

La Posta: A Journal of American Postal History



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COVER: A world map showing countries divided into five ranked categories indicating their predicted volume of air mail flow with the United States during the 1930s serves as a centerpoint for a few contemporary international air mail covers to and from the US.

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Publisher's Page

Collecting Air Mail Covers from and to the USA

Readers will no doubt have noted that one of the subjects in postal history that has attracted my interest in recent years has been a fascination with pre-World War II international air mail. What makes it possible for me to pursue an interest in international air mail from the US and Australia was detailed information regarding the history of air mail surcharges and postal rates. In the case of the US, Henry Beecher gave me a copy of his data on international air mail rates and allowed me to publish the 1938-1946 portion of it as an appendix in *Prexie Postal History* in 1988. Since then, of course, Tony Wawrukiewicz has edited and published all of Henry's postal rate and fees data in two magnificent volumes that have become part of the foundation of a US postal history library.

The data available on international air mail rates from Australia is not quite as well organized, nor as conveniently presented, as the US data, but an appendix titled "Pre-decimal Postal Rates" discussing "Overseas Air Mail Services" was published in the 1992 and subsequent editions of the *Australian Air Mail Catalogue* and it is more than adequate.

The key fact is that without access to adequate rate and route data, a collector is operating in the dark when it comes to international air mail. On a world wide basis the United States and Australia are exceptions rather than rule when it comes to reliable published data on postal rates.

Many of the former British colonies have been the subject of postal histories written by Edward B. Proud, and he has typically included rate and route details for air mail in his summary of postal rates. Recently, Proud has published two of a proposed three volume set titled Intercontinental Airmails. Each of these volumes-Transatlantic and Pacific (Volume 1) and Asia and Australasia (Volume 2)-do include air surcharge and comprehensive air mail rate data, but it is almost unusable due to the poor organization of the work, the lack of any meaningful index, and the voluminous burden of detail given to time tables. Volume 2 for example runs to a staggering 896 pages of which approximately 500 pages are given to time tables detailing each stop of every flight. To be fair, these tables will no doubt be of great assistance to someone attempting to trace the timing of a journey for a particular cover, but a collector trying to learn whether the proper air surcharge has been paid by the franking may become frustrated

searching for that detail, which may or may not have been included and may not have been correctly recorded.

The situation regarding published references to air mail surcharges and rates for various nations is a complete patchwork ranging from some details published in a regional or national journal article to a monograph available only on the World Wide Web (the case with Russian air mail rates). So it is with a great deal of excitement that I am pleased to present a brilliant new book by Robert E. Picirilli that allows a collector quick and easy access to proper 1920-1945 air mail surcharges and rates from a major area of the earth in that era: France and her colonies.

La Posta review:

Postal and Airmail Rates in France & Colonies 1920-1945

By Robert E. Picirilli, 2011, 234 pages + CD, A4 format, card bound. Published by the France & Colonies Philatelic Society (Great Britain). Price £32.00 to the US from Peter Maybury, 18 Courtneys, Wheldrake, York, YO19 5BR Great Britain, or email <u>publications@fcps.org.uk</u> for additional details.

This volume covers the letter rates and airmail surtax for French colonies from the start of commercial aviation to the end of WW2, and provides for the first time a comprehensive source of information to explain the postage rates applied to pre 1946 French colonial airmail covers.

An international group of collectors working over a period of some 14 years has combined information to produce a data-base of almost 7,500 covers. This has been supported by a huge amount of original research based on French Government, UPU and other sources. Routes and airlines are mentioned where these have a bearing on rates.

A free CD, courtesy of the France and Colonies Philatelic Society, accompanies the bound volume. The CD includes the 7,500 cover data-base in Excel format, Bob Picirilli's comments on the postage rates and covers on the data-base, plus full colour versions of the black and white illustrations used throughout this work.

The book is organized in 19 chapters that begin with a very important explanation of how French colonial airmail rates worked. The remaining chapters are orga-

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Postal and Airmail Rates in France & Colonies 1920-1945



nized geographically and cover the entire array of French possessions in Africa, Asia, the South Pacific, North America, the Caribbean and South America.

Each chapter begins with a narrative describing how and when air mail service became available to the region. Following this, air mail rates and surcharges are presented in tabular form organized according to date and geographic destination. For example, Chapter 8 covers French Indochina, and table 8.8 presents details of surcharges, rates and routings that applied to

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air mail from that colony to the US, Canada, Newfoundland and Mexico. Many black and white cover illustrations are imbedded within the chapters to illustrate various rates, but as mentioned earlier these are reproduced in full color on the accompanying CD.

The CD deserves additional comment. Let's say you are a collector interested specifically in air mail from French Colonies to the United States. Since the entire data-base of 7,500 covers is available on the CD arranged in MS Excel files according to chapters of the book, it is a small matter to extract just those covers addressed to the US from each chapter and create your own new Excel file containing the recorded French Colony to US air mail covers. I did just that and found nearly 1,300 covers met that criterion including 83 from Indochina to the US dating from 1935 to 1945.

This is a very well organized reference volume and when combined with the CD it presents a powerful research tool. If only we had references comparable to Picirilli's work for the rest of the world, life as a collector of pre-war international air mail covers would be sweet indeed.

inhand W. H. C. Bul

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Figure 1 Postmarked Cleveland, Ohio, April 15, 1941, this cover is franked with 70 cents postage to pay air mail fee via trans-Pacific Clipper to Balik Papan, Borneo, Netherlands East indies. Many of us would consider a 1951 air mail cover to Borneo a "scarce destination." But what does that really mean, and would it be more or less scarce than a 1941 air mail cover to Kenya?

International Air Mail during the Pre-WWII Era: Scarcity According to Origins & Destinations

By Richard W. Helbock

How often do we see a cover described with the terms such as "scarce destination," or "unusual origin-destination," or even "air mail covers to (from) this country are rare?" I, for one, have always considered comments such as these as interesting and helpful when it came to deciding whether to bid on or buy a card or cover. Of course I have also taken into account what I knew of the experience and veracity of the person making the claim. Claims of scarcity when it comes to the origin or destination of air mail, or any other type of mail, are highly subjective. No one has any idea of how many items of mail may have been exchanged between addresses in two countries over a period of time. While it is possible there have been attempts by some governments to measure the amount of specific international postal communications between their nation and certain other nations-for example. nations considered to be enemies-such efforts can be no more than short term experiments. If we think of the entire universe of mail flowing between pairs of nations and territories around the globe, it becomes clear that the measurement of postal communications between pairs of nations—referred to herein as bilateral flows—over a significant period of time would have been impossible.

So in order to make a credible claim that a cover from the United States addressed to a recipient in a particular country represents a "scarce destination," one must be able to draw on a significant body of experience. Included within this experience would be not only an extensive period of personal examination of international mail flows, but a broad knowledge of history and geography enabling one to evaluate social conditions around the world. That's a pretty tall order, even for the most experienced and best educated among us. When it comes right down to it, the use of terms such as "scarce destination" actually mean "I haven't personally seen much (any) mail addressed there before."

The collector considering whether or not to add such a cover to their collection is then faced with 1) making a judgement based on their own experience and 2) deciding how much faith they have in the seller's ability to make the claim. That's fair; most of the choices we make in life are based on imperfect knowledge,



Figure 2 An April 1941 cover postmarked Riverhead, NY, addressed to Mombasa, Kenya, and franked for trans-Atlantic air mail and onward by British air mail to Kenya. Should this be considered more or less scarce in terms of destination to the cover shown in figure 1?

but what if there were a way to measure the scarcity of origin and destination with regard to bilateral mail flows?

The purpose of this article is to open a discussion regarding the measurement of scarcity as applied to bilateral international air mail during the period prior to World War II—roughly 1920 to 1941. While it may not be possible, or even desirable, to precisely calculate exactly how scarce an air mail cover addressed to Southern Rhodesia in 1937 is, it might be possible to evaluate whether such a cover is more or less scarce than a 1937 air mail cover addressed to Bulgaria, or New Zealand, or Uruguay.

An Approach to Measurement

The exchange of mail between individuals and businesses in different countries is a particular form of foreign trade. As such, it may appropriately be modelled with a type of mathematical expression known as a gravity model. The gravity model was proposed by Tinbergen [1962] to explain international bilateral trade and has become quite popular among economists in recent years as an instrument of empirical foreign trade analysis. The model has been successfully applied to flows of varying types such as migration, foreign direct investment, and more specifically to international trade flows.

As the name suggests, the model is an adaptation based on Newton's Law of Universal Gravitation

$Fij = G MiMj/Dij^2,$ [1]

where F= attractive force between bodies i and j; M= mass; D=distance; and G = gravitational constant.

In economics, the Gravity Model specification is similar to Newton's Law

$$Xij = K YiYj/Tij + M$$
[2]

where Xij = exports from i to j; or total trade (i.e., Xij+Xji); Y=economic size (GDP, POP); K = a constant that may be used to adjust economic size to a more workable form, T=Trade costs and M represents any other factors aiding or preventing trade between pairs of countries.

In practice the volume of international trade between countries is typically well known and the equation is used to solve for variations on the letter "M", which might stand for multilateral trade resistances such as political trading blocks. In applied work, the

model is often extended by including variables to account for language relationships, tariffs, contiguity, access to sea, colonial history, exchange rate regimes, and other variables of interest. The object then becomes to determine the significance of these variables on bilateral foreign trade. Persons interested in further exploring the literature concerning gravity model research in foreign trade studies might wish to begin by consulting *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Gravity_model_of_trade*.

The equation of the gravity model may appear daunting to readers uncomfortable with mathematical notations, but its really nothing more than an effort to say with some specificity what we all intuitively know; that is, two large countries located close to each other will produce much larger mail flows between them than two small nations located far away from each other.

Unlike most economic applications to international trade, a researcher seeking answers to questions about theoretical air mail volumes between two countries does not have the luxury of statistical evidence. Indeed, the purpose of the research becomes solving the gravity model equation for Xij where Xij is the amount of air mail sent from country i to country j and the total two-way flow is Xij + Xji.

The author understands full well that readers of postal history journals such as *La Posta* are not used to seeing mathematical expressions popping up in articles. But if we are attempting to define a term like *scarcity*, it would appear unavoidable to ignore the quantitative

underpinnings of the presentation that follows. The equation of the gravity model may appear daunting to readers uncomfortable with mathematical notations, but its really nothing more than an attempt to say with some specificity what we all intuitively know; that is, two large countries located close to each other will produce much larger mail flows between them than two small nations located far away from each other.

THE VARIABLES

Weighted Population (Yi & Yj)

People write letters and some people in days gone by chose to pay a premium—sometimes substantial—to send those letters by air mail, or at least air accelerated mail. If we are to use the gravity model to predict how many air mail letters were sent from country i to country j in a particular period, we should ideally want to know the number of letter writers willing to pay the extra fees for air service in a population. Of course such information has never been available, so we must attempt to approximate the number we seek using a *proxy variable*.

Since letter senders were almost by definition people who could read and write, one would think that literacy would be a good proxy variable. Unfortunately, as I soon discovered whilst searching through Google, 1) literacy is not as objective a statistic as one might think, and 2) there are no broad-based statistics on literacy available for the world's nations before about 1990. The best that can be found are anecdotal reports of literacy rates for this or than country at a given time, e.g., the literacy rate was estimated at about 40 per cent in Mexico in 1940. The universe of data to be examined in this study includes 110 nations and colonies during the period 1930 to 1945. Anecdotal reports are insufficient.

Fallback position number one caused me to seek some universally available measure of economic wellbeing with the idea that a population that was better off financially would be more likely to have a higher level of literacy, and hence letter writers. Another extensive Google search finally yielded a site known as Many Eyes that contains, among other things, some historical databases and one of those contained longterm statistics on *per capita gross domestic product (PCGDP)* for almost all of the 109 countries in the universe of this project.¹

The 1935 PCGDP (converted to 1990 international Geary-Khamis dollars) was therefore chosen as a proxy variable to represent the percentage of a

nation's population that was capable of sending letters. This percentage was multiplied by the total population of a country (based on statistics published in the *Premier Edition of Rand McNally World Atlas of* 1929 to supply the Yi and Yj variables for our gravity model.

Trade Cost Variable (Tij)

The trade cost variable—Tij in equation 2—when applied to international air mail flows might be represented by a variety of different variables such as time, distance or postage rates. A good case might be made for transit time since the greater the air mail transit time; the less one would expect postal patrons to opt for that method of delivery. On the other hand, it may be argued that it was just such situations involving lengthy delivery times where postal patrons were most likely to favor accelerated delivery through air mail. The same arguments stand for air postage fees and surcharges.

Writing in the November 2010 issue of *Airpost Journal* in his article on "One Ocean Mail", Bob Wilcsek notes that the air mail rate over the two-ocean route from the U.K. to Hong Kong was five shillings for a ½ ounce air mail letter. He goes on to explain that when one considers inflation and differences in purchasing power, in which five shillings was equivalent in today's economy to 35 pounds sterling or 50 U.S. dollars. As Wilcsek points out:

From mid-1940 to the end of the war, there was absolutely no other way of communicating long distances other than these alternatives (overseas airmail letters by either the one-ocean or two-ocean routes). Businesses could afford it, but families separated great distances in a time of war had to pay up one way or another...

He goes on to state:

Due to the lower postage rate for one-ocean mail, it might be concluded that this mail is more common and easier to find than two-ocean mail. Not so. Both types of mail are scarce, as they represent little-used and expensive forms of airmail, even if one of the services happened to be a little cheaper than the other².

Logic suggests that the greater the time, cost or distance, the smaller the volume of air mail flows between two nations. In general that relationship may hold true, but the case of expensive one and two-ocean mail between the UK and its colonies in Hong Kong, Australia and New Zealand in World War II argues that physical separation alone is not sufficient to deter substantial air mail communications.



Figure 3 London in December1940 had just successfully come through the Battle of Britain, and the demand for fresh news back in Australia was tremendous. The fact that the two-ocean air postage on this cover exceeded 20 shillings (equivalent to \$200 in today's economy) probably had little importance to the Australian Consolidated Press, but for the average person that was a whopping sum of money to send a letter. A Sydney express receiving mark is show as an inset at lower left.

The proxy used in this study to represent the trade cost variable Tij is the airline distance in miles separating the capital (or largest city) in each of the paired countries. While measuring distances between cities in 109 different countries initially sounded like a daunting task, there is a very handy website—*http://www.timeanddate.com/worldclock/distance.html*— that performs the operation almost instantaneously once the names of the two cities are entered in their search engine.

Bilateral Mail Affinity Variables (M)

The pattern of human settlement we know around the globe today has evolved through a series of population movements over thousands of years. Some of these migrations began long before recorded history and we have become aware of thisonly gradually through discoveries of rare artifacts. Other migrations are of far more recent origin and date from just the last 400 years during the era of colonialism. The resultant pattern is a crazy quilt of humanity scattered across most of the earth's land surfaces. Some peoples get along quite well with their neighbors and share with them language,

customs and traditions. Other people hate their neighbors and have been locked in deadly repeated conflicts with them that have stretched over generations.

All of this historical baggage has led us to a matrix of international relations that continues to evolve over time. In the pre-World War II era some nations were allies and some were competitors and even enemies. Some nations served as the "mother country" for far-reaching colonial empires, while others were still remote from the world stage or largely self-absorbed.

There can be little doubt that bilateral relationships had a major impact on the volume of air mail sent between any two countries in the pre-war era. Consider the earlier discussion of expensive one and two-ocean mail. Would those special rates even have been authorized if the countries involved had not been peopled of the same language, culture and tribe? Certainly we could not have expected many Russians or Icelanders to pay the equivalent of \$50 to mail a letter to New Zealand that would arrive more quickly than a normal surface letter. Two variables that certainly rank in the very important category when it comes to understanding bi-lateral air mail flow volumes are colonial affiliation and common language. Any examination of the surviving air mail from Asian and African colonies in the pre-war era will quickly show that the preponderance of mail from French colonies such as Madagascar, Indo China, and Ivory Coast was addressed to France. Air mail from Belgian Congo went to Belgium, from Netherland Indies to Holland and from Angola to Portugal. Similarly air mail from all the many outposts of the British Empire was addressed to the United Kingdom. While we have no way of knowing exactly how much of the total air mail from any given colony was sent to addresses in the "mother county," a non-scientific survey by Bill Clark-a long time collector of British East Africa-of 281 covers mailed from Kenya to foreign addresses during the 1930s found nearly two-thirds addressed to the U.K.³In fact, mail to the U.K. outnumbered mail to the United States and South Africa-the second and third most common destinations respectively-by almost tento-one. Similar statistics appear to be in evidence from scanning the 1930s covers available for Kenya on Jim Forte's website.

The United States had no great colonial empire in the 1930s. Other than the Canal Zone and the Philippines, there were no official colonial relationships with countries beyond the

United States and its integral territories.⁴ There was however a special relationship between the United States and it's neighbors to the south in Central and South America. On December 2, 1823, President James Monroe stated that further efforts by European countries to colonize land or interfere with states in the Americas would be viewed as acts of aggression requiring U.S. intervention. Known as the Monroe Doctrine this became one of the most salient foreign policies of the United States. It was often cited by subsequent U.S. presidents and politicians, including Theodore Roosevelt who used it as a basis for going to war in Cuba, and effectively turned the Western Hemisphere into a United States sphere of influence. There were frequent short-lived military interventions by U.S. forces in the Caribbean and Central America, but for the most part, the overwhelming aspect of American domination was economic. Widespread control of primary natural resources from banana and sugar cane plantations to



Map 1 The United States never had a large colonial empire in the way the British or French did, but our economic dominion over Latin America was clearly reflected in the map of overseas U.S. air mail routes in the 1920s and early 1930s. All involved connections to Central and South America.

timber harvesting to gold, silver and copper mining has been dominated by American corporations. Commercial trade, finance and shipping became lucrative targets of American companies, and by the 1930s American corporations were well on their way to controlling nearly all important aspects of Latin American wholesale and retail trade. There can be no more compelling evidence of this faux American colonial dominance than the development of the first U.S. overseas air mail network during the 1920s and early 1930s (*map 1*).

Because of this bond of economic colonialism, and despite the fact that the native language of Latin American countries is Spanish and Portuguese, the greatest volume of international air mail involving the United States flowed north and south during the pre-war era. While there was a powerful social and political attraction between the US and Europe, it should be recalled that it was not until 1939 that an air mail route was established between the U.S. and the U.K.

UUL'25 Avion Air Mail AIRMAIL Sealt. 1931 PorCorreo Aereo PAR AVION MIT LUFTPOST Y AIRMAIL uerico

Figure 4 This cover was postmarked Brooklyn, NY, July 25, 1930, and addressed to the American Commercial Attache in Bogota, Colombia. Air mail service via Pan American Airways was paid wuth 30 cents US postage and air service within Columbia was paid by a 25 centavos Colombian Scadta air mail stamp. The Scadta stamps were sold in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, New Orleans, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Just as there are positive variables such as common language and shared history that can influence the volume of mail communication between peoples of two a pariah in the eyes of the Western public by the late 1920s and into the 1930s. It was not until 1941, when the western Allies discovered they needed Stalin's

different nations, so are there negative factors that can work to limit the flow of mail. International disputes over politics, land and resources can lead governments to erect barriers to commerce and communications between people and organizations on opposing nations. In extreme cases such disputes can lead to war and an absolute severance of postal contact. Fortunately, most disputes do not reach to level of armed conflict, but they can still have an impact on bilateral postal communications.

The Soviet Revolution of 1918 and subsequent rise of Marxist Socialism caused many Western governments such as France, Britain and the United States a great deal of concern. This concern generated an outpouring of criticism by public officials that was carried by the news media of the day. Official criticism led to government hearings in the United states and the USSR largely became

Ed Fletcher, San Diego, California Can guero USA Kaundopa Ameruka amunica

Figure 5 Although there is no written indicaion that the sender requested air mail service, this 1935 cover from Irkutsk in Siberia to San Diego was franked with an 80 kopek stamp that was appropriate to pay the 20 k domestic air mail rate to Moscow—2600 miles west of Irkutsk, 20 k registry fee and 40 k international air mail from Moscow to Berlin with surface transport beyond Berlin. The transit time of less than three weeks suggests that air service was given.

Transallantic

Figure 6 Prewar air mail covers from the US to USSR are not as common as might be expected given the very large populations of the two nations. This probably reflects a paucity of social, religious and commercial intercourse between the countries when compared to other European nations. This cover was sent from New Hampshire in July 1939 via Atlantic Clipper to an addressee with a non-Russian surname at the Hotel Astoria in Leningrad.

USSR as an ally against Hitler, that the image of the country was refurbished and given a new acceptance by the press and the public.

International air mail connections with the USSR were pioneered in 1926 by the Germans with flights from Berlin to Moscow. This connection remained the primary air mail link with Western nations well into the 1930s, For example, mail addressed to the United States could only be carried by air from Moscow to Berlin with onward service by train and steamer as late as 1939. Evidence in the form of surviving covers from the pre-war era appears to suggest that the overwhelming majority of Russians chose to opt for train service to carry their international mail to Western Europe and thereby avoid the air mail surcharges.⁵

Coupled with the decidedly unfriendly political relations between the Western nations and the USSR in the pre-war era, this lack of popular support for air over train transport managed to limit air mail flows to levels below what might be expected given the size of the country. Examples of surviving air mail from Russia to Germany and other nations of Western Europe are fairly common, but air accelerated mail to places beyond Western Europe from the pre-war era appears to be scarce.

