WEST LEXPRESS

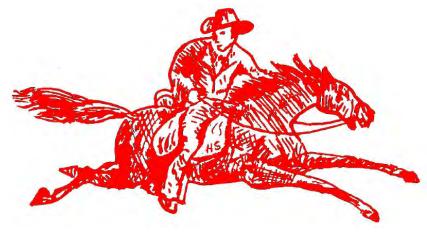
Research Journal of Early Western Mails

Vol. 61 No. 1 ¤ Whole No. 239 ¤ March 2011 ¤ Unit No. 14, American Philatelic Society

Quarterly Publication of the Western Cover Society
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MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

If you collect Western Express covers, Territorials, Town cancellations, or anything pertaining to the mails of the Old West, you are invited to join the Western Cover Society and enjoy meeting other collectors.

Western Express (ISSN 0510-2332) is published quarterly (March-June-September-December) by the Western Cover Society, which is a not-for-profit 501 (C-3) tax exempt organization. Western Cover Society seeks to fulfill its charitable and educational mission through the publication of books and journals. All contributions above the basic subscription rate are tax deductible and will go to support publication of material.

The annual membership in the society includes a subscription to *Western Express*. All who share an interest are invited to join. Annual membership is \$35.00 per year. Membership application and back issues can be obtaining by contacting John Drew at our web site, www.westerncoversociety.com. Claims for missing issues made within six months will be serviced free of charge.

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Lifetime Membership \$500.00 one time Sustaining Membership \$50.00 per year Patron Membership \$75.00 per year Active Membership \$35.00 per year

Send application with appropriate check to:
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San Jose, CA 95132-3042

Please state your collecting interests. Your application will be acted upon at the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

Advertising rates, per issue: Full page \$150.00, half page \$85.00, quarter page \$50.00 Four consecutive insertions, paid in advance: Full page \$550.00, half page \$300.00, quarter page \$175.00

Submit ads to the General Editor: Ken Stach, PO Box 6; Letcher, SD 57359 (kenstach@santel.net)

President's Message

Submitted by Robert Chandler

ATTENTION: WESTPEX is almost upon us!

Our Society is sponsoring speaker **Scott Trepel**, President of Siegel Auction Galleries in New York and author of books on the Pony Express. He promises to be as entertaining as he is informative, while elucidating, "The Pony Express: Why It Matters That Horse and Rider Moved the Mail 150 Years Ago." Furthermore, Scott promises a "show-and-tell-but-not-take" display of original Pony Express goodies. See you all there on **Sunday**, **May 1**, **at 10 AM in the Santa Barbara Room** of the San Francisco Airport Marriott Hotel, 1800 Old Bayshore Highway.

On the WESTPEX Saturday of April 30, Director **Steve Walske** has the floor. Hear him analyzing letters to Rebeldom that ran the Yankee Blockade into Charleston and Wilmington **Time: 11 AM. Room: Bayside 1.**

As expected and demanded, Schuyler Rumsey has planned a luscious Western-packed auction. It is the duty of all to help these poor orphan covers find loving homes!

We are gratified that our article on Wells Fargo and Mexico brought in new members and that almost all of the additional copies have departed to aficionados of our southern neighbor. We have also written "Mexico II" to finish the story from 1885 to 1909, which will appear in a future issue of *Western Express*. Best of all has been the response of WCS members, old and new, who have graciously shared their friendship, expertise, and collections.

In line with everyone else, the Western Cover Society upholds the highest environmental standards. We are now "Greening" the presidency. Michael Perlman, famed for his incomparable collection of "10-cent greens," takes over the helm as our society's next president. This noted emerald-hued "California Stamp" enticed our early president, the renown Edgar Jessup, to design his book plate after it.

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Edward Weinberg	Past-President			

To appease competitors, Michael has adopted the learned Addams Family motto, "Sic gorgiamus allos subjectatos nunc." Due to such dietary habits, we don't suggest challenging him for these sorts of greens. Stick to collards. For Southerners and cat lovers not versed in dog Latin, it translates "We gladly devour those who would subdue us."

Apart from aggressively collecting covers, Michael runs BrandsMart, an electronics and appliance retailer in southern Florida and Atlanta founded by his father. He has been a great benefactor of the Western Cover Society, while Peter Jehlen, his talented employee, gives us a stunning web presence.

I close my last letter as president by emphasizing my gratitude at having the honor to serve you since July 2003. Officers John Drew and Oscar Thomas and a vigorous Board have made my term pleasurable. John has been prompt with all routine paperwork, dispatched our fine journal to those abroad and to those wishing to purchase extra copies, and recorded board minutes clearly and concisely. Oscar, besides keeping us solvent, suggested we institute Life Membership. The gratifying results are in another column.

Kudos to Ken Stach, editor of Western Express, the public face of the Western Cover Society. He assembled a knowledgeable editorial board, added color to our columns, printed frugally, revitalized old authors and encouraged new ones, and won Gold medals!

Schulyer reminds those who do not show enough enthusiasm for his auctions, that President Perlman, PhD, is expert in neuropeptide synthesis. His chemically concocted cocktails will make you bid early and often.

Secretary's Report

Submitted by John Drew

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Ken Hunter #1443 1621 Refugio Rd. Santa Ynez, CA. 93460

Collects: Ventura, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo Coun-

ties, pre-1900.

The WESTPEX 2011 Stamp Show will be held April 29 to May 1st.at the San Francisco Airport Marriott Hotel. Visit their website at www.westpex.com for details. The Western Cover Society Directors' meeting will be held Friday April 29, 2011 at 6 PM. The Society's GEN-ERAL MEETING will be Sunday May 1st in the SANTA BARBARA ROOM AT 10 AM.

Treasurer's Report

Submitted by Oscar Thomas, WCS #1053

A full listing of 2010/2011 contributors to the Western Cover Society and/or its publication fund will be printed in the June issue of Western Express.

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Where Have All the Covers Gone? Wells Fargo Cashbook Comments on the Virginia City Pony Express, 1862 - 1865

By Dr. Robert J. Chandler

On August 11, 1862, Wells Fargo inaugurated a Pony Express between San Francisco and booming Virginia City, and ran it until March 2, 1865. This Virginia City Pony Express speedily carried letters for 25.5 months, being discontinued between July 20 and December 30, 1864. Several have written about the Virginia City Pony making general detail unnecessary. I, therefore, wish to examine particular aspects from the vantage point of fragmentary Wells Fargo financial records. Wells Fargo promised to put letters through in 24 hours each way, compared to 44 hours by stagecoach. The need was there. Not only was the new Pony cheaper than the telegraph, but it was confidential. Too many tapped Sierra telegraph lines to gather inside information.

Once begun, merchants, investors, stock brokers, and speculators found the Pony a necessity. In October 1863, a San Francisco investor questioned a Virginia City friend about a mine: "Is it a mine to speculate in only or is [it] a good one to hold."

Anxious for a reply, he requested, "*Please answer by Pony* as soon as possible as the [stock] price here may vary." (John H. Polhemus, San Francisco, October 23, 1863, to John P. Corrigan, copy courtesy of Richard Wolffers Auctions, Inc., Public Auction No. 168, April 29-30, 1992, Lot 560.)

Consistently, Wells Fargo carried 71 percent of its 200,000 Pony letters from Virginia City to San Francisco, and thereby followed the pattern set by the Transcontinental (Overland) Pony Express. The vast majority of Overland and Virginia City Pony letters departed from the needy areas, San Francisco in 1860-1861, and Virginia City, 1862-1865, and went to places of capital. Senders directed them to

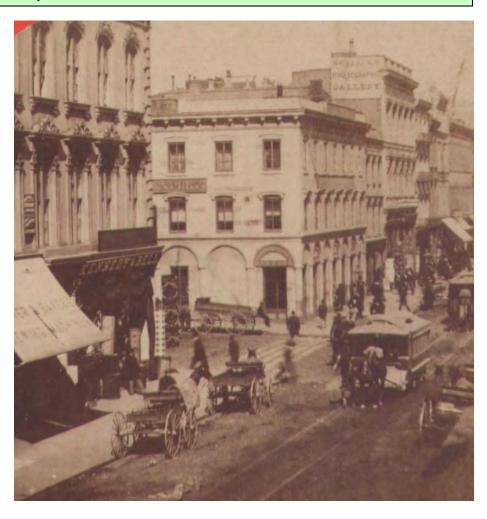


Figure 1. Wells Fargo's Virginia City Pony departed from this office at Montgomery and California Streets six times a week to catch the 4 PM steamer to Sacramento.

cities with money to invest, New York for the Overland Pony, and San Francisco for the Virginia Pony.

After paying startup costs, Wells Fargo followed its 1861 precedent to pay the Pioneer Stage Company to run the Virginia City Pony Express. In July 1861, the Overland Mail Company, controlled by Wells Fargo interests, had contracted with the Pioneer Stage Company to lengthen its run and carry the U.S. Mails to Carson City, rather than stop at Placerville. From 1862 to 1865, Wells Fargo paid the Pioneer about \$1,800 a month, and then spent an additional \$200 monthly to run the Pony another 16 miles from Carson City to Virginia City.



Figure 2. Three illustrations of the Virginia City office location: (left) a Pioneer Stage Coach stands in front of Wells Fargo's office on C Street, Virginia City; (upper right) the building collapsed in the 1930s; and (lower right) markers on the site next to the Bucket of Blood Saloon commemorate the departed glories of the Comstock.

Additionally, on the east bound trip, Wells Fargo paid expenses from Sacramento to Folsom. The mail arrived in Sacramento at 1 AM, and the first train did not depart until 6:30. By that time, Wells Fargo's Pony was beyond Placerville. This was a separate expense as the Pioneer Stage Company picked up the Overland Mail from the railroad. Westbound, the Pony mail caught the train at Folsom in time to arrive for the San Francisco steamer.

Between 1862 and 1865, Wells Fargo had two rates and three colors of adhesive stamps (Figure 3). From August through December 1862, Wells Fargo charged 10 cents per half ounce, paid by a brown adhesive stamp. It printed, at first, perhaps 30,000 stamps at a cost of \$60. However, Wells Fargo lost \$10,000 on the venture and therefore in 1863, raised the fee to 25 cents. From January 1863 into March 1864, a 25-cent blue stamp paid Wells Fargo's charges, and the company broke even. In March 1864, after using 130,000 blue stamps, Wells Fargo returned to the red stamp format, the color of its traditional single-rate Overland Pony adhesive stamp.







Figure 3. Wells Fargo lost money on its 10-cent rate in 1862, but broke even from 1863 to 1865 charging 25 cents. It sold over 200,000 stamps. Where are all the covers?

Wells Fargo's earliest surviving cashbook runs from September 1861 through May 1864. From cashbook listings of sales of stamps, I found 35,000 10-cent stamps and 147,000 25-cent stamps sold between August 11, 1862 and May 1864. These total 182,000. The cash book beginning in June 1864, evidently has not survived. Approximating 15,000 stamps used from June 1 to July 20, 1864, gives a total of 195,000. Adding another 15,000 from the winter Pony running between December 30, 1864 and March 2, 1865, brings my total to 210,000 stamps sold between 1862 and 1865. I have not factored in multiple rate letters, such as heavy court documents.



Figure 4. When Wells Fargo revived the Pony Express in August 1862, it asked Britton & Rey to modify its Overland Pony lithograph for the new 10-cent rate. Although use was strong during the first month when this letter left Virginia City, Wells Fargo lost money charging only 10 cents. (courtesy of Steve Walske)

Where are all of the Virginia City Pony Express covers? James Gamett's *Nevada Express* (2002) book lists 200. Rounding down to 200,000 Virginia City Pony Express covers sent, this is a survival rate of 0.1 percent. Richard Frajola, on June 17, 2010, estimated that perhaps another 100 have shown up since Gamett's work, and he wrote, "bottom line, I would guess that the census number of VC ponies might end up around 400." This is only 0.2 percent. There are ~250 surviving covers from the Overland Pony Express of 1860-1861 out of some 40,000 carried, or about 0.6 percent. Even at this low rate of survival, 1250 Virginia City Pony covers should exist.

Why so few? Did Californians and Nevadans feel Virginia City Pony Express covers were merely ephemeral, local correspondence, quickly discarded? Were their 1860s contents made quickly obsolete by the years of bust after 1865; the changing rampant speculation of the 1870s; and the collapse of Nevada mining in the 1880s? Did the great fires in Virginia City in 1875 and San Francisco in 1906 destroy most survivors?

Does a Big Bonanza of Virginia City Pony Express covers lay hidden waiting for a philatelist to strike it rich? Seek, and ye shall (hopefully) find!

FREQUENCY, ROUTE, AND RAILROADS

Wells Fargo offered six-day a week service between San Francisco and Virginia City, but the California Steam Navigation Company determined which six days those would be. Whether the Pony Express ran Saturday or Sunday varied by direction.

The steamers did not run on Sundays. San Francisco's last sailing of the week departed from the Broadway wharf at 4 PM on Saturday.

However, as a Saturday departure from Virginia City would put the rider in Sacramento on Sunday, none left the Comstock that day. Instead, the Pony Express departed Virginia City on Sunday in order to arrive in time for the letters to be aboard the Monday river boat leaving Sacramento at 2 PM. (Advertisements reproduced in the *Alta California* on August 10, 1862; Turrentine Jackson's "Wells Fargo's Pony Expresses" (1972); and the census in James Gamett's *Nevada Express* (2002).)

The river schedule also determined whether Wells Fargo used the Sacramento Valley Railroad. The Virginia City Pony did not use the iron horse going east, but picked it up heading west. The first train left Sacramento at 6:30 AM and by the time it

reached Folsom at 8 AM, the Pony rider was already exchanging horses and pleasantries with Strawberry (California) agent John J. Valentine.

Going west, the express from Virginia City caught the noon train at Folsom to arrive in Sacramento a half hour before the San Francisco steamer sailed. Stage passengers and Pony Express letters arrived in San Francisco at the same time, but attorney Alexander P. Crittenden calculated that the Pony was faster by about 9 hours. He wrote from Virginia City on September 23, 1863, "The pony by which I will send this leaves at 3 o'clock P.M. and overtakes the stage that left about daylight."

August 11, 1862 to July 20, 1864

Table of Distances:

- 0 Sacramento
- 22 Folsom: Railroad
- 36 Duroc
- 47 Diamond Springs
- 50 Placerville
- 61 Sportsman's Hall
- 71 Riverside
- 80 Webster's
- 91 Strawberry Valley
- 102 Yank's
- 113 Friday's
- 124 Genoa
- 138 Carson
- 154 Virginia City

Schedule Leaving San Francisco:

- 4 PM: Depart on California Steam Navigation steamer, 9 hours, 120 miles.
- 1 AM: Arrive Sacramento and depart, on horse, for Placerville, 5 hours, 50 miles.
- 6 AM: Arrive Placerville. The *Mountain Democrat* of August 16, 1862, noted in practice, that the Pony "leaves Sacramento on the arrival of the steamers from San Francisco, and generally reaches this place about 7 o'clock a.m."
- 6 AM: Depart Placerville for Virginia City, 10 hours, 104 miles.
- 4 PM Arrive Virginia City in 24 hours.



Figure 5. At Strawberry, agent John J. Valentine got his start with Wells Fargo handling Pony Express and stagecoach business. He grew to become a beloved General Superintendent and then President.

September 9, 1862, per *Silver Age*, Carson Agent H.F. Rice advertised the Pony arrived at 4 PM, which would put arrival in Virginia at 6 PM. June 15, 1864: Gold Hill *Morning Message*: Expected Pony to arrive at 6 PM.

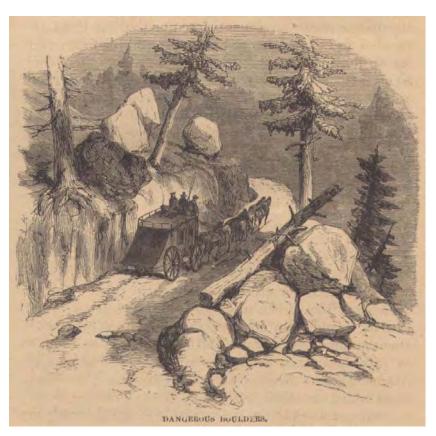


Figure 6. Tolerable roads jammed with freight wagons in summer became intolerable and buried in winter.



Figure 7. Wells Fargo began charging 25 cents in January 1863, and only broke even at this fee when its expenses were \$2,000 monthly. Attorney Alexander Parker Crittenden was temporarily residing with his son-in-law in Aurora while keeping his wife Clara daily informed of his doings. This letter left April 24. (courtesy of Steve Walske)

Schedule Leaving Virginia City:

- 6 PM: Virginia City, 1 hours, 16 miles, to Carson City. January 7, 1863: Leaves Virginia at 3 PM (winter weather); April 3, 1864: Leaves Virginia at 1 PM [Heavy freight wagon traffic slowed travel]; June 15, 1864: Leaves Virginia at 5 PM
- 7 PM: Leave Carson City Wells Fargo office, 16 hours, 116 miles.
- 12 Noon: Arrive Folsom: Sacramento Valley Railroad.
- 1:30 PM: Arrive Sacramento
- 2 PM: Depart on San Francisco steamer, 120 miles, 7 hours.
- 9 PM: Arrive San Francisco.

(San Francisco *Alta California*, August 10, 1862; Carson City *Silver Age*, Oct. 2, 1862; Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*, January 10, 1863: Virginia City *Union*, April 3, 1864: Gold Hill Daily *Morning Message*, June 16, 1864.)

Suspension: July 21, 1864 to December 29, 1864

The Virginia City *Union* announced the end of the first phase on July 20, 1864: "Wells, Fargo & Co. have discontinued their Pony Express to California for the reasons that the stages can now make about equally good time, without extra expense to them or charge to those sending letters."

December 30, 1864 to March 2, 1865

Back in the summer of 1863, Wells Fargo President Danford N. Barney, founder William G. Fargo, and director Benjamin P. Cheney came overland to California on an inspection trip. Wells Fargo already owned stock in the Sacramento Valley Railroad and it now worked for its extension over the Sierra to the Comstock. On March 16, 1864, Barney and Louis McLane signed the Placerville & Sacramento Valley Railroad bonds as trustees, and Wells Fargo ultimately advanced \$250,000.

The banking and express firm purchased 2,000 tons of rails and fixtures, which brought the tracks to Latrobe on October 1, 1864, and Shingle Springs on



Figure 8. This fine overall advertising cover from the office of the banner mine of the Comstock got handed to the Wells Fargo messenger on the steamer departing San Francisco at 4 PM on January 25, 1865. Recipient Henry M. Yerington invested heavily in Nevada stocks and later became famous as the Superintendent of the illustrious Virginia & Truckee Railroad. (courtesy of Steve Walske)

June 16, 1865. Travel and freighting over the Placerville route boomed, but on August 1, 1865, Central Pacific Railroad President Leland Stanford purchased the Sacramento Valley Railroad and removed a competitor.

With the tracks at Latrobe, Louis McLane's Pioneer Stage Company made a connection. Beginning Monday, October 22, 1864, it advertised in the *Alta California*, "San Francisco to Virginia City Through in 24 Hours by Pioneer Stage Company's Express Line." Passengers went "via the California Steam Navigation Company's boats to Freeport; Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroads to Latrobe; thence by Pioneer Stages to Virginia City." For those who enjoyed the scenery, the coaches planned "crossing the Mountains by daylight."

Stagecoach efficiency impressed Wells Fargo. On December 15, 1864, the directors approved the purchase of the Pioneer line from Wells Fargo's General Agent Louis McLane for \$175,000, and made it a wholly-owned Wells, Fargo & Co. subsidiary.

The way the Comstock was booming, this represented only a year's payment. In 1863, Wells Fargo had paid the Pioneer \$133,500 for carrying coin, bullion, and other services, and payments from January through May 1864 were 19 percent higher than in 1863. This put Wells Fargo on track to pay \$160,000 for the full year. This sum does not include \$20,000 a year for running the Pony Express.

Heavy snows that winter disrupted the Pioneer Stage Coach schedule and Wells Fargo responded. In the words of the Gold Hill *News* on December 29, 1864, "in consequence of the demand by merchants, bankers, and businessmen generally," Wells Fargo brought back the Pony. The Virginia City *Union* remarked on December 24, that "the pony will go through some twenty-four hours in advance of the mail." I estimate it carried 15,000 letters for the two months beginning December 29, 1864 and ending March 2, 1865, that being 4,400 from San Francisco and 10,600 from Virginia City.



Figure 9. As inclement weather slowed stagecoaches, Wells Fargo reinstituted the Pony Express. On February 3, 1865, an anxious sender dispatched the letter by Pony to Virginia City, where it caught the Overland Mail for Philadelphia. (courtesy of Steve Walske)

Table of Distances:

- 0 Freeport/Sacramento
- 22 Folsom
- 37 Latrobe: Railroad
- 45 Shingle Springs
- 53 Placerville
- 64 Sportsman's Hall
- 74 Riverside
- 83 Webster's
- 94 Strawberry Valley
- 105 Yank's
- 116 Friday's
- 127 Genoa
- 141 Carson
- 157 Virginia City

Schedule Leaving for San Francisco:

- 4 PM: Leave on California Steam Navigation Company's Boats to Freeport, 8 hours, 120 miles.
- 12 Midnight: Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroads to Latrobe, 1.5 hours, 37 miles.
- Sacramento: Pony Express closes at 10 PM to get to Freeport.
- 2 AM: Latrobe: Board Pioneer Stagecoaches for Virginia