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Figure 1. Postcard showing the Germans arriving to sign the Armistice on November 11, 1918.
The disintegration of the Hohenzollern Empire 1918–1923

Alfred F. Kugel

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The House of Hohenzollern originated during the eleventh century in the area around the town of Hechingen in the Swabian part of Germany. Its name was derived from the Hohenzollern castle, which I can attest still remains as a significant tourist attraction in Württemberg today. The family had several branches, of which the most successful was the Franconian, for which the first important milestone was the acquisition of control over the Electorate of Brandenburg in 1415, with the second being the acquisition of the Duchy of Prussia in 1525. These territories were later merged to create the Kingdom of Prussia in 1701.

The most famous Hohenzollern monarch was King Friedrich II (the Great), who reigned from 1740 to 1786. During this period, Prussia participated in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years’ War (of which the North American portion is known as the French and Indian War), and as a result of which its territory was significantly expanded through the acquisition of Silesia from Austria. West Prussia and Ermland were added as a result of the First Partition of Poland in 1772.

By 1815, Prussia had become regarded as one of the primary European powers based on its participation in the coalition with Austria, Britain and Russia that defeated Emperor Napoleon I. It was a full participant in the Congress of Vienna, chaired by the Austrian Foreign Minister, Prince von Metternich, which established the boundaries of much of Europe for the ensuing fifty years. As part of the arrangements, Prussia received further territorial enhancement westward to the Rhine.

The expansion of the country continued during the time (1862–1890) when Otto von Bismarck was Prussian Prime Minister (as well as the Chancellor of Germany from 1871 to 1890), with the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein and Hanover following successful wars with Denmark in 1864 and Austria in 1866.

His most significant achievement, however, was the proclamation of the German Empire (which was known as the Second Reich in deference to the old Holy Roman Empire) in the Versailles Palace on January 28, 1871. At that time, King Wilhelm I of Prussia was declared Emperor of Germany in association with the victory in the Franco-Prussian War and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.
As it turned out, the dynasty was undone by the excessively expansionary policies of Emperor Wilhelm II who ruled from 1888 to 1918. Although a grandson of Queen Victoria, Wilhelm was seen as a threat to the British control of the seas and its overseas possessions as a result of his aggressive naval construction program. This drove Great Britain, which had often been an ally of Prussia in the past, into the arms of its ancient enemy, France. As a result, when World War I broke out, the Germans could only call on relatively weak allies: Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, while France had relatively strong allies in Britain, Russia and, eventually, the United States.

This juxtaposition became crucial when the war lasted much longer than had been envisaged by those on either side. The original combatants became increasingly exhausted and, after mid-1918, the likely outcome of the fighting became clear as the German forces were weakening day by day while fresh American troops were arriving on the other side of the battlefield on a regular basis.

When it was finally recognized that Germany had lost the war, the Kaiser and Crown Prince abdicated and went into exile in The Netherlands on November 9, 1918. Two days later, the German representatives signed an armistice with the Allies in the famous railway car in the Compiègne Forest at the eleventh hour on the eleventh day of the eleventh month, thus ending the fighting as well as the Hohenzollern Empire. Figure 1 shows the arrival of the German delegation to sign the Armistice agreement.

**GERMANY IN WORLD WAR I**

Following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the thrones of Austria and Hungary, by a Serbian anarchist in Sarajevo, Bosnia on June 28, 1914, World War I became seemingly inevitable. Austria-Hungary mounted a punitive invasion of Serbia a month later,
which brought Russia into the war to support its Slavic brethren, thus causing Germany to join in to support its ally, Austria. Soon, most of Europe was involved as a result of the alliance systems that had been created over the prior decades.

The primary focus of the Germans was to attack Russia’s ally, France. However, rather than do this directly across the heavily fortified border area between the two countries, Germany implemented a plan that had been drawn up by Count Alfred von Schlieffen in 1905, when he was Chief of the General Staff. It called for a massive flanking attack through Belgium and swinging around to the west and south of Paris in order to throw the French army back on itself in a giant encircling movement. See Figure 2 for a map of the Schlieffen Plan. Even on his deathbed in 1911, von Schlieffen urged the military leaders to “keep the right wing strong” so that the plan could succeed. However, this is not what actually happened.

In fact, Russian forces mobilized more quickly than anticipated by the Germans, which permitted them to mount an invasion of East Prussia very early in the war. Concerned about an adverse impact on public morale by this violation of the fatherland, the High Command decided to transfer two army corps from the right wing of the Western Front to the east at just the crucial time. As a result, the Germans were forced to shorten the proposed radius of their advance and turn east before reaching Paris.

This move permitted French reinforcements moving out of the capital by buses and taxis to hit the German flank and force them to pull back. This outcome in what became known as the First Battle of the Marne, meant that the Germans had lost their opportunity to knock the French out of the war in the early weeks and condemned the combatants to four years of bloody stalemated trench warfare on the Western Front. This situation resulted in millions of casualties but did not change the basic position of the combatants in any significant way.

The ensuing years produced German victories on other fronts, as the Russians were driven out of Poland, Lithuania and southern Latvia in 1915–1916; Serbia was overrun in 1915 and Romania in 1917. However, none of these developments were crucial to the outcome of the war. In fact, the need to send German troops to stiffen the Austrians fighting in Galicia, Serbia and Italy as well as to aid the Turkish forces at Gallipoli and then in the Caucasus and Palestine served as a diversion of German strength.

Even the withdrawal of Russia from the war in March 1918 did not have a major impact. While this event did free up large numbers of German troops for a final effort on the Western Front in the spring of 1918, a potential breakthrough against exhausted British and French forces was averted by the arrival of large numbers of fresh American soldiers at the front. By late summer it was apparent that Germany had lost the war, and events then played out based on that scenario.

**The Treaty of Versailles**

The negotiations leading to the peace treaties between the Allies and the Central Powers took place in and around Paris and involved a large number of participants, including representatives of the countries that had supported the Allies as well as a variety of groups seeking recognition, including Armenians, Kurds and others. However, most of the key decisions were made by the Council of Four—Premier Clemenceau of France, Prime Minister Lloyd George of Great Britain, President Wilson of the United States and Premier Orlando of Italy.

In fact, the major Allies were very sympathetic to the cause of ethnic reordering and generally supported the breaking away of various minority groups from the old Empires. As a result, some territories were stripped from Germany without much ado, including Alsace-Lorraine to France, Posen and the Corridor to Poland and small bits to Belgium and Czechoslovakia. In addition, plebiscites were scheduled in various other territories to determine which country
the inhabitants would prefer. As a result, Allenstein and Marienwerder elected to remain with Germany, while Schleswig and Upper Silesia were partitioned between Germany and Denmark or Germany and Poland, respectively. Figure 3 shows the territories lost by Germany as a result of the war.

The Peace Conference gave its highest priority to settling the questions relating to Germany, then provided an outline for dealing with the lesser members of the Central Powers, leaving

*Figure 3. Map of Territories Lost by Germany in the Treaty of Versailles.*

*Figure 4. Signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919.*
The disintegration of the Hohenzollern Empire 1918–1923

the specifics to be resolved by working groups. In general, input was not sought from the Germans, who were essentially ordered to sign the final terms and were not in a position to resist. As a result, the German delegates reluctantly signed the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919—exactly five years since the assassination of the unlucky Archduke Franz Ferdinand started the inexorable march toward war. Figure 4 shows the signing of the Treaty, while Figure 5 is a cover sent by a member of the German Peace Delegation in Versailles.

One of the most controversial parts of the Treaty was a section which required Germany to accept the entire blame for the origin of the war, thus subjecting it to severe penalties in terms of losses of population and territory as well as monetary reparations far beyond its ability to pay. This non-negotiable demand poisoned the atmosphere in Versailles and led to a German determination to overturn the Treaty at the earliest possible opportunity, which later played into the hands of a rising political agitator, Adolf Hitler.

** Annexed territories **

A key decision made by the Allies was to strip Germany of a number of strategic territories coveted by its neighbors. Alsace and Lorraine were at the top of the list as the French sought revenge for the annexation of these provinces by the Germans in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. In addition, it was decided that Poland needed an outlet to the Baltic Sea, which required that a corridor be carved out of Posen and West Prussia, thus severing East Prussia from the rest of the Reich.

As to Alsace and Lorraine, these provinces in the *twilight zone* between France and Germany had been fought over by the two rivals over the centuries, with the French having taken them from the Holy Roman Empire (Alsace by Louis XIV in 1648 and Lorraine by Louis XVI in 1766) until the Germans recovered them in 1871. They were, of course, immediately reannexed by France in 1918.
As a separate entity, Poland had disappeared entirely as a result of the three partitions between 1772 and 1795. Although Napoleon subsequently created a vassal Duchy of Warsaw, it came to an end with his defeat, and the Polish people were divided between Austria, Prussia and Russia. In 1918, the Allies agreed to restore Poland to nationhood, and the former German territories of Posen and West Prussia were incorporated into the new Polish state.

Elsewhere, the French felt strongly that Belgium should have some territorial compensation for the damage caused by the Germans during the war. As a result, several towns along the border, including Eupen, Malmedy and Moresnet, were transferred to Belgium in the peace treaty, and they were formally annexed on January 1, 1920.

In addition, the minor Hültschin Territory went to Czechoslovakia, while Danzig and Memel were set up as free cities under Allied supervision. However, the latter was seized by Lithuania in 1923, while the former remained independent until being reannexed to Germany in September 1939. Moreover, the former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific were divided up between the Allies—mostly to Britain, France and Japan, with some bits of East Africa going to Belgium and Portugal.

Plebiscite territories

There were several areas for which the ultimate disposition was unclear, so the Allies decided to hold plebiscites so that the inhabitants could determine for themselves which country they wished to live in. Such voting was conducted in two separate portions of East Prussia—Allenstein and Marienwerder—during 1920, with both deciding to remain with Germany rather than joining Poland. The voting was more complicated in Schleswig, with the ultimate resolution being to divide the territory, with the northern portion going to Denmark and the southern remaining with Germany.

As to Upper Silesia, the plebiscite in this area in this eastern part of Germany was held on March 20, 1921. There was sectarian fighting between irregular forces for some months both before and after the voting. The vote came out with 60% favoring continuing as a part of Germany. However, there were areas with large Polish majorities so the Allies decided to partition the territory. In the end, the Poles got one-third of the land area but 80% of the heavy industry—with neither of the participants being satisfied with the outcome.

The final plebiscite dealt with at the Peace Conference was the Saar, which consisted of a portion of the Rhine Province of Prussia and adjacent parts of the Bavarian Palatinate. The French were highly desirous of obtaining the raw materials produced in the Saar in order to help in the rebuilding of their economy. However, the other Allies did not favor allowing France to annex this strongly Germanic area. As a compromise, the French were allowed to govern the territory for fifteen years, after which a plebiscite would be held to determine its future. When the vote was held on January 13, 1935, the outcome was strongly for rejoining Germany, and the reunification took place on March 1, 1935.

The free cities

Reflecting the heavily (95%) German ethnicity of the residents, the Allies were reluctant to attach the city of Danzig to Poland but recognized that the Polish economy needed a convenient port on the Baltic Sea. As a result, a decision was reached to separate the area from Germany and create a Free City under League of Nations supervision, effective as of January 10, 1920. Danzig was included in a customs union with Poland, thus permitting free importation and exportation of goods, and the Poles were allowed to control all of the railway lines in the area. The city was administered by an elected Senate, but actions needed approval from a High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations. It was reannexed to Germany on
September 1, 1939, at the time of the invasion of Poland.

A similar situation arose with regard to the Memel territory at the far northern tip of Germany. The city itself was heavily Germanic, but the Lithuanians needed a port on the Baltic. Thus, the Memel area was established as a protectorate of the Allies, including a French High Commissioner, with the intention being that it would eventually be a self-governing territory on the model of Danzig. However, the Lithuanian army marched into the area in January 1923 and held control of the city until March 22, 1939, when it was turned back to Germany.

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

Back home in Germany, a republic was declared on November 9, 1918, by Philip Scheidemann, a leader of the Social Democrats in the Parliament. In the ensuing weeks, severe street fighting took place in Berlin and other cities as supporters of the Socialists battled against Communists for control. In the end, an election for the National Assembly took place on January 19, 1919, with the Socialists receiving a solid majority. Figure 6 shows the leaders of the new German republic. The new Parliament met in Weimar and approved a constitution, which became effective with the signature of President Friedrich Ebert on August 11, 1919.

Unfortunately, there was an economic disaster caused by the unavailability of raw materials and other supplies from the lost territories, demobilization of the armed forces and heavy reparations payments to the Allies. Making the situation worse, the central government was relatively weak, and it was difficult to preserve order in the face of continuing violence between right-wing Freikorps units and leftist Red Guards.

Because Germany was not producing goods that could be exported, and large quantities of paper money were printed to pay unemployed workers and the reparations demands, rapid inflation broke out in the early 1920s, thus destroying the savings of the middle class. This situation was obviously untenable and, as a result, there was a series of weak and seemingly ineffective administrations throughout the 1920s. As a result of the political situation, voters were increasingly alarmed by the turmoil and more of them were attracted to the radical National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazis) under Hitler, which was able to take control of the government on January 30, 1933.

Figure 6. The leaders who founded the German Republic, including President Ebert.
The Philatelic Consequences

Needless to say, the territorial changes outlined in the prior sections were reflected in the postal situation on the ground in the respective areas. The successor governments, in particular, were highly aware of the propaganda value of publicizing their control in the new territories through the issuance of special postage stamps. This policy of self-promotion was seen as having benefits both domestically (to take political credit for the change in the status of the respective areas) and internationally (to enhance their image as a significant new source of political power).

As a result, there was a flood of new stamps, including many overprints on the basic Germania definitives of Germany as well as entirely new designs. Most of the new stamps that were issued in the annexed and occupied territories during this period are adequately covered in the major philatelic catalogs. Therefore, emphasis in this article has been given to the more unusual issues, including a number of stamps that were prepared but not actually issued for one reason or another. In some cases, only a very limited quantity of these managed to get into philatelic hands, so certain examples have become significant twentieth century philatelic rarities.

Comments on the postal activities in the various former German territories follow, generally on a geographic basis, starting from West to East and from North to South.

German Republic

In the aftermath of the war, enormous changes took place in Germany, mostly related to the collapse of the ancien régime that consisted of an imperial superstructure that had been built on top of kingdoms (i.e. Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg), principalities, grand duchies and a whole collection of lesser entities, some of which dated back to the Middle Ages. All of this came crashing down overnight in mid-November 1918, and for some considerable while it was unclear what the nature of the replacement system would turn out to be.

Figure 7. Stamps and souvenir card for the meeting of the National Assembly.
The disintegration of the Hohenzollern Empire 1918–1923

Philatelically, although the old stamps showing the bust of Germania remained valid for postage until they became obsolete as the result of the postwar inflation, the stamps issued by the Republic were meant to suggest a new beginning for a peaceful Germany. Such a theme was clearly set forth in the set issued on July 1, 1919, to commemorate the meeting of the new National Assembly in Weimar (Figure 7).

Alsace-Lorraine

Because the administration of these provinces was immediately taken over by the French authorities following the Armistice, the postal service was restored using French stamps and, in due course, new French postmarks. There were no overprints or provisional issues involved. In 1940, following the invasion of France, Alsace and Lorraine were temporarily reannexed to Germany until this situation was reversed in 1945.

Eupen-Malmedy

The postal activity in these towns was assumed by the Belgian authorities on January 15, 1920. The first stamps were seven Belgian definitives overprinted “Eupen & Malmedy” (Figure 8). They were issued on that date and valid only until March 19. These were then superseded by new sets of overprints reading “Eupen” and “Malmedy” separately, which remained valid until 1931. This area was reannexed to the Reich in July 1940 following the invasion of Belgium—but also reversed in 1945.

Hültschin Territory

This very minor bit of former German Silesia was transferred to Czechoslovakia on February 4, 1920, along with the formerly-Austrian part of Silesia. No new stamps were issued but German issues along with the new Czech ones could be used in 1920. A new Czech postmark

Figure 8. Cover with the “Eupen & Malmedy” overprints from 1920.
inscribed “Hlučín” was provided (Figure 9). Hültschin was reannexed to Germany in 1938 in the aftermath of the Munich Agreement with regard to the Sudetenland.

**POSEN-WEST PRUSSIA**

The old imperial stamps continued on sale until January 20, 1919. However, five Germania definitives were overprinted “Poczta Polska (Polish Posts)” in Posen and issued on January 10, 1919 (Figure 10). On January 27, 1919, an entirely new set of twelve allegorical definitives was issued with denominations in German currency, i.e. fenigow and marka. (All of Poland was converted over to groszy and zloty under a new monetary system in 1924.) These territories were reannexed to Germany following the invasion of Poland in 1939 but then had to be given up again in 1945.

**Figure 10.** Cover with “Polish Posts” overprints used from Posen in 1919.
The disintegration of the Hohenzollern Empire 1918–1923

Schleswig

The first territory to actually hold a plebiscite was this northernmost part of Germany. Based on the initial vote on February 10, 1920, northern Schleswig (called Zone I) voted 75% to join Denmark. A second vote five weeks later confirmed by 80% that the southern part of the province (Zone II) would remain with Germany. New stamps with the Schleswig coat of arms and depicting a landscape that were denominated in pfennigs and marks were issued for use in the territory on January 25, 1920, followed by a similar set denominated in ore and kronor in May based on the fact that part of the territory would be reverting to the Danes, which action took place on June 15. Figure 11 shows a cover sent by a member of the British forces supervising the plebiscite.

Allenstein

An official Allied plebiscite commission arrived in this portion of East Prussia on February 14, 1920, with the task of making arrangements for the vote to be held on July 11, 1920, to determine whether the inhabitants wished to join Poland or remain with Germany. In the event, the vote turned out to be overwhelmingly (98%) in favor of Germany, so no territorial change was called for. However, in the interim two sets of fourteen denominations of overprinted Germania stamps were issued between April and June 1920. The plebiscite supervisory forces departed on August 12, 1920. Figure 12 shows a cover from a British member of the Plebiscite Commission, while Figure 13 is a cover franked with some of the overprinted stamps. There were several additional stamps that were prepared for Allenstein but not issued. These are shown as Figure 14.

Marienwerder

Also in East Prussia, a separate plebiscite commission arrived in Marienwerder on February 17, 1920, to make arrangements for the voting. As was the case in Allenstein, the July 11,
Figure 12. APO cover from British member of the Plebiscite Commission in Allenstein 1920.

Figure 13. Insured value declared cover franked with Allenstein overprints in 1920.

Figure 14. Prepared but unissued stamps with Allenstein overprints.
1920, plebiscite strongly favored Germany with 92%, which decided the issue. During the interim, two sets of overprints and two newly-designed sets printed in Milan were used between March and August. The supervisory forces then departed on August 16, 1920. Figure 15 shows a cover sent by a British member of the Commission, and Figure 16 shows a cover franked with overprints on the Germania issue.

**Figure 15.** Registered cover by a British member of the Commission in Marienwerder 1920.

**Figure 16.** Special delivery cover franked with Marienwerder overprints on Germania 1920.
The old Germania stamps were used as forerunners in this territory up through February 19, 1920, when a definitive set printed in Paris was introduced. A second definitive set depicting mining and manufacturing was introduced in March 1920 and remained in use until July 1922, when the Polish and German postal authorities took control in their assigned areas. The Polish portion of the province was reannexed to the Reich in 1939 but went back to Poland following the end of World War II. Related images are Figure 17 and 18 for items sent by British and Italian members of the Plebiscite forces.

**Figure 17.** Cover sent by a British soldier in Upper Silesia in 1921.

**Figure 18.** Military postal card sent by Italian trooper in Upper Silesia in 1922.
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Figure 19 is a cover from a Japanese member of the Commission that defined the boundaries of the Saar. As in other territories, Germania stamps remained in use until April 15, 1920, sometimes in mixed franking with similar stamps overprinted “Sarre,” which were issued from January 29 to March 1, 1920. A similar overprint on Bavarian stamps was introduced on March 1, 1920. Supplies of the highest values of the stamps available for overprinting were scarce, resulting in two of the great rarities of twentieth-century German philately. Only a single sheet of twenty of the German 3 mark stamp and just one sheet of sixteen of the Bavarian 20 mark were overprinted; none of these were regularly sold to the public, but the stamps came into philatelic hands (Figures 20 and 21). A large number of additional overprints and definitives, including airmails, semi-postals and postage dues, were issued for the Saar in the period through 1934. Figures 22 and 23 show items mailed by Dutch and Italian military personnel supervising the plebiscite in 1935.

Figure 19. Postcard from a Japanese member of the Boundary Commission in the Saar 1921.

Figure 20. Prepared but unissued German 3 mark stamp overprinted for the Saar.

Figure 21. Prepared but unissued Bavarian 20 mark stamp overprinted for the Saar.

SAAR TERRITORY

Figure 19 is a cover from a Japanese member of the Commission that defined the boundaries of the Saar. As in other territories, Germania stamps remained in use until April 15, 1920, sometimes in mixed franking with similar stamps overprinted “Sarre,” which were issued from January 29 to March 1, 1920. A similar overprint on Bavarian stamps was introduced on March 1, 1920. Supplies of the highest values of the stamps available for overprinting were scarce, resulting in two of the great rarities of twentieth-century German philately. Only a single sheet of twenty of the German 3 mark stamp and just one sheet of sixteen of the Bavarian 20 mark were overprinted; none of these were regularly sold to the public, but the stamps came into philatelic hands (Figures 20 and 21). A large number of additional overprints and definitives, including airmails, semi-postals and postage dues, were issued for the Saar in the period through 1934. Figures 22 and 23 show items mailed by Dutch and Italian military personnel supervising the plebiscite in 1935.
Figure 22. Cover sent by a member of the Dutch forces supervising the Plebiscite in 1935.

Figure 23. Cover sent by a member of the Italian forces supervising the Plebiscite in 1935.

Figure 24. Prepared but unissued German stamps overprinted for Danzig.
Danzig

The old Germania stamps were used in Danzig as forerunners from January 10 until June 13, 1920. On June 14 stamps overprinted “Danzig” were introduced. See Figure 24 for unissued stamps with this overprint. These were then followed by several more sets of overprints in different fonts (some surcharged with new denominations) in the latter part of 1920. The first definitive stamps for the Free City were issued on January 31, 1921, and many additional issues, including airmails, semi-postals and postage dues, were provided until the territory was reannexed to the Reich in September 1939. See Figures 25 and 26 for items mailed by American and British military personnel in Danzig.

Figure 25. Postcard sent from the “U.S. Navy Port Office” in Danzig in 1919. Only recorded example of this marking.

Figure 26. Cover sent by a member of the British forces in Danzig in 1920. One of two recorded examples of this cachet.
Memel

Stamps of Germany continued in use in Memel until July 7, 1920. Figure 27 shows a card mailed by a member of the French occupation forces. The first special stamps for the territory were overprints of “Memelgebiet” on the Germania issue. In addition to the issued stamps, two overprints were prepared but not issued (Figure 28). Since the French were the occupying power, these were followed by series of overprints of “Memel” on the current French definitives, which continued in use until early 1923. The final stamp was overprinted “Memel” and surcharged with a denomination of 500 Mark. Although a total of 150 pieces were prepared, it was not issued because of the takeover by Lithuania on January 10, 1923 (Figure 29).

Aftermath

While the Nazis, who came to power in Germany in 1933, were not interested in a restoration of the Hohenzollerns, they were very focused on undoing the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, especially those that had transferred significant territories to neighboring countries. This effort was eminently successful both prior to the outbreak of World War II and in the early stages of the war. However, with the subsequent Allied victory, the regime collapsed...
and the reannexation program was reversed. Moreover, additional German territories to the east of the Oder/Neisse Line were transferred to Poland in 1945.

**Sources consulted and additional reading**

**Philatelic catalogs**

Michel, Scott

**General sources**


**Internet**


Figure 1. CIE 1931 Chromaticity coordinated in the $xy$ plane as a limited domain radiating about a pole $<x, y> = <.35, .35>$. Wavelengths from 420 nm to 690 nm label the Spectral Arch.

Figure 2. Prexie Galaxy from the ½-cent to the 50-cent (except for the 4½-cent White House) coordinated by chromaticity $(x, y)$. 
Prexies and the interaction of color

Diane DeBlois & Robert Dalton Harris

INTRODUCTION

The 1938 Presidential Series of United States postage stamps, engraved by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, has for many decades attracted us—particularly for the richness of color in mixed-value frankings. One of our aims in research funded by the Smithsonian National Postal Museum and Washington 2006 World Philatelic Exhibition* was to create ways of describing the interaction of Prexie colors, with the help of studies developed by the Bauhaus painter Josef Albers, and with the facilities of the Foster & Freeman Video Spectral Comparator 6000.

THE GALAXY OF PREXIE COLORS

Let us think of the VSC 6000 as the Hubbell telescope mapping a galaxy of Prexie stars. The instrument translates its measures, spreading hue in a map of two dimensions, with a grayscale as altitude: chromaticity (xy) and luminance (Y) constitute the three dimensions of a standard visual space denominated CIE 1931 (Kerr 2005).

For chromaticity (Figure 1) the spectral hues of sunlight arch from blue to red—a radiant finger pointing to green, the chord across its knuckle giving us purples.

CHROMATICITY “STAR MAP”

The Prexie Galaxy (Figure 2) has the 16-cent Lincoln as a “Black Hole” at its center and four constellations. The purples stretch through crimson towards red from the 3-cent Jefferson through (12, 19, 50, 4, 9 and 25) to the 2-cent Adams; the reds and maroons (7, 1½, 10, 18, 6, 17, 22 and ½) in increasing order of saturation.

Saturation is modeled in the peculiar shape of that green finger, in Figure 1, to represent the physiological limits of the receptors of the eye, increasing from zero at the Black Hole to 100% at the Spectral Arch. The ½-cent Franklin is the most saturated of the Prexies, at about 50%. The 1-cent Washington and 14-cent Pierce are the most saturated of the other spectral constellations, at about 25% (see Appendix A).

The instrument has not been entirely successful in depicting brown and orange among the reds (a reminder to us that, for the instrument, all color is false). The blues gain saturation as they distance themselves (15, 11, 5, 30 and 14) from the Black Hole. The 21-cent Arthur begins a spiral through green (13 and 20) nearing yellow at high saturation with the 1-cent Washington but closing upon the yellow trench with the duller 24-cent Harrison and the 8-cent Van Buren.

**Luminance Star Magnitude**

The spatial model of colors is completed with what may be imagined as a vertical dimension to the horizontal surface of chromaticity—luminance (Figure 3). Not much light escapes from our Black Hole—the Lincoln registers .180 while the most luminant of our Prexie stars (9, 6 and ½) cluster around .420. Thirteen of the twenty-eight Prexies cluster about the median quarter of this range; six fall in the lowest quarter; nine (values up to the 11-cent) in the upper fifth. The bluish greens (21, 13 and 20) are all close in luminance to the 15-cent (.320), almost the gray to which this scale refers. The reds and the purples cluster together at the intermediate and upper levels of Prexie star amplitudes on the gray scale (Appendix B).

**Engraved Color**

The Prexies were the last series of United States postage stamps to be engraved—which means that each “color” is actually an interaction of two colors: that of the paper (with a thin smear of ink) and that of the inked lines.

Figure 4 shows an 8-cent Van Buren from a 1945 presentation album (Postage 1945) along with a magnification of the image resolved by the test beam in an area below the “United / States / Postage” panel which we used as the standard field during the course of these investigations. Figure 5 shows the coordinate data, representing human perception, for five different sampling spots: from the field, from the back of Van Buren’s collar, from his forehead, from the letter “M” beginning his name, and out beyond the design at the perforated edge of the stamp where only a smear of ink might register.

Note that the chromaticity of all these test spots is relatively constant: \( <x, y> = <.375, .385> \) within two or three per cent, while \( Y, \) luminance, ranges by 60 or 70% from its average value \( Y = .535. \) The differences in the color among the test spots is registered by the instrument on our behalf, as a constant hue of different shades, dark to light (\( Y = .24 \) upon the collar; .922 at the perf). We also observe that a variation in the chromaticity of .01 or .02, 2 or 3%, does not necessarily make a color variety.
Josef Albers seminal work, *Interaction of Color*, was published in 1963 in a limited edition with a series of 150 silk-screened color studies, which we used along with the Prexies. In Albers’s introduction, he avers that the experiments with color that he was proposing would “lead from a visual realization of the interaction between color and color to an awareness of the interdependence of color with form and placement; with quantity (which measures amount, respectively extension and/or number, including recurrence); with quality (intensity of light and/or hue) and with pronouncement (by separating or connecting boundaries).” What follows was inspired by this outline.

**Quality:** As soon as there is more than one denomination of a stamp on a cover, there will be color interaction. And the more denominations, the more interesting the interaction (which is one reason four-color frankings are so prized). The following two covers, Figures 6 and 7, illustrate two four-color frankings. Both include, in the canonical upper right place-
ment, the least luminant 3-cent purple Jefferson. At the other end of each franking sits the most luminant of their respective constellations—either 5-cent Monroe from the blues or the 1-cent Washington from the greens: bracketing intermediate luminants. Where the 10-cent represents the red constellation on the right hand cover, luminance increases right to left. On the left hand cover, the 4-cent Madison with the 3-cent Jefferson bracket the pale 15-cent Buchanan with strong purples, and Buchanan, in turn, with the 1-cent Washington bracket and emphasize the redness of Madison. Both covers illustrate complementary contrasts in chromaticity and luminance, but with different accents.

**Quantity:** Many stamps upon a cover engage formal questions regarding the placement of the stamps and the blocking of each of the denominations, as well as their quantity (number) and quality (chromaticity and luminance). Three denominations, variously multiplied: on the left the crimson chroma predominates, because of its hue; on the right the sky blue predominates because of its whiteness. On both covers, Figures 8 and 9, the most numerous denomination is braced in equal quantity by the other two.

**Figure 8.** Three values, thirteen stamps via Trans Atlantic Air Mail—“rosy finger of dawn.”

**Figure 9.** Three values, ten stamps: the rose and purple overlap the more numerous blues.

**ALBERS’ S INTENSITY EXPERIMENT**

An Albers experiment deals with color intensity, inviting a decision over what is the bluest blue among several swatches, some of which we have matched with Prexies (Figure 10) (Appendix C).

Albers’ bluest blue, swatch 3, is both more saturated (70%) and closer to the ultra-violet than any of the other swatches, or any of the Prexies. The topmost Albers swatch approximates the 25% saturation of the 14-cent and 30-cent Prexies. The chromaticity of the 14-cent is closest to Alberts’s watch 7, though we have it placed on swatch 5. Similarly, the chromaticity of the 30-cent is closest to Al- bers’ swatch 1, though we have lapped it onto

**Figure 10.** Albers Experiment in Blueness (V-3) supplemented by the blue Prexies, but with the 21-cent Arthur, tending to green, replacing the almost gray 15-cent Buchanan.
Prexies and the interaction of color

Albers swatch 8. It appears that our Prexie/swatch selections converge upon the saturation and spectral ray of swatch 3, which we may now appreciate for its separation and extension, for Albers’ design.

Among the blue Prexies, then (Figures 11 and 12), the 5-cent Monroe (18%) is more saturated than the 15-cent Buchanan (4%) and upon the same ray, while the 30-cent Roosevelt (29%) is more saturated than the 5-cent Monroe, and closer to the ultra-violet.

Figure 11. Blue contrast in both chromaticity and luminance.

Figure 12. Blue harmony among the Prexies differing only in saturation. The airmail lozenge intercepted by the censor’s tape, and “Spanish” typed in red, destination “Argentina.”

The 14-cent Pierce, though further from the ultra-violet is more saturated than the 11-cent Polk. (We should also note that the 14- and 30-cents are lower in luminance while the 5- and 11-cents are intermediate, and that all Prexies are more luminant than Albers swatch 3—the bluest blue.)

Saturation—especially multiplied in pairs—seems to trump in the blueness test of Figures 13 and 14. The pair of 14-cents is bluer than the 5-cent; the pair of 5-cents bluer than the 11-cent.

Figure 13. A pair heightens differences in chromaticity and luminance from bright and pale to dark and saturated.

Figure 14. A pair of Monroes absconds with the blue of the Polk.

The question of reddest red among the Prexies seems to straddle the divide between maroon and crimson. The 17-cent Johnson looks redder than the 9-cent Harrison (Figure 15), but perhaps not redder than the 2-cent Adams. Indeed an Adams looks reddest of the lot (Figure 16) when accompanied by an entourage of the 25-cent McKinley with which it seems to merge.
Albers’s brightness experiment

Another Albers experiment dealt with the ability to perceive which color is brighter. Albers’ pairing of pink and olive closely resembles the 50-cent and 8-cent stamps (Figures 17 and 18). Albers concluded that the pink is “brighter,” but, by our sights, it is the olive (or 8-cent) that is higher in luminance.

The VSC 6000 discloses a 10% difference in the luminance of Albers’ swatches: .509 for the olive, .459 for the pink, and similarly for the postage stamps though less white: .375 for the 8-cent and .338 for the 50-cent. Another, and extraordinary, feature is that the x coordinate for the chromaticity is the same for both of Albers’ patches, and the same for both of the Prexies. The change in chromaticity is denoted by a vertical step, from .319 to .397 for Albers; from .309 to .388 for the Prexies, practically perpendicular to the spectral rays. The red component of Alber’s pink is at a relatively low saturation compared with the more fully saturated sensibilities near yellow in the olive.

Alber’s color displacement experiment

Another class of color studies by Albers demonstrates the displacement of an intermediate tone to the darker or lighter of two fields (see Figure 19) (Appendix D). The VSC 6000 discloses that both the chromaticity and the luminance are implicated in proportionate fashion, as if the three colors fell upon a straight line in the model space of CIE 1931, indicating a correspondence between the design principles of CIE 1931 and Albers’s studies of color interaction (specifically, CIE 1931 is designed to proportion mixtures to produce a desired color).

The 7-cent Jackson and 6-cent John Quincy Adams in this way make a plausible mix for the
Prexies and the interaction of color

10-cent Tyler, especially as luminance also seems to increase in proportion to the saturation among these stamps (Figure 20).

**Pronouncement: Envelope color**

The color of the envelope presents a ground that interacts with the colors of the frankings. When envelope color is very close to the color of a stamp, the two tend to merge in perception—as with the following cover, Figure 21, where the two 9-cent stamps practically disappear. The ivory stripes at the envelope’s left and the perforated edges of the 9-cent stamps dramatize the abduction.

**Pronouncement: Printed color accents**

The colors of printed advertisements on envelopes interact with franking colors. The obvious franking for a card mailed to prospective customers for an oil change would be the local rate of 1.5 cents. Instead of Martha Washington, however, the mailer chose the orange half-cent and the green 1-cent to echo the colors in the illustration, blocking and backing the prescription tableau (Figure 22). The orange, green and yellow are also used for the cartoon illustrations inside the folding card.

**Pronouncement: Postmark color**

A significant color external for philatelists is the obliterating postal marking. Of course, the interaction of colors in frankings of several denominations can be diminished by a dark and obscuring handstamp, or enhanced by the color of a well-struck cancellation (Figures 23 and 24).
Pronouncement: Special arrangements

Arrangement of stamps on cover is a primary aspect of color interaction—and reconstructing the placement enhances appreciation. For Mary McDuffie’s special delivery, Figure 25, seven separate stamps were used, in two denominations. Either she or the postal clerk put the 2-cent Adams down in three couplets, punctuating with the 1-cent Washington. A postal clerk struck the couplets in order with the Erie duplex, before turning the envelope (not to intrude upon the call for “Special Delivery”) to cancel the singleton. The tango of stamps, drumming of duplex: canceled in style.

Conclusion

The VSC 6000/CIE 1931 bridges between objective and subjective descriptions of light. Albers guides us to study and experiment. Together they complement the discussion of the interaction of color among engraved postage stamps on cover with “an awareness of the interdependence of color with form and placement…”

References

Appendix A

SATURATION OF THE SPECTRAL PREXIES, WAVELENGTH ORDER

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Appendix B

THE DATA WE OBTAINED, TO PRODUCE THE TWO “SKY MAPS” IS LISTED HERE:

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### Appendix C

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### Appendix D

#### The VSC 600 Readings for the Alber' Swatches

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<td>Dark blue inset</td>
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A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

Daniel C. Warren, M.D.

Howard Lehman published his initial survey of Confederate two-cent green covers in 1952, recording a total of eighty-two at that time. He postulated that this may represent an actual total of perhaps 246, three times as many. In a follow-up article, he increased his total of recorded covers to 110.

Morris Everett added still more to make a total of 178 genuine covers, and also deleted those which had been shown to be fraudulent in the intervening years. I had discussed the two-cent green cover inventory with Morris as early as 1972 and had the benefit of his notes and counsel. An overseas military tour precluded my continuing interest in the subject at the time, and Morris then published his findings in 1982–83. A separate inventory of North Carolina two-cent green covers was compiled by Tony Crumbley in 1995.

The listings have been generally rather terse, especially the Lehman articles, and do not always provide adequate information to distinguish among several similar covers. The inventory which follows is listed by state and place of origin, and, where known, date. They are also identified by a state-specific number which should make looking up any particular cover easier. It has been impossible to determine with certainty the origin of a few covers, and they are listed in an Indefinite or Unknown section. Illustrations are provided for many of the covers which should also help with identification.

A bold listing number indicates that the cover is illustrated here, and a “Y” following the listing indicates that I have a photocopy or other illustration of the cover sufficient for identification. Without doubt, more of these elusive jewels of Confederate philately will surface over time, but it is interesting to note that the current total of 266 is not that far from the estimate of 246 made by Howard Lehman almost fifty years ago.

Alabama

ALA-001  Eutaw  Columbus, MS  05 Jul 1862
Small neat home-made manila envelope; pencil markings erased; strip of 5, stamps rubbed & small piece LL corner missing, otherwise clear margins; ex Emerson, Brooks, Finney.

