

**MOST WORSHIPFUL PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE
FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS
STATE OF CALIFORNIA, INC.
9027 S. Figueroa Street
Los Angeles, California 90003-3229**

Material for Schools of Instruction



**WHAT DID PRINCE HALL KNOW
ABOUT FREEMASONRY IN 1775 WHEN HE AND FOURTEEN
OTHER 'AFRICANS' WERE RAISED TO THE SUBLIME DEGREES
OF MASONRY, AND FROM WHENCE CAME HIS INFORMATION?**

MAY 21, 2010

¹ Image is from cover of “Origins of the Black Atlantic: Rewriting Histories”, by Laurent Dubois and Julius S. Scott. Shows JEAN-BAPTIST BELLEY, Haitian patriot of their revolution. Not intended to depict Prince Hall.

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School of Instruction:

The Information contained herein has not been adopted by this or any Grand Lodge. The following School of Instruction Information was developed to assist Brothers on their Masonic Journey. This material is being distributed for the purpose of review by the general body of the craft. We hope that you will offer your comments and input as to the usefulness of this information. If you have questions, comments or concerns please feel free to contact us:

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May 7, 2010

**THE DESIGN:
AN INTRODUCTION TO ADVANCED MASONIC STUDY**

In 1774, about fifty years after Anderson's Constitutions of 1723 were published, and about sixty years after the premiere Grand Lodge was formed, Brother William Hutchinson, F.A.S.² received the Grand Lodge's "**Sanction**" to publish a series of lectures he had given and compiled into a book. It was entitled "**The Spirit of Freemasonry**," and was sanctioned because the Grand Officers felt it was necessary to publish a work which, "purported to treat of the religion, philosophy, spirituality, purpose, and a deeper significance of Freemasonry"³.

The same need exists today for exploring the deeper meanings of Masonic subjects than appear in our Constitutions and Rituals. The need exists because Americans tend to learn, understand, and apply ideas better when we 'see them' in their broadest context. (Connect the Dots.) Part of this Committee's mission is to encourage and to begin this exploration. Brother Hutchinson's book began with what he termed an "Introductory dissertation on the state of Freemasonry in the eighteenth century" which described the generally degenerate state of the Craft within English society at that time, and was, in effect, a call to arms to rescue Freemasonry by focusing on its deeper meanings.

Our materials begin in much the same manner--**by focusing on context**--by beginning to place Prince Hall Freemasonry within the broader context of eighteenth century history--by answering the questions, "What did Prince Hall know about Freemasonry when he and fourteen other 'Africans' were entered, passed, and raised to the Sublime Degree of Master Mason? And, "what did Prince Hall originally intend to accomplish by forming 'African Lodge'? We know that Prince Hall was a voracious reader. Had he already read Prichard's **Masonry Dissected (1730)**? Was he aware of John Locke's letter accompanying the **Leland-Locke Manuscript (1696)**? What about his awareness of John Locke's philosophical writings? Had he read other writings associated with "the Age of Enlightenment" or "the Age of Reason"? A persuasive argument has been made that Prince Hall had discovered that many of the fundamental principles of Freemasonry

² Fellow Antiquary Society

³ These are Coil's words, at page 322. The "Sanction" was signed by Petre, G.M. and the five other Grand Officers.

were the same fundamental principles upon which this Republic was to be built. (See Brooks Essay)

The design upon this Trestleboard lists the following ten subject-areas⁴ to be covered:

- Freemasonry and Symbolism
- Freemasonry and Science
- Freemasonry and Religion
- Freemasonry and being upright (ethics and morality)
- Freemasonry and Governance
- Freemasonry and Philosophy
- Freemasonry and British and European Colonialism
- Early Freemasonry in England & America
- Early Prince Hall Freemasonry
- Practical leadership tips for lodge officers

The belief and assertion here is that Prince Hall Freemasons will learn and perform their 'work' much better when they appreciate how it fits within the larger "universe". Four of these ten subjects will be distributed now. The remainder will be distributed as they become available.

NEXT, RECOGNIZE DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS

Those who write about Freemasonry always bring their own points of view, and these often differ. The student should begin by first developing an overview or broad perspective with which to classify and to organize the diverse body of material. The copyrighted website of the Rite of the Rose Cross of Gold describes **seven perspectives** or "**schools of thought**" through which to study of Freemasonry⁵.

The Authentic School: This approach is sometimes called the historic or scientific school. It is recent, being about 100 years old. The purpose of this approach to the study of Masonry is to separate historic fact from legend and myth.

The Textual Criticism School: Devoted to the study of printed materials, Masons of this school are generally most interested in the ritual and its evolution.

The Anthropological School: The focus of the Anthropological School is man, especially his long path of spiritual and intellectual development. The Anthropological

⁴ These subject-areas include the topics "Nature of the Lodge, Furniture of the Lodge, Apparel and Jewels of Masons, The Temple at Jerusalem, Geometry, etc..

⁵ © **Rite of the Rose Cross of Gold** ©Freemasonry 101 2000-2005, Multiplex Masonry.htm. All rights reserved. Jim Tresner, 33°, Grand Cross, PO Box 70, Guthrie, Oklahoma 73044-0070

School regards myth as a primary source of information about humanity and human culture. Masons of this school frequently speak of the "ancient origins of Masonry."

The Mystical School: Throughout the recorded history of thought, "mystical" has referred to a search for a sense of union with the Deity. The followers of this school usually work very hard to avoid cynicism and skepticism. The Mason of this school seeks self-development and enlightenment, and usually he seeks it through his faith as well as Freemasonry.

The Aesthetics School: This school focuses primarily on the products of Masonry, both written and tangible. Thousands of artifacts have been produced over the years, from vast buildings to pocket watches to firing glasses to painted aprons to carved furniture to commemorative china to jewelry to costumes.

The Rhapsodial School: Rhapsodes were men in ancient Greece who specialized in memorizing and reciting the great epic poems. They placed a special emphasis on accuracy of memory and transmitted the great stories down from generation to generation until they were finally committed to writing. Masons of the Rhapsodial School function in the same great tradition. Their pleasure is to learn the ritual, perform it, and teach it to others.

The Fraternal School: Masons of this approach find their greatest satisfaction simply in being Masons. They enjoy being together, as Brothers, and require little else. They are especially concerned, perhaps, with the obligations of Masonry, and many of them are the most committed to charity.

Prince Hall Freemasons seem to focus most on what are labeled here as "The Fraternal School", the Mystical School, and the Rhapsodial School. It may be more than mere coincidence that our gravitation to these Schools can be associated with the tradition of the West African Storytellers, called **Griots**, whose function it was to preserve the genealogies and oral traditions of the tribe.⁶

NEXT, RECOGNIZE THE STRUCTURE OF YOUR MATERIALS

"Lectures on The Philosophy of Freemasonry" by Roscoe Pound⁷ provides a perspective to organize the study of Freemasonry. Pound begins by observing that the body of materials about Freemasonry can be divided into five "departments". They are the study of Ritual, History, Philosophy, Symbolism, and Law.⁸ To this, it is possible to add "Recognition", meaning the study of the various codes and symbols Masons have employed over the years to recognize each other "in the dark as well as in the light." It is equally important to recognize that a body of material exists which uses Freemasonry simply as a literary plot or dramatic backdrop, but is not part of the body of materials

⁶ "**Griot**" derives from French, a alteration of guiriot, perhaps ultimately from Portuguese criado, meaning a domestic servant, and from Latin cretus, one brought up or trained, from the past participle of crere, to produce, to bring up, **to create**. The interaction of the tribe's reliance upon the Griot to preserve and to explain, and our seemingly similar reliance on our leaders is an important dynamic today.

⁷ The National Masonic Research Society, Anamosa, Iowa 1915

⁸ Ibid., Pound, Preface, iii.

useful in the serious study of Freemasonry. Dan Brown's writings and movies fall into this category. For example, The Da Vinci Code, The Lost Symbol, or The Solomon Key.

Pound then proceeds to say, "I think we cannot insist too strongly that knowledge of the Ritual is the Foundation of all Masonic knowledge. The first thing which the student should do is to learn the work of the Craft degrees thoroughly. He will then be in a position to appreciate what he reads and to ask questions as he reads. As to History, I should recommend him to begin with Gould's Concise History. As to philosophy it is quite impossible to refer to any introduction. My suggestion would be that he read one of the ordinary histories of philosophy, say, for instance, the English translation of Windelband, and perceive what the problems of philosophy are with which Masonic philosophers also have been wrestling." Pound's book *wrestles with* the writings of Freemasons William Preston, George Oliver, Karl C.F. Krause, and Albert Pike.

Pound approaches examining what he calls "the science of Masonic fundamentals" by posing three questions:

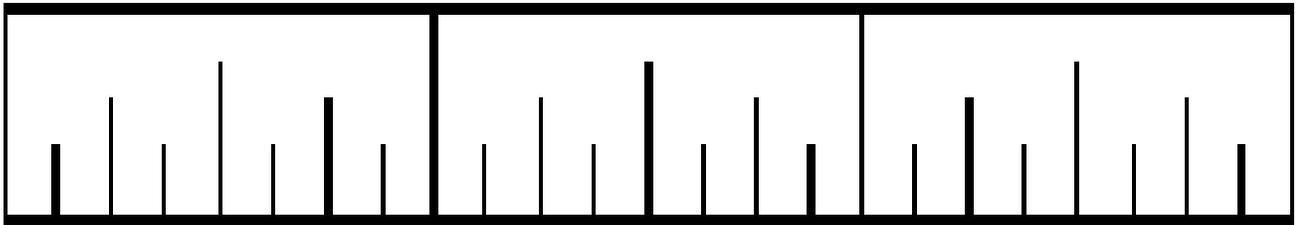
1. What is the nature and purpose of Masonry as an institution. For what does it exist? What does it seek to do? Of course for the philosopher this involves also and chiefly the questions, what ought Masonry to be? For what ought it to exist? What ought it to seek as its end?

2. What is--and this involves what should be--the relation of Masonry to other human institutions, especially those directed toward similar ends? What is its place in a rational scheme of human activities?

3. What are the fundamental principles by which Masonry is governed in attaining the end it seeks? This again, to the philosopher, involves the question of what these principles ought to be.

READY, BEGIN!!

Allocate your time.....



A CONTEXTUAL TIME LINE OF "RECORDED" BRITISH HISTORY & FREEMASONRY

As compiled by **W. Bro. Gary Kerkin, PM Lodge Piako No 160, PM Waikato Lodge of Research No 445, New Zealand Constitution.** Published in a copyrighted article FREEMASON INFORMATION ©2007 - ALL RIGHTS RESERVED found online at. <http://www.freemasoninformation.com/index.htm>

As augmented by an internet search for important dates in British History at <<http://www.information-britain.co.uk/famousdates.php>>

June 15, 1215 A group of disgruntled Barons forced King John (England) to sign what later became known as **the Magna Carta**, granting certain basic rights to British gentry. This is considered a cornerstone of the American Constitution.

January 20, 1265. First version of an English parliament held.

1390: **The Regius Poem**, often referred to as the Halliwell Manuscript, believed to date

from this year, is considered to be the basis of the "Ancient Charges", although Haywood (Editor of The Builder) asserts it is probably a book about Masonry rather than a document of Masonry. It contains 15 "articles" and 15 "points".

1425: **The Cooke Manuscript**, believed to have been written by a Mason, is in two parts-the first being an attempt at a history of the craft, the second being a version of the charges. It mentions 9 articles that appear to have been legally enforceable and 9 points that were not enforceable.

1429: "**Masters of the Lodge**" were mentioned at Canterbury Cathedral. 1444: Statute of Henry VI limited the wages of a "frank mason".

1463: The Worshipful Company of Masons of the City of London erected its first hall.

1479: The title Master Mason appeared after the name of William Orchard at Magdalen College (Oxford).

1487: The words Free Mason appeared in Statutes for the first time.

1491: Municipal law was passed at St Giles, Edinburgh, establishing the condition of employment of Master Masons and co-workers

1495: Statute of Henry VII regulated the wages of "free masons, master carpenter and rough mason."

- 1514: Statute of Henry VIII limited the wages of a "free mason".
- 1548: Statute of Edward VI prevented restriction of work of any free mason, rough mason, etc.
- 1549: Statute of Edward VI repealing the statute of 1548.
- 1562: Statute of Elizabeth codified the statutes of labourers. The term "rough mason" appears but not "free mason".
- 1581: The Masons Company incorporated at Newcastle-upon-Tyne and given certain powers and duties.
- 1598: William Schaw promulgated two sets of rules, the first regulating the Masons of Scotland, the second giving the Lodge of Kilwinning supervisory powers over the lodges of West Scotland. The term "fellow of the craft" was used.
- 1599: The first known record of a Masonic Lodge, Aitchinson's Haven Lodge, Mussleburgh, January 9 (Scotland). The oldest known existing lodge, Edinburgh Lodge Number 1 is recorded on July 3.
- 1600: John Boswell, Laird of Auchinlech, became a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh and is the first recorded admission of a non-operative Mason in a lodge of Scotland. In England the word "Freemason" appeared in the York Roll.
- 1619/20: The Account book of the London Mason's Company used the term "Accepted" to describe some members.
- 1621: Records of the Worshipful Company of Freemasons of London indicate "accepted" and "operative" members.
- 1633: John Stow's Survey of London mentioned the "Company of Masons being otherwise termed Free Masons."
- 1634: Lord Alexander, Sir Anthony Alexander and Sir Alexander Strachan were made Masons at the Lodge of Edinburgh.
- 1641: The earliest recorded initiation was that of Sir Robert Moray, by a group of Masons in a Scots regiment at Newcastle-on-Tyne on 20 May.
- 1642: First minutes of Mother Kilwinning Lodge.

August 22, 1642, English Civil War begins

1646: Elias Ashmole recorded in his diary `1646: Oct: 16 4H 30pm, I was made a Freemason at Warrington."

August 17, 1648. Battle of Preston. Cromwell (Parliamentarians' "New Model Army") vs. Royalists.

January 30, 1649. King Charles I is captured and beheaded, parliament having stated on January 4, 1649 that the government's power derived from the people, determined after trial that King Charles I was guilty of treason.

May 19, 1649. Cromwell declares England a commonwealth, and it is managed for a decade without a monarch.

September 6, 1651. Roundheads vs. Royalists in the "long parliament" place a bounty on the head of Charles II.

December 10, 1653. Cromwell is declared "Lord Protector" of the Commonwealth.

1655: The Company of Freemasons of the City of London changed its name to "The Company of Masons."

1656: John Aubrey commenced "A Natural History of Wiltshire" in which he stated "that the Fraternity of Free Masons are known to each other by certain signs and Watch words."

May 25, 1660 Monarchy restored by parliament (The Restoration) led by General George Monck) restoring Charles II as King--the Stuart Dynasty. Cromwell had died in 1658, and his son did not follow him as Protector as he had intended. See the **Declaration of Breda** May 1660.

November 28, 1660. The Royal Society is founded--leading Freemasons are among its charter members.

1668: The hall of the Worshipful Company of Masons of London was rebuilt after the Great Fire of London (1666).

1670: The records of the Lodge of Aberdeen commenced. They indicate some members were operative and others were speculative.

1682: Elias Ashmole recorded that he had attended a lodge meeting at Mason's Hall, London.

1686: John Aubrey wrote his "National History of Wiltshire" and spoke of "Fraternity of Free-Masons" and described them as "adopted" and "accepted" masons.

1688: A lodge of accepted Masons met at Trinity College, Dublin, and the Society of Freemason is mentioned in a satirical speech at the commencement exercises of the University of Dublin in July. In England Randle Holme (Deputy Garter King of Arms) described an association with members of the "Society called Free-Masons." His son became a member of a Masonic Lodge in Chester in the 1670's.

December 16, 1689. Bill of Rights passed by convention of parliament, and enabled William of Orange and Mary (Stuart's and protestants) to assume the throne.

1690: Records of the Lodge of Melrose (Scotland) used the term "fellowcraft."

1696: The Edinburgh Register House Manuscript suggests that Masons had words, a grip, signs and "five points".

1697: (Scotland) Mention on a letter of the "mason's word," used for the purpose of recognition.

1698: An anti-masonic leaflet warned people against "the Mischiefs and Evils practiced in the sight of God by those called Freed Masons."

June 12, 1701 Act of Settlement passed. It prevents Catholics, Muslims, and other religions from ascending to the throne, insuring a protestant line of succession.

October 20, 1714. King George I becomes King of Great Britain--a protestant from Hanover Germany who did not speak English. Under his reign a Cabinet form of government was formed, along with a Prime Minister. Whigs defeated Tories.

1717: First Grand Lodge formed in London on 24 June.