All of these affinity factors may be accounted for in the model by assigning positive and negative weighting as M numbers. Admittedly, this is a highly subjective exercise, but one that appears necessary if the model has any hope of giving an accurate accounting of human behavior. For example, if we consider once again the case of bilateral mail flows from Kenya, evidence suggests that about ten times as much mail was sent from Kenya to Great Britain as the second most popular destination. Based on the model calculated for only weighted population (Yj) and Trade Cost (Tij), mail volume to the UK would have a relative value of 58, a figure considerably less than

the value for the US of 75 due to its much larger population. If these were only two countries that had no particular differences in their relationship to Kenya, then we should conclude that the predictive value of the model is probably accurate. But we know that is far from the case since a large share of the residents of Kenya in the 1930s responsible from generating international air mail were immigrants from the United Kingdom. In order to account for this obvious difference in affinities, we must add a numerical adjustment as an M value sufficiently large to account for the UK's special role as the "mother country." In this case, the author elected to add a value of 100 and to use the same value for similar situations where a "mother country" augmentation appears necessary. It could be argued that the value might have been larger or smaller, but the model is not intended to be an accurate predictor of absolute air mail flows; merely to show the relative size of bilateral flows.

Three National Examples

The model has been applied to estimate bilateral prewar air mail flows for three different nations: the United States, Australia and Kenya. These nations were chosen in an effort to present examples from different continents and as a result of the author's collecting interests and familiarity with the pre World War II history including international relations and population composition of the countries. In each case the model has been applied in the form

$$Xji = K Yj/Tij + M$$
 [3]

where Xji is the predicted magnitude of air mail sent from nation j to the country of interest, Yj is the 1930 population of nation j weighted by 1935 per capita GDP, Tij is the airline distance in miles between the capital or largest city in both nations and M is a affinity variable that may be positive, negative or zero depending upon characteristics of the various bilateral relationships that might impact the flow of mail. The K constant multiplier has been set equal to one throughout.

Although the model is formulated to calculate only incoming mail, the assumption is that outgoing mail to each nation would be proportional. Since the intent is to estimate relative rather than absolute volume of international air mail flows, this assumption should not affect the outcomes.

THE UNITED STATES

Map 2 depicts the estimated volume of pre-war bilateral air mail flows between the United States and 108 countries and colonies divided into five roughly equal groups ranging from highest volumes to lowest vol-



Figure 7 An air acclerated cover from Madagascar to the US in 1935. Air service via Imperial Airways to Brindisi, Italy; air to France via Air france and steamer to USA. Franked at 4F50c—the published rate plus air surtax, it appears that an additional tax was indicated. The model predicts that air mail between the US and Madagascar during the pre-war era should be quite scarce. Picirilli (2011) lists only 17 covers from Madagascar to the US with dates from 1936 through 1941.

umes. *Table 1* presents the same information arranged in descending rank order according to quintile. The pattern of high volume bilateral flows is about what one would expect with Latin American and Western European nations dominant. China, India, and South Africa combine with smaller nations of Latin America, Western and Central European to fill out the second highest quintile.



Map 2 Theoretical bilateral air mail flows to/from USA divided into quintiles. The higher the quintile, the greater the calculated flow of air mail and the more common the covers to and from that nation. Please consult the color coded version of this map available on the cover of this issue and in the digital edition.

Table 1 Theoretical bilateral air mail flows to/from USA with other countries in descending rank order				
Highest Qunitile	Second Quintile	Th1rd Quintile	Fourth Quintile	Lowest Quintile
CANADA GREAT BRITAIN GERMANY FRANCE ITALY MEXICO SPAIN BRAZIL ARGENTINA COLOMBIA IRELAND AUSTRALIA NETHERLANDS BELGIUM NEWFOUNDLAND VENEZUELA PANAMA CUBA POLAND SWITZERLAND CHILE	PHILIPPINE ISLANDS NEW ZEALAND GUATEMALA HAITI PALESTINE CZECHOSLOVAKIA AUSTRIA EL SALVADOR ECUADOR SWEDEN PERU HONDURAS NICARAGUA COSTA RICA PARAGUAY CHINA INDIA UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA BOLIVIA DENMARK HUNGARY	ROMANIA YUGOSLAVIA CEYLON MALAY STATES LIBERIA TURKEY NIGERIA HONG KONG STRAIT SETTLEMENTS KENYA BRITISH GUINANA EGYPT MONACO USSR GREECE NORWAY PORTUGAL PERSIA JAPAN DUTCH EAST INDIES FINLAND SURINAM	KOREA (CHOSEN) SUDAN BULGARIA ALGERIA GOLD COAST MOROCCO FRENCH INDO CHINA BELGIAN CONGO UGANDA TANGANYIKA SIERRA LEONE LITHUANIA NORTHERN RHODESIA SOUTH WEST AFRICA AFGHANISTAN LATVIA FIJI ISLANDS ZANZIBAR ADEN SIAM SYRIA	ESTONIA IRAQ ANGOLA TUNISIA SAUDI ARABIA ETHIOPIA MOZAMBIQUE NEPAL MADAGASCAR FRENCH SUDAN IVORY COAST YEMEN FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA LUXEMBOURG ALBANIA LIBYA ICELAND ERITREA FRENCH GUIANA GREENLAND
	URUGUAY	FRENCH WEST AFRICA		

The lowest volume air mail flows to and from the United States are predicted for African colonies and a few smaller non-English speaking countries and colonies in Asia. The data underlying *map 3* is summarized in *table A-1*, which may be found in Appendix A beginning on page 81 of the digital edition of this issue. A sample of table A-1 is shown here for convenience in figure 8.

Plates 1 and 2 display a selection of prewar air mail covers sent to and from the United States and countries and colonies in Africa and Asia.

Country	Population 1930 (millions)	Distance US- Country A (thousand miles)	GDP per Capita 1935 (thousand \$)	B*D/C	Language	Affinity	Mail Volume
CANADA	9.52	0.441	3.37	72.7	3	8	83.7
GREAT BRITAIN	47.40	3.963	5.148	61.6	3		64.6
GERMANY	62.57	4.415	3.556	50.4			50.4
FRANCE	40.74	4.147	4.192	41.2			41.2
ITALY	40.58	4.832	2.894	24.3			24.3
MEXICO	15.50	1.683	1.574	14.5		8	22.5
SPAIN	22.13	4.192	2.556	13.5			13.5
BRAZIL	37.35	5.285	1.142	8.1		5	13.1
ARGENTINA	10.87	5.56	3.621	7.1		5	12.1
COLOMBIA	7.83	2.696	1.577	4.6		5	9.6
IRELAND	2.97	3.672	2.972	2.4	2	5	9.4
AUSTRALIA	6.26	9.236	4.564	3.1	1	5	9.1
NETHERLANDS	7.53	4.121	4.956	9.1			9.1
BELGIUM	7.87	4.154	4.681	8.9			8.9
NEWFOUNDLAND	0.26	1.752	3.37	0.5	3	5	8.5
VENEZUELA	3.03	2.498	2.831	3.4	5		8.4
PANAMA	0.45	2.32	2	0.4		8	8.4
CUBA	3.58	1.326	1.196	3.2		5	8.2
POLAND	29.59	4.682	1.593	10.1		-2	8.1
SWITZERLAND	3.96	4.417	5.966	5.3		2	7.3
CHILE	4.00	5.292	2.655	2.0		5	7.0
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	11.41	8.139	1.348	1.9		5	6.9
NEW ZEALAND	1.34	8.189	4.327	0.7	1	5	6.7
GUATEMALA	2.00	1.881	1.358	1.4		5	6.4
HAITI	2.50	1.844	1	1.4		5	6.4
PALESTINE	0.85	6.203	2	0.3	1	5	6.3
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	14.36	4.552	2.552	8.1		-2	6.1
AUSTRIA	6.54	4.701	2.833	3.9		2	5.9
EL SALVADOR	1.66	1.943	0.922	0.8		5	5.8
ECUADOR	2.00	2.953	1	0.7		5	5.7
SWEDEN	6.07	4.287	3.991	5.7			5.7
PERU	5.55	3.775	1.74	2.6		3	5.6
HONDURAS	0.77	1.913	1.372	0.6		5	5.6
NICARAGUA	0.65	2.05	1.456	0.5		5	5.5
COSTA RICA	0.52	2.205	1.66	0.4		5	5.4

Figure 8 A portion of table 1 that presents the statistical data upon which the theoretical air mail flows were calculated. The complete table is published in Appendix A in the digital version of this issue beginning on page 81.



Plate 1 Pre-WWII air mail and air accelerated mail from selected countries and colonies in Africa and Asia to the United States. Clockwise from upper right: Liberia, Belgian Congo, Syria (Lebanon), Ceylon, Hong Kong, Siam (Thailand), French Indo China (Viet Nam), Gold Coast (Ghana) and Sudan.

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Plate 2 Pre-WWII air mail and air accelerated mail from the United States to selected countries and colonies in Africa and Asia. Clockwise from upper right: Senegal, Tanganyika, Burma, Syria (Lebanon), Singapore, Japan, Ceylon, South Africa, Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Belgian Congo.



Map 3 Theoretical bilateral air mail flows to/from Australia divided into quintiles. The higher the quintile, the greater the calculated flow of air mail and the more common the covers to and from that nation. Please consult the color coded version of this map in the digital edition.

AUSTRALIA

Map 3 displays the predicted volumes of bilateral air mail flows between Australia and 108 countries divided into quintiles. There are some interesting similarities and differences between this and the US pattern shown in *map 2*. Since both the US and Australia have largely English-speaking populations it would be logical to expect both to have high mail volumes with separating Sydney from London, and that meant staying in touch through the mails.

Britain's Imperial Airways had linked with Australia's Qantas in 1934 to offer air mail service over the entire distance separating the two populations and the Empire Air Mail Scheme, introduced August 1, 1938, made it possible to stay in touch by air mail with the folks across the seas for the same price as a letter carried

other English-speaking nations and colonies and the maps confirm that expectation. Unlike the Americans in the 1930s however, Australians saw themselves as an integral part of the British Commonwealth and most regarded the United Kingdom as the mother country. The king was still legally the Australian head of state and, more importantly, most Australian families still maintained close ties with family and friends in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. At least as close as was possible given the 10,000 miles



Figure 9 The overwhelming majority of non-Aboriginal Australians were of British heritage, but Germans and other western and southern Europeans comprised sizeable minorities in pre-WWII Australia.

GREAT BRITAIN UNITED STATESNORTHERN RHODESIA SOUTHERN RHODESIAGOLD COAST SIERRA LEONE PORTUGALVENEZUELA PORTUGALECUADOR TUNISIANEW ZEALAND INDIAFUI ISLANDSBRITISH GUINANA PHILIPPINE ISLANDSBULGARIA FRENCH WEST AFRICA PHILIPPINE ISLANDSFRENCH WEST AFRICA FRENCH WEST AFRICA UNION OF SOUTH BELGIUMBRITISH GUINANA HEAQ URUGUAYBULGARIA FRENCH WEST AFRICA AFRICA URUGUAY URUGUAY EL SALVADOR UVORY COAST GERMANYSWITZERLAND SWITZERLANDZANZIBAR ARGENTINA MEXICOBOLIVIA MEXICO MONACOPARAGUAY FRENCH SUDAN HONDURAS DUTCH EAST INDIES DATA HUNGARY RALAY STATESSPAIN ROMANIA ALSTATESMONDACO ALGERIA FRENCH SUDAN FRENCH INDO CHINA HUNGARY ROMANIASYRIA SYRIA PANAMA MALAY STATES AUSTRIA ALSTATESBRAZIL FRENCH FRENCH SUDAN FRENCH SIGRA ALSTATES AUSTRIA ALSTARETURKEY ROMANIA SYRIA PANAMA SYRIA SYRIA ALGARAGUAMOROCCO LUXEMBOURG LIBANIA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALGARAGUACOLOMBIA ANGOCCO ANDAGASCAR ALGANDA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALBANIA ALGARAGUACOLOMBIA ANGOLAANGOLA ALGARAGUA ALGANDA ALGANDA ALGANDAAGREACE CEYLON NEGRIA CEYLON NETHERLANDS ALGOL-EGYPTIAN ALGANDABELGIAN CONGO ALGARAGUA ALBANA ALBANA ALBANA ALBANA ALGANDACUBA ALGANA ALGANA ALGANA ALGANAAGREACE CEYLON NORWAY ALGONDAFILLAND ALGANDA ALGANDACUBA ALGANDA ALGANDA ALGANDA	Highest Quintile	Second Quintile	Third Quintile	Fourth Quintile	Lowest Quintile
	GREAT BRITAIN UNITED STATES NEW ZEALAND INDIA UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA GERMANY STRAIT SETTLEMENTS FRANCE DUTCH EAST INDIES CANADA MALAY STATES IRELAND ITALY HONG KONG KENYA PALESTINE NIGERIA EGYPT CEYLON	NORTHERN RHODESIA SOUTHERN RHODESIA FIJI ISLANDS SOUTH WEST AFRICA BELGIUM ARGENTINA SWITZERLAND SPAIN NEWFOUNDLAND BRAZIL HUNGARY AUSTRIA POLAND DENMARK SIAM CZECHOSLOVAKIA GREECE SWEDEN ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN	GOLD COAST SIERRA LEONE BRITISH GUINANA PHILIPPINE ISLANDS IRAQ MEXICO ZANZIBAR MONACO ADEN FRENCH INDO CHINA ROMANIA TURKEY PERSIA USSR CHILE COLOMBIA PERU LIBERIA BELGIAN CONGO NORWAY	VENEZUELA PORTUGAL BULGARIA FRENCH WEST AFRICA URUGUAY KOREA (CHOSEN) BOLIVIA ALGERIA MOZAMBIQUE LITHUANIA SYRIA MADAGASCAR MOROCCO AFGHANISTAN LATVIA ANGOLA CUBA NEPAL ETHIOPIA SAUDI ARABIA	ECUADOR TUNISIA FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA EL SALVADOR IVORY COAST PARAGUAY FRENCH SUDAN HONDURAS NICARAGUA PANAMA COSTA RICA LUXEMBOURG ALBANIA LIBYA ICELAND SURINAM ERITREA FRENCH GUIANA
		CHINA UGANDA	FINLAND	GUATEMALA HAITI	

by steamer. Unfortunately, the "All-Up" scheme, as it was affectionately known, was one of the early casualties of World War II. In September 1939 air mail rates reverted to pre-1938 levels.

Another similarity in the bilateral air mail volume patterns of the US and Australia is the strong relationship with non-English speaking Western European nations. France, Germany, Holland and Italy all rank high in air mail exchange flows with both the US and Australia. This reflects not only the advanced commercial economies of those nations, but also the fact

that migrants from each made up significant minorities of both the US and Australian populations. Virtually all nations of Western Europe ranked within the top two quintiles of mail flows to and from the US and Australia.

Important differences in the flow patterns of the two countries occur in the case of Latin America where only two nations—Brazil and Argentina—rank above average in air mail flows with Australia, but virtually all of the Latin American states are listed in the top two quintiles of air mail exchanges with the United States. This no doubt relates to the special relationship proclaimed by the Monroe Doctrine and the attendant early development of an air mail network linking the US with Latin America discussed earlier.

On the other hand, Australia shows a pattern of bilateral relationships in Asia and Africa that reflects its position in the British Commonwealth. Colonies with substantial numbers of British settlers, soldiers and bureaucrats such as Malaya, India, Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa all rank in the highest quintile of air



Figure 10 Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) had a white population of less than 75 thousand in the pre-war period, but most of these were of British ancestry and many had friends and family in Australia



Plate 3 A selection of pre-WWII air mail and air accelerated covers to and from Australia and other nations and colonies presents an attractive display and a challenge to understanding the various bilateral air mail rates and surcharges they represent.

mail exchange with Australia. Only giant India among those listed ranks above average in US air mail exchanges, and that is probably attributable to pre-war missionary activity in the subcontinent as much as anything else.

Table A-2 in Appendix A present a summary of the data used to compile *map 3*.

Kenya

Map 4 illustrates the pattern of bilateral air mail flows between Kenya and 108 countries and colonies. *Table 3* presents the same information. In the 1930s there were over 20,000 British colonists as well as lesser numbers of other Western Europeans living in Kenya's Highlands.



Figure 11 Indians filled an important niche in Kenya's pre-WWII population. Originally brought into the colony during the early 20th century to assist with rail construction and infrastructure development, many families remained in Kenya and became the shopkeepers and professionals that made up the colony's urban middle class. Because of their presence, India ranks second only to Great Britain in terms of bilateral air mail flows.

As was the case with Australia, there was a keen desire on the part of the colonists to keep close ties with the folks back home in the United Kingdom. Imperial Airways pioneered an air mail route to Kenya in 1931 to assist the process of keeping in touch, and in July 1937 postal patrons in Kenya benefited from the first phase roll-out of Imperial's All-Up scheme.



Map 4 Theoretical bilateral air mail flows to/from Kenya divided into quintiles. The higher the quintile, the greater the calculated flow of air mail and the more common the covers to and from that nation. Please consult the color coded version of this map in the digital edition.



Plate 4 A selection of pre-WWII air mail and air accelerated covers to and from Kenya and other nations and colonies.

The pattern of high volume bilateral flows looks fairly similar to that predicted for Australia. English-speaking countries and colonies such as Canada, Australia, the UK and the United States all rank high as bilateral mail partners with Kenya as do the Western European nations. A point of emphasis must be made here. While the United States appears as a very high volume air mail partner from Kenya's perspective—second only to Great Britain as a source and destination of international air mail—compare Kenya's ranking on *map 2* that shows bilateral air mail flow volumes

from a US perspective. The apparent contradiction is explained by the fact the overall volume of air mail flowing into and out of the United States vastly exceeded that of Kenya. So, even though we assume here that the number of pieces of air mail flowing between Kenya and the US is approximately the same, the numbers amount to a substantial contribution to the total bilateral flow of Kenya's air mail, but only enough in the US total to rank Kenya as a middle range contributor. In addition, given the varying worldwide collector demands for pre-war international air mail,

Table 3 Theoretical bilateral air mail flows to/from Kenya with other countries in descending rank order				
Highest Quintile	2nd Quintile	3rd Quintile	4th Quintile	Lowest Quintile
GREAT BRITAIN	BRAZIL	GOLD COAST	BRITISH GUINANA	NEPAL
INDIA	NIGERIA	MALAY STATES	SYRIA	IVORY COAST
UNITED STATES	PALESTINE	ETHIOPIA	FIJI ISLANDS	CUBA
UNION OF SOUTH	SPAIN	DENMARK	ALGERIA	FRENCH SUDAN
AFRICA	NEW ZEALAND	SIERRA LEONE	SIAM	HAITI
GERMANY	STRAIT SETTLEMENTS	YUGOSLAVIA	SAUDI ARABIA	GUATEMALA
FRANCE	ROMANIA	ADEN	CHINA	ECUADOR
ITALY	POLAND	KOREA (CHOSEN)	COLOMBIA	LUXEMBOURG
UGANDA	HONG KONG	MEXICO	LIBERIA	ALBANIA
TANGANYIKA	TURKEY	PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	YEMEN	LIBYA
IRELAND	SOUTH WEST AFRICA	DUTCH EAST INDIES	MOROCCO	PARAGUAY
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN	BELGIAN CONGO	BULGARIA	IRAQ	EL SALVADOR
SUDAN	CEYLON	FRENCH INDO CHINA	CHILE	HONDURAS
EGYPT	ARGENTINA	MADAGASCAR	LITHUANIA	ERITREA
ZANZIBAR	HUNGARY	PORTUGAL	VENEZUELA	PANAMA
SWITZERLAND	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	ANGOLA	PERU	NICARAGUA
CANADA	SWEDEN	NORWAY	FRENCH EQUATORIAL	COSTA RICA
NORTHERN RHODESIA	PERSIA	FRENCH WEST AFRICA	AFRICA	ICELAND
SOUTHERN RHODESIA	GREECE	FINLAND	LATVIA	SURINAM
BELGIUM	USSR	AFGHANISTAN	URUGUAY	MONACO
NETHERLANDS	NEWFOUNDLAND	MOZAMBIQUE	ESTONIA	FRENCH GUIANA
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRIA	JAPAN	BOLIVIA	GREENLAND
			TUNISIA	

the author has found that it is much easier today to locate examples of air mail addressed to the US from Kenya than it is to find US air mail addressed to Kenya. It seems unlikely that this situation will long continue as more and more air mail collectors begin to broaden their perspectives.