ALA-002  Eutaw  Demopolis, AL  11 Jul 1862
Small cover; 3 strikes of cancel; strip of 5 stamps, large margins to touched/bit in; ex Emerson, Brooks, Finney.  PF cert 1992  Y
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</tr>
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<td>22 Jul ??</td>
<td>Mobile, AL</td>
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<td>Vertical strip of 5.</td>
<td>Drop letter; tied; stamp has 4 margins; ex-Dietz, Tara.</td>
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<td>ALA-005</td>
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<td>Mobile, AL</td>
</tr>
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<td>01 Jul ??</td>
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<td>Drop letter; tied double circle ccl.</td>
<td>Drop letter; tied double circle ccl.</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small cover; stamp has margins all sides; lt. horizontal crease.</td>
<td>To Commander Catesby ap R. Jones, CSN; illus. in Dietz; strip of 5, sl nicked at top L with second uncanceled strip of five on reverse; ex-Hall.</td>
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<td>ALA-008</td>
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<td>Mobile</td>
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<td>??</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>27 Jun 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibbee Station, MS</td>
<td>Montgomery, AL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On printed circular/home made envelope; stamp “trifle in at BR.”</td>
<td>Drop Letter.</td>
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<td>ALA-012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tibbee Station, MS</td>
<td>Montgomery, AL</td>
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A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

ALA-011

ALA-013  Montgomery  Montgomery, AL  04 Dec ??
Brown wrapper marked “1 Catalogue”; ex Everett. Stamp mostly clear to L margins, in at L.
CSA Cert 1973, 1993

ALA-014

ALA-015

ALA-014  Montgomery  Marion, AL  02 Dec ??
Blue unsealed envelope addressed to Judge of Probate Court; ex Everett; 2 large margins, in a left and bottom.
CSA Cert 2008

ALA-015  Montgomery  Greeneville, AL  13 Jul 1862
Five single copies.
CSA Cert 1992

ALA-016  Montgomery  Montgomery, AL  01 Aug 1862
Drop letter.
AL-017  Montgomery  Montgomery, AL  11 Sep 1862
Drop letter; turned cover with pair of #6 inside; ex Hall, Boshwit.  Y

AL-018  Montgomery  Greenville, AL  12 Dec 1862
Fresh, “extremely fine.”  1957 CSA, 1979 PF certs  Y

AL-019  Huntsville, AL  24 Dec 1862
Was water-stained; cover has been cleaned; to Messrs. Pattin Donegan & Co.; stamp UR; tied.  1997 CSA cert  Y

AL-020  Montgomery  Montgomery, AL  29 Dec 1862
From 1st Lt.E.I.Fitzpatrick to Mrs. Fitzpatrick; ex Lehman, Haas; stamp “superb.”  Y

Covers ALA-005, ALA-006, ALA-007, ALA-014, ALA-017 and ALA-018 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries; cover ALA-011 through the courtesy of Patricia A. Kaufmann; and covers ALA-015, ALA-019 and ALA-020 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance.

ARKANSAS

ARK-001  Washington  Richmond, AR  29 Mar 1862
Strip of 5; good margins to just in; ex Hessel, Dukeshire  PF cert  Y

ARK-002  Camden  Falcon, AR  12 Aug ??
Strip of 5 stamps, tiny tears at top; cover made from steamboat bill of lading; ex Drake, Carnegie Museum.  Y

Cover ARK-002 is illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries.
GEORGIA

**GEO-001**  
Albany, GA  
16 Sep 1862  
Brown cover, reduced at L; R sheet margin stamp; signed Dietz.  
Y

**GEO-002**  
Aspenwell, GA  

**GEO-003**  
Atlanta, GA  
29 Apr  
Three singles, plus a pair of 5¢ London prints and a pair of 5¢ local prints (26c); to Mrs Sara R.Cobb; large cover, triple rate? missing stamps; ex Hertz.

**GEO-004**  
Athens  
Light green, tear at R.

**GEO-005**  
Athens, GA  
11 Mar 1866  
Cover made from light brown-gray wrapping paper; to Col. D.C. Barrow, Athens, GA; 4 margin, UR, tied; ex Hubbell, Menard.

**GEO-006**  
Athens, GA  
05 Jan ?  
Brown homemade cover slight reduced at R; local address; margins small & even, touching in places; ex Pratt, Everett, Hall, Hart  
CA CSA Cert  
Y

**GEO-007**  
Mayfield, GA  
Feb  
Addressed to Postmaster; turned cover w/ 10¢ K&B inside with Mayfield GA cancel; ex Judd.  
Y

**GEO-008**  
Athens, GA  
03 Mar  
Drop letter; ex Dabney.

**GEO-009**  
Athens, GA  
01 Oct  
To Hon. Asbury Hull; stamp at UR, sheet margin copy, tied; ex Hull.  
Y

**GEO-010**  
Athens, GA  
02 Jan  

**GEO-011**  
Franklin County, VA  
07 Sep 1863  
Folded printed notice of the Southern Express Company; stamp BL 3 clear to large margins.  
Y

**GEO-012**  
Atlanta, GA  
13 Sep  
Drop letter on turned cover w/ 5¢ local print, Atlanta Oct 6; stamp very large margins; ex Shenfield, Haas, Hill.  
Y

**GEO-013**  
Talladega, AL  
22 Jan  
Strip of 5 (said to be Pos 42-46); cover repaired at top, affecting left stamp; three
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GEO-013</td>
<td>Small white envelope; to Miss Laura Waldron, care Thespian Family or Queen Sisters, Atlanta, GA; UR, tied; ex Park. PF Cert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO-015</td>
<td>On <em>Daily Chronicle &amp; Sentinel</em> newspaper. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO-016</td>
<td>Merchant's blue pictorial corner card on buff env; stamp in at R &amp; B, sm crease at bottom; ex Finney.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO-017</td>
<td>Corner card of Bible Society of the CSA; stamp UR. CSA cert Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO-018</td>
<td>Strip 5 on all-over ad cover (stoves, grates and ranges); ex Antrim, Brooks, Solomon, J. Hill. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO-019</td>
<td>Tied to buff envelope; drop letter; stamp in at extreme TR. PF Cert Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO-020</td>
<td>Drop Letter on brown local cover; stamp in at left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO-021</td>
<td>Brown oval Grand Lodge return card on reverse w / beehive design; to “Sec y, Gaulding Lodge #215”; stamp UR, ample to large margins, slight creasing. Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-021</th>
<th>Gainesville</th>
<th>Lawrenceville GA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To secretary, Lawrenceville Lodge #131. CSA cert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-023</th>
<th>Gainesville</th>
<th>Jefferson, GA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 May</td>
<td>Strip of 3 (in at top) and 2 singles; ex Hertz.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-024</th>
<th>Gainesville</th>
<th>Lawrenceville, GA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 May</td>
<td>Strip of 3 and pair; pre-use creases; on brown home-made cover; ex Weatherly. CSA cert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-025</th>
<th>Greensborough</th>
<th>Athens, GA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09 May</td>
<td>Strip of 5 pressed out vertical file fold second stamp, 2 others diagonal crease; top of cover now trimmed (was stained). PSF, CSA certs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-026</th>
<th>Griffin</th>
<th>Griffin, GA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 Jun</td>
<td>To William Blanton, Esq. Stamp has full sheet margin to left; ex Wilkinson.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-027</th>
<th>Lawrenceville</th>
<th>Eagle City NC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08 Dec</td>
<td>Brown cover; stamp is defective.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-028</th>
<th>Macon</th>
<th>Thomasville, GA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 Nov</td>
<td>To Mr. A.F. Powell, Thomasville, Thomas Co., Geo; 3 singles &amp; a 5¢ blue Richmond print; flap missing; signed Dietz.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEO-029</th>
<th>Macon</th>
<th>Penfield GA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown wrapper (newspaper); 4 mostly large margins; ex Antrim CSA Cert.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y
GEO-030 Macon Macon, GA
Ex Heathcote.

GEO-031 Macon Albany GA
Cover slightly reduced at top, with small mended nick;
signed Dietz.

GEO-032 Macon Macon, GA
Jun 1863
Double circle ccl, homemade cover to CSA Central Laboratory; stamp close at right.

GEO-033 Macon Preston, GA 12 Jul
Vertical strip of 5; three strikes of Macon double circle; green envelope;
signed Dietz.

GEO-034 Macon Savannah, GA 03 May 1863
Exl. Hill.

GEO-035 Macon Macon, GA 14 Feb
Valentine; to Miss Lila J. Arnett; stamp originally on back but repaired and repositioned;
ex-Antrim.

GEO-036 Macon Cumming, GA 03 Sep 1862
Masonic Lodge printed notice; stamp “choice.”

GEO-037 Macon? Glenn Grove, GA
Straight line “PAID” on Masonic Circular (not tied); readdressed to Fayetteville; ex
Judd; “Authenticated by Ed.Knapp.”
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

GEO-038  Marietta  16 Apr
5 single copies.

GEO-039  Savannah  Clarksville, GA  Oct
To Mrs. GW Owens; home-made from legal form; strip 3 & 2 singles.  Y

GEO-040  Savannah  Savannah, GA  26 Sep
To Lt.Col. Mitchell, 29th Regt.; 5x3 white envelope Savannah, GA; stamp UR, tied; cover repaired BR; ex Park.  1984 PF  Y

GEO-041  Savannah  Marietta, GA
“6” in circle (due marking?); sheet margin at B, gutter at L; tied on 3¢ 1860 stamped envelope; vertical pair, lower stamp in at R.

GEO-042  Savannah  10 Mar
Circular rate; stamp used to seal freight bill & torn in half when opened; addressed to G.B. Lamar; stamp “Kelly Green”; ex Park.  Y

GEO-043  Savannah  Savannah, GA
Handmade, thin brownish paper envelope; contains medical bill for services rendered.

GEO-044  Savannah  Robertsville SC  21 Jul
Sm repair at T of wrapper containing 2 newspapers; to Miss Leila Villard.  Y

GEO-045  Savannah  Robertsville SC
Cancel blurred; to Miss Leila Villard; made from unused printed form to attend a meeting of the Savannah Volunteer Guards; stamp UL, tied, cl at B; clean cut at T, else ragged.  Y
GEO-046  Savannah  
“One pamphlet.”

GEO-047  Savannah  Birmingham, AL

GEO-048  Savannah  05 Jul
Folded freight bill.

**GEO-049**  Savannah  Tuskegee, AL  31 May 1862
Brown wrapper; faint strike of “2” at TL.  Y

GEO-050  Savannah  Telegram form.

GEO-051  Savannah  08 Aug
Strip of 5; ex Dietz, Clapp, Schumacher, Telep, J. Hill.

GEO-052  Savannah  Robertville, SC  01 Jul
Circular rate; ex Dabney

GEO-053  Savannah  Savannah, GA  15 Jul 1863
Circular rate on railroad bill of lading; to the Atlantic & Chattanooga RR Depot.  Y

GEO-054  Savannah  Savannah, GA
Restoration to L of stamp; flap added.  PF Cert  Y

**GEO-055**  Savannah  Savannah, GA
Drop letter; white envelope.  Y
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

GEO-056 Savannah Savannah, GA 30 Sep
   Drop letter, to Surgeon, 25th Georgia Regiment

Covers GEO-002, GEO-011, GEO-013, GEO-015, GEO-021, GEO-024, GEO-028, GEO-025, GEO-031, GEO-032, GEO-033, GEO-036, GEO-037, GEO-042, GEO-044, GEO-049 and GEO-056 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries; cover GEO-055 through the courtesy of James Monroe; and covers GEO-017, GEO-026 and GEO-035 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance.

LOUISIANA

LA-001 Alexandria Black Jack, LA 08 Jan
   Red cancel; strip of 4 and single; few creases and faint toning.
   ex-Weatherly; signed Ashbrook
   Y

LA-002 Clinton Jackson, LA 13 Aug 1864
   Mss cancel on strip 5; not tied; with “expert restorations to stamps”; mostly large margins to close at TR. CSA Cert—stamps and mss. cancellation genuine; no opinion on whether they originate on this envelope.
   Y

LA-003 Shreveport Marion, LA 22 Jan 1863
   Year date inverted; manila cover, with strip 4 & single; few creases and stains.
   Y

Covers LA-001 and LA-003 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries; Cover LA-002 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance.

MISSISSIPPI

MS-001 Canton Canton, MS
   Pen cancel on folded telegram; printed heading of the South Western Telegraph Co.; sealed by the stamp and addressed to Canton as a drop letter. CSA cert
   Y
MS-002  Desoto  Red Oak Grove VA  14 Jul 1862
        “via Mobile, Ala”; signed Ashbrook; ex Heathcote, Finney.  Y
MS-003  Enterprise  Citronell Station AL  24 Nov ?
        Home-made cover, stamps on back; strip of 5, “margins nearly all around.”  Y
MS-004  Holly Springs  Minden, LA  31 Dec 1862
        Strip of 5 w/ inter-pane gutter between 1 and 2; pressed out wrinkles.  Y
MS-005  Kosciusko  Bear Creek GA  20 Aug
        Bright orange cancel on block of 5; bottom stamp partially missing; cover made from
        printed receipt; ex Knapp, Brooks.  PF Cert  Y
MS-006  Natchez  Natchez, MS
        Drop letter; ex Heathcote
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

**MS-007**  
Vicksburg, MS  
Turned cover (Liberty Miss. HSP Paid 10); double circle ccl; ex Manning, Shenfield.  

**MS-008**  
West Point, Marion, AL  
03 Jun ?  
Affixed over paid 5 provisional HS; tied by mss.on Attorney’s corner card; horizontal pair & diagonal bisect (unique); ex Kilbourne.

*Covers MS-002, MS-003, MS-007, and MS-007 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries; cover MS-005 through the courtesy of Patricia A. Kaufmann and cover MS-001 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance*

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**NC-002**  
Fayetteville, NC  
Jan  
To James Evans Esq, Fayetteville NC; docketed 1863; ex Matz; stamp has 3 large margins, just touches at L.  
1996 CSA Cert  

**NC-003**  
Fayetteville, NC  
21 Oct 1861  

**NC-004**  
Fayetteville, NC  
10 Oct 1862  
To Rev. Joseph Thomas.  
PF Cert  

**NC-005**  
Fayetteville, NC  
01 Nov 1862  

**NC-006**  
Goldsborough, Haywood, NC  
31 Jan 1863  
Small brown envelope; ex Caspary; pair with 5¢ Richmond print.  

**NC-007**  
Fayetteville, Good Springs SC  
11 Apr 1863  
Strip of 5.  

**NC-008**  
Greensborough, Greensborough NC  
04 Mar  
Ex Caspary.
NC-009  Greensborough  Greensborough NC  21 Mar
   To Rev. H. Wiley.  

NC-010  Greensborough  Greensborough, NC  25 Sep
   Tiny folded cover made from ruled paper; addressed in pencil; tape stain at T; mostly
   large margins, just touched at LL.  

NC-011  Hillsborough?  ?
   Illustrated cover “Hillsborough Academy”; tied mss.

NC-012  Leasburg  Oxford, NC  29 Dec 1862
   Horizontal strip of 5 with creases and soiling; mss. cancellation; cover
   reduced at L & R.  CSA cert  

NC-013  Milton  Henry County, VA
   Said to be turned cover; strip of 3 & 2 singles; close at top.  

NC-014  Murfreesboro  Ashboro, NC  27 Sep
   Murfreesboro College cover; 2 singles UL & UR.  

NC-015  Oxford  21 Jul
   Turned cover; strip of 5.  

NC-016  Oxford  Mobile, AL  22 Sep
   Pen-cancelled strip of 5; Oxford cds.  

NC-017  Raleigh  Jamestown NC  19 Jun 1864
   All tied on lower left of envelope; blue ccl; ex Bleuler; Ashbrook records 5 singles; 3
   stamps cut into slightly.  PF Cert  


### A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NC-018</td>
<td>Raleigh</td>
<td>Hillsboro, NC</td>
<td>21 Oct</td>
<td>? inter-pane gutter between stamps 3 &amp; 4; stamps ccl w / grid; strip of 5; also top sheet margin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-019</td>
<td>Raleigh</td>
<td>Haywood NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Double rate circular, contained 3 newspapers; homemade wrapper 12 x 4½ inches; horiz. pair; ex-Handy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-020</td>
<td>Raleigh</td>
<td>Raleigh NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cover damaged rather badly but repaired. PF Cert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-021</td>
<td>Rowan Mills</td>
<td>28 Mar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mss. cancel on strip of 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-022</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Montgomery, AL</td>
<td>07 Oct</td>
<td>Five strikes of a circular grid; stamps affixed over what may be Salem provisional “PAID 10” HS; strip of 5 margins all sides exc part L; ex Caspary; Seybold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-023</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Chapel Hill NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 strikes CDS; strip of 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-024</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Chapel Hill, NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Strip 4 and single, right stamp and single slightly defective; two strikes of CDS. CSA cert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-025</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Chapel Hill NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 strike CDS on 2nd and 3rd stamps of a strip of 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-026</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Chapel Hill NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 strike CDS on 3rd and 4th stamps of a strip of 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-027</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Chapel Hill NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 strike CDS on 4th and 5th stamp of a strip 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-028</td>
<td>Salisbury</td>
<td>Eagle Mills, NC</td>
<td>21 Dec 1863</td>
<td>On 8½ x 12½ ad of the purchasing agent of NC RR; 3 large margins, just clear at L; ex Weatherly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC-029</td>
<td>Shelby</td>
<td>Shelby, NC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Home-made cover; ex Dietz, McBride.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NC-030  Statesville  Wilksboro, NC
To Col. Robt. M. Smith, Sheriff of Wilksboro; mss. “Due 8”; ex Dietz  Y
Covers NC-004, NC-006, NC-009, NC-018, NC-023, NC-025, NC-026, and NC-030 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, and covers NC-002 and NC-012 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance.

SOUTH CAROLINA

SC-001  Anderson C.H. 17  Sep
Cover made from ledger paper with brown lines; strip of 5.  Y

SC-002  Blackville  Augusta, GA  24 Aug
Mss “Due 8 cts”; to Miss Laura Waldron.  PF Cert

SC-003  Camden  Camden SC  07 May
Ladies’ small cover with floral corner card.  Y

SC-004  Camden  Columbia, SC  18 Jun
Single; into slightly UR.

SC-005  Charleston  Charleston SC  16 Jan
“Official business” in mss.; to Medical Purveyor’s Depot.  Y

SC-006  Charleston  Charleston SC  16 Jan
Ms. “penny post will please deliver.”  Y

SC-007  Charleston  Charleston SC  20 Jan
Stamp UR; barely tied.  CSA Cert  Y
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

**SC-007**
SC-008 Charleston Equality P.O. 04 Feb
Newspaper wrapper; 4 margins.
**SC-009** Charleston Bees Cross Roads, SC 07 Feb
Ms “Medical Purveyors’ Bureau”; to Surgeon James Morrow.
**SC-010** Charleston Charleston SC 25 Feb -
legal size manila env; “Official Business” in mss.; stamp dark green.
**SC-011** Charleston Charleston SC 30 Mar
Close at top.

**SC-012**
SC-012 Charleston Charleston SC 02 Apr 1863
Folded circular of Palmetto Exporting & Importing Co.; large margins;
ex MacBride.  
**SC-013** Charleston Charleston SC 25 Apr
Large cover; to Surgeon, 22ND SC Volunteers. 
**SC-014** Charleston Greenville SC 22 May
5 x 2¾ inch mourning envelope; red crayon “DUE 3”; to Mrs. Charles de Toujard;
stamp UL, tied.
**SC-015** Charleston Charleston SC 09 Jun
To SP Kirk, Esq., care of Marbeth & Brush, Charleston SC; UR, tied; ex Wulfekuhler,
H.Hull.  
**SC-016** Charleston Charleston SC 09 Jun
Light vertical crease; affixed sideways.
| SC-017 | Charleston | Charleston, SC | 13 Jun 1862 | Trace of red crayon “Due 3”; stamp just in to mostly large margins. | Y |
| SC-018 | Charleston | Charleston SC | 20 Jun 1862 | Double circle ccl; blue home-made envelope; 4 margins; ex Judd, Brooks, Wulfekuhler, Brown. | Y |
| SC-019 | Charleston | Charleston SC | 21 Aug | To Gen. Desaussere; stamp BL, deep color. | Y |
| SC-020 | Charleston | Charleston SC | 16 Nov | Envelope made from church document. PSE Cert | Y |
| SC-021 | Charleston | Wright’s Bluff SC | 27 Dec | Light horizontal file folds; “due 8″ in pencil. | Y |
| SC-022 | Charleston | Charleston SC | 20 Jul | Turned cover; half stamp replaced. | |
| SC-023 | Charleston | Janes Island | 01 Jul | Small, narrow cover; to Sgt. V. Duc; stamp has 3 margins, touches at R. | Y |
| SC-024 | Charleston | Orangeburg SC | 20 Jul | Re-directed back to Charleston, Engineer’s Office, care of Captain Gregorie Strip of 5, positions 21–25. PSE cert | Y |
| SC-025 | Chesterfield CH | | | Stamp creased. | |
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SC-023</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Abbeville CH</td>
<td>21 Jun</td>
<td>Blue cancel, small buff envelope; mss. “Please put in drop mail”; vertical strip of three; ex Bogg, Finney, Knapp, Judd. CSA Cert. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-024</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Abbeville CH, SC</td>
<td>25 Jun</td>
<td>Overpayment of 5¢ rate; overlapped and tied with blue ccl; 3 singles, each cut into slightly; ex Weatherly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-025</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Abbeville CH, SC</td>
<td>03 Dec</td>
<td>2 singles plus 5¢ London print; blue ccl; ex Grant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-029</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Columbia SC</td>
<td>15 Nov</td>
<td>To past Governor Gist; stamp with 3 full margins. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-030</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Charleston SC</td>
<td>03 Dec</td>
<td>15 page pamphlet “Central Association for the Relief of Southern Soldiers of South Carolina”; front cover removed; margins large to slightly in. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-031</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Charleston SC</td>
<td>05 Dec 1862</td>
<td>Pamphlet as SC-030. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-032</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>Charleston SC</td>
<td>05 Dec 1862</td>
<td>Pamphlet as SC-030. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-033</td>
<td>Edgefield CH</td>
<td>Chester CH, SC</td>
<td>10 Oct</td>
<td>Circular; stamp tied by grid with CDS. Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC-034</td>
<td>Georgetown</td>
<td>Bennettsville SC</td>
<td>21 Nov 1862</td>
<td>Strip 5 with pen-ccl on 3 l stamps, ccl on R 2; to Sargt C. Long; ex Kohn, Park, Wulfekehler, Seybold, Needham. CSA &amp; PSE certs Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SC-033

SC-035  Henderson CH  Demerest, SC
Small envelope with strip of 5

SC-036  Pendleton “Penny post,” Charleston

SC-037  Society Hill  Columbia SC  18 Jul
Strip of 3 & pair; originally a block of 5 (positions 8/18/28/29-30)

SC-038  Sumter  Sumter SC
Mss. cancel; CSA Cert

SC-039  Yorkville  15 Nov
Made from blue legal form; ex-Kohn

Covers SC-003, SC-005, SC-009, SC-012, SC-013, SC-020, SC-021, SC-023, SC-024, SC-029, SC-030, SC-033, SC-034 and SC-037 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries; cover SC-016 through the courtesy of John L. Kimbrough, and covers SC-007, SC-017 and CS-038 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance

TENNESSEE

TN-001  Knoxville  Lawrenceville, GA  04 Jul 1862
Pair & strip of 3; left stamp of pair (Pos. 31) is “top-knot” variety; ex Moses, Walcott, Boshwit.
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

TN-001

TN-002
Knoxville, TN
Jonesboro, TN
09 Jul 1862
Vertical strip of five on immaculate envelope; ex Hessel.

TN-003
Knoxville, TN
11 Aug
Stamp torn in at TR; redirected to Saltville, VA

TN-004
Knoxville
Single & 5¢ London print.

TN-005
Knoxville, TN
Gainesville, GA
Horizontal strip of 5, close at T; ex Dabney.

TN-006
Murfreesboro, TN
Charleston, TN
11 Dec 1862
Three strikes of the CDS on 5 singles, slightly overlapping; right edge of cover reduced, and one-third of stamp restored

Covers TN-001, TN-003 and TN-006 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, and cover TN-002 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance

TEXAS

TX-001
Anderson
13 Apr
“PAID”; block of 5, on back of cover.

TX-002
Austin
New Braunfels, TX
State of Texas Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office corner card on R; legal size cover; ex Handy.

TX-003
Austin
Block of 10 folded around left edge; mss.“Dept.of State/O.B.” ex Mueller.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TX-004</th>
<th>Austin</th>
<th>Austin, TX</th>
<th>Drop letter.</th>
<th>Y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TX-005</td>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>26 Aug</td>
<td>Wrapper, around intact Houston newspaper, “The Telegraph”; CDS in newspaper margin; stamp on wrapper and pen-canceled.</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TX-006</td>
<td>Huntsville</td>
<td>Houston, TX</td>
<td>15 May 1863</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On folded letter—blue paper; vertical &amp; horizontal pair, single; stamps with pre-use tears and creases; ex Bleuler.</td>
<td>PF Cert</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

TX-007 Marshall  
Little Rock, AR  
16 Apr 1863
Strip of 5; cover partially restored.  

TX-008 Marshall  
Little Rock, AR  
15 Jun 1863
Pale green cover, extensively restored, back-flap added; to Lt in COL Randalls Regt.; horiz strip of 5 w / small faults.  
CSA Cert 1977  

TX-009 Melrose  
Grid cancel; folded tax bill.

TX-010 Montgomery  
Washington TX  
01 Mar
Strip of 5.  

TX-011 New Braunfels  
Guadalupe City  
05 Dec
Horizontal strip of three (2 stamps removed).  

Covers TX-005, TX-008, TX-010, and TX-011 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries; and covers TX-001, TX-004 and TX-007 are through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance.

VIRGINIA

VA-001 Blackville  
Single and mss. “Due 8.”

VA-002 Bowling Green  
Loyds, Essex Co, VA  
12
Blue CDS, date (?Jul) written in; also Lt mss. cancel; to Mr. B.R. Baird; stamp UR; creased & damaged.

VA-003 Cartersville  
Richmond, VA  
?
Orange cover; “Adv. Aug 17” in square w / Richmond postmark on back; mss. town ccl; stamp has margins T&B, in at sides; not tied.

VA-004 Charlottesville  
Charlottesville VA  
Feb

VA-005 Charlottesville  
Charlottesville VA  
Mar 1863
Blue cancel; home-made envelope; stamp has ample to large margins.  

VA-006 Charlottesville  
26 Dec  

VA-007 Charlottesville  
Barboursville, VA  
Blue cancel ties stamp to small brown envelope w / mss. “printed advertisement”; addressee name cut out and replaced; stamp with large margins.  

Y
VA-008  Charlottesville  Charlottesville, VA  
Used on 3¢ star die envelope.  Y

VA-009  Clarksville  Clarksville, VA  1862  
Pen cancel X; drop letter; stamp cut into bottom & left.

VA-010  Danville  
Strip of 5.

VA-011  Keysville  Aspenwall, VA  15 Oct  
Circular; extensively repaired.  Y

VA-012  Lexington  Covington, VA  20 Apr  
Pen cancels on strip of 5 with CDS; cover made from ledger sheet.  Y

VA-013  Lynchburg  24 Apr  
On folded Southern Express invoice for barrel of potatoes; invoice damaged in several places.

VA-014  Lynchburg  Virginia Mills, VA  19 Oct  
Address corrected to Dionis Mills; blue ccl; listed in Ashbrook records.  Y

VA-015  Newtown-Stephensburg  Ruckersville, VA  
Morgan, Smith & Co. corner card (tobacco); faded, rubbed strip of 5 stamps.

VA-016  Orange C.H.  Richmond VA  
Strip of 3 plus 5¢ CSA #7; back flap missing, other flaps separated and reattached; 
strip with vertical crease; #7 with scuff & light stain.  CSA cert  Y

VA-005  VA-011

VA-005  VA-011
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

VA-017  Petersburg  Jackson, MS
Pair; 2x circular rate with Evangelical Tract Society corner card; docketed Jul 8, 1862.

VA-018  Petersburg  Macon, GA
Pair; 2x circular rate with Evangelical Tract Society corner card.

VA-019  Petersburg  Lynchburg, VA
Evangelical Tract Society cover, turned and re-used to Charlotte CH; with pair of 5¢ local prints canceled Lynchburg May 1; 2¢ defective and uncanceled.

VA-020  Petersburg  Milton, NC  28 Dec
Used w/ 5¢ #4 (defective and repaired); blue CCI; marked “DUE 3”; ex Weatherly.

VA-021  Petersburg  Petersburg, VA  11 May
Blue cover made from printed fire insurance policy to member of CPT Martin’s Battery; stamp has ample margins to just touching; ex M.Everett, Corwin, Boshwit; PSE cert

VA-022  Petersburg  Petersburg, VA  21 Aug
Addressed inside but not used; includes note written on Fire Insurance Company form.

VA-023  Petersburg  Petersburg, VA  20 Oct
Insurance Company circular.
| VA-024 | Petersburg | Petersburg, VA | 15 Nov | Tied by blue cancel to small envelope; stamp is top margin copy; ex Caspary, CSA cert | Y |
| VA-025 | Petersburg | Petersburg, VA |        | Yellow cover reduced at top & left; blue cancel; to Mrs. Julian C. Ruffin c/o Col. R.M. Harrison. | Y |
| VA-026 | Richmond   | Richmond, VA   | 17 Feb 1862 | Folded letter, made from notepaper; originating in Auburn Mills, Hanover County; huge margins to ample at base. PF cert | Y |
| VA-027 | Richmond   | Richmond, VA   | 22 Feb   | Green Spotts & Harvey advertising cover; strip of 5 with good margins to barely touching at TL. CSA cert | Y |
| VA-028 | Richmond   | Jeffress Store, VA | 13 Mar | Strip of 5, large margins but tear between 1st and 2nd stamps; ex Birkinbine, Corwin. | Y |
| VA-029 | Richmond   | Petersburg, VA | 27 Mar   | Day inverted; strip of 5. CSA cert | Y |
| VA-030 | Richmond   | Richmond, VA   | 04 Apr 1862 | Semi-official envelope of CSA Navy Dept; drop letter; stamp good margins to trifle cut in; ex Weatherly. | Y |
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

| VA-031 | Richmond | Dover NC | 05 Jul 1862 |
|        |          |          |             | Vertical strip of 5; bright yellow green shade; stamps on back of cover. | Y |
| VA-032 | Richmond | Richmond VA |          | With letter advising Alabama soldier's commander that he and another are in the hospital; stamp bright yellow green with BR corner repaired (partly drawn in). | CSA Cert |
| VA-033 | Richmond | 10 Sep 1862 |          | On wrapper made from government form. | PF cert |
| VA-034 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 27 Sep 1862 | Drop letter; small white env.; to member of House of Delegates; margins all around; ex Caspary. | Y |
| VA-035 | Richmond | Chaffin's Bluff VA | 30 Sep 1862 | Military address; signed Dietz. | Y |
| VA-036 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 07 Oct 1862 | To Governor St., Richmond; stamp UL; signed Ashbrook | Y |

- VA-037
- VA-038

| VA-037 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 11 Oct 1862 | To Surgeon with 45th NC regiment, Drewry's Bluff, Richmond; Official Business at TR; legal sized cover; cleaned and repaired. | Y |

| VA-038 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 12 Oct 1862 | To Capt'n Chas Alston Jr; mss. Second Auditor's Office / Official at UR, legal sized; stamp cut into at R; tied UL; with 3 mm of stamp above. | Y |

- VA-039
- VA-041

| VA-039 | Richmond | 12 Oct 1862 |          | Wrapper front, made from wallpaper; stamp has full margins. | Y |
| VA-040 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 14 Oct 1862 |
| VA-041 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 20 Oct 1862 |
| VA-042 | Richmond | Macon, GA | 01 Nov 1862 |
| VA-043 | Richmond | 12 Nov 1862 |
| VA-044 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 15 Nov 1862 |
| VA-045 | Richmond | 22 Nov 1862 |
| VA-046 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 08 Dec 1862 |
| VA-047 | Richmond | Pacolet Mills, SC | 27 1862 |
| VA-048 | Richmond | Lovingston, VA | 07 Jan 1863 |
| VA-049 | Richmond | Rockfish Depot, VA | 13 Jan 1863 |
| VA-050 | Richmond | 15 Jan 1863 |
| VA-051 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 22 Jan 1863 |
| VA-052 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 23 Jan 1863 |
| VA-053 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 06 Feb 1863 |

Treasury Department envelope, torn & repaired; addressed to James H. Cook, Esq., Richmond VA; tied UR below imprint; ex Schenk, Park.

Treasury Department imprint; cover has vertical tear at L; top & back flap replaced; part of imprint drawn in at left.

On Oct. 22 Dept of Justice printed circular; ex Weatherly.

Legal sized envelope.

Circular; ex Weatherly; repaired at bottom right.

Treasury Department semi-official.

Strip of 5 on front; reduced at right.

mss. “circular”; ex Shenfield.

Cover made from printed circular, missing 2 flaps; annotated “AMartin & Car-dozo / Circular, 1863”; ex Wiseman, Warren; stamp tied at UR.

Circular rate; stamp cut in slightly at TL; ex Wulfekuhler.

Pair on legal-sized cover; mss. “CS Patent Office” at top right; signed Dietz.

To Capt. Thomas P. Shields; stamp UR, tied.

Enclosure was bill from Dr. Welford for medical services, to a member of the House of Delegates; stamp is three margin; ex Kuegle, Sheppard.
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

| VA-054 | Richmond | 06 Feb 1863 |
| VA-055 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 12 Feb 1863 |
| VA-056 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 14 Feb 1863 |
| VA-057 | Richmond | Richmond VA | 26 Feb 1863 |
| VA-058 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 03 Mar 1863 |
| VA-059 | Richmond | 27 Mar 1863 |
| VA-060 | Richmond | 30 Apr 1863 |
| VA-061 | Richmond | 02 May 1863 |
| VA-062 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 07 May 1863 |
| VA-063 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 09 May 1863 |
| VA-064 | Richmond | Richmond VA | 22 May 1863 |
| VA-065 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 29 May 1863 |
| VA-066 | Richmond | 01 Jul 1863 |
| VA-067 | Richmond | Richmond, VA | 03 Jul 1863 |

Circular rate on turned cover.  
Legal-sized cover with imprint Confederate States / Navy Department / Official Business; to Navy Surgeon.  
To R.W. Adams Esq., care of S.H. Owens & Son; stamp UR.  
Portion of envelope at R is missing; vertical strip of three; stamps have numerous faults, crease in top stamp.  
Legal sized cover; Navy Department Official Business imprint;  
miss. “Missent to Augusta, GA” with Augusta, GA March 10 CDS and Ms. “Due 8” at top.  
Strip of 3 plus a vertical pair, creases and in at top, over blue embossed corner card of gun dealer; ex Peters.  
Cover stained and cut into at L; ex Peters.  
Turned cover, made from mourning envelope; stamp has three ample margins.  
Legal-sized Navy Department Official Business imprint; cover restored with flaps and extensively docketed  
Drop letter; blue cancel; address is rewritten.  
Drop letter; ex Mueller.
To Maj Alfred Rives, Engineer Bureau, Institute Hall (See Ashbrook, Postal Legislation of the CSA p. 41); stamp UR, tied.

Military address pasted to the cover; stamp full margins to touched at BR.

Printed notice from the Auditor’s Office in Richmond

Used w/ 5¢ Lt Blue, DeLaRue with sheet margin at left and 2¢ showing part of the adjacent stamp on the right; ex Wiltsee, M. Everett. CSA cert

On Navy Department Official Business imprinted legal size cover, front rebacked and restored; ex Dukeshire; stamp at angle UL, tied. CSA cert

Cancellation indistinct; printed letterhead of leather goods dealer; stamp in at top.

CSA Treasury Dept. cover; ex Moses. PF Cert

5-10¢ Patersons and 1-2¢ Green (26 oz. circulars); ex MacBride.
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

**VA-076** Richmond, VA
Cover stained, stamp has ragged edge at left. CSA cert Y

**VA-077** Richmond
Front only; strip of 5.

**VA-078** Richmond, VA
Legal sized cover; imprint “Confederate States of America / Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office”; stamp UL Y

**VA-079** Richmond
Blue cancel; notice of meeting to relieve suffering of wounded soldiers (circular rate); ex Hessel.

**VA-080** Richmond, VA
Stamp clipped at lower right; yellow-green; ex-Weatherly.

**VA-081** Richmond, VA
Blurred cancellation on newspaper wrapper made from printed form. Y

**VA-082** Spartanburg, SC
Strip of 3 and two singles, on buff cover with toned spot at right. CSA cert Y

**VA-083** Staunton, VA
Front of a circular. 20 Apr

**VA-084** Suffolk
Circular. 08 Mar

**VA-085** Va.C.R.R. Cobham North Garden, VA
Turned cover; mss. notation “printed circulars”; ex Heathcote. PSE, CSA cert Y
VA-086 Winchester
With “Due 10.”

Covers VA-005, VA-011, VA-012, VA-017, VA-018, VA-020, VA-021, VA-027, VA-028, VA-035, VA-037, VA-038, VA-039, VA-045, VA-059, VA-063, VA-067, VA-069, VA-070, VA-074, VA-076, VA-080, VA-081, VA-082 and VA-085 are illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Gallery; covers VA-024 and VA-049 are shown through the courtesy of John L. Kimbrough; and, cover VA-041 through the courtesy of the Confederate Stamp Alliance.

**INDETERMINATE OR UNKNOWN**

While the origin of these covers may be assumed with reasonable accuracy, the lack of specifically identifying postal markings precludes absolute identification.

**IND-001** Shreveport, LA 30 Jun 1863
Strip of 5, mostly large margins with target and pen cancels only; to Lt. Theos. Perry, Shreveport, LA; date is from an enclosure, a letter from Lt. Perry’s wife datelined “At home, June 30th 1863.”

**IND-002** Little Rock, AR
Illegible cancel on strip of five; to Lt. Theophilus Perry, Col Randle’s Regiment (as IND-001).

**IND-003** Abbeville, SC
Single, barely tied by grid cancel; no other postal markings. CSA cert

**IND-004** New Braunfels, TX
Stamp UR; canceled with two pen strokes; addressed to 1st Regt, 31st Bde., Texas State Troops and endorsed “Official Business.”

**IND-005** London (?) Church near Jamestown, VA
Strip of 5; manuscript cancel; to Mr. Henry E. Coleman, Jr., 14th Reg’t, VA Volunteers.
A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp

Cover IND-001 is illustrated through the courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Gallery; cover IND-003 is shown through the courtesy of John L. Kimbrough and cover IND-005 through the courtesy of Patricia A. Kaufmann.

