This is a total of 28 acts of recognition. A full list of Grand Lodges of the Prince Hall Affiliation is given in *Appendix C*, showing lodges warranted outside State boundaries, and recognition exchanged to date.

Reaction in other ‘mainstream’ Grand Lodges has varied from withdrawal of recognition, to forbidding members to visit in ‘offending’ jurisdictions, or merely warning members to withdraw from lodges where Prince Hall Masons are also visiting, but some ‘mainstream’ Grand Lodges place no restriction on visiting, or have varied their regulations to permit visiting where Prince Hall Masons are present.

In Australasia, at least two Grand Lodges have sidestepped the legal tangle and declared by their actions that they consider all American Prince Hall Grand Lodges to be regular. Without requiring formal exchange of recognition, Queensland and Tasmania are prepared to admit Prince Hall Affiliated American Masons to their lodges on the same basis as 'mainstream' American Masons, and the Grand Lodge of Tasmania will allow its brethren to sit in lodge with Prince Hall Masons overseas. Others may follow suit.

Why should Australia be concerned in the Prince Hall quest for acceptance? Because the *de facto* exclusion of African-Americans from regular Freemasonry is a blatant breach of one of our inviolable principles, and we all share in the shame. Let us remember with the Psalmist:

Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.



Appendixes

Appendix A Historical Correspondence File 28/A/1 in the archives of the United Grand Lodge of England

Appendix B Press clipping from the *Virginia Masonic Herald*, October 1989

Appendix C A list of Grand Lodges, Prince Hall Affiliation, showing recognitions to date

Bibliography

[*Supplied, but omitted by the editor because of the very full footnotes.*]

Acknowledgments

Many brethren have helped in the compilation of this paper, contributing facts, suggestions and encouragement, and their assistance is gratefully acknowledged, and particularly that of the following brethren: Kenneth Aldridge (Canada), John Hamill (England), Kent Henderson (Australia), Ralph Herbold (USA), Wallace McLeod (Canada), Robert Nairn (Australia), Jack Neilson (Australia), Allen Roberts (USA), Joseph Walkes (USA) and Murray Yaxley (Australia).

The
 general Regulations of the *St. John's* Lodge

As all Masons are obliged to obey the moral Law
 we therefore Exclud from this Lodge all stupid
 Atheist and Irreligious libertines: yet at the same
 time we allow Every man to enjoy his own Religion
 so that they be men of Honesty and Honour & free bor

We admēt none but ~~those who are~~ *those who are* ~~in~~ *in* ~~the~~ *the* ~~sub~~ *sub* ~~jects~~ *jects*
 subjects to the civil Powers where they live
 free from all plots and conspiracies against
 the Peace of the same

3

No member of this Lodge is *supposed* to be absent
 therefrom when warned to appear without given
 some good Reason for his so doing or pay the sum of
 three shillings as a fine to the Lodge



We admēt none into this Lodge under the Age of
 Twenty one and having a Tunc of a good Report
 for this Reason no man can be admitted a member the
 same till he hath ben Propounded at lest one month
 that the Brethren may inquire into his Character

5

All preferment amongst us is by Real worth and Personal
 merit only for fear of Slander being Broughtt upon the
 Nobel order and a Disgrace to our Lodge

6

No man can be admitted a member of this Lodge for
 any money then three Pounds and two good Bondsmen for
 his good behavior within and without the Lodge -

When met in the Lodge we forbid all Perfain Language
 all indecent behavior in the Lodge under the Penalty
 of paying to the Lodge the sum of ten shillings and be
 liable to be Expul'd for six months

Historical Correspondence File 28/A/1 in the archives of the United Grand Lodge of England, a single folio with writing on both sides.