December 24, 1724. Benjamin Franklin arrives in London.

May 17, 1756. Start of the Seven-Years War, the first true world war, with British vs. French in North America.

February 10, 1763. Treaty of Paris ends the war, and emboldens colonists to seek independence from British taxes to pay for their war.

December 16, 1773. Boston Tea Party.

THE TERM "FREEMASON" MIGHT HAVE GROWN UP; IT DID GRADUALLY COME TO CONNOTE CERTAIN PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY THE MASTER MASONS WHO BELONGED TO THE GUILDS.



The Master - Prince Hall

by Joe L. Horne, Sr., PM, Community Lodge No. 43
and references from the Black Square & Compass by Joseph A. Walkes, Jr.

We cannot begin anything serious on Prince Hall Freemasonry without first presenting some facts concerning the man and the legend responsible for the creation of the fraternity that bears his name. So much has been written about the man, Prince Hall, one may wonder what purpose is served by rehashing the same story over and over, as it involves the early history of Masonry in America, which, in itself, is quite complex. As much as the writer would relish reviewing the early history of Masonry in Massachusetts, in this article the focus will be on Prince Hall himself.

In reviewing the early history of Freemasonry among Blacks, one must rely heavily on the numerous books that have been written on the subject. How much reliability the reader can place on these various works is questionable. The reader must rely on the writer's interpretation of events, and insofar as Prince Hall Masonry is concerned this reliance is quite risky.

Those who believe that "nothing establishes a fact until it has been verified", may very well wish to launch their own investigation. The field is far from being exhausted, and with continued research by those who seek to discover the full facts or merely to verify those that are now known, the material is available, and new discoveries are waiting to be uncovered.

The beginnings of Masonry among Blacks is surrounded by controversy, mystery, passion, and unfortunately the record of its early events contains some untruths. Harry E. Davis, the Prince Hall Masonic historian, wrote that "one of the saddest things about controversy is that it frequently obscures every other element concerning the topic except the point controverted." Black Masonry has suffered much from the blight of controversy.

In 1903, the Official History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People in North America was published. This book was written by William Henry Grimshaw, Past Grand Master of the District of Columbia. Grimshaw was born August 4, 1847 or 48. His father's name was Robert Tyler and his mother's name was Julia Grimshaw. He worked for a number of years in the Bureau of Equipment and Commandant's Office in the Navy Yard, was a doorkeeper in the Gallery of the House of Representatives, and was a Library Assistant and Doorkeeper in the main reading room on the Library of Congress. He was a member of Social Lodge No.1, in Washington, D.C. serving as its Worshipful Master, 1874-75.

Social Lodge No.1 was chartered on June 6, 1825, by the M.W. African Grand Lodge of North America in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania as Social Lodge No.7. It became No.1 on the rolls of the Grand Lodge of D.C. on March 7, 1848 when this Grand Lodge was formed. Grimshaw served this Prince Hall Jurisdiction as Grand Master in 1907.

Grimshaw was well meaning in his attempt to enlarge beyond the bounds of truth regarding Prince Hall's life. The stories cooked-up by him are inexcusable and cannot be justified. Such falsehood as Prince Hall's "Being born in Bridgetown, Barbados on the 12th of September 1748, the son of Thomas Prince Hall, an English leather merchant and his wife a free negro woman of French descent. After supposedly serving his apprenticeship in the leather trade, Prince Hall went to Boston, arriving in 1765, and by hard work became a free holder and voter. He converted to Methodism and became an ordained minister."

All were figments of Grimshaw's imagination, and cannot be overlooked as an innocent stretching of the truth. These tales were accepted by Freemasonry, Black as well as White the world over, copied and recopied not only by the Craft, but by historians of Black history with the result that many of these falsehoods are recorded in other books and taught in Black studies courses across the country, even to the point that some of it has found its way into the higher degrees of Prince Hall Freemasonry. Prominent

Masonic historians and scholars, friends and enemies of Prince Hall Masonry, alike, were led astray by the deliberate fabrications by one individual. This brings forth the lesson that Masonic research must be verified beyond a question and that nothing should be accepted at face value. Those who are found to falsify deliberately Masonic documentations, regardless of their good intentions, should be ostracized by the entire fraternity. The following from the proceedings of the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for 1906, page 82, is of interest:

"Reference is made to the portrait of Prince Hall. This is not known to be authentic, and the sketch of his life has little in the way of authenticity to commend it. In 1795 Prince Hall told the Rev. Dr. Belknap he was fifty-seven years of age, which would make the year of his birth 1738; Brother John D. Caldwell appears to quote Bro. William S. Gardner as saying that when initiated, March 8 (sic), 1775, Prince Hall was 32 years, 3 months and 28 days old, which would make the date of birth, Nov.9,1742; and Bro. Bruce (John Edward "Bruce Grit: Bruce") quotes Bro. Grimshaw-who really did not know anything about it-as saying, Sept. 12, 1748. Our preference is for the year 1738, being based upon Hall's statement to Belknap....How a supposedly intelligent man can write such nonsense, and other supposedly intelligent men seriously quote it, passes all comprehension."

During the Revolutionary War, it is claimed that Prince Hall headed a committee of freemen to General Washington's headquarters seeking to join the Army; (19) and that Prince Hall served in the Continental Army. There are three records of soldiers bearing the name:

Prince Hall, Dartmouth. List of men who marched from Dartmouth camp under command of Capt. Benjamin Dillingham and arrived there Feb. 15, 1776; also, Private, Capt. Joshua Wilbore's Co., Col. Ebenzor Francis's Regt; pay abstract for travel allowance from camp home, etc; said Hall credited with allowance for 3 days (65 miles); company drafted from Taunton, Raynham, Easton, Dartmouth, Freetown, Berkley, and Dighton; warrant allowed in Council Nov.29, 1776.

Prince Hall, Medford, Receipt dated Medford, May 25, 1778, for bounty paid said Hall by Richard Hall, in behalf of the town of Medford, to serve in the Continental Army; also, descriptive list of men raised in Middlesex Co. for the term of 9 months from the time of their arrival at Fishkill, agreeable to resolve of April 20, 1778; Capt. Brook's Co., Col. Thatcher's regt., age 30 yrs.; stature, 5 ft. 3 in.; residence, Medford; engaged for town of Medford; arrived at Fishkill June 21, 1778; also, list of men returned as received of Jonathan Warner, Commissioner, by Col. R. Putname, July 20, 1778

Prince Hall, Medford (also Medfiled). List of men raised to serve in the Continental Army from 1st Middlesex Co., regt., as returned by Lieut. Stephen Hall, dated Medford, Fed. 19, 1778, residence, Medford; engaged for town of Medford; joined Capt. Allen's Co., Col. Bailey's regt., term, during war; also, list of men mustered by Nat. Barbar, Muster for Suffolk Co., dated Boston, April 13, 1777; also, Private 3d co., Col. John Bailey's regt.; Continental Army pay accounts for service from April 7, 1777, to Dec.18, 1777; residence, Medfield; reported died Dec. 18, 1778; also, (late) Capt. Jacob Allen's (3d) Co., Col. Bailey's regt.; return of men in service before Aug. 15, 1777;

also, same Co., and regt., company return dated Camp at Valley Forge, Jan. 24, 1778; also, Capt. Adams Bailey's (late Capt. Jacob Allen's) co., Col Bailey's (2d); muster roll made up from Jan. 1, 1777, to Jan. 1, 1780; enlisted April 7, 1777. (2)

It is this writer's contention that Grimshaw was inspired not only by the above records, but also the records of Primus Hall.

But Masonically, it is immaterial whether Prince Halls served in the Army. Of the three Prince Halls mentioned, the problem becomes one of identification. One of the Halls is listed as having died in service. Of the remaining two, not much is really known of the Prince Hall from Dartmouth.

In Charles Brooks' History of the Town of Medford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, etc. (p. 438) he writes:

"In 1754, there were in Medford twenty-seven male and seven female slaves, and fifteen free blacks; total, forty-nine. In 1764, there were forty-nine free blacks. When the law freed all the slaves, many in Medford chose to remain with their masters, and they were faithful unto death."

In 1754, there were four slaves belonging to the Hall families. Benjamin Hall had a slave named Prince who died in 1766. In 1772, Stephen Hall had a servant named Prince who married Chloe, a Negro servant of Richard Hall (Medford Vital Records).

In Helen Tilden Wild's book Medford in the Revolution, she describes the role of Medford during the war. Of the second Prince Hall, Miss Wild writes:

"Hall, Prince, Enlisted for 3yrs., April 7, 1777; died Dec. 18, 1778: vol. 7, p.105. Rev. Osgood records in his diary, April 1, 1777, "Prince ran away last night." Mr. Osgood at the time boarded with Mr. Richard Hall, whose Negro servant, Chloe, married Prince, a negro servant of Stephen Hall, Esq., Sept. 15, 1772."

Of the first Prince Hall, Miss Wild writes:

"Hall, Prince. Enlisted for 9 mos., 1778, age 30; vol. 7, p. 105. Receipt signed by him for bounty received on enlistment can be seen at state archives. Free Negro; taxed in Medford, 1778 and 1779; he was the author of the petition to the House of Representatives urging the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts. He was the founder of Free Masonry among Negroes, receiving his degrees from a military lodge, consisting of British soldiers in Boston, March 6, 1775. Married Phebe, a slave of Mrs. Lydie Bowman Baker, of Boston, who set her free. Their

home was on Phillips Street, Boston, where he died Dec. 7, 1807. See archives of Prince Hall Grand Lodge F. & A.M.

The problem remains as stated before, one of identification. Benjamin Quarles makes a good point when he wrote that, “A final problem has been the determination of Negro identity. Since most of the participants in the Revolutionary War were racially anonymous, on what basis may a person be identified as a Negro? In this work I have designated an individual as Negro only when the source specifically states it or where the source is referring only to Negroes. I make only one assumption: if the first or lastname of a person was Negro, he was not likely to be white. Although there are certain names largely confined to Negroes, I have not assumed that persons with such names were colored. Thus, although three of the Americans on the sloop Charming Polly, captured by the British on May 16, 1777, bore the typically Negro names of William Cuff, Prince Hall and Cuff Scott (and all came from Massachusetts coastal towns, where Negro seamen were common), I have not assumed that they were Negroes.” (21) This rationale can also be used with identifying a Prince Hall, as being the Masonic Prince Hall. So in manner of speaking there is no proof at this writing that the Masonic Prince Hall served in the Revolutionary War, nor is there any proof that he did not.

It is generally accepted that Freemasonry among Blacks in the United States began with the initiation of Prince Hall and fourteen other “free” Blacks in Lodge No. 441, Irish Constitution, attached to the 38th Regiment of Foot, British Army garrisoned at Castle Williams (now Fort Independence), Boston Harbor on March 6, 1775, the Master of the Lodge being one Sergeant J. Batt (or J.T. Batt or John Batt.)

There are documents showing that a John Batt was discharged from the 38th Regiment of Foot at Staten Island, New York, on the third of February 1777, and that he was later enlisted in the Continental Army, Col. David Henly’s Regiment on February 20, 1778, and deserted June 10, 1778.

It is claimed that when the British Army left Boston, that Hall was left a “permit” to meet as a lodge, but apparently not to confer degrees. Masonic authorities agree that this was how African Lodge No. 1 was organized, and that Prince Hall later petitioned the Mother Grand Lodge of the world, England, for a warrant that was issued on September 29, 1784, for African Lodge 459.

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. There has not been on the American Masonic scene, or in the pages of its history, so unique a Black Freemason as Prince Hall. His lack of a formal education, his bondage, and the racial conditions of the time merely enhance the character of this outstanding individual enhance the character of this outstanding individual. His many accomplishments must be viewed in this light and his achievements 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.”

REFERENCES (Cited in the Black Square & Compass by Joseph A. Walkes, Jr.)

1. Harry E. Davis, A History of Freemasonry Among Negroes in America (United Supreme Council, A.A.S.R. Northern Jurisdiction, U.S.A., Inc.-Prince Hall Affiliation-1946), p. 5. Davis, himself a Prince Hall Masonic scholar without equal, did not stick to his own commandment as a number of avoidable errors appear in this otherwise brilliant book.
2. Melvin M. Johnson, The Beginnings of Freemasonry in America (The Masonic Service Association of the United States, 1924), p. viii.
3. Harry A. Williamson, The Negro Mason in Literature (author’s collection, microfilm, 1929)
4. William H. Grimshaw, Official History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People in North America (New York, Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Co., 1903), p. 69. Through this work contains many fabrications concerning the life and times of Prince Hall, there remains a wealth of material concerning the later establishment of individual Prince Hall Grand Lodges, though it is best to verify all facts presented by Grimshaw.
5. John Edward (Bruce Grit) Bruce, Prince Hall the Pioneer of Negro Masonry- Proofs of the Legitimacy of Prince Hall Masonry (author’s collection, 1921), p. 4. This is an interesting pamphlet, but for the most part follows the Grimshaw fabrications. Yet he emphasizes “the great importance and need of keeping historical records and correct biographical sketches of the important men in the order, the dates of their birth and death, and wherever possible,

- their photographs, so that in the coming years the boys of today, who will be the Master Masons of tomorrow, will have the data at hand from which to write the history of Negro Masonry in the Centuries to come.”
6. Jeremy Belknap, *Queries respecting the Slavery and Emancipation of Negroes in Massachusetts*, proposed by the Hon. Judge Tucker of Virginia, and answered by the Rev. Dr. Belknap (author's collection, 1795), p. 199.
 7. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 266. I am not sure where Davis got his information.
 8. *Suffolk County Registry of Deeds-1807*, August 31, Prince Hall, Grantor-Deposition of Prince Hall Concerning John Vinall, member of Church of the Rev. Andrew Crosswell on school Street. Vol. 221, p. 10.
 9. John M. Sherman, unpublished manuscript (author's collection, 1967).
 10. *Suffolk County Registry of Deeds*, *op. cit.*
 11. *Boston Marriages, 1752-1809* (Boston Record Commissioners), p. 422.
 12. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
 13. *Boston Marriages*, *op. cit.*, p. 299 (Gloucester).
 14. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 16, *Belknap Papers* (1788), p. 12. *Collections Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. IV* (author's collection).
 15. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Vol. 2*, p. 279 (author's collection).
 16. *Suffolk Registry of Probate*, v. 106, p. 394 (author's collection)
 17. Bentley, *op. cit.*
 18. *Suffolk County Registry of Deeds*, *op. cit.*
 19. Grimshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
 20. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution*, Vol. VII, 1891, p. 105.
 21. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Durham, N.C., University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. xi.
 22. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 21.



Engraved by John Pine in Aldergate Street London

Brothers,

The more things change, the more they stay the same. These are the words in Old English of **PM William Preston from 1772** describing responses from the Craft to his new work written in the Introduction to his book entitled **"Illustrations of Masonry:"**

"When I first had the honor to be elected Master of the Lodge, I thought it proper to inform myself fully of the general rules of the Society, that I might be better enabled to execute my own duty, and officially enforce obedience in others. The methods which I adopted with this view, excited in some of superficial knowledge an absolute dislike of what they considered as innovations; and others who were better informed, a jealousy of pre-eminence which the principles on Masonry ought to have checked. Notwithstanding these discouragements, however, I persevered in my intention of supporting the dignity of the Society, and of discharging with fidelity the duties of my office."

**Prince Hall Masons today must also,
"persevere" in discharging with fidelity the duties of [our] office.**



Fig. 8. Second Degree Tracing Board.

**MOST WORSHIPFUL PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE
FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS
STATE OF CALIFORNIA, INC.**

9027 S. Figueroa Street
Los Angeles, California 90003-3229

MASONIC EDUCATION COMMITTEE

May 7, 2010

AN INTRODUCTION TO FREEMASONRY AND SYMBOLISM

A Symbol or emblem is a thing or picture of a thing which suggests something else, usually a more complex idea or even an abstraction--such as "honesty". Generally, a simple, familiar thing is used to suggest some other idea which is less easily described. The first communications among humans were probably by means of symbols. They are all around us. Symbology or symbolism can refer to a system of symbols, as here, where we are referring to those used by and identified with Freemasonry. Coil's points out⁹ that Masonic writers have sometimes become confused, have not considered the elementary principles of symbology, and have studied the symbol as being the abstract uncertainty and tried to determine it's meaning.