**TWO CENT GREEN USAGE**

While the distinction between a drop letter and a circular rate was not always clear, assignment to one or the other category was made as accurately as possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2¢ Drop Rate</th>
<th>2¢ Circular Rate</th>
<th>Ten Cent Rate</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Florida</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>266</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other uses indicate that the 2¢ denomination was often missed, and the stamp was probably thought to be the 5¢ green lithograph:

- Used with a 5¢ stamp:
  - Noted as “Due 3” 3
  - Noted as “Due 8” 3
  - Underpayment not noted 2
  - Pair, noted as “Due 6” 1
  - Pair, not otherwise rated 5
  - Strip of three, not otherwise rated 5
  - Single, rated “Due 10” 1
  - Pair & bisect (unique) 1

- Used to make up other rates or amounts:
  - 52¢ 1
  - 26¢ 1
  - 20¢ 1
  - 11¢ 1
  - 9¢ 1

IND-005
Ten cent rate covers are distributed as follows:

- Strip of 5 \( \rightarrow \) 46
- Strip of three + pair \( \rightarrow \) 4
- Block of 5 \( \rightarrow \) 2
- Two pairs + single \( \rightarrow \) 1
- Strip of 4 + single \( \rightarrow \) 3
- Five singles \( \rightarrow \) 4
- Strip of 3 + 2 singles \( \rightarrow \) 3

**Acknowledgments**

No undertaking of this kind is possible without the help of a large number of people. In expressing my thanks for their help, there is always a high degree of probability that someone will be inadvertently omitted, and I hope that they will accept my apologies for doing so. That being said, I especially want to thank Scott Trepel, of the Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, for permission to use the excellent database of scans of Confederate covers which the firm has handled. The Confederate Stamp Alliance’s Expertization Committee also provided a number of scans through the kindness of Frank Crown, and professional members of the CSA—Trish Kaufmann, John Kimbrough and Leonard Hartmann—also furnished both scans and information on covers from their stocks. Among the many others who provided much useful information or illustrations were Jim Monroe, Wilson Goold and especially the late John Hill.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge a very special group of mentors, to whom I owe far more than I can ever express—Morris Everett, Tom Parks, Tom White Crigler and Clinton McGee. They lit a flame which has occasionally flickered, but which has never gone out.
The underground railroad post office in Postumia Grotte 1872–1945

Thomas Lera

The first cavern to achieve worldwide renown as a showplace was Adelsberg Cave, located near a village of the same name in Austria. From 1872–1945, it had three other names: Adelsberger Grotte, Postumia Grotte and Postojnska Jama (Figure 1).

Exploration began as early as the thirteenth century, but the cave received only modest attentions until 1818, when a decision was made to commercialize the cave. Workers cleared away rubble and climbed rickety ladders to install torches for light. In the process, one laborer happened upon a gap in the cave’s far wall, some ninety feet above the floor. Crawling through the opening, he found a new section far larger than the first with fantastic dripstone formations.

Local officials reasoned, if the problems of access could be conquered, the public would find it irresistible. Workers continued to level paths through the chambers, built a wooden bridge across the cave’s underground Pivka River, and chiseled stone stairways into the walls made safer by wooden handrails. The crude torches were eventually replaced with chandeliers and oil lamps, and guides were trained.

When the railway linking Ljubljana and Trieste via Postojna was opened in 1857, access became easier and interest in the cave even greater. On March 11, 1857, Emperor Franz Joseph and Empress Elisabeth stopped in Adelsberg to visit the cave on their way home from Italy.

Adelsberg Cave was soon drawing 1,000 visitors a year, and by the 1870s the annual number of tourists had soared to 8,000. After visiting Adelsberg in 1881, a reporter from the New York Times (1881) wrote in awe of the “stalactites of unequaled splendor,” and the “fantastic architecture in the cave,” and concluded “though it possessed neither the mighty expanse of the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, nor the delicate beauty of the Blue Grotto at Capri, every part of it is filled with a stern and gloomy grandeur which is indescribably impressive.”

To avoid confusion, and keeping in line with naming conventions, all references in this article to locations in the cave will be in Italian (also found on the map below). However, most places have alternative names in both Austrian and Slovenian.

1. Between 1872–1945, the cave had three names Adelsberger Grotte / Postumia Grotte / Postojnska Jama because different countries (Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia) occupied the surrounding territory.
The problem of making visits more comfortable, safer, easier, and more comfortable was resolved in 1872, when the Cave Board decided to install rail tracks into the cave 1.4 miles to Calvario (Figure 2). Since the path through the cave did not have many changes in elevation, the Board decided that the carriages in the cave could be driven by manpower.

Figure 2. Map of Postumia Grotte showing Railway (Ferrovia—dashed line) and Walkway (Strada—red solid line).
The first underground commercial railway in the world began operation on June 16, 1872. The part of the cave it originally took visitors half an hour to explore could now be seen in five minutes from the elegant double-seated carriages called “Faetons” (Figure 3) (Slovenski 1872). Visitors could use the carriages in one or both directions, into and out of the cave. The round-trip ticket cost 1 florin, a one way ticket 70 kreutzers. In 1920, entrance into the cave was 15 lira and a roundtrip train ticket was an additional 5 lira (Figure 4).²

By 1914, the small, manually operated railway became outdated due to the large number of visitors, and the cave humidity had decayed many of the railroad ties. The Cave Board contacted the Orenstein & Koppel factory and ordered a locomotive and carriages, of the type usually used in mines (Borjanèiè 1992). The locomotive, named “Montania,” had a one-cylinder water-cooled 6–8 Brake Horse Power (BHP) petrol engine with two axles (Il Popolo 1924).

² For comparison costs at that time $1 US was equal to 19 lira.

Figure 3. The Faeton, photograph by M. Šeber, Postojna.

Figure 4. Tickets from the 1920s to enter the cave and ride the train.
Plans to improve the railway were interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War. Then in the early 1920s, the Italians, who now controlled the area, continued improvements, including completing the railway, upgrading the electrical system, removing the monuments praising Austrian emperors, and employing foreign language speaking guides.

The Italian patriotic feelings were strong after World War I. Italians believed “the Austrian and Slovenian names of dripstones and formations were infantile” and replaced them with the names from Roman mythology, for example Franz Joseph und Elisabeth Grotte became Braccio Mediano (Shaw 2006). (Around 1945, Yugoslavia changed it to Male jame.)

The improved underground railway system from the cave entrance to Calvario was completed in 1923. Between April and June 1924 the first test-drives were performed with the locomotive “Montania No. 803.” On August 2, 1924, the new underground railway was officially opened (Čuk 2003). The locomotive hauled five four-seat carriages into the cave four times a day (10 a.m., noon, 2 p.m. and 4 p.m.).

Based on the growing popularity of the cave, the Cave Board decided to purchase additional locomotives and carriages. On March 27, 1925, Orenstein & Koppel sent from their factory in Nordhausen, a new “Montania, S-10, No. 2044” with a more powerful petrol-driven, three-axle locomotive and new carriages with six adjustable seats (Figure 5). A year later, in July 1926, the Cave Board bought a third 20 BHP petrol-driven locomotive “Cemsa, Type 20 G, No. 20-779,” manufactured in Milan. There were now three trains with thirty-one carriages which took tourists into the cave eight times each day (Čuk 2003, 235).

A journalist from the Bologna newspaper Il Resto del Carlino3 (1925) visited the grotto and wrote: “It is 4 p.m. The train stops on the platform in front of the cave, having passed the 75-metre long gallery, acting as the underground railway station. We boarded the train and the guide rang the bell to announce the departure of the train. Those who decided to visit the cave on foot, follow the guides. There are some elderly people and quite a lot of ladies and children on the train. The train slowly reaches Calvario, the final railway station with the turning point for the locomotives. There the train waited for the visitors who explored

Figure 5. Montania S-10, Ufficio Postale R.R. Grotte (Official Postcard of the Royal Caves).

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3. *Carlino* is one of the oldest newspapers and symbol of the city of Bologna since March 21, 1885, when it was first published.
The underground railroad post office in Postumia Grotte 1872–1945

further and took them back to the cave entrance along the same route. On its way back the train stopped near La Sala da Ballo, by the old post office where the visitors posted their postcards during a ten-minute break.”

In 1928, there were significant changes to the entrance of the cave with the construction of the Cave Board Administration Building, the entrance platform with the railway station, and the reception area (Figure 6). Now located between the headquarters and rock cliff was a new, visitor-friendly railway station with two tracks and a raised platform offering a safer and more comfortable access into the cave. This entrance was used for visitors wanting to see the cave from the train, while those who wanted to visit it on foot continued to enter through the main entrance.4

The post offices

In 1899, the Austrian Ministry of Commerce agreed to the Cave Board’s proposal to build and operate a post office inside the cave. The post office (Figure 7), built of stone, was about 13 feet long by 6.5 feet wide, with a low-pitched roof. There was a door at the north end, two window openings for sales counters and a slot for mail. It was built about 1,650 feet from the cave entrance (Figure 2).

Its customers were regular tourists and those attending the special twice-yearly festivals called Grottenfests held in the La Sala da Ballo with the dance hall specially illuminated. In 1910, Juvanec5 reported that there were tables and seats outside the building for visitors to write their postcards.

For the Whit Monday (Pentecost) Grottenfest, the postal authorities authorized a special “Adelsberger Grotte / Postojnska jama” cancellation as seen in Figure 8. The postal authorities allowed the special postmarks to be used throughout the season from March first to November first, starting as early as 1899 (Adelsberg 1912). The other Grottenfest was held at different times in the autumn months.

Figure 6. Station platform in 1929 with the CESMA locomotive and carriages. Ufficio Postale R.R. Grotte (Official Postcard of the Royal Caves)

4. The visitors could choose between visiting the cave by underground train or on foot until 1963. After that year all visitors were required to use the underground train.

5. His photographs of the cave and its surroundings were used as illustrations on many postcards of the day.
There was a special cancel, a forerunner of a slogan cancel, for the 1912 Grottenfest when the Liedertafel Choral Society from Währingen performed in the cave (Figure 9).

There were several handstamps which had been applied in the cave on postcards. It is not known if the Austrian postal clerks applied these handstamps or if the handstamp and ink pad had been available at the counter for visitor use (Figure 10).

At Christmas 1915, two special military field post office postmarks were used—K. u. k. Grottenfeldpost 81. Kriegsweihnachten 1915 (Imperial and Royal Cave Mail 81. War Christmas 1915) and K. u. k. Grottenfeldpostamt 81. Kriegsweihnachten 1915 (Imperial and Royal Cave Field Post Office 81. War Christmas 1915) (Figure 11). All military field post offices

**Figure 7.** The Austrian post office in 1900 as seen on a multiple language post card, photograph by M. Šeber, Postojna.

**Figure 8.** Postcard mailed on Whit Monday, May 20, 1907.
were numbered and, although their locations were not fixed, number 81 was at Postojna in 1915 and 1916 (Rainer 1995). This post office building remained in use until 1927 (with the Italian “Postumia (Grotte)” postmark used after 1922), when it was replaced by a new building located 1.4 miles inside the cave (Shaw and Čuk 2003).

**The Austrian / Italian Post Office**

At the end of World War I, on September 10, 1919, the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye was signed recognizing the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. Parts of Austria were incorporated into the newly created states of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia (the “successor states”) and Trentino, South Tyrol, Trieste, Istria and several Dalmatian islands were ceded to Kingdom of Italy. Then in 1920, the Treaty of Rapallo, between the Kingdom of Italy and the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929), was signed to resolve additional territorial disputes. According to this treaty, the western part of
the former Duchy of Carniola territory, including the town of Postojna, was ceded to Italy. Adelsberg Cave now came under Italian control and was renamed Postumia Grotte.

The post office seems to have been resurrected between then and September 17, 1922, the official reopening of the cave at the traditional autumn festival (Il Resto 1922). The cave continued to operate on a regular, non-festive basis.

While a 1924 guidebook indicated the old post office was open only during the traditional cave festivals, postcards put in the letter box on any day were dispatched with the special Postumia (Grotte) postmark. Because of the ten-minute train stop at the post office, many tables were occupied by hundreds of people daily who were in a hurry to write postcards purchased at the nearby post office counter (Perko and Gradenigo 1924). The post office was refurbished in the first half of 1924, and soon after roofs were erected over the visitor tables to shelter them from the dripping cave ceiling occurring after long periods of rain. By this time there were four clerks working in the post office (Figure 12) (Urbani 1925).

The “POSTUMIA (GROTTE) *” cancellation used, between 1923 and 1926, was 28 mm in diameter. Another cancellation of the same size, “POSTUMIA GROTTE * TRIESTE *” (Figure 13), was used only in 1927.

Exactly when the Austrian post office ceased to be used during Italian occupation is not known. However early in 1927, a large, newly built post office was opened in Concert Hall in the Calvario, and both post offices operated together
for a period of time. Newspapers of 1927 and 1928 each refer to two post offices, although a report for 1927 indicated the Austrian post office was demolished in 1927 (Shaw 2003).

**The new Italian post office**

Early in 1927, the new Italian post office was built 1.4 miles from the cave entrance, more than twice as far into the cave as the old Austrian post office (Figure 2). Large and modern in style, with many tables outside beneath colored glass umbrellas (Figure 14), it was built in the southeast corner of the Concert Hall in Calvario not far from where today’s visitors catch the cave train back to the surface at the end of their tour.

An Italian language guidebook of the same year (Postumia 1927) describes the post office. “On the right [of the Concert Hall], a vast cavity opens on this fine hall. The Post Cavern, in a pretty construction, also unique in its way, the postal service of the R.R. Grottoes is carried on. All about, large umbrellas of colored glass, casting around a delicate light, invite the traveler to repose. From this point start daily thousands of postcards, with greetings from the unknown world (Figure 15).”

Outside the cave, a newly constructed building opened on October 28, 1928, containing another post office as well as the ticket office, cloakroom, administrative offices, restaurant, and the station for the underground railway (Figure 6). The administrative office used the regular Postumia town postmark as well as the Postumia Grotte postmarks for its mail up to the end of May 1935 (Shaw 2003). It is likely that tourists’ mail posted at the administrative building received it too, making the true underground mail indistinguishable for the next few years.

Several administrative handstamps can also be found on postcards. It is not known if the Italian postal clerks applied these handstamps or if visitors used the handstamp and ink pad available to them at the counter (Figure 16). In June 1935, a new 31.5 mm diameter “POSTUMIA GROTTE ᵉ TRIESTE ᵉ” postmark (Figure 17) was in use at the underground post office.
Between 1931 and 1939, Italy widely distributed a series of postal cards of different images of popular Italian places. These postal cards were specifically designed for tourism propaganda and for both internal (30c) and foreign (75c) mail. The imprinted stamp was an image of King Victor Emanuel III. Postumia Grotte had six different 30c postal cards, one of which is shown in Figure 17 (Sopracordevole 1994).

The cave post office applied other markings to postcards and letters, like the “T” for postage due (Figure 18) and the “Postumia Grotte Registration Label” for registered letters (Figure 19).

**After World War II**

The Italian-built structure survived for many years after World War II, but for most of this time it was closed. When the cave was reopened to the public on August 1927, a 1927 Italian language guidebook was available (Figure 15).
15, 1945, a special new red cave postmark (Figure 20) was used that day to cancel the first four stamps issued by the Yugoslav Military Government for use in Trieste Zone B of the former Italian-occupied part of Slovenia (The Istria and Slovene Coast) (Kloetzel 2006).

Figure 17. Italian Tourist card with a new cave postmark introduced in 1935 (31 ½ mm diameter).

Figure 18. Postage Due “T” handstamp.

Figure 19. Postumia Grotte registered letter with cancellations and registration label.
Postumia Grotte is unique in having had an official underground post office (at one time two), which sold stamps and picture postcards that were accepted into the mail system. Authorized postmarks for the cave show dates from 1899 to 1945. The post office was included in the Universal Postal Union’s list of world post offices (Union Postale Universelle 1937), though not in all the later editions. The first building, erected around 1899, remained in use until about 1927, when another was opened even further inside the cave. The old Italian-built post office was finally demolished in February 1983, so the present souvenir building could be erected before the tourist season began (Shaw 2003). Today the post office is located in the town of Postojna, with only a collection box outside the cave entrance.

The underground railroad operated and serviced both post offices. Today, 130 years after the first double-seated carriages pushed by the cave guides were introduced into the cave, there are ten sophisticated battery-operated locomotives and six sets of carriages, two modern railway stations, one at the cave entrance and the other in Sala da Concerti, and a circular railway line (Shaw 2003). Now called Postojnska Jama, it is one of Slovenia’s world-class scenic highlights.

Acknowledgements

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References

Il Resto del Carlino 1922 September 7. Bologna

6. By 1952 the post office was still used for the sale of postcards whenever there was a concert in the cave, and by 1958, it operated throughout the tourist season, from April first to October thirtieth. Documents specifically mention mail was stamped with a “special postmark.” It is likely this was not an official post office cancellation but one of a succession of souvenir rubber stamps or slogan cancels that were in use for many years. According to Marjan Pibenik who became director and Albin Markovèiè who started to work at the cave, there was no operating underground post office after 1962.
The underground railroad post office in Postumia Grotte 1872–1945

Il Resto del Carlino. 1925 June 27, Bologna.
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Poland in Europe after World War I. Some of the international (Above) and domestic (Below) air routes (1920–1928).
The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)

Jerzy W. Kupiec-Węglinski and Jacek Kosmala

INTRODUCTION

The early history of air communication in the Polish territories is deeply rooted in the air force. Indeed, by the end of 1914 and through March 1915 during World War I, the Austrian military aviators were sending reports and soldier correspondence by planes and balloons from the Przemyśl fortress besieged by the Russians. In March 1918, the Austrian military inaugurated postal air connection between Vienna and Kiev, via Kraków, Lwów (Lemberg), and Proskurov. This was the first regular and international airmail service in the world. After a brief extension to Budapest in July, the service was ultimately discontinued in mid-October 1918.

The Przemyśl Siege and Vienna–Kiev airmail have been well described in philatelic literature, including the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth American Philatelic Congress Books. This article will address the pioneer period of airmail services in the Polish territories between 1918, the year Poland regained its independence after 123 years of partitions, and January 1, 1929, when the first government-owned Polish Airline LOT was established.

This is the first attempt, in as many as eighty years, to analyze the subject in a comprehensive and complex manner. Indeed, in 1929, the Air Mail Collector, the predecessor of the Airpost Journal, the official publication of the American Air Mail Society (AAMS), published a series of articles on the Polish airpost history, authored by Tadeusz Gryżewski of Warszawa (AAMS member number 198).

FIRST POLISH AIRMAIL

It was during the siege of Lwów by the Ukrainian forces in November 1918, when a Polish airplane with red and white striped national insignia on its wings was used for the first time. Stefan Stanislaw Stec, one of the first pilots of the Polish Air Force and a fighter ace, carried out several courier flights while transporting important army reports and documents to the city cut off from the rest of the country. The amount of mail sent is not known. The letters were deposited at the Committee for Lwów Defense in Warszawa and then delivered directly to the pilot. There was no fee charged for the air service; likewise, the envelopes bear neither special cachets nor airpost markings.

First attempts to organize the civil air transport in newly independent Poland occurred in September 1919. Based on the initiative given by the Aerial War Regiment of Poznań in
the western part of the country, the air force pilots serving in the nearby Lawica Air Station tried to set up an airplane link with Warszawa, the capital. The maiden flight from Poznań to Warszawa took place on September 18, 1919. The letters, deposited at a private bookshop, were taken at a fee of one mark each. Since this undertaking was not approved by the central Warszawa authorities, future flights were discontinued. At the same time, the National Society of Aerial Navigation of Poland, operating with British Handley-Page Transport funding, planned to launch air connections between the Free City of Gdańsk (Danzig), Warszawa and Kraków. However, this attempt also failed. On October 13, 1919, the Polish representatives signed The International Convention of Aviation, in Paris, which committed Poland to international cooperation in the development of civil aviation.

**Berlin-Warszawa first flight**

On June 21, 1919, a twin engine aircraft was flown by a Polish Lieutenant Maximilian Zuske-Zdzierz from Berlin to Warszawa. The aircraft, awarded to Poland by the Allied War Commission as a part of World War I reparations, was intended for future training of Polish flying personnel. To commemorate that historic flight, seventy-six plain postal cards were deposited in the Berlin W56 Post Office under the name of Dr. Lewandowski, a representative of the Polish government. Each card was registered and had an express sticker attached (Figure 1A). The registration and express fees of 10 and 20 pfennigs, respectively, were prepaid by the German stamps, which were canceled on June 15, 1919. An important characteristic was a special circular violet cachet depicting a downed German aircraft, stating the air surcharge of 20 German marks (Mk), the anticipated departure date between June 20 and 22, and the intended Berlin–Warschau route. The border clashes between German and Polish forces were the reason for not specifying the exact departure date. After the aircraft landed safely on June 21 at the Mokotów airfield in Warszawa, the cards received black cachet, similar to the one used in Berlin, but with the Polish text (Figure 1B).

The airmail was then delivered to the main Warszawa post office, where each of the seventy-six cards received newly issued Polish National Assembly stamps. However, due to organizational problems, the stamp cancellation was delayed until July 4. The entire batch of cards was then forwarded to the Air Force Inspectorate for certification. The Air Force seal attested delivered airmail was carried by Lt. Zuske on his flight from Berlin to Warszawa on June 21, 1919. The airmail was then delivered to the main Warszawa post office, where each of the seventy-six cards received newly issued Polish National Assembly stamps. However, due to organizational problems, the stamp cancellation was delayed until July 4. The entire batch of cards was then forwarded to the Air Force Inspectorate for certification. The Air Force seal attested delivered airmail was
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in agreement with the Polish Army Command. To prevent any future forgeries, special affidavits in Polish, French and English were appended to each card (Figure 1C). This quite large document (34 cm x 42 cm) states: “The first air-post Berlin–Warsaw. The adjoined postcards have been brought at Warsaw by a polish pilot, who did cross the frontiers at the battle-time, being in danger from the Polish as well as from the German side 21 June 1919. Signed by the General Staff of the Aerial Service in Warsaw.” The affidavits were signed by Capt. Stepniewicz, the Inspector, and officially stamped with the black cachet.

To further prevent any duplication, a wax seal with a cord was attached. Thus, the delivery of postcards from the first Berlin–Warszawa flight has acquired a special place in the history of Polish airmail.

Since all the records were lost, it is unknown how many postal cards were retained by the Polish Air Force. Lt. Zuske has mentioned in his personal notes that single cards were sent to George V, the King of England; President Wilson of the United States; Polish Premier Paderewski; and the Archbishop of Warszawa, Cardinal Kakowski. There is a document in the Ministry
of Post and Telegraph (Dept IV, nr. 533/Mz, dated August 27, 1923) thanking Lt. Zuske for presenting to the Museum “one postal card of the First Air Mail flight.” Two original bronze airmail dies, used for postal cachets, were presented to the National Museum in Warszawa (receipt number 1172, dated September 24, 1923). However, because of the air force seal on attached affidavits, the Army ordered Lt. Zuske and Dr. Lewandowski not to sell cards to the dealers. Consequently, the memory of the first flight faded over time.

Over fifty years passed before Fabian Bura, a Polish philatelist, rediscovered this historic philatelic item in the 1970s. In one of his notes, available to the authors, Bura states, “I was shown a bill of sale for a single cover from this flight to an official of the Polish-American company by the name of Hudson. On June 5, 1921, this individual paid $700 for one card from the Berlin to Warsaw flight. Even at this time, the cover was considered to have great value!”

It is difficult to speculate how many cards survived the ravages of the Second World War. One thing is certain, the Berlin–Warszawa airmail cards from June 1919 are classics of Polish philately and represent important documents from the beginning of the aviation era in the independent Poland.

C.F.R.N.A.: First Trans-European Airline

One of the most important airlines of the period was C.F.R.N.A.—Compagnie Franco-Roumaine de Navigation Aéronautique (The French-Romanian Company for Air Navigation). Formed on April 23, 1920, it was the eighth commercial aviation company in France. The C.F.R.N.A. operated thirty-one Salmson 2A2 and Potez 7 airplanes by the end of the year.

The advantageous geographical location of Poland in the center of Europe encouraged the company to expand its aerial transport activities from Paris to Prague, and further to Warszawa and Bucharest. On April 29, 1920, the C.F.R.N.A. Board of Directors, with its presi-

Figure 2. Registered letter prepared for the Warszawa–Prague flight in October 1920 with handstamped airmail marking. This letter was sent to Prague by rail. It is the only known piece and is a great rarity of Polish aerophilately.
dent, Pierre de Fleurieul, left for Prague to negotiate the concession with the government of Czechoslovakia. On May 4, the C.F.R.N.A. mission reached the Polish capital. Both negotiations were successful and on July 7, 1920, the company was granted license for operating the regular airline from Prague to Warszawa as a continuation of the Paris–Strasbourg–Prague route. The contract entitled C.F.R.N.A. to exclusive service for ten years (later modified and extended until 1938), free usage of aviation and meteorological services, plus a hangar in the Warszawa-Mokotów airfield. Test flights that commenced on September 20, 1920, were all courier flights due to the continuing Polish-Bolshevik war activities.

Figure 2 shows the only known letter for the C.F.R.N.A. flight from Warszawa to Prague in October, 1920. The cover bears military censor hand-stamps and has correct postage of 5 Polish marks (mk) paid with a single adhesive (letter rate to Prague = 2.50 mk plus registration fee = 2.50 mk). In addition, 80 mk was paid in cash for air service (5 French francs [Ff] for Warszawa–Prague route at 5 Ff x 16 mk/Ff at that time). However, both “Par avion” and “airmail surcharge” markings were obliterated, and this cover, likely along with others, was instead transported to Prague by train. Indeed, although the Paris–Strasbourg–Prague route officially opened on October 4, 1920, none of the twelve subsequent flights were able to successfully reach Warszawa.

Figure 3 illustrates the only recorded cover, which was posted in Paris on November 5, 1920, intended to be carried by C.F.R.N.A. to Warszawa. It was flown to Prague, but then transported to Warszawa by rail. The letter is correctly franked with stamps totaling 5.25 Ff (0.50 Ff—international letter rate and 4.75 Ff—air surcharge). It was censored at arrival in Warszawa and resealed with paper tape along the left edge.

The regular C.F.R.N.A. airmail communication from Warszawa commenced on April 12, 1921, the day considered the birth of Polish civil aviation. A decree of the Ministry of Post and

**Figure 3.** Airmail letter sent on November 5, 1920, from Paris to Warszawa. It was carried by C.F.R.N.A. to Prague and later to Warszawa by rail. It is the only known airmail item from Paris to Warszawa in 1920.
Telegraph regarding the transport of airmail was issued on April 14, 1921. The total postage was a sum of the regular postal rate, paid in stamps in Polish marks, plus an air surcharge in cash which was calculated monthly according to the exchange rate with Ff. Until November 15, 1921, the air fee for a letter (20 g. of weight) was 0.50 Ff to Prague, 1.00 Ff to Strasbourg, and 1.75 Ff to Paris.

Figure 4 presents both sides of a unique postcard, and one of the most famous of all Polish airmail items. It was flown exactly ninety years ago by the inaugural C.F.R.N.A. flight from Warszawa to Prague. Posted by Tadeusz Gryżewski, an avid aerophilately collector and expert, the card displays April 12, 1921 departure and arrival postmarks, as well as handwritten “Poczta Lotnicza” (Air Mail). The postage of 14 mk, paid in stamps, consisted of 4 mk (postal card rate) plus 10 mk (registration fee). In addition, the pencil notation at the top indicates the air surcharge calculation of 30 mk (equivalent of 0.5 Ff x 60 mk/Ff). Initially, there were
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two flights weekly from Warszawa, on Tuesday and Saturday, and starting May 2, 1921, a third one on Thursday. The average flying time from Warszawa to Prague, Strasbourg and Paris was three, six and nine hours, respectively. The Potez 7 Limousine-type aircraft was designed to carry two passengers and a modest amount of cargo, primarily mail. The correspondence flown on the first six April flights by C.F.R.N.A. is rare. There is one known non-philatelic cover to Paris from April 19 and three from April 26 flights to Prague. By October 1920, Warszawa introduced a framed “Par avion” directional cachet (Table I; Wd1). Handwritten airmail surcharge notations remained in effect until late August 1921, when they were ultimately replaced with a special “Percu fres…….mks…….” boxed marking (Table X, Type 2).

Figure 5 illustrates an interesting registered cover, dispatched July 21, 1921, from Warszawa to New York, perhaps the first airmail item from Poland to the United States. The cover bears a handwritten “via de Paris” directional endorsement and “Par avion” handstamp. After being flown by C.F.R.N.A. to Paris, it was then transported by train to Marseille and carried by ship to New York where it received the arrival postmark of July 29. This letter is franked with 40 mk in stamps (20 mk letter rate and 20 mk registration). The air surcharge of 1.75 Ff, which equaled 154 mk (based on July exchange rate of 1 Ff = 88 mk), was paid in cash.

Figure 6 is a commercial, overweight letter posted less than one month later, on August 17, 1921, from Warszawa to the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Here, the total mailing cost of 410 mk consisted of 30 mk letter postage (second weight increment; 21–40 grams), plus 20 mk for registration, and 3.00 Ff for air service (double surcharge for an overweight item), which translated to 360 mk (based on the August exchange rate of 1 Ff = 120 mk).

Figure 7 is a very early communication by air between two famed aerophilatelists of the era: Dr. Robert Paganini of Switzerland and Włodzimierz Rachmanow of Poland. Cover 7A, recently auctioned by Corinphila for more than $10,000, was mailed on July 18, 1921, from Zweisimmen, Switzerland. After reaching Strasbourg by train, it was transported to Warszawa by air (21/7 1921-21 back-stamp). Only one earlier letter from Switzerland to Poland is known to be flown July 9, 1921. The total postage of 1.80 Swiss francs (Sf) is made up from a block of six 30 Rp Swiss airmail stamps (1920; Mi 152). This franking was intended to pay the international letter rate (40 rappen; Rp), registration (40 Rp), and air fee for up to 20-gram letter (1 Sf). Cover 7B illustrates an air cover from Rachmanow, postmarked Warszawa on September 12, 1921. It was flown to Strasbourg before reaching Dr. Paganini in Zweisimmen (15.IX.21.*14 back-stamp). This item incurred charges at 20 mk per 20 gram

Figure 5. Registered censored letter sent from Warszawa to New York (via Paris) on July 21, 1921, believed to be the first airmail item from Poland to the United States.
weight for international letter rate and 20 mk for registration. The air surcharge of 156 mk (1 Ff equivalent) for the Warszawa–Strasbourg route was paid in cash.

The air connection between Warszawa and Paris was suspended between November 1, 1921, and February 15, 1922, due to winter weather conditions. On May 15, C.F.R.N.A. extended its operation to Vienna and Budapest (three flights/week), on September 16 to Bucharest and on October 5 to Constantinople (two flights/week). Airmail letters sent in 1922 from Warszawa to these cities are relatively rare. Flights in 1922 continued until November 14 and resumed on February 16, 1923, after the winter break. On April 15, 1923, a new air connection was established between Warszawa and Belgrade. The service was interrupted by weather between November 15, 1923, and March 31, 1924. On September 11, 1924, the Warszawa–Prague–Vienna–Budapest–Belgrade–Bucharest–Constantinople route was extended to Angora (Ankara) in Turkish Asia. The service to Angora was interrupted by weather on November 4, whereas that to Prague, Strasbourg, Paris, Vienna, Budapest and Belgrade ended November 16, 1924.

C.F.R.N.A, the first transcontinental European airline, remained in operation until January 1925, when it reorganized and changed its name to C.I.D.N.A.—Compagnie Internationale de Navigation Aérienne (The International Air Navigation Company). In June 1925, C.I.D.N.A. established a new route linking Warszawa and Paris, via Prague, Innsbruck, Zurich and Basel. Figure 8 shows one of forty cards flown on the June 16 inaugural flight from Warszawa to Zurich, with a bilingual cachet: “Pierwszym Lotem Warszawa–Zurich / Par Premier Vol Varsovie–Zurich.” With the currency reform now in place for over a year, the postage is in a new “groszy” denomination of 32 gr. (6 gr. for printed matter, 20 gr. additional fee, and 6 gr. air surcharge).

On December 15, 1924, the Polish Ministry of Industry and Trade imposed a postal administration fee of 20 gr. per each item (except for express mail), which was paid in regular

Figure 6. Registered commercial overweight letter flown August 17, 1921, from Warszawa to Paris.
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Stamp. This air surcharge remained in effect until August 10, 1928. Although the payment in cash for airmail service expired October 21, 1924, the “paid in cash” handstamps (Table X) were in use despite air fees being paid entirely in regular postage or with special airmail.

Figure 7. Early airmail correspondence between Switzerland and Poland. A. (Top) Registered letter, posted in Zweisimmen, July 18, 1921, and flown by C.F.R.N.A. from Strasbourg to Warszawa. B. (Bottom) Registered, censored letter posted in Warszawa September 12, 1921, flown to Strasbourg and transported to Zweisimmen by train.
stamps issued August 27, 1925 (Journal of the Ministry of Post and Telegraph Nr 36; L4084/IV). As of February 1927, the entire air fee was paid with these stamps. The rule, however, was soon changed, and by August 28, 1928, only 50 percent of the air surcharge was covered with airmail stamps.

In January 1928, a new route between Warszawa and Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, was inaugurated, and eighty-five covers with special cachets were sent on the first flight (January 27). In September 1928, the Ministry of Post and Telegraph issued a special circular in which it allowed airmail to Zurich, Venice, Rome, Barcelona, Madrid, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and London. On September 18, the C.I.D.N.A. flight from Warszawa via Paris carried a number of letters with special cachets to Rotterdam, Amsterdam and London (eighteen, fifty-eight and sixty-four items, respectively). Of note, these were not sent on the occasion of establishing new air routes, but based on the international unified airmail agreement of fees which were charged on these flights.

By the end of 1928, further agreements with European air carriers allowed mail transport by air from Warszawa via Amsterdam to India, Burma, Siam, Sumatra and Java, as well as via Paris to Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina (Journal of the Ministry of Post and Telegraph Nr. 7403/VI [September 3, 1928]; and Nr. 8315/VI [October 8, 1928]). Mailing to these localities, however, was both cumbersome and costly. It required the letter to be inserted into a separate envelope (addressed to Bureau de Poste Amsterdam), with the appropriate surcharge to be collected for the outbound KLM service. This air fee was paid with international reply coupons that were sold in Poland for 80 gr. per coupon (80 Dutch cents equivalent). The mailing cost of a standard 20-gram letter to Calcutta or Batavia in Dutch Indies was 5 zł. 80 gr. This consisted of 1 zł. for Warszawa–Amsterdam leg (50 gr. letter rate + 50 gr. air fee) plus 4 zł. 80 gr. (six coupons equivalent) for the remainder of the journey, which lasted eight to twelve days. The air fees to South America (via Paris) were even higher, and were calculated at 25 percent over the actual weight of the mailed item. However, unlike Amsterdam transit to Dutch Indies, the entire postage for air transport to South America was collected at the Warszawa 19 Post Office. The mailing cost equaled 1 zł., which was paid in stamps (for Warszawa–Paris leg),

Figure 8. This card was flown June 16, 1925 from Warszawa to Zurich at the opening of a new C.F.R.N.A. line via Innsbruck and Basel.
plus surcharge paid in cash (for South American portion), and noted in a “Percu......zł......gr. au comptant” handstamped marking. Thus, the mailing cost of a 20-gram letter addressed to Brazil or Argentina was 14 zł. 75 gr. and 17 zł. 45 gr., respectively, with a transit time from France of eight to nine days.

An agreement between C.I.D.N.A. and French Aerial Society Latécoère allowed mail to be expedited by air from Poland to North/West Africa via Paris and Marseille. On the first flight, Warszawa sent out seventy-five covers to Rabat, Morocco, and fifty covers to St. Louis, Senegal. These items, besides bearing October 24, 1928, departure cancels, show commemorative red or violet cachet “I-er Vol Offic. Pologne-Maroc-Sénégal” and October 28 Morocco or November 2 Senegal arrival postmarks. Figure 9 shows an interesting cover, with mixed Polish and French postage, posted in Warszawa and addressed to Kankan in French Guinea, via Paris, Casablanca, and Dakar. One złoty worth of Polish stamps paid for the Warszawa–Paris leg (50 gr. letter rate + 50 gr. air fee). The French stamps, applied in Paris, covered the remaining cost of the air transport to West Africa.

On October 7, 1933, C.I.D.N.A. ceased its operation and became part of the newly formed Air France Company.

**AERO-TARG: First commercial Polish air carrier**

The Airline Society “AERO-TARG” was founded ninety years ago during the first International Trade Fair (May 28–June 6, 1921) in the city of Poznań in western Poland. The Poznań Trade Fair, attended by 1,100 exhibitors and 700,000 visitors, was the first exhibition of Poland’s economic potential. The organizing committee of the fair decided to set up an air connection between Poznań, Warszawa and the Free City of Danzig (Gdańsk) to enable rapid transit of the visitors to the fair. On May 10, 1921, a new AERO-TARG partnership was formed.

*Figure 9. C.I.D.N.A.-flown cover from Warszawa to Kankan in French Guinea, via Paris, Casablanca, and Dakar, with mixed Polish and French postage.*
formed under the patronage of the Polish Aero-Club and with financial support of the Municipal Autonomy of the city of Poznań, local banks and private entrepreneurs. After allocating 5 million Polish marks as the seed capital, the board envisioned connections between Poznań and the main Polish cities of Warszawa, Gdańsk, Łódź, Kraków and Lwów. However, only two routes materialized: Poznań–Warszawa (290 km) and Poznań–Gdańsk (270 km). The German “Danziger Luftpost” leased six, six-passenger cockpit Junkers F-13 airplanes, which flew with a speed of up to 200 km/hour. The pilots were Lieutenants Karcz, Pawlikowski and Wroniecki, together with Sergeants Grzybowski and Szulczewski. The maiden flight from Gdańsk to Poznań, without any mail, took place on May 26, 1921. Regular flights on both routes, usually four flights daily, began May 29 and lasted until June 10. The last flight occurred June 16, 1921, the last day of the fair. There were a total of sixty-one intercity and twenty-four propaganda flights over Poznań and Warszawa. In three short weeks, the planes traversed over 17,000 km carrying 510 passengers, along with 3,000 kg of baggage and mail. AERO-TARG flights are considered the beginning of commercial air traffic in Poland. This was the only case in the history of Polish aviation that the air ticket was less expensive than the train ticket (e.g., the Poznań–Warszawa air fare was 6,000 mk, whereas the same route rail ticket was 9,188 mk).