Table A-3 in Appendix A presents a summary of the data used to compile *map 4.(See page 81 digital ed.)*

Inbound versus Outbound

Before concluding, I would like to raise one additional topic related to the matter of scarcity. Earlier in this article I stated that the flow of air mail between two countries was beleved to be proportional. I believe that to be true. For example, we would expect the amount of air mail posted from the US to Brazil to be approximately the same as the amount of air mailed from Brazil to the US. And yet, my experience with the market suggests that air mail covers inbound to the US from another nation are usually more commonly found than air mail outbound to that same nation. This does not mean that there was a wide disparity in the volume of the flows; simply that the survival of examples to the US has been greater within the US market. That certainly makes sense, but, as we are now just beginning to see the development of a worldwide market for 20th century air mail postal history, I would expect to see an increasing number of covers from the US outbound to foreign addesses coming home by way of internet auctions such as eBay and overseas dealers who become aware of the demand for such material.

Much work needs to be done before we can assign a significant degree of confidence to the scarcity predictions generated by the gravity model. On the whole they appear to have merit, but the author would be most grateful for the comments of interested readers. Please email me at rwhelbock@la-posta.com if you have comments, suggestions or criticisms.

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Tinbergen, J. .Shaping the World Economy. Suggestions for an International Economic Policy,. New York, 1962

ENDNOTES:

1 http://www-958.ibm.com/software/data/cognos/manyeyes/ datasets/historical-gdp-per-capita-1990-inter/versions/1

2 Wilcsek, Bob, "One-Ocean Mail" in *Airpost Journal*, Vol. 81, No.11 (Nov 2010), pp. 450-460.

3 Bill Clark of Scotland in private e-mail correspondence of December 7, 2010.

4 Alaska, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa and Puerto Rico were considered integral parts of the United States from a postal standpoint in that they had U.S. post offices and used U.S. postage.

5 Based on a survey of several hundred 1930-1941 cards and covers offered for sale on Ebay in December 2010 and through Jim Forte's extensive listing of worldwide postal history at *http://www.postalhistory.com/index.htm*

Appendix A is available only in the digital edition beginning on page 81.

The Postmasters General of the United States

L. James A. Farley, 1933-1940

by Daniel Y. Meschter

Probably James A. Farley is more familiar to stamp collectors than any other postmaster general due to his connection with the Franklin Roosevelt administration and especially for his flood of popular issues.

However, that familiarity was not easily won. The grandson of Irish Catholic immigrants, he well knew the virulent anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudices that raged especially in eastern cities until well into the 20th century. Through strength of personality and a deeply ingrained understanding of the world around him, he overcame these obstacles to a career in both politics and business until he was equally at ease in corporate board room as in the smoke-filled backrooms where the kingmakers wove the fabric of America's political future. In a very real sense, Farley's appointment as Postmaster General was one of his lesser triumphs.

James Aloysius Farley was born on May 30, 1888 in Grassy Point, New York, one of five sons born to James and Ellen Farley. Grassy Point was a hamlet on the west shore of the Hudson River thirty-five miles north of New York City. Its sole industry was brick making, using glacial clays in the banks of the river. James Farley, Sr. was a part owner of both brickyards and a small fleet of schooners used to haul bricks to building contractors in the city. He died as the result of an accident when his son, James, was only nine. In any event, the Farley family was not poor.

James went to work in a brickyard at twelve and then in his mother's grocery store and saloon when he was old enough. He thus began his business career as a clerk in the one and bartender in the other¹. Meanwhile, he attended local schools and graduated from Stony Point High School at seventeen. He enrolled that fall in the bookkeeping curriculum at the Packard Commercial School in New York City. Completing that program in 1906, he found employment with the Universal Gypsum Company. In 1926 he founded James A. Farley & Co. which he merged with several small companies in 1929 to form the General Builders Supply Corporation of which he was president until 1933. Politics, however, was his passion that business could not displace. Leaving his position with Universal Gypsum, he returned to Stony Point, a few miles west of Grassy Point. His election as town clerk in 1912 was followed by appointment as Chairman of the Rockland County Democratic Committee (1918) and election to the New York State Assembly (1922-23). He supported

> Alfred E. Smith for governor in 1922 and assured his election by cultivating the long neglected upstate rural Democrats. Smith reciprocated by appointing him Chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission. It was in this office that Farley obtained national notoriety for insisting Jack Dempsey fight Harry Willis for the heavy weight championship. Willis was far and away the most highly qualified challenger, but Dempsey refused to fight him because Willis was black. Farley did manage to ban Dempsey from fighting Gene Tunney in New York. However, this public stand proved an invaluable asset for the Democratic Party and laid the foundation for the

Negro bloc for Roosevelt's New Deal to come.

Taken together with Farley's ability to deliver the increasingly important "Irish" vote and his influence with rural or "farm" voters, he was recognized as the Party's power broker who would lead the Party to its ultimate victory. Tall, portly, he was an imposing figure with boundless energy

In 1930, Herbert Hoover was President following his decisive victory over Alfred E. Smith in the 1928 election. Smith became President of the Empire State Corporation, but wondered if a Catholic could ever be elected president.

Walter F. Brown was Postmaster General busily reorganizing the air mail system. James A. Farley was president of the General Builders Supply Corporation and was promoted from Secretary to Chairman of the New York State Central Democratic Committee. At the same time he was shifting his support from Al Smith to New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt following the Democrats taking control of the House and near equal representation in the Senate in the 1930 election when he added the chairmanship of the National Democratic Central Committee to his list of influential posts.



James A. Farley

It would be hard to understate Farley's personal triumph in the 1932 election for which after years of activity he was able to deliver the black vote outside of the Deep South and the Irish, farm, and labor blocs to the ticket headed by Franklin Roosevelt with 57% of the vote that was exceeded only by his incredible 61% in his first reelection in 1936, together with overwhelming majorities in Congress during his entire presidency. Farley's reward was appointment as Postmaster General, the least of the cabinet posts when Commerce or Labor or even Agriculture would have been much more suited to his abilities. The Post Office Department by this time was so rigidly organized the postmaster general was little more than a figure head.

Farley took office as Postmaster General on March 4, 1933 and is noted chiefly for his postage stamp policy; the Senate's air mail hearings; bringing first, second, and third class postmasters under civil service; and his continuous campaigning.

Farley, of course, was aware of the increasing demand from collectors for new issues in mint or unused condition being put out by the Post Office Department. The advantage to the Post Office was that a large part of the revenue from these stamps was pure profit since many would wind up in stamp albums and never be used to pay for postage.

In seven and a half years in office Farley supervised the issuance of more than 200 postage stamps including the colorful and always popular National Parks set and the omnibus Presidentials of 1938 depicting the first 29 presidents from Washington to Coolidge. Often referred to as "the Prexies," the collection of covers franked with a single stamp paying the correct postage and fees for the usage has become a popular and often difficult objective.

Shortly after taking office he began visiting the Bureau of Engraving and Printing where he was given, or maybe purchased, panes of a number of new issues as they came off the presses without gum or perforation. Farley presented some of them to the President who was a serious stamp collector himself and to other government officials as souvenirs.

However, as soon as the public became aware of these varieties, collectors recognized them as collectable on their own merits and demanded opportunity to purchase examples for their own collections. Roosevelt and Farley had to agree. Farley prepared issues of twenty different stamps in this format, including the National Parks, in imperforate panes without gum (except for the Newburgh and Byrd issues). Formally known as the Farley Special Issues, they are often referred to as "Farley's Follies."

The most important crisis during Farley's tenure was the air mail scandal, although it was less of a scandal and more of a political scheme to discredit the Hoover administration than to remedy defects in the management of air mail contracts. Under the Air Mail Act of 1930 Postmaster General Walter F. Brown had virtually unlimited authority to modify even existing contracts and to issue contracts at his own discretion². In fact, he rearranged the long distance routes and awarded their contracts to the three largest and best financed airline companies: United Aircraft and Transportation Corporation, Transcontinental and Western (TWA), and American Airways, which he viewed as stimulating the aviation industry. It was not until September 1933 that the Senate Committee on Ocean Mail and Air Mail took notice of complaints filed by some of the smaller airline companies who said they were being unfairly frozen out of the air mail contracting business.

The Committee's chairman, Senator Hugo Black of Alabama, a loyal New Deal activist, smelled scandal he could use to blame the Republicans of improper and unethical management. He shortly announced he had found evidence of fraud and collusion between the Hoover administration and the airline companies and established a Special Senate Committee to investigate the matter at hearings held in January 1934. The obvious partisan politics involved in an investigation by a democratically controlled committee into what its chairman had already branded a Republican scandal raised questions as to its objectivity and ethics.

Walter Brown willingly appeared before the committee doubtless because it gave him a forum to defend his methods and the benefits of his policies. He could point out the increased efficiencies made possible by his choices of major airlines to fly the longer distance routes and how they had reduced the costs of transporting mail by air by half from \$1.10 to \$0.54 per mile.

Meanwhile, on January 9th two postal clerks testified that acting on the postmaster's orders, Brown's secretary had burned official and personal files at the end of the Hoover administration³. However, ten days later Brown informed Farley that the files reported burned had been found and personally delivered them to Farley⁴. The end of the affair came when Farley admitted under oath he authorized payment out of Democratic National Committee funds of \$25 a month each to the two postal clerks who testified that Brown had "burned" these files to "supplement" their salaries⁵.

It appeared to the President by the first week of February that Black's committee had accomplished very little and that the situation justified positive, even drastic action if necessary. The essence of Roosevelt's solution to what he now considered a failure to serve the public interest was to substitute the Army Air Corps for the airline carriers.

At a cabinet meeting on February 9th, Secretary of War George Dern, without bothering to consult either Army Chief of Staff Douglas McArthur or Chief of the Air Corps Benjamin Foulois, assured Roosevelt that the Army could deliver the mail as well as the airline contractors. He was wrong!

The President solved the problem of the existing air mail contracts by ordering Postmaster General Farley to annul all outstanding air mail contracts and signed Executive Order 6591 that afternoon directing the Army to fly the mail under the direction of the postmaster general, effective February 19th.

Dern's confidence in the Army Air Corps was badly misplaced. The inaugural flights were limited to one from Kansas City to St. Louis. The rest were grounded by blizzard conditions.

The planes the Army assigned unfortunately were mostly obsolete, open cockpit fighters technologically years behind the up-to-date craft operated by the private contractors. Worse, the Army held back its experienced pilots and assigned mostly inexperienced pilots from the Army Reserve Corps to the mail service. These pilots had little or training in either cross country flying or the use of such instruments as the Army might have equipped their planes. Two pilots were killed on February 22nd in crashes in Texas and Ohio and four more on March 8th and 9th for a total of ten before Roosevelt suspended operatiions on March 11th for safety considerations.

In the interim before the Army resumed operations on March 19th, its pilots were given crash courses in instrument flying and safety, but it was now obvious that the Army's aircraft and the training and experience of its pilots were vastly inferior to the planes now coming off production lines and the ability of commercial pilots experienced in flying mail routes. Transition back to commercial airlines began with temporary contracts effective May 8th with the last Army flight on June 6, 1934, completing 78 days of Army Air Corps mail operations. Meanwhile, Senator Black and his staff drafted a bill designed to punish the air line companies and their officers who had benefited from Brown's administration of the Airmail Act of 1930 by excluding them from any future airmail contracts. The bill sailed through Congress⁶.

The air line companies evaded their penalties simply by changing their names as, for example, American Airways to American Air Lines and United Aircraft and Transportation Corporation to United Air Lines, Inc. The Act also separated air line companies from airplane manufacturers. The Act limited the jurisdiction of the Post Office to awarding route contracts and, of course, managing mail shipments. The initial contracts were limited to one year and the maximum compensation for carrying air mail was set at a fraction of the rates in the 1930 Act so as to assure no carrier could make profit carrying mail. The intent of the Act here was to minimize the jurisdiction the Post Office had once exercised over commercial aviation.

The air line companies whose contracts had been canceled by Farley's order at once brought law suits in local courts having jurisdiction in their districts. These generally were brought individually⁷. One case even got so far as to be refused a hearing on appeal by the U.S. Supreme Court. The courts dismissed all on various grounds including Farley's authority as a Federal agent to act.

Finally, six former contractors headed by United Air Lines and Boeing filed suit in the U.S. Court of Claims asking for \$3,365,000 damages. In the mish-mash of litigation pending, it is not completely certain whether this is the case the Court of Claims ruled on in 1941 upholding the President's authority to cancel those air mail contracts. More to the point, it found no evidence of fraud or collusion in Brown's awarding those contracts under the Air Mail Act of 1930.

Not the least of Farley's accomplishments was drafting an executive order for Roosevelt's signature in July 1936 that brought all 13,730 first, second, and third class postmasters under the Civil Service merit system, thus joining the 35,000 fourth class postmasters President Taft covered in October 1912⁸.

Farley's duties as postmaster general probably were far from demanding because at the same time he also was Chairman of the New York State Democratic Central Committee and of the National Democratic Central Committee. Above all else he was a party activist who never stopped campaigning.

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According to a correspondent for *Time* magazine in the spring of 1940 approaching the end of Roosevelt's second term in office and a presidential election scheduled for that fall, the top-bracket Democrat to succeed Roosevelt was John Nance Garner, Roosevelt's vice president, whom the *Time* correspondent decided wasn't going to receive any presidential blessing "until the last dragged-out moment before the 1940 Convention"⁹. But Garner had no illusions. He retired to his Texas ranch where he outlived Roosevelt by more than twenty years.

The second Democrat to realize that no presidential blessing was going to come his way either was James A. Farley, Postmaster General and whom *Time* called the "Politician Plenipotentiary to the New Deal." It asserted "Big Jim Farley" knew 10,000, maybe 20,000, people all across the United States by first name and that he traveled 75,000 miles a year "seeing and hearing more people, reading and writing more personal letters than any man in the U.S."

One trip late in Roosevelt's first term was to the mid west and the "solid south" and another in 1938 was to California, Alaska, and the western states. In his final trip described in *Time* in the spring of 1940 he traveled 3,500 miles through twelve mid western and southern states, visited 57 towns and cities, gave 35 formal addresses, and attended ten state conventions of the National Association of Post-masters, all in twelve days¹⁰. The purpose of all of his travels was to confirm Roosevelt's popularity and certainty of re-election.

The overwhelming political issue in the spring of 1940 was: "Who will succeed Roosevelt," assuming he would recognize the tradition of presidents limiting their tenure to two terms in honor of George Washington retiring after two terms.

On July 7th, en route to Chicago to prepare for the 1940 Democratic National Convention, Farley stopped at Hyde Park for a confidential tete-à-tete with Roosevelt. The *Times* guessed they discussed Roosevelt's decision to run for a third term, but neither would this have been a surprise to Farley in view of his intimate knowledge of party "secrets" nor Roosevelt's most important directive affecting Farley personally¹¹. It was announced later that afternoon that Farley would not accept re-election as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, that he would not run the 1940 presidential campaign, and would quit the Cabinet after the convention. In other words, Roosevelt read him out of the Party or was so secure

in his dominance of the political process he could afford to ignore the threat someone as powerful as Farley as long as he was still in the Party. The real threat was that Farley was planning to run for president himself. It was said that Farley quit the party in protest of Roosevelt's running for a third term.

Things didn't happen quite as fast as these reports suggest. Farley discussed his withdrawal as Chairman of the National Committee at the Chicago Convention, agreeing to continue as Chairman until August 15th. It was not until August 9th that he gave notice of his intent to resign as Postmaster General effective August 31st, thus severing his final tie to the New Deal¹².

Meanwhile he said he was preparing to re-enter the business world. He mentioned that he was a member of a syndicate negotiating to buy the New York Yankees baseball teem of which he would become the head when the deal was completed¹³. Then, on August 11th he announced his appointment as Chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corporation¹⁴. Finally, he somehow re-established his old association with the General Builders Supply Corporation of which he later accepted re-election as its president in 1949.

For the next twenty years Farley both assumed the role of a wealthy businessman and aspired to public office. His name was put in nomination for President at the 1940 Democratic Contention. His later aspirations were blocked by the succession of Truman and then Eisenhower. He supported conservative candidates for state offices without much success. Finally he ran for governor in 1958 and 1962 only to find that time had passed him by.

Farley always was a personally popular, well-met fellow. He belonged to many social and charitable organizations and received numerous honorary degrees from colleges and universities and not least was much in demand as an after dinner speaker. He lived in a suite in the Waldorf Towers his last few years. He died suddenly of a cardiac arrest while preparing to go out for the evening on June 9, 1976, ten days after his 88th birthday. He remains to this day a giant in American political history.

(Endnotes)

1 See Vexler; Rosen, Eliot A.. "James A. Farley," article in *American National Biography:* and *New York Times*, June 10, 1976 for biographical sketches of James A. Farley. There is a voluminous literature on his political and business careers including numerous press reports and two memoirs: *Behind the Ballots* [1938] and *Jim Farley's Story* [1948].

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2 Act of April 19, 1930, 46 Stat 259.	9	<i>Time</i> April 22, 1940.
3 NYT, January 10, 1934.	10	Id.
4 NYT, January 20, 1934.	11	NYT, July 8, 1940.
5 NYT, January 31, 1934.	12	NYT, August 9, 1940.
6 Act of June 12, 1934, 48 Stat 933.	13	NYT, July 10, 1940.
7 This litigation was summarized in YT, June 5, 1935.	14	NYT, August 11 1940.
8 NYT, July 23, 1936, October 16, 1912, p. 18.		

Editor's Note: The table below was inteded to be published with Part 49 that appeared in the Spring issue. Our apologies to Dan Meschter and our readers.

TABLE I – Airmail rates and stamps, 1918-1932

A. Airmail Rates

- 5-10-18, Act, 40 Stat 548, Authorizes PMG to set airmail rates not to exceed 24 cents/o,
- 5-11-18, Order 1443, effective 5-15-18, set rate of postage at 24 cents/oz. including 10 cents special delivery.
- 6-26-18, Order 1617, reduced airmail rate to 16 cents/or, including 10 cents special delivery and 6 cents each additional ounce.
- 11-30-18, Order 2415, effective 12-15-18, air mail rate set at 6 cents/oz, special delivery charged separately if desired.
- 7-18-19, Order 3336, effective 7-18-19, sets air mail rate at 2 cents/oz.
- 6-30-24, Order 3713, sets air mail rate at 8 cents/oz for each of three zones (NY to Chicago, Chicago to Cheyenne, Cheyenne to San Francisco), i.e. 8, 16 and 24 cents. Ordinary postage stamps acceptable when letter is indorsed "Via Air Mail." Although available in August 1923, these were not released for use for a year.
- 2-2-25. Kelly Act, 43 Stat 805, authorized the Postmaster General to contract with private carriers to transport the mail by aircraft at not less than ten cents/oz.
- 1-19-1926, Order 3817 set air mail postage rate on contract routes at 10 cents/oz. first 1,000 miles, 15 cents for 1,000 to 1,500 miles, and 20 cents for over 1,500 miles; same postage over government operated routes plus surcharge of 5 cents/oz. for each zone carried or fraction, except rate for New York to Chicago night route at 10 cents/oz.
- 12-23-26, Order 4961, effective 2-1-1927 set rate of postage by either contract or government operation at 10 cents per half ounce regardless of distance.
- 5-17-28, Act, 45 Stet 594, set rate of air mail postage at 5 cents/oz.
- 6-7-28, Order 7773, effective 8-1-28, set rate of postage on air mail at 5 cents for the first ounce and 10 cents for each additional ounce or fraction.
- 6-7-32, Order 2564, effective 7-6-32, , set postage on airmail at 8 cents for the first ounce or fraction and 18 cents for each additional ounce or fraction.

B. Airmail stamps issued

24 cent, bicolor Curtis Jenny, 5-13-18 16 cent Curtis Jenny, 7-11-18 6 cent Curtis Jenny, 12-10-18 8 cent propeller, 8-15-23 16 cent Insignia, 8-17-23 24 cent Curtis Jenny, monochrome, 8-21-23 10 cent, map, 2-13-26 15 cent, map, 9-18-26 20 cent, map, 1-25-27 10 cent Lindbergh, 6 18-27 5 cent, Beacon, 7-25-28 5 cent "winged globe," Flat plate, 2-10-30 5 cent "winged globe," rotary press, 8-19-31 8 cent, "winged globe," 9-26-32

The President, the Assassin and the Alienist: A Nineteenth Century Murderous Triangle

By Jesse I. Spector M.D. and Robert L. Markovits Esq.

Three United States Presidents were assassinated within a thirty-six year time span in the latter part of the nineteenth century—Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley. This amounted to one third of US Presidents serving in office between 1865 and 1901. Lincoln was killed by a rabid, Yankee-hating southerner, Well then, with this brief history lesson in place, what could we possibly be leading up to in publishing our thoughts in a philatelic journal devoted to postal history? For you see, we will be delving into the intricacies of the Garfield assassination and how it played out historically, judicially and philatelically. For each of the authors the motives were somewhat different, yet together the project jelled. For Jesse Spector (J.S.)

the intrigue was quite

personal: President

Garfield was accom-

panied to the train sta-

tion by James G.