These and all other Lands that the Lodge shall think
 proper to make you are to observe as true and
 tenear men from God that the Noble Craft may
 not be Desgraced by your bad conduct by those
 that are without, A man so let Be Prince Hall
 in the Lodge Bunc Boston January 14 1799
 and in the year of our Lord 1799

The subscribers are a List of the members

By name the members

Thomas Farndson W
 Brother Sycener
 Prince Tiler
 Boston Smith W
 Captain Howard
 John Carter
 John Meares
 Cato Underwood S
 Luke Hill W

Masters

Inlerad a Preitior
 Cuff Buffom
 Obanner Spear
 Phileop Boston
 1200 Spear
 Cato Bunc L
 Forchy Cudmarck
 John Brown
 Simeo Land
 Bristol Merandy
 James Fuzoth
 James Horkeans Stand

William Gorge Gregory
 Gorge Medelton W
 Boston Tadey
 John Brown W
 Retchard Pallord Marshall
 Caser Spear P M
 Prince Spooner
 John Hoite

Crafters

Caser Fleet
 Simeo Dalton Clerk
 Coar Lambel
 Pompey Leads Tiler

These are a true List
 of the Living member of
 the African Lodge at Bunc
 there is a number absent
 at this time: We shall
 collect for the found of
 Charity the next quarterly
 meeting and send it the
 first opportunity we can go
 after words Rebel

after wishing His Royal Highness our Grand and
 the Grand Lodge all Happiness Heav and Heav
 A Humble Beg Love to subscribe my self your
 servant to B. Phileop Hall

From a photocopy supplied by WBro John Hamill, librarian and curator, subsequently reduced to 65% of the area of the original.

Appendix B

From the *Virginia Masonic Herald*, October 1989

FROM THE GRAND EAST

*M.W. Cabell F. Cobbs, Grand Master
Grand Lodge A.F. & A.M. of Virginia*

Recently, it was necessary to set aside the ballot in a Northern Virginia Lodge and order the acceptance of a black petitioner who met every moral and character test for admission in the Lodge and Craft. Brethren who had voted adversely to him both inside and outside Lodge declared that their rejection was motivated by racism.

On appeal by the Worshipful Master, I personally investigated the matter, set aside the law and directed a rebalot. I attended the stated communication at which the petition was once more called up for action. No one present other than the vouchers and the investigating committee knew the petitioner. The committee report was favorable. I called upon anyone present to give any reason for the rejection of this man, an officer in our armed forces, a Sunday School teacher in a large white church and a man whose probity seemed beyond question. No reason was forthcoming. Once again, he was rejected, and it was clear the sole reason was his color. Accordingly, I again set the ballot aside and directed the Secretary to record the individual's election to receive the degrees in Masonry. On August 7, he was initiated an Entered Apprentice in the presence of some seventy Brethren and now is being instructed on his catechism.

Our ballot is both secret and sacred, and I regard it as such. But when it is deliberately cast, not for reasons of morality or fitness, but as a tool of bigotry and prejudice, the ballot loses its sacred character and is properly subject to cancellation. Here, it was evident it had been so misused.

As we approach the ballot box, we each make our due guard to remind ourselves of our Masonic obligations, the seriousness of our vote and the principles by which we, as RAISED men, have voluntarily elected to be governed.

First and foremost among these tenets is BROTHERLY LOVE, and by its exercise, our beautiful ritual declares:

...we are taught to regard the whole human species as one common family the high, the low, the rich and poor, who as created by one Almighty Parent, are sent into the world to aid, support and protect each other. On this principal, Freemasonry unites men of every country, sect, and opinion, and conciliates true friendship among those who might otherwise remain at a perpetual distance.

If brotherly love has any vitality; if our teachings are meaningful to us; if hypocrisy and deceit are truly unknown among us, then racism can play no part in our balloting. The blackball cannot be used as a shield behind which to hide our prejudices, our petty quarrels, or that splenetic hatred which seems so often to infect our deliberative processes. On the other hand, if we merely intend to pay lip service to the tenets of our profession and to make the noble works of our ritual a meaningless recitation, then we will neither survive, nor deserve to survive.