The sole purpose of our symbolism is to teach Freemasonry. Symbolism is a means to an end, signposts pointing to values that they [the symbols] do not inherently possess. In explaining why Freemasonry uses symbolism Pike says, "No better means could be devised to rouse a dormant intellect, than those impressive exhibitions [symbols] which address it through the imagination. Instead of condemning it [the idea] to a prescribed routine creed, invite it to speak, compare, and judge [in a symbol]."¹⁰ The ultimate end of all is morality, ethics, truth.¹¹

Symbolism of Freemasonry: Its Science, Philosophy, Legends, Myths, and Symbolism¹² by Dr. Albert Gallatin Mackey is an excellent benchmark to use in navigating this subject. Its Introduction points out that the story of Freemasonry links together the spoken and written word with its use of symbols. It is this linkage or union which reinforces the ideas, and makes clear the English description of Freemasonry as, "a science of morality veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols". Brother Mackey characterizes Freemasonry as a symbolic institution, one which has adapted a method of instruction by symbolism which makes it one of very few institutions which continue to cultivate a beautiful system of symbolism--another being the Roman Catholic Church.¹³

Mackey devotes the following Chapters to explaining categories and lists of symbols:
Chapter XII. Symbolism of Solomon's Temple

⁹ Coil's, page 643

¹⁰ Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry (1871) Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction, A.A.S.R., USA, page 356-m.

¹¹ Coil's, page 643

¹² Revised by Robert Ingham Clegg, 33° Kessinger Publishing's Rare Mystical Reprints

¹³ Symbolism of Freemasonry, page72

Chapter XIV Form of the Lodge
 Chapter XV Officers of a Lodge¹⁴
 Chapter XVI Point within a Circle
 Chapter XVII Covering of the Lodge
 Chapter XVIII Ritualistic Symbolism¹⁵
 Chapter XIX Rite of Discalceation
 Chapter XX Rite of Investiture
 Chapter XXI Symbolism of the Gloves
 Chapter XXII Rite of Circumnambulation
 Chapter XXIII Rite of Intrusting and Symbolism of Light
 Chapter XXIV Symbolism of the Corner Stone
 Chapter XXV Ineffable Name
 Chapter XXVI Legends of Freemasonry¹⁶
 Chapter XXVII Legend of the Winding Stairs
 Chapter XXVIII Legend of the third Degree
 Chapter XXIX Sprig of Acacia
 Chapter XXX Symbolism of Labor¹⁷
 Chapter XXXI Stone of Foundation¹⁸
 Chapter XXXII Lost Word¹⁹

For Chapters which explore such subjects as the Apparel and Jewels of Masons, refer to Hutchinson's Spirit of Masonry, beginning at page 128. Another reference is needed to cover the Pillars of the Lodge--Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty, or the meaning of the broken column. No single reference book delves into all of our symbols. However, our symbols serve as an excellent bridge of ideas to take in crossing between our Constitution and Ritual with which we are familiar, and into the deeper and broader philosophies of our "science".

¹⁴ Here Mackey covers the Egyptian Mysteries, Zoroasteric Mysteries of Persia, the Mysteries of Athens, the Celtic Mysteries.

¹⁵ These are described as developed in ceremonial form which is the subjects of the next Chapters.

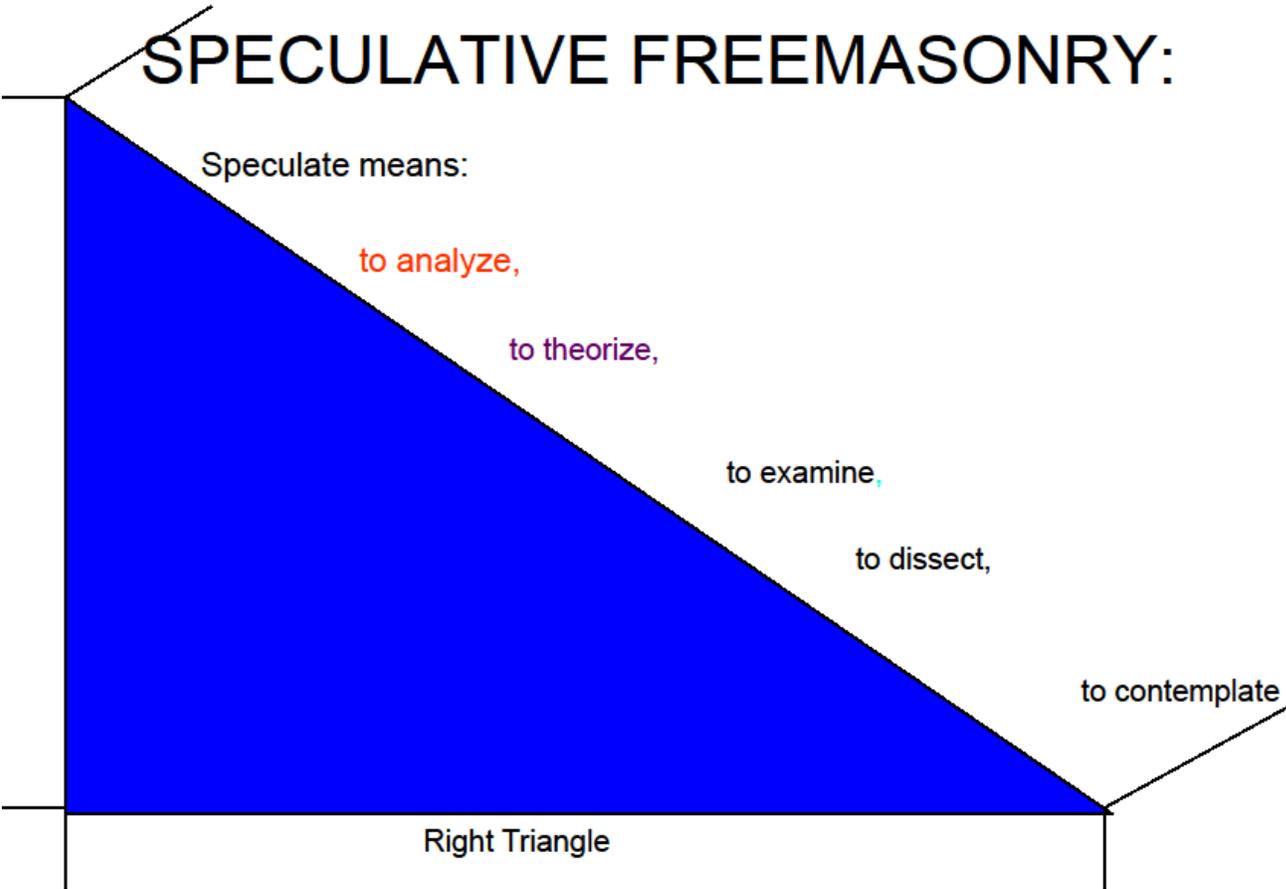
¹⁶ Mackey distinguishes between those Masons following in Noah's tradition (Pure Freemasonry) and the Tyrian workmen at the building of the Temple who practiced "Spurious Freemasonry".

¹⁷ Here, Mackey asserts that "labor is worship".

¹⁸ Mackey connects stone "found" in the ruins of Solomon's Temple in the Royal Arch with Ancient Craft Freemasonry.

¹⁹ Mackey considers this symbol and the search for it the very essence of the science of Freemasonry.

SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY:



**MOST WORSHIPFUL PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE
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9027 S. Figueroa Street
Los Angeles, California 90003-3229

MASONIC EDUCATION COMMITTEE

November 15, 2009

**REVIEW OF SOME BASIC IDEAS FROM
EARLY BRITISH AND AMERICAN FREEMASONRY**

Period covered. This review covers some of the basic ideas from the *Regius Manuscript* of about **1390** through the publication in **1885** of Robert Freke Gould's 4-volume *History of Freemasonry*.²⁰ This period includes the 23rd Edition of Thomas Smith Webb's *Monitor*, which was issued in 1869 by Robert Morris, and the *Encyclopedia* and other work by Dr. Albert G. Mackey, another great American Freemason writer.

Approach. The review uses what Brother Jim Tresner, 33°, in a copyrighted article entitled Freemasonry 101 calls the "**Authentic School**" approach.²¹ This approach is sometimes called the Historic or Scientific School, and some of its many proponents are identified in Coil's article entitled *History of Freemasonry* beginning at page 316. It is characterized as recent, being about 100 years old. The purpose of this approach to the study of Masonry is to separate verifiable historic fact from legend and myth. Using tools of the historian, Masons of this School attempt to describe as accurate and unbiased a picture as possible of the actual events in Freemasonry's past. Having identified the approach, its important next to identify the broad area to be covered.

Esoteric/Exoteric. According to Webster's New World Dictionary, *esoteric* is an adjective meaning confidential, private; withheld; intended for or understood by a chosen few. The opposite is *exoteric*, which is also an adjective meaning suitable for outsiders or the uninitiated; that which can be understood by the public. These words become more difficult to define in the hands of some Masonic writers, but Coil's defines esoteric Freemasonry as **the secret part of the Ritual**, as distinguished from **the monitorial part [of the Ritual]**, which is printed and open to the public--the exoteric²². Coil's states that **classical doctrine** of the Fraternity requires that the **esoteric** parts of the Ritual not be written, printed, or otherwise physically represented in any form. This restriction is expressed in the First Degree Obligation, and is inferred in the secrecy required in all other Obligations.

²⁰ This set covers Freemasonry in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Germany, and also includes histories related to Freemasonry such as that of the Essenes, the Illuminati, and the Roman Collegia.

²¹ **Freemasonry 101**, by Jim Tresner, 33°, Grand Cross, © Rite of the Rose Cross of Gold © 2000-2005. All rights reserved. PO Box 70 Guthrie, Oklahoma 73044-0070

²² Coil's page248

Applying Coil's definition, **esoteric** *could* be limited to the various portions of initiation ceremonies presented in the several degrees, such as oaths, charges, manners of wearing the Apron, and certain words, signs, and grips used as modes of recognition. Anyone who is familiar with Duncan's Ritual of Freemasonry or other such unauthorized "exposures" knows that for centuries this 'classical doctrine' has been honored more in its breach than in its being followed. In fact, some of the most valuable insights we have today into Masonic practices from the past were obtained from early *written* aids to memory and early exposures.²³

This article and education program is based upon the *monitorial* parts of our Ritual, and it attempts to explore their roots and relate many of their ideas to the present and into the future.

Chronology. Coil's article on Gild[s]; Guild[s]²⁴ points out that while Anderson, Preston, Oliver, and their adherents advanced **the allegorical theory** that modern Freemasonry originated at the building of King Solomon's Temple and before, those writers adhering to the Authentic School generally trace the origins of the Society to the Charges, rules, and regulations written in the group of documents labeled the "**Gothic Constitutions**"--most often starting with the Regius Poem of about 1390 (originally called a poem of moral duties.). Many of these manuscripts--or old records--are listed on the attached **contextual timeline**, which covers through 1717 and early Speculative Freemasonry.

Membership and activities in "Operative" Masonic Lodges. How did it come to be that royalty, noblemen and other persons of the highest order in Medieval Society come to join lodges of stone masons? H.L. Haywood explains that Speculative Freemasonry started among the cathedral building lodges and not among the gild Masons, though of course there must have been a certain amount of interaction and over-lapping between the two.²⁵ The cathedral builders practiced a specialized form of architecture so difficult to learn and requiring so much special knowledge that even modern scholars are at a loss to understand how the cathedral builders²⁶ managed to solve some of their engineering and materials challenges. In such complex undertakings, all manner and types of men were involved. From priests, bishops, and the general overseer who would be an illustrious architect²⁷, down to the rough workmen and errand boys, a cosmopolitan group in which all classes were represented would be assembled. This assemblage included gentlemen, freemen, serfs, bondsmen, and necessitated a complex and highly developed system of coordination.

²³ See for example, The Early Masonic Catechisms, edited by Harry Carr, lately by Kessinger Publishing Co. which has such examples as Samuel Prichard's **Masonry Dissected** (1730).

²⁴ Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia, page 288

²⁵ Haywood's article entitled "Operative Masons" is attached hereto.

²⁶ French Style architecture of the 12th through 16th Centuries was referred-to derisively as "Gothic", but its revival in 18th Century England was referred-to as "Victorian Gothic" and 'Neo-Gothic". One critic was said to be Sir Christopher Wren the architect of St. Pauls' Church (Cathedral) in London and an early Freemason deserving our independent study.

²⁷ Sir Christopher Wren for example.

According to Haywood, from time to time assemblies were held, also called **congregations**--and in one MS (the Papworth) called **association**--in order that all lodges in a given district be kept in due order and under the control of the king's officers. The Regius refers to one "congregation" called by King Athelstan and attended by great lords and burgesses. Another version tells of such an assembly held at Windsor when Edwin was made a Mason; and nearly all of them refer to assemblies at York. "Every master that is a Mason," says the Regius, " **must** attend the general congregation." It is mostly from these periodic "congregations" that the elite joined the cathedral builders' lodges, becoming known as "accepted" Masons.

The ecclesiastical (church) structure of Medieval Society in countries of Europe bound monarchs and noblemen together **for control** as well as fraternally during these congregations with those of lesser status who actually built these monuments to glorify God.

Some of the operative lodges of these highly skilled cathedral building Masons maintained trade regulations and operative skills in mathematics, science, sculpturing, and stained-glass windows up through the formation of the first symbolic Grand Lodge in 1717. One of the last in England to maintain such practices was Atwick Lodge.²⁸ Masonic scholars generally agree that ritualistically these lodges used only two degrees--entered apprentice and fellowcraft. For them, it was common practice to remain an apprentice for as many as seven years, because they were learning the complex **applied science** skills required in their building trade. In England, the ceremony of induction into Freemasonry was originally called *making a Freemason* rather than an initiation, and in Scotland it was called an *Entry*--thus leading to entered apprentice. Regulations and Charges were read to the candidate during these ceremonies, which frequently involved horseplay.

These eighteenth century English lodges met in taverns, inns, or even private homes. Lodge furniture was sparse or even absent, so it was a common practice to draw the lodge on the floor with chalk or charcoal, showing the various stations, and symbols necessary to illustrate the lectures. At the close of the lodge, it was the duty of the **youngest** Entered Apprentice to remove these drawings with a mop and pail. This led to the creation of floor cloths, floor charts, or carpets as the lodges acquired their own meeting halls.

The history of "Masonic Education" can be said to begin with these 18th century drawings of the lodge. The goal then was the same as it is now--to gain a deeper understanding of Freemasonry and its individual and group roles in society, and to pass that knowledge and spirit along to the next generation. Exploring the history of floor cloths is a study in itself, which has taken on a life of its own. It would reveal the reality of Masonry at that time, as was done in an article entitled "Some thoughts on the history of The Tracing Boards" at the Vancouver Grand Masonic Day, October 16, 1999, by Bro. Mark S. Dwor, Centennial-King George Lodge No. 171, Richmond.

²⁸ Coil's, page 457.

Selected Basic Ideas from the 'Gothic Constitutions'. The Regius MS (manuscript) is in verse in the form of what is called a "rude epic poem", and for that reason it is not a true gothic constitution. Its title was translated from Latin as, "**Here begins the Constitutions of the Art of Geometry according to Euclid.**" It contains both Masonic and non-Masonic materials: (1)The legendary history of Geometry or Masonry like found in other Gothic Constitutions, (2)Fifteen Articles for the Master and fifteen points for the Craftsman which are also called "Charges"; (3) An article relating to assemblies; (4)The legend of the Four Crowned Martyrs, which is a legend of Christian Martyrs from the German Steinmetzen but not otherwise found in British Constitutions; (5)Rules of behavior in church; and (6)some rules of deportment and etiquette. Parts (1) (2) and (3) are purely Masonic. Part (4) relates to Masonry²⁹ but is not found in the other Gothic Constitutions. Parts (5) and (6) are not exclusively Masonic. The list of Gothic Constitutions can be found online, and are given in full in Coil's beginning at page 293.

Beginning on page 296, Coil's discusses five characteristics of these old Constitutions. They included (1) an **invocation** which was Trinitarian Christian in conformity to Roman Catholic Church creed; (2) the **legends** were fanciful and varied; (3)the chief interest was in giving the legendary **history** of the inauguration of Masonry in England--claimed to be under King Athelstan; (4)the **Charges**, such as from the Regius MS; (5)the **oath or obligation** usually terminated with "*So help you God and his holy Doome.*" Its meaning has not been determined, but it may have originated in a Saxon expression. Our Ritual uses "So mote it be." The Constitutions **did not include** floor work or ceremony for opening or closing a lodge. The article concludes that they have three main elements or trends: the religious, the scientific, and the regal, which elements have continued throughout Masonry even today.³⁰

Basic Ideas--from "Exposures". The first documents to bear the name Rituals that have come to light were the *Catechetical Rituals* or catechisms. They were unauthorized exposures of the early years of the primer Grand Lodge, beginning around 1723. It is said that a new one of these exposures came out each year on average for 25 or 30 years.³¹ Demand for publication of them was driven largely by the public's desire to penetrate and set aside the secrecy of the fraternity. They are called catechisms because they were almost entirely in the form of questions and answers. The questions were propounded by the Mason and the answers returned by the candidate. Often, they did not contain charges, oaths or obligations. Study of these exposures as well as writings which were actually aids for memorization is essential to gaining an understanding of the contents of today's rituals.³² For example, learning how long "the five points of

²⁹ From the German Steinmetzen.