Blaine, the Secretary

of State. Blaine

would be a twice-

nominated Republi-

can candidate for the

presidency of the

United States. Fol-

lowing Blaine's death

in 1893, a stately grey

granite-stone elemen-

tary and middle

school built in 1895 in

Philadelphia was

named in his honor,

and it was this school

that J.S. attended

from third grade

through eighth grade.

Additionally, on retir-

ing from medical

practice as a hema-

tologist/oncologist in

2007, J.S. returned to

his first love, the so-

cial sciences, and for

Garfield by a devoted supporter who felt spurned by the president in attempts at obtaining political office, and McKinley by an ardent anarchist. All three lost their lives while engaged in non-executive activities: Lincoln at the theater, Garfield at a train station on his way to visiting his alma mater, Williams College in Massachusetts, and McKinley while attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. In all three of the assassinations the Presidents were without security details, traveling with friends and family (incredibly tragic in the case of Garfield was his being met at the station



Figure 1 President James A. Garfield

by Abraham Lincoln's son Robert Todd Lincoln, the Secretary of War). Indeed, it was only following the assassination of McKinley in September, 1901, that the Secret Service was empowered to protect subsequent Presidents.

the past three years has been faithfully auditing two classes per semester in political science and history at Williams College, Garfield's alma mater—the destination he intended to reach at the time of his assassination. Finally for completeness, let it be stated that the assassin, Guiteau had failed the entrance examination for attending the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor,

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the institution where J.S. performed his medical residency, and he and J.S. share the same birthdates, September 8th.

For Robert Markovits (R.M.) the Garfield assassination opened the door to an in-depth presentation of a treasure-trove of ephemera related to Dr. Alexander E. Macdonald, world-renown alienist, who served as expert witness for the prosecution at the trial of Garfield's assassin, Charles Julius Guiteau-one of the first high-profile cases in the United States in which the insanity defense was brought into play. Lest you suffer the anguish of trying to locate "alienist" in your dictionary, it relates not to an extraterrestrial, or someone having illegally entered the US through a broken border fence, rather it is an obsolete term for one who studies and treats mental illness-today's psychiatrist-and was the accepted term for this profession in Dr. Macdonald's day. Additionally for R.M., our investigation of the Garfield assassination offered the opportunity to present to you, the reader, a quite varied collage of lovely Garfield-related philately. Join us now as we take you back to a time in which three disparate men born within fourteen years of one another in the first half of the nineteenth century intertwine in history.

To reach the day of assassination, July 2, 1881, and its aftermath, let us meet the protagonists, firstly James A. Garfield (figure 1) the victim of assassination. Garfield was born in a log cabin in Ohio, on November 19, 1831, the youngest of five children. The family's poverty was compounded by his father's untimely death when James was less than two years of age. As a teenager he attended local schools and at age twenty entered Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, a religious school in Hiram, Ohio. He became a circuit preacher in local churches but subsequently enrolled in Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, graduating in 1856. Garfield served brief tenures as a preacher, instructor in classical language and then a school principle. Several years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War he engaged in politics in the Republican Party, and philosophically opposed slavery and secession from the Union. He married in 1858, sired seven children, and, becoming discontent with teaching, began the study of law and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1860. His political affiliation resulted in his election to the Ohio State Senate in 1859, serving until 1861. With the outbreak of the Civil War he obtained a commission as Colonel in the Union Army. He was a courageous, aggressive and inventive officer partaking in major conflicts, resulting in promotions eventually to the rank

of Major General. While serving in the war he was nominated for a Congressional House Seat from Ohio to which he was elected in 1862. He resigned his commission in 1863 and was reelected to Congress every two years until 1878 when he won the Republican Party's presidential nomination for the 1880 election on the thirty-sixth party ballot. He won the presidency over Winfield Scott Hancock by a paper-thin plurality of fewer than two thousand votes out of almost nine million votes cast. Just four months into his term he would fatefully meet his murderer, Charles J. Guiteau, at a train station in Washington, DC.

The assassin, Charles Guiteau (*figure 2*), was born September 8, 1841 in Illinois, the fourth of six children born to Luther and Jane Guiteau. The family moved to Wisconsin in 1850 where his mother died in 1855. The



Figure 2 Charles Guiteau, the assassin

remaining family returned to Illinois, and after failing entrance to the University of Michigan he joined a utopian religious sect, the Oneida Community, in Oneida, New York. Court testimony years later at his trial indicate a domineering father and the fact that Charles was a "slow learner" possessing mannerisms suggesting mental deficiency. His behavior with the sect resulted in his being rejected by them. As incredulous as it may seem Guiteau then obtained a law license in Chicago, a remarkable commentary on the state of

LAW OFFICES OF CHARLES J. GUITEAU A SA HAWLEY BUILDING 144 Dearborn Street Chicago, Chicago SUNDAY, JULY EARLY VS. STOREY. the im Opinion of the Supreme Court in the Rockford Slander Case. The Decision of the Lower Court Sustained---Reasons Therefor Gaugers apt out utta delivered the foll ngile Blocket ANSILA Tulian

Figure 3 Authenticated letter head paper of Guiteau's law firm, and his signature (inst at lower right)

the art at that time. Guiteau's law firm (*figure 3*) was begun using fraudulent recommendations purported to be from prominent American families. His practice was a failure and his livelihood depended on his being a bill collector. He then turned to politics, writing a speech supporting Grant's presidential bid. After Garfield won the presidential nomination in 1878, Guiteau minimally revised the same speech ("Garfield versus Hancock") from the original ("Grant versus Hancock"). With the narrowness of Garfield's subsequent victory, Guiteau convinced himself that his speech was responsible for the presidential success, and lobbied for a reward in the form of becoming the United States Ambassador in Paris. Numerous personal requests to influential polities, personal meetings

with Secretary of State Blaine and, indeed, a meeting with Garfield himself were all to no avail. Destitute and having been rejected to the point where Blaine told him never to return again, Guiteau claimed that at that point God ordered him to eliminate an ungrateful president. Borrowing fifteen dollars, Charles Guiteau purchased a large caliber .442 revolver, the Webley British Bulldog, and, after recovering from the initial shock of its powerful recoil, learned how to proficiently use the weapon.

Finally, let us introduce you to the third member of our exposition, Dr. Alexander E. Macdonald (figure 4). Dr. Macdonald, whether knowingly or by happenstance, was truly an academic overachiever. Born in Toronto, Canada in 1845, his undergraduate education was performed at the Upper Canada College, following which he commenced the study of medicine at Toronto University, then transferring to New York University medical

school, graduating in 1870. From the beginning of his medical career he devoted himself to diseases of the mind and nervous system; and, indeed, even while in medical school, he undertook the general care of an insane son of a wealthy family in Brooklyn. Following graduation he became resident physician at City Asylum for the Insane on Blackwell Island in New York, where he shortly thereafter became the Chief of Staff. This position was followed by his becoming superintendant of the Manhattan State Hospital on Ward's Island, a position he maintained for many years. In 1874 he was appointed to the chair of medical jurisprudence at NYU, and the following year was made professor of psychological medicine. To these already prodigious accomplishments he added in 1881 a law

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Figure 4 Dr. Alexander E. Macdonald, the alienist.

degree (LL. B.). As a tribute to the man, a powerful figure and consummate worker in his own right, should be added the considerable friendship and loyalty afforded him by his peers. He became president of the American Medico-Psychological Association and for many years his services were in demand in the courts as an expert alienist, and indeed he was one of the best known alienists in New York. With the firing of two rounds of 44 caliber bullets into the back of President James A. Garfield on the morning of July 2, 1881, Dr. Macdonald would play out his part on the world stage of an American tragedy.

July 2, 1881: President Garfield, his wife, sons James and Harry, Secretary of State Blaine, Secretary of War Todd Lincoln are at the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad station at Sixth Street and Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. Garfield is leaving for his summer vacation in New Jersey. Congress was not in session during the summers due to the intense heat in Washington, D.C. First on the agenda, however, was a planned visit to his alma mater, Williams College in Massachusetts, for a speaking engagement. There is no bodyguard in attendance. The Garfield entourage enters the waiting room where at point-blank range Charles Guiteau fires two bullets from his Webley revolver into the President's back (*figure 5*), one bullet grazing Garfield's shoulder, the other lodging in the first lumbar vertebra of the President's spine, but not severing the spinal cord. Garfield cries out, "My God, what is that?" and collapses. Guiteau puts the weapon into his pocket, leaves the station toward a cab that he had waiting for him, but is immediately apprehended by a policeman, Patrick Kearney, who, in the excitement of the capture, neglects to disarm Guiteau until after his arrest and transport to a police station several blocks from the station. A crowd gathering outside the station, on realizing what has transpired, call for an immediate lynching. Despite these threats, the assassin is escorted unharmed to the police station where he exultantly exclaims, "I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts! I did it and I want to be arrested! Arthur is President now!" The Stalwarts, while representing a faction in the Republican Party opposed to Garfield's policies, had nothing to do with the assassination. Guiteau, in his delusion, believed his action would unite the Party. Meanwhile, Todd Lincoln with the fallen President exclaims, "How many hours of sorrow I have passed in this town."



Figure 5 A post card view of the recreation of the Garfield assassination at the Presidents Wax Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

President Garfield survives for eighty days from the time of the assassination. His doctor's initially believe he will expire within days, yet he rallies and then experiences intermittent fever and difficulty eating, with weight lose from two hundred pounds to one hundred and thirty five pounds. Physicians probing for the lodged bullet with bare fingers and instruments, in the days ten years prior to the institution of sterile techniques, most likely results in sepsis (blood poisoning with bacteria) that will lead to the eventual demise of the President. Alexander Graham Bell actually designs a primitive metal detector to help locate the bullet, but not realizing that the metal bed frame on which the President rests interferes with its functioning, the attempt is unsuccessful.

In the heat of the Washington summer, army engineers design a remarkably functional air-conditioning unit using ice and fans. The President is then moved to Long Branch, New Jersey, in early September hoping that fresh air and quiet will aid his recovery. Tragically, President Garfield succumbs to his illness on September 17, 1881, two months before his fiftieth birthday. Both historians and contemporary physicians attribute at least a component of blame for the President's death to poor medical technique, and at Charles Guiteau's trial he will say, "I shot the President, but the doctors killed him." In an era before medical practice included sterile technique this is an academic exercise at best. Garfield lay in state at the Capitol Rotunda (figure 6) and was laid to rest in a mausoleum in Cleveland, Ohio.



Figure 6 President Garfield lay in state at the Capitol Rotunda

The President has died. What is the aftermath? The trial of Charles Guiteau began on November 14, 1881. He is represented by his brother-in-law, George Scolville and another court-appointed lawyer, Leigh Robinson. An insanity defense is attempted, but Guiteau himself defeats his own lawyers by stating that he was insane at the time he shot the President, but that he was not otherwise legally insane. For insanity defense to succeed the defense must convince the jury that the perpetrator did not know right from wrong and in this case Guiteau created a rift between himself and his lawyers. Additionally, throughout the trial, Guiteau insulted his defense team, recited his testimony in lengthy poems, solicited legal advice from spectators in the audience via passed notes, sang John Brown's Body to the court, and hurled foul language at the judge, jury and lawyers. He dictated his autobiography to the New York Herald ending with a personal ad for "a nice Christian lady under thirty." He was oblivious of the profound hatred of him by the public and he was almost assassinated twice himself.

Dr. Macdonald was one of the expert witnesses called by the prosecution. Dr. Edward Charles Spitzka, also a leading alienist had testified that Guiteau was unquestionably insane, and had been so and "was never anything else." Dr. Macdonald testified to the contrary which agreed with the sentiments of the public, and, as put succinctly by George Corkhill, District of Columbia district attorney on the prosecuting team: "He's no more insane than I am: he's a cool, calculating blackguard. He was a deadbeat, pure and simple.

> He wanted excitement of some kind and notoriety, and he got it." The jury saw it that way. He was found guilty on January 25, 1882. He yelled at the jury after the verdict was read: "You are all low, consummate jackasses", plus a stream of additional obscenities. An appeal was rejected and Charles Guiteau was hanged on June 30, 1882 in the District of Columbia. He went to his death reciting a poem he had written entitled "I am going to the Lordy." He had requested an orchestra accompaniment but the request was denied.

> With two of our protagonists now deceased, we are left with Dr. Macdonald. As famous and respected as he was he was not beyond criticism by some of his peers. Our review of voluminous professional discussions following the trial indicates the difficulty encountered in interpretation of the
insanity defense. Reviews in the medical journal, Alienist and Neurology, from 1884 offer insight into the testimony of the expert witnesses and pointedly suggest that with all due respect to Dr. Macdonald's expertise in the field as an alienist, his interpretation of hereditary associated mental illness might not have been in keeping with more contemporary thinking at the time. My own experience in the medical field (J.S.) suggests this may indeed be an ongoing debate. In any case it was an irony of fate that Dr. Macdonald died of tuberculosis, a disease for which he had developed the "tent colony" method of treatment for insane patients with this disease, later adopted in Europe as well, allowing patients to be removed from the environment of non-contaminated individuals, yet not isolating them individually. His death occurred on December 7, 1907. His memorial tributes were extensive and we particularly appreciated the

Peter M.Wise, M.D. Preside Peter M.Wise, M.D. Goodwin Brown William I. Parkhurz State of New Pork State Commission in Lunacy Allany June 30, 1897 To whom it may concern: This will introduce Dr. Alexander E. Macdonald, the general superintendent of the Manhattan State hospital, formerly the New York City Asylum for the Insane. Dr. Macdonald goes to Europe with a purpose of investigating the management of institutions abroad and any experience which he may gain will benefit the system for the care of the insane in the state of New York, and be directly an aid to this Commission. We bespeak for Dr. Macdonald the courtesies due his position and the body which he represents and will consider any expression of them a favor to our State, BY THE COMMISSION: Hellegarr Secretary.

Figure 8 A letter of introduction for Dr. Macdonald from the State Commission in Lunacy, Albany, New York.

New York 189 To Dr. A. E. Macdonald , Dr. For professional services rendered Received Payment.

Figure 7 An original copy of Dr. Macdonald's billing paper.

sentiments made that Dr. Macdonald attracted to himself experienced, trusty and loyal officers and friends, that he had an abiding hatred of cant and pretense, and that he possessed far-seeing powers and unswerving integrity.

Dr. Macdonald certainly burned the candle at both ends. A consummate professional, he traveled the world lecturing, consulting and attending international conferences (*figures 7-9*). To reach the Lunatic Asylum on Ward's Island required a daily ferry ride (*figure 10*). And, indeed, he found time to be a Mason (*figure 11*) and in this capacity to lecture on Ladies Day (*figure 12*).

Lest we forget why we are here, we turn our attention now to the Garfield philatelic legacy. Few deceased American Presidents appeared more than twice on American postage stamps, and Garfield is clearly one of them. The first stamp issue to depict Garfield was a memorial issue released on April 10, 1882. The last US postage issue to depict Garfield was released on May 22, 1986, as part of the AMERIPEX issue of past American Presidents. In all, there are nine differ-

	British Micdical Association.
	The President and Members
10	of the Executive Committee
	request the honour of the company of
	S. macdonald
	at the Annual Dinner of the Association,
	in the Town Hall,
	on Thursday, August 2nd, at 7.30 p.m.
	R.S.V.P. H. B. RYGATE, HON. SEC. Fonkereau House, Ipswich.

Figure 9 An invitation for dinner with the British Medical Association in 1900.

Good untel revoked	
Soffice of Commissioner of Emigration	1
office of Commissioner of Emigration New York, C1 7 4 18 The Captain in charge of Ward's Islam	NC
F	d
to . Ferry, foot of east 110th St, will pass	
TO hacdonald dir	5
Se To and from Ward's Island.	
d'sill E. Stuphennes	~
E SEE OTHER SIDE	

Figure 10 Dr. Macdonald's ferry pass in 1874.

tithe a that Sublime Prince, Ina Member in Good Standing of 3 The Consistory of New York City, 32. and must show this card to gain admission. 33. Uno Secretary THIS IS NOT A RECEIPT FOR DUES

Figure 11 Dr. Macdonald's membership card in the Masons.

ent Garfield postage stamps issued over the last one hundred and twenty eight years bearing Garfield's portrait, in addition to back of the book issues as well. We share with you now a selection of some of our favorites:

Figure 13 is a splendid stationary cover, U 28, with an affixed Garfield memorial stamp, Scott 205 issued April 10, 1882. This cover traveled from Philadelphia via steamer to Curacao in 1886 with gorgeous red oval steamer cancellations.

Figure 14 shows a Scott 205 memorial stamp affixed to a cover to Germany with insufficient postage noted.

Figure 12 An invitation to Ladies Day at the Lotos Club at which Dr. Macdonald was the Owilin alio 200 guest speaker. On the obverse appear his handinc state. penciled crib notes for his address. not shut wh a ⊛-LOTOS-⊛ Ladies Day, The Letes Club requests she pleasure empany at the Club Heuse on Menday Ichn Brougham, Rist. A. E. Macdonald, Suritury: Compliments of_ AVENUE THIS CARD ADMITS DNE PERSON ONLY.



brown on blue paper

brown on amber paper



Angeles, Calif. to

Lakehurst, N.J.

Figure 16 A stationary trial proof set for the Garfield U 59 issue of 1882-1886.

Figure 17 A block of the 13¢ Harrison and 6¢ Garfield (Scott 558) amidst AUG23 SMINS 4 PM a sea of postage. It was transported on the German OSU airship LZ-127 first round the world flight from Los lia German Airship LL 12 Los Angeles to Lakehurst



Figure 18 Scott C 46 postage, carrying flowers from Hawaii to Chicago with affixed special delivery and twenty-cent Garfield, Scott 825, postage.

A Curious Virginia Cover

by T. Clarke

For anyone immersed in history, an 1850-60s era Virginia stampless cover bearing the dial name BLACKS & WHITES / Va. would surely raise an eyebrow. After all, that's Civil War times, replete with explosive racial and economic tension, competing views of racial equality, and hostility in general that was at fever pitch in both North and South.

An ideal approach to writing about such a cover would be to visit the town—assuming the 19th century town was still located in the modern world, for a quick tour of historic places. It would be good to talk to the every-town-has-one local historian, seeking tidbits of data and information. At a minimum, a check-in at the local library would be in order, to speak with the town librarian, to look through the history portion of the local clipping files and inquire about microfilms and digital resources. Without benefit of



Map1 This map shows the location of Lunenburg County, origin of the brief January 1858 letter, sent about 50 miles northeast to Petersburg, concerning sale of a hogshead of (not very good) tobacco.

the 'feel' of the actual place, or of talking to local, data-laden experts, we're at a distinct disadvantage to fully understand our chosen subject.

On Your Own

But without the ability to visit and immerse yourself in the actual place, and be able to get immediate satisfaction from direct answers to your questions, research



Figure 1 Schwartz Tavern—built between 1790 and 1840 and now a fully restored Revolutionary War Era Tavern— located in downtown Blackstone at the 18th century crossroads. When was the post office here?

becomes a guessing game. Where to look first to unravel nuggets of information that hopefully will bring the cover and its writer alive?

In the days B.I. (Before Internet), library references, drawn from the hallowed, oaken card catalogs of town and (if you're really lucky) university libraries, slowly began to open your topic's world before you as you read. You hit blind alleys but also found fruitful avenues elsewhere. Developing from out of the dusty mists, your batch of notes formed an understanding and drew a marvelous mental picture of the subject. More questions than answers came as you approached new reality and credibility you hadn't thought of before, because constancy in research and an innate spirit of seeking answers lead to a very satisfying resolution. Similar mental processes and results doubtless develop from successful new garden designs and creating buildings from scratch.

For those over 35 who found satisfaction in the library / book method, recall the sense of fulfillment almost beyond description. Certainly you felt relief at its closure, but you walked around realizing the burden had been lifted, and you found success, showing a smile you probably weren't aware of. You'd joined the community of scholars, having taken scattered data and molded it into new ideas all your own; you'd won the



Figure 2 A Google search for "Lunenburg County, VA" yields almost one hundred thousand results in 14 one-hundredths of a second.

prize. Those *La Posta* readers who have a decent postal history library and a good deal of curiosity still know that delightful pleasure.

On the Internet

(This article is the result of 'brain pain'. Knowing nothing about an item, except curiosity, you have to grudgingly begin haphazardly overturning rocks till you find something. Then other rocks, till the vaguest image begins to emerge. Brain 'hurt' because humans are not comfortable with the unknown in any domain. Synapses seem to fire everywhere at once, find few connections; we're a jumble of frustration and confusion. If we doggedly aim at resolution, then slowly, continued searching yields a picture coming into focus. The pain fades, replaced with growing interest and eventual enthusiasm.)

Today, one can research BLACKS & WHITES in comfort via the Internet. There, proud people proclaim their peculiar view and expertise. They offer us reams of questionable data and pictures for the mere cost of typing site address and clicking a choice of links. It is today's new 'right', more or less, to tap into the Internet ether, as if all answers are, and for all time will be, located there. Except that computer scholars claim that a good half of it is garbled, mis- or purposely dis- information, and some outright fiction. Caveat Emptor. On the Internet, many times scholarship is missing, yet people, given the power of words since Guttenberg's triumph in 1453, tend to believe as true anything in print. Will Rogers, humorous of the 20's and 30's claimed, tongue in cheek, "All I know is what I read in the papers". Match that against 'fair and balanced' TV and fantasy internet sites today.