On May 29, the Ministry of Post and Telegraph in Warszawa issued a pair of special semi-official stamps to be used as airmail surcharges on flown correspondence. They were produced at the lithographic shop of Mr. Pilczak in Poznań. The design for the AERO-TARG stamps in denomination of 25 mk and 100 mk was furnished by a member of the airline firm, Wilhelm Rudy (hence W.R. initials on the bottom left of the stamps). They were printed in the edition of 50,000 each, in sheets of fifty-six stamps (7 x 8). The 25 mk value, in black/reddish brown, shows Icarus, a world encompassing symbol of flying, against a silhouette of the city of Poznań; the 100 mk, in black/blue, shows a Junker F-13 airplane scattering mail (Figure 10). The proof stamps were issued on May 1921 by the Poznań AERO-TARG Company with attached T.A.B.R.O.M.I.K. tabs.

Figure 10. The first Polish 25 mk and 100 mk semi-official air mail stamps, issued in May 1921 by the Poznań AERO-TARG Company with attached T.A.B.R.O.M.I.K. tabs.
The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)

Sheets (9½ x 14 cm) of the color plates with both stamps in black on one sheet (100 mk upper and 25 mk lower), as well as one imperforate sheet (fifty-six stamps) of the 25 mk value, are known. Each stamp was accompanied by an advertising tab, inscribed T.A.B.R.O.M.I.K., for a vodka factory owner, Tadeusz Bronisław Mikolajczyk, the AERO-TARG supporter from Gniezno in northern Poland. The stamps were perforated 11¼ and roughly lithographed. Many defects in printing as well as tab varieties may be found. These first Polish semi-official airmail stamps were sold in Poznań, Warszawa and Gdańsk. They could be obtained without restrictions at the Poznań 1 and 3 P.O. and the substation at the International Fair (P.O. 9). However, in Warszawa 1 Post Office, they were in great demand, as the local clerk affixed them all to letters and mint copies were never sold.

The main points of the agreement between the Polish Ministry of Post and Telegraph and the AERO-TARG Company were as follows:

1. The AERO-TARG Company undertakes at its own expense, to organize airline connections for:
   a. Poznań–Warszawa and Warszawa–Poznań,
   b. Poznań–Łódź and Łódź–Poznań,
   c. Poznań–Gdańsk and Gdańsk–Poznań,
   For the duration of the Poznań Trade Fair, i.e., from May 30, 1921, until recalled, the firm is permitted to deliver mail with their own airplanes at a reasonable charge, and that the total weight should be limited to 100 kg of letters and 100 kg of packages. These limits should not be exceeded by any of the exchange offices.

2. According to Article 5, AERO-TARG will accept for delivery from the Postal Management only such consignments which are marked urgent—“Express,” and for which an additional charge for the airmail delivery will be paid. Postage, including the charge for Express Delivery, must be paid by affixed official postage stamps according to the price. Charges for airmail must be paid by affixed special stamps, the issue of which AERO-TARG will be responsible for and which will be accepted by the Ministry of Post and Telegraph. The official postage stamps shall be marked by a cancelling stamp of the local receiving post office. The AERO-TARG stamps shall be canceled with a special cancellation. The special airmail cancels will be furnished by the firm to the post offices of Warszawa, Poznań, Łódź, and Kraków, where the exchange offices will be located.

5. The additional fee for this special airmail service, payable with the stamps of AERO-TARG is:
   a. letters up to 20 grams 25 mk,
   b. letters to 250 grams 100 mk,
   c. postcards 25 mk,
   d. printed matter to 250 grams 100 mk,
   e. additional registration fee per item
   f. additional registration fee per item 400 mk.

The semi-official AERO-TARG stamps, used to pay the surcharge for airmail service, were canceled with special winged postmarks, depicting the coat of arms and the name of the city, the propeller, the date and time, as well as the letters P.K.P. (Polska Komunikacja Powietrzna–Polish Air Communication (Table II)). The genuine flown items have an arrival postmark of the city of destination. The India ink of the cachet in Poznań was black, whereas in Warszawa dark-red. In Gdańsk, the AERO-TARG stamps were canceled with a regular airmail canceller. Cancellations in green, red, violet or grey-black are all forgeries, as they were applied on reprints and forged stamps. No record exists about the number of items actually flown by AERO-TARG, but most of the mail consisted of wares and parcels. The philatelic literature states that the genuine items were extremely rare in the 1930s. There were probably only a few letters on the first flight from Poznań to Warszawa on May 29. The first flight from Warszawa to Poznań on May 31 probably carried a single view card. Only a few genuine items flown by AERO-TARG between Poznań and Warszawa are known.
Figure 11 shows an outstanding genuine cover flown from Warszawa to Poznań on June 3, 1921. The 25 mk stamp was canceled with the “wing” dark-red Warszawa departure postmark, and the arrival confirmed, as required, by the date stamp and the Poznań “wing” postmark in black. The correct postage of 15 mk was paid with regular stamps (5 mk letter rate and 10 mk express fee) plus 25 mk semi-official AERO-TARG stamp for air transport (20-gram letter).

It needs to be stressed that letters from Gdańsk (Wrzeszcz airport) to Poznań (Ławica airport) were never transported by air. Moreover, the air connection with Łódź was not possible as there was no airfield there. Similarly, mail merely canceled gratuitously in Kraków with the air postmark was never carried by air. After AERO-TARG ceased its activities, the overwhelming interest in airmail collecting, along with rarity of the genuine items, resulted in reprint production (25 mk value) and forgeries. The stamps were forged in large quantity (especially the 100 mk value), and there are probably as many forgeries (type 1 and 2) as there are originals. For instance, one of the dealers prepared numerous letters dated June 3, 1921, and addressed them to an unknown Mr. Kowalski at 37 Przejazd Street in Łódź. All these letters with two attached semi-official stamps have incorrect postal fee and pink cachet. Equally numerous are letters that were never flown from Gdańsk to Poznań and Warszawa, with the Free City of Gdańsk (Mi 67) stamp and semi-official stamps canceled with “Danzig 1 Luftpost” or “Danzig 5 Luftpost” postmarks. These items, often encountered on internet auctions, are all fakes.
After the Poznań Trade Fair closed, the Ministry of Transportation canceled the contract with German Danziger Luftpost, which was not allowed to continue operation in Poland. Despite its ambitious plans, AERO-TARG existed just over one month, and all subsequent attempts to resurrect its operations failed. The pioneering nature and the lack of experience were the principal reasons of the collapse of the first commercial Polish air carrier.

**AEROLLOYD/AEROLOT: First regular domestic Polish airline**

In June 1922, representatives of the oil companies Polnaft (Mr. Mosiewicz, chief of company in Gdańsk) and Fanto (directors Wygard and Dunin-Brzuchowski) formed a new company to facilitate domestic airmail services between Gdańsk, Warszawa, Lwów and the major oil fields in Borysław. On August 2, an agreement was reached and the contract was signed on August 22 between the Railroads Ministry and a newly-formed Polish Society for Aerial Communication, called “AEROLLOYD.” The technical equipment and three Junkers F-13 planes with spare parts and supplies were received from the German aircraft manufacturer Junkers in Dessau and from Danziger Luftpost, an air company. Polish authorities allowed for air force airfield operations, meteorological services, and a hangar at the Warszawa-Mokotów airport. On September 5, 1922, a new domestic airline started operation, embracing the Gdańsk–Warszawa–Lwów route (625 km) to provide transport for passengers, cargo and mail. A circular dated August 31, 1922, and published in the Journal of the Ministry of Post and Telegraph (Nr. 39; L8155/VI) defined the terms of airmail transport as follows:

— On September 5, 1922, the postal air communication opens on the Gdańsk–Warszawa–Lwów route,
— In addition to the regular postage, a surcharge is going to be paid for the air transport, as follows: for letter and postcard—four times regular postal fee, for single newspapers and printed matter—four times regular postal fee,
— Departures from Gdańsk are on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 8 a.m., from Lwów on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 8 a.m., and from Warszawa at 1 p.m.,
— The flight time between Gdańsk and Warszawa or between Warszawa and Lwów is two hours and a half,
— The postal items delivered by air to Post Office Warszawa 1 and Lwów 1 should be back-stamped and postmarked on the reverse with a square rubber cachet in red reading "Arrived by Airmail."

Figure 12 illustrates a true gem of Polish aerophilately, a cover from the first flight from Warszawa to Gdańsk by AEROLLOYD on September 5, 1922. It also shows Warszawa “Poste aérienne” and Danzig arrival flight cachets (Table I, Wd2; Table VII, Ga1). The former cachet was applied to items departing from Warszawa by air for a very short period (September 5-9); these are very scarce and sought after. The postage of 50 mk (letter rate) was paid by stamps, whereas the airmail surcharge, set at four times basic postage (200 mk), was paid in cash (framed “Percu fres...mks...” cachet; Table X, Type 2).

The cover shown in Figure 12 was flown a week later, on Wednesday, September 13, from Warszawa to Lwów. It was back-stamped in Lwów on arrival (September 14), and again in Warszawa after return to sender (September 23). Here, the postage of 100 mk consists of 50 mk for a letter (up to 20 grams) plus 50 mk registration fee. Air mail surcharge of 200 mk (four times basic postage) was paid in cash. Warszawa, besides using the old “Par Avion” handstamp, later introduced a bi-lingual “Pobrano w gotówce marek......Percu marks” (paid in cash) handstamp (Table X, Type 3). The arrival cancel on the incoming airmail in Warszawa was in violet. Lwów used rubber “Par Avion” (Table III, Type Ld1); “Pobrano w gotówce marek....Percu marks” (Table IX, Type 3) handstamps, both in bright red; and “Nadeszło pocztą lotniczą” (arrived by airmail) straight-line black arrival handstamp (Table III, Type La1).
Figure 12. This is a gem of Polish aerophilately, a cover from the first AEROLLOYD flight on September 5, 1922, from Warszawa to Gdańsk. The “Poste aérienne” directional handstamp was used for a few days only (September 5–9).

Figure 13. An example of early flight from Warszawa to Lwów on September 13, 1922.
The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)

The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)

The airline remained in operation until December 11, 1922, halting service for the winter break. It resumed airmail transport on March 21, 1923. On July 28, 1923, the connection between Warszawa to Kraków was officially opened. In the initial period, Kraków Post Office 1, which was handling all airmail, was lacking special cachets with departure or surcharge information. Hence, airmail items during that early period show handwritten “Par avion” or “Lot,” along with “Opl. 2000 Mk” or “Op. got. 4000 Mk” (paid in cash 2000 mk or 4000 mk) inscriptions. Further development of AEROLLOYD occurred in 1925, with a test flight on February 14 from Warszawa to Bucharest via Lwów and Czerniowce. The Junkers F-13 plane took special post from Warszawa and Lwów (250 and ninety-eight items, respectively). However, the lack of proper infrastructure in Romania delayed the regular airmail services between these countries until 1930. On April 25, 1925, the Warszawa–Kraków connection was extended to Vienna, and special covers with commemorative cachets were flown in both directions (250 and 198 from Warszawa and Kraków, respectively; eighty items each were dispatched from Vienna on return flight to Kraków and Warszawa).

The AEROLLOYD was highly dependent on German staff and technology. Indeed, pilot Erhard Milch, the organizer of the first routes and managing director of the Danziger Luftpost, later became one of the founders of Luftwaffe and Field Marshal of the German Air Force. Polish authorities, worried about possible espionage, aimed to alter this state of affairs and demanded more national influx into the flying and engineering staff. In May 1925, AEROLLOYD was transformed into “Polish Air Line AEROLOT” (P.L.L. AEROLOT) and became an entirely Polish-owned joint stock company with mostly Poles working as pilots and mechanics. They were trained at the Junkers school in Dessau or in the commercial aviation pilot school in Gdańsk. In May 1925, after moving its technical base from Gdańsk to Warszawa, AEROLOT opened new connections. On May 22, 1925, a Kraków–Lwów route was inaugurated; on October 1, 1926, Warszawa–Łódź; and on November 1, 1927, the city of Brno in Czechoslovakia was incorporated to the existing Kraków–Vienna line. Most of the first flight covers carried special cachets and/or commemorative postmarks.

As early as 1924, the AEROLOT board mapped out a plan to bypass Germany and expand operation to Paris and London. The project was to connect Warszawa with Denmark and Sweden via Gdańsk, then on to Copenhagen and Malmö. Unfortunately, due to financial difficulties, only a few trial flights were made on the proposed routes. The trial flight from Warszawa to Copenhagen on August 15, 1925, was carefully prepared and philatelically well documented. Eight hundred imperforate labels (48 mm x 63 mm) depicting an airplane over the globe with the AEROLOT routes were printed, and each of 136 first flight covers received a commemorative cachet (Figure 14). Of note, around that time, the rubber handstamp used at the Warszawa Airport was broken, and instead of “Par Avion”, it now read “Par vion” with a missing “a” (Table I, Type Wd9).

Figure 15 presents an interesting and seldom seen item from the AEROLOT era, a collection pouch for airmail, which was flown October 22, 1926, from the Aspern Vienna airport to Lwów. This oversized (18 cm x 24 cm) stark envelope has a very rare red circular transit marking from the AEROLOT office at the Kraków airport. The arrival to Lwów was acknowledged by straight-line “Arrived by airmail” black handstamp (Table III, Type La3).

AEROLLOYD and later AEROLOT actively promoted the airmail development at various public events. On April 3, 1923, by the initiative of two large Polish newspapers Express and Kurjer, AEROLLOYD organized promotional passenger flights over Warszawa and distributed 237 cards with commemorative five-line cachet, which were surcharged at 1,000 mk each for air transport. Proceeds from these flights supported the development of local emergency medical services. Beginning in 1924, a special postal sub-station operated during
the annual Eastern Fairs (Targi Wschodnie) in Lwów. The number of airmail items sent out from the Lwów Fair in 1924, 1925 and 1926 was 30, 320 and 150, respectively. In June 1926, a post office branch was accepting airmail correspondence during the Radio Exhibition in Warszawa. A commemorative bilingual oval cachet was used: “Poczta Lotnicza–Wystawa Radiowa / Exposition de Radio / Poste Aerienne.” Finally, special flights were operating and cachets and/or commemorative cancels were applied on items flown during the 1927 Aerial Exhibition and Sports Fair, both in Lwów; the 1927 International Equestrian Competition, the 1928 International Air Transport Association (IATA) Congress, the National Philatelic Exhibition, and the meeting of the International Law Association, all in Warszawa.

A new connection was opened on October 1, 1926, connecting Warszawa, Łódź and Kraków. One hundred fifty letters with the commemorative cachet “I-y Lot Pocztowy Warszawa–Łódź” were carried on the first flight. Kraków issued special envelopes printed in red with: “Pierwszy lot pocztowy KRAKÓW–ŁÓDZ–WARSZAWA / Premier vol postal CRACOVIE–LODZ–VARSOVIE.” Sixty pieces were flown from Kraków to Warszawa. Special air postmarks used on items posted in Kraków and Łódź are shown in Table IV and V, respectively.

Until July 1928, all airmail from Gdańsk to Poland had to pass through the Danzig post office, even though a branch of the Polish post had been functioning in the Free City for several years. After long negotiations, the local authorities consented to allow the Polish post office to service airmail and on July 10, 1928, the Polish Post Office in Gdańsk inaugurated postal service with the mainland. To commemorate this historic milestone, 120 covers were flown from Gdańsk to Warszawa and eighty-five to Lwów. The special cachet in French reads: “Ouverture de la correspondance aerienne par la Poste Polonaise a Danzig 10,7.1928.” Table VII depicts air postmarks used in Gdańsk.
As of September 18, 1928, the post offices in Poland were allowed to accept airmail items to several European cities at normalized air surcharge. To commemorate the first flight by AEROLOT via Vienna at the new rate, Warszawa sent out a limited number of letters with special cachets to Zurich (ninety), Venice (fifty-five), Rome (fifty-seven), Barcelona (fifty-six), and Madrid (forty-seven). Soon after, the aerial communication in Poland was reorganized, and on January 1, 1929, the new national airline became known as “Polskie Linie Lotnicze LOT” (Polish Airlines LOT).

Between September 5, 1922, and December 31, 1928, the Junkers F-13 planes in the AEROLOT/AEROLOT fleet made 12,234 regular flights carrying 27,463 passengers, 725,242 kg luggage and 52,045 kg mail. With no major accidents, and despite eighty or so emergency landings, the regularity of the flights was surprisingly high at 85.1 percent. At the time of liquidation, the company had about 120 employees, seventeen airplanes and well equipped workshops in Warszawa and Kraków.

**AERO: Warszawa–Poznań Airline**

In the beginning of 1925, the Polish Pilots Association, with financial support of the Poznań municipal authority, formed the “AERO” Ltd. Air Communication Company. Its statute was approved on February 27, 1925. The company was based entirely on Polish seed capital (20,000 zł.), with principal owners consisting of the City of Poznań, major local banks and trade companies, as well as private investors. In May, AERO was licensed by the Polish Railroads Ministry to exclusively operate the Poznań–Warszawa route. The company board approved the purchase of five French Farman F-70 single-engine airplanes, including two from C.I.D.N.A, the Paris-Warszawa route operator. After technical inspection and publicity flights on May 21, the Poznań–Warszawa route was officially inaugurated on May 23, 1925. There were daily flights, except Sundays and holidays. The departure from Poznań was at 8:30 a.m., arrival in Warszawa at 10:30 a.m., and return flight to Poznań at 5 p.m.
The first postal flight from Warszawa to Poznań took place on Monday, June 22, 1925. Warszawa sent out thirty-two pieces of mail, of which twenty were covers with a violet rubber cachet “Pierwszy Lot” (First Flight). In addition, twelve numbered postcards with attached dark-green labels (70 mm x 21 mm) and type-written “I-er Vol Varsovie–Posnanie / I-y Lot Warszawa–Poznań” were flown. Figure 16 illustrates one of these cards, numbered 7. Only a single item from the return first postal flight on the very same day to Warszawa still exists. Table VI shows arrival and departure postmarks used in Poznań.

AERO purchased additional airplanes, and new Poznań–Łódź and Łódź–Warszawa routes opened on October 23, 1925. However, because of low interest (fifty-four passengers carried) the service closed by the end of December. The AERO suspended its operation due to winter weather conditions on January 20, 1926. The next year, an attempt to link Poznań with Katowice and Kraków failed because of poor airport conditions in Katowice. Moreover, German authorities did not allow opening of the Poznań–Berlin line, and the ambitious plans to expand operation to the Baltic States and Moscow never materialized. The AERO suffered two crashes and its flights were irregular, with the exception of the Poznań–Warszawa route, which operated till the end of 1928. During just under four years of operation, the AERO fleet of five Farman F-70s aircrafts made 1,051 flights, carrying 2,237 passengers, 41,510 kg of luggage and 712 kg of mail. Of note, the new six Fokker FVIIA/1Ms bought in Holland in late 1928 were never put into the AERO service. By the end of 1928, major reorganization of the entire Polish commercial aviation sector took place. The newly created Civil Aviation Office fostered a merger between AERO and AEROLOT, the two privately-owned domestic air carriers. When their concessions expired, the combined assets, bought up or seized for their debt, served as the State Treasury’s share for a state-owned self-governed business entity. After the founding deed was signed on December 28, 1928, and the State Treasury acquired 90 percent of shares for 7.2 million zlotys, the new corporation became the property of the Polish Government. The LOT Polish Airlines, which exists to this very day, was founded on January 1, 1929.
Experimental flights by Polish pilots

Warszawa–Tokyo flight by Lieutenant Orliński

On May 22, 1926, the aero-acrobatic instructor of the Polish Air Force Flying School in Grudziądz, Lieutenant Bolesław Orliński, attempted a long-distance experimental flight from Paris to Tokyo with Warszawa as a midway stop. However, engine trouble forced him to crash land near Prague, Czechoslovakia. The pilot and dismantled aircraft reached Warszawa by train. The flight was rescheduled for August 27, 1926, when Lt. Orliński, accompanied by mechanic Sgt. Leonard Kubiak, started out again, this time from Warszawa. The military Breguet XIX, two-seater, open-cockpit bi-plane was powered by a Lorraine-Dietrich, three-bank, 12-cylinder “W” 450 HP engine, and had extra fuel tanks installed even in the armrests and under the pilot’s seat. After a very effective flight with the cruising speed of 145 km per hour and stopovers in Moscow, Kazan, Omsk, Krasnoyarsk, Chita, Harbin, Mukden and Seoul, the crew reached Tokyo on September 5, traversing 11,300 km during fifty-six hours and fifty-seven minutes of flying time. Orliński was awarded with the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun and the French Legion of Honor and promoted to captain. Upon return from Tokyo on September 11, the plane was damaged in Siberia, its left lower wing broken and propeller cracked, but the aviators shortened the opposite wing and repaired a propeller with a glue and wire. Luckily, they landed safely at Warszawa airfield in the late evening hours of September 25, after seventy-two hours in the air. The Warszawa–Tokyo–Warszawa flight (22,600 km or 12,906 miles) soon became recognized as one of the major achievements in the history of aviation.

There exists an interesting philatelic documentation of the Orliński flight. As the original departure for Tokyo was planned from Paris, all letters to be flown were delivered to the Warszawa 1 Post Office, received the oval commemorative cachet: “Raid Polonais. Raid Polski / Paris–Warszawa–Tokyo / May 1926” in purple, and were franked with postage of 6 gr. (the foreign surface printed matter rate). Meantime, the National Air Defense League (Liga Obrony Powietrznej Państwa; LOPP), the Polish grass-root paramilitary organization, prepared its own mailings on official LOPP stationery. These items were properly franked with 32 gr. postage (the foreign airmail printed matter rate) and a newly issued commemorative stamp of a very high 5 zł ($1.25 in 1926) denomination was affixed to each cover. The stamps (900 perforated and 100 imperforate) were printed dark-green on white paper in sheets of twenty (5 x 4), with each sheet containing one tête-bêche (one stamp inverted) pair.

Although the prepaid mail in the Warszawa Post Office did not have these stamps affixed, the intervention of a LOPP official resulted in the special 5 zł. fee becoming mandatory on all Tokyo-bound mailings. Consequently, covers originally without the commemorative stamps had one affixed over the purple cachet and canceled with the same oval cachet, but now in black. Due to weight limitations, Orliński refused to carry the heavy mail bags (pilot and mechanic could carry with them only one change of underwear) and instead took only thirty or so covers in his map case. The rest were shipped, in secrecy to avoid disappointing philatelists, to Tokyo via the Trans-Siberian railroad. After arrival in Tokyo, the covers flown with Orliński were somehow forgotten, and when rediscovered on September 27, they were back-stamped with the European date style postmark “27.9.26” in black. Hence, the genuine flown covers: 1. Should be addressed to Orliński in his own handwriting; 2. Carry 32 gr. postage; 3. Have a Tokyo “27.9.26” arrival marking in black; and, 4. Must not have the purple oval cachet underneath or near the 5 zł. LOPP stamp. All other covers, transported by rail, have 6 gr. postage and “5.9.26” marking in violet. Some surface mail with both “5.9.26” and “27.9.26” receiving postmarks are known.
A single piece of a private correspondence, apparently carried by Orliński himself, has been recorded. The plain postcard from Mr. Polański (a known Polish philatelist) to Mr. Kimura carries oval cachet, lacks the LOPP stamp, and shows Tokyo “27.9.26” arrival postmark. All covers from both the surface mail and those flown in by Orliński were then shipped together in a parcel back to Warszawa.

Before leaving Japan, Orliński bought several picture postcards, affixed 6 sen Japanese stamps, and had them canceled with a Japanese-style date “15.9.10,” which actually was September 10, 1926, the year of the rule of Emperor Taisho. A local typist addressed these cards to: “Poland, Warsaw, Liga Obrony Powietrznej Państwa” misspelling some Polish words, which Orliński then corrected himself by pen. A single piece of private correspondence addressed to Mr. Banasinski in Warszawa, and apparently flown back to Poland with the pilot, has been recorded. Upon arrival all items received the violet September 25, 1926, postmark of the Warszawa Airport.

Shown now are some outstanding examples of airmail items related to the Tokyo experimental flight. These are scarce, as most of them (per Orliński’s own account in the 1970s) were destroyed during World War II.

Figure 17 shows the only known mint sheet of six imperforate 5 zł. LOPP stamps with an inverted stamp—a true gem of Polish philately. Only five imperforate sheets (total 100 stamps), containing five tête-bêche pairs, were originally printed.

Figure 18 illustrates one of two recorded covers with affixed 5 zł. tête-bêche perforated pair (originally forty-five inverted perforated LOPP stamps were issued). Addressed by Orliński himself on “Lot Polski” stationery, a weekly LOPP aviation magazine, stamped with black commemorative oval cachets, franked correctly with 32 gr. postage, and postmarked “27.9.26”.

Figure 17. The only known mint sheet of six imperforate 5 zł stamps, which includes a tête-bêche pair, issued by the Polish Air and Defense League (LOPP) to commemorate the experimental flight of Lt. Orliński to Tokyo in 1926.
at arrival, all attest that this item was carried by the pilot on his historic flight to Tokyo.

Figure 19 depicts a very unusual cover, apparently destined for the failed original flight from Paris in May 1926. Sent by a Polish military official (Lt. Skorobohaty), the cover was addressed to Lt. Orlinski in Paris. It lacks the oval cachet, which was introduced later, but carries an imperforate 5 zł. LOPP stamp. The regular postage of 32 gr. (correct rate for foreign printed matter airmail) and LOPP stamp were canceled May 12 on the Warszawa–Zbąszyń train; additional 50 gr. of airmail franking was canceled June 1 at Warszawa Post Office. The
existence of this cover questions the May 12, 1926, date accepted by philatelic literature as the date the 5 zł. LOPP stamp was released.

Figure 20 shows an example of the card flown back from Tokyo to Poland with Orliński’s signature. Although catalogues put their number at 150, it is believed that far fewer of these cards were actually flown, perhaps about fifty, and some suggest they were transported by rail. In any case, they bear a Warszawa receiving postmark.

**The Baltic states rally by Colonel Rayski**

Colonel Ludomil Rayski, the Commander of the Polish Air Force and one of the most colorful personalities of inter-war Poland, started his career in 1915 as a fighter pilot in the Turkish Air Force. As an active aviator in the newly reborn Poland, he gained much fame after several spectacular flights. For instance, in 1925, he flew the Paris–Madrid–Casablanca–Tunis–Istanbul–Warszawa route in just four days, a remarkable achievement at that time. One year later, October 14, 1926, an air squadron under his leadership paid a friendship visit to the Baltic states. Col. Rayski took 220 letters stamped with the Warszawa Airport cancel and a commemorative cachet that reads “Raid Bałtycki Pułk. Rayskiego / Raid Baltique du Col. Rayski, 14. X. 1926, Warszawa–Lida–Wilno–Riga–Tallin–Helsinki–Warszawa,” and addressed them to Tallin, Estonia. After stopping at several cities en route, the airplanes arrived in Tallin on October 16. On the last leg of the rally, Col. Raysky flew from Tallin via Helsingfors, Finland, to Warszawa. All ninety-five cards from the return flight show “Tallin *18. X. 26* Eesti” departure, and “21.X.26.10 Warszawa 19 Port Lotniczy” arrival postmarks.
PARIS–NEW YORK transatlantic flight attempt by MAJOR IDZIKOWSKI

One year after Charles Lindbergh made the first successful nonstop flight from New York to Paris, Majors Ludwik Idzikowski (pilot) and Kazimierz Kubala (navigator) of the Polish Air Force attempted crossing the Atlantic, but in the more difficult westbound direction. They began the trial flight on August 3, 1928, at 4:45 a.m. by taking off in their Amiot 123 bomber, nicknamed “Marszałek Piłsudski” (Marshal Piłsudski) from Le Bourget airfield near Paris. After flying some 3,200 km during thirty-one hours, a cracked oil tank forced them to make a water landing off Cape Finisterre, about 70 km away from the Spanish coast. The German steamer Samos rescued the unharmed officers and the damaged aircraft. The Bourget Post Office, in recognition of the historic value of this flight, allowed some covers addressed to Polish Consulate in New York to be postmarked. These covers were carried by Idzikowski and returned to Paris after the trans-Atlantic attempt failed.

Figure 21 shows one of the seven existing covers (out of ten originally flown) from Mjr. Idzikowski’s transatlantic attempt. The cover displays: 1. A French stamp with regular cancel: “Bourget-Aviation, Seine” of August 3, 1928 at 5 a.m.; 2. A French airmail label; and, 3. A black cachet: “Raid aerienne / Paris–New–York / Aviateurs: / Idzikowski et Kubala.” The cover was autographed by both aviators and received an inscription in French: “This cover was carried by Polish airplane during the transatlantic flight.” This is one of the most sought-after items in Polish aerophilately.

Of note, less than a year later, an advertisement appeared in the American Air Mail Collector (January 1929, vol. I, p. 24) that reads: “Paris–New York Flight / I have some covers carried by Messrs. Idzikowski and Kubala during the Polish Trans-Atlantic Flight Attempt…PRICE $18 / Cash with Order.” It was posted by Tadeusz Gryżewski of Warszawa, along with his

**Figure 21.** Great rarity of Polish aerophilately. This autographed cover with a special cachet was carried by Majrs. Idzikowski and Kubala on their failed flight from Paris to New York, August 3, 1928. This is one of seven recorded of the ten originally flown covers.
brother Kazimierz, the undisputed godfather of Polish aerophilately and most likely the driving force behind this philatelic venture. Looking back from an eighty-year perspective, this very purchase from Mr. Gryżewski would be one of the best financial decisions anyone could have made.

On July 13, 1929, the same aviators took off from Le Bourget on another attempt to cross the Atlantic. After flying some 2,100 km, engine trouble forced them to make an emergency landing on rocky Graciosa Island in the Azores Archipelago. While landing in a field, the plane hit a low stone wall and overturned. Maj. Idzikowski was killed and his companion, Maj. Kubala, was injured. The plane was engulfed in flames due to the carelessness of the local firefighters.

**AIR RALLIES VIA POLAND**

**PARIS–EUROPEAN CAPITALS AIR RALLY**

On August 10–12, 1925, French Pilot Captain Ludovic Arrachart and engineer Carol successfully completed the all-around European capitals air rally (Potez aircraft with 450 KM Lorraine Dietrich engine). The flight, which lasted thirty-eight hours and thirty-five minutes, started in Villacoublay near Paris on August 10 at 4:45 a.m. Then, via Belgrade, Constantinople, Bucharest and Moscow the aviators reached Warszawa at 3:30 a.m. on August 12. A few hours later, at 9:25 a.m., they left the Polish capital flying via Gdańsk, Poznań and Copenhagen.

![Image of a covered flown August 10–12, 1925, by the French Pilot Arrachart and engineer Carol all around European capitals. On reverse, transit backstamps from Warszawa, Belgrade, Constantinople, Bucharest, Moscow and Copenhagen, before returning to Paris Bourget airport.](image-url)
The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)

returning to Bourget airport at 9:35 p.m. the very same day. There were thirty-five individually numbered covers carried on this flight, most of them signed, and with postmarks from the visited capitals.

Figure 22 cover (number 008) displays the departure cancellation of “8.8.25 20.40h” from Chaville-Seine et Oise; the arrival cancellation of “12.8.25 22h” from Bourget-Aviation/Seine; and all transit postmarks, including the Polish Eagle cancellation from the Warszawa Customs Office. In addition, there are cancels from Belgrade, Constantinople, Bucharest, Moscow and Copenhagen.

Paris–Warszawa–Peking flight

In 1924, Captain Georges Pelletier-Doisy successfully completed the first flight from France to Japan. Two years later, Pelletier and mechanic Carol attempted to fly from Paris to Peking via Warszawa. Unfortunately, the first try in May 1926 was unsuccessful and the aircraft crashed near Warszawa. The cover in Figure 23 is one of only twelve documented from that failed attempt, with Chaville–Banlieue Ouest 24.5.26 17.40h departure cancellation; Warszawa 19 Port Lotniczy 25.V.1925 arrival postmark (1925 was in error); and signatures of both aviators. A special private cachet depicts the logo of Lorraine-Dietrich, a French automobile and aircraft engine manufacturer which produced the 12-cylinder engine for the Potez Lorraine aircraft used in that flight. A few months later, Capt. Pelletier-Doisy successfully completed the flight from Paris to China. Ten letters and twenty-six cards were flown. Figure 24 illustrates an exceptional cover from that early aerial achievement. Postmarked Chaville–Banlieue Ouest “11.6.26 7.30h.” it was flown to Warszawa (Warszawa 19 Port Lotniczy/a/ 11.VI.26), and then via Moscow, Kurgan, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Czita and Moukden to China. The Peking arrival was confirmed by the June 18 arrival backstamp and special cachet from the French Military Mission. This cover, one of only ten known to exist, shows all transit postmarks and

**Figure 23.** One of twelve covers from the failed attempt of French Pilot Pelletier-Doisy and mechanic Carol to fly from Paris to Peking on May 24, 1926. The aircraft crashed near Warszawa.
Paris–Moscow–Paris flight

On August 8, 1927, Major Pierre Weiss, the French aviator and commandant of Le Bourget military airfield, flew from Paris via Kraków, Rostow, Kazan, Moscow and then back via Warszawa and Poznań to Paris. He carried with him an unspecified number of covers (few to several). Figure 25 illustrates one such cover, with departure “Bourget Aviation/Seine 9.8.27 4h” postmark, and Polish postmarks from Kraków “1-11.8.27,” Warszawa “1-16.8.27” and Poznań “17.8.27.”

England–India flight

On November 15, 1927, Bert Hinkler, the pioneer Australian aviator and inventor (first person to fly solo from England to Australia), together with Captain Robert H. McIntosh, an Imperial Airways pilot, attempted a London-to-India non-stop record flight in a single engine Fokker VII A aircraft, named “Princess Xenia.” After departing from Upavon Aerodrome near the ancient Stonehenge monument, they needed to fly over Soviet territory, which was quite unpredictable considering estranged British-Soviet diplomatic relations. When bad weather
required increased aircraft fuel use while on route over the Black Sea, the pilots realized they would be unable to continue the flight without a forced stop-over in the Soviet Union. To avoid that, they decided to fly back some 1,800 km to the west and ultimately crash landed in Podhajce, near the Polish-Russian border. With the help of local police, both flyers arrived safely at Lwów. They carried twelve official envelopes of the *Express & Star* Wolverhampton daily, nine of which were destroyed during the crash. The remaining covers, after receiving Polish postage, were mailed from the British Consulate in Lwów to Madras, India. Needless to say, with the international flair and obvious history behind it, one of the three surviving covers

**Figure 25.** This cover was carried by Maj. Weiss on his Paris–Moscow–Paris flight on August 8, 1927. Transit postmarks from Kraków, Warszawa and Poznań in Poland.

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**Figure 26.** One of the three surviving covers, of a total of twelve, from the abortive England-to-India non-stop flight by Hinkler and McIntosh in November 1927. The plane crashed near Lwów, Poland. The cover, after receiving the Polish postage, was mailed from the British Consulate in Lwów to Madras, India. (Actual size 18.1 x 9.1 cm.)

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covers, illustrated in Figure 26, from the abortive England-to-India flight, represents a true gem of world aerophilately.

**DIRECTIONAL AIRMAIL LABELS**

Following the custom of air carriers of the period, the Polish airline AEROLOT introduced the use of directional labels for practical reasons and publicity. In 1972 Kazimierz Gryżewski, the famed collector and expert in Polish aerophilately, wrote, “These labels were used by Warszawa 19—Port Lotniczy (Warszawa Airport) agency. They were attached primarily to identify the passenger luggage, and applied to small parcels. Moreover, flown letters with directional labels exist…” Indeed, a number of postcards and envelopes with directional labels were dispatched between April 1926 and July 1928. They were sent primarily from Warszawa by the Gryżewski brothers to other philatelists of that period: Łabęcki in Lwów, Krzyszowski in Kraków, Krzyżanowski in Łódź, von Baggo in Danzig and Sobetzky in Vienna. Interestingly, directional labels were attached to envelope fronts in spite of the Ministry of Posts rule which required labels to be affixed only to the backs of envelopes. Despite this irregularity, and their obvious philatelic character, directional labels are considered an integral, and colorful part of Polish aerophilately. Today, unused directional labels on flown covers are encountered at international auctions. They are very highly valued and sought after. Four major types of directional labels can be categorized by their design, shape and color.

**Type I Directional Labels**

This rectangular (65 mm x 100 mm) label consists of two parts (Figure 27). The upper frame shows an airplane soaring above the globe and depicts the AEROLOT routes. The inscription reads: “POLSKA LINIA LOTNICZA” (Polish Air Line) “KOMUNIKACJA PASAJERSKA/PRZEWÓZ POCZTY I TOWARÓW” (For passenger communication and mail/merchandise transport). The bottom part is a tab with a city name. The exception is the Łódź label (65 mm x 85 mm), which lacks the tab and has a rubber-stamped city name in violet instead. All type

*Figure 27. Directional label Type Ib; Warszawa to Gdańsk September 18, 1926.*
I directional labels were in black. Six additional colors have been recorded, including: “do Gdańska”—red, “do Lwowa”—yellow and orange, “do Krakowa” and “do Warszawy”—green, and “do Wiednia”—blue/black or blue. There are fourteen type I directional labels to six cities (Table XI; DL I a-n), with the earliest known postal use on August 16, 1926 (do Lwowa), and the latest recorded on November 15, 1927 (do Wiednia). DL I b (do Gdańsk) and DL I k (do Wiednia) are known on flown covers to Berlin, Germany, and Matau, Senegal, respectively.