³⁰ The furniture, altar, and symbols first laid out in chalk or charcoal, and then on floor cloths, and the floor work--such as circumnambulation--carry very important basic ideas of Masonry, but they are discussed elsewhere.

³¹ Coil's, page 563.

³² The exchanges in opening and closing between the Master and Senior Warden beginning with "From whence came you? Originated in Catechisms.

fellowship" has been a part of the ritual, and its meanings.³³ Several are reproduced in a book entitled "Early Masonic Catechisms" edited by Harry Carr³⁴ It is possible, for example, to identify the influence of **deistic doctrine** on Freemasonry in *A Letter from the Grand Mistress of Female Free-Masons* published in 1724 in Dublin. Or, the connection between Freemasonry and the Jewish doctrine of **the Kabbala** found in *The Grand Mystery Laid Open* published in 1726. Perhaps the most famous exposure was Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* published in October 1730 which claimed to have the proceedings for initiating a new candidate in each of the three degrees of Masonry (a first), the Hiram Legend, and the explanation of the letter G. W. Smith's *Pocket Companion* published in 1734-5 contained a "Charge to new admitted Brethren." It and similar publications caused Dr. Desaguliers to propose a Resolution at a session of Grand Lodge to institute rules to protect itself from open and secret enemies to the Craft. Although these catechisms evolved, they often contained: (1) words of entry, (2) allusions to horseplay, (3) reference to the Mason Word³⁵, (4) and distinction between those who have been in the kitchen and those who have been in the hall.

The 'Secret Doctrine'. Concerns for secrecy in studying Masonry which go beyond what is esoteric/exoteric are about applying the 'secret doctrine'. Albert Pike says "secrecy is indispensable in a Mason of whatever Degree. It is the first and almost the only lesson taught to the Entered Apprentice."³⁶ Rev. Joseph F. Newton devotes an entire chapter and other references in The Builders to discussion of "The Secret Doctrine." In essence, this doctrine involves the value of curiosity, of wonder and expectation in the teaching of great truths. It is also the allure of excluding from one's ranks the uninitiated, excluding the "profane". The entire Ritual of some jurisdictions of Freemasonry is written in cypher to preserve its secrecy.³⁷ It is this tradition--that behind a system of faith accepted by the masses there is an inner and deeper doctrine that is taught only to those able to grasp it--that is the heart of 'the secret doctrine'. Examples include the Grecian Mysteries, the Cabalists, or even the Magi. Some argue³⁸ that Masonry perpetuates the instituted Mysteries of antiquity. The importance of maintaining secrecy is discussed in the Twenty-Third Landmark of the Order (in our Masonic Constitution, page 627). Newton points out on page 61³⁹ that, "what is called the Secret Doctrine differs not one whit from what has been taught openly and earnestly, so far as such truth can be taught....by the highest minds of almost every land..." What, then, is served education-wise by extending this Doctrine beyond the limits of 'protecting' our modes of recognition?

³³ The earliest known reference to the Points of Fellowship is in the Graham MS (1726), where Father Noah is being raised foot-to-foot and knee-to-knee by his three sons who sought to gain a secret, but which died with their father. The Early Masonic Catechisms, page 2.

³⁴ Kessinger Publishing Co.

³⁵ Douglas Koop's "The Genesis of Speculative Masonry", Kessinger Publishing Co. states at pages 6-7 that he was not aware of English operative Masons using secret methods of recognition until the practice was introduced from Scotland. Further, that in the early eighteenth century, English non-operative or speculative masons made use of signs or tokens and other methods of recognition, following practices from Scotland.

³⁶ Morals and Dogma, page 109 middle.

³⁷ Commonwealth of Virginia, for example.

³⁸ Works by Arthur Edward Waite for example..

³⁹ The Builders

Origins of Speculative Freemasonry. The goal here is to identify when and how the trade regulations and moral precepts of various MS Constitutions, and certain usages associated with the imparting of the Mason Word, were modified and elaborated upon so as to support the claim that Freemasonry was "a system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols."⁴⁰ Koop argues that the innovations to operative workings which were introduced as speculative Masonry began in lodges of accepted Masons in England. He refers to the writing in 1686 of Dr. Robert Plot describing how adopted Masonry had spread over much of England.

Koop identifies and discusses the following **seven changes** as the genesis of speculative masonry: (1)The operative practice was to read the legend or history of the building industry to the candidate along with the Charges and Regulations governing Masons as contained in the *MS Constitutions of Masonry*. They were then sworn on the Bible to keep the Charges. Anderson edited and revised this in his **Constitutions of 1723**. The history was edited. **The Charges were "digested"**, and the first Charge-- "Concerning God and Religion"--**replaced Trinitarian Christianity with Theism**.⁴¹ The Charges General and Singular of the MS **were replaced with "The Charges of a Free-Mason"**, which were to be read to a New Brother in place of the old versions. The **old instruction** about administering the oath to observe the Charges **was omitted**. Anderson included an "**Approbation** (approval) of Grand Lodge and an Order and signature of the Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master--which triggered an objection that in granting "approval" of the rules, the Grand Master was claiming authority reserved for the Grand Lodge itself. (2)In 1734, William Smith published in London the "*Pocket Companion for Free-Masons*" which contained a Short Charge to be given to new admitted Brethren. Koop reprints both side-by-side to show their differences--and by implication how they differ from what we use today. Anderson's Charge includes the words' "He is to be a Lover of the Arts and Sciences, and to take all opportunities of improving himself therein" ., but these words are omitted in our present Charge.⁴² (3)Anderson's Constitutions of 1723 **contained a Postscript** giving the manner of constituting a new lodge, and the installation of a new Master. (4)Anderson's Installation Ceremony for a new Master was intended **to give an impression of dignity** much different from the ceremonies shown in early masonic catechisms. This emphasis on dignity was also reflected in **the elimination of a "thousand ridiculous postures and grimaces"** used to frighten the candidate, and an effort to **eliminate horseplay**. (5)Replacing the system of drawing the lodge with chalk or charcoal with a system of using nails and tape, or using a

⁴⁰ "The Genesis of Speculative Masonry", by Douglas Koop. Kessinger Publishing Co., page 7.

⁴¹ Theism [conceives of God as personal](#) and active in the governance and organization of the world and the universe, and, as indicating a particular doctrine of [monotheism](#), arose in the wake of [the scientific revolution](#) of the seventeenth century to contrast with [deism](#) which contended that God — though transcendent and supreme — did not intervene in the [natural world](#) and could be known rationally but not via [revelation](#). From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. Koop says that John Pennell, Editor of the Irish Book of Constitutions issued in 1730 revised that Charge to be entirely non-sectarian.

⁴² The most important question is whether these words were included in the Charge taken by Prince Hall and his fellow newly admitted African Brothers.

tracing board or floor cloth was another change. (6)"A prayer to be said at the opening of a lodge", or making of a new brother, was another modification. (7)Another innovation was introduction of the **Trigradal System**--three degrees rather than two. In summarizing, Koop concludes that these changes occurred gradually and were not a sudden "revolution" created by the creation of the premiere Grand Lodge in 1717. A concluding example supporting this gradual approach was the treatment of "charity." Koop points out that the only reference to Charity in the MS Constitutions was the charge to receive and cherish strange masons, either by setting them to work for a fortnight, or refreshing them with money to the next lodge. In contrast, the Statutes of the Lodge at Aberdeen contain regulations about the Mason Box, suggesting **that a more formal supplement on charity** had been introduced, possibly in the 1680's.

William Preston, his contemporaries, and the Age of Enlightenment William Preston was born in Scotland July 28, 1742 and died in London April 1, 1818. He was a leading English ritualist, for a considerable time lived in London, and was employed by William Strahan, Printer to the King. Preston became a Mason in 1762, during the period when the Antient and premier (Modern) Grand Lodges were competing. His biography⁴³ describes how he systematically visited many lodges--city and country--studying their ritualistic work, whose practices he carefully incorporated into his first masonic publication, in 1772, entitled *Illustrations of Masonry*. In May of that same year, he staged and hosted what he called a Grand Gala at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. It was attended by Grand Lodge Officers and other dignitaries. He presented his Lecture in the First Degree, which was well received. In 1774, he delivered a course of lectures in all three degrees. The improvements Preston made in the ritual created renewed interest in Masonry and improved its reputation. The most prominent men in society were attracted to the Order.

Preston was always outspoken and controversial. In 1777, he presented an argument that the Four Old Lodges which had formed the Grand Lodge possessed immemorial rights which predated and were superior to the authority of the Grand Lodge. When he refused to make a retraction, he was expelled. Later, through Antiquity Lodge, he led an effort which resulted in the formation in 1779 of the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent. In 1787, Preston formed the Grand Chapter of Harodim which was essentially a lodge of instruction used to disseminate his lectures. It is largely from these lectures that it was suggested that Masonry--especially the Second Degree--might be an instrument of higher learning. His Lectures were described as long and prolix⁴⁴, because he refused to exclude materials which he knew were actually used in lodges. Content of his Lectures also made the connection between Masonic practices and the broader general principles of philosophy of his era.. The tradition of his Lectures was continued annually by the Modern Grand Lodge after his death by an endowment as **the Prestonian Lectures**.

In a copyrighted power point presentation given in 2004 before distinguished Masonic

⁴³ William Preston and His Work, by Colin Dyer, Lewis Masonic, 1987

⁴⁴ His Introductions to these Three Lectures are attached .

organizations in England and in the United States entitled "**ENGLISH SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY – Some Possible Origins, Themes and Developments**", Bro. Trevor Stewart, PM Quatuor Coronati Lodge, no. 2076, and Prestonian Lecturer suggested which direction we might take next following two centuries of Masonic history which were so strongly dominated by William Preston and others of his era. Brother Stewart examined Freemasonry as an identifiable body of moral ideas and aspirations, and identified several key persons and ideas that contributed greatly to its dramatic transformation. They included:

Martin Clare's "The Defence of Masonry" published in 1736 in response to Prichard's "Masonry Dissected", without Grand Lodge's permission, which itself either exposed or confirmed practices of Masonry which were not previously acknowledged. Clare stressed lodge meetings being "conversations".

Thomas Edmondson, whose 1763 Address also emphasized 'conversation' as the mark of a civilized gentleman, and important in the lodge. Through polite discourse – a corporate interchange could be simultaneously challenging, stimulating and intellectually pleasing. '**Self-improvement**' could thereby be brought about.

Martin Folkes, a Fellow of the Royal Society, was also an active and popular Freemason before Preston began his work. Folkes was also a diligent member of debating clubs and a contributor to furthering 'Newtonianism' by publishing Newton's work on KST.

William Stukeley, MD, FRS, FSA (1687-1765), made rapid entry into London's intellectual, social and Masonic activities. Stukeley was fascinated with Newtonian thinking, and his mixture of club memberships (freemasons and non-masons), the frequency of their meetings and their location, their preoccupations with all things 'scientific' and theological, cultural, artistic etc.

John Byrom, MA, FRS (1691-1763). He was a discrete Jacobite, was a member of Newton's own Cambridge college, Trinity, was a skilled cryptographer and a member of the mysterious 'Cabala Club' which met at places used by several London Lodges simultaneously. Desaguliers visited the club in 1729.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) He was never a freemason, nor a FRS. His famous book, Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times (many editions.) is to be found in nearly all of the libraries owned by 18th century freemasons traced by Stewart so far. There is hardly any writer of national significance of those days who was not influenced, directly or indirectly, by his ideas. What were Shaftesbury's key ideas? Human Nature is essentially benevolent; our natural impulses towards exercising humanitarian sentiments are in harmony with an orderly universe; his 'amicable collision' theme of social intercourse (echoed in First degree Charge) and entertained an exuberant confidence in human sociability and fellow feeling and was entirely committed to open-ended conversations, emphasizing individual liberty & toleration for others.

He presented a thoroughly materialistic view of ethics, not founded on traditional Judeo-Christian values, he insisted on a pragmatic worldliness while retaining some sense of transcendence. He had a thorough-going adherence to the prevailing 'Newtonianism' and formulated an optimistic assessment of a divinely created cosmos.

Following his great mentor, John Locke, he espoused the notion that philosophy teaches and has practical, even therapeutic uses. His many quotations from classical and other

authors and his support for an aesthetic of classical regularity appealed to contemporary taste while his use of the Socratic form of dialogue matched the Craft's adherence to a catechismal form of instruction.

David Hartley MA, FRS (1705-1757). A Cambridge Man, though not a member of Byrom's 'Cabala' Club, he was a loyal associate of Byrom. He advocated the possibility of a rigorous definition and extension to the bounds of Moral Philosophy similar to what he had already accomplished in Newton's Natural Sciences. .Eventually Hartley took up this challenge with his book entitled Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty and His Expectations (1747) – also found in every one of the 36 libraries owned by freemasons alluded to above.

Hartley's main ideas were a thoroughly unified view of the physiological, the ethical and the spiritual dimensions of human existence. The human individual can be properly seen as a 'mechanism' that is entirely susceptible to scientific study. His ethics too were not entirely dependent on traditional Judeo-Christian values and expectations.

Brother Stewart identified several contributing ideas and institutions, including:

- * Premier Grand Lodge membership lists in 1723 and 1725 included members of the **Royal Society** for a start. Some possible Royal Society influences were
 - a. the popularizing of Newtonian Philosophy with many books and public lectures by many of Newton's 'disciples' who were FRS and also freemasons.
 - b. Large numbers of early FRS who were also freemasons for several decades – but numbers are really too small to allow for substantial and accurate inferences to be made.
 - c. The Royal Society did have direct influences in devising Anderson's 1723 & 1738 Books of Constitutions – clues are in his lists of those who helped him.
- * By 1770, in London Lodges up to 16%--and 26% in Provinces--came from landowners and emergent professions. These were just the sort of men who would have been among the most articulate sectors of society at that time.
- * Some of the ritual advances instituted around 1723--the rise of the Third Degree, new legend and new 'theological' focus, the rise of the Royal Arch rite, new complex symbolism etc.
- * The unifying and leveling features of debating clubs--whose membership included Freemasons. These clubs' discussions were wide ranging, on scientific and controversial topics. Almost any subject was considered worthwhile, cosmopolitan, and energetic. Their sheer excitement in making and reporting new discoveries was infectious.

* Brother Stewart identified several other crucial changes, including:

1. the names used to refer to God: e.g., 'The Grand Geometrician' recurring images of God as a benevolent interventionist,
2. recurring clockwork images of the universe
3. sustained emphasis on measuring & quantification and other mathematical concepts; obsession with symmetry & patterning: e.g., 'triplicates'
 - . much emphasis on codes, encrypting, secrecy & typological exegesis.

- . Crucial dimensions of what he call 'Stage II' were:
 - a. perfectibility of human nature (that can be brought about by participation in the Craft);
 - b. homogeneity of human nature – men are the same everywhere.
 - c. Ethical 'mechanics' creating a harmony that mirrors that in the heavens;
 - d. living utopia via the associationalism of the Lodges.
- 6. The Craft's universal and universalizing mission in the world; the freemason as the instinctively 'good natured man'.

Brother Stewart concluded that these factors--along with William Preston's work--are responsible for modern Freemasonry being described as a "beautiful system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols."

The most crucial idea presented here for Freemasonry was the **perfectibility of human nature**. It can be traced to the Scholastics of the thirteenth century and before, especially to St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas Aquinas⁴⁵ solved the greatest problem of his time so far as Christian speculation is concerned, by showing that the sciences and reason could be reconciled with Revelation, and that the two were distinct fields of study. The sciences included the seven liberal arts, and they included dialectic. Revelation on the other hand included the doctrine of mysticism and spiritual intuition. These philosophies could be captured in man by his continuing effort to improve his nature--by seeking PERFECTION.

Principles of Freemasonry also reflect ideas from the "Age of Enlightenment", which is a term used to describe a phase in Western philosophy and cultural life centered upon the eighteenth century, in which Reason was advocated as the primary source and basis of authority. Developing in Germany, France and Britain, the movement spread through much of Europe, including Russia and Scandinavia. The signatories of the American Declaration of Independence, the United States Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen were motivated by "Enlightenment" principles. The intellectual and philosophical developments of that age (and their impact in moral and social reform) aspired towards governmental consolidation, centralization and primacy of the nation-state, and greater rights for common people. There was also a strong attempt to supplant the authority of aristocracy and established churches in social and political life, forces that were viewed as reactionary, oppressive and superstitious.