Still, the lure of sitting in a comfortable chair, hundreds or thousands of miles from the target of our inquiry, and telescoping days or weeks of toil into an afternoon or two, as with this article, seems instinctive and gratifying. With news magazines and papers on the decline in favor of computer screens, is it any wonder that 40% of America believes the world is 6000 years old and that so many of us accept conspiracy theories as fact?

In times 'B.I.', there also were armchair writers who wove faulty, imaginative and misleading tales of 'fact' going back centuries, who built 'scholarly' reputations from the seated position, having seen no

artifact, or primary sources, and possessing in some cases at most elementary education. Be skeptical today, and very carefully sift information, and approaching it unbiased and fully objective.

Our Search

It would be excellent luck to be able to find the letter's sender's name on one of the several Internet genealogy sites, to confirm his or her life dates, and with greatest luck of all, to locate the person handwritten onto the US Census roles verifying their age, family members, occupation, etc. There's a wealth of information if one is lucky enough to look in the right places. Unfortunately, the "google effect" must be dealt with: the avalanche of misleading and sidetracking references mixed in with kernels of real worth are a major distraction and can lead to disillusion. Still, constancy and a discerning eye will bring rewards.

So, the goal is to brush aside as many cobwebs as possible and try to resurrect even a slim biography of our writer, to understand her and flesh out something of the times themselves. Especially those times that were so tempestuous, fearful years prior to the explosion of the American Civil War. The task is daunting,



Map 2 This current day map includes Richmond and Petersburg and, faintly, the counties of Nottoway and Lunenburg which are featured in this article. The yellow highways and fainter back roads are not too different from maps of 100+ years ago.

but the reward great in bringing a very modest postal history artifact and a long deceased southern tobacco farm lady and her times to life again.

Two Counties

The two counties our letter is concerned with are Nottoway and Lunenburg. 'Lunenburg' comes from Brunswick-Lünenburg, the old principality in Germany, the ancestral home of the English Georges down to the present royal family. Recall, however, that Elizabeth II's grandfather, George V, gave up this Germanic honor at the outbreak of WWI, preferring to call Windsor Castle their true inheritance.

The two are in the Piedmont region of low rolling hills and wonderful farm lands. Their populations are still relatively small today, still in favor of tobacco and crop land. Having rationalized the positive uses of the Internet, we can begin this story. It stems from the briefest of letters, written by someone gone more than 125 years, who lived in a society also long dead due to terrible conflict, and involving enslaved people who, seven years in the future, will be radically and utterly freed.

Lunenburg County VA

Lunenburg County had to be located, easy enough on the Internet. But where is the curious Black's & White's? A universal search for it on Google went unanswered. Nor was it found via Google maps. It wasn't found after a half hour of frustrating searches in conjunction with 'historical geography', 'old town names', 'Virginiatowns', 'Virginia-history' and a dozen other combination choices. Yet the thought provoking tandem name made it too intriguing to give up on.

The stampless cover is datelined "Lunenburg County, January 28, 1858". It is addressed to Petersburg VA, so a decent county map of Virginia might help triangulate the locales. At a Virginia county web site, Lunenburg County did show up in southern Virginia, where it is termed a 'South Side' county, respectably close to North Carolina. There were also links to various publicity-type town sites. They gave thumbnail descriptions of the county

and towns therein, along with honoring their schools, famous people (birthplace of Roy Clark, country musician), council meeting nights, and a brief history and geography lesson:

Lunenburg County is in the gently rolling, good farming, terrain of the Piedmont and locally nicknamed the "Mother of Counties". America everywhere was growing quickly and Lunenburg went on eventually to spawn nine other counties.



Lunenburg (created 1746) was originally part of larger Brunswick County, which was established before the 1740s during the reign of King George II, of England's House of Hannover. He ruled simultaneously as Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg in Germany, birthplace of his father, German-speaking George I. It is a German-English region which suggests excellent farming technique, neatness, attention to detail, etc.

Today it is still mostly agricultural and known for its red clay (for well-known Virginia red brick buildings) and its good climate allows for differing crops but mainly tobacco. In its first census, 1800, Lunenburg counted 10,381, which included whites and an added "three-fifths" of its noncitizen blacks. The population has changed little and in 2010 has 12,914, of course now including citizen blacks. Note that the critical Civil War years produced a precipitous fall of 13% by 1870, no doubt due to war casualties:

185011,692186011,983187010,403

Nottoway County VA

The second county involved with the subject letter borders Lunenburg to the north.

Still on the track of the Black's & White's post office location, we find that rural Nottoway has only three towns of any size to choose from. One is suspiciously named

Blackstone. Was it mere coincidence, that sharing of the 'black' part?

a few years before the fighting.

As mentioned, Town and County Fathers/Mothers from sea to shining sea have learned to put pride above substance when extolling their civic virtues point by point, regardless how limited and rustic or grand and glorious. No doubt every town has one. They immodestly claim ownership rights to those born there who grew to semi-fame, and they luxuriate in illustrating famous old landmarks and list incidents that happened over the years. Naturally, they also mention crops grown, the location of the nearest Wal-Mart, and how new are their IMS truck and fire engine. They love their history:

Prior to the Europeans, upon the land that would become Nottoway County, lived the Nadowa tribe, a branch of the Iroquois, living along the county's only river the Nadowa, Algonquian for 'rattlesnake'.

Nottoway County was established from the southern half of Amelia County in 1788, and contained early crossroads settlements connecting the expanding southern and western frontiers with the built up centers of Petersburg and Richmond to the north and east. Until the railroad (1850's) came through and industry grew to support increasing Virginia population, it owed its prosperity primarily to tobacco.

How sparse and agrarian life was in early times is captured in the makeup of the village/county seat of Nottoway via *Virginia, A Guide to the Old Dominion* (1835):

a courthouse, clerk's office and criminal and debtor's jail, besides 15 dwelling houses, one mercantile house, one hotel, one saddler, one tailor, and one blacksmith shop.

Civil War

During the war, the southern-most portion of Virginia escaped all but one major skirmish and battle that had brutalized Virginia's north and west, though it suffered a similar volunteer casualty rate. In four years that rate grew to a horrifying 18% of Southern white males age 13 to 43, whereas in the north, a 'mere' 6% of 13



Map 3 The areas of war destruction and death are obvious to the north and east on

the tracks, and further south and west, the seemingly uninhabited, wide stretches of

fields under tobacco and other crops that slaves worked, outnumbering white farmers

2: or 3:1. From somewhere in that no man's land our lady land owner wrote her letter

this map. Toward the lower left you can see the town of Black's & White's at the bend in

to 43 year olds were lost! We can wonder if our lady letter writer's live-in mate, Mr. Skinner (below), was one of these.

Two of the four Confederate units assembled in Nottoway County fought on the front lines at Gettysburg and were decimated at Pickett's Charge. The county itself was the site of only one significant skirmish during the war, the "Battle of the Grove," which was fought near Blackstone for control of the rail line that supplied Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. It was entrenched and valiantly resisted Grant whose Grand Army laid siege and pummeled Petersburg and Richmond.

The war's last skirmish before Lee's Surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, was fought on April 6 at Sayler's Creek, which straddled Nottoway County's western boundary.

Population

Starting with the Census of 1800, Nottoway had 9,401 people, including the infamous "three-fifths" black population. In 1850, a decreasing (westward migrating?) Nottoway County had only 8,437 people, including "three-fifths" blacks. By 1860, their numbers had grown again by about 5% to 8,836, and even after the war continued to grow to 9,291, a little more than 5%. By 2000, the population was urbanizing around Blackstone and totaled 15,725 people.

Today the racial makeup of Nottoway County's makeup is multi racial, as are most American communities (though still more heavily black): 57.16% White, 40.56% Black, 0.13% Native American, 0.39% Asian, 0.03% Pacific Islander, 1.01% from other races, and 0.72% from two or more races. 1.58% of the population was Hispanic or Latino of any race.

These two are still rural counties today, though with the decline of tobacco use today, many have moved away to town jobs in Richmond and other cities.

Black's & White's?

We now know the lie of the land, its losses, and population trends but the hard nut still needs cracking: what is the derivation of the name Black's & White's and where is/was the town located? The answer will come from a kernel of fact within one of the town's web sites.

Curiosity had suggested a few possible sources:

1) a difficult to believe but happy discovery of racial friendship in pre-Civil War Virginia?

2) the name of a hotel on a stage route painted on their London-style pub sign depicting black and white horses maybe, to catch travelers' attention?

3) might it be the unique invention of a University of Virginia scholar who enjoyed the oriental concept of yin and yang, the theory of cooperative opposites, thus black and white?

It took a total of three hours of frustrated poking around the Internet to find answers, and another hour to find a map that conclusively pinned down the odd-named town's location. A further short while later, added success came when a third example of the town's postal markings came to light at Jim Forte's redoubtable Postal History store site.

A likely place for its location would be somewhere between Lunenburg County and Petersburg, which includes Nottoway County. Roads tend to stand pat over the centuries and this one too. A current map shows a highway connecting all three and passing

Mass 188 Weleville matton

Figure 3 Dated February 1885, a local cover, and one of the last from the Black's & White's Post Office, due to the name change to Blackstone a year later. A possibly duplexed hand stamp, overweight, Due 2c, to Wellville, 15 miles northeast up the Petersburg Road. Statistically, this letter stands a 3:1 chance of being written by a new black citizen, though realistically, due to lack of widespread education twenty years after the war's end, and the increasingly harsh Jim Crow laws aimed at freedmen, a white Virginian probably wrote it. Thanks to Jim Forte Postal History for permission to display it (http://www.postalhistory.com).

Summer 2011

through *Blackstone*. A persistent hint. So off to the official Blackstone VA web site, under "About Blackstone", instantly I see, "the crossroads came to be known as Blacks and Whites."!

Location achieved, so ultimately simple. The realization dawned why I failed at first to find it via the universal search, was because I'd used the original *apostrophized* version, 'Black's & White's'. It's the small things that get us every the time.

Now to its meaning: the answer to the primary question above is: none of the above. The truth in its naming was nothing so poetic. There simply were, down and dirty, two businessmen who happened to share a

lively crossroads in out of the way, early Federal era, southern Virginia.

By the 1790s the men had established hotels on opposite, dust covered corners, surrounded by miles of tobacco and crop lands. One or both must have doubled as the village's stagecoach way station, watering hole, and layover stop and eventual post office. The names of these two were, not surprisingly, Herr Schwartz, i.e., Mr. Black (German), and across the pock-marked dirt road, his tavern keeper competition, Mr. White; *ergo*, Black's and White's. Two mysteries solved.

The Post Office

Blackstone VA's site goes on the say that April 7, 1829 was the establishment date for the Blacks & Whites Post Office. This date contradicts two philatelic sources, but on that later.



Figure 4 The letter in question: A #26, applied at a plantation farm house somewhere in Lunenburg County, and taken 12-15 miles to the Black's & White's Post Office in the neighboring county of Nottoway, VA. There they struck their 36mm balloon dial on January 30, 1858, for delivery to Petersburg, 40 miles ENE.



Figure 5 Burke's Tavern, Virginia

Blackstone is 50 miles southwest of Richmond, 150 miles south of Washington D.C., and it is roughly 12-15 miles, we estimate, from the heart of Lunenburg County, wherein the letter was composed and written by Ms. Maddux. She or a friend or a slave took a half hour or a hour to walk, buckboard, or ride the letter to Black's & White's, to the postmaster, perhaps inside the Schwartz Tavern.

Today the Schwartz Tavern remains in all its majesty and the Chamber of Commerce is pleased to cite it as one of the area's four historic buildings placed on the Virginia and National Registers of Historic Places. There is, in addition, a Burke's Tavern (see the attractive red-roofed picture) on the same lists. A good guess is that the latter is the original White's establishment. Maybe a *La Posta* reader living nearby can verify this for us.

> It would be nice to know which hotel/tavern, and at what periods, maintained the post office. In most cases, unless by chance both owners were members of the same political persuasion, competition was decided by whichever presidential candidate was victorious. Each four years victors selected from among a pool of their own supporters. So it went from the 1790's until 1883, when the Civil Service Act of 1883 re-wrote the rules. Till then, postmasters were highly influential since they saw most of the surrounding population at one time or the other and exercised a good degree of persuasion over them. Thus, they might be able to in this way swing elections.

And so, as political appointees, the mail pickup counter might have easily see-sawed back and forth between them over the years and across the Black's & White's only intersection.

On April 7, 1829, a Blacks and Whites Post Office was established (though Jim Forte's post office list says 1813 [a typo for 1831?]). The 1997 *American Stampless Cover Catalog* claims in its manuscript markings section that "*Blks & Whites*" markings date between 1831 (a typo for 1813?) and 1855 —value, \$15. It seems that more searching and/or proofreading would clarify the issue of its beginnings.

Ten years after the war the town's name was changed to Bellefonte, May 11, 1875, so that it coincided with the name of the town's Norfolk and Western's Railroad Station.

Then, on August 4, 1882, the town reverted back to Blacks and Whites. Shortly after, at a meeting of local citizens, a doctor proposed to re-re-name the town after Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), the famed English judge. So, on February 23, 1886, the name of Blacks and Whites for the last time was permanently dropped in favor of Blackstone.

A Possible Cancel Typology

A chronology of types is guessable, though few examples are at hand. A Virginia collector can evaluate the following and tell us how close it comes to the mark. This undertaking with a tip of the hat to those armchair historians of the past who created fantasy scenarios of far off places from the comfort of their den's (man cave's!) easy chair....



A Photoshop reconstruction of the of 36mm Black's & White's balloon dial used before, and maybe during the Civil War.

Type 1 - The manuscript markings used between 1813/31 through ~1855 would vary according to the handwriting of whichever post-master was in charge at the time.

Type 2 - The present letter's marking dated January 1858; it may be the first hand device style used at Black's & White's.

Hypothetical Type 3 - During the war, perhaps a Confederate Post Office device was used, or maybe they reverted to manuscripts, or kept the old balloon marker, Type 2, for convenience and thrift.

Hypothetical Type 4 - Post war - Presumed Confederate devices may have been confiscated, so probably another reversion to manuscripts till the post war dust settled in about 1866.

Hypothetical Type 5a - A lone, GPO dial, maybe duplexed, could have been supplied around 1866/67, to last until the town name change to Bellefonte in May 1875. But maybe the PO held onto its old name?

Hypothetical Type 6 - A Bellefonte dial or manuscript of convenience until August 1882.

Hypothetical Type 5b/7 - Maybe a re-use of Hypothetical Type 5a, or an immediate use of the illustrated Type 8, 1885 device.

Type 7 - After Feb/Mar 1886, the first of the new Blackstone devices, probably duplexed and accompanied by a variety of specialized devices for parcels, received, registered, money orders, etc.

Where Does Ms Maddux Fit?

To help clarify our letter writer's position in Virginian culture and help see what Ms Maddux' mind-set might have been, as well as estimate her social standing before the war, we can place her according to some Southern antebellum data.

The total southern white population in 1860 (close enough to 1858) was about 8 million, of whom 384,000, or 4.7%, owned slaves. Of these, 10,000 owned 50 or more slaves. Roughly 88% of Southern slave-owners owned less than 20 slaves. Slaves were costly.

Of the total 8 million, Southern wealth was concentrated in the hands of about 1,000 families who owned well over 100 slaves each. These richest thousand whites had an average annual income of \$50,000, while the remaining 660,000 whites brought in an average of \$91.

By 1860, in Virginia one of every four families owned at least one slave.

The 1858 Letter

Now looking at the letter, more of a fast note, it was written while our lady lived somewhere in Lunenburg County, which on average equates to maybe 12-15 miles from the post office at Black's & White's. From there it was passed onward another 35 miles eastnortheast to Petersburg.

The message is more a note than a letter, but conveys a succinct message:

Lunenburg Co Va Jany 29 1858

Dear Sir

I send you another hhd: tobo.

It is tolerable high in order. I reckon you had better not keep it on hand too long.

Summer 2011

enturg e

Figure 6 Written by Ms. (Perhaps Widow) Martha F Maddux in January 1858, to her sales agent in Petersburg.

Whenever I send you a hhd. just do the bestyou can with it.Yours &c

Martha F Maddux

(The "Hogshead" was used from colonial times for American tobacco, a very large wooden barrel about 48 inches long and 30 inches diameter which could contain more than 145 US gallons. Fully packed it weighed 1,000 pounds. A hogshead of wine is a liquid measure, of about 63 gallons.)

Was Ms Maddux cleaning out the tobacco drying barn to prepare for the spring planting season, or were they systematically taking cured leaves to assure a steady income through the winter?

When the lady states the tobacco inside is 'tolerable high in order' does she mean it is pretty good stuff, or that it is only 'tolerable' in today's sense? Probably the latter, since she suggests that he sell it soon for whatever he, Mr Sydnor, her agent, can get.

Han 49.5 Goochland 61.7Henri BICHM anaham Powhatan 593 67.6 Chesterfield Inelia 15.5 inceEdward rince Nottoway 64.5 63.1 Dinwiddie 48.3 tte Lunenburg SUSSEX 62.2 67.2

Map 4 This close up portion of the official map drawn for the US government in 1860/ 1 shows our two counties surprisingly were among the most concentrated slaveowning areas of Virginia. It suggests that chances are good that Ms Maddux indeed did own slaves.

Or was she getting antsy about news of the upcoming, and surely divisive Lincoln-Douglas debates, to take place out in Illinois, and having just lived through the uproar of the Dred Scott Decision the year before: did she determine that cash in hand was best in case the worst should come to pass?

We can learn an important fact about Martha F Maddux from *Virginia Marriages 1740-1850*:

Richard H. Gill - Martha Maddux 30 Nov 1833 Lunenberg.

Richard married Martha in 1833, 25 years prior to her writing the letter. Elsewhere we find that this Martha was probably the same one born in Lunenburg in 1803, making her married at 30 and at 55, when she wrote to Petersburg, she was apparently alone again. Perhaps Mr Gill went west to the gold fields about 1850 and never returned? Or did he die of some common ailment in his 40's or 50's, some years before.

Though the South's large planters were among the wealthiest Americans, 10% of white families there owned no land or other property. Between these extremes were most whites, independent farmers like Ms Maddux.

There was little conflict among these strata because in a growing economy, as was the South's for the past generation, 'a rising tide lifts all boats', i.e., everyone benefited by the economy flourishing. Poor whites rose up the success ladder, and thus the rich at the top were to be emulated.

There were also kinship connections across the strata; one of the wealthiest slave owners was a Maddux in Georgia. A relative? Plus, buying and selling brought the various levels together in common cause. Last, intensifying religious activity in the past three decades tended to glue people together.

What's more, every white shared a common citizenship and their freedom which, compared to the slaves around them, was most precious. Even the poor white male could follow in similar fashion by ruling the roost at home over kids and wife and certainly over their one or two slaves, emulating at least that aspect of the rich.

Southern Women

Most white women, no doubt like Martha, were at times house bound with child rearing, cooking, cleaning, and gardening. Wealthy plantation mistresses had some leisure, but worked hard supervising servants and nursing the sick. Someone estimated that they were more attached to their home life than non-Southern women.

Plantation office and home work were inseparable; every aspect of a working farm was run from within the home. All white females shared their husband's racial assumptions while enjoying the advantages of property and freedom. Few identified with their slaves.

Ms Maddux' other crops would be vegetables, corn, sweet potatoes, along with pigs and cattle. Farmers have had to be self-sustaining throughout history regardless of the size of their purse. With luck, a large crop yield was prized because it provided cash to buy coveted extras in town.

Male farmers, like Ms Maddux, after 1830, saw their region increasingly separate from the rest of the nation in politics, economics, religion, and philosophy.

Southerners were very self-assured about their life style. Politicians, ministers quoting the Bible, philosophers, and scientists assured them from every angle with facts drawn from their individual disciplines that their system was righteous and proper, even blessed by God. Any critical outside Northern voices, though provocative, were mostly ignored.

A Slave Owner?

Was Martha a slave owner? Especially coming from a Virginia county renown for its slaves? Or was she one of the many very poor, hand-to-mouth white farmers spread across the south? We can look for evidence of the answer in the Census of 1860's portion showing the final slave-inclusions.

We know that Black's and White's Nottoway County had the highest percentage of slaves to whites of any of the148 VA counties of the day, though Richmond (Henrico Co.) had the greatest number of black enslaved individuals overall at 61,016 (32.2%).

It seems reasonable that the Maddux farm grew tobacco. It is labor intensive but it is questionable that they employed slaves for this work. Tobacco was grown from seed, set out, weeded, tasseled, harvested, and finally slowly cured —each process done by hand.

Each acre could produce 5,000 plants, each requiring the leaves be turned repetitively, etc. With the help of slaves, profits would exceed any other crop. Our letter proves Ms Maddux grew some tobacco, but with evidence from the 1860 Census below, probably not much. **Summer 2011**

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Figure 7 A clip of the 1860 Federal Census, Sched 2 (the slave-holding part), for Lunenburg Co VA, Aug 17, 1860, pg 64. Martha Maddux owned a 4 year old boy and her gentleman-friend owned a 45 year old female, a 9 year old boy and 6 year old girl slave, facts denoting a poor white farm family.