**Type II directional labels**

This rectangular label measures about 74 mm x 48 mm (Figure 28). It consists of an oval showing the Junkers F-13 aircraft and the inscription “POLSKA LINIA LOTNICZA / AEROLOT S.A. / Zarząd: Warszawa, Nowy Świat 24. / Telefon 9-00” (Polish Air Line / Aerolot / address and telephone of the Warszawa head office). The oval is surrounded by orange, blue or brown vertical lines. These directional labels were flown to Warszawa, Kraków, Lwów and Gdańsk. All but those flown to Warszawa carry labels with the destination city stamped in violet: LWÓW or LWOWA, KRAKÓW or KRAKOWA and GDAŃSKA. Those flown to Warszawa do not have the name of the city imprinted. We distinguish nine type II directional labels (Table XI; DL II a-i), with the earliest known flight on April 17, 1926 (do Lwowa), and the latest one on March 30, 1928 (do Lwowa).

![Figure 28. Directional label Type IIc; Warszawa to Kraków June 6, 1926.](image)

**Type III directional labels**

This hexagonal label is 108 mm wide and 70 mm high (Figure 29). It depicts a stylized aircraft over a city and bears the inscription “POLSKA–LINJA–LOTNICZA / AEROLOT” (Polish Air Line / Aerolot), and “P.L.L” on both sides of the central rectangle. The flight destination, e.g., “Z WARSZAWY / DO LWOWA” is shown. Twenty-seven type III directional labels in three subtypes have been described:

(a). Black design on white paper. This label was found on letters flown from Warszawa to Czerniowce, Gdańsk, Kraków, Lwów, Łódź and Vienna. In addition, labels from
Vienna to Kraków and Lwów have been recorded. Letters flown from Warszawa to Lwów and Gdańsk with labels inscribed “z Warszawy do” (from Warszawa to) with the destination rubber-stamped (in red or violet) are rare and command particular interest. In the Type III (a) subtype, we distinguish twelve directional labels. (Table XI; DL III a-l). DL III i (z Warszawy do Wiednia) is known on a flown cover to Matau, Senegal.

(b). The central rectangle with stylized aircraft is in green or red. Mint labels exist from Warszawa to Lwów in green, Vienna to Kraków in light-green, Kraków to Łódź in dark-green and Vienna to Lwów in green. A letter from Warszawa with a red label “do Lwowa” has been recorded. In type III (b) subtype, there are seven directional labels (Table XI; DL III m-t).

(c). The entire label, with partial route, e.g., “Z GDAŃSKA DO” (from Gdańsk to) is in color. A pink one inscribed “DO” (to) and no destination is of particular interest. Another flown item has “z Wiednia do” (from Vienna to) directional label plus a handwritten “NACH WARSCHAU” (to Warszawa). There are eight directional labels in type III (c) subtype (Table XI; DL III u-ac).

**Type IV directional labels**

These labels differ in size and color, yet their overall design with a stylized Junkers F-13 aircraft and destination is similar (Figure 30). There are three subtypes of type IV directional labels:

(a). “Do Gdańska” (to Gdańsk) label is diamond in shape (70 mm x 70 mm). The black design and inscription are on light-violet paper. Few letters with this label, all sent from Warszawa between April 26 and June 28, 1926 are recorded (Table XI; DL IV a).

(b). “Do Warszawy” (to Warszawa) is similar to (a), but on a green paper. It is known on a letter from Gdańsk (Table XI; DL IVb).

(c). “Do Lwowa” (to Lwów) label is a rectangle (97 mm x 78 mm), black design and inscription are on a pink paper. These labels are known on pieces flown between
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April 17 and August 16, 1926, and are more frequently seen (Table XI; DL IV c). This directional label is known on a flown cover to Bucharest (Romania). Of note, forged labels “to Lwów” and “to Kraków” on light-salmon and yellowish paper, respectively, have been encountered.

The four major types (I–IV) of directional labels are only found in the 1926–1928 pioneer period airmail of Poland. Interestingly, no later usages are known. As suggested by Dr. James Mazepa in 1981, and confirmed later by the authors of this article, it is a reasonable guess that between twenty-five and 100 of each directional label type were actually flown. With all the existing subtypes, the varieties, and well over eighty years of turbulent Polish history, directional labels are very scarce indeed.

Inflation Postage

As in most European countries, Poland was hit hard by the monetary chaos in the years after World War I, which soon led to rampant inflation. Within four years, the standard letter postage increased some 500,000 times, from 0.5 mk to 250,000 mk by April 1924. It was the 1924 financial reform of Władysław Grabski, a leading economist who was the Prime Minister at that time, that tamed the hyperinflation and created a new currency, the gold-based złoty (pegged at 0.1687 g of pure gold) that replaced the Polish mark. Some key features of postal inflation during the pioneer period of airmail services in Poland are described below.

Figure 31 shows two express covers, flown from Lwów to Warszawa by AEROLLOYD six months apart in 1923. The basic postage for the covers sent on May 8 (A) and November 29 (B) was 2,100 mk and 41,000 mk, respectively. The air surcharge for domestic mail was four times the regular fee. Thus, the May 8 postage consisted of 100 mk (printed matter; up to 50 grams) plus 2,000 mk (express fee). The correct airmail fee of 400 mk was collected in cash (handwritten annotation in special handstamp). For comparison, the respective November 29 charges increased to 1,000 mk (printed matter), 40,000 mk (registration), and 4,000 mk (air).
Of note, instead of the special “Pobrano w gotówce marek... / Percu marks......” handstamp (Table X, Type 3), an entirely handwritten/red-crayon-framed “Paid in cash 4,000 mk” ap-
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pears on the November cover. Thus, a twenty-fold inflation-driven cost increase in domestic airmail service occurred between May and November 1923.

Figure 32 illustrates an even higher rate for a postcard flown by AEROLLOYD from Warszawa to Kraków on December 4, 1923 (seven days prior to the seasonal winter break). The postage was: 2,500 mk (postcard rate) plus 100,000 mk (express fee). A correct airmail surcharge of 10,000 mk (four times the regular fee), paid in cash, was imposed on this item.

Figure 33 shows two registered express covers flown by C.F.R.N.A. from Warszawa to Budapest, less than four months apart in 1923. The basic postage for July 20 (A) and November 12 (B) covers was 3,200 mk and 64,000 mk, respectively, plus 600 mk and 12,000 mk for air service. The July 20 postage consisted of 200 mk (printed matter), 1,000 mk (registration) and 2,000 mk (express). The air surcharge to Budapest in July equaled 600 mk (three times the regular fee) and was paid in cash (manuscript “Percu fres” endorsement; Table X, Type 2). The analogous charges in November 12 were 4,000 mk (printed matter), 20,000 mk (registration), and 40,000 mk (express). The air surcharge increased to 12,000 mk (one times the regular rate). Thus, there was a dramatic inflation-driven twenty-fold increase in the international mailing costs in the second half of 1923. The envelope is accompanied by miraculously surviving registration receipt from the Warszawa post office.

Figure 34 depicts an unusual “express” postcard, flown from Warszawa to Budapest on March 31, 1924, the first C.F.R.N.A. flight after the winter break. In comparison to the November 1923 item (Figure 33B), the mailing cost by the end of March 1924 increased another twenty-fold, to a staggering 1,350,000 mk. This consisted of 250,000 mk (postcard rate) plus 1,100,000 mk (express fee). The air surcharge, paid in cash, increased to 250,000 mk (one times the normal rate). Of note, the pink stamp of 1,000,000 mk denomination used on this card has been seldom seen on airmail correspondence. There are only four known Budapest-bound items with the 1,000,000 mk stamp.

Figure 35 displays two exceptional covers, flown by C.F.R.N.A. from Warszawa to (A) Belgrade on April 23, 1924, and to (B) Budapest on April 24, 1924. The basic charge for the Belgrade-bound item of 2,200,000 mk consisted of: 550,000 mk (international letter rate for 20 grams), 550,000 mk (registration) and 1,100,000 mk (express). The air service charge, paid
Figure 33. Inflation in international postal service (July–November 1923). C.F.R.N.A.-flown covers (printed matter) from Warszawa to Budapest: (Top) July 20: 3,200 mk + 600 mk for air. (Middle) November 12: 64,000 mk + 12,000 mk air fee with receipt (Bottom).
in cash, equaled 550,000 mk (one times the regular fee). A slightly lower postage to Budapest of 2,080,000 mk was 425,000 mk for letter, 550,000 mk registration and 1,100,000 mk for express fees. The surcharge for air service was 425,000 mk (one times the regular fee). There are only six known covers bearing the 2,000,000 mk stamp flown by C.F.R.N.A. These are to Belgrade (two), Vienna (two), Budapest (one) and Paris (one). The Belgrade rate (2,200,000 mk plus 550,000 mk air fee) applied also to Paris and the Budapest rate (i.e., 2,080,000 mk plus 425,000 mk air fee) applied also to the Vienna route.

There is some controversy related to postal use of the 2,000,000 mk stamp issued (but not put on sale) on March 29, 1924 (Circular Nr. 14 of the Polish Ministry of Post and Telegraph). All letters with this high value stamp were prepared by the same person (Stefania Gutwein; address: 3 Sienkiewicza Str. in Warszawa), posted on April 23 or April 24 from Warszawa 1 Post Office and most likely accepted by the same postal clerk (2b date numerator). Non-consecutive registration numbers applied on all known letters posted by Gutwein on April 23 (701 and 707) and April 24 (727, 737, 743 and 746) may have been deliberate or may indicate that additional registered items (perhaps with 2,000,000 mk stamps) were accepted. Nevertheless, it is a fact that five out of six letters were ultimately returned to the sender as the addressees were unknown and most likely fictional (except for the Paris-bound piece addressed to a family member, G. Gutwein).

It is also difficult to believe that Ms Gutwein was the only person in Warszawa, a city of over 1,000,000 inhabitants, to use these stamps for postage. Indeed, unlike the 1,000,000 mk stamp, which was applied on both domestic and foreign mail, the 2,000,000 mk stamp is known only from these six airmail pieces. Thus, it is plausible that in the waning days of April 1924, Ms. Gutwein, having access to the already issued, but still-not-released-for-sale high-value stamps, tried to make a quick profit. Indeed, she was fully aware of the upcoming currency reform, and that “mk” stamps would cease to exist as of April 30 when new ones with “groszy/złoty” denomination would become available to the public. However, it needs to be stressed that Gutwein’s airmails are fully legitimate as they went through the postal

**Figure 34. Hyperinflation in international postal service (March 1924). C.F.R.N.A.-flown postcard (March 31) from Warszawa to Budapest: 1,350,000 mk plus air surcharge of 250,000 mk. The 1,000,000 mk stamp is rare on air mail correspondence (only four known Budapest-bound items).**
Figure 35. Hyperinflation in international postal service (April 1924). C.F.R.N.A.-flown letter from Warszawa to: (Top) Belgrade (April 23; 2,200,000 mk plus air surcharge 550,000 mk) and (Bottom) Budapest (April 24; 2,080,000 mk plus 425,000 mk air fee). Six air mail covers are known to exist with the 2,000,000 mk stamp.

service, received arrival cancellations at respective European destinations, and show return Warszawa date-stamps. Although it is unknown whether Ms. Gutwein was a stamp dealer or postal clerk, it is fair to conclude that without her intervention, the 2,000,000 mk stamp would be categorized as “issued but never put on sale” and thus cataloged under a quite different and obscure category.

Conclusion

The subject of post-World War I development of airmail services in newly independent Poland is a fascinating and challenging area for collecting and researching. Poland’s location between major superpowers in central Europe made the country an attractive strategic
partner in the race to establish new air connections, as well as a transit hub for long-distance experimental flights.

The authors have tried to capture some of the excitement and romance of the pioneer period of Polish aviation history by presenting selected postal artifacts and the stories behind them. These stories encompass often uncharted domestic and international routes traveled some eighty years ago, the amount of postage required for air transportation and postal markings received at various points during the journey. Noteworthy in researching these early aviation artifacts are socio-economical conditions in a country that did not exist for 123 years, and the enormity of the tasks facing the young state in an ever-changing geopolitical situation. Of note, until 1928, there was no legislative framework for commercial civil aviation. Air services in Poland were managed by the Narrow-gauge and Urban Railway Department of the Railroads Ministry.

The major challenge currently facing the collector of Polish airmails is the scarcity of better philatelic material. The reason is two-fold. First, the air transport cost, especially in the early pioneer period, was relatively high and the number of items carried on the inaugural flights was low (from just a few to about 100 items per flight). Second, the majority of Polish philatelic collections perished during World War II. Those collections that survived were mainly located abroad, especially in the U.S., and only recently became unearthed at very high prices.

The challenge facing the aerophilately scholar is the paucity of relevant information for in-depth research, as most original flight records were lost. Indeed, as the Gryżewski brothers (Kazimierz and Tadeusz) are considered godfathers instrumental in creating the foundations, it was the collecting and research passions of their successors both in Poland (Messrs. Bura, Kłosiński, Korszeń and Nadolny) and abroad (Messrs. Kuderewicz, Kronenberg [USA]; Mikulski [Switzerland]; Koseve [France]; Lemos Da Silvera [Portugal]; Braunstein [Belgium]; Alwast, Asznowicz, Górny [Australia]; Hartley, Grabowski, Koppel, Newall [U.K.]) that legitimized and firmly integrated Polish aerophilately with world aerial philatelic history.

Humble contribution of both authors of this article, with their over sixty years of joint collecting and researching the topic experience, eight Gold FIP medals, two Gold FEPA medals and three Grand APS World Series Awards, may have also helped to promote the subject on both sides of the Atlantic. However, these could never be accomplished without the seminal contribution to the field of Dr. James Mazepa (Sarasota, Florida). Hence, we dedicate this chapter to Jim, a friend, philatelic mentor, and the first recipient of an FIP Gold Medal at a World Exhibition for his Polish Airmails. Dr. Mazepa’s collection, the true bible of Polish aerophilately, along with his unsurpassed enthusiasm and perseverance in researching various facets of the Polish aerial history, have been highly inspirational.

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Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WARSZAWA AIRMAIL DEPARTURE (WD) AND ARRIVAL (WA) HANDSTAMPS (1920–28)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wd1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wd2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wd3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wd4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wd5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wd6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wd7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wd8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wd10 1926–27 38.5x14.5 violet introduced in February 12
Wd11 1927–28 43x10.5 violet or red
Wd12 1927–28 37x10 violet or red
Wd13 1928 — violet length: 30 / height: 5
Wd14 1928 — red length: 29 / height: 6
Wa1 1922–24 47.5x23 red or violet seldom seen on outgoing mail
Wa2 1925–26 38.7x18 red or violet primarily official mail/collection pouch, rare on private correspondence
Wa3 1925–28 32.5x12.5 or 32.5x18 violet or red used from 2/27/25 broken frame from 1928

Table II

**AERO-TARG SPECIAL AIRMAIL POSTMARKS**
**(MAY 26–JUNE 10, 1921)**

Poznań Warszawa

Kraków Łódź
### Table III

**Lwów airmail departure (Ld) and arrival (La) handstamps (1922–1928)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Frame Size (mm)</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAR AVION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld1</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>length: 31.5 / height: 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POCZTA LOTNICZA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld2</td>
<td>1923–28</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>violet</td>
<td>1st/2nd line length: 56/51 / height: 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld2A</td>
<td>1924–25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1st/2nd line length: 73/65 / height: 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POSTE AÉRIENNE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld3</td>
<td>1925–27</td>
<td>63.5x18.5</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>introduced October 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ld4</td>
<td>1925–27</td>
<td>47.5x13.5</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>introduced October 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nadeszło poszta lotniczą</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La1</td>
<td>1922–23</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>length: 61 / height: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nadeszło poczta lotniczą</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La2</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>violet</td>
<td>length: 70 / height: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NADESZŁO POCZTA LOTNICZA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La3</td>
<td>1926–28</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>black or red</td>
<td>length: 71.5 / height: 7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV

**KRAKÓW AIRMAIL DEPARTURE (KD) AND ARRIVAL (KA) HANDSTAMPS (1923–1928)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Frame Size (mm)</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kd1</td>
<td>1924–26</td>
<td>45.5x22.5</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kd2</td>
<td>1924–26</td>
<td>41x12</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kd3</td>
<td>1925–27</td>
<td>52.5x10</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kd4</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>60x12.5</td>
<td>red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kd5</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>42x22.5</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Type I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kd5A</td>
<td>1927–28</td>
<td>55.5x25</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Type II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kd6</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>54x25</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>similar to Kd5 but bolder and thicker font, sometimes irregular frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kd7</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>46x14</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>similar to Kd2 but bolder and thicker font</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka1</td>
<td>1923–27</td>
<td>46x23</td>
<td>black or red</td>
<td>similar to Table I: Wa1 (“Lotnicza” in the middle and not under “Poczta”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka2</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>violet</td>
<td>1st/2nd line length: 38/24; height: 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table V

ŁÓDZ AIRMAIL DEPARTURE (LOD) AND ARRIVAL (LOA) HANDSTAMPS (1926–1927)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Frame Size (mm)</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lod1</td>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td>41x22</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>decorative; seen also as arrival pmk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lod2</td>
<td>1925-27</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>length: 21 / height: 3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lod3</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>length: 58 / height: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loa1</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>violet or reddish</td>
<td>1st/2nd line length: 33/18 height: 3-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VI

POZNAŃ AIR MAIL DEPARTURE (PD) AND ARRIVAL (PA) HANDSTAMPS (1926–1928)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Frame Size (mm)</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pd1</td>
<td>1926–27</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1st/2nd line length: 36.5/26 height: 3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pd2</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>48x10</td>
<td>violet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa1</td>
<td>1927–28</td>
<td>69x17</td>
<td>violet or double frame red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VII

GDANSK (DANZIG) AIRMAIL ARRIVAL (GA) HANDSTAMPS (1922–1928)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Size (mm)</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga1</td>
<td>1922–27</td>
<td>59.5 / 61</td>
<td>red, black or violet</td>
<td>cachet in German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga2</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>violet</td>
<td>cachet in Polish; introduced July 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table VIII

**CIRCULAR DATE STAMPS FROM POST OFFICES AUTHORIZED TO DISPATCH AIRMAIL (1921–1928)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>External Ø (mm)</th>
<th>Internal Ø (mm)</th>
<th>Bridge height</th>
<th>Postal Numerator</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W1</td>
<td>1921–23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1l, q</td>
<td>black/dark violet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W2</td>
<td>1922–23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>VIIa, VIIb, IIc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W3</td>
<td>1923–26</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1f, 2b, 2c, 1h, 2b, 2c, 2d, d, z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W4</td>
<td>1925–27</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>a;b;c</td>
<td>Airport P.O. Start 4/17/25; usually violet; w/wo hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W5</td>
<td>1927–32</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>a;b</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2a;6a</td>
<td>Lwów or Lwów 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>1923–28</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2 (b, d, e, g, h, i, j, k, n)</td>
<td>2n/2i-bridge error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Face</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K1</td>
<td>1923–27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K1a</td>
<td>1925–26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3e, 8i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2</td>
<td>1926–27</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3a; 3e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2a</td>
<td>1927–28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo1</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo2</td>
<td>1927–28</td>
<td>29 (or 32)</td>
<td>15 (or 18)</td>
<td>8.5 (or 10)</td>
<td>1d (or u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>1925–28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1b, 1g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>P.—T No1; introduced July w/wo “a”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

W1–6: Warszawa; L1–3: Lwów; K1–2: Kraków; Lo1–2: Łódź; P1: Poznań; G1: Gdansk
Table IX

**REGISTRATION HANSTAMPS USED ON AIRMAIL (1921–1928)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Size (mm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WARSZAWA 1c / Nr. 1J</td>
<td>39 x 15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARSZAWA 19 PORT LOTN. / Nr.</td>
<td>39 x 15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARSZAWA 19 PORT LOTN. / No</td>
<td>39 x 15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWÓW 1-f / Nr.</td>
<td>39 x 15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRAKÓW 1. LOT. / No</td>
<td>41 x 19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table X

**AIRMAIL SURCHARGE HANSTAMPS (1920–1928)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Size (mm)</th>
<th>Color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Warszaw</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>56.5 x 12</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Warszaw</td>
<td>1921–25</td>
<td>85 x 10</td>
<td>violet (shades)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lwów</td>
<td>1922–23</td>
<td>70 (first line), 60 (second)</td>
<td>red (1922), violet (1923)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Warszawa</td>
<td>1925–28</td>
<td>63.5 x 10.5</td>
<td>red or violet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Warszawa</td>
<td>Sept. 1927–28</td>
<td>63 x 12</td>
<td>red or violet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Warszawa</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>54 (first line), 13 (second)</td>
<td>red, dark-red or violet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)

Table XI

**DIRECTIONAL AIRMAIL LABELS (1926–1928)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>№</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Known Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>DL I a</td>
<td>do Gdańska</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>09/17–10/07/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>DL I b</td>
<td>do Gdańska</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>08/28/26–6/12/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>DL I c</td>
<td>do Krakowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>09/18–10/05/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>DL I d</td>
<td>do Krakowa</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>08/21–09/18/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>DL I e</td>
<td>do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>8/16–12/20/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>DL I f</td>
<td>do Lwowa</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>08/31/26–07/17/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>DL I g</td>
<td>do Lwowa</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>DL I h</td>
<td>do Lwowa</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>09/18/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>DL I i</td>
<td>Łódź (no tab)</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>10/06/26 – 03/26/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>DL I j</td>
<td>do Warszawy</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>09/01/26–07/26/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>DL I k</td>
<td>do Warszawy</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>DL I l</td>
<td>do Wiednia</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>09/23/26–08/25/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>DL I m</td>
<td>do Wiednia</td>
<td>Blue/Black</td>
<td>08/28/26–11/15/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>DL I n</td>
<td>do Wiednia</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>08/28–09/23/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>DL II a</td>
<td>(do) Gdańska</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>06/05–09/01/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>DL II b</td>
<td>(do) Gdańska</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>04/26–09/01/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>DL II c</td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>05/26–07/22/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>DL II d</td>
<td>(do) Krakowa</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>04/21–08/16/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>DL II e</td>
<td>Lwów</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>04/21/26–03/30/28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>DL II f</td>
<td>(do) Lwowa</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>04/17–08/31/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>DL II g</td>
<td>(do) Lwowa</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>08/16/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>DL II h</td>
<td>No inscription</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>06/10/26 and 09/01/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kraków–Warszawa flight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>DL II i</td>
<td>No inscription</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>DL III a</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Czerniowiec</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>DL III b</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Gdańsk</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>06/02–07/30/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>DL III c</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Krakow</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Gdańsk (in violet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>DL III d</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Krakow</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>07/15–07/22/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>DL III e</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>03/10–27/06/06/28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>DL III f</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Krakowa (in violet) on striked-out Warszawa–11/30/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>DL III g</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>“Lwowa” (in red or violet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>DL III h</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Łodzi</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>03/15/27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III i</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Wiednia</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>06/04–11/30/27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III j</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Krakowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III k</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III l</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>“Lwowa” (in red)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III m</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black + Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III n</td>
<td>z Warszawy do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black + Red</td>
<td>Letter recorded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III o</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Krakowa</td>
<td>Black + Light/Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III p</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Krakowa</td>
<td>Black + Blue/Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III r</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Lwowa</td>
<td>Black + Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III s</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Warszawy</td>
<td>Black + Blue/Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III t</td>
<td>z Krakowa do Łodzi</td>
<td>Black + Dark/Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III u</td>
<td>z Wiednia do Warszawa</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>“NACH WARSCHAU” handwritten; Flown 09/05/27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III v</td>
<td>z Wiednia do</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III w</td>
<td>z Wiednia do</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III x</td>
<td>z Wiednia do</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III y</td>
<td>z Gdańska do</td>
<td>Light/Green</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III z</td>
<td>z Krakowa do</td>
<td>Yellowish</td>
<td>Flown to Warszawa–07/14/27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III aa</td>
<td>z Lwowa do Łodzi</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III ab</td>
<td>Do Łodzi do</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL III ac</td>
<td>Do Lwowa</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>Mint Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL IV a</td>
<td>Do Gdańska</td>
<td>Light/Violet</td>
<td>04/26-06/28/26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL IV b</td>
<td>Do Warszawy</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Letter from Gdańsk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL IV c</td>
<td>Do Lwowa</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>04/17–08/16/26</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Salem “Pointing Hand PAID” handstamps: America’s first pictorial postal markings

Mark Schwartz

In America, the use of a pointing hand can be seen in newspapers throughout the eighteenth century. The first continuing newspaper in the American colonies, the Boston News-Letter, edited by the postmaster, John Campbell, has an example on page three of its second issue (April 24–May 1, 1704). It refers to two lost iron anvils, and is shown in Figure 1.

The “pointing hand” as a postal marking, primarily in conjunction with the word “PAID” (exceptions noted), was used by twenty-three towns in eleven states during the period from 1820 through the 1850s. The following information was taken from the American Stampless Cover Catalogue (ASCC), from Simpson’s U.S. Postal Markings, from personal communication with other collectors and from items personally seen by the author. The dates are not necessarily those in which the “pointing hand” was used, rather the period the town mark (CDS) was used with which the “pointing hand” is associated.

• Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1832–34 (red),
• Brooklyn, Connecticut, 1839–1840 (blue; “PAID” in arc),
• Hartford, Connecticut, 1822–1830 (red); 1830–1850 (magenta; blue); with various CDS,
• Vinton, Iowa, 1851–61 (black; points to “3”),
• Chelsea, Massachusetts, 1851–61 (orange; points to “FORWARDED”),
• Enfield, Massachusetts, 1830 (black) (possibly unique),
• Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1829-1832 (red, black),

Figure 1. The “pointing hand” in a newspaper the early eighteenth century.
Salem, Massachusetts—the first illustrated postal markings

The Salem Post Office is one of America’s oldest, having been mentioned in the British Post Office act of 1710 (the Queen Anne Act). It was also noted on the Herman Moll post road map of New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, first published in his Major Atlas of 1729. Letters posted at Salem are known as early as 1740 (bearing the notation seen in Figure 4, “p Post & Paid”) and Salem was the seventh town in the U.S. to use a written town mark on its letters, in 1754 (see Figure 5).

In the 1760s, Salem had the first woman postmaster in America, Lydia Hill, who continued in this position from at least 1763 until her death in 1768. Two letters are known with her free frank (Phillips 1997, 150). By the first Federal census of 1790, Salem was the sixth biggest town in the United States, and per capita, its richest. Before the Revolutionary War, Salem was primarily a fishing port. Its experience with privateering during the war gave its sailors...
The Salem “Pointing Hand PAID” handstamps

Figure 3. Northampton, Massachusetts. (Collection of Nancy Clark).

Figure 4. An early Salem letter endorsed “per post and paid.”

Figure 5. An early written town mark from Salem.
and merchants greater ambition, and Salem trade grew substantially. It became a major trading power, rivaling and at times exceeding Boston and New York in the number of its ships at many foreign ports (Morison 1921).

**TYPE 1**

Given Salem’s prominence, it is therefore not surprising to find what appears to be the earliest example of a pictorial postal marking in U.S. postal history on the letter in Figure 6, posted at Salem on April 2, 1796, and sent to Norwich, Connecticut. John Dabney was the Salem postmaster at this time, remaining in this position through 1815, and his occupation as a printer and bookseller may have led to his creation of this marking and its successors. Struck in black ink, it is the only example of this particular “pointing hand PAID” hand stamp known to the author, and the only known example of any such Salem auxiliary marking struck in black. There are three other types of “pointing hand PAID” hand stamps, all struck in red, used at Salem through 1811. These will be discussed in more detail below. A survey of all known examples of the four varieties of the Salem “pointing hand PAID” hand stamp is included at the end of this article.

The “PAID” in this marking is quite similar in dimensions and style to the second “PAID” hand stamp known used in black at Salem in October and November, 1795. (The first Salem “Paid” hand stamp was smaller, used both upper and lower case letters, and a single example is known to the author, used in May 1795.)

After examining many copies of the various Salem “pointing hand PAID” markings, it appears that the best way of distinguishing them is through the dimension of the entire marking and the dimensions of the “PAID” hand stamp with which it is seen. The enlarged detail (Figure 7) from the April 1796 cover measures 22 mm from the wrist of the hand to the right end of the “D” in “PAID”; and the dimensions of the “PAID” are 13 x 4 mm. A secondary dimension is the distance from the hand to the “P” which is 4 mm, and the hand appears to be well aligned with the “PAID” (see Figure 7).

*Figure 6. This appears to be the earliest example of a pictorial postal marking used in the U.S. dated April 2, 1796 (author’s collection).*
The Salem “Pointing Hand PAID” handstamps

**Figure 7.** Detail of the Type 1 “pointing hand PAID” marking.

**Figure 8.** A Type 2 “pointing hand PAID” mark with a hollow-letter “SALEM” marking from March 26, 1798 (author’s collection).

**Figure 9.** Detail of the Type 2 marking.

**Type 2**

A second type of “pointing hand PAID” hand stamp was introduced at Salem during the following year. Unlike the first variety, this auxiliary marking was struck in red ink. A marking of this type is listed in the ASCC in 1797, struck in black, but it is not known to the author struck in this color. The example shown in Figure 8 is on a letter which also bears what appears to be a unique hollow-lettered “SALEM” straight-line postmark.

It was posted at Salem on March 26, 1798, and sent by Ward Chipman Jr. to his father at St. Andrews, New Brunswick. Ward Chipman, Sr. assisted the loyalist forces during the Revolution and helped organize the agitation that led to the creation of New Brunswick in 1784. He became the colony’s solicitor general, and eventually sat on the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. His son eventually joined his father’s law practice, became a politician and judge, and the Chief Justice of New Brunswick in 1834.

The author has seen four other covers which bear the same “pointing hand PAID” marking. The earliest is from the same correspondence, and is dated December 4, 1797. The latest is dated March 24, 1799, and was sent via London to Hamburg.

This marking differs from the one on the 1796 letter in its overall length (18½ mm vs. 22 mm) and to a lesser extent in the size of the “PAID” (13 x 3½ mm vs. 13 x 4 mm). The enlarged detail from the cover in Figure 9 also shows that this hand is considerably smaller, as is the distance from the hand to the “PAID” (1½ mm vs. 4 mm).
A third type of the Salem “pointing hand PAID” appears to have been introduced in 1800 and used between June 1800 and April 1805. The ASCC reports such a mark used in 1800, and struck in both red and black, but the author has only seen it struck in red ink. The report of an example in black ink may be due to the oxidation of the red ink on one example (see census at end of article). The example in Figure 10 was datelined at Bremen, Germany, on April 4, traveled by ship to Salem, where it was posted on June 13 and sent to Newburyport, Massachusetts. It appears to have been carried privately, rather than being handed to the captain, and entered the U.S. postal system without being charged the 2¢ ship fee.

Three other examples are known to the author. One is dated April 20, 1805, and is a quadruple rate letter sent to Marblehead, Massachusetts. The others are dated August 12, 1800, and March 19, 1801, and were both single letters sent to Newburyport, Massachusetts.

This third type of “pointing hand PAID” used at Salem is 20½ mm in overall length, and the “PAID” measures 13 x 3½ mm (see Figure 11 detail). The hand also appears to be shifted downward in relation to the “PAID.”

At this point, there appears to be a gap of three years, during which time no marking of this type has been reported. In January 1808, a fourth type appears, and this type is seen through at least March 1811. All known examples are struck in red ink. A cover bearing an example of this fourth type is shown in Figure 12.

This letter was posted at Salem on March 9, 1810, and sent from Benjamin B. Nichols to Joseph E. Smith in Boston. As can be seen in the detail (Figure 13), this hand stamp is approximately 21 mm in overall length, just a bit larger than Type 3, but the dimensions of the “PAID” are 14½ x 5 mm, the largest of the group. The tip of the finger is quite close to the “P” of “PAID.”
The Salem “Pointing Hand PAID” handstamps

**Summary**

Salem, Massachusetts, was a major American port from the Revolution to the War of 1812, when its prominence began to wane in favor of ports such as Boston and New York. During the period of 1796 to at least 1811 and possibly later, Postmaster John Dabney of Salem created and used four different versions of a “pointing hand PAID” hand stamp. These were the earliest pictorial hand stamps used in the United States. While the marking does not appear to have survived Dabney’s replacement as postmaster by Joseph E. Sprague in 1815, several other towns began to use similar markings in the 1820s.

The difference in the Salem hand stamps can be best seen below, shown with measurements that best distinguish one from the other.
A Survey of Known Examples of the Salem "Pointing Hand PAID" Hand Stamps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Ink color</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Rate (zone)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796, Apr 2</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Norwich, Conn.</td>
<td>12½¢ (100–150 mi.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797, Dec 4</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>St. John, New Brunswick</td>
<td>22¢ (350–450 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797, Dec 11</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>St. John, New Brunswick</td>
<td>22¢ (350–450 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798, Mar 26</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>St. John, New Brunswick</td>
<td>22¢ (350–450 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798, Oct 20</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>22¢ (350–450 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799, Mar 20</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>London (via Boston)</td>
<td>6¢ (up to 30 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800, Jun 18</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Bremen</td>
<td>Boston (via Salem)</td>
<td>8¢ (up to 40 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800, Aug 12</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Newburyport</td>
<td>8¢ (up to 40 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801, Mar 19</td>
<td>oxidized red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Newburyport</td>
<td>8¢ (up to 40 miles)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1805, Apr 2</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Marblehead</td>
<td>24 (up to 40 miles—triple rate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808, Jan 19</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Providence, R.I.</td>
<td>12½¢ (90–150 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808, Jul 29</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>20¢ (300–500 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808, Sep 19</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>20¢ (300–500 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808, Nov 18</td>
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<td>Salem</td>
<td>Andover, Mass.</td>
<td>8¢ (up to 40 miles)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1810, Jan 14</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>16¢ (up to 40 miles—double rate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810, Mar 9</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>16¢ (up to 40 miles—double rate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811, Mar 8</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Newburyport, Mass.</td>
<td>8¢ (up to 40 miles)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


The puzzle of the Piscataqua postmarks

Nancy B. Clark

The Piscataqua River forms the boundary between southern Maine and eastern New Hampshire. It is a mighty river, fed primarily by the Cocheco and the Salmon Falls rivers. The river flows into a tidal estuary, a basin of approximately 1,495 square miles. Smaller rivers join the harbor itself, making for a strong current within the waters separating Maine and New Hampshire. Colonial era pioneers depended on water travel as a key basis for getting from one place to another and as a means to enable basic communication between communities. Transportation of people and goods depended both on adequate depth of water for sea-going vessels and protected harbor areas where goods and people could be safely loaded and off-loaded. Bordered by a healthy salt-marsh system, the rapidly flowing Piscataqua’s deep water harbor area was a significant draw to settlers in what would eventually be a border between New Hampshire and Maine.

There exist examples of manuscript postmarks used during Colonial Post times with variations on the name Piscataqua. Where those postmarks were applied has remained a question unanswered, though they are often considered to have been applied a bit to the northwest of Portsmouth, somewhere in the New Hampshire coastal area.

Maps of the time, and pre-permanent settlement by Europeans, place Piscataqua in several locations, from Rye, then Pannaway, near the harbor entrance and in close proximity to the Atlantic coast of New Hampshire; to what is now Newmarket, just northwest of Portsmouth; to what is now Dover, on Dover or Hilton Point; to what is now South Berwick, Maine, then part of Kittery; to what is now Eliot and Kittery, Maine.

Figure 1. Based on a map etched pre-1699 by Francis Chapernowne who lived on the large island now called Gerrish, but then called Chapernowne Island, just off Kittery Point. This copy was prepared for an 1889 publication, “Tuttle’s Historical Papers.” Courtesy Maine Memory Network.
THE POSTMARKS

The majority of postmarks attributed to Piscataqua surfaced in the Pennsylvania Archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania¹ and have appeared in sales by both the Schuyler Rumsey Auction House and the Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc. Both have kindly granted their permission to use their illustrated lots in this article. Matthew Bennett International also agreed to the use of an image from their catalog.

Table I shows postmarks which are clearly marked by a variation of “Piscataqua.” They range from “Pisa” and “Pesct'” to “Piscata.” I have never seen the “Piscataquack” or even the full spelling of either “Piscataqua” or “Piscataway” used.

Table II shows postmarks which have been attributed to the same office and, I suspect, have led researchers to conclude that the Piscataqua office was indeed part of the Strawberry Banke settlement, which became Portsmouth. By 1783 Portsmouth was using a straightline postmark, not illustrated in the tables as being out of the Colonial time period.

There are Thirteen examples currently known which have been attributed to Piscataqua, two of which have the name Portsmouth and eleven of which have no named office.

There have been numerous possibilities discussed over the years as to the source of these markings. Time to review a bit of history.

In 1639 Richard Fairbanks’ property in Boston was designated the place for the exchange of all letters bound to or from foreign ports. In 1653 Strawberry Banke officially changed the settlement’s name to Portsmouth, but mail was still being handled in an informal way.² According to journal entries of the time, correspondence was exchanged chiefly by fishermen bringing communications as they went from port to port. By 1672 New York and Boston exchanged mail regularly but it was not until 1676 that John Heyward was officially appointed postmaster in Boston.

John Usher, New Hampshire’s Deputy Governor (and son-in-law to Samuel Allen who at that time had owned all of John Mason’s New Hampshire land), wrote March 25, 1693, to the members of his council from Boston:

Gentlm: The Poste Master General being here in Boston & giving account yt he has settled a poste from Virginia to Boston once a week, he is very desirous to know what you will be pleased to allow either as a yearly salary(sic), or how much a letter for postage of a single Letter from Piscataqua to Boston...Itts(sic) desired you would likewise signifye(sic) whether you would have a poste(sic) once a week or once in two weeks.”³

John Usher, who did make trips to New Hampshire, lived in Boston the entire time he served as New Hampshire’s Deputy Governor.

In 1693 Thomas Neale sanctioned a weekly mail service between Portsmouth and Virginia

¹. Alex ter Braake indicates these are from a “large failed business organization” which over-extended their business in Chapter S of the Posted Letter in Colonial and Revolutionary America, which he coordinated, 1975, American Philatelic Library, State College, PA.

². “About which time one Ward, of Salem, an honest young man, going to shew(sic) a traveler the safest way over the ice, fell in himself, though he had a pitchfork in his hand, and was presently carried away with the tide under the ice and drowned. The traveler, going to help him, fell in with one leg, and so escaped. He brought all the letters that used to come by fishing ships in those times to Pascataqua, which by that means were kept safe.” Jan. 1641, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. VI of the Second Series, p. 421, printed MDCCCXV (1815), Boston, Charles C. Little and James Brown, reprinted MDCCCLXVIII (1848).

### The puzzle of the Piscataqua postmarks

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postmark</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Rate(s)</th>
<th>Writer’s Home Base</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Image</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pescada</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>Henry Sherburne</td>
<td>8 dwt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1740</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pesct</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>Henry Sherburne</td>
<td>8 dwt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1740</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peseq</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>Henry Sherburne</td>
<td>8 dwt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>8 dwt</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>c1741</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<td>unknown</td>
<td>8 dwt</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>c1744</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Maddox &amp; Bourne</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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<td>unknown</td>
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<td>[Image]</td>
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<td>Henry Sherburn, Jr.</td>
<td>16 dwt</td>
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<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>8 dwt</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>c1748</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pis</td>
<td>Mathew Grisnold</td>
<td>Unknown to Lime, CT</td>
<td>4 dwt, 8 gr</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pis</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>Jonathan Sherburne</td>
<td>8 dwt, 8grs</td>
<td>Northwood (NH)</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pis</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>Joseph Allcock</td>
<td>Paid 8 dwt</td>
<td>Kittery</td>
<td>1758</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<td>Pis</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>8 dwt</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>c1758</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<td>unknown</td>
<td>c1758</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pis</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>Capt. William Pearne</td>
<td>16/16</td>
<td>Portsmouth, Salmon Falls</td>
<td>1759</td>
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<td>Henry Athrop</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1761</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
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<td>Pis</td>
<td>Henry Keller</td>
<td>Unknown to Quebec</td>
<td>Paid 9 dwt, 8 gr</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1771</td>
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### Table II

<table>
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<th>To</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>Rate(s)</th>
<th>Writer’s Home Base</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Portsmth</td>
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<td>unknown</td>
<td>c1750</td>
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<td>Post Office Portsmth</td>
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<td>Paid 20/ unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1754</td>
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<tr>
<td>P Sh</td>
<td>Christopher Champlin</td>
<td>London to Newport, RI</td>
<td>3 dwt, 8 gr, Bos 4, 7-8</td>
<td>Incoming from England</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td><img src="image3.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Thomas Fayerweather</td>
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<td>1 dwt, 6 gr</td>
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<td>(none)</td>
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<td>Jos Allcock</td>
<td>Paid dwt 16</td>
<td>Kittery</td>
<td>1760</td>
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<tr>
<td>P Sh</td>
<td>James Wadsworth</td>
<td>London to Durham CT</td>
<td>4 dwt, 6 gr</td>
<td>Incoming from England</td>
<td>1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>John Reynell</td>
<td>John Sherburne</td>
<td>4 wt 16 gr, 2/2 local currency</td>
<td>Northwood</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td><img src="image7.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ezekial Wheelock</td>
<td>Bath via New Castle Per John Wentworth</td>
<td>3.8 Bath</td>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>1766</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Samuel Vernon &amp; Co</td>
<td>Lt. Col. Erwin Evmin</td>
<td>2 dwt, 16 gr</td>
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<td>1767</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Jared Ingersol</td>
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<td><img src="image10.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>Thomas Teagle Taylor</td>
<td>Thomas Dawling</td>
<td>2 dwt, 16 gr</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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<td><img src="image11.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Paid</td>
<td>Eleaz Wheelock</td>
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<td>Paid 4 dwt</td>
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<td>1770</td>
<td><img src="image12.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Metcalf Bowler</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>5 dwt, 8 gr</td>
<td>Docketed “Hampshire”</td>
<td>1774</td>
<td><img src="image13.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Newport Historical Society, Newport, RI
Yale University, New Haven, CT
Regency Auction 65, lot 2528

Ottawa Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada
Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH
Edwaard J. Siskin records, unpublished
The puzzle of the Piscataqua postmarks

as arranged by Andrew Hamilton, his deputy. This system worked as well as weather and other conditions allowed until 1699, when it essentially went into disuse; the implementation proved problematical.

In 1707 the British officially purchased the private monopoly of Thomas Neale and extended their postal system to all their colonies, appointing Colonel John Hamilton as the Postmaster General for North America. Herman Moll’s maps of the American Colonies in Oldmixon’s histories increased awareness of the placement of settlements. In 1717 a formal route connecting Boston with Williamsburg was established with mail to be exchanged every four weeks. On November 15, 1755, a formal packet service was established between Falmouth on Casco Bay (now Portland, Maine) and New York.

A survey of letters written in Maine but bearing Portsmouth straightline postmarks suggests that a service was in place by 1793 whereby letters bearing Maine datelines, but not postal markings, entered the postal system in Portsmouth. These examples have not only the Portsmouth straightline but also what appears to be a small checkmark that is actually a “2,” indicating a charge for a specific service. This author believes the fee was charged to cover ferriage across the river from Kittery to Portsmouth.

There was ferry service directly from Kittery Point to a wharf near the Portsmouth post office. Located on Market Street, which ended at the ferry ways at the time, the building was in place by 1680, when it is mentioned in New Hampshire President John Cutt’s will. In 1723 King Charles II appointed Butts Bacon to collect the customs at Piscataqua River. He died in 1725 or 1726 and possibly filled the post via a local deputy while he remained in Norfolk, England. Eleazar Russell, Postmaster of Portsmouth under both British and American appointments, both lived and ran his offices out of the building. He ran the Customs House with the title “Naval Officer,” collecting customs fees and clearing vessels to do business in the province. He was also Sherriff and Postmaster. The “Collector” position had gone to George Meserve by 1765, who was from Portsmouth but died in England; and to Colonel Joseph Whipple by 1789. Russell died in 1798. He left behind a few letters sent under his frank. The one shown below he treats by writing “Free / E. Russell pm/Post Master Portsmouth” (Figure 2).

There were ferries in many places within the Piscataqua river basin. The most used ran between Portsmouth and Kittery. The keeping of an “ordinary” or “house of entertainment” seems to be permanently linked to the occupation of a ferryman, in colonial times.

4. The 1707 Act of Union officially turned England into Great Britain pre Parliament’s Act. A year later John Oldmixon (1673–1742) published his two volume work The British Empire in America: Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America. He used the work of cartographer Herman Moll to illustrate each colony.

5. He was appointed to this position by the British. A copy of the appointment is available via the Avalon Project, online at HTTP://AVALON.LAW.YALE.EDU/17TH_CENTURY/NH08.ASP


7. Meservey geneology says Elizabeth Meserve (b. 1707) married James Libby (b. 1700 Portsmouth, m. 1725 Newington, d. 1770 Scarboro) and “he was post rider Portsmouth-Portland six years.”

8. The Presidential Papers of George Washington, pp 225–226, letter from John Langdon to George Washington of July 17, 1789, “I have Recd several letters from Eleazar Russell Esqr. Who now is, and has been for upwards of Twenty years past, Naval Officer for the port of Portsmouth in the State of new Hampshire, and, likewise from, Colonal(sic) Joseph Whipple Brother of the late General Whipple who is now Collector or Impost Master for the Same port…” Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
On October 21, 1645, Robert Mendum, who relocated there from Duxbury in 1644, was licensed to keep an ordinary at Kittery Point according to Court Records. In 1662 he was one of the freemen from Kittery who signed the request for protection from Massachusetts Bay.

In 1659 “Thomas Crockett charged 6 pence a person to carry to Great Island [New Castle], to Henry Sherburn’s(sic) at Little Harbor [Rye] 5 pence, to Strawberry Banke [Portsmouth] 2 shillings and 6 pence. As a ferryman he was allowed to keep a house of entertainment at the Point [Kittery Point].”

The same year a ferry was ordered by the Court to be established at the mouth of Sturgeon Creek, today’s Eliot. By 1651 a ferry is mentioned at Cold Harbor Point at the mouth of the waterway where Anthony Emery was licensed to keep an ordinary in connection with his ferry. Cold Harbor became the local name of the area surrounding Sturgeon Creek, possibly based on the name he hung outside the ordinary or perhaps because initially this was a simple place to shelter, unheated, thus a cold place in which to harbor.

John Morrell was a mason when he settled in Cold Harbor in 1676. He was licensed in 1686 to “keep a ferry and house of entertainment” there.

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In 1661, Court records say “Whereas there is a demand for a house of entertainment at the place called the Poynt(sic), where sometimes Hugh Gunnison did reside, and whereas there is a constant necessity for transportation across the Piscataqua River at that place, the Court orders that Robert Wadleigh keep an ordinary there and take charge of the ferry over to Capt. Pendleton’s side.” Captain Brian Pendleton was given a point of land next to Little Harbor by the Portsmouth Selectmen this same year.12 Wadleigh’s contract was renewed the following year, but by 1666 he had moved to Oyster River, in New Hampshire (now part of Newington).

Hugh Gunnison kept an ordinary and ran a brewery at Warehouse Point and also had a pub near the Kittery church until his death in 1660. In 1652 he was the only licensee and was “required to pay only 20 S. the butt for his license to sell wine and Strong water,” possibly due to his position as a Town Commissioner. Earlier he was in competition with Robert Mendum, who had a license to keep an ordinary from 1644 on the point. By 1653 Gunnison represented Kittery to the General Court and was appointed as a Judge of Common Pleas. However one history says that the General Court refused to accept him as he was “a licensed rum-seller,” even though the town of Kittery had elected him to represent them. I have found no record of Hugh Gunnison as a ferryman. His son Elihu, was appointed by the town to “keep the Ferry across Spruce Creek.” This was possibly the ferry up river to ease road traffic to and from York rather than the cross-Piscataqua River ferry. He served from 1766 to 1778 on this route.

From 1663–1664 Sarah Morgan, widow of Hugh Gunnison, was licensed to keep the ordinary at the point.

In 1666 Abraham Corbett had the ferry on a trial basis, but was then confirmed and allowed to keep a “house of entertainment” at the point. His fares were 6 pence to New Castle, 5 shillings to “Henry Sherburn’s on Little Harbor [Rye],” and 2 shillings 6 pence to Strawberry Banke.

In 1671 Francis Morgan, probably Sarah Morgan’s fourth husband, was a surgeon, but held the license to run the ordinary at the point as well.

In 1692 through 1699 the ferry was run from Withers Point, named for Thomas Withers, to Strawberry Banke by John Woodman.13 John More, Woodman’s son-in-law bought the house and ferry in 1724. The Rice Tavern, directly opposite Portsmouth, was built by this ferry landing. In the York Deeds, it is noted that on September 10, 1717, at the request of Mary Rice “I laid out a small Lot of Land for Paul Wentworth of the same Place Ferry Man near ye ferry Place in sd Kittery where they Ferry over to Portsmouth in New hampshire(sic).” by James Jeffry, Surveyor. But in 1726 Richard Rice, in his will, cedes the remainder of the land to his son Samuel(sic) Rice. In 1806 the road was laid out to York from this ferry landing though it was clearly the main route already in 1726.14

Of course the ferries had keepers on both sides of the river. Court records affirm: “Henry [Sherburne]. Yeoman, Portsmouth; it was ordered by Piscataqua court in 1642 that he keep a ferry from the great house to the great island, one to the province [of Maine], one to Strawberry Bank, one to Rowes (sic) [possibly Nicholas Row’s house but may indicate the Berwick site nearby Sagamore Rowles] , and other ferrys(sic),” with specified fares for each route. For the ordinary he was to charge “8d a meale (sic).”15 In 1656, at the March Town Meeting, the

12. York County Deeds, Part I, Folio 102, shows in 1660 Brian Pendleton had also purchased 50 acres of land for £20 in Spruce Creek (near Kittery Point) in Kittery (Sept. 14, 1660). In 1652 he was a Town Commissioner in Kittery with Hugh Gunnison and Thomas Withers.
market for ferry rides was sewn up by Sherburne when they voted as item 5 of the decisions “that no man shall take mony(sic) for ferry age from goodman sherborns(sic) to the great Illand(sic) except Allixsande(sic) Bacheler. Nor from goodman Johnson.” He still had the Portsmouth ferry privilege in 1670. The records show that in 1643 Sherburne was to receive 2 pence to New Castle from Little Harbor; 12 pence to Kittery and 6 pence to Portsmouth. He died in 1681.

There were various ferries run to New Castle. One from Rye was owned by Stephen Marsden, probably post 1722 when he married. This was preceded by Alexander Bachelor who, in May 17,1652, is given the charge from “great Illand(sic), unto the Randavow [Rye at Odiorne’s Point], or the great house—and from goodman sherborns(sic) point(sic) unto strabery(sic) banke, six pence the man; and two pence the mad from the great Illand(sic) unto goodman (Sher)borns(sic) point(sic),” had died by June of 1660.

In 1693 the Court of Sessions changed the ferry point to New Castle from Saunders Point, where Captain Samuel Sherburne was keeping it, to his widow, Mrs. Love Sherburne’s property, provided that she kept the bridge over the marsh to the ferry ways safe for both horses and people to use. By 1759 a toll bridge to New Castle was built; but the tolls proved to be insufficient to keep the bridge maintained. The bridge was allowed to deteriorate and was demolished sometime prior to 1789. It stood near to where the current Wentworth Bridge is located.

The General Court response to a petition by John Langdon:

[T]o build a bridge from said Island [now Badger’s, then Langdon’s Island] to Kittery and to keep a Ferry from said Island to Portsmouth, May 12, 1792 the town voted an answer to said Citation, that in 1692 the County Court granted to John Woodman and his heirs and assigns the Privilege of keeping a Ferry from Kittery to Portsmouth and that in 1699 the town of Kittery gave their approbation and grant to said Woodman in like manner, and said Ferry had been in their possession to the present time as their Property in fee simple and that the town are of opinion that to take it from them without compensation would be unconstitutional.

When the 1828 bridge was built connecting Kittery and Portsmouth in 1828, John Woodman’s heirs received some compensation.

On October 25, 1694, An Act for Regulating Ferries was passed by the General Court to provide that “the general post that is selected for their majesties and the countrys(sic) service be readily dispatched and set over by all ferry men where they shall come, without delay.”

September 9, 1703 the House of Representatives approved an order whereby “Every Master of any ship or vessel arriving from any Foreign ports shall deliver in all his Letters to the Post Office at the Port of discharge, or shall deliver them at any other place where he happens first to arrive: The Post Master demanding the Same: In which case they shall be forthwith expressed to ye Post Office in Boston. And all masters shall be paid by the Post Master a half penny a Letter for Every & so many Letters as he shall put into the office; and the Post Master shall be paid and receive the accustomed Rates & Prices now paid for Letters by him delivered out; The Collector and Naval Officer, respectively, to Give Notice of this order to all masters.”

16. It has been proposed by one more familiar than I of New Hampshire geography that Sherburne’s Point was land on the north side of Sagamore Creek where the Wentworth-Coolidge mansion is. The south side was Saunier’s Point where a bridge was built to New Castle in 1663 according to the New Hampshire Historical Society. It was demolished by a storm in February 1684.


LOOKING TO MAPS AND CHARTS FOR GUIDANCE

One would hope that consulting maps and charts for the period would clarify the matter; unfortunately that is not the case. Even contemporary maps and charts do not clear up the placement of this settlement. When studying these tangible remainders of early perceptions, Piscataqua seems to have shifted about. Early records frequently assign the name to the general region rather than specifying a definite place. Specific locations range all around the rim of the Piscataqua without regard to where state borders are now drawn.

The History of York County Maine says Maine was discovered by Giovanni da Verrazano, sailing under auspices of Francis I, in 1524, though they do allow for “the discoveries of the Scandinavians and Northmen who at a very remote period of antiquity are said to have penetrated to these shores and made a settlement in Rhode Island.”19 It claims the first map showing Maine was published in 1556, the work of French cartographer Crignon, who sailed in 1529 with Captain Parmentier to gather appropriate latitude and longitude information and accurate characters of the coastline. This was published in the collection of Giacomo Ramusio’s20 work (Figure 3).

Circa 1670, certainly within the reign of King Charles II’s brother James as Duke of York (1660–1685), a map was prepared of the Piscataqua region by an unknown cartographer who signed it with the initials I. S. Exeter is clearly depicted as the most settled of the towns with three mills, though mills are indicated clearly in several areas of the Piscataqua valley. Note the “Indian Towne Manhacot,” probably a subset of the Abenaki Nation, at the head of the Lamprey River, above Exeter. Rocks and shallows at the entrance to the river are clearly indicated though the channel is not. The only place where a ship of any size is shown is well into the river’s basin in Great Bay. Forts’ locations are also specified, and some ownership is indicated on land areas. Judging by the deer, fox and bear depictions there is plenty of game for sustenance. Papers from that time indicate visitors are well fed from the stock of wild beasts. The spelling of the area is “Pascatway.” I have seen it argued that current maps should reflect this spelling as the correct one; though I am at a loss how one can determine which spelling is “correct” (Figure 4).

“Piscatowy” is its designation on the General Chart of the West India’s, the work of John Seller, who is “His Maties [Majesty’s] Hydrographer,” on his 1675 map.21 The spelling “Piscatequa” is the spelling for the river on the first map published in North America, William Hubbard’s Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians, published in 1677 (Figure 5).22

20. 1500–1566, Venice, published in the third volume of J. B. Ramusio’s Viagi (voyages), Gastaldi’s work reflects the trips of Cartier and Verrazano.
22. In the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, an independent research library founded.
On Nicolaum Visscher’s map, printed in Amsterdam in 1685, the *Novo Belgii Novǽque Angliǽ: nec non partyis Virginiǽ tabula multis in locus emendater*, the word is “Passataquack,” the spelling commonly used in English grants.

Thornton’s early 1700s charts have Portsmouth, Exeter, Lambeth, Oyster, “Pascataway,” and Dover surrounding the waterway between what is now New Hampshire and Maine, with no river or bay named (Figure 6). Durham used to be called Oyster River Plantation and was settled in 1635 as part of Dover. Newmarket is on the Lamprey River and was once called Lampreyville. It may be what the cartographer in 1791. The map was printed by woodcut of John Foster and is considered to be in all probability the first map published in the western hemisphere.

23. 1649–1702.

24. From the Library of Congress web site. Also referred to with this spelling in numerous British document of the 1600s.

25. Dover’s earlier name was Northam, named circa 1642 for Reverend Thomas Larkham’s home town in England.

26. Dover, NH from Wikipedia: HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/VIDEO/DURHAM,_NEW_HAMPSHIRE. By 1732 it was incorporated and named after the English Durham.
labeled Lambeth. If the placement of Dover is correct, this chart would place Piscataway on the New Hampshire side of the Piscataqua River; too far away to be patronized conveniently by people in Portsmouth or Kittery (Figure 7).

Captain Cyprian Southack’s map, circa 1734, shows the river spelled “Piscataqua.”

Herman Moll’s 1708 map, as it appeared in John Oldmixon’s two volume history, has a post office identified in New Jersey as “Pascataway,” a settlement ter Braake agrees was founded by colonists relocated to New Jersey from the Piscataqua River region. The area we are exploring has “Portsmouth” on the southern side and “Keteri” and “York” on the northern side with “Pescataque R” for the harbor area.

By 1807, the whole river, not just the river as it heads up into Berwick, is referred to as “Salmon River” and the harbor area as “Piscataqua Harbor.” There was also a Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, now part of Rollinsford.

In his correspondence with Indian linguistics expert Fanny Eckstorm, Ralph May learned “peske” means “branch” and “tegwe” means river with a strong current. As the Piscataqua has a current strong enough that even contemporary cruise ships cannot tackle it except at slack tide, the “tegwe” still has meaning. According to Eckstorm, the spellings explored here would all communicate the same place. However she did not explain why sometimes the word applies to the river and sometimes to a settlement.

27. He lived 1662–1745 and published this map in London, circa 1734. See on the Library of Congress maps web site.

28. As points of interest, Moll called what is now Boon Island “Baon I.” and what we call the Isles of Shoals he labels “Shoales I.”

Place names continued to be somewhat fluid. What is now South Berwick encompassed Newichawannock, sometimes in conjunction with being called Quampeagan, Salmon Falls, Lower Landing, Pipe Stave Landing and Great Works. The Great Works section was also known as the Parish of Unity in the Town of Kittery (Figure 8).

What is now Dover, a finger reaching toward the sea located at the confluence of the Cochecho, Bellamy and Piscataqua Rivers, was called Piscataqua in a letter reproduced in *Suffolk Deeds*, “The manuscript at the top of the page is a copy of a letter in answer to certain inquires as to Mr. Hansard Knolles, then minister at Piscataqua, now Dover, N.H…it may have been written to Gov. Winthrop by Capt. John Underhill, then Governor of Dover.”

Nearby York, the next early settlement to the northeast, was originally called Agamenticus or Accamanticus; then Bristol by the settlers from that part of England; renamed Gorgeana (1640) in honor of the new Governor, Thomas Gorges; and then York in 1652 when Massachusetts gained control of the area.

In early European records, Piscataqua, or variations thereof, is the name of lands bounding the river basin. All the towns and settlements on the edge of the waterway are collected under the broad name Piscataqua, with various names selected for each settlement and generally a renaming when the settlers formalized their settlement with a church and then with a school and other community supporting systems. This is true both for the towns in what became New Hampshire and what became ultimately Maine; I suspect it is true throughout the country as places were organized by “foreign” settlers who worked to make each area their own.

Dover Point, New Hampshire to South Berwick, Maine is only a fourteen mile distance by hiking trails today. We are looking at an area with major water power and, though the provinces were formally separated from one another in 1640, the residents had little in the way of state loyalties; though where they paid their taxes was clear in each case.

Regardless of the patents of British or French and Massachusetts investors, inhabitants were united in surviving the day to day challenges of frontier living. Complicated by the results of political overseers’ conflicts, their struggles, above and beyond pioneer life challenges, were repeatedly played out with Indian tribes recruited for both French and British interests.

Prior to King Phillip’s War, which broke out in the summer of 1675, the area where South Berwick is located was a friendly trading post. Afterwards fields were burned, families were killed in atrocious ways. Garrisons were an essential part of every settlement.

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31. Some say in honor of New York which once controlled this area; others that the name commemorates Cromwell’s defeat of the King’s soldiers in York, England.
32. *Old Kittery*, p.159.
33. There were up to fifty garrison houses in the Dover area alone during the 1689 Indian raids which would include modern day Somersworth (until 1754), Durham, Lee Rollinsford and Madbury according to the website www.northamericanforts.com.
Ten years after King Philip’s War ended, King William’s War began and went on for another ten years. Settlements on the coastline and on interior waterways were often abandoned for the sake of survival as the French and British leadership worked to achieve control of lands on the new continent. Militia leaders formed alliances, regardless of their home state, to fight their mutual enemies. Major Richard Waldron of Dover and Captain Charles Frost of Berwick joined forces, as an example.

In 1738 William Pepperell was a Colonel in command of the Yorkshire regiment. He called a meeting of the officers at Falmouth (which became Portland). They decided on plans to make a better military organization. The result was more soldiers and better training. After a meeting with Indians who spoke well but came under a French flag, the General Court, at the insistence of Council Member Jeremiah Moulton, ordered a fortress to be built to keepsake public records in York, and he was provided three or four swivel guns.

William D. Williamson, Maine’s early historian, shows that not only the battles between British and French on the Continent were of importance; but also against Spanish forces who had land claims further inland (remember that the Louisiana Purchase after the French reclaimed the territory and the Spanish presence in both Florida and California).

The Governor, in his speech to the Legislature, Sept. 20, 34 says “since our last meeting, I have received the king’s royal orders, granting letters of marquee and reprizal (sic), against the subjects of Spain; and I trust, your loyalty and wisdom will suitably guide you, in the part you may have to take in this war.”...[The Governor] issued a proclamation for the encouragement of men, who would join in the expedition ordered by the British Court against the Island of Cuba; assuring them, they should be under the command of their own officers, be in the king’s pay, have a supply of arms and clothing, and a share in the booty taken, and be returned home, when their term of service expired. Hence there were recruited or raised in the Province, about 5 or 600 men.

Nor did he delay to communicate the earliest intimations he received, that there were Spanish privateers probably upon the coast; representing at the same time, in such glowing colors, the awful consequences, frequently, of procrastinating preparations for defence (sic), that the General Court, June 23, appropriated £3000, to be taken from the proceeds of the Indian trade, and applied towards repairing Forts Frederick, St. Georges, Richmond and Mary at Saco, and rendering them entirely defensible. A vessel, the Snow, was likewise built, for the protection of the coasting and truck trade; and a fortress was erected or enlarged at Falmouth, in which eight or ten 12 pounders were afterwards mounted, and various kinds of military stores deposited, for recruiting the eastern garrisons.

Unfortunately, no more than a tenth of the 500 men raised from the Province for the Cuban venture returned. There was no recompense. The men were released from duty October 24, 1742, and allowed to keep their guns.

We have looked at the inner parts of the waterway and the towns which rimmed it on the rivers feeding into the Piscataqua. We have also seen that this was not a period of calm when bucolic farming scenes were the norm. So let’s explore the mouth of the river with its many islands and where the majority of the fortresses were placed.

**ISLANDS AND FORTS**

In the late 1600s to the mid seventeen hundreds, waterways were the roads, offering far smoother and more reliable passage than the poor paths and rutted passages that passed for roads on land (Figure 9).

New Castle, a 2.4 square mile island nearly contiguous to the New Hampshire mainland,
Figure 9. Rochambeau sketched this map of the entry to the river in 1782. He indicates numerous bridges, battlements, dangerous waters and the road to York as well as three moored ships, Auguste, Pluton, and Bourgogne, anchored just to the west of Fernald’s Island. A clear channel is marked for vessels (battleships and deep keeled vessels) and another for sloops and schallops, requiring less depth. His other, more formal map, “Plan du port de Portsmouth levé à vue,” shows the “Piscataqua” spelling and indicates a ferry route from Portsmouth to what is now Eliot. (Both maps are part of the Library of Congress digital library and are dated 1782.)

1. Unlikely an accurate note as the Auguste sank on the coast of Cape Breton in 1761. Another ship of this name, a 50-gun 4th rate, was captured by the British in 1741 at Brest and renamed HMS Portland Prize.
2. Pluton, a 74-gun ship built at Cherbourg in 1778, was renamed Dugommier in 1797.
3. Another of the French naval ships who took part in the American Revolution, this 74-gun ship was built in Toulon and ended her career in 1783 off Curacao.
is the site of an early shipyard (Figure 10). The British Royal Navy ordered a frigate, ship of the line, the HMS Falkland, from the Holland shipyard there in 1690. It was the first warship built in what would become the United States of America, completed March 2, 1696.

The island used to be called Great Island and was settled in 1623, primarily as a fishing village. One of the seven forts built to keep the harbor safe, Fort Constitution, was built on the northeastern corner. It was originally called Fort William and Mary and was established in 1631 by the British.

Fort William and Mary is credited as the site of the first capture made by the patriots in the Revolutionary War. Following a December 13, 1774, ride by Paul Revere to deliver dispatches to Portsmouth Colonial revolutionaries (before the ride made famous by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow35) the local citizens raided Fort William and Mary and seized the poorly defended fort, thereby gaining valuable ammunition for the revolution. Some of the hundred pounds

35. April 18, 1775.
retrieved there are believed to have been used in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Fifteen of the can-
non were captured along with all the small arms. It was re-named Fort Constitution (Figure
12) following the Revolutionary War. The Portsmouth Harbor Lighthouse was built in that
locality in 1771.

Fort Stark is located on a point called Jerry’s (or Jaffrey’s) Point, on the southeastern corner
of New Castle. Named for a New Hampshire Commander at the Battle of Bennington (1777),
it was built on the remains of Battery Cumberland, which was built and armed with nine 32
pounders in 1746. Local fort historians claim that it was rebuilt for the American Revolution
and named Fort Hancock. On the northwestern arm of the island, on a hill near where Riverside
Cemetery is now located, on Clark’s Point, there was a stone and earthen work installation
called Clark’s Point Redoubt. Fort Hancock, commanded by Dr. Hall Jackson from the winter
of 1775–6 until 1778 was in the same location. For the War of 1812 it was re-opened by the
local militia and named Shaw’s Hill Fort.

Of the other two large islands at the entrance to the harbor (Figure 13), Gerrish’s Island
was not in military use until 1872, when Fort Foster was erected and fitted out with military

Figure 11. Boston manuscript “B° 5/s” postmark on a letter to Captain George Frost “at Ports-
mouth or Newcastle.” George Frost was the nephew of Sir William Pepperrell and was born
in New Castle. He returned to New England in 1760 after his first wife, an Englishwoman,
died. His second wife was a widow from Durham. Frost lived in Newcastle from 1760 to
1769, when he moved to Durham, probably dating this missive to those years.' Courtesy
Schuyler Rumsey Philatelic Auctions

1. Old Eliot: a Quarterly Magazine of the History and Biography of the Upper Parish of Kittery, New
The puzzle of the Piscataqua postmarks

Ordinance to act as a defense for the Navy Yard. It is a curious anomaly as it is what we call a “sometimes island,” at that time connected to the mainland at low tide, it is only an island when the tide is in. It was named Dartington by Francis Champernowne in 1636, and so called in the grant from Gorges, but called Champernowne’s Island in a 1648 conveyance. Francis Coupernouf (Champernowne), a nephew of Thomas Gorges, who was a cousin of Sir Ferdinando Gorges) left immense tracts of property. His will left half the island to his wife

36. Captain Francis Champernowne: the Dutch Conquest of Arcadie and other Historical Papers, p. 84, Charles Wesley Tuttle, John Ward Dean; Ed. Albert Harrison Hoyt; J. Wilson & Son University Press, Boston, 1889.
37. York Deeds, Book iii, folios 97–98; same deed on date of June 14m 1638, see folios. 98–99.

Figure 12. Datelined August 12, 1809, this Fort Constitution FLS from Captain John B. Walback, entered the mail in Portsmouth. Courtesy Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc., Dec. 8, 2004.

Figure 13. 1893 map showing the conglomerate known as Seavey’s Island, with the Navy Yard located on Fernald’s or Dennett’s Island. Note the only connection with the Maine mainland at this time was a bridge to the “Navy Yard.” A granite dry dock was authorized to be built between the islands, effectively joining them, in 1900.
Mary and the other half to his son in law and daughter, Humphrey and Elizabeth Elliot. He left another island in the Piscataqua to his son in law Robert Cutt, daughters in law Bridget Scriven, Mary Cutt and Sarah Cutt, an island with thirty acres set aside for Elizabeth Small, which bears the Cutt name to this day. It was changed to Gerrish’s Island until 1700. Colonel Timothy Gerrish, of the western Yorkshire Regiment, was deeded this land by his father in law, Robert Eliot, who resided in Dover. The name changed at that time.

The other large island is home to the Portsmouth Shipyard. What is now Seavey’s Island, was originally five islands, many of which were used during colonial times to dry fish (a smelly business where the cleaned and salted fish are spread on poles or platforms called flakes to dry, out in the open air). Parson’s History of Rye, says Seavey’s Island was called Fernald’s Island until the mid 1700s. The Fernalds owned several islands in the mouth of the Piscataqua River.

What is called Fernald’s Island now is located to the north west of Seavey’s, closer to the Maine mainland. (It was also called Dennett’s Island for William and Sarah Dennett, owners until 1800.) When Benjamin Stoddert, the first United States Secretary of the Navy (May 1, 1798–March 31, 1801), chose the site for the first Federal shipyard in 1800, he authorized $5,500 for the purchase of Fernald’s Island. In 1866, Seavey’s Island was also obtained.

Eventually Clarks Island (to the east south east), Jamaica (to the east north east) and another island were also acquired and joined together forming the single entity now known as Seavey’s Island.

Fort Sullivan was an earthen works defense built on the bluff on the southern end of Seavey’s Island and was used from 1775–1778, manned by New Hampshire militia, which was led by General John Sullivan. He was the person for whom these Seavey Island defenses were named. Fort Sullivan was first commanded by Colonel Wingate (1775) and then by Captain Eliphet Daniels, 1776 until the fort was closed in 1778. It was re-activated for the War of 1812 and during the War Between the States; finally dismantled after 1866. Henderson’s Point, which was close by, was dynamited in 1905 to allow for ease of access for ship passage to the submarine shipbuilding facility.

Badger’s Island (Figure 14), on which the Memorial Bridge (Figure 15) between Maine and New Hampshire rests, was first called Wither’s Island and then Berry’s (after Withers

38. Captain Francis Champernowne, p.336–337.
39. In 1798 the United States Congress established the Navy Department. In 1799, six war ships, a new class of frigates, were authorized to be built to create a naval force equal to the task of maritime defense of the new nation. Privately owned shipyards of the day were not capable of handling the job, so the Secretary of the Navy chose six locations for shipyards to be owned by the government. The first of these was established June 12, 1800, in the Piscataqua River entrance.
40. January 12, 1801, William Dennett sold the island to the Navy Department for $5,500; this was thereby the first government sanctioned Navy shipyard in the United States. A little skullduggery in connection with this deal shows nothing new in relations with the military and locals has really changed. Fernald, who owned the island had died. In anticipation of the Navy’s needs, in 1794 William Dennett approached Samuel Sheafe, a Portsmouth lawyer, to enquire from the heirs if they would sell. The heirs sold the island to Mr. Sheafe for $650 in June. Sheafe sold the same land to Dennett in September for $1700. In the next January (1801) Dennett sold the island to the Navy for $5,500.
41. As it was the largest of the five, its name was attached to the conglomerate.
42. Its military force was one lieutenant and twenty-five artillerists.
43. During the Spanish American War, Camp Long was built in a location near to the fort. It was used as a stockade, and in 1898 housed just over 1,600 Spanish prisoners captured off Santiago, Cuba. It later was rebuilt and became the Portsmouth Naval Prison, a naval brig.
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Figure 14. 1850 map showing Badger Island

Figure 15. View from Badger’s Island during construction of Memorial Bridge. Dedicated in 1923, it is the first major vertical lift bridge built in the eastern United States. It is one of three bridges currently crossing between Portsmouth and Kittery. Courtesy National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Berry), and also Langdon’s before it became Badger’s. In 1781, John Paul Jones took rooms with the Widow Purcell in Portsmouth to be close enough to supervise the building of the Navy 74-gun man of war America on Badger Island (then called Rising Castle Island) in the shipyard of John Langdon.

Obviously the Piscataqua River entrance was viewed as a militarily strategic area.

William Pepperell (Figure 16) had a military breastworks erected in 1700 on what is now called Kittery Point, on land he owned then. In 1714 the province of Massachusetts, probably to escape the duties New Hampshire would levy, made Kittery Point a Port of Entry. At that point the breastworks was amplified by laying a platform for six guns. All ships trading on the river were required to pay duty on powder and other goods. Pepperrell commanded the fort and the company of militia associated with it.

On the same grounds, Dutch military engineer Wolfgang William Romer, working at the behest of the British, designed the Blockhouse Fort. Fort McClary was built in the same location, from 1808, and named for a New Hampshire soldier, Major Andrew McClary, who died at the Battle of Bunker Hill. The fort was used through the War of 1812 and the War

44. John Paul Jones’ *Ranger* was built here, as was the frigate *America* which was presented to the French in 1782.

45. The Georgian style house was constructed with a gambrel roof in 1758 for Gregory Purcell. It is now operated as a museum.

46. While Jones was expecting to have the command of *America*, Congress decided to present her as a gift to King Louis XVI as a replacement for the French ship *Le Magnifique* which had gone aground in Boston harbor. Per *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*, Department of the Navy, Washington, DC.


48. The garrison built there in 1844 still stands and is supported by a group called Friends of Fort McClary.

49. Phippsburgh had Fort St. Georges, drafted in 1607 and built in 1610 for the defense of the Popham Colony. Portland had Fort Loyal, built in 1678, which was used as a town hall, a jail and a refuge before it was torn down in 1716. Augusta is the site of Old Fort Western, built in 1754 and used as a staging
Between the States as well as in the Spanish American War and World War I periods. Though it saw little action, it was considered sufficiently important to staff, doubtless due to its commanding view of the entire Piscataqua River basin.

In the winter of 1620–21 on Odiorne’s Point, in what is now Rye, New Hampshire, a settlement called Pannaway was built. In 1622 ordnance was brought to Fort Pannaway by Thomas Weston on the ship Charity. The Massachusetts Bay Colony voted in 1715 to put in place a permanent breastwork there with six guns to protect the Piscataqua River entrance. Close by the current town of Portsmouth is Pierce Island, yet another island owned at area and fallback point for Benedict Arnold’s march to attack Quebec. The first fort at Pemaquid, Fort Charles, was built in 1677 under orders of the New York Governor; the second fort there was Fort William Henry, built under Massachusetts governance in 1692; the third was Fort Frederick, built in 1729.

1. For his services, Pepperrell was created a Baronet, the first person born in America to be so honored. He was the richest man in the Colonial America. During the French-Indian War, he was a Major General in the British army, protecting the frontier of Maine and New Hampshire. He was acting governor of Massachusetts in 1756–58 and made a Lt. General in 1759.

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The puzzle of the Piscataqua postmarks

one point by the Fernald family. Dr. Renald Fernald purchased this island in 1631, when it became known as Doctor’s Island. In 1728 Joshua Pierce started his buying of the island, bit by bit. In 1775 a pontoon bridge was built by General John Sullivan from the island to the mainland, the first bridge to the island. Fort Washington was built at the eastern end in 1775 and manned with a battalion of 180 men until 1778, under the command of Captain Titus Salter. The fort was refurbished for the War of 1812. Captain Ezekial Worthen drew the plans for Ft. Washington, Ft. Sullivan and Fort Hancock on Clark’s Point.51 In 1963–64 the fort met the will of the Town of Portsmouth, a force it could not resist. Bulldozers removed the ruins to make way for a wastewater treatment plant.

**First settlers**

There was a Piscataqua tribe of Indians based near what is now Dover Point,52 and called by the Indians Winnechahannat. They would fish salmon upriver at the falls of the Cocheco, in the early summer and late spring, near where Dover and Rochester are located now.

Edward, a member of the Fishmonger’s Guild in London,53 and William Hilton set up a fishing operation on Dover Point in 1623 and received a land grant, signed by the Earl of Warwick March 12, 1629. It reads:

> Now know yee that the said President and Counsell by Virtue & Authority of his Maj’ties said Letters Pattents and for and in consideracon that Edward Hilton and his Associates hath already at his and their owne proper costs and charges transported sundry servants to plant in New England aforesaid at a place called by the natives Wecanacohunt, otherwise Hiltons Point lying some two leagues from the mouth of the River Paskataquack in New England aforesaid where they have already built some houses and planted Corne, and for that he doth further intend by Gods Divine Assistance, to transport thither more people and cattle, to the good increase and advancement & for the better settling and strengthening if their plantacon as also that they may be the better encouraged to proceed in soe pious a work which may especially tend to the propagacon of Religion and to the increase of trade to his Maj’ties Realmes and Dominions, Have given, Granted, Enfeoffed and Confirmed and by this their p’sent writing doe fully, clearly and absolutely give, grant, enfeoffe and Confrirme unto the said Edward Hilton his heires and assignes for ever, all that part of the River Pascataquack called or known by the name of Wecawacohunt or Hiltons Point, with the south side of the said River, up to the ffall of the River, and three miles into the Maine Land by all the breadth aforesaid, Together with all the Shoares, Creeks, Bays, Harbors and Coasts, amongst the sea within the limits and bounds aforesaid with the woods and Islands next advjoyneing to the said Lands, not being already granted by the said Councell unto any other person or persons together alse with all the Lands, Rivers, Minesm Mineraals of what kinds or nature soever, Woods, Quarries, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, ffishings, Huntungs, Hawking, fowlings, Comodities, Emolument, and ereditaments whatsoever withal and singular their and every of their appt’s in or within the limits or bounds aforesaid or to the said Lands lying within the same limits or bounds belonging or in any wise appertaining, To have and to hold all and singular the said Lands and p’mises, with all and singular the Woods, Quarries, Marshes, Waters, Rivers, Lakes, ffishings, fowlings, Hawkings, Huntuungs, Mynes, Mineralls of what kinde or

51. When Major Sullivan left, and he was a Major, Worthen replaced him as overall Commander of the Portsmouth defenses.


54. Enfeoffed: to invest somebody with the freehold possession of a piece of land.
nature soever, Priviledges, Rights, Jurisdicons, Libbertyes, Royalties and all other profits.\textsuperscript{55}

Called the Hilton or Squamscott Patent, it granted the lands from the place which is now Dover Point on the Piscataqua River all the way south through what is now Durham, Stratham and part of Newington and Greenland and up the Squamscott River to the Squamscott Falls\textsuperscript{56} where Exeter is now located. Church correspondence with Governor Winthrop calls them “the falls at Pascataqua” in 1638 and 1639.

Dover Point’s placement is convenient both to what became Maine and what became New Hampshire; it is a finger of land situated between Newington and Eliot with the Cochecho and Piscataqua Rivers continuing past it on the east and going into a bay where the Bellamy River empties on its west. The Hilton received a further grant from the Council of New England which expanded their holdings to include “that part of the patent of Laconia, on which the buildings and salt-work were erected, situate on both sides the harbor and river of Piscataqua to the extent of five miles westward by the sea-coast, then to cross over towards other plantation in the hands of Edward Hilton.”\textsuperscript{57} Edward Hilton settled on Dover Point, forming what most historians designate the first settlement in New Hampshire. He was active in protecting the Piscataqua valley settlements against pirates.\textsuperscript{58}

The Dover Public Library in a document called “The Many Names of Dover,” says “While the settlement was under Edward Hilton’s management it was called Pascataqua(sic) or Pascataway(sic).”

While most current records agree that the Hiltons’ settlement in Dover is the initial permanent settlement in New Hampshire, a settlement established the same year at what is now Rye by David Thompson vies for recognition. They all came over together in a party organized by Thompson. In reality, there were spring and summer fishing settlements which were not permanent on the Isles of Shoals long before there was any permanent settlement in New Hampshire.

The initial settling in what became Maine, near the sachem of Passaconaway with the agreement of Sagamore Rowles, in Newichawannock, is generally credited to Ambrose Gibbons in 1634. He built a mill there whose management he soon turned over to Humphrey Chadbourne.

However, in point of fact, an examination of court records shows an earlier settler than Gibbons: William Hilton of the Dover Point settlement.

Most historians have not examined the actual document from Robert, the Duke of Warwick, and have accepted that, spelling of the time being an alternate form of creativity based on sound rather than stricture, the phrase “and three miles into the Maine Land” have transmuted “Maine Land” to “mainland,” which, if correct, would substantially change the meaning.

Realizing that the patents in New England were written by and sold to individuals and

\textsuperscript{55} Hudson-Mohawk.

\textsuperscript{56} In New Hampshire as a Royal Province, William Henry Fry cites references to show that the Squamscott River and Squamscott Falls were known in early years as the “Pascataquack river and falls,” p. 40. Capt. Francis Champerone, p. 332 quotes church correspondence to the same effect, and has the church at “Exeter, scituate & lying upon the river of the Piscataquacke,” now called Exeter River or Squamscott River.


\textsuperscript{58} Edward Hilton raised forces against pirates who were attacking coastal inhabitants in 1632. Along with Captain Neal a total of four pinnaces [a light boat or tender with sails or oars] and shallops [the same kind of boat, though sometimes with higher sides, heavier planking and a plank deck] and around forty men to Pemaquid for the rousting of the pirates.
companies who had no experience of the lands and waters they were so blithely trading, there is a need for disambiguation of the deeds thereby granted. This process has continued into the present day; witness the Supreme Court case regarding which state has jurisdiction over Seavey’s Island, home of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard. New Hampshire claimed their border extended to the edge of the abutting mainland, inclusive of all islands. The Supreme Court found that Maine’s position, that the Piscataqua River border between the two states is down the middle of the river and is inclusive of the many islands, all the way out to the Isles of Shoal.59

Court records show William Hilton to have planted corn and raised a house in what became Eliot, Maine before 1632.60 His house there was on land legally granted to the Hiltons, but it was removed by Captain John Mason during the time when squabbles over conflicting land grants were common. Hilton recovered the land and damages from Mason’s estate in 1653.61 It can be argued that his was not the first permanent settlement since he was deprived of his home by Mason’s agents.

Edward Hilton sold a large part of his holdings in the Dover-Berwick area to some men from Bristol in 1633. They renamed the place Bristol and sent Captain Wigin as their agent. In 1637 a new Governor changed the name to Dover. In 1639 the nearby town of Exeter offered Edward Hilton a large grant and he relocated there.62 This is the same year Dover was renamed Northam. By 1641, when the town was incorporated, the name once again became Dover.

On March 8, 1636, Court Records of York County (Province of Maine) show that William Scadlock had an action against “Thomas Spencer of Piscataqua” for debt. Thomas Spencer was a resident at Newichawannock or Quampeagan (now South Berwick, Maine).

In 1641 The Massachusetts Bay Colony took over the jurisdiction of the Piscataqua region.63 This meant conveyance of the proprietors of both of the Hilton’s grants. It gave the settlers “the same order and way of administration of justice and way of keeping courts as is established at Ipswich and Salem... Also the inhabitants there are allowed to send two deputies from the whole river to the court at Boston.”64 By 1679 New Hampshire was created a royal province.65

In February of 1655, Richard Leader, a Great Works miller, who had at least nineteen saws in his mill in the Great Works area of Newichawannock or Quampeagan, “sould(sic) unto Mr. Jon Beex of London, Merchant, one fourth part of his saw Mill at Piscataqua in New England,” according to the York Deeds I, 74. This also places Piscataqua at what is now South Berwick, Maine, but was then part of Kittery.

A deposition of Francis Small found in the New Hampshire Provincial Papers, Volume 1, p. 45, further clarifies the muddy nature of the placement of this place called Piscataway.

59. Seavey’s, the conjoined island, is the home to the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard and has been the focus of a Supreme Court case regarding its state possession. Due to the shipyard’s level of employed workers, there are state income tax implications which led to the court case.
60. Old Kittery, p. 111.
61. Old Kittery, p. 112.
62. By 1653 he owned land which comprised the entire village of Newfields, from the Squamscot River to the mouth of the Lamprey River. His son Edward purchased from the Indian Sagamore Wadonamin a six mile square piece of land between Pascassic [Piscataqua] River and the western branch of the Lamprey. His second son, William, was a pall bearer at General George Washington's funeral.
Francis Small, of Piscataway, in New England, planter aged sixty-five years, maketh oath that he hath lived in New England upwards of fifty years, that he very well knew plantations Capt. Mason had caused to be made at Piscataway, Strawberry Bank and Newichwannock.

Strawberry Bank is now Portsmouth and Newichiwannock is now South Berwick, then part of Kittery. Tradition places Piscataway at Odiorne’s Point, in what is now Rye, New Hampshire.

Small goes on to say, in the same deposition:

...The first saw-mill and corn-mill in New England was erected at Capt. Mason’s Plantation, at Newichawannock...about the same time this deponent was employed by Capt. Francis Norton (who then was at Capt. Mason’s house at Piscattaway, called the great house)...

John Mason, one of the two patent holders for the area, and former Governor of Newfoundland, had a great house in what is now Rye, New Hampshire and a plantation in what is now South Berwick, Maine. He and Fernadino Gorges call their granted lands, which ran from the Merrimac River to the Sagadahoc River and inland to the Great Lakes, the Laconia Company lands.

Figure 18. Manuscript 8 dwt rate on 1740 cover from Henry Sherburne, Jr. with “Pescta” postmark. Sherburne was a prominent Portsmouth merchant, member of the King’s Council, Treasurer of New Hampshire, and Chief Justice of New Hampshire’s Supreme Court. His father, Henry, was given “ferry privilege” in 1670 by the town of Portsmouth. Courtesy Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.

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So on September 8, 1685, contemporary thought placed Piscataway on the coast of New Hampshire.

Clearly in the mid to late 1600s, Piscataway referred to both sides of the Piscataqua River, both New Hampshire and Maine, and settlements within the Piscataqua River valley and lands touched by the mighty waterway.

An eight volume book by the Duke of Montegu's Deputy Governor, Captain Nathaniel Uring written on the basis of a 1709 voyage notes a charming and very positive appraisal of Boston, then notes a side trip to the Piscataqua River area. He writes:

Adjoining the province of Massachusetts bay is the province or New-Hampshire, which is a distinct government. The chief trading town of which is Pascataqua(sic); it stands on a large navigable river of that name, from whence his majesty is supplied(sic) with masts for the Royal Navy; their trade is much the same as that of Massachusetts Bay, but are not so populous by reason they have been exposed to the incursions of the Indians, who have often done great mischief to the Out-Settlements thereabouts, by murdering a great many families, and carrying others away into captivity.

Though our perception of the current Piscataqua harbor would make it seem evident that Uring was reporting on Portsmouth; at the time of this writing Exeter, Dover, Kittery and Berwick could be considered ports at least as important as Portsmouth.

DOES THE TIME PERIOD HAVE SIGNIFICANCE?

What is so special about 1740 and 1761 to 1771 that these postmarks should appear at that time?

The obvious response is the French and Indian War; but it ran from 1754 to 1763. While there were increased raids in aggression and retaliation within both the New Hampshire and Maine outlying settlements; and while settlers from Kittery and Dover participated significantly in the rout at Louisbourg, the dates really do not fit.

Whatever the rationale is, it should have happened by 1739 or 1740 and ceased to matter by 1770.

In 1740, King George II of England settled the location where the two Provinces' boundaries were within the waters of the Piscataqua, to wit: "That the Dividing Line shall pass up thro the Mouth of Piscataqua Harbour and up the Middle of the River...And that the Dividing Line shall part the Isles of Shoals and run thro the Middle of the Harbour between the Islands to the Sea on the Southerly Side..." (quoting the 1740 decree). His Commission to settle the issue was appointed in 1737, but the decree was passed in 1740; whereupon Governor Belcher, who was Governor of both the New Hampshire and the Maine Provinces, asked the Assembly of Massachusetts to appoint a Committee to work with a working group from New Hampshire to determine exactly where the line ran.

The Massachusetts Assembly did not appoint anyone to act for the Province of Maine, so Governor Belcher appointed Walter Bryant to survey the line in March of 1741. The results were called into question in 1766, with Massachusetts holding that Bryant started his line from the wrong place, resulting in the survey starting six miles from where it should have and running sixty or seventy miles long in the wrong location.

A new committee was formed by the Massachusetts General Court to examine where the Province Line ought to be. Governor Benning Wentworth, the last Royal Governor, was by that time the head of New Hampshire. Rather than appoint another surveyor, he went himself to oversee the establishment of the boundary. On October 25, 1760, King George II died, to be succeeded by King George III. The King’s Highway was renamed the Post Road in 1760 according to the Scarborough Historical Society; and the King’s Highway upgraded to a military road in 1761 per the Migration Routes site. But perhaps of more significance to the folks in the Piscataqua region, September 8, 1760 Montreal capitulated to England.

William D. Williamson, Maine’s earliest recognized historian, says “at the court of elections, October 20, 1647, the Piscataqua plantations were formed into a town by the name of Kittery.” While it is probable that the people of Kittery did indeed begin to act as a town then, the earliest record of a town meeting is in March 19, 1648.

There is a court record dated October 16, 1649, which starts: “It is ordered by this Court and the power thereof that the Inhabitants of Piscataquack within the jurisdiction of this province have the full power of a township as any other towns within the jurisdiction have, and that all the inhabitants from Brabote Harbor and so eight miles above Newichawanocke with the Isle of Shoals to be within that township.” Brave Boat Harbor refers to what is today Brave Boat Harbor, a harbor with an extensive salt water marsh area forming the boundary between York and Kittery. It is now maintained as a protected natural resource and would take a brave boat indeed to find the narrow entrance across the shoals and enter the harbor.

So far as Kittery was concerned, all the settlements under their domain (Eliot, including Sturgeon Creek; South Berwick, including Salmon Falls, Quamphegan, Newichawannock and Great Works; and Kittery, including Spruce Creek, Champernowne (now Gerrish) Island and Kittery Point comprised Piscataqua.

**Conclusions**

From Court papers and early deeds it is clear that, as Charles Wesley Tuttle says in his 1889 work *Captain Francis Champernowne: The Dutch Conquest of Acadie and other historical papers*, “Kittery lies partly on the sea-coast of Maine, and has the Pascataqua River for its southern boundary. It originally comprised, besides its present territory, that of the fol-


68. A letter of Honorable M. Dennett says, “Kittery is the first and oldest town in the state – Gorgeana being a city corporate, not a town. The Navy Yard, Badger’s, Trefethern’s, Clark’s, Cutt’s, and Gerrish’s Islands belong to Kittery. The town records begin March 19, 1648. The town was divided; Berwick was incorporated June 9, 1713, and Eliot, March 1, 1810. The town produces annually one thousand barrels of cider, but no wheat.”

69. Arthur Champerowne was granted this island as part of two large tracts of land by Sir Ferdinando Gorges in a grant recorded in the York Deeds on June 14, 1638. Captain Francis Champerowne, his son, owned this island until December of 1648. There is a conveyance of half the land in Maine granted to his father by Gorges, to Captain Paul White, a Pemaquid trader. The island is separately conveyed in 1700 from Mary Champerowne, his widow and Elizabeth Witherick her daughter, to Richard Cutt when the two women were relocated to South Carolina. In the grant to Sir Ferdinando Gorges the island is called Dartington. The island retained the named Champerowne until the reign of Queen Anne. *Capt. Francis Champerowne: The Dutch Conquest of Acadie, and other historical papers*, Charles Wesley Tuttle, John Ward Dean,University Press, Boston, MDCCCLXXXIX (1889).

70. *History of Maine, Vol. I*, pp. 143-244 where Williamson says “…on the northerly banks of the Piscataqua, and the river above. These were Kittery-point, at Spruce creek, at Sturgeon creek [Eliot,] at Quampeagan falls, [or the Parish of Unity,] and the ancient Newichawanock [or Berwick];—Some or all of which were seven years of age in 1631; being collectively called the *Plantation of Piscataqua.*"
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lowing towns; namely Eliot, Berwick, South Berwick, and North Berwick, all of which was known at the time of the first settlement, in 1623, as a portion of the region lying partly in New Hampshire and partly in Maine, called the Plantation of Piscataqua.”71 We saw that the placement on maps and charts also indicated a policy of using the name, regardless of spelling, in reference to a wide-ranging area, shifting about dependent upon the cartographer’s information source.

While the location of Piscataqua at one time, and sometimes even now, refers to the entire river basin. News reports of the 1600s cite Saco, Wells, and Casco Bay as part of Piscataqua. While claims can be made by Portsmouth, Newington, Dover and Exeter, the settlements of old Kittery, including parts of what became Dover, the Berwicks, Eliot and Kittery have an equal claim. In fact, despite casual custom and English grants, there is only one area within the Piscataqua valley which laid formal claim to the title: Kittery, in the above mentioned 1649 Court record.

But does that mean there was a place in greater Kittery where the postmarks were applied? While they had a Customs House and Naval Officer on Kittery Point, they did not have a Postmaster. For that, they had to rely on Portsmouth and a postmaster whose ways were old fashioned and regimented.

Alex ter Braake concludes that “During the years covered by this short narrative the collector of the port or the local naval officer functioned as postmaster. Consequently both offices must have been located in the same building.”72 He neglected to note that Kittery had a Naval Officer whose function might have resulted in his handling the mail.

The Queen Anne Act was passed by the English Parliament in 1710 and enacted in 1711 (Figure 19). Too early for that to be a major player, but an aspect of the act is that it imposes a financial penalty for any offence when persons not authorized by the postmaster or his deputies or agents “who receive, convey, or deliver any letter, or make any collection of letters, or employ any conveyance for the purpose; to which is added a further fine of 100£ for every week the practice is continued. And the act renders carriers by land or water and masters of coaches, liable to the penalties, though they carry letters without hire or reward.” Other than the exceptions of court letters and letters like bills of lading which travel with goods, the act makes it abundantly clear that not only is it frowned upon to carry letters outside of the post, those caught, especially in an organized service, will experience significant financial repercussions.

While it might seem that a formal linking of the posts from the Piscataqua to Boston, and

72. Ter Braake, page S-6
thence to the rest of the world, is a simple job rather than a major achievement, in reality it was remarkable. Consider both the low volume of mail and the significant length of the routes between major settlements in comparison to those of England, the model for the postal system. The regular schedules, adhered to as best as could be managed regardless of winter, and the free flow of intra-colonial and transatlantic news made it possible for the pioneer to interact with the world, not simply to focus on one's immediate community.73

William Pepperell had raised forces from his 1738 meeting to rally and train the militia. When King George's War started in 1740 the open conflicts between Spain and France clarified their alliance against England. With other things on their royal majesties' plate than the development of North America, the colonists needed to work their farming, ship building and fishing industries into their own business network. General commercial regulation was not strictly controlled in the Piscataqua area and the colony's vessels were welcome in other ports of trade. Along with these economic initiatives came additional market exploration. The Portsmouth Athenæum has examples of Pepperrell correspondence acquired from the estate of Joseph Frost. Pepperell ships traded primarily with the West Indies and Europe. Their correspondence, accounts and receipts clearly indicate an active trade in sugar, silk and linen cloth, salt, rum, both lumber and cord wood, and molasses.

1740 is also the year King George II fixed the line between the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire. Two examples from 1740 and two from 1741 bearing variations of the "Piscada" postmark have survived.

In the spring of 1745 the siege of Louisbourg, in which many local forces took part, was led by William Pepperrell. A part of the ongoing struggle between Britain and France, the stone fortress was manned by veteran military forces. Pepperell's men were essentially civilians with a smattering of militia training. One aspect that is interesting about this battle is that the British did not order the assault; it was the brain child of Massachusetts Governor William Shirley. Of course another facet of interest is the winning by a volunteer force of a strongly and professionally defended citadel. Two of the surviving examples are from 1745, one from 1744.

1748 saw the end of King George's War with the signing of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle and the return of Louisbourg to France. Aside from about 200 coastal schooners, and sloops, there were a total of 121 custom clearances in Boston harbor for vessels from the Piscataqua region.

In 1758, when three of the postmarks were used, the English forces were defeated at Ticonderoga and Lord George A. Howe died there; but the British were victorious in taking Fort Frontenac. During 1758–1760 England was successful in finally recovering Louisbourg. In September of 1760 Quebec surrendered to the English, ending the French and Indian War, what the colonists called The Seven Year's War. France ceded to England all French territory east of the Mississippi River, with the exception of New Orleans. The Spanish ceded Florida to the English for Cuba. The "Pisa" markings ended in 1771.

The rate markings on the mail appear to be made by the same hand, probably that of Portsmouth's postmaster. The designation of the place of origin is changeable and not so easily attributed.

73. The Boston News Letter issue for November 13 to 20, 1704 carries the following announcement: "The Eastern and Piscataqua Post sets out from Boston every Monday night at seven of the clock and all Persons are desired to bring their Letters to the Post Office before six a clock." Boston's postmaster John Campbell published this paper. He further reports that weather conditions are especially poor with the carriers having to use snow shows once past Newbury as a horse cannot travel in the deep snow. Herman Moll's map of the Colonies, published in 1715, has a notice in the margin citing the frequency of mail carriage on the routes he illustrates. He says "...the Post from Boston to Piscataway, being 70 miles, leaves Letters at Ipswich, Salem, Marblehead and Newbury..."
The puzzle of the Piscataqua postmarks

Five of the sixteen letters are written from people based in Portsmouth, New Hampshire; one from Kittery, Maine; one from Northwood, New Hampshire; one from a person with two bases of operation, one in Maine, the other in New Hampshire; and eight of this sampling are of unknown home base. All of the known authors of these missives had property on both sides of the river and doubtless they or their agent visited said property on a more or less regular basis.

John Reynell was a Philadelphia merchant and banker who was also elected into the American Philosophical Society in 1768. Joshua Maddox was a merchant in Philadelphia and was a founder and trustee of the College and Academy of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) from 1749 to 1759. Thomas Bourne emigrated from England in 1670 and participated in the business community in financial and shipping affairs; he died three years after the correspondence to Maddox and Bourne was written. The content of the letters is probably all based on business or political concerns considering the addressees.

It is not possible to form a definitive conclusion as to where the origination markings were applied. However the ferry service, which ran from Kittery upriver to Sturgeon Creek (Eliot), Dover, Salmon Falls and also from Kittery to Portsmouth seems to be the only viable connection for all the postmarks' occurrences. It can be hypothesized that the Piscataqua postmarks were applied by the Naval Officer in Kittery to indicate the mail came from the Maine plantations by way of the ferry. Of course, the Naval Officer was Pepperrell who was off fighting battles for his royal sponsors, so it was doubtless his deputy much of the time. No extra fee seems to have been charged, though there may have been a standard charge, like that for a person's ferriage, and not been written on the letters. Since the Queen Anne Act made it illegal to carry mail in this manner, paperwork would be best handled surreptitiously. It may have been handled for a bartered item to the ferryman or the Naval Officer. It may have been carried by favor alone.

Of the five examples with similar markings, but no variation of "Pis" two may be in the same category. The "Portsmth" which has distinctly different handwriting, may have come from Portsmouth itself or it may be of directional intent, i.e. get this to Portsmouth so it can be mailed. The "Post Office Portsmo" was assuredly applied there.

It is interesting that when one does a Google Map search for Piscataqua the pinpoint is placed near the Fox Run Mall across the river from South Eliot. One is led to wonder at their placement choice.

74. May 5, 1748, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, PA, says “Whereas Thomas Bourne came over into America from Great-Britain, about the year 1670, and, as it was supposed, resided some time in Pennsylvania, and was possessed of a considerable estate and effects, and died without returning to England; If any person can give account of the said Thomas Bourne, and where he died, or with whom he left his effects, they are desired to acquaint Benjamin and Samuel Shoemaker, of Philadelphia, and they shall be rewarded.”
Figure 1. English-language map from an 1891 atlas published by George F. Cram (Chicago) shows the Crownland of Galicia in relation to the rest of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The north-flowing River Sian (San) roughly divided the Polish-speaking western portion of the province from the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) eastern region.
The Court Delivery Stamps of Imperial Austria

Inger Kuzych

During the second half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, a special civil Court Delivery Service operated in the Austrian crownland of Galicia. Additionally, for over two decades, special Court Delivery Stamps (Gerichtszustellungsmarken) were used on this service as payment receipts for the delivery of legal (court) dispatches. Although sometimes in the past classified as postage stamps, they are today generally designated as official stamps (Dienstmarken).

While ostensibly valid throughout the Austrian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the stamps only saw use in a limited area—the eastern province of Galicia—and are, therefore, not that well known in philatelic circles. This article will seek to shed greater light on these fascinating service stamps.

The setting

Galicia, which became a crownland of the Dual Monarchy in 1772, had two Supreme Crownland Courts (Oberlandesgerichte): one in Krakau (Krakow) serving most of the part west of the Sian (San) River, and one in Lemberg (Lviv) for Eastern Galicia, including an area west of the southern part of the Sian. This area included the cities of Sanok (Sianik), Brozow, Dynow and Rymanow, all connected by military roads to Lemberg (Figure 1).

Subordinate to the Supreme Court in Lemberg were two Lower Courts (Landesgerichte), one in Lemberg itself for Eastern Galicia and one in Czernowitz (Chernivtsi), capital city of the Crownland of Bukovina. There were thirteen District Courts (Kreisgerichte) in Eastern Galicia and one in Suczawa (Suceava) in Bukovina. In addition, there were 110 local courts (Bezirksgerichte) for towns that did not have any district judges.

Although Galicia was the largest of the provinces in the Austrian half of the Dual Empire, it was also the least developed. There were few railways and roads (aside from the main military routes) were generally in poor condition. Additionally, most of the population was illiterate.

Altogether, according to official 1899 statistics, the Lemberg Supreme Court governed 126 subaltern agencies within an area of 55,319 sq km containing 4.3 million inhabitants. At

1. The lands under this Crownland Court were settled almost exclusively by Ukrainians (termed Ruthenians by the Austrians). Today, almost the entire territory once served by the Crownland Court falls within the boundaries of Ukraine including the oblasts (provinces) of Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk and Chernivtsi. The small area west of the Sian River was primarily inhabited by Poles and today makes up the southeast portion of Podkarpackie voivodeship in Poland.
the same time, only 671 post offices and 528 telegraph stations existed in Galicia. On average, then, each post office served some 6,400 residents and a territory of about 82 sq. km. Obviously, it could be problematical for the courts to service hamlets that might be located up to 50 km from the nearest post office!

Because of the poor record of court mail delivery—especially in regard to subpoenas—many individuals failed to receive their summonses or other communications on time. It was for this reason that the Lemberg Supreme Crownland Court turned to the Ministry of Justice for assistance in remedying the situation.

**ESTABLISHING A COURT DELIVERY SERVICE**

On July 3, 1854, the Ministry of the Interior, Justice and Finance issued an order that made it permissible for the Courts of the First Order (the two Lower Courts) and District Courts to use "servants" (Dienerschaft) to deliver messages in case of special events or if the mail system could not be used because of special urgency. For each delivery beyond half of an Austrian Postmeile (about 3.8 km or 2.4 miles) from the issuing court, a fee of 10 kreuzer was prescribed. This fee was to be handed to the messenger; after the monetary reform of 1858, the fee was increased to 17½ kreuzer. Furthermore, the employment of special court letter carriers (Gerichtsbriefträger) was authorized. Special instructions (No. 66 and No. 74) regulated the action of the messenger and, if part of the delivery had to be made by mail, the duties of the delivering village officials (e.g., the mayor).

While applicable to all of the Austrian lands, it was only the Lemberg Supreme Crownland Court that availed itself of this privilege and the rather ad hoc delivery process was carried out for over four decades. Nonetheless, cash payments for delivery were difficult to oversee, so on May 5, 1897, the Ministry of Justice in conjunction with the Ministry of Commerce, which governed the postal system, decreed in the BGB 1. No. 111 the issuance of special stamps:

In order to facilitate the accounting of delivery fees, the president of the Supreme Court may, with the permission of the Minister of Justice, order the use of delivery stamps, which will, upon order of the Ministry of Justice, be furnished by the K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei (Imperial and Royal Court and State Printer). In this case, every court is to be furnished an adequate supply of these stamps and there should be a semi-annual accounting to the Supreme Court of the use of these stamps. The court orderly who receives the delivery fee has to attach the delivery stamp to the receipt and cancel it with the official canceller, the "Amtssiegel."

So, despite the introduction of stamps into the delivery process, the addressee continued to pay the letter carrier upon receipt of a delivered legal mailing.

**DELIVERY DETAILS**

The ordinance to the above-mentioned decree appeared May 11, 1897. Paragraph 344 dealt with messages within the domain of the Court, which could be handled by ordinary mail but which should be delivered by special carriers if: 1. the delivery was to take place for an executive action; or, 2. delivery by messenger was deemed more practical, as in smaller communities and/or if multiple messages had to be delivered to their destination at a specified time, e.g., at the time of a lease termination. Paragraph 363 stated that deliveries by messengers and officials of communities and manors must be on forms (Formulare) of white paper (No. 74) and that forms on blue or yellow paper (No. 75) were to be used if the message was to be handed to

2. On November 1, 1858, Austria converted to a decimal currency system. The former convention of 60 kreuzer = 1 Gulden was changed to 100 new kreuzer (later simply kreuzer) = 1 Gulden. Simultaneously, the Gulden was debased by about 5%. The value of the kreuzer was thus significantly lessened and so it now required 17½ kreuzer to pay for the delivery of a court document.
the addressee personally. Paragraph 369 declared that for messages delivered by messenger beyond a distance of half an Austrian Geographic Meile (3.7 km)\(^3\) from the court, the fee of 17½ kreuzer, mentioned in the order of December 19, 1858, RGB1 169, still pertained.

If at the point of delivery the recipient was too poor to pay for the conveyance of the document, no fee was to be extracted. Instead, the following note had to be prominently displayed on the delivery form: “There is no fee to be paid to the messenger for delivery of this message.” Otherwise the fee had to be visibly marked. If the fee was received at some later time, the delivery stamp had to be deposited in a delivery book and properly obliterated.

Attaching the stamp to the receipt was called franking, making free. If the case concerned only one addressee, then only one stamp was used; if there were several recipients mentioned on the form, each one had to pay the same basic fee and an appropriate number of stamps had to be affixed corresponding to the number of individuals. It is from such papers that pairs, strips, and blocks of stamps originate. Original mint stamps are rare. Stamps with original gum come mostly from “springers,” stamps which escaped cancellation and were removed from the document.

After the change to the Krone-heller system,\(^4\) decree BGBI No. 162 of the Department of Justice (March 22, 1899) set the fee at 34 heller, necessitating the printing of new stamps. The same decree stated in Paragraph 357 that messages that could not be delivered should be deposited at the nearest post office. If they were not picked up within fourteen days, they were to be returned to the originating court. Paragraph 370 decreed that all fees had to be accounted for at the end of each month. Paragraph 371 directed that the messenger had to attach the stamp to the receipt form and that the stamp had to be canceled with the official court seal (the Amtssiegel) in the delivery department of the court. Whenever the fee could not be collected immediately, the court could issue a payment order (Paragraph 106 of the matching ordinance). If the message was not accepted, a remark to this effect had to be noted on the return receipt. Refusal to pay the fee was equivalent to non-acceptance of the message.

The court seal that canceled the Court Delivery Stamps could be round or oval (Figure 2). The text on these handstamps was Polish. If part of the delivery process utilized the regular postal service (e.g., documents having been refused were being mailed back to the court),

3. The earlier Postmeile (7,585.9 m) was redefined as a Geographische Meile (7,420 m) as of April 1, 1868.

4. During the concluding years of the nineteenth century, Austria-Hungary adopted the gold standard and introduced a new currency, the Krone. The value of the Krone (ushered in on January 1, 1900) was set at 2 Kronen = 1 Gulden; 1 Krone = 100 heller.

**Figure 2.** Examples of round or oval court seals used to cancel 17½-kreuzer Court Delivery Stamps. The single stamp is a violet-blue (first printing) variety canceled with a round Lemberg Lower Court seal. The oval seal appearing on the block of six stamps is from the town of Kolomyia.
then the post office cancel was applied separately, normally in close proximity to the Court Delivery Stamp(s). All correspondences sent postally were considered registered. A document returned to the court with affixed court stamps was added to the material of the court case at hand.

The ink color of the official seal was usually purple or black, rarely red. The post office cancellation was generally black. There were times when a court seal was not available; in such instances, stamps were defaced by pen with black ink (see Figure 7).

**Court Delivery Stamp description**

Court stamps are rectangular in shape, about 34 by 16 mm; the printed area measuring 32½ by 14½ mm. They were prepared in panes of 200 (8 x 25), see Figure 3. The paper is pelure, a thin-but-strong, opaque paper with a wove fiber pattern and unwatermarked. The gum is white, shiny and tough, clinging to the stamp when taken off the paper. That is why, as previously mentioned, singles and multiples exist with original gum, including those that escaped obliteration. The stamps were line perforated, generally either 12½, 10½ or mixed 12½ x 10½.

The design is the same on all issues: a horizontal rectangular framework with a central upper lozenge displaying the monarchy’s double-headed, crowned eagle and a lower lozenge with the value, flanked by two circles with the abbreviated denomination. Frame and upper lozenge are on solid colored background. The lower lozenge and circles are filled with ornamental grillwork. There is no text on the stamps, a deliberate omission in this polyglot empire, facilitating universal acceptance.

The stamps were sold by the K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Vienna to the requesting courts of First and Second order (Lower and District Courts). The stamps were never released into the hands of the general public. After being used, they reverted with the documents to the archives of the courts, where they were kept for ten years before being destroyed. This practice, as well as the devastation of the archives themselves in two World Wars, explains the scarcity and elusiveness of the material. In addition, their locally restricted use as service stamps kept them from coming to the attention of general postage stamp collectors.

Since these Lemberg Supreme Court stamps served to pay for correspondence delivery, they essentially carried out the same function as regular postage stamps. Yet, they were not applied to documents until after the delivery had been made. So, categorizing the stamps initially proved somewhat problematic. The court stamps were first listed in revenue catalogs by Ignaz Mayr and Ladislaus Hanus that appeared in 1923 and 1929. The authors attempted to place these stamps into the categories of fiscal or heraldic but they clearly noted that they were so categorized provisionally, and that: “These stamps...really belong in postage stamp catalogs but were rejected there.”

Over the years the court stamps have found their place in the standard European catalogs that list Austrian stamps, most notably the Michel and Netto publications and the Ferchenbauer handbook and catalog. They may be found among the back-of-the-book listings—somewhere after the postage due (porto) stamps—categorized as official stamps.

**Court Delivery Stamp issues**

**The First Issue**

The first Court Delivery Stamps, denominated 17½ kreuzer, became available on January 1, 1898. A characteristic of the first printing is the violet blue color. The most common perforation is 10½; perforations of 12½ are less common. Mixed perforations of 12½ x 10½ also exist but are more scarce.
Figure 3. A rare complete pane of 200 Court Delivery Stamps (10-heller value).
The first printing was used up quickly and by the end of the year a new printing appeared. The violet blue was replaced by a plain ultramarine blue that made for a clearer and more vivid impression and showed up better on documents. Here too, the perforation of 12½ is somewhat rarer than perforation 10½. The mixed perforation of 12½ x 10½ is the most common, but a 12½ x 11½ perforation variety is quite rare. Stamps in the First Issue are shown in Table I. Values in Tables I, II and III are in euros from Ferchenbauer (seventh edition, 2008).

The prices in Table I for used specimens on document or piece are for violet or black cancellations; red cancellations add 500 percent, while pen obliterations decrease the value by 25 percent. Items with a post office cancel appearing next to a court-canceled delivery stamp command a premium of 500 percent.

Unused multiples have not been reported, but used pairs are worth three times the price of singles, while blocks of four are worth eight times as much. Documents bearing several single stamps—as for example on a page from a delivery book—do not merit any special premium. The value of such an item is determined by adding the price of single court stamp on a document and then tallying the value of each of the additional stamps.

This stamp formally remained valid only until August 31, 1899 (and so was technically in service for only twenty months), but later uses well into the year 1900, have been recorded. Actually, this should not be surprising since the official changeover to the new Krone-heller currency (which necessitated the production of a new stamp issue) did not commence until January 1, 1900.

I have been able to obtain three documents from this “time of transition” that demonstrate some interesting improvisation in the use of these stamps. The four months prior to January 1, 1900, were apparently a period when the old 17½-kreuzer stamps could be used up. Figure 4 shows a document dated November 17, 1899, that bears two of these stamps. The “½” has been crossed out with a blue pencil to convert these stamps to heller and to come up with the proper 34-heller amount. (Stamps on document with the “½” crossed out with a black pen have also been reported.)

Figure 5 is from April 19, 1900, three and a half months after the new currency was introduced throughout the Empire. Here again a revalued 17½-kreuzer stamp may be seen (this time with the “½” crossed out by a red pencil), but the value now has been doubled to meet the 34-heller fee (note the 34 h notation). What may have happened is that the courier was running low on the old revalued stamps and only used up one to which he arbitrarily assigned a 34-heller value. Or, alternatively, perhaps stamps marked with a red pencil assumed a doubled value.

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>MNH</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>On piece</th>
<th>On document</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perf. 10½</td>
<td>Violet blue</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf. 10½</td>
<td>Ultramarine</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other perforations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf. 12½</th>
<th>Perf. 12½ x 10½</th>
<th>Perf. 12½ x 11½</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MNH</td>
<td>Used</td>
<td>MNH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet blue</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ultramarine</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: On court documents + 200%.
The Court Delivery Stamps of Imperial Austria

Finally, Figure 6 displays a Proof of Delivery Form dated June 5, 1900—almost half a year after the introduction of the new currency. Here a 17½-kreuzer stamp—inexplicably unmodified by crossing out—is still being used!

The Second Issue

With the transition to the Krone-heller currency, a new stamp issue had to be created. It was authorized by a Ministerial Order of August 22, 1899, and issued September 1, 1899. The denomination was 34 heller. The blue of these stamps is lighter and in later printings shows a greenish tint. Again there are three perforation types: 12½, 10½ and mixed 12½ x 10½. The 10½ type is the rarest, while the 12½ the most common (Table II).

Mint and used multiples are somewhat scarce; blocks of four or more are valued six times the individual stamps. For multiple singles on a document, the valuation is determined as for the First Issue. Stamps canceled with red ink again earn a premium of 500 percent.

Light blue varieties exist with all of the different perforations; these deserve a 25 percent premium.

There was no official end to the validity of the 34-heller stamp. As of March 1, 1908, when the delivery fee was reduced to 10 heller, the 34-heller value simply became obsolete. Ferchenebauer states that no uses occurred beyond the March 1 date and that remaining stocks of
this value were supposed to have been destroyed. However, instances of 34-heller stamps used past the deadline date have turned up. An example may be seen in Figure 7, where this stamp was still in use on April 2, 1908.\(^5\)

5. It makes one wonder whether some delivery messenger(s) continued to charge 34 heller per stamp while using up their quantities of remnant stamps and pocketing the 24 heller difference.

Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>MNH</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>On piece</th>
<th>On document</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perf. 12½</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf. 10½</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf. 12½ x 10½</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The latest reported use I have found in the literature mentions a document sent from the Komarno court in 1910 with the “34” crossed out and a red ink manuscript “10” applied.

**THE THIRD ISSUE**

Following an ordinance of February 1908 that reduced the delivery fee to 10 heller, a new issue appeared (perforated 12½ only) on March 1, 1908. For the first two years, the blue color was very light; for the next two years it was plain blue; and from 1912 onward, a deeper blue color was used, with a more glossy black ink for the print (Table III).

**Table III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perf. 12½</th>
<th>Mint</th>
<th>MNH</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>On piece</th>
<th>On document</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. light blue (March 1, 1908)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. blue (1910)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. dark blue (1912)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.** Upper half of a Proof of Delivery form signed and sealed on June 5, 1900, bears a 17½-kreuzer stamp in use almost a half-year after the new heller denomination had been introduced.
Figure 7. An example of the 34-heller stamp used one month after the delivery fee was reduced to 10 heller. Stamps (and documents) canceled with pen are worth about 25 percent less than those canceled with court seals.

Number 3b has been found imperforate (Figure 8). Whether these stamps are from a pane that escaped perforation or whether they are from a proof pane is not known. Additionally, pairs of stamps are known with missing perforations. These are very scarce and have only been found in vertical pairs. Figure 9 shows a vertical strip of five stamps with the perforations missing between the bottom pair. The value is circa 300 euros.

For the Third Issue, mint and used multiples are also somewhat scarce; blocks of four or more are again valued some six times the individual stamps. For multiple singles on a document, the valuation is the same as for the First Issue. The prices shown in the table pertain to violet- or black-canceled stamps. Court stamps canceled with red ink are worth at least 500 percent more. For stamps devalued with a pen stroke, decrease the above prices by about 25 percent.

Quantities

Official figures for the quantities of court stamps produced have never been published and may no longer be available. An estimate was made by Magister Stan Korman, former court president in Sanok, Poland, based on approximate numbers of used documents bearing delivery stamps. This study is cited in Lindenfeld (1974) and the results are as follows. For all varieties of the 17½ kreuzer, roughly 200,000 are estimated to have been produced; for
Figure 8. (Above) An imperforate block of four 10-heller stamps.
Figure 9. (Right) Strip of five 10-heller stamps with the bottom pair showing missing perforations.

Figure 10. A spectacular Delivery Registration Form records two mailed summonses and bears eight(!) 10-heller Court Delivery Stamps tied with red, circular seals of the Peremyshliany Local Court. Printed in Polish, the form (dated April 4, 1919) was used during the time of Western Ukraine’s existence and is filled out in Ukrainian. The seal also incorporates the Ukrainian trident emblem. Red cancels enhance the value of court documents considerably and are much sought after by collectors.
all varieties of the 34 heller, about 600,000; and for the 10 heller, over five million. Official
information on the printing process, perforation varieties and errors is also lacking.

**Court forms**

There are three types of printed forms on which Court Delivery Stamps appear. At least two
types were carried by the messenger as he made his rounds—in addition to the document(s)
to be delivered. They are:

*Figure 11. A Ukrainian-language Proof of Delivery Form dated November 3, 1918, just two
days after Western Ukraine attained its independence. This document is an example of the bluish
green (No. 75) form, whose text differed somewhat from that on the buff-colored form
(No. 74 seen in Figures 4–7).*
A trilingual Acknowledgement of Receipt Form (Polish-Ukrainian-German) on buff paper (No. 66) bears two 10-heller stamps canceled by a red seal of the court in Dabrowa. The remarkable document was filled out on September 17, 1918, during the last weeks of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but not delivered until November 6, 1918, when the town was part of the newly proclaimed Western Ukrainian National Republic.

- A Delivery Page or Register (Arkusz doreczen in Polish; Form 102 p. k.), which listed the names and location of the recipients (Figure 10). I have only ever seen a Polish-language version (buff colored), but a German-text variety may exist.
- A Proof of Delivery Form (Dowod doreczenia in Polish, Zustellungsschein in German, Посьвідка доручення (Posvidka doruchenia) in Ukrainian; Instr. Nr. 74 or 75), which was returned to the court of issue after the delivery and placed into the court archives (Figures 4–7). The filing work was performed by commissions under strict supervision to avoid any possibility of a document falling into the hands of undesirables.

Proof of Delivery Forms that accompanied a message were printed on paper in one of two colors, buff (No. 74) or bluish green (No. 75). At first these forms were printed in German and Polish; some were printed in Polish only. Later, they were prepared in three languages—German, Polish, and Ruthenian (Ukrainian). Ruthenian-only forms are fairly rare (Figure 11).

The pertinent text on the form generally consisted of three parts: 1. a declaration by the addressee that he/she had received the properly delivered message (to be signed in the recipient’s own hand). Included in this section were spaces for the name of the court that
sent the document, surname and name of the addressee, his/her address, case number, date of delivery, person delivering and signature of the addressee; 2. a note as to whether the message was delivered by mail carrier or messenger; and, 3. a stipulation such as the following, “Because the message was refused…” or “Because the addressee could not be found and efforts to find him were unsuccessful, the message was deposited at the undersigned post office on…” This text was usually followed by a circle where the postmark could be placed. Instructions pertaining to the delivery of the document appeared along the bottom of the form.

- Documents were also delivered in large R.S. envelopes that had an oversized detachable flap on the back—an Acknowledgement of Receipt Form (the R.S. initials stood for the German name for this flap, the Rücksehein, Recepis zwrotny in Polish, Зворотна посвідка (Zvorotna posvidka) in Ukrainian, Instr. No. 66 or 67). Here again the forms were printed on paper of two different colors, buff (No. 66) or grayish blue (No. 67). The inscriptions were generally tri-lingual (Polish-Ukrainian-German; Figures 12 and 13) but sometimes bilingual (German-Polish). The messenger treated these flaps the same as the Proof of Delivery Forms and returned them to the court as proof of receipt. When delivery could not be made directly to the recipient, the Proof of Delivery Forms and R.S. envelope flaps were often returned to the court via the regular postal system.

**Application of the Stamps**

Court Delivery Stamps overwhelmingly appear on the front of the documents to which they were applied, but in some instances have been reported attached to the back. On occasion, payment indication handstamps were applied near the stamp(s). These could be one,
MANUSCRIPT FORMS

Apparently sometime in the 1880s, precursor Proof of Delivery Forms were first printed for the Galician courts. Drawn up in manuscript onto a stone or plate, copies were printed by a lithographic process. I have seen versions in two languages, a German rendering called an “Empfangs Bestätigung” (literally Confirmation of Receipt) and a Polish adaption titled “Dowod doreczenia” (the same name as the later printed document). These forms were evidently created as needed and different manuscript varieties exist.

In addition to serving as proofs of receipt for domestic deliveries, the forms also accompanied documents abroad. In such cases a regular 10-kreuzer postage stamp was applied to the form to pay the registration fee. Figure A shows a German-language form sent from Lemberg to Berlin in July 1884. This is the earliest manuscript form I have come across. Figure B displays a Polish-language form sent from Lemberg to Minsk in the Russian Empire in September of 1885; a receipt signature was not applied until early the next year (the Cyrillic cancel date of December 29, 1885, is old style and converts to January 10, 1886, new style).

Even after the unveiling of the Court Delivery Stamps and their associated printed documents, the manuscript forms continued in use for some time—probably until they were all used. While not that common, examples of the 17½ kreuzer Court Delivery Stamp on manuscript forms do occasionally turn up. An example appears in Figure C.

Figure A. A German-language manuscript Proof of Delivery Form sent from Lemberg to Berlin on July 12, 1884.

Figure B. A Polish-language manuscript Proof of Delivery Form sent from Lemberg to Minsk (Russian Empire) on September 12, 1885.

Figure C. A Polish-language manuscript Proof of Delivery Form sent from Dynow on 22 September 1898 bears a 17½-kreuzer Court Delivery Stamp.
two or three lines of text or of boxed text. Some examples may be seen in Figure 14, as well as Figure 12.

The Polish inscription “Za doreczenie należy się” translates as “For delivery, payment due is [the amount].” The currency was initially indicated in “cents,” which was the unit name applied to kreuzer and heller in Galicia. Later, however, a “hal.” (Polish for halerzy or heller) abbreviation was used.

**USE IN THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC**

By the fall of 1918 as World War I was drawing to a close, it became obvious that Austria-Hungary—along with its allies, Germany, Ottoman Turkey and Bulgaria—would be on the losing side. The various nationalities within the multi-ethnic empire began to declare themselves free of Habsburg rule.

On October 19, 1918, Ukrainian representatives meeting in Lemberg passed a resolution creating Western Ukraine, a state whose territory encompassed “Eastern Galicia bordered by the Sian River, but including the Lemko Region; northern Bukovyna, including the towns of Chernivtsi, Storozhynets, and Seret; and the Ukrainian region of northeastern Hungary.” (Article 1, Resolutions of the Ukrainian National Council). In the early morning hours of November 1, 1918, Western Ukraine became a de facto country when some 1,200 Ukrainian soldiers from disbanded Austro-Hungarian military units seized all of the important governmental, transportation and communication facilities within the city of Lemberg in a bloodless coup. The Austrian governor then transferred his powers to the Ukrainian National Council. The new entity became known as the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) by a constitution drawn up on November 13, 1918 (Figure 15).

During the government transition and after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on November 11, 1918, the Supreme Crownland Court continued to function in Lemberg, but the city’s name was now changed to Lviv.6 For the next nine months, during the entire period of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, there is no evidence that any changes were made in the Court Delivery Stamps themselves or in their value.7 This situation occurred because the Austrian currency of kronen and heller remained valid and because there was no text on the stamps.

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6. Lviv was the original name for the city when it was founded in the thirteenth century (traditionally 1256) by the Ukrainian King Danylo (Daniel) who named it for his son Lev (Leo). The city fell to Polish forces on November 22, 1918, and during the first half of the next year the Poles gradually captured most of the remaining lands of Western Ukraine (using the flimsy justification that all of Galicia ought to be part of the new Poland). Under the Poles, Lviv was renamed Lwow.

7. This was not the state of affairs in the crownland of Bukovina, which was seized by Romania in late 1918.

**Figure 14.** Three different payment indication cachets; a fourth type appears in Figure 12.
There was no change to any of the court forms. All were used just as they had been under the Austrian regime (Figures 10–13).

For the most part, the old court seals also continued to be used to cancel the stamps. However, in certain cities of Western Ukraine, new Ukrainian court handstamps were introduced. Figure 10 shows the use of a new red court canceller from the town of Peremyshliany that prominently incorporates the Ukrainian trident emblem.

**USE IN THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC**

By mid-July 1919, Polish forces, reinforced by aid from the west, were able to capture all of Western Ukraine and drive its armed forces, the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA), into Eastern or Greater Ukraine. The status of eastern Galicia subsequently underwent considerable debate among the diplomats at the Paris Peace Conference (1919) and later by the Council of Ambassadors. The territory was turned over to Poland in 1923 with the proviso that the Ukrainians be allowed considerable autonomy. Poland’s reneging of its promise to this effect led to considerable hostility—including bloodshed—among Ukrainians and Poles in Galicia during the inter-war years.

8. There the UHA aided fellow Ukrainians who had broken away from Soviet Russia and were fighting their own war of liberation against the Bolsheviks.
For a while after Poland’s occupation, the Austrian Court Delivery Stamps continued in use unchanged. The old Austrian seals were retained as well, although the letters “C. K.” (designating the Austro-Hungarian monarchy) were removed. By late 1918, the delivery rate was raised to 20 heller (halerzy; documents from this period are known with only one 10-heller stamp).9

On February 20, 1920, the monetary values of “Mark” and “pfennig” were introduced throughout the territory of Poland—and also in eastern Galicia. The currency change required a new message be applied to the forms—a purple rectangular frame containing the Polish inscription “For delivery, a fee of 10 heller—7 pfennig (later, of 20 heller—14 pfennig) is due the messenger.”

Inflation began to increase at a rapid rate in the early 1920s requiring an increase in the delivery fee for court documents to 2 Marks. The note “2 marki” was originally written in black ink on documents below the obliterated stamp. Later, the stamps themselves were surcharged “2 M” in manuscript using glossy red ink. Finally, a red rubber stamp with “2 mk.” in serif Roman letters was used on the stamps. An example, on a document piece from Sniatyn, shows the red revaluation on every court stamp in a strip of five (Figure 16). Dimensions of the cancellation: height of numeral “2”—8.25mm; length of cancellation—18mm.

All this time these stamps continued to be used in the same manner as originally.

The 10-heller Court Delivery Stamps were used in Poland until supplies ran out about April of 1921. Sawczak-Knihinicki (1961) reproduces a court document with a 10-heller stamp canceled March 3, 1921, showing that the stamp was still in circulation two and one-half years after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Poland produced its own Court Delivery Stamps in 1924 after the end of the inflation period. The service was successful enough that it continued to function until 1939.

Availability

Court Delivery Stamps and the documents to which they were applied first appeared in philatelic markets in the years following World War I, having been expropriated from the

9. The 20-halerzy rate was still less than the Polish post rate of 25 halerzy for a letter up to 20g in weight.

Figure 16. A vertical strip of five 10-heller (halerzy) court stamps on piece surcharged 2 mk. (marks). The stamps are canceled with the circular seal of the court in Sniatyn.
archives of an empire that no longer existed. Additional stamps and forms turned up following the Second World War when more court records were looted. Nevertheless, Imperial Austrian court materials are not that common.

A number of documents in my possession display Soviet Ukrainian court archival notations from the 1950s on their reverse. It may be that these items were deemed expendable and sold to the West for hard currency at about that time. Alternatively, it could be that these documents have only come onto the market since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. (Archival pilferage has been a serious problem in a number of countries of the former Soviet Union.)

Whatever their source, the fact remains that collecting Court Delivery Stamps, their varieties and the documents on which they appear, can present a serious yet fascinating challenge to the collector of official stamps and postal history.

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The American Philatelic Congress

Since our first meeting, called by Eugene Klein in December 1935, the American Philatelic Congress has promoted and encouraged philatelic scholarship. This volume, the seventy-seventh in an annual series, continues the founding tradition of inviting and publishing original research papers on a wide variety of philatelic topics. A complete set of these volumes contains almost a thousand articles and comprises an important philatelic research tool.

In addition to annual awards to recognize outstanding articles in The Congress Book, the American Philatelic Congress annually presents awards to honor outstanding philatelic writing and publishing. Recipients need not be members of the Congress. Annual meetings, now held in conjunction with the American Philatelic Society’s StampShow, include sessions devoted to society business, presentation and discussion of the papers published, along with a reception for authors and the presentation of awards (a full list appears below).

Membership includes a copy of the annual Congress Book. For information contact the Secretary-Treasurer: Dr. Ross A. Towle, 400 Clayton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117.

Report of the Seventy-Sixth Congress

Richmond, Virginia, August 13, 2010

The meeting of the Governing Council of the American Philatelic Congress was called to order by Mark Banchik, Vice President at 10:07 a.m., Friday, August 13, 2006, at the Richmond, Virginia Convention Center in conjunction with STAMPSHOW 2010. Attending were thirteen members of the council. Council members attending were Mark Banchik, John Barwis, Nancy Clark, Michael D. Dixon, David Herendeen, Van Koppersmith, Alfred F. Kugel, Peter P. McCann, Stephen D. Schumann, Ken Trettin, Ross A. Towle, Alan Warren and Steve Washburne. Also attending was Barbara Mueller.

The Secretary-Treasurer’s reports were presented by Ross Towle and reviewed by the members present. The minutes of the 2009 meeting were unanimously approved.

A discussion of the deficit commenced. Michael Dixon suggested an increase of the annual dues by $5. Mark Banchik proposed a new level of membership called “Leadership” at the $100. It is desired that all current members of the Council participate at this level and all future members of the Council will be expected to participate at this level.

Also the declining number of members contributes to the deficit and a discussion on what to do commenced. Michael Dixon suggested that it was due to lack of publicity. Peter McCann suggested asking to place blurbs in show programs. Alan Warren observed that during his time in the APC booth nobody asked “What is the APC?” Mark Banchik noted the USPCS is growing and why isn’t the APC. David Herendeen suggested the APC call former members to get them to rejoin. Michael Dixon suggested the newsletter go electronic. Alan Warren said that people ignore electronic newsletters. Ross Towle noted that similar suggestions had been made in previous Council meetings but no Council member has followed through on any of the suggestions.

Steve Schumann said he would put out press releases on the 2010 Congress Book and 2011 Congress Book. Ken Trettin will send information to Steve Schumann as each article is worked. Nancy Clark observed that a press release on one subject gets used.

Peter McCann asked some questions about publication costs. Stephen D. Schumann reported that the 2005 costs included some extraordinary one time costs and will not be part of future Congress Book costs.

The secretary and treasurer reports were unanimously approved.
The Class of 2013 was installed. The election of officers was held with Mark Banchik as President, Nancy Clark as First Vice-President, Michael Dixon as Second Vice-President, and Ross A Towle as Secretary-Treasurer. The election was unanimous. At this point Mark Banchik ran the meeting as the new President.

Ken Trettin, 2010 Congress Book editor, presented a report on the 2011 book. Articles are in various stages from early to ready to go. He discussed the 2010 printer and ways to reduce the cost. For example, because of various charges it might be worthwhile to ship books to all members instead of having some sent to StampShow and the rest shipped. He would look into using all flaps box. He also thanked Alan Warren for providing a second set of eyes for proofing each article.

Mark Banchik thanked the members of the APC awards team and the Boehret awards team for their work. He concluded by discussing what is needed going forward. What is the mission of the APC? How to serve our members? What about digitizing back issues of the Congress Book?

The business of the Congress having been concluded, the meeting was adjourned at 11:20 a.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Ross A. Towle,
Secretary-Treasurer
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<td>Svend Yort</td>
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<td>Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Donald M. Steele</td>
<td>Barbara R. Mueller</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
<td>Donald M. Steele</td>
<td>Mark Cassidy</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>Robert L. Davidson</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
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<td>Phoenix, AZ</td>
<td>Robert L. Davidson</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Newark, NJ</td>
<td>Robert L. Davidson</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Robert L. Davidson</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Baltimore, MD</td>
<td>Robert L. Davidson</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Svend Yort</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
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<td>Rochester, NY</td>
<td>Svend Yort</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>Clearwater, FL</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
<td>James P. Harris</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>New Orleans, LA</td>
<td>David C. Stump</td>
<td>James P. Harris</td>
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<td>1974</td>
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<td>David C. Stump</td>
<td>James P. Harris</td>
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<td>1975</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>Atlantic City, NJ</td>
<td>Sidney Schneider</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>Kansas City, MO</td>
<td>Sidney Schneider</td>
<td>Hubert C. Skinner and Edward C. Jackson</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Hunt Valley, MD</td>
<td>Sidney Schneider</td>
<td>Hubert Skinner and Edward C. Jackson</td>
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<td>1980</td>
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<td>Sidney Schneider</td>
<td>Hubert C. Skinner and Edward C. Jackson</td>
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<td>1981</td>
<td>Virginia Beach, VA</td>
<td>Sidney Schneider*</td>
<td>Raymond W. Ruthrauff, Sr.</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>Indianapolis, IN</td>
<td>Robert B. Brandeberry†</td>
<td>Nancy Kiser and Eugene Reed</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>St. Petersburg, FL</td>
<td>Robert B. Brandeberry</td>
<td>Abbot Lutz</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Vice-Chair</td>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>Diane B. Boehret</td>
<td>Abbot Lutz</td>
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<td>1985</td>
<td>Secaucus, N.J.</td>
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<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>Diane B. Boehret</td>
<td>Barbara R. Mueller</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Kansas City, MO</td>
<td>Diane B. Boehret</td>
<td>Barbara R. Mueller</td>
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<td>Rosemont, IL</td>
<td>Diane B. Boehret</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>Washington, DC</td>
<td>Diane B. Boehret</td>
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<td>1990</td>
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<td>Diane B. Boehret</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>Philadelphia, PA</td>
<td>Peter P. McCann</td>
<td>Michel Forand</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>Columbus, OH</td>
<td>Peter P. McCann</td>
<td>Michel Forand</td>
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<td>1993</td>
<td>Houston, TX</td>
<td>Peter P. McCann</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>Pittsburgh, PA</td>
<td>Peter P. McCann</td>
<td>Michel Forand</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
<td>Roger G. Schnell</td>
<td>Michel Forand</td>
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<td>1996</td>
<td>Orlando, FL</td>
<td>Roger G. Schnell</td>
<td>Barth Healey</td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>San Francisco, CA</td>
<td>Roger G. Schnell</td>
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<td>Santa Clara, CA</td>
<td>Roger G. Schnell</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>Cleveland, OH</td>
<td>Roger G. Schnell</td>
<td>Richard W. Helbock</td>
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<td>2000</td>
<td>Providence, RI</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Stephen D. Schumann</td>
<td>Richard W. Helbock</td>
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<td>2002</td>
<td>Atlantic City, NJ</td>
<td>Stephen D. Schumann</td>
<td>Richard W. Helbock</td>
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<td>2003</td>
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<td>Sacramento, CA</td>
<td>Stephen D. Schumann</td>
<td>Richard W. Helbock</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>Grand Rapids, MI</td>
<td>Stephen D. Schumann</td>
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<td>2006</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>Stephen D. Schumann</td>
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<td>2007</td>
<td>Portland, OR</td>
<td>Stephen D. Schumann</td>
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<td>2008</td>
<td>Hartford, CT</td>
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<td>2009</td>
<td>Pittsburgh, PA</td>
<td>John Kevin Doyle</td>
<td>Kenneth Trettin</td>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>Richmond, VA</td>
<td>John Kevin Doyle</td>
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<td>2011</td>
<td>Columbus, OH</td>
<td>Mark Banchik</td>
<td>Kenneth Trettin</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Died in office.
†Completed the unexpired term of his/her predecessor.
THE CONGRESS AWARDS

Purpose
The American Philatelic Congress has instituted a number of awards to recognize contributions to philatelic knowledge and to the activities of the Congress itself. With but two exceptions, these awards may be bestowed upon anyone, whether or not a Congress member. Some of the awards are competitive, while others are meant to honor individuals whose overall achievements have benefited philately in general.

Procedure
The competitive awards of the American Philatelic Congress are bestowed by an awards committee, whose chairman is appointed by the president and serves at his pleasure. The chairman shall be a Congress member, while the other committee members may or may not be members of the Congress. Committee members are appointed by the awards committee chairman, with the concurrence of the president.

The awards committee will consist of at least three members. In arriving at their decisions, the committee will consider only the merits of the writing and will be guided by the specific criteria established for each award as outlined below.

For an award to be granted, at least three eligible entries must be considered. If fewer than three are available, entries may be held over for one, or at most two years, until at least three qualified entries can be evaluated competitively. However, holdover of entries from the point of view of quality of the material may be impractical; such action will be left to the discretion of the committee.

No award need be bestowed if the committee feels none is warranted. The decisions of the committee will be final. The form of each award, if not predetermined by the donor, is determined by the executive officers of the Congress and remains the same from year to year until the executive officers change it.

Diane D. Boehret Award
This award, named after a former President of the Congress, was created in 1990. It is an annual philatelic literature award given to the best of the best from the previous year’s literature exhibitions. It is automatically open to the winners of gold and vermeil medals in North American national-level literature competitions. The award is open to all literature entries in the various categories found in national literature competitions—e.g. handbooks, journals, catalogs, electronic media, etc. Normally, one award will be given for a handbook and one for a periodical each year. If the field contains a number of exceptional entries, however, the Committee may award two prizes in each category. If the Committee is of the opinion that no entry is deserving of the award in any given year, the award need not be given. The committee’s mandate is to select a publication or publications with a significant content, importance, lasting value, and impact on philately. Good legibility, illustrations and logical progression of “story” are important factors. Attractiveness will also rate consideration. But how a work meets the criteria of importance and impact on philately shall be the primary consideration. The Committee will prepare a brief comment on their choice(s) for the award. A periodical that receives this award will not be eligible to be considered again for the next three years. The award will normally be announced at the annual meeting of the Writer’s Unit #30 at StampShow. Winners need not be Congress members.

1991 Peter A. Michalove and David M. Skipton, Postal Censorship in Imperial Russia, John H. Owen, publisher.
1992 Edmund A. Bayley, The Postage Stamps of Barbados, and
Harlan F. Stone, editor, Postal History Journal
1993 Eugene Garrett, Postal History of the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines, 1942–1945, and
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Harlan F. Stone, editor, Postal History Journal
1997 Harlan F. Stone, editor, Postal History Journal, and Richard R. John, Spreading the News: The American Postal System From Franklin to Morse
2001 Lawrence Sherman, United States Patriotic Covers of World War II, and Barry Newton, editor, First Days
2002 Herbert Brach, The Imperforate Sitting Helvetia-Strubel, 1854–1863, Zumstein, publisher, Zumstein Specialized, and Paolo Vollmeier, editor, Fakes Forgeries Experts
2003 Harvey Bennett, The Metzer Black Jack Collection, and Frank Walton, editor, London Philatelist
2007 Jim Kotanchik, Post Office Seals of the United States and Possessions, and Paul Albright, Editor, Posthorn
2008 Hugh V. Feldman, U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Water (Star Routes 1824–1875)
2009 Steven C. Walske and Scott R. Trepel, Special Mail Routes of the American Civil War: A Guide to Across-the-Lines Postal History

*Awarded posthumously.

Congress Service Award

James Waldo Fawcett Award

This noncompetitive award, named in honor of a well-known philatelic journalist who was the first editor of The Congress Book, was established in 1959. It is given, at the discretion of the Council, to a member of the Congress for meritorious service to the organization.

1960 Mrs. Conway Zirkle
1961 James B. Shaner, Sr.
1962 David Lidman
1963 Svend Yort
1964 Robert B. Brandeberry
1965 James T. DeVoss
1966 Franklin R. Bruns, Jr.
1967 Sol Glass
1969 Robert L. D. Davidson
1970 David C. Stump
1972 Mrs. Ethel McCoy
1975 James P. Harris
1981 Sidney Schneider*
1987 Barbara R. Mueller
1991 Diane D. Boehret
1992 Russell V. Skavaril
1998 Janet Klug
1999 F. Burton Sellers
2006 John Kevin Doyle
2007 David Herendeen

Stephen Schumann
*Awarded posthumously.
**CONGRESS BOOK AWARDS**

**WALTER R. McCoy Award**

Named in honor of the late editor of several *Congress Books*, this award was established in 1953. It is given to the author of the best article in the current *Congress Book*. It is based on philatelic knowledge and/or research, thoroughness of treatment and usefulness and benefit to philately generally. Winners need not be Congress members. The president may appoint the editor as a non-voting advisory member of the jury. The editor (and the editorial board, if any) are ineligible for consideration.

**Erani R. Drossos Award**

Created in 1981 by Pandelis J. Drossos, a longtime member of the Congress, well-known dealer and philatelic author, in memory of his late wife, this award was originally established to be given to the best foreign article in the current *Congress Book*. However, because an article on a non-U.S subject might be selected as both the best overall article and the best foreign article, the selection criterion was changed in 1987 in order to avoid bestowing two awards to the same article, and this award is now given to the first runner-up to the best article, independent of its subject. The criteria for evaluation are the same as those for the Walter R. McCoy Award.

a) From 1981 to 1986, awarded to the best foreign article in *The Congress Book* of the current year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Jesse &amp; Diane Boechret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Stephen S. Washburne</td>
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</table>

b) Since 1987, awarded to the first runner-up to the best article in *The Congress Book* of the current year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Robert G. Stone</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>James H. Burns</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and John Wiemer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Robert G. Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Michel Forand</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>Varro E. Tyler</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>Dr. Roger G. Schnell</td>
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<td>1993</td>
<td>Carroll L. Llyod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>John K. Cross</td>
</tr>
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</table>
C. CORWITH WAGNER AWARD
This award was established in 1981. It is named in memory of an ardent student of early U.S. postal history, especially that of the Western territories, the expresses and inland waterways. It has been given in the past for the best article in the Congress Book on American postal history up to the start of the twentieth century. Starting with the 1998 Congress Book, the award was given to the best article on United States philately not receiving the McCoy or Drossos Awards. This change promoted more articles on United States subjects and fulfilled one of the purposes of the American Philatelic Congress of encouraging articles about American philately.

1981 Theron Wierenga 1998 Peter Martin 2006 Ronald E. Lesher
1982 Lowell S. Newman 1999 Randy Stehle 2007 Dale Forster
1984 Stefan T. Jaronski 2000 Richard Martorelli 2008 Diane DeBlois and
1993 Dr. J.C. Arnell 2002 Peter Martin 2009 Thomas Lera
1995 Dr. Robert Dalton Harris 2004 Paul J. Phillips
1997 John Birkinbine II 2005 Reuben A. Ramkissoon

HELEN AUGUST MEMORIAL AWARD
Instituted in 1990, this award was made possible by Mr. Leo August, President of Washington Press, through a grant to the Congress. The award named in honor of Mr. August’s late wife, was originally intended to reward the author(s) of an article on twentieth century postal history (including first day covers) published in the current Congress Book. Starting in 1998 the award was presented to the best postal history article regardless of the time frame, but not receiving any other Congress Awards. Authors may receive the award only once and need not be members of the Congress.

1993 Ken Lawrence 2000 Joseph Cartafalsa 2008 J. J. Danieliski
1995 Dr. Arthur H. Groton 2003 John H. Barwis Joseph Wallach

JERE. HESS BARR AWARD
Created in 1959 in honor of a late former President of the Congress and editor of several Congress Books, this award is given for the best presentation by an author at the Writers’ Forum held during the annual meeting of the Congress. The presentation is based upon his or her paper in the current Congress Book. The winners need not be Congress members. If no forum is held at the annual Congress meeting then no award will be given.

1960 Robert W. Murch 1975 Clyde Jennings 1993 M. Hardjasudarma
1962 Delf Norona 1977 Joseph D. Hahn 1995 Ken Lawrence
1964 Charles A. Fricke 1979 Ernst M. Cohn 1997 John Birkinbine II
1965 Alex L. ter Braake 1981 Ernst M. Cohn 2001 Henry J. Berthelot
1966 F. Burton Sellers 1983 Kimber A. Wald 2002 Peter Martin
1967 Alex L. ter Braake 1984 Kimber A. Wald 2003 Alfred F. Kugel
1969 George B. Griffenhagen 1986 John Clemente 2006 David McNamee
1972 Larry Resnick 1990 Ronald E. Lesher, Sr. Robert Dalton Harris
1973 Ernst M. Cohn 1991 Barbara R. Mueller
AWARDS FOR GENERAL PUBLICATIONS

EUGENE KLEIN RESEARCH AWARD

This award was established in 1960 in honor of the late founder and first president of the Congress, who was a well-known dealer and distinguished student of philately. It is given for the best recent philatelic book written by a Congress member (up to 1972, journal articles were also eligible). Entries, solicited by the Congress through notices in the U.S. philatelic press, must have been published during the two years preceding the annual convention of the Congress. They may be submitted by the authors, editors and others to the Chairman of the Congress Awards committee at least ninety days before the convention. The criteria for evaluation are: evidence of the author's original research and/or study in solving a problem or problems of importance to philately, as well as convincing proof and verification of the new information. Importance of discoveries, depth of research (e.g. new facts, new evidence for or against existing beliefs), and the clarity of presentation (text and illustrations) will also be considered.

1961 Mortimer L. Neinken
1962 Edward I.P. Tatelman
1963 Adolph Koeppe1
1964 Mortimer L. Neinken
1965 Mrs. Conway Zirkle
1967 Edith R. Doane
1968 Solomon Altmann
1969 Charles L. Towle
1970 Alex L. ter Braake
1971 Edward L. Willard
1972 George E. Harget
1973 Mortimer L. Neinken
1974 George T. Turner
1976 R. R. Thompson
1978 Ralph L. Sloat
1979 Loren C. French
1980 Eugene C. Reed
1982 Abbot Lutzand
1983 Philip Silver
1985 Brian Clague and Richard F. Riley
1986 Michael Mahler
1989 Constantin Mattheos
1992 Ken Lawrence
1995 Richard F. Riley
1996 Jim Kotanchick
1999

DOROTHY COLBY MEMORIAL AWARD

This award was created in 1973, in memory of the late wife of Sylvester Colby, a prominent philatelic dealer and Congress member. It is given for the best published article in one part or serialized, or a series of articles on a common theme. The article—or at least the final part, in the case of serialized entry—must have been published during the eighteen month period preceding the convention of the Congress. Nominations for this award may be submitted by editors, authors, columnists, or others to the chairman of the Congress Awards committee at least ninety days before the annual convention. Entries will be solicited by the Congress through notices in the philatelic press. Criteria for evaluation are depth of research and/or study; the quality of writing and the illustrations as concerns articles in the philatelic press. Popular appeal through the subject matter and treatment in the philatelic or lay press will also be considered. Winners need not be Congress members.

1973 Loran C. French
1975 Melvin H. Schoberlin
1976 Creighton C. Hart
1978 Maj. Charles J. LaBlonde
1979 James W. Milgram, M.D.
1980 Eugene C. Reed
1982 Abbot Lutzand
1983 Philip Silver
1985 Brian Clague and Richard F. Riley
1986 Michael Mahler
1989 Constantin Mattheos
1992 Ken Lawrence
1995 Richard F. Riley
1996 Jim Kotanchick
1999
**Contributors to The Congress Book 2010**

**Al Kugel** (The disintegration of the Hohenzollern Empire 1918–1923), a 2005 Luff award winner, is a Chicago-based investment counselor. Involved in philately since childhood he is a Fellow of the Royal Philatelic Society, London, president of the Chicago Philatelic Society and a director of the Chicago Collectors Club, the Military Postal History Society and the American Philatelic Congress. Al has exhibited and written extensively about twentieth century military mail. Al is nationally-accredited philatelic judge.

**Diane DeBlois** and **Robert Dalton Harris** (Prexies and the interaction of color) have presented papers on postal history at the Blount Symposium, at the International Economics History Conference in Helsinki, at the Business History Conference in Le Creusot, France, and at a conference convened by the French postal administration in Paris. Together they edit the *Postal History Journal*, and have written many articles as well as longer works for publications aimed at collectors of postal history, manuscripts, antiquarian books and ephemera. Robert is in the Writers Unit Hall of Fame. Together they sit on the Museum Advisory Council of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum.

**Daniel C. Warren**, M.D., M.P.H. (A census of Confederate covers bearing the 2¢ green stamp) is a retired Army physician and a long-time collector of the Confederate States of America and other philatelic fancies. Past President of the Confederate Stamp Alliance, he is an accredited APS judge and literature judge. His Confederate exhibit has been awarded the Robert E. Lee Trophy. Dan has authored over fifty philatelic articles on a variety of subjects. He serves as a director of the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, the American Philatelic Congress, and W.U. #30.

**Thomas Lera** (The underground railroad post office in Postumia Grotte 1872–1945) was appointed the Winton M. Blount Research Chair at the Smithsonian National Postal Museum in 2007. He has written over 100 philatelic articles. He published his first book in 1995. He recently edited *The Winton M. Blount Symposia: Select Papers 2006–2009*, which was released by the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press. Lera has served as co-chair of the Symposium since 2007. He is a national philatelic judge. His philatelic exhibits have won gold and grand awards.
Dr. Ingert Kuzych (The court delivery stamps of Imperial Austria) is of Austrian and Ukrainian extraction and has made a profound impact on the philately of both countries. He has written well over 350 articles for dozens of philatelic publications, written or edited several books dealing with Ukrainian philately and edited the *Ukrainian Philatelist*. 

Nancy Clark (The puzzle of the Piscatqua postmarks), a lifelong collector, shares her passions for stamp collecting and postal history through her exhibits, mentoring and lecturing on judging national youth philatelic exhibits. She has written for the Congress Book and several periodicals. For more than twenty-eight years she has coordinated and supported education with stamps. A recipient of the Kehr and Luff awards, Nancy is treasurer of the Philatelic group of Boston and vice president of the APC. She hosts a bimonthly online radio program for philatelists.

The American Philatelic Congress

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**Jerzy W. Kupiec-Weglinski** (The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)) was born in Poland and is Professor of Surgery at the University of California Los Angeles. Involved in philately since childhood, for the past twenty-five years he has researched the postal history of airmail services in the Polish territories. He started to exhibit in 2004, and since then has won several Golds, three national Grands and two international Golds. Jerzy authored a number of philatelic articles, which were published in *The Airpost Journal, Polonus* and *Polish Philatelist*.

**Jacek Kosmala** (The development of airmail services in Poland (1918–1928)) is retired sanitary engineer living in Warsaw, Poland. Involved in philately since childhood he has specialized in the postal history of Polish territories, especially airmail services and the Kingdom of Poland from eighteenth to twentieth centuries. His airmail exhibit has received six FIP Gold medals. He is an FIP aerophilately judge, a member of the Polish Academy of Philately and a member of the European Academy of Philately.

**Mark Schwartz** (The Salem “Pointing Hand PAID” handstamps) was born in Boston, worked as an organic chemist before moving into marketing and strategic planning. He exhibits the postal history of Boston and of Essex County, Massachusetts, and collects the New York Postmaster Provisional and the first Federal standardized hand stamps of 1799. Mark has written articles for a number of journals, and is on the board of the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Postal History Society and Philatelic Foundation. This is his second contribution to *The Congress Book*.

**Nancy Clark** (The puzzle of the Piscatqua postmarks), a lifelong collector, shares her passions for stamp collecting and postal history through her exhibits, mentoring and lecturing on judging national youth philatelic exhibits. She has written for the Congress Book and several periodicals. For more than twenty-eight years she has coordinated and supported education with stamps. A recipient of the Kehr and Luff awards, Nancy is treasurer of the Philatelic group of Boston and vice president of the APC. She hosts a bimonthly online radio program for philatelists.

**Dr. Ingert Kuzych** (The court delivery stamps of Imperial Austria) is of Austrian and Ukrainian extraction and has made a profound impact on the philately of both countries. He has written well over 350 articles for dozens of philatelic publications, written or edited several books dealing with Ukrainian philately and edited the *Ukrainian Philatelist*. 

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COLOPHON

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