A History of Freemasonry Robert Freke Gould, born 1836 - died March 26, 1915, was a founding member and the second Master of Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, London. He contributed twenty-five papers and many notes to *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*. A lieutenant in the 31st Regiment, English Army and later a barrister from 1868, he is best

⁴⁵ Who was also crucial in development of the paradigm of "seven vices and seven virtues" from which our four virtues of faith, hope, etc. originate.

remembered as an early proponent of the authentic school of masonic research and for his three-volume *History of Freemasonry* (1883-1887). Its full title is *The History of Freemasonry, its antiquities, symbols, constitutions, customs, etc.* (London: Thomas C. Jack, 1884-1887). It has been described as a compendious nineteenth-century antiquarian history of freemasonry. Displays the characteristic strengths and weaknesses of such antiquarian scholarship: it incorporates the results of extremely energetic investigation of primary sources, but tends to be diffuse and rambling in its discussion and to be preoccupied with issues which were only of interest to Victorian freemasons. Nevertheless, Gould's energy as a researcher was such that this compilation is still frequently the first port of call on many questions, particularly for the history of English freemasonry. The publication history of Gould is very confusing. The first edition of the six volumes were published by Thomas C. Jack of London between 1884 and 1887. This was reprinted at least nine times. In 1931, a revised version, edited and brought up to date by Dudley Wright, was published by the Caxton Publishing Company. A third edition was produced in 1951, edited by Rev. Herbert Poole, produced by same publisher. In general, the first edition is closer to Gould's original research, which is firmly grounded on primary sources, but later editions should be checked as well. For a detailed breakdown of the publication history, see A.R. Hewitt, 'R.F. Gould's "History of Freemasonry"', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 85 (1972), pp. 61-68.⁴⁶

Modifications by Americans: Thomas Smith Webb and Dr. Albert G. Mackey.

Thomas Smith Webb⁴⁷, born October 13, 1771 - died July 6, 1819. Born and educated in Massachusetts, Thomas Smith Webb was either a bookbinder or printer whose trade first took him to New Hampshire and then to Albany, New York. He later relocated to Providence, Rhode Island to engage in wallpaper manufacturing and then retired to Boston in 1815. Web is revered by American freemasons for *his The Freemason's Monitor; or, Illustrations of Masonry (1797)*, a distillation of Preston's ritual into what is now called the "American Rite". In practically all jurisdictions some of his words are used: in a majority, all the "work" is Smith, or, more properly, Preston heard from the lips of Smith. **This is found in our Ritual.** He was an active and tireless promoter of concordant bodies and is considered to be the founder of the American system of chapter and encampment Freemasonry.

Dr. Albert Gallatin Mackey was born in Charleston, S.C. March 12, 1807, and died at Ft. Monroe Virginia on June 20, 1881, according to Coil's.⁴⁸ He was a historian, ritualist,

⁴⁶ The Centre for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism; The University of Sheffield

⁴⁷ From Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, and from Masonic Service Association's - Short Talk Bulletins
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⁴⁸ Coil's page 394

and symbolist, but was especially devoted to ancient mysteries and societies.⁴⁹ He was one of the most voluminous of Masonic writers--according to Coil's--compared with Rob Morris from Kentucky, and Dr. Robert Oliver, the English writer. He was a medical doctor, and practiced his profession in Charleston until 1854 when he turned his attention to Freemasonry and antiquities. Although he had no legal training, he became known as the outstanding lawgiver of American Freemasonry.⁵⁰ His writings include an encyclopedia, and his History of Freemasonry. Coil's describes Mackey's early writing as following Oliver's, while his later works attempted to escape from false positions into which Oliver had led him.

It is also necessary to mention Rob Morris, born August 31, 1818, died 1881, who was a very prominent Freemason and writer. He advocated the unification of rituals throughout the United States under a program entitled Conservators of Symbolic Masonry. He was the founder of the ritual of the Order of the Eastern Star, and served as President of the Masonic University in LaGrange Kentucky.

⁴⁹ Such as the Ancient Mysteries, Magism, Paganism, Egyptology, and Hermeticism.

⁵⁰ Mackey's Jurisprudence of Freemasonry, Macoy Publishing Co., 1927



SETTING MAUL

Freemasonry, Prince Hall, Reverend John Marrant, and Genealogy

by Joanna Brooks, Ph.D.

This essay is recommended by PM Darryl W. Washington, Philomatheon Lodge No. 2. It was written by Dr. Joanna Brooks, an Assistant Professor of English at the University of Texas, Austin. Her research generally focuses on early American religions and literatures. She is one of a growing number of scholars who are doing research which explore Prince Hall the man, and Prince Hall Freemasonry. Although this is the most complex, challenging work presented here, it is the most important, because *it provides a new framework of ideas*—a new perspective--from which to examine and practice Prince Hall Freemasonry within the universal body of Freemasonry in the 21st Century. Her observations deserve our close attention and analysis.

For scholars of early African-American literature, the question of influence can be particularly vexing. American writing about Africa and Africans preceded the emergence of the first African-American writers by a century or more. On the basis of this written record, the old historicists could claim that religion made a Phillis Wheatley; only belief in artistic genius or a commitment to the idea of resistance prevents new historicists from saying the same, not only about Wheatley but about eighteenth-century Black poet Jupiter Hammon as well. [1]

The origins of Black political discourses have proven similarly resistant to historicist unraveling. When did Africans in America begin to describe themselves as a "people"? How did geographical formulations such as "Africa," "Ethiopia," and "Egypt" become keywords and conceptual touchstones of early Black nationalism? Robert Alexander Young's *Ethiopian Manifesto* (1827) and David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829) are generally acknowledged as primary print instances of Black nationalism or literary Ethiopianism, but the intellectual prehistories of the *Manifesto* and the *Appeal* remain the subject of speculation and debate. W. E. B. Du Bois claimed that "the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and Egypt the Sphinx" was a remnant of "Egyptian" and "African" ideas preserved by the diaspora's "scattered" "tribes." [2] Following Du Bois, some scholars continue to affirm the "veiled" origins of Black nationalism, Ethiopianism, and Egyptophilia as the products of "instinct," "ideology," or "experience." Others have attempted to specify textual sources for these traditions. St. Clair Drake emphasized the influence of Biblical "proof texts" on the development of Ethiopianism. More recently, it has been suggested that "African-Americans first got the idea" of a glorious African past from eighteenth-century natural histories excerpted in the American Colonization Society's *African Repository* and reprinted in *Freedom's Journal* (1827-1828) (Dain 146-47).

Three lately republished and repopularized eighteenth-century speeches--John Marrant's *Sermon to the African Lodge of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons* (1789) and Prince Hall's *Charges to the Lodge at Charlestown* (1792) and *Metonymy* (1797)--suggest a more extensive and complex history for Ethiopianism. [4] Prince Hall established the African Lodge of Freemasons in Boston in the 1780s and invited celebrity evangelist John Marrant to serve as its chaplain. In the *Sermon* and the *Charges*, Marrant and Hall expostulated a vital and portentous genealogy of African America. Their public

claims to a common Black history and destiny--to the legacy of Ancient Egypt and the prophetic future of Ethiopia--prefigure and precede similar claims by David Walker and Robert Alexander Young. These three speeches document an early and little understood chapter in Black intellectual history, and they posit a much earlier point of inception for literary Ethiopianism than that generally agreed upon by scholars of the discourse. Marrant's Sermon and Hall's Charges also reveal the influence of early American mysticism on the development of Ethiopianist tradition. Prince Hall's initiation into Freemasonry in 1775 admitted him to a parallel universe where Hermeticism, Egyptophilia, and Kabbalism flourished alongside, if not intertwined with, Enlightenment rationalism. [5] By the time he invited John Marrant to give the 1789 Sermon to the African Lodge, Hall had spent fourteen years wending his way through the fraternal networks and dusty bookshelves of New England Freemasonry. His researches in the mystical vernacular prepared him to compose an unnatural history of African America, a counter-narrative to eighteenth-century empiricisms and "natural histories" which classified Africa as a cipher, perpetually primitive and unintelligible. [6]

More than an archival resource, Freemasonry was also a venue for the exercise of cultural authority. Freemasons believed that their Lodges were not just fraternal gathering places but functioning models of the universe itself, like the temples of Solomon and Ancient Egypt. Initiates learned key words and gestures which qualified them to pass from the prosaic and profane world into the realm of mystery, the Holy of Holies. Master Masons were entitled to guide initiates through these rites of transformation and were considered possessors of a second sight, like magi's, seers, or alchemists. As the founding Grand Master of the African Lodge, Hall signified on conventional Freemasonry by transforming the signs, symbols, and secretive practices of the Masonic temple into a template for race consciousness. **Moreover, he institutionalized an affiliative system which ensured the continuance and propagation of this wisdom.**

This essay will examine the composition of John Marrant's Sermon and Prince Hall's Charges, and it will investigate Hall's African Lodge of Freemasons as a point of origination for Ethiopianist tradition.

Prince Hall's life history, like the history of Black Freemasonry, has been a subject of some debate. William Grimshaw's 1903 Official History of Freemasonry Among the Colored People of North America initiated the popular story that Prince Hall was born in Barbados to a white father and free mulatto mother "of French descent," that his family fled the "terrors" for America, and that Hall later became a Methodist minister. Contemporary scholars of Black Freemasonry have observed inconsistencies in Grimshaw's account and for the most part rejected it. Historian Charles Wesley, working from a compelling set of archival documents, claims that Prince Hall (1738?-1807) was made a slave to the household of Boston leather tanner William Hall at age eleven and was married on November 2, 1763, to Sarah Ritchie, a servant in another Boston household. Shortly after Ritchie's death in 1770, Prince Hall was manumitted. A number of men named "Prince Hall" appear in Boston marriage records after 1770 and in the records of the Revolutionary War. [7] One of these men was aboard the Charming Polly

when it was captured in 1777 and subsequently spent three months with Black abolitionist Paul Cuffe under British imprisonment in New York (Wesley 38).

The details of Prince Hall's Masonic life are more certain. Hall was one of fifteen free Blacks initiated into Masonry by the members of Irish Military Lodge No. 441, on March 6, 1775. In the tax records of post-War Boston, Hall appears in connection with a number of business enterprises as a leather, tanner, caterer, merchant, and "grandmaster," or honorary Masonic official. Hall's shops--located first on Water Street under the sign of the "Golden Fleece" and later "just opposite the Quaker Meeting House, Quaker Lane"--served as staging grounds for the sometimes theatrical public activities of Boston's Black Masons. On December 30, 1782, Boston's Independent Ledger reported that "Saint Black's Lodge of Free and Acc-pt-d M-s-ns" made a ceremonial procession to Hall's Water Street house, "where an elegant and splendid entertainment was given upon the occasion" (31).

Hall later filed a correction with the printers:

Our title is not St. Black's Lodge; neither do we aspire after high titles. But our only desire is that the Great Architect of the Universe would diffuse in our hearts the true spirit of Masonry, which is love to God and universal love to all mankind. These I humbly conceive to be the two grand pillars of Masonry. Instead of a splendid entertainment, we had an agreeable one in brotherly love. (qtd. in Wesley 210)

Ever conscious of the powers of self-promotion, Hall also directed the vigorous publication activity of the African Lodge, distributing Marrant's 1789 Sermon widely among his Masonic affiliates and advertising the sale of his 1797 Charge in the Boston Gazette (August 28, 1797).

Hall's approach to Massachusetts politics was similarly high profile. In January 1787, Hall and seventy-three other African-American men presented an emigrationist plea to the State legislature, explaining that conditions in Boston induce us earnestly to desire to return to Africa[,] our native country, which warm climate is more natural and agreeable to us; and where we shall live among our equals and be more comfortable and happy, than we can be in our present situation; and at the same time, may have a prospect of usefulness to our brethren there. (qtd. in Wesley 66-68)

The petition came at a time of renewed interest in African colonization, anticipating by one month the embarkation of the British-sponsored Sierra Leone project. In America, the colonization argument dismantled by Anthony Benezet in 1773 was revived with the publication of Thomas Clarkson's *Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1785) and Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1787). William Thornton, later a Jefferson appointee to the Patent Office, traveled the New England lecture circuit in the late 1780s to promote his own colonial scheme. Along the way, Thornton met with New Divinity minister Samuel Hopkins, who was seeking resettlement for the members of his "African Union Society" (Carlisle 10-11). Early American advocates of colonization like Jefferson, Thornton, and Hopkins shared little by way of ideology except a common view of the African as essentially alien.

On this point, Prince Hall differed. In October 1787, ten months after petitioning for emigration, he returned to the legislature demanding public education for Black children. Arguing that the tax dollars exacted from Black workers should not be withheld from their families, Hall claimed for African Americans the "no taxation without representation" logic of the American Revolution and implicitly the full rights of citizenship. The State of Massachusetts rejected Hall's logic and his petition.

Although denied full citizenship by the State, the members of Hall's African Lodge found fellowship of another order. In April 1787, twelve years after receiving a provisional permit from the Irish Military Lodge and three years after making application to the Grand Lodge of England, the African Lodge of Boston received its official charter. Some white American Freemasons debated--and continue to debate--the legitimacy of the chartering document and of the Lodge itself. Many claimed that Prince Hall's 1775 initiation into an Irish Military Lodge was invalid because Irish Freemasonry itself was illegitimate. In the 1720s, working-class Irish Masons living in London were barred from entry to the city's more aristocratic English Lodges. English officials claimed that Irish Masonic rituals were irregular and that the Irish Lodge itself was clandestine"; the Irish countered, claiming to be the "Antient" practitioners of the craft and therefore not subject to "Modern" English regulation. [8]

Predictable dissent did not deter the African Lodge from putting its Masonic connections to political purposes. For example, in February 1788, Prince Hall and twenty-two Lodge members petitioned the government of Massachusetts on behalf of three free Blacks kidnapped from Boston and taken to the West Indies for sale. News of the incident quickly circulated among white Masons and up through the ranks of power. Jeremy Belknap recalled, "One of [the three] was a sensible fellow and a Freemason. The merchant to whom they were offered was of this fraternity. They soon became acquainted. The Negro told his story. They were carried before the Governor, with the shipmaster and the supercargo" (qtd. in Davis 430). The State of Massachusetts intervened on behalf of the captives, who were released shortly thereafter. Upon their return to Boston, the three were escorted by Prince Hall to the homes of their chief supporters. Belknap remembered the impact of such a visit in a letter to a friend: "Really, my dear sir, I felt, and do still feel, from this circumstance, a pleasure which is a rich compensation for all the curses of the whole tribe of African traders, aided by the distillers, which have been liberally bestowed on the clergy of this town for their agency in the above petition" (qtd. in Davis 430-31). Belknap's "pleasure" in the accomplishment of the petition and his pointed denunciation of the savage "tribe of African traders" witness to Hall's efficacy as an organizer among Bostonians, Black and white.

Political networking among friendly Masons, though influential, was not the only factor at work in this instance. Belknap's letter reveals that the key to the captives' release was their ability to engage the attention of their would-be traders and "tell their story." It is likely that the kidnapped Black Freemason accomplished this by means of "signs and tokens," performing the gestures by which members of the Order could make their

affiliation known to each other. Certain gestures could also serve as distress signals, obliging fellow Masons to come to the aid of a "Brother." Masonic lore recounts many instances in which fellow Masons breached the boundaries of nations, parties, or factions in the name of mutual assistance. Perhaps fraternal duty obliged the slave merchant, also a Freemason, to respond to the gestures of the captive, or perhaps his initial inquiry was motivated only by curiosity. Nonetheless, the "signs and tokens" of Freemasonry were powerful enough to open a discursive space which, after a significant political persuasion, became an escape route.

These "signs and tokens" proved a powerful political tool in the Lodge's internal operations as well as in its external affairs, because these gestures could be used both to open avenues of discourse and to close them. Only those who knew the passwords and signals of Freemasonry were welcome into a regular Lodge meeting, and although these "secrets" were not difficult to discover--printed exposes of Freemasonry abounded in the late eighteenth century, sometimes doubling as or adapted from Masonic primers--Lodge officials could deny admittance to any whose credentials seemed questionable. Segregationist social habits and widespread prejudice against the reputedly "clandestine" African Lodge further bolstered the Black Freemasons' ability to regulate membership and attendance. Thus, the "Africans" of this organization could exercise a degree of self-governance unparalleled among the proliferation of similarly named groups in the Northeast. The "African Societies" of New York and Pennsylvania, for example, were not societies of "Africans" but of anti-slavery whites; others, like Samuel Hopkins's "African Union Society," organized African Americans according to the political or religious agendas of a few white leaders.

The difference between the African Lodge and its more paternalistic counterparts was further underscored by the Lodge's mutual assistance ethos. Even the "signs and tokens" of Freemasonry could be considered properly African. Masons worldwide claimed that their ritual practices--secrecy, ceremony, hierarchy--derived from an ancient Egyptian order, a history to which the members of the African Lodge could make a double claim. The occluded or "occult" character of this history lent itself to active speculation and creative elaboration. Thus, the Egyptian "roots" of the Order came to be a recognized and celebrated dimension of Prince Hall Freemasonry. [9] Harry A. Williamson, this century's most prolific scholar of Black Freemasonry, compiled volumes of genealogical observations, such as this:

“Of all the ancient legends that of Isis, Osiris and Horus of Egypt is very closely linked with certain ceremonies of our Order. In fact, those members of our Craft who are students of Occult Science state the esoteric ceremonies of Freemasonry are of Egyptian origin but that following the enslavement of the Hebrew people in Egypt, Moses, because of his position of great power gradually transformed those ceremonies from Egyptian to Hebrew traditions, and that is the reason one finds so much of Judaism in our ceremonies.” (127-28)

Through elective identification and conscious study, Black Freemasons built a genealogical tradition for themselves, articulating and re-articulating the line of descent

through which the wisdom of the ancients passed on to American Blacks. Marrant and Hall delivered their Sermon and Charges on days set aside by Masonic tradition for public celebration of the Order's "anciency," the Feast of John the Baptist, June 24, and the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, December 29. New England Masons usually celebrated these days by making processions through town in their ceremonial aprons, gloves, and jewels and by delivering speeches on the history and progress of their Lodges. On this public occasion, Marrant and Hall rehearsed the African Lodge's genealogy before mixed audiences --both Masons and non-Masons, Blacks and whites, insiders and outsiders. Their speeches play the divide between a public Blackness and a secret African brotherhood, between race as a social signifier and race as a privately felt experience, and between the particulars of a general Masonic history and the potential energy of a re-collected genealogy.

Over the course of this lecture series, Hall gradually developed a unique symbolic system. In the tradition of the Alchemists, Kabbalists, Rosicrucians, and mystics of the Enlightenment era, he drew from a number of theological and occult writings to fashion his genealogy. Hall's letter books reveal some of his sources: Immediately after Marrant's Sermon, Hall wrote a thirty-five-page entry of "Remarks on Mr. John Edwards compleat History or Summary of the Dispensations and Methods of Religion from the Beginning of the World to the Consummation of All Things" and "The Lives of Some of the Fathers and Learned and Famous Divines in the Christian Church from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (Wesley 214). Jonathan Edwards's *A History of the Work of Redemption, containing the Outlines of a Body of Divinity, including a View of Church History* (published 1773) was a favorite text among the proponents of dispensationalist history and New Divinity. The influence of abolitionist arguments by New Divinity minister Samuel Hopkins and historical writings by Josephus is also manifest in the sermons. But Hall maintained a critical relationship to his source materials in his writing as in his politics. His goal, after all, was not just the collection and systematization of an African legacy but the divination of a properly African-American mode of being, a consciousness.

John Marrant's *Sermon to the Brethren of the African Lodge of the Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, Preached at the Request of Grand Master Prince Hall, is a coming out" piece for the African Lodge. Marrant, an American-born free Black, won fame as a preacher in George Whitefield's trans-Atlantic Huntingdon Connection. His ordination sermon--a narrative of Marrant's dramatic conversion and captivity among the Cherokee and Creek Indians--was published in London in 1785 and enjoyed numerous reprintings on both sides of the Atlantic. As an emissary of the Connection, Marrant spent three years preaching in and around Birchtown, Nova Scotia, a community of Black Loyalist exiles. Birchtown afforded Marrant space to develop a Zionist covenant theology which centered on displaced Black peoples as the subjects of a prophetic history. In 1788, Marrant left Birchtown for Boston, bringing his vision and his celebrity with him. He met Prince Hall in March 1789 and lodged with the Masonic leader during several turbulent months of public preaching and persecution; sometime during his stay, Marrant was initiated into the African Lodge of Masons.*

Prince Hall undoubtedly recognized the value of Marrant's name when he asked the Methodist minister to deliver his ceremonial address at a Lodge-sponsored celebration of St. John the Baptist's day, June 24. Hall also enlisted two prominent white Masons, Thomas and John Fleet, to print and distribute the sermon. The full title of the published text--A Sermon Preached on the 24th Day of June 1789, Being the Festival of St. John the Baptist, at the Request of the Right Worshipful the Grand Master Prince Hall and the Rest of the Brethren of the African Lodge of the Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in Boston by the Reverend Brother Marrant, Chaplain--and the design of its title-page highlight the name of Prince Hall and indicate the Grand Master's heavy involvement in the production of the sermon. Clearly, the experienced Mason and the Methodist minister collaborated in the development of the speech, which reflects the influence of their respective traditions. [10] Following Masonic feast day tradition, it presents the genealogy of the Masonic Order from its Biblical beginnings; like a sermon, it interprets and applies the significance of ancient pre-text to the present occasion. Preacher Marrant opens the sermon, taking as his text Romans 12:10: "Be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another." The scripture recalls the instructions of Paul, a man himself divided between Old and New Testaments, to Christian converts cultivating a sense of community. Paul's declaration "We, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another" (Romans 12:5) might have served earlier American preachers as a tool for church discipline. Some might also use it as an exegetical shortcut, applying this scripture to any group of churchgoers. But on June 24, 1789--a public feast day open to Masons and non-Masons, Blacks and whites--Marrant could not assume homogeneity in his audience. Negotiating these social complexities without negating them, Marrant preached to an ambiguous audience. Masons might hear it as a fraternal overture, African Americans a declaration of brotherhood. A non-Masonic white auditor might interrogate his or her own relationship to the "body" of the address. In each case, Marrant's method underscored his message: community is the product of conscious affiliation and collective identification. He explains, "First, my Brethren, let us learn to pray to God through our Lord Jesus Christ for understanding, that we may know ourselves; for without this we can never be fit for the society of man, we must learn to guide ourselves before we can guide others" (4; emphasis added). Self-knowledge here concerns not the singular subject but the community, be it Masonic or African-American. So too are mutual assistance and respect "required of us as Christians, every one of which are like so many links of a chain, which when joined together make one complete member of Christ" (5). This is not the Great Chain of Being, the bondage of slavery, or a symbol inherited from Masonic tradition, but rather a sign of interlocked interest and conscious affiliation.

The figure of the chain models both the emerging Lodge community and the composition of Marrant's Sermon. He follows this introduction with a traditional demonstration of "the antiquity of Masonry," drawing out the chain of descent through which the Craft was passed down to the African Lodge. In each generation from Adam, Marrant finds an example of brotherly affection, applies it--sometimes with a radical shift in tone--to the present, and closes the link by returning to his patrilineal framework. The design is

chiasmatic, both in the formal sense of the term and in the Black vernacular tradition of repetition and reversal. [11] It allows Marrant to signify, quite seriously, on the parallel histories of the Masonic Order, the Old Testament patriarchs, and Western "civilization" itself. Every stage of this history is rendered meaningful to members of the African Lodge.

As Marrant tells it, Creation rests on principles of mutuality and respect. God, "the Grand Architect of the Universe," made man "to converse with his fellow creatures that are of his own order, to maintain mutual love and society, and to serve God in comfort" (5-6).

Twice Marrant emphasizes this appointed order. Abruptly, his tone changes:

Then what can these God-provoking wretches think, who despise their fellow men, as tho' they were not of the same species with themselves, and would if in their power deprive them of the blessings and comforts of this life, which God in his bountiful goodness, hath freely given to all his creatures to improve and enjoy? Surely such monsters never came out of the hand of God in such a forlorn condition.--Which brings me to consider the fall of man. (6-7)

Ceremony gives way to uncompromising critique as Marrant's focus shifts from history to the present. Calling the "despisers of their fellow men" "monsters," he asserts the deviance of both racism and of the polygenetic view of the human species. This degeneracy belongs not to Creation but to the Fall; those who live above it may inherit not only an ancient wisdom but also their original estate.

The location of Eden invited much speculation from adepts of the eighteenth century. A prevailing view mapped its borders at the Ganges, Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates, and Marrant concurred. More controversial was his improvement on ancient authorities like Galtruchius and Josephus: Marrant locates Paradise at "the principal part of African Ethiopia" and situates members of the African Lodge as its natural heirs. He writes:

"These [rivers] are the four grand landmarks which the all-wise and gracious God was pleased to draw as the bounds and habitation of all nations which he was about to settle in this world; if so, what nation or people dare, without highly displeasing and provoking that God to pour down his judgments upon them.--I say, dare to despise or tyrannize over their lives or liberties, or incroach on their lands, or to enslave their bodies? (8-9) To colonize, invade, enslave, or abuse the "nations" of this "African Ethiopia," even those scattered across the African diaspora, is to act against the order of Creation."

Marrant elaborates upon this correlation, linking Africa with civilization and racism with degradation. The slave trade, the fall of Lucifer, and the temptation of Adam and Eve prove in parallel examples that "envy and pride are the leading lines to all the miseries that mankind have suffered from the beginning of the world to this present day" (9).

Especially potent is his re-vision of Cain as an oppressor of Africa and Abel as his oppressed victim:

Envy at [Adam's] prosperity hath taken the crown of glory from his head, and hath made us his posterity miserable.--What was it but this that made Cain murder his brother, whence is it but from these that our modern Cains call us Africans the sons of Cain? (We

admit it if you please) and we will find from him and his sons Masonry began, after the fall of his father. (9)

Some Christians had identified Cain as the "Adam" of racial distinction, claiming that the "mark" with which God punished him was genetically revisited on his descendants as a skin of blackness.

Marrant attributes this racist mythology to the envy of a degraded people. "Our modern Cains," he calls them, echoing Phillis Wheatley's disdain for "our modern Egyptians." After reversing the story of the curse, Marrant continues to rework the legacy of Cain according to Masonic legend. Masons looked to Cain as a founder of the Craft, as an engineer of weights and measures, and as the builder of the city of Nod. His son Tubal-Cain is credited with the invention of brass and metal-working (Genesis 4:16-22). If "Africans" are "the sons of Cain"--Marrant quips, "we admit it if you please"--learning and authority run in the family:

Bad as Cain was, yet God took not from him his faculty of studying architecture, arts and sciences--his sons also were endued with the same spirit, and in some convenient place no doubt they met and communed with each other for instruction. It seems that the all-wise God put this into the hearts of Cain's family thus to employ themselves, to divert their minds from musing on their father's murder and the wo[e]ful curse God had pronounced on him, as we don't find any more of Cain's complaints after this. (10)

Marrant uses the example of an educated Cain to shame the Massachusetts politicians, some of them probably seated in his audience, who denied free Blacks access to public education. In October 1787, the African Lodge had petitioned the legislature that schools supported with Black workers' taxes be opened to Black children. Denied this petition and an education, the so-called "sons of Cain" were cut off from even their mythological legacy.

Folk belief placed a mark of racial distinction upon Noah's son Ham, charging him with the preservation of "blackness" during the time of the Flood. Some claimed his color was punishment for violating Noah's privacy; others suggested that the source of Canaan's color was Ham's spouse, Egyptus (Genesis 9:18-27). Marrant remembers Ham as the vessel of a greater legacy: Through him the secret wisdom passed on to Cush and Nimrod, to Ethiopia, to Babylon, and across North Africa:

From Shinar the arts were carried to distant parts of the earth notwithstanding the confusion of languages, which gave rise to Masons['] faculty and universal practice of conversing without speaking and of knowing each other by signs and tokens; they settled the dispersion in case any of them should meet in distant parts of the world who had been before in Shinar. (12-13; emphasis added)

Upon his initiation into a Lodge, every Mason learned these "signs and tokens," manual gestures signifying one's affiliation with and rank within the Order. Only those who could perform these gestures correctly were admitted to a regular Lodge meeting. "Signs and tokens" also allowed Masons meeting abroad to identify each other reliably as such or oblige fraternal bystanders to deliver aid. Marrant takes an example of this mode of

communication from the biblical story of Benhadad and Ahab, leaders of the warring Syrians and Israelites:

[Benhadad] sends a message to Ahab king of Israel to request only his life as a captive; but behold the brotherly love of a Mason! No sooner was the message delivered, but he cries out in rapture--is he alive--he is my brother! Every Mason knows that they were both of the craft, and also the messengers. (11)

In this story of captivity and rescue, the audience would have recognized the likeness of the kidnapped African Lodge member who used Masonic hand signals to negotiate a way out of the slave trade.

Signs and tokens demonstrated both the global character of Masonic fellowship and its ancience as well. In these gestures the ritual core of Masonic affiliation perpetuated itself through time and space. According to Marrant, the sons of Ham carried the Order through its crucial years after the scattering of nations at the Tower of Babel:

Thus the earth was again planted and replenished with Masons the second son of Ham carried into Egypt; there he built the city of Heliopolis--Thebes with an hundred gates--they built also the statue of Sphynx... the first or earliest of the seven wonders of arts. (13)

Ham's brother Shem and his descendants could not be credited with these accomplishments, as they instead "diverted themselves at Ur in mathematical studies, teaching Peleg[,] the father of Rehu, of Sereg, Nachor, and Terah, father of Abram" (13). Abraham came from "a learned race of mathematicians and geometricians," Marrant explains, but his Chaldean education was incomplete without the practical wisdom of Masonry:

The descendants of Abram sojourned in Egypt, as shepherds still lived in tents, practiced very little of the art of architecture till about eighty years before their Exodus, when by the overruling hand of providence they were trained up to the building with stone and brick, in order to make them expert Masons before they possessed the promised land. (23-14)

Apologists had long excused slavery as a means of educating a "heathen" people; dispensationalists like New Divinity minister Samuel Hopkins strained to see a Christian purpose in it. Marrant's interpretation of Israelite slavery takes Providence out of the hands of slaveholders and mainline theologians and designates the Kingdom, not a Christian education, as the destiny of the enslaved. It also posits Freemasonry as a stopping place on the way to the "promised land."

As he writes the hand of God into history, Marrant writes so-called "Gentile nations" out of it. It is God who inspires all learned progress and who chooses as his instruments the descendants of Ham-Canaanites, Phoenicians, Sidonians renowned for "their perfect knowledge of what was solid in architecture." These were the nations called upon by King Solomon to construct his celebrated temple. Marrant remembers that Solomon sought out the legendary Hiram Abiff, king of Tyre and a key figure in Masonic lore, "for some of his people ... to cut down and hew cedar trees, as his servants understood it better than his own" (15). In so stating, he signifies on another pro-slavery myth. To be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" was Joshua's curse on the Gibeonites (Joshua 9:23-27). a

curse some claimed was realized in American slavery. Marrant claims otherwise: "Nothing more can redound to [the] honour" of these sons of Ham than their labor on Solomon's temple (15).

Masons viewed Solomon's temple as the apex of achievement and patterned their own Lodges after its design. Marrant presents its construction as a template of interracial brotherhood. He recalls that "70,000 men who carried burdens, who were not numbered among Masons," men "of different nations and different colours," worked together on Solomon's temple "strongly cemented in brotherly love and friendship" (1617). Even the completion of the temple and the dispersion of the workers across the globe and through the ages did not diminish their loyalty to one another: "These are the laudable bonds that unite Free Masons together in one indissoluble fraternity" (18). Certainly this "laudable" ideal did not accord with the experience of the African Lodge. Many white American Freemasons denied the legitimacy of the Lodge and refused to admit Black Masons to their meetings, preferring skin color over signs and tokens as a means of selection. Responding to this racialist permutation of Masonic practice, Marrant asserts that those who refuse their brothers violate the basic principles of the Order: Let them make parties who will and despise those they would make, if they could, a species below them and as not made of the same clay with themselves; but if you study the holy book of God, you will there find that you stand on the level not only with them, but with the greatest kings on the earth, as Men and as Masons, and these truly great men are not ashamed of the meanest of their brethren. (20)

The Masons of history stand with the African Lodge, Marrant claims. The prejudicial views of their contemporaries are only an unstudied, unnatural, and temporary aberration. From ancient history, Marrant draws examples of "Africans who were truly good, wise, and learned men, and as eloquent as any other nation whatever," including Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and Augustine (20). History also provides evidence of the temporary quality of slavery and refutes any attempt to naturalize the condition to African peoples: "We shall not find a nation on earth but has at some period or other of their existence been in slavery, from the Jews down to the English nation, under many Emperors, Kings and Princes." On this point, Marrant cites Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People:

In the life of Gregory, about the year 580 ... he passing [through Rome] saw many young boys with white bodies, fair faces, beautiful countenances and lovely hair, set forth for sale; he went to the merchant their owner and asked him from what country he brought them; he answered from Britain. Gregory (sighing) said, alas! for grief that such fair faces should be under the power of the prince of darkness. (20)

"Darkness" is a condition of slaveholders, not slaves--to this the "white bodies" and "fair faces" of young enslaved Britons attest. Perhaps the "fair faces" of America's British colonists demonstrate that masters have not always been masters and that slaves might not always be slaves. Marrant does not say this much. But he does present a view of history in which connections between blackness and slavery or between whiteness and privilege are consistently broken. Neither blackness nor whiteness should be read as

symbols, he argues, for "all that is outward, whether opinions, rites or ceremonies, cannot be of importance in regard to eternal salvation, any further than they have a tendency to produce inward righteousness and goodness" (24; Romans 2:25-29). Returning to his point of origination in Paul, Marrant exhorts his audience to deny their illusory prejudices and honor "eternal" truths. He concludes, "We shall all, I hope, meet at that great day, when our great Grand Master shall sit at the head of the great and glorious Lodge in heaven" (24). Thus he seals the bonds of brotherhood and the last link of his sermon. His is a message of clarity, delivered with a necessary degree of indirection. It was proper to Freemasonry and critical to the security of the emerging free Black community to leave the connections occluded. Indeed, the constructed quality of the story--its complicated nexus of biblical and historical reference, its playful relationship to those pretexts, its skillful reversal and revision--defies conventional explication. To look into it is to find not answers but patterns, not systems but similarities and differences. Its references point beyond the meaning of this text, to other texts, to a world of instincts and clues whose value is in their fecundity, not their verification. This is the world of signs and tokens, the world to which members of the African Lodge announced themselves legitimate heirs.

What audience members actually heard in Marrant's Sermon would be determined by their own presuppositions about Marrant, about the Lodge, and about African Americans in general. In crafting a consciously African-American genealogy, Marrant played at a practice of critical revision, or revelation, that would come to be a hallmark of Black theology. The Reverend James Cone explains, "Since the biblical story of God's dealings with his people can be told in various ways, the chief concern of the people is not the information the preacher includes in his message but rather how he arranges that information into a story and how he relates it all to the daily lives of the people" (148). The constructed quality of the story, its textuality, serves the community's need for self-possession. [12] What Gates says of the protective function of the Black vernacular, Cone says also of the story:

Story is not only easy to understand and to remember, it is often deceptive to those who stand outside the community where it was created. White slave masters were no brighter than our contemporary white theologians who can only see in black religion what their axiological presuppositions permit them to see. (150)

Many in the audience would suspect the legitimacy of Marrant's story, just as many had already contested the legitimacy of Black Freemasonry by calling it a counterfeit or an imitation, as Jefferson had judged Phillis Wheatley's poetry. Prince Hall and John Marrant set out to answer these charges by verifying the genealogical connection between the African Lodge and the Ancient Order. In the process, they found that the mystical kernel of civilization could be shown to have resided always with Africans. Some would contest the accuracy of this genealogy, but few could deny its force: the power that comes with a remembrance of one's primordial place in history.

When Prince Hall reconvened the Lodge for a public St. John the Baptist Day's discourse three years later, in 1792, he opened his remarks by remembering John Marrant: "It is

requisite that we should on these public days, and when we appear in form, give some reason as a foundation for our so doing, but... this has been already done, in a discourse delivered in substance by our late Reverend Brother John Marrant" (1). Marrant returned to England and died in 1791; his 1789 Sermon provided the groundwork for Hall's CHARGE Delivered to the Brethren of the AFRICAN LODGE On the 25th of June, 1792. At the Hall of Brother William Smith, In CHARLESTOWN. Hall announces that his own task is to "raise part of the superstructure" of Masonic fraternity: "the duty of a Mason" to "the great Architect of this visible world" who "governs all things here below by his almighty power, and [whose] watchful eye is over all works" (1).

This "all-seeing eye of God," commemorated most famously on the printed currency of the United States of America, represented to eighteenth-century audiences an omniscient and sovereign Divine. For Hall, God was not the absentee landlord idealized in Deist philosophy, but rather a present power and a constant witness. Correspondingly, the 1792 Charge focuses on the visible activities, the "duties" of the Lodge. He advises members on issues of decorum, reminding them their behavior will demonstrate to "spectators" that their celebration of St. John the Baptist's Day is not "a feast of Bacchus," but "a refreshment with Masons" (12). The very title of the Charge reflects Hall's concern for image: he had secured as a meeting place the Charlestown, Massachusetts, hall of William Smith, a prominent white Freemason whose name on the frontispiece would bolster the credibility of the meeting. Hall's stated themes of duty to God and loyalty to country would do the same. The Charge was designed for the critical eyes of the public as much as for the all-seeing eye of God.

But it was the unseen forces of chaos that most occupied the public during the turbulent years of the so-called "early Republic." The African Lodge sustained a double weight of suspicion: any gathering of Blacks could be seen as insurrectionary, let alone a formally organized secret society. Freemasons specifically had been associated with a number of uprisings, both Black and white. The chroniclers of the 1741 New York City slave rebellion remembered the ominous appearance in the 1730s of a group of Black men "assum[ing] the Stile and Title of FREEMASONS" (Jordan 130). The leaders of Shay's Rebellion (1786) had joined the Masons during the Revolutionary War; during the Rebellion itself, Daniel Shay and fellow Regulators Elijah and Luke Day attended a Masonic meeting together. Doubtlessly aware of the dangers of association, Hall wrote to Massachusetts Governor Bowdoin, volunteering the "help and support" of the African Lodge in putting down Shay's Rebellion and explaining that Freemasonry "forbids our having concern in any plot or conspiracies against the state where we dwell" (Davis 431). He reaffirms this pledge in the Charge of 1792 and declares that "we have no hand in any plots or conspiracies or rebellion, or side or assist in them."

Careful to separate the African Lodge from "the bloodshed, the devastation of towns and cities that hath been done by" the rebels, Hall nonetheless expresses concern for the affected parties. "What heart can be so hard as not to pity those our distressed brethren, and keep at the greatest distance from them?" he asks. "However just it may be on the side of the oppress, yet it doth not in the least, or rather ought not, abate that love and

fellow-feeling which we ought to have for our brother fellow men" (1-2). Hall will not weigh the "justness" of the rebellion against his "pity" for those who suffer its violence. Nor will he particularize, for the present, his loyalty to the African-American community. Instead, he presents duty to "brother fellow men" as a consequence of duty to God: "For if I love a man for the sake of the image of God which is on him, I must love all, for he made all, and upholds all ... let them be of what color or nation they may, yea even our very enemies, much more a brother Mason" (4) . Speaking for an "us" that is importantly indeterminate and powerfully overarching, Hall asserts a duty more pressing than partisanship.

Similarly exceptional are the benevolent exemplars Hall puts before his audience for imitation. Ebedmelech, the Ethiopian eunuch, "made intercession" for the captive prophet Jeremiah; Elisha preserved his Syrian captives, though the Israelites wanted to "kill them out of the way, as not worthy to live on the same earth"; and Abraham "prevent[ed] the storm, or rebellion that was rising between Lot's servants and his" by dividing their land claims (4-5). Each story highlights the personal effects of war, "rebellion," and captivity; each addresses the boundaries of race, class, or caste as well. But in these three anecdotes a number of possible godly responses to politicized difference are modeled, from the subversive humanity of Ebedmelech to the wise governance of Abraham. And no option is recommended above the others. Hall leaves the application to his audience, a knowing and necessary tactic in a time of suspicion and supervision.

But the high visibility afforded the Lodge on this occasion also gave Hall the opportunity to expose discrimination endured by its members and perpetuated by state officials and fellow Freemasons:

"I hope you will endeavour to follow [these examples] so far as your abilities will permit in your present situation and the disadvantages you labour under on account of your being deprived of the means of education in your younger days. as you see it is at this day with our children, for we see notwithstanding we are rated for that, and other Town charges, we are deprived of that blessing." (9-10)

Four years after the Lodge petitioned the state for access to public education, the injustice was still uncorrected. So Hall publicly turned to a higher authority for redress, encouraging his brethren to seek out their own means of education and to "look forward to a better day."

Biblical prophecy promised that day would come: "Hear what the great Architect of the universal world saith: Aethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto me" (10). Here Hall cites the Ethiopianist vision of Psalms 68:31, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Subsequent generations of Black writers and preachers would return to this verse as a discursive touchstone and a common refrain. Scholars once located the first print instance of American "Ethiopianism" in the 1820s, but Hall's Charge extends the recorded history of this discursive tradition. Thirty-five years before the publication of Robert Alexander Young's *Ethiopian Manifesto* (1827), Prince Hall preached that Ethiopia was always already forthcoming. The State of Massachusetts may have been able to claim the tax dollars of its African citizens, but it could not repress a foretold conclusion. He continues:

But in the meantime let us lay by our recreations, and all superfluities, so that we may have that to educate our rising generation, which was spent in those follies. Make you this beginning, and who knows but God may raise up some friend or body of friends, as he did in Philadelphia, to open a School for the blacks here, as that friendly city has done there. (10)

Hall did not preach a mystical, "otherworldly" hope but rather an activist "this worldly" faith. Just as David Walker made a direct "appeal" to "the colored citizens of the world," Hall "charged" his audience with responsibility for their destiny as a community. He called upon them to "make a beginning," and he promised that prophecy would be fulfilled.

Hall also used the public forum of his St. John the Baptist's Day speech to expose white Freemasons who had refused to welcome members of the African Lodge into their fellowship. Taking a page from Masonic history, he reminds his audience that the "Order of St. John" had built temples across northern Africa and then asks:

...whether at that day, when there was an African church, and perhaps the largest Christian church on earth, whether there was no African of that order; or whether, if they were all whites, they would refuse to accept them as their fellow Christians and brother Masons; or whether there were any so weak, or rather so foolish, as to say, because they were Blacks, that would make their lodge or army too common or too cheap? (11-12)

He does not answer his own question. But he observes that the labor of Black soldiers was welcome in the Revolutionary Army, where Blacks and whites "marched shoulder to shoulder, brother soldier and brother soldier, to the field of battle" (12). Many of the leaders of that war, including General Washington himself, were prominent Freemasons. That the same men should refuse full fellowship to Black Freemasons in peace time was, Prince Hall implied, a violation of the duties of their Order. Prejudice against color was a violation of the will of God, the "all-seeing."

Hall's Deist contemporaries might appreciate his characterization of an omniscient, "all-seeing" God. Still, there were significant differences between a Deism grounded in the apparent order of things and Hall's prophetic witness. Rational minds might mistake color-coded surveillance for a substantive vision; Hall looked forward to millennial revelation. A postscript poem to the Charge so states:

Then shall we hear and see and know,

All we desir'd and wish'd below

Then burst the chains with sweet surprize,

And in our Saviour's image rise. (13)

At the end of time, the temporary codes of color would resolve themselves into more significant images. It is, finally, this imaginary and not a more particular kind of nationalistic or partisan duty, that Hall charges his audience to observe.

If the public image of the African Lodge drew scrutiny and sometimes hostility from whites, it also drew great interest from African Americans. During the mid-1790s, Black community organizations took root in Philadelphia, Providence, and Boston and extended their branches between these cities to create networks. [13] Absalom Jones and Richard Allen founded two independent Black churches in Philadelphia--St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal Church and Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church--in July 1794. Peter Mantore, a free Black of that city, asked Prince Hall to charter a Masonic Lodge there in

March 1797. Mantore explained, "The white Masons have refused to grant us a Dispensation, fearing that black men living in Virginia would get to be Masons, too. ...If we are under you, we shall always be ready to assist in the furtherance of Masonry among us" (qtd. in Davis 425). Hall formally organized the Lodge on September 22, 1797, appointing Absalom Jones its Master and Richard Allen its treasurer. That same year, Hall chartered a third African Lodge in Providence for the benefit of Masons who routinely traveled to Boston for meetings.

Hall's Charge Delivered to the African Lodge, June 24, 1797, at Menotomy reflects his growing concern with the work of organizing the Black community. It was designed to build on and complete Marrant's 1789 Sermon and his own 1792 Charge, to add to the "foundation" a second "pillar" of the African Lodge: "Our duty to sympathise with our fellow men under their troubles" (3). When Hall says sympathy, he does not mean to follow the then-fashionable conventions of sentimentality. His rhetoric does at times reflect the influence of its proof-texts. For example, he encourages his audience to "weep with those that weep" (5) and refers to the rescue of "the captives among the Algerines" (17), which Hall might have known from Susanna Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), Royall Tyler's *The Algerine Captive* (1797), or published variants thereof. But he does not propound the universal (if flimsy) humanism of sentimentalism. Instead, Hall devotes his Charge to the particular situation of the African Lodge and its responsibility to the Black community.

The 1797 Charge is less a public discourse than an internal review focused on the conditions, resources, and needs of African Americans. Hall first surveys the spectacle of slavery and the slave trade, sampling language from Proverbs 12: "Let us see them dragg'd from their native country, by the iron hand of tyranny and oppression, from their dear friends and connections, with weeping eyes and aching hearts, to a strange land and strange people, whose tender mercies are cruel" (4). He also attends to the free Blacks in New England:

Daily insults you meet with in the streets of Boston; much more on public days of recreation, how are you shamefully abus'd, and that at such a degree, that you may be said to carry your lives in your hands; and the arrows of death are flying about your heads.... Helpless old women have their clothes torn off their backs, even to the exposing of their nakedness. (10)

Both enslaved and free Blacks are set apart by their suffering. Hall presents them as a chosen people: like the Israelites at Passover, they find the "arrows of death" flying about them; like Noah, they are stripped of their dignity. Their suffering does not prove the world's general sickness, but their own destiny as a people at the center of a specific sacred narrative.

Millenarians like Samuel Hopkins reckoned slavery and African redemption as scenes in a broader theologicohistorical drama. Hopkins, the leader of Rhode Island's "African Society," was undoubtedly known to Hall through mutual acquaintances. It appears that Hall was also acquainted with Hopkins's publications: The 1797 Charge reiterates some points from Hopkins's *Treatise on the Millennium* (1793) and specifically adopts Hopkins's correlation of the slave trade with the commerce of Babylon described in Revelations 18. But Hall did not share in Hopkins's belief that African colonization

would hasten the return of Christ. Instead he put the millennium in the hands of Africans themselves:

And if I mistake it not, it now begins to dawn in some of the West-India islands; which puts me in mind of a nation (that I have somewhere read of) called Ethiopians, that cannot change their skin: But God can and will change their conditions, and their hearts too; and let Boston and the world know that He bath no respect of persons; and that that bulwark of envy, pride, scorn and contempt; which is so visible to be seen in some and felt, shall fall, to rise no more. (5)

The Haitian revolution demonstrated that redemption was not a change of skin" but a "change of heart." And the hearts most in need of change were those enthralled by a racism so virulent as to make itself "visible." In the millennium, racism will "fall, to rise no more," Hall promises, while Ethiopia will soon "come forth":

Remember what a dark day it was with our African brethren six years ago, in the French West-Indies. Nothing but the snap of the whip was heard from morning to evening; hanging, broken on the wheel, burning, and all manner of tortures inflicted on those unhappy people...but blessed be God, the scene is changed.... Thus doth Ethiopia begin to stretch forth her hand, from a sink of slavery to freedom and equality. (11-12)

Hall gathers the Africans of the Western diaspora under the sign of Ethiopia and the promise of Psalms 68, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Haiti may have been the first to "stretch forth her hand," but American Blacks, slave and free, would have their day as the wheel of time turned.

Hall claims for his growing catalog of African Lodge exemplars a number of biblical "Ethiopians." These include Jethro, called by Hall "an Ethiopian" and a Mason, who taught his son-in-law Moses "how to regulate his courts of justice, and what sort of men to choose for the different offices" (6-7); the Ethiopian eunuch baptized by Philip, a "great monarch" who did not "think it beneath him to take a poor servant of the Lord by the hand, and invite him into his carriage"; and the Queen of Sheba, of whom the founder of Freemasonry, "our Grand Master, Solomon," "was not asham'd" when he led her "by the hand...into his court, at the hour of high twelve, and there converse[d] with her on points of masonry" (9). Neither would these worthies be ashamed to stand with their latter-day brethren. Carefully, Hall affirms in his brethren a comparable capacity for distinction.

Hall recognizes that African Americans denied access to public education were developing their own intellectual resources in "thinking, hearing and weighing matters, men, and things in your own mind, and making that judgment of them as you think reasonable to satisfy your minds and give an answer to those who may ask you a question" (12). He also celebrates the literary achievements of the non-literate, those who "repeat psalms and hymns, and a great part of a sermon, only by hearing it read or preached," and the divinatory skills of Black sailors:

How many of this class of our brethren that follow the seas can foretell a storm some days before it comes; whether it will be a heavy or light, a long or short one; foretell a hurricane, whether it will be destructive or moderate, without any other means than observation and consideration. So in the observation of heavenly bodies, this same class without a telescope or other apparatus have through a smoked glass observed the eclipse of the sun: One being ask'd what he saw through his smoaked glass, said, Saw, saw, de

dipseys, or de clipseys. And what do you think of it?--Stop, dere be two. Right, and what do they look like?--Look like, why if I tell you, they look like the two ships sailing one bigger than tother; so they sail by one another, and make no noise. (12-13)

In this passage, one of the earliest representations of the Black vernacular by an African American, Hall lovingly promotes his community's achievements. "As simple as the answers are they have a meaning," he declares, "and shew that God can out of the mouths of babes and Africans shew forth his glory" (13).

That this glory manifests itself by non-rational means is, of course, no accident. The advocates of Reason could see little "enlightenment" in "Black" peoples and disdained ways of knowing familiar to those deprived of formal literacy, libraries, or technological improvement. But Hall claimed that those who see through a "smoked glass," as through the veil of blackness, could "foretell" movements and perceive "meaning." Even an eclipse had its significance--as an indication of change on the horizon or as a witness to the changeable, ever-turning nature of the world itself. In such moments, the "jack tars" had the upper hand on the wheel of time, because the idea of cataclysmic change was simply too disruptive to factor meaningfully into the static-state systems of Enlightenment thought.

Hall encourages his African brethren to recognize their powers of divination as a source of political strength. The unseen world could prove the seat of their resistance. Thus he exhorts Lodge members to keep their secrets, using the example of two successful robbers who betray each other under circumstance of fear:

... if [a man] was truly bold, and void of fear, he would keep the whole plunder to himself: so when either of them is detected and not the other, he may be call'd to oath to keep it secret, but through fear, (and that passion is so strong) he will not confess, till the fatal cord is put on his neck; then death will deliver him from the fear of man, and he will confess the truth when it will not be of any good to himself or the community. (13)

The good of the "community," Hall explains, will not be served by confession, or by oath-breaking, or by fear. The secret must be kept within the veil.

As to the content of that guarded secret, contemporary readers cannot be sure. We may suspect that Hall had a plot in mind; we may hope the Lodge was then formulating strategies of resistance. More powerful, though, is the existence of the secret itself. In a time when free Blacks could count on few guarantees of person or property, and slaves could count on none, the secret was something the African Lodge could claim as its own. It was a seedling for the concept of self-possession. What was unknown and unseen they could secure for themselves through second sight, a sense educated, according to Hall, "by our searches and researches into men and things" (18; emphasis added). The prestige of the visible world would prove, in time, a mere distraction. Hall concludes the Charge on this point, with a poem he claims to have "found among some papers":

Let blind admirers handsome faces praise,
And graceful features to great honor raise,
The glories of the red and white express,
I know no beauty but in holiness;
If God of beauty be the uncreate
Perfect idea, in this lower state,
The greatest beauties of an human mould,

Who most resemble him we justly hold;
Whom we resemble not in flesh and blood,
But being pure and holy, just and good:
May such a beauty fall but to my share,
For curious shape or face I'll never care. (18)

Human "faces" and the "red and white" tokens of nationalism counted only as "curiosities." And for all their seeing, the scopophiliacs of the Enlightenment could still never know "the uncreate / Perfect idea in this lower state." The secret of that all-powerful God dwelt in "holiness," revealing itself only to those willing to stand within the veil.

Read as a suite, the 1789 Sermon and the Charges of 1792 and 1797 present a number of suggestive possibilities. Perhaps they were designed as a series of initiation lectures, each one preparing the members of the African Lodge for the Masonic Order's three symbolic degrees: Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master. Prince Hall framed the lectures as steps in a building process: Marrant's Sermon provided a foundation of "anciency," Hall's 1792 Charge introduced the pillar of duty, and his 1797 Charge established a second pillar, sympathy. Within the context of Freemasonry, these pillars represent the two columns in the porch at Solomon's Temple--one pillar is named Jachin, meaning strength; the other is Boaz, meaning establishment (1 Kings 7:21, 2 Chronicles 3:17). Kabbalists and mystics have interpreted them as active and passive principles, the binary and the unitary, the spiritual and the material. Together, they form the portal to the Holy of Holies; between them hangs the veil, which marks the divide between worlds.

In Masonic temples, initiates learned the secrets to passing through this veil and thus from the profane into the sacred. Perhaps Prince Hall and his African Lodge recognized in this ritual configuration of space and symbol a semblance of their own passage through the profane logic of racial formation. Empiricism might reduce their common condition to the consequence of skin color, but by their "searches and researches" into mysticism, theology, and history Hall and Marrant constructed a more significant vision of their community. They redrew the veil of Blackness around their African brethren and counted all who stood within it as participants in the unfolding of a mystery, a common consciousness, and a culture.

To insist that Hall and Marrant played an originary role in the history of Black nationalist discourse would be to simplify and overstate the case: Their speeches do not articulate the radical separatist tenets of a fully elaborated Black nationalism, and there is little evidence that Black nationalists of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries looked to Hall and Marrant as progenitors. Still, as organizers and preceptors of the African Lodge, Hall and Marrant collected a critical mass of Black political and cultural resources. First, they established a social space which belonged uniquely to Black people. [14] Premises of secrecy ritualized in Masonic practice safeguarded the sanctity of this space and its potential as a site of political organization. The membership rosters of Prince Hall Masonry provide one indication of this political potency: almost every free Black male political leader of the nineteenth century--from David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet,

and Martin Delany to W.E.B. DuBois, with the note worthy exception of Frederick Douglass--was initiated into Prince Hall Freemasonry. [15] There is also evidence that the influence of the African Lodges extended beyond the Masonic Hall. Scholars of African-American quilting have recently discovered provocative connections between quilt patterns, Masonic symbols, and a code used to direct slaves to the Underground Railroad (Tobin and Dobard). These findings underscore the value of Prince Hall Freemasonry not only as a social space but also as a discursive resource. Hall and Marrant institutionalized a crucial African-American lexicon--a lexicon of gestures, keywords, phrases, and concepts--which would be revised and reinvigorated by succeeding generations of preachers, writers, and activists.

Notes

- (1.) Many literary critics have, in fact, written off Jupiter Hammon as uncritically derivative; for a notable rebuttal, see Phillip Richards.
- (2.) W.E.B. DuBois describes the Black Church as "the most characteristic expression of African character" in *The Souls of Black Folk* (157); in *The Philadelphia Negro*, he claims that "the Church really represented all that was left of African tribal life, and was the sole expression of the organized efforts of the slaves" (197); and in *The Negro Church*, he writes, "There can be no reasonable doubt...that the scattered remains of religious systems in Africa to-day among the Negro tribes are survivals of the religious ideas upon which the Egyptian was based" (2).
- (3.) Sterling Stuckey credits Pan-Africanism to an "almost elemental, instinctual recoil from the constraints of a narrow nationalism" and to the "detrribalizing process" of the slave trade (1n). Wilson Jeremiah Moses claims that Ethiopianism "sprang organically out of certain shared political and religious experiences of English-speaking Africans during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" ("Poetics" 411); see also Moses's *Classical Black Nationalism and The Wings of Ethiopia*. In his study of David Walker, Peter Hinks concludes that the early Black nationalists were "as indebted to...ideological assumptions about black character and slavery as they were to the still very limited body of archeological, anthropological, and historical knowledge about early Egypt and Africa" (192).
- (4.) Marrant's 1789 Sermon appears in Potkay and Burr. Variants and excerpts of Prince Hall's 1797 Charge have appeared in several anthologies of Black writing, but Dorothy Porter was the first to republish both the 1792 and the 1797 Charges verbatim in her landmark collection *Early Negro Writing, 1760-1837*.
- (5.) The influence of Ancient Egyptian mystery on Enlightenment-era esoterica has been argued most famously, and most aggressively, by Martin Bernal. Even critics of Bernal's thesis acknowledge the powerful presence of Egypt in eighteenth-century thought; see Palter.
- (6.) On the ideological implications of Enlightenment-era classification, see Jordan 482-511 and West 50-65.
- (7.) Records show at least four "Prince Hall" marriages in the vicinity of Boston during the late eighteenth century. There is evidence of possible paternity as well. Baptismal records for the New North Church show a Prince Africanus, son of Prince and Flora, baptized on November 14, 1784. Primus Hall (b. 1756) claimed himself the son of Prince

- and Delia Hall in an attempt to secure his deceased father's Revolutionary War pension. Hall's last marriage is his most certain--death records show that he was survived by a Sylvia Ward Hall, to whom he was married on June 28, 1806. See Wesley 141-44.
- (8.) Charges of clandestinity and irregularity, bolstered by racism, would follow Prince Hall Freemasonry into the twentieth century, drawing defenses of the Order from Black and white Masonic scholars. The first was Martin Delany's *Origin and Objects of Ancient Freemasonry; Its Introduction into the United States, and Legitimacy Among Colored Men. A Treatise Delivered Before St. Cyprian Lodge, No. 13, June 24th, A.D. 1853--AL 5853(1853)*. See also Upton, Grimshaw, Crawford, Voorhis, and Walkes. Voorhis later rescinded his published work because it drew from Grimshaw's "enhanced" representation of Prince Hall's life and early Freemasonry.
- (9.) On the Order's self-styled Egyptianism, see Horton and Horton 126-27.
- (10.) Jeremy Belknap addressed a copy of the Sermon to a friend with a note explaining that "Prince Hall claims the whole of this composition as his own except the beginning + the end." In a letter to another friend, Belknap writes that those who heard the sermon "say it is much improved since the delivery. This I can easily believe from what I observed myself when I heard [Marrant] preach" (Potkay and Burr 74).
- (11.) On chiasmus, repetition, and reversal, see Gates xxiv-xxv and 153-54.
- (12.) Felder, Copher, and Wimbush also discuss critical revision as a feature of Black theology. Francoise Lionnet has identified similar practices of recontextualization in Zora Neale Hurston's anthropology.
- (13.) On the development of kinship networks and social organizations, see Frey, Reed, and Horton and Horton.
- (14.) Women were routinely denied admission to most Masonic Lodge meetings. They did, however, participate in the public activities of the Lodge and in the more intimate work of sewing their male relatives' Masonic regalia. A Masonic women's auxiliary, the Eastern Star, was established in the nineteenth century.
- (15.) A more comprehensive catalog of notable nineteenth-century Black Freemasons includes Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, William Wells Brown, Josiah Henson, and Booker T. Washington. Maurice Wallace has argued the connection between Masonic ritual and processes of masculine self-construction among African Americans.

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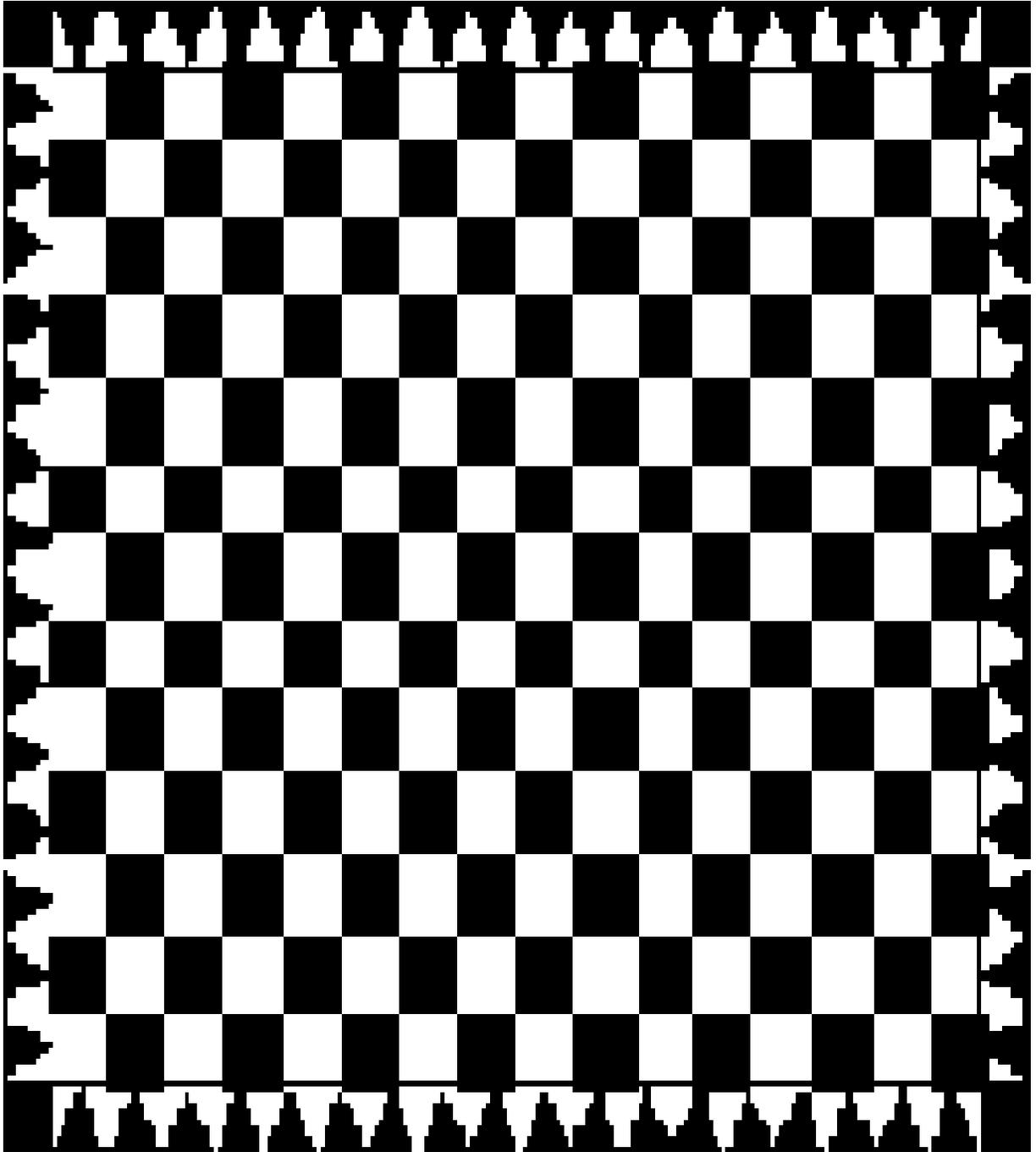
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BOOK LIST

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Masonic Constitution MWPHGL CA	Herby Price, Jr.	2005	History
Coil's Masonic Encyclopedia	H. W. Coil	1996	encyclopedia
Anderson's Constitutions of 1723	Masonic Service Assoc.	1924	reprint of
Early Masonic Catechisms	Harry Carr	1963	reprint of
The Builders Masonry	Joseph Newton	1921	Symbolic
Freemasonry Its Hidden Meaning	George H. Steinmetz	1948	Analysis
Philosophy of Freemasonry	Roscoe Pound	1915	Philosophy
The History of Freemasonry 4 Vol.	Robert F. Gould	1898	History
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Encyclopedia of Freemasonry And Its Kindred Sciences, 2Vol.	Albert C. Mackey MD	1914	encyclopedia
The Newly-Made Mason	H.L. Haywood	1973	Introduction
The Craft and Its Symbols	Allen E. Roberts	1974	Introduction
Black Square & Compass	Joseph A Walkes, Jr.	1994	Prince Hall
Inside Prince Hall	David Gray	2003	Prince Hall
Middle Class Blacks in White Society	William A Muraskin	1975	Prince Hall
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Macoy's Worshipful Master's Assist.	Allen E. Roberts	1980	Reference
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A Gentleman of Color: The Life of James Forten	Julie Winch	2002	History
My face Is Black Is True	Mary Frances Berry	2005	History
Great Black Men of Masonry	Joseph M.A. Cox	1982	Reference

⁵¹ King James Version, Revised Version, American Standard Version, New International Version. Macoy Publishing & Supply Co. Inc. offers 6-pages filled with Holy Bibles and Bible Markers, most with special Masonic features to aid research

The Third Chapter Passion,Risk, and Adventure In the 25 years After 50	Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot	2009	Biography/ Education
Symbolism of Freemasonry: The Spirit of Freemasonry	Albert G. Mackey William Hutchinson	1869 ⁵² 1774	Symbolism Masonic philosophy
Black Jacks: African American Seamen In the Age of Sail	W. Jeffrey Bolster	1997	History
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⁵² Revised by Robert Ingham Clegg 33°, available through Kessinger Publishing's Rare Mystical Reprints