Many Brethren disagree. They look upon the ballot as a sword with which to strike out at supposed enemies, an instrument of retribution against those at whom they are angered, and as a way of secretly evening the score against some unsuspecting Brother. Thus, we have seen Lodges in which every candidate is blackballed sometimes for years; Lodges in which some old curmudgeon seeks either to have his way or to punish a supposed transgression by blackballing innocent persons. Of course, he always lets the Lodge know what he is doing! It is no fun unless everyone is aware of why the blackball is cast. And that is the case here, how many Brethren we have who do not seem to have the least knowledge or attachment to the principles of our Order!

If the foregoing does not satisfy these Brethren (And I do not expect it will), then let me state that Federal law prohibits a tax-exempt organization from discriminating against applicants on the grounds of race, color, or creed. We are such an organization and, if we lose our tax-exempt status, our Masonic Home, our Grand Lodge, our Lodges, and all our income, be it from dues, donations, or what have you, will be subjected to

taxation. The Home's Endowment presently stands at \$22,000,000, its physical plant in the tens of millions, our Grand Lodge in the millions, and the buildings, etc. of our various subordinate Lodges in the hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions.

Loss of our tax-exemptions would be ruinous, and I will not risk it happening in order to pander to the prejudices of a few. If, therefore, one cannot accept my setting aside the ballot adverse to a black petitioner on the grounds of Freemasonry's universal brotherhood, then let him accept it on the basis of Federal law and the stringent penalties to be incurred if discrimination is permitted. Take your choice, either way, the evidence of discrimination was apparent. My duty was clear, and whenever is established that the ballot is being so grossly misused, I shall not hesitate to set it aside.

Appendix C

A list of Grand Lodges, Prince Hall Affiliation

<i>State/Country</i>	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Location of other lodges</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Alabama	1870		
Alaska	1969		
Arizona	1920		
Arkansas	1873		
Bahamas	1951		
California	1855	Hawaii	now combined jurisdiction of the two states
Canada (Ontario)	1856	Canada (Quebec)	☒ full recognition with Quebec, 1993 ☒ full recognition with New Brunswick, 1993 ☒ full recognition with Nova Scotia, 1993 ☒ & with Prince Edward Island, 1993
Caribbean	1993		
Colorado	1876	Wyoming	☒ recognition & intervisitation, own State, 1991
Connecticut	1873		☒ recognition & intervisitation, own State, 1989 ☒ & with New Brunswick, 1994
Delaware	1849		
Florida	1870	British Honduras	now combined jurisdiction of Florida & Belize
Georgia	1870		
Illinois	1867		
Indiana	1856		
Iowa	1881		
Kansas	1867		
Kentucky	1866		
Liberia	1867		extinguished 1980, restoration commenced 1987
Louisiana	1863		
Maryland	1845		
Massachusetts	1791	Trinidad & Tobago	or various dates up to 1827
Michigan	1865		
Minnesota	1894	Canada (Alberta & Manitoba), North Dakota	☒ recognition & intervisitation, own State, 1991 ☒ and with North Dakota, 1991
Mississippi	1875		
Missouri	1865		
Nebraska	1919		☒ full recognition, own State, 1989
Nevada	1980		
New Jersey	1848		
New Mexico	1921		
New York	1845	Guyana, St Lucia, Dominica (?)	
North Carolina	1870		
Ohio	1849		
Oklahoma	1893		
Oregon	1960	Idaho	☒ full recognition with Idaho, 1991
Pennsylvania	1815	South Africa (until 1977)	
Rhode Island	1858		
South Carolina	1867		
Tennessee	1870		
Texas	1875		
Virginia	1865		
Washington, DC	1848		
Washington State	1903	Canada (British Columbia)	☒ recognition & intervisitation, own State, 1990 ☒ full recognition with Idaho, 1993
West Virginia	1877		
Wisconsin	1925		☒ recognition & intervisitation, own State, 1990

Several Grand Lodges also warrant military lodges stationed in England, continental Europe, the Far East and elsewhere.

The Grand Lodge of Tasmania and the United Grand Lodge of Queensland permit visits by all American Prince Hall Masons.