By 1860 she apparently took up housekeeping with Mr A B Skinner, as she is listed with him on the rolls. He owned a 45 year old black female and 2 black children, a boy 9 and a girl 6, while Ms Maddux contributed only a 4 year old male slave to the family account.

In fine print after her name, it says 'Brunswick owner'. Does that mean she held some or a majority of her property stretched across the county line in next-door (to the east) Brunswick County? The scribbled portion after Mr Skinner's name is 'Emf(or p)r', which seems meaningless. Or how about "Employer"? Did widowed Ms Maddux work for (at least as far as the outside world is concerned) Mr Skinner on his farm?

Aside from the land they shared and the tobacco and other crops on it, the facts show they were indeed poor white farmers. Witness that they only owned a few 'token' slaves of marginal value. Valued slaves were strong, and in their teens and 20's, with males the most prized. They had none of these. Their slaves doubtless did what work they could, the aging female surely cooked and did some outside work, the six and nine year olds could do chores and lug things, while the 4 year old could sweep, etc. Overall, these slaves' value lay in assuaging their white pride, in an economy completely underwritten and judged by slavery's existence.

Addendum

By 1860, the South overall was one of the wealthiest areas in the world. Its per capita income had increased rapidly over the previous 20 years. Such abundance on a 'good' plantation might well trickle down to the slaves. Slaves ate unadorned food, mostly corn and pork, but these might be joined by a few cabin-door vegetables, or fish or small game, and the earned largess of their owners.

The diet provided energy and passable nutrition. The clothing and roof given them were far from luxurious but most slaves were not much worse off than very poor whites. After all, slaves were a costly investment that needed attention and care. By comparison, America's slaves had a higher standard of living than many people in foreign countries and in much of tribal Africa, certainly higher than the sad lot of Russia's peasants.

As for free blacks, there were a quarter million free Southern blacks living mostly in the Upper South. They lived difficult lives and worked on farms for meager wages. They suffered social abuses without full rights and were not allowed to testify at trial, vote, or move about too freely. Their experience was not too different than that of the blacks who lived in the north.

White southerners, even the poorest, ferociously protected their liberty, as the bare-foot Southern soldiers during the Civil War show, and most, whether slaveholders or not, believed that their independence and economic self-interest was served by preserving if necessary to the death their 'peculiar institution'.

Conclusion

From a small $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inch nondescript, homemade stampless cover, a wealth if information has been derived, some directly and descriptively, some by inference and research in disparate, though historically aligned disciplines. As was hoped, Ms Maddux has come alive, though questions that can probably never be answered flood the mind: her physical characteristics, whether she sang as she worked, if she had empathy at any point for her little slave boy, did she grow to care for him as a person, and especially did they both live through the war? Would he have stayed with his mistress as a freedman, preferring to stay among the common sights he'd grown up with (as so many would do).

We have even learned about one and maybe two of her lovers, her status in society, not quite where she actually lived, but close enough.

We inferred how she probably filled her days and made a living, and we know at least the ages of those among whom she lived and who assisted her with her work.

We certainly have exposed our small fraternity of collectors to the town of Black's and White's and an assumed cancel typology, and have been able to question the garbled birth date of its post office as either 1813, 29 or 31, and so on.

Now the 'brain pain' has passed for another issue of *La Posta* and sure enough, the enjoyment chemical dopamine must be flowing because I've arrived, after angst and trepidation, at pleasurable satisfaction.

Virginia postal historians: let the writer know if you have answered any of the conjectures and suppositions made here, especially the chronology of types. Did the Post Office agree to change the name so many times in the 1870's and 1880's? My guess is no.

And, yes, I DO want to take a drive down to Blackstone VA to see what's in the town library's clipping folders.

Resources

[Blackstone VA]

http://www.townofblackstoneva.com/about

[Lunanburg County VA]

http://www.lunenburgva.org/la_history.html

[Nottoway County VA]

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Nottoway_County,_Virginia

[Schwartz's Tavern] http://www.nottoway.org/NCHA/ images/IMG_0044.JPG

[Battlefield map]

Battlefields of Virginia...Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Co (1891) at <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ historical/txu-pclmaps-virginia_battlefields_1892.jpg

[1860 Census] http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/

POSTAL HISTORIANS ON LINE

continued from page 8

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POSTAL HISTORY SOCIETIES (Listed by request) (For a Listing of <u>ALL U.S. State Postal History Societies</u> see the Empire State Postal History Society)— http://www.pspsociety.org Auxiliary Markings Club—http://www.pmarkings.org Machine Cancel Society—http://www.machinecancel.org Michigan [Peninsular State Philatelic Society, Michagan's Postal History

Society] — http://www.home.earthlink.net/~efisherco/ Military Postal History Society—http://www.militaryphs.org Mobile Post Office Society — http://www.eskimo.com/~rkunz/ mposhome.html

New Jersey Postal History Society — www.NJPostalHistory.org Secretary@NJPostalHistory.org

Postal History Foundation —slusser.library@gmail.com Postal History Society — http://www.stampclubs.com/phs/index.htm Postmark Collectors Club — http://www.postmarks.org The Postal History Foundation— library.phf@mindspring.com



SE TO AVOID WAR DEPARTMENT. HEADQUARTERS, U. S. TROOPS 430PM PANAMA CANAL ZONE ANCON, C. Z. OFFICIAL BUSINESS C. Brandes. Inc Room 815 32 Union Square New York City.

Figure 1 The U.S. Troops, Panama Canal Zone, was an organization formed by the War Department to command and coordinate activities of all United States ground forces in the Canal Zone.

U.S. Army in Canal Zone—World War I

By Wayne Worthington

As world nations began creating alliances that would lead up to the "war to end all wars", they began to coalesce around the Triple Alliance—Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy—and the Triple Entente—the United Kingdom, France and Russia.

Meanwhile the 130+ year old United States was focused on opening the Panama Canal. It was trying to avoid being drawn into the conflicts, but following successes in the 100-day Spanish-American War it had garnered its first overseas territories. These territories required defense and the US had little experience in defense outside its continental borders. This inexperience meant the US Army had no organizations formed to command troops in foreign geographical areas nor know-how to command units composed of Army, Navy and Army Air Corps forces located in the new regions.

In the Canal Zone, the US Army's 10th Infantry Regiment replaced the US Marines in ground force defense of the Canal area in October 1910, so the War Department formed a geographical command named U.S. Troops Panama Canal Zone to provide command of all ground units (*figure 1*). In 1914 the U.S. Troops Panama Canal Zone remained in command while the War Department formed subordinate area Army Departments: four for Continental defense and a Philippines and Hawaiian Departments.

The premier ground defense unit in the Canal Zone leading up to WWI was the Coastal Artillery Command (CAC) (*figure 2*). Coastal Artillery companies were formed and trained in the US in 1901. Selected companies were designated for Panama, and concrete bunkers were constructed in the Zone to coincide with the heavy concrete work for Canal construction. By 1911 Coastal Artillery Batteries had taken up positions in these bunkers located at both the Atlantic and Pacific entrances to the Canal.

On 15 August 1914 the Panama Canal officially opened for traffic and seven days later the first shot of World War I was fired. In the Zone, Army troop strengths grew quickly for Coastal Artillery and Harbor Defense Forces and an embryonic Aviation Section-Signal Corps began forming albeit with extremely limited assets. Additionally, a joint defense board was created to coordinate Navy and Army missions.

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Figure 2 The Coast Artillery Command (CAC) was the principal ground forces unit in the Canal Zone during the years leading up to WWI. This censored cover was mailed by an artilleryman stationed at Fort Amador guarding the Pacific (southern) entrance to the Canal.

Military panners determined that an effective army ground defense of the canal area would require strong coastal and harbor defense forces and three regiments of infantry along with support troops. To promote a single chain of command for these forces, the War sary supplies were transported by mules to Camp Otis from regimental warehouse at nearby Empire because the roads were impassible by wagons." On 5 July 1918, the 10th Infantry Regiment left Panama and joined the 14th Infantry Division in the States.

Department created the Panama Canal Department (PCD) on 1 July 1917 which replaced the U.S. Troops Panama Canal Zone. The WWI censor mark in the Canal Zone was the rectangle shown in *figure 3*. The small box at the left included the Army insignia over the initials P.C.D. The larger box was for censorship information. This particular censor mark is formed with wavy lines. The author is indebted to Paul Ammons, MPHS, for allowing the use this scan.

To complete a three Infantry Regiment defense configuration, the first unit would be the 10th Infantry Regiment which was already stationed on the Zone at Camp Otis



Figure 4 Posted in Empire, this cover bears a return address of a soldier in Company 9, 10th Infantry, Las Casadas on the reverse.



Figure 3 The military censor marking used on all army mail from units of the unified Panama Canal Department in World War I.

and Las Cascadas (map 1 arrow). *Figure 4* shows a 1914 Empire posting, but the return address is Co 9, 10th Inf Regt, Las Cascadas. William Ormsbee Jr writes in his 2005 *Word War I Camps* that "Commis-



Figure 5 Post card view of 10th Infantry troops posed in front of the Las Cascadas railroad station. Source: http:// /www.czimages.com/CZMemories/Cascadas_and_Otis/ Cas_Otis26.htm



Figure 6 Army pack mules were needed to overcome the rugged terrain in the vicinity of Culebra where the Panama Canal cut through the continental divide. Source: http://www.life.com/image/50608516

Of the Infantry Regiments that served in the WWI Panama Canal area, the 29th Infantry Regiment had some interesting assignments. Formed in 1901 at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, the regiment served two counter-insurgency missions in the Philippines (1902-04 & 1907-1909). In 1915, the 29th was sent to Panama to be part of the defense configuration.

The 29th also had troops stationed at Culebra. The cover shown in *figure 8* was postmarked Balboa, but that was not unusual for the Canal Zone. The total area is relatively small and soldiers would often take the train or hitch a ride to town for some time off and drop their letter in the "big city" post office.

While stationed in the Zone the 29th performed normal training exercises like the march with full field pack shown in *figure 9*.

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1030AM ARY CENSORSHI

Figure 8 The cover carried a letter from a lieutenant in the 29th Infantry regiment stationed at Culebra, but postmarked at Balboa on July 10, 1918. Given the small geographic area of the Canal Zone, it was not unusual for military mail to be posted through offices different than the home base post office.

Like other infantry units in the area, the 29th did a great deal of jungle training and survey work, but the regiment was also involved in guarding Germans taken prisoner in Panama. As the war progressed, the regiment was needed in Europe so in September 1918 the 29th Infantry left Panama.

Camp Gaillard was turned into a large post by transferring building materials which were no longer needed from the PanCanal Company. Three different Regiments housed units at Gaillard from 1914-1918. *Figure 10* shows a view of the camp.

One of the organizations that shared space at Camp Gaillard was the 5th Infantry Regiment. The Regiment stationed some troops at Camp Gaillard and some at Empire as shown in *figure 11* The address on the back is Company B, 5th US Infantry. As space was needed at Gaillard for other arriving units, the 5th sent groups of soldiers to create an Army tent city at Paraiso. Eventually, Camp Paraiso was built up into a permanent base and became the home of the 5th. The Regiment left the Zone for training in the States in 1918, but some of its officers and men were transferred to form the 33rd Infantry Regiment. Paraiso was not forgotten, however, as the 5th Infantry Regiment was to return there in September 1939 as part of the Canal's World War II defense force. Paraiso would be the Regiment's home for its entire WWII service.



Figure 9 The 29th Infantry on the march in the Canal Zone.



Figure 10 Camp Gaillard bird's eye view.

The 33rd Infantry Regiment was created in the Zone on 6 July 1916 with transfers from the 10th, 5th and 29th Regiments. For this reason the 33rd was known unofficially as the "Canal Zone's Own." The Regiment was dispersed at Gaillard, Gatun, Otis and Empire until after the war. It was permanently headquartered at Fort Clayton in 1920. The 33rd Infantry Regiment remained a part of the Canal Zone defense force under the PCD until 1941. It was transferred to the new Caribbean Defense Command and became part of the Caribbean bases-for-ships arrangement with Great Britain. Their mission was defending British is-

MPIA

SEP 2

1030

.00.

Figure 11 This cover was postmarked Empire, September 28, 1918. The return address on the reverse indicates that it was sent by a soldier in Company B, 5th US Infantry.

lands in the Caribbean and Dutch islands and bauxite mines in Guiana. At war's end the 33rd transferred to the States and was disestablished.

Drf

A study of 33rd Regiment censor marks show some

of the variety available for further research. *Figure 12* shows the censor officer indicated his unit in pen.

Figure 13 shows a 33rd hand stamp imposed over the censor handstamp. A variety of unit handstamps were locally created.

Figure 14 shows a more personal handstamp used with the standard World War I censor mark.

MILLITARY CENSORSHIP PASSED EV Educard Regard P. C. D. Mr. Deway Shreck. Lewis burg. R. F. D. # 4. C. T. C. D. Mr. Deway Shreck. Lewis burg. Figure 12 Postmarked Gatun, September 21, 1918, the censor officer indicated his unit as the 33rd Infantry Regiment.

mirs Florence Ri Figure 13 A straight-line



Figure 13 A straight-line 33rd Infantry handstamp used with PCD censor marking.

Figure 14 An officer's personal handstamp used with the PCD censor marking.



Figure 15 Reverse side of a WWI-era cover mailed from the Canal Zone showing the return addrerss of an infantryman from Company E, Puerto Rican Infantry Regiment. Courtesy of David Zemer, CZSG

With orders for the 29th Regiment to leave the Zone, the War Department decided to replace it in the Panama Canal Defense force with a regiment from Puerto Rico. The unit trained and ready was the Puerto Rican Regiment—Infantry.

The Regiment, abbreviated as "PR Inf" in *figure 15*, began arriving in late 1917 and elements were stationed at Camp Otis. Thanks for this cover scan goes to David Zemer, CZSG.

Other elements of the Puerto Rico Regiment were stationed at Empire as shown in *figure 16*. In this case the unit identity was abbreviated "PRR—Inf."



Figure 16 A portion on the reverse side of a registered cover mailed from Empire, Canal Zone in 1919 showing the return address of a soldier in the Puerto Rican Regiment—Infantry.

The Puerto Rican Regiment—Infantry remained in the Canal Zone defense force until war's end and returned home to Puerto Rico in late 1919. After the war, the Regiment was integrated into the Regular US Army as the 65th Infantry Regiment. The 65th would return to the Canal Zone in World War II.

The defense of the Panama Canal makes for a complex study and this material just barely scratches the surface.

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10th Infantry Regt History, <u>http://</u> www.wood.army.mil/2-10in/History.html

29th Infantry Regt History, <u>http://en.wikipedia.org/</u> <u>wiki/</u>

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"God is near, do not fear — Friend, good night." Wartime Uses of Mourning Covers

By Richard D. Martorelli

Mourning covers can be defined as black-edged posted letters or cards that were used in most countries, especially during the 19th and early 20th centuries. They contained announcements of a death, funeral or condolences, or correspondence from someone touched by the death of someone close to them. This death related mail has been carried in the public mail system of at least 250 different countries, with varying frequencies by decade and geography.

The first documented use of a mourning cover, containing a death notice and funeral invitation, is from Luxembourg in 1767. Their usage peaked worldwide and in the United States in the 1900-1919 period based on a survey of almost 3,900 posted covers reported by Ernest Mosher in his 2003 book *Mourning Covers: The Cultural and Postal History of Letters Edged in Black.* The defining event of this decade was World War I. While figures are uncertain, the most reliable governmental figures are that the total number of deaths was 16.5 million (including 9.7 million military personnel and 6.8 million civilians). Approximately

1.75% of the combined population of the 19 Allied and 4 Central Powers countries was killed. The range was 2% to 4% for the major Western European nations. Given the numbers of deaths, it may be surprising that this was the first decade in which use of mourning covers declined. Or maybe, because of the numbers of deaths, families had to put some part of their grief aside to make their way forward, and so dispensed with the stationery.

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Given the social customs and usages, it is possible to form specialized groupings of mourning covers used in a varying range of human events. The use of mourning covers during wartime would seem to be a complementary collecting interest to a military postal historian. There are many other collectors with a greater knowledge and range of expertise and examples who could discuss a broader scope of use in this context. For example, a discussion of covers relating to the US Civil War period could be a book or at least several chapters in one, in its own. This article is limited in scope to select US and foreign usages during the 1935-1945 WWII period that were found and acquired in pursuit of military postal history.

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) began with a military coup by a group of conservative generals (Nationalists) led by General Francisco Franco against the established Government of the centre-left Second Spanish Republic (Republicans) led by President Manuel Azaña. The Nationalist coup was supported by Spanish conservative, monarchist (seeking a separate Spanish King) and fascist groups, as well as Nazi



Figure 1 This cover was mailed in May 1937 from the city of Soria, located in an area which the Nationalists initially controlled from the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936.

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Germany, Fascist Italy, and the authoritarian Portugal of António de Oliveira Salazar. The Republican government was supported by the Soviet Union and, through the international communist movement they directed, 32,000 volunteers from more than 20 countries. The American Government offered no official support for either side, but American corporations assisted the Nationalist army, furnishing a regular supply of non-military good such as trucks and fuel.

The Non-Intervention Committee, a joint diplomatic initiative of Great Britain and France, was established in September 1936. Its goal was to prevent the expansion of the Spanish conflict, in which there was significant outside support on both sides, from expanding into a major European war. A stated goal of the Non Intervention Committee was to prevent person-

nel and armaments from being supplied to the warring parties of the Spanish Civil War. While this was noble, in practice, it disadvantaged the Republicans. Hitler and Mussolini paid no heed to the Committee's proclamations while other members, including Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Ireland tried to comply. The low point came in October 1938, when the Non-Intervention Committee ordered the withdrawal of the International Brigades fighting on the Republican side. The hope was that Italy and Germany would withdraw their forces fighting for the Nationalists and that France and Britain would end their arms embargo on the Republic. Since neither goal was achieved, this action directly contributed to the victory, 6 months later, of Franco's forces. The new tank warfare tactics and the terror bombing of cities from the air were features of the Spanish Civil War which played a significant part in the later general European war. During the Civil War, the death toll was approximately 500,000 people.

The illustrated cover in *figure 1* was mailed in May 1937 from the city of Soria, located in an area that the Nationalists initially controlled from 1936. Just a few weeks earlier the infamous Condor Legion attack on Guernica, 160 miles to the north, had occurred. As is visible, the letter was opened, reviewed and sealed again with censor's tape. Censorship is always concerned with preventing the enemy from getting military, economic or any other information (such as weather reports) that could be useful in their efforts, as well as writings that could be considered subversive or have the possibility of undermining the war ef-

GUERNSE GUERNSEY -AN SEP W.C. Walles. Nuffield" Doyle. Road

Figure 2 This is a cover mailed intra-island on Guernsey during the German occupation (1940-1945) and is franked with Occupation stamps. Note the distortion of the last digit of the year in the

fort or morale. The censors may have thought that a death notice would need to be reviewed because any talk of death or casualties would be considered as damaging to morale of the populace at large, or in the case of overseas mail, to the international opinion of the Nationalists.

Despite the overall decrease in the custom of use, there are a number of examples of mourning cover usage during WWII. They speak to the need to share thoughts and emotions with others in a time of sadness, and to reach out for comfort. More than anything, to me, they speak of the daily activities of ordinary people during trying times. The first case of this is shown in *figure* 2. It was mailed locally in Guernsey to an address in St. Peter Port during the German occupation (1940-1945) and is franked with Occupation stamps. The German occupation of the Guernsey and Jersey started in July 1940 and by the end of the year Guernsey was running out of regular postage stamps. Initially, the German Commandant ordered British stamps to be overprinted with a swastika. After protests from the Guernsey and Jersey civilian government leaders, direction was requested from Berlin. The German government decided that they did not wish to antagonize the Islanders and denied the request.

In December, the German authorities suggested that 2d values be bisected, and used as 1d postage until new stamps were issued. The locally designed and produced Guernsey 1d Arms was issued in February 1941, and the ¹/₂d in April 1941 but because of paper shortages, it wasn't until April 1944 that a 2¹/₂d Arms

stamp was issued. The two initially issued stamps provided postage for the three main postage rates at the time. They were unsealed letters at 1d, postcards at 2d and sealed letters at 2¹/₂d.



In 1941, the Guernsey Post Office only had one figure '1' for the year date. The other '1' in 1941 was created by blocking out half of the figure '0'. As may be seen in the illustration, this created the appearance of a curved '1' in the second '1' of 1941. During the occupation, the Islanders were allowed send mail either on or between the Channel Islands. Private letters such as the figure 2 mourning cover as well as commercial mail was sent. The letters were uncensored, and could use British or the locally printed stamps. The only restriction was in sending mail to England or other non-German-occupied countries. The only allowed method was through the International Red Cross "Message Scheme", managed out of Switzerland and with the cooperation of the national Red Cross organizations and governments of the warring countries. Messages were limited to 25 words, and usually took 3-66 months for delivery.

Within the German military and civilian postal systems themselves, other examples are regularly found. Starting in 1937, the German Armed Forces (Wehrmacht) had a military mailing service that provided postal services within Germany at free or nominal cost. All German military branches had their own organic postal administration in charge of receiving and delivering mail. For field post ("Feldpost") offices closest to the combat zone, a mobile facility usually processed mail for all military branches. The rapid conquest of Europe in the spring of 1940 expanded the active service

25 words, and usuary due with a red-inked, single line "Nachgebühr", a bluecrayoned "18" and forwarded using the civilian post. Feldpust. Herrin Hauptmeum Sohaunes Schwarz. Berlin - Charlettenburg Rightsstr. 29 II.

Figure 3 was mailed by a civilian attempting to use the field post system to send a mourning cover to Berlin. The inappropriate usage was found out, marked postage due with a red-inked, single line "Nachgebühr" and a blue-crayoned "18" and forwarded using the civilian post.

area of the German military, and a series of postal agreements were set up between Germany and the

occupied countries providing an extended usage of military mail service. Estimates based on existing invoices between the German Wehrmacht and the Reichspost indicate that during World War II, about 30 to 40 billion items marked Feldpost were transported. As with most of the combatant countries, to preserve the secrecy of troop movements, each military unit was assigned a code number. The Germans called it a Feldpost number (FPN), which is an equivalent term to the British Field Post Office (FPO) or the American Army or Fleet Post Office (APO/FPO). Expansion of the service coverage came in 1939 when the letter prefixes "L" and "M" was attached in front of FPN for units belonging to the Luftwaffe (Air Force) and Kriegsmarine (Navy). Further breakdown by type of military units was added by attaching letters at the end of each FPN; for example, the letter "A" generally signified a headquarters company. The standard procedure was that Feldpost mail could not be handled by civilian post offices, nor could it be used by civilians unassociated with the military. The item illustrated in Figure 3 was mailed by a civilian attempting to use the field post system to send a mourning cover to Berlin. The inappropriate usage was most likely found out as it had no FPN or unit handstamp, and a return address of Frau Wielts. The cover was marked postage

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Figure 4 illustrates a memorial card for a German soldier killed in action in November 1944 and a typical mailing envelope. Memorial cards such as these had been commonplace in Germany and were widely used during WWII.

Shown in *figure 4* is a memorial card for a German soldier killed in action in November 1944 and a typical mailing envelope. Memorial cards such as these had been commonplace in European culture since the 1860's. The cards varied in size but were often 4" x 6", on heavy card stock, usually bordered and printed in black. In the Victorian period, cards were usually intricately embossed in a wide variety of designs containing symbolic elements representing divinity, eternity, love, and tragedy. The large size cards of the early part of twentieth century have been generally replaced with a smaller 3' x $4\frac{1}{2}$ 'card. The cards have a picture of the deceased, basic dates of birth and death, a comment or two about the person, and some type of a prayer or poem. They were given out to the visitors of the funeral and relatives of the person as part of the funerary culture and tradition, particularly in Germany. In general, the use of death cards is more of a Catholic tradition (in the United States, the comparable cards picture a religious scene rather than the deceased), but non-religious and other religion death cards have been in use around the world for the last 100 years.

As I wrote above, mourning cover usage during WWII is evidence of the need of ordinary people to carry on with "normal" traditions during trying times as a way to survive. One more example of that is the mourning cover shown in *figure 5*, was mailed in Quickborn, Germany to a local address on April 5, 1945. By early April 1945, Allied forces in the west had crossed the Rhine into Germany and were advancing rapidly and

the Russians in the east were outside of Berlin. The U.S. First and Ninth armies executed a double envelopment on 1 April 1945 in the northern Ruhr, trapping 325,000 German soldiers. Hamburg, 15 miles to the south, was a large port and industrial center, with shipyards, U-boat pens, oil refineries and armament factories. During the war, the city was a target for bombing missions and diversionary raids over 90 times. Only a week before this item was mailed, there was an air raid targeting U-boats under construction at the Bloom and Voss shipyards in Hamburg. While cloud cover prevented serious damage to the shipyard, there was considerable damage to houses, factories, energy supplies and communications over a wide area of southern Hamburg. The note of sympathy that would have been included in this small envelope may have been related to a death caused by either of these events, or the many others in the final weeks of the war.



Figure 5 shows a mourning cover that was mailed locally in Quickborn, Germany in April 1945 as the Allied forces were closing in from the west and east.

During the war, the German government sought to relieve the labor shortage in the Third Reich by recruitment as well as forcible conscription of foreign workers. The military campaigns and the conquests of neighboring European countries were accompanied by enlistment of the civilian population as a workforce. These laborers either worked in plants in the occupied countries or were sent to Germany to work. The German Reich had concluded agreements with friendly and neutral states, and consequently their subjects

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Figure 6 was mailed in March 1944 from a town near the northwest Italian-Swiss border to an Italian Military Internee in a German POW camp

generally came to Germany voluntarily and on terms providing relatively good legal safeguards. Italian workers, as citizens of an allied fascist state, enjoyed a special position at first. Between March 1941 and December 1942, around 250,000 Italian industrial workers came to Germany, and in March 1943 they were supposed to return to Italy. After Mussolini's overthrow and the German occupation of Rome in July 1943, the German government refused to permit the return of the Italians still working in Germany. After Italy signed an armistice with the Allies in October 1943, approximately 600,000 Italian Military Internees (disarmed Italian soldiers who were denied POW status pursuant to the Geneva Convention) were deported to Germany and deployed at forced labor in generally very poor conditions. Without the deployment of foreign laborers, both voluntary and forced, it would have been impossible for the German Reich to continue the war after 1942, as production in the agricultural and industrial sectors could not have been sustained. In September 1944, around 3.5 million foreign laborers and prisoners of war were working in German industry. The registered mourning cover in *figure 6* was mailed in March 1944 from Grantola, about 5 miles from the northwest Italian-Swiss border, to an Italian POW in Stalag 11-B near Braunschweig, approximately thirty miles east of Hanover. Presumably the use of registered mail was to allow for the tracking of the letter and its delivery to the addressee. The cover is franked with definitive stamps from the Kingdom of Italy issue of 1929 as opposed to the Italian Social Republic stamps, which was supposedly the government of record at the time. The Italian Social Republic was a puppet state of Nazi Germany, created at Hitler's direction by Mussolini after he was rescued by the Germans, with its only purpose being to provide some administrative control over the northern region of Italy still in control of the Germans.

Even though volume was down, mourning covers were still used in the United States in this period, and there are examples that can be found with military connections. The covers shown in figure 7 are typical uses of the black-edged envelopes, and both were mailed from European APOs using the surface mail "free frank" postage concession approved in April 1942. In reading the letter enclosed in one of them, there was no direct reference to a family death or mourning, so initially the usage of mourning stationary didn't make sense. A few months later, while doing other research, I read that the official period of mourning after the death of the president or a former president is 30 days. As Franklin Roosevelt died April 12, 1945, this common-number APO cover with a postmark date of April 29, 1945 was put into an entirely different category. It was an astonishing thought that this soldier, through just a simple act, was paying homage to, and was in mourning for, his deceased Commander in Chief.

In many areas of philately, the classification of what to be included in a collection is up to the collector. In this instance, I have found two additional items that I feel are mourning covers in spirit if not in fact. The first item is a piece of returned mail, with the inevitable "pointing finger". The envelope in *figure 8* is

Put. Bruce J. Peeligs (33665 259 7 NEE Battery C 791 Field Antiller a.P.O. 408 7. Postmaeter new yord, n. PASSED Miss Low Olice Hill une 216 I lorland Il sive al Bus & artley 0. 863 a a a a a w) 4 asa 150 11319 The Barbigon

Figure 7 shows typical uses of the black-edged envelopes, mailed from European APOs using the surface mail "free frank" postage concession approved in April 1942 during the official period of mourning after the death of President Franklin Roosevelt.

tal divisional personnel count of 8,505. This returned mail letter has a handstamp that reads "Return to Sender/ VERIFIED /1ST BASE POST OFFICE", and a manuscript "Deceased", dates from August-September 1944, and would have been only one of many sent back to family and friends when the 502nd returned to England after the Normandy airborne assault.

The last item, illustrated in *figure 9*, is a tissue copy of a letter sent (presumably) from an

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Figure 8 This envelope was mailed in August 1944 to a soldier in the 101st Airborne Division and was marked "Return to Sender/ VERIFIED" and a manuscript "Deceased".

postmarked August 1, 1944 and is addressed to a soldier in the 502nd Parachute Infantry, 101st Airborne Division. The 502nd PIR was among the first units to jump into Normandy in the predawn hours of June 6th 1944, before the actual seaborne invasion of Normandy began. The regiment's assignment was to secure two northern causeways leading inland from Utah Beach and destroy a German coast-artillery battery near the town of Ste. Martin-de-Varreville. In the Normandy campaign, the 101st Division losses in total were approximately 10% deaths. 27% wounded and 8% missing/ captured, accounting for 3.836 soldiers out of a to-



Figure 9 is a tissue copy of a letter sent from an American Red Cross Field Director in Italy to the headquarters of the American Red Cross in Washington, DC. Dated February 18, 1944, it discusses the life of the first female ARC worker killed in battle in WWII.

American Red Cross (ARC) Field Director in Italy to the headquarters of the American Red Cross in Washington, DC. Dated February 18, 1944, it tells of how official War Department notification had just been sent to the family of Esther Richards, an ARC medical social worker assigned to the 95th Evacuation Hospital located at Anzio Beach, Italy. The 95th was the first U.S hospital in Europe in World War II, landing on the Salerno beachhead at noon on D-day (September 9, 1943). On February 7, 1944, an attacking German plane jettisoned its bombs while trying to evade Allied fighters. Because of the limited space on the beachhead, it was impossible to put the medical facilities out of range of the Germans and away from legitimate military targets. Ms. Richards was killed by shrapnel, along with 21 other medical staff and 6 patients, and 60 others were wounded in the attack. The personnel and equipment losses sustained were enormous (total staffing being approximately 40 doctors, 40 nurses and 220 enlisted men) and the 95th was ordered to change places with the 15th Evacuation Hospital, then stationed at the area of Monte Cassino. Ms. Richards was the first ARC woman to be killed in an enemy action during WWII, and one of 52 women and 34 men working for the ARC killed during the war. In addition to two Purple Hearts (having previously been wounded at Salerno during German attacks on the HMHS *Newfoundland*), Ms. Richards was awarded the War Cross of Military Valor (equivalent to the Distinguished Service Cross) by the Italian Government.

The thought often occurs to me how privileged we are as collectors to be able to touch a piece of the past when we hold an old envelope or letter, and how we have a responsibility to preserve these items to allow history to be told again by future generations. In the case of the covers discussed in this article, I find myself remembering, and honoring the dead for their lives and service. In closing, I repeat the closing lyrics of "Taps", the bugle call sounded nightly in military installations at non-deployed locations to indicate that it is "lights out", but more frequently known as the call sounded at the completion of a military funeral ceremony...."God is near, do not fear, Friend, goodnight."

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Duty, Honor...Inspiration



Figure 1. Action photo taken during the Army-vs-Duke game. Picture shows Freddie Attaya punting the ball.

By Michael Dattolico

The early 1950s was a difficult time for the United States Army. Congress slashed defense budgets during the post-World War II period, shrinking the armed forces as they struggled to meet commitments around the world. In 1950 the Korean War began, and army units based in Japan joined United Nations forces on the Korean peninsula. By the year's end, Communist Chinese soldiers entered the conflict, forcing a widespread retreat by the allies. Thousands of U.S. troops were either missing in action or known prisoners of war in Korea.

The Selective Service system conscripted large numbers of men for the army, as Americans became increasingly concerned about the war's progress. The contentious relationship between President Truman and General MacArthur boiled over, resulting in MacArthur's dismissal as commander of United Nations forces.

But one of the Army's gravest crises occurred at home. Shortly before graduation in 1951, West Point officials discovered a cheating system that existed within the corps of cadets. An investigation ensued and by midsummer, 90 cadets had admitted involvement and were expelled or resigned. Of that number, nearly 40 football players departed, leaving the varsity decimated. Coach Earl Blaik's son, Bob Blaik, the team's starting quarterback was dismissed. Team captain Harold J. Loehlein resigned. The West Point cheating scandal shook the country.

News of the crisis reached Red Blaik on August 4th. As the debacle unfolded, he himself considered resignation but was dissuaded by General MacArthur. Having decided to remain, Blaik faced the daunting task of fielding a team for the upcoming 1951 season. His only option was to move the entire freshman team to the varsity. After years of building teams that steamrolled its opponents, Blaik felt uneasy about his teams' competitive prospects. As expected, the next two seasons were disasters.

Until recently, I knew little about the 1951 West Point academic scandal and even less about the football teams' dismal seasons in the early 1950s. But a letter written by a West Point football player depicted that tumultuous period with unexpected poignancy.

Cadet Fred A. Attaya wrote a letter to an admirer in Ohio in October, 1953. *Figures 1 through 3* show part of the letter, the cover in which it was enclosed and an autographed picture of Attaya. The letter is shown in full at the end of this article. It expressed

Figure 2. Letter written by senior cadet Fred Attaya to an Ohio fan in October, 1953. Пільер Зайлев Шталіна. Асйрема West Point, New York 8 October 1953 letter ATTAYA F (1554) Co H-Z USCO West Point, N.Y MR. Larry Bartlome 201 Huron St Figure 3. Cover postmarked West Vermilion, Ohio Point, N.Y. addressed to Vermilion, Ohio.

thanks to the fan for writing and was filled with advice. Its content reflects the maturity and wisdom one might expect from an older brother or a kindly uncle. One can imagine Attaya sitting at his desk writing the letter. Although tired from the daily routine, demanding coursework and rigors of football practice, he pauses thoughtfully as he searches for the right words. Its phrases still resonate.

...Remember that to be good, you've got to want to win-but win fair!...If you lose, make no excuses...Give yourself credit when you do good....Be your own judge and try to set your goal a little beyond your reach so you'll work hard always....

Fellow cadets called him "Freddie". He had just completed his 'plebe' year in 1951 when the scandal unfolded. Attaya was one of the freshmen football players who suddenly comprised the Black Knights varsity team. Frequently injured, Freddie persevered and as his senior year approached, he was West Point's starting fullback and punter.

Not much is known about Fred Attaya except his legendary exploits during the 1953 football season. The West Point team went 7 - 1 - 1, won the prestigious Lambert Award and the admiration of Coach Earl Blaik and his staff. Fred played a crucial role in defeating 7th-ranked Duke University and saw Army defeat Navy for the first time in three years. After that, there is little recorded about his life. I resolved to meet this tough but tender man. I was fortunate to reach Fred Attaya on the phone at his home in Texas. He is a friendly, affable man with a booming voice and raucous sense of humor. I told him about the letter he had written to a fan in 1953. Fred didn't recall that particular letter, stating that he had many requests for pictures and autographs in those days. I told him that aside from his exploits during the 1953 football season, little was known about him. For the next 45 minutes, Attaya happily filled in the blanks.

Fred Attaya was the youngest of eight children born to Lebanese immigrants who first settled in New Orleans. The family later moved to southern Mississippi where Fred was born. After high school he attended Louisiana State University for a year before entering the United States Military Academy in 1950. He played on the football team during his four years there.

Attaya graduated from West Point in June, 1954, and was commissioned into the artillery. But first he completed airborne training at Fort Benning. Fred explained, "In those years, all academy graduates had to go through either airborne school or ranger training. I chose airborne." After jump school, he completed the artillery course at Fort Sill, Oklahoma and was stationed there for a year. He then went overseas to Germany where he spent another year. That's when Fred's army career came to an end.



Figure 4. Picture snipped from a West Point paper which was autographed by Fred Attaya.

He became pensive as he explained what happened. "I simply couldn't keep up," Fred said. "After getting hurt playing football and becoming injured again during airborne training, it all took its toll. I resigned my commission in 1957 for medical reasons."

His military career finished, Fred started over in a different direction. He earned a Masters degree in petroleum engineering from the University of Oklahoma and worked for a Wichita Falls oil company. In the mid-60s, Fred became a Professional Engineer, started his own consulting business and worked with other engineers in the petroleum industry. Now retired, he and his wife, Mary travel and stay active.

Fred A. Attaya — collegiate athlete, army officer and inspiration to others.

8 October 1953

Dear Larry,

I received your letter a couple of days ago. I was very happy to hear from you. It means a lot to a player to know he has someone pulling for him in some different part of the country. Nothing really is worth much unless you have someone to share it with you. That's how I feel about football. If I know someone is watching or listening personally, I play a much better game.

I don't know if you play or plan to play football. Maybe you are better at baseball or tennis or some other sport. At any rate, remember that to be good, you've got to want to win —but win fair! If you lose, make no excuses. Admit your opponent was better during the time you played. Give yourself credit when you do good. Never be really satisfied with a performance. Be your own judge and try to set your goal a little beyond your reach so you'll work hard always.

That's a lot of advice. But you can do it all. Just start working now.

I wish I had a picture to send you, but I haven't. I hope I see you someday.

Sincerely,

Fred Attaya

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1. Milan Cernik, collector of postal stationery, exhibitor, and philatelic auctioneer at www.pac-auction.com

2. Bretislav Janik, webmaster-Japhila daily magazine www.japhila.cz; Secretary-World Stamp Exhibit Committee, Prague-1988.

3. Vit Vanicek, vice-president of the Union of Czech Philatelists and President-World Stamp Exhibit Committee-Prague-2008.

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HATHERLY MASS Postmark, 1887-1906, Covers, postcards. Send scan, photocopy and price to Daniel Lucas, 29 Cottonwood Ln., Rockland, Mass 02370. da1941@verizon.net [43-3]

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NORTH DAKOTA: all postal history wanted from territorial to modern. Send photocopies or on approval. Gary Anderson, P.O. Box 600039, St. Paul, MN 55106 42-3]

SPOKANE FALLS / SPOKANE, WA. 1872date wanted: Territorial, registered, postage due, certified, commercial airmail, foreign destinations, unusual station cancels, usages, and postal markings. Send description or photocopies/scans to Larry Mann, 655 Washington PL SW, Mukilteo, WA 98275 Larrymann02@aol.com [42-3

WESTPORT WA Collector seeking older advertising covers and pre-1950 postcards from Westport, WA. Contact: Douglas Olson, PO Box 2177, Westport, WA 98595 [42-3]

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AD DEADLINE FOR NEXT ISSUE:

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WANTED: MISCELLANY

ILLUSTRATED ADVERTISING card/covers: Buffalo/Pawnee Bill, Wild West Show, P.T. Barnum, western lawmen; WWI Newfoundland. Mario, Box 342, Station Main, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada S7K 3L3 [43-3]

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International Air Mail during the Pre-WWII Era:

Scarcity According to Origins & Destinations

Appendix A Statistical support for theoretical bilateral air mail flow maps

Table 1 Theoretical Bilateral Air Mail Flows to/from USA

Country	Population 1930 (millions)	Distance US- Country A (thousand miles)	GDP per Capita 1935 (thousand \$)	B*D/C	Language	Affinity	Mail Volume
CANADA	9.52	0.441	3.37	72.7	3	8	83.7
GREAT BRITAIN	47.40	3.963	5.148	61.6	3		64.6
GERMANY	62.57	4.415	3.556	50.4			50.4
FRANCE	40.74	4.147	4.192	41.2			41.2
ITALY	40.58	4.832	2.894	24.3			24.3
MEXICO	15.50	1.683	1.574	14.5		8	22.5
SPAIN	22.13	4.192	2.556	13.5			13.5
BRAZIL	37.35	5.285	1.142	8.1		5	13.1
ARGENTINA	10.87	5.56	3.621	7.1		5	12.1
COLOMBIA	7.83	2.696	1.577	4.6		5	9.6
IRELAND	2.97	3.672	2.972	2.4	2	5	9.4
AUSTRALIA	6.26	9.236	4.564	3.1	1	5	9.1
NETHERLANDS	7.53	4.121	4.956	9.1			9.1
BELGIUM	7.87	4.154	4.681	8.9			8.9
NEWFOUNDLAND	0.26	1.752	3.37	0.5	3	5	8.5
VENEZUELA	3.03	2.498	2.831	3.4	5		8.4
PANAMA	0.45	2.32	2	0.4		8	8.4
CUBA	3.58	1.326	1.196	3.2		5	8.2
POLAND	29.59	4.682	1.593	10.1		-2	8.1
SWITZERLAND	3.96	4.417	5.966	5.3		2	7.3
CHILE	4.00	5.292	2.655	2.0		5	7.0
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	11.41	8.139	1.348	1.9		5	6.9
NEW ZEALAND	1.34	8.189	4.327	0.7	1	5	6.7
GUATEMALA	2.00	1.881	1.358	1.4		5	6.4
HAITI	2.50	1.844	1	1.4		5	6.4
PALESTINE	0.85	6.203	2	0.3	1	5	6.3
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	14.36	4.552	2.552	8.1		-2	6.1
AUSTRIA	6.54	4.701	2.833	3.9		2	5.9
EL SALVADOR	1.66	1.943	0.922	0.8		5	5.8
ECUADOR	2.00	2.953	1	0.7		5	5.7
SWEDEN	6.07	4.287	3.991	5.7			5.7
PERU	5.55	3.775	1.74	2.6		3	5.6
HONDURAS	0.77	1.913	1.372	0.6		5	5.6
NICARAGUA	0.65	2.05	1.456	0.5		5	5.5
COSTA RICA	0.52	2.205	1.66	0.4		5	5.4
PARAGUAY	0.85	5	1.5	0.3		5	5.3
CHINA	438.85	7.073	0.565	35.1		-30	5.1
INDIA	318.94	7.485	0.68	29.0	1	-25	5.0
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	6.93	8.679	1.7	1.4	3		4.4
BOLIVIA	3.46	4.204	1.6	1.3		3	4.3
DENMARK	3.43	4.264	5.291	4.3			4.3
HUNGARY	8.46	4.839	2.374	4.2			4.2
URUGUAY	1.76	5.645	3.221	1.0		3	4.0
Romania	17.50	5.226	1.184	4.0			4.0
YUGOSLAVIA	12.02	5.002	1.147	2.8	1		3.8
CEYLON	5.12	8.985	1.26	0.7	1	2	3.7
MALAY STATES	2.53	9.28	1.54	0.4	1	2	3.4

Table 1 Theoretical Bilateral Air Mail Flows to/from USA

LIBERIA	2.00	5.257	1	0.4	1	2	3.4
TURKEY	13.66	5.492	1.357	3.4			3.4
NIGERIA	18.77	5.957	0.75	2.4	1		3.4
HONG KONG	0.87	7.804	2.2	0.2	1	2	3.2
STRAIT SETTLEMENTS	0.96	9.372	2.2	0.2	1	2	3.2
KENYA	2.74	8.014	0.65	0.2	1	2	3.2
BRITISH GUINANA	0.31	3.018	2	0.2	1	2	3.2
EGYPT	14.17	6.148	0.9	2.1	1		3.1
MONACO	0.02	4.546	6	0.0		3	3.0
USSR	157.61	4.988	2.5	79.0		-76	3.0
GREECE	6.44	5.448	2.418	2.9			2.9
NORWAY	2.79	4.051	3.638	2.5			2.5
PORTUGAL	5.62	4.008	1.732	2.4			2.4
PERSIA	10.00	6.502	1.5	2.3			2.3
JAPAN	66.34	6.313	2.12	22.3		-20	2.3
DUTCH EAST INDIES	51.01	9.818	1.002	5.2		-3	2.2
FINLAND	3.56	4.443	2.702	2.2			2.2
SURINAM	0.14	3.18	2	0.1		2	2.1
FRENCH WEST AFRICA	13.54	4.541	0.65	1.9			1.9
KOREA (CHOSEN)	19.52	6.544	1.247	3.7		-2	1.7
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN	7.01	6.957	0.6	0.6	1	_	1.6
BULGARIA	5.48	5.206	1.45	1.5			1.5
ALGERIA	6.06	4.647	1.1	1.4			1.4
GOLD COAST	2.11	5.835	1.1	0.4	1		1.4
MOROCCO	4.23	4.263	1.1	1.4			1.4
FRENCH INDO CHINA	19.84	8.698	0.6	1.4			1.4
BELGIAN CONGO	8.51	7.081	1.1	1.4			1.3
UGANDA	3.15	7.732	0.65	0.3	1		1.3
TANGANYIKA	4.46	8.409	0.03	0.3	1		1.2
SIERRA LEONE	1.54	5.029	0.42	0.2	1		1.2
LITHUANIA	2.25	4.796	2.4	1.1	1		1.1
NORTHERN RHODESIA	1.24			0.1	4		
		8.249	0.66		1		1.1
SOUTHERN RHODESIA SOUTH WEST AFRICA	0.87	8.502	0.7	0.1	1		1.1
	0.26	7.983	2	0.1	1		1.1
AFGHANISTAN	12.00	6.977	0.6	1.0			1.0
	1.87	4.568	2.5	1.0			1.0
FIJI ISLANDS	0.16	7.24	1	0.0	1		1.0
ZANZIBAR	0.13	8.41	1	0.0	1		1.0
ADEN	0.05	7.62	0.8	0.0	1		1.0
SIAM	9.83	8.565	0.8	0.9			0.9
SYRIA	2.42	6.15	2	0.8			0.8
ESTONIA	1.12	4.477	3	0.8			0.8
IRAQ	2.85	6.438	1.3	0.6			0.6
ANGOLA	4.12	7.192	1	0.6			0.6
TUNISIA	2.16	4.949	1.1	0.5			0.5
SAUDI ARABIA	3.00	7.011	1.1	0.5			0.5
ETHIOPIA	10.00	7.565	0.35	0.5			0.5
MOZAMBIQUE	3.48	8.914	1.1	0.4			0.4
NEPAL	5.60	7.625	0.5	0.4			0.4
MADAGASCAR	3.62	9.382	0.95	0.4			0.4
FRENCH SUDAN	2.63	5.116	0.6	0.3			0.3

Table 1 Theoretical Bilateral Air Mail Flows to/from USA

IVORY COAST	1.72	5.651	1	0.3	0.3
YEMEN	2.50	7.447	0.8	0.3	0.3
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA	3.13	7.081	0.57	0.3	0.3
LUXEMBOURG	0.27	4.266	3.5	0.2	0.2
ALBANIA	0.83	5.139	0.879	0.1	0.1
LIBYA	0.80	5.25	0.8	0.1	0.1
ICELAND	0.10	2.963	3	0.1	0.1
ERITREA	0.40	7.239	0.35	0.0	0.0
FRENCH GUIANA	0.04	3.348	1	0.0	0.0
GREENLAND	0.01	2.1	0.5	0.0	0.0
UNITED STATES	120.01				0.0



Table 2 Theoretical Bilateral Mail Flows to/from Australia

Country	Population 1930 (millions)	Distance Australia- Country A (thousand miles)	GDP per Capita 1935 (thousand \$)	B*D/C	Language	Affinity	Mail Volume
GREAT BRITAIN	47.40	10.563	5.148	23.1	1	100	124.1
UNITED STATES	120.01	9.236	4.908	63.8	1		64.8
NEW ZEALAND	1.34	1.338	4.327	4.3	1	50	55.3
INDIA	318.94	6.478	0.68	33.5	1	10	44.5
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	6.93	6.884	1.7	1.7	1	25	27.7
GERMANY	62.57	10.006	3.556	22.2			22.2
STRAIT SETTLEMENTS	0.96	3.925	2.2	0.5	1	20	21.5
FRANCE	40.74	10.544	4.192	16.2			16.2
DUTCH EAST INDIES	51.01	3.428	1.002	14.9			14.9
CANADA	9.52	9.671	3.37	3.3	1	10	14.3
MALAY STATES	2.53	4.111	1.54	0.9	1	10	11.9
IRELAND	2.97	10.699	2.972	0.8	1	10	11.8
ITALY	40.58	10.141	2.894	11.6			11.6
HONG KONG	0.87	4.574	2.2	0.4	1	10	11.4
KENYA	2.74	7.562	0.65	0.2	1	10	11.2
PALESTINE	0.85	8.784	2	0.2	1	8	9.2
NIGERIA	18.77	9.673	0.75	1.5	1	5	7.5
EGYPT	14.17	8.959	0.9	1.4	1	5	7.4
CEYLON	5.12	5.439	1.26	1.2	1	5	7.2
NETHERLANDS	7.53	10.346	4.956	3.6		3	6.6
NORTHERN RHODESIA	1.24	7.136	0.66	0.1	1	5	6.1
SOUTHERN RHODESIA	0.87	7.39	0.7	0.1	1	5	6.1
FIJI ISLANDS	0.16	1.997	1	0.1	1	5	6.1
SOUTH WEST AFRICA	0.26	7.52	2	0.1	1	5	6.1
BELGIUM	7.87	10.408	4.681	3.5		2	5.5
ARGENTINA	10.87	7.357	3.621	5.4			5.4
SWITZERLAND	3.96	10.3	5.966	2.3		3	5.3
SPAIN	22.13	10.996	2.556	5.1			5.1
NEWFOUNDLAND	0.26	10.877	3.37	0.1	1	4	5.1
BRAZIL	37.35	8.408	1.142	5.1			5.1
HUNGARY	8.46	9.801	2.374	2.0		3	5.0
AUSTRIA	6.54	9.931	2.833	1.9		3	4.9
POLAND	29.59	9.692	1.593	4.9			4.9
DENMARK	3.43	9.968	5.291	1.8		3	4.8
SIAM	9.83	4.686	0.8	1.7		3	4.7
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	14.36	9.998	2.552	3.7		1	4.7
GREECE	6.44	9.529	2.418	1.6		3	4.6
SWEDEN	6.07	9.692	3.991	2.5		2	4.5
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN	7.01	8.449	0.6	0.5	1	3	4.5
YUGOSLAVIA	12.02	9.746	1.147	1.4		3	4.4
CHINA	438.85	4.245	0.565	58.4		-54	4.4
UGANDA	3.15	7.861	0.65	0.3	1	3	4.3
TANGANYIKA	4.46	7.194	0.42	0.3	1	3	4.3
GOLD COAST	2.11	9.765	1.1	0.2	1	3	4.2
SIERRA LEONE	1.54	10.426	0.6	0.1	1	3	4.1
BRITISH GUINANA	0.31	9.787	2	0.1	1	3	4.1
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	11.41	3.889	1.348	4.0			4.0

Table 2 Theoretical Bilateral Mail Flows to/from Australia

IRAQ	2.85	8.324	1.3	0.4		3	3.4
MEXICO	15.50	8.059	1.574	3.0			3.0
ZANZIBAR	0.13	7.195	1	0.0	1	2	3.0
MONACO	0.02	10.397	6	0.0		3	3.0
ADEN	0.05	7.64	0.8	0.0	1	2	3.0
FRENCH INDO CHINA	19.84	4.244	0.6	2.8			2.8
ROMANIA	17.50	9.464	1.184	2.2			2.2
TURKEY	13.66	9.292	1.357	2.0			2.0
PERSIA	10.00	8.019	1.5	1.9			1.9
USSR	157.61	9.006	2.5	43.8		-42	1.8
CHILE	4.00	7.061	2.655	1.5			1.5
COLOMBIA	7.83	8.904	1.577	1.4			1.4
PERU	5.55	7.962	1.74	1.2			1.2
LIBERIA	2.00	10.217	1	0.2	1		1.2
BELGIAN CONGO	8.51	8.555	1.1	1.1			1.1
NORWAY	2.79	9.912	3.638	1.0			1.0
JAPAN	66.34	4.846	2.12	29.0		-28	1.0
FINLAND	3.56	9.446	2.702	1.0			1.0
VENEZUELA	3.03	9.537	2.831	0.9			0.9
PORTUGAL	5.62	11.301	1.732	0.9			0.9
BULGARIA	5.48	9.595	1.45	0.8			0.8
FRENCH WEST AFRICA	13.54	10.933	0.65	0.8			0.8
URUGUAY	1.76	7.377	3.221	0.8			0.8
KOREA (CHOSEN)	19.52	5.16	1.247	4.7		-4	0.7
BOLIVIA	3.46	8.105	1.6	0.7			0.7
ALGERIA	6.06	10.638	1.1	0.6			0.6
MOZAMBIQUE	3.48	6.683	1.1	0.6			0.6
LITHUANIA	2.25	9.494	2.4	0.6			0.6
SYRIA	2.42	8.765	2	0.6			0.6
MADAGASCAR	3.62	6.252	0.95	0.6			0.6
MOROCCO	4.23	11.232	1.4	0.5			0.5
AFGHANISTAN	12.00	7.098	0.6	1.0		-0.5	0.5
LATVIA	1.87	9.519	2.5	0.5		0.0	0.5
ANGOLA	4.12	8.408	2.5	0.5			0.5
CUBA	3.58	9.135	1.196	0.5			0.5
NEPAL	5.60	6.051	0.5	0.5			0.5
ETHIOPIA	10.00	7.863	0.35	0.3			0.3
SAUDI ARABIA	3.00	7.943	1.1	0.4			0.4
ESTONIA	1.12	9.461	3	0.4			0.4
GUATEMALA	2.00 2.50	8.397 9.562	1.358	0.3 0.3			0.3
HAITI			1				0.3
YEMEN	2.50	7.775	0.8	0.3			0.3
ECUADOR	2.00	8.454	1	0.2			0.2
TUNISIA	2.16	10.254	1.1	0.2			0.2
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA	3.13	8.555	0.57	0.2			0.2
EL SALVADOR	1.66	8.431	0.922	0.2			0.2
IVORY COAST	1.72	10.045	1	0.2			0.2
PARAGUAY	0.85	7.942	1.5	0.2			0.2
FRENCH SUDAN	2.63	10.478	0.6	0.2			0.2
HONDURAS	0.77	8.557	1.372	0.1			0.1
NICARAGUA	0.65	8.538	1.456	0.1			0.1

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Table 2 Theoretical Bilateral Mail Flows to/from Australia



Table 3 Theoretical Bilateral Mail Flows to/from Kenya

Country	Population 1930 (millions)	Distance Kenya- Country A (thousand miles)	GDP per Capita 1935 (thousand \$)	B*D/C	Language	Affinity	Mail Volume
GREAT BRITAIN	47.40	4.228	5.148	57.7	1	100	158.7
INDIA	318.94	3.377	0.68	64.2	1	20	85.2
UNITED STATES	120.01	8.014	4.908	73.5	1		74.5
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	6.93	1.809	1.7	6.5	1	50	57.5
GERMANY	62.57	3.949	3.556	56.3		-10	46.3
FRANCE	40.74	4.02	4.192	42.5		-10	32.5
ITALY	40.58	3.334	2.894	35.2		-10	25.2
UGANDA	3.15	0.313	0.65	6.5	1	10	17.5
TANGANYIKA	4.46	0.419	0.42	4.5	1	10	15.5
IRELAND	2.97	4.504	2.972	2.0	1	10	13.0
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN	7.01	1.193	0.6	3.5	1	8	12.5
EGYPT	14.17	2.182	0.9	5.8	1	5	11.8
ZANZIBAR	0.13	0.425	1	0.3	1	10	11.3
SWITZERLAND	3.96	3.769	5.966	6.3		5	11.3
CANADA	9.52	7.574	3.37	4.2	1	5	10.2
NORTHERN RHODESIA	1.24	1.202	0.66	0.7	1	8	9.7
SOUTHERN RHODESIA	0.87	1.13	0.7	0.5	1	8	9.5
BELGIUM	7.87	4.067	4.681	9.1		· ·	9.1
NETHERLANDS	7.53	4.135	4.956	9.0			9.0
AUSTRALIA	6.26	7.562	4.564	3.8		5	8.8
BRAZIL	37.35	5.557	1.142	7.7			7.7
NIGERIA	18.77	2.394	0.75	5.9	1		6.9
PALESTINE	0.85	2.334	2	0.7	1	5	6.7
SPAIN	22.13	3.84	2.556	14.7		-8	6.7
NEW ZEALAND	1.34	8.679	4.327	0.7	1	-0	6.7
STRAIT SETTLEMENTS	0.96	4.633	4.327	0.7	1	5	6.5
ROMANIA	17.50	3.211	1.184	6.5		5	6.5
POLAND	29.59	3.801	1.593	12.4		-6	6.4
HONG KONG	0.87	5.447	2.2	0.4	1	-0 5	6.4 6.4
TURKEY	13.66			0.4 6.3	1	5	
SOUTH WEST AFRICA	0.26	2.954	1.357 2		4	5	6.3
BELGIAN CONGO	8.51	1.974 1.501	1.1	0.3 6.2	1	Э	6.3 6.2
					4	2	6.2
CEYLON	5.12	3.025	1.26	2.1	1	3	
ARGENTINA	10.87	6.477	3.621	6.1			6.1
HUNGARY	8.46	3.518	2.374	5.7		,	5.7
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	14.36	3.778	2.552	9.7		-4	5.7
SWEDEN	6.07	4.304	3.991	5.6			5.6
PERSIA	10.00	2.718	1.5	5.5			5.5
GREECE	6.44	2.831	2.418	5.5		05	5.5
USSR	157.61	3.929	2.5	100.3		-95	5.3
NEWFOUNDLAND	0.26	6.262	3.37	0.1	1	4	5.1
AUSTRIA	6.54	3.623	2.833	5.1			5.1
GOLD COAST	2.11	2.6	1.1	0.9	1	3	4.9
MALAY STATES	2.53	4.497	1.54	0.9	1	3	4.9
ETHIOPIA	10.00	0.722	0.35	4.8			4.8
DENMARK	3.43	4.159	5.291	4.4			4.4
SIERRA LEONE	1.54	3.516	0.6	0.3	1	3	4.3
YUGOSLAVIA	12.02	3.329	1.147	4.1			4.1

Table 3 Theoretical Bilateral Mail Flows to/from Kenya

ADEN	0.05	1.121	0.8	0.0	1	3	4.0
KOREA (CHOSEN)	19.52	6.288	1.247	3.9			3.9
MEXICO	15.50	9.216	1.574	2.6			2.6
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	11.41	5.858	1.348	2.6		_	2.6
DUTCH EAST INDIES	51.01	4.836	1.002	10.6		-8	2.6
BULGARIA	5.48	3.143	1.45	2.5			2.5
FRENCH INDO CHINA	19.84	4.878	0.6	2.4			2.4
MADAGASCAR	3.62	1.413	0.95	2.4			2.4
PORTUGAL	5.62	4.007	1.732	2.4			2.4
ANGOLA	4.12	1.698	1	2.4			2.4
NORWAY	2.79	4.448	3.638	2.3			2.3
FRENCH WEST AFRICA	13.54	3.871	0.65	2.3			2.3
FINLAND	3.56	4.283	2.702	2.2			2.2
AFGHANISTAN	12.00	3.234	0.6	2.2			2.2
MOZAMBIQUE	3.48	1.721	1.1	2.2			2.2
JAPAN	66.34	6.999	2.12	20.1		-18	2.1
BRITISH GUINANA	0.31	6.578	2	0.1	1	1	2.1
SYRIA	2.42	2.393	2	2.0			2.0
FIJI ISLANDS	0.16	9.512	1	0.0	1	1	2.0
ALGERIA	6.06	3.388	1.1	2.0			2.0
SIAM	9.83	4.483	0.8	1.8			1.8
SAUDI ARABIA	3.00	1.903	1.1	1.7			1.7
CHINA	438.85	5.951	0.565	41.7		-40	1.7
COLOMBIA	7.83	7.674	1.577	1.6			1.6
LIBERIA	2.00	3.33	1	0.6	1		1.6
YEMEN	2.50	1.253	0.8	1.6			1.6
MOROCCO	4.23	3.755	1.4	1.6			1.6
IRAQ	2.85	2.425	1.3	1.5			1.5
CHILE	4.00	7.178	2.655	1.5			1.5
LITHUANIA	2.25	3.91	2.4	1.4			1.4
VENEZUELA	3.03	6.238	2.831	1.4			1.4
PERU	5.55	7.808	1.74	1.2			1.2
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA	3.13	1.505	0.57	1.2			1.2
LATVIA	1.87	4.07	2.5	1.1			1.1
URUGUAY	1.76	6.342	3.221	0.9			0.9
ESTONIA	1.12	4.23	3	0.8			0.8
BOLIVIA	3.46	7.191	1.6	0.8			0.8
TUNISIA	2.16	3.128	1.0	0.8			0.8
NEPAL	5.60	3.787	0.5	0.7			0.7
IVORY COAST	1.72	2.959	1	0.6			0.6
CUBA	3.58	8.107	1.196	0.5			0.5
FRENCH SUDAN	2.63	3.222	0.6	0.5			0.5
HAITI	2.50	7.508	1	0.3			0.3
GUATEMALA	2.00	8.728	1.358	0.3			0.3
ECUADOR	2.00	7.976	1	0.3			0.3
LUXEMBOURG	0.27	3.951	3.5	0.2			0.2
ALBANIA	0.83	3.121	0.879	0.2			0.2
	0.80	2.815	0.8	0.2			0.2
LIBYA PARAGUAY	0.85	6.467	1.5	0.2			0.2

ERITREA	0.40	1.151	0.35	0.1	0.1
PANAMA	0.45	8.037	2	0.1	0.1
NICARAGUA	0.65	8.48	1.456	0.1	0.1
COSTA RICA	0.52	8.343	1.66	0.1	0.1
ICELAND	0.10	5.392	3	0.1	0.1
SURINAM	0.14	6.376	2	0.0	0.0
MONACO	0.02	3.59	6	0.0	0.0
FRENCH GUIANA	0.04	6.172	1	0.0	0.0
GREENLAND	0.01	6.251	0.5	0.0	0.0
KENYA	2.74	0	0.65		

Table 3 Theoretical Bilateral Mail Flows to/from Kenya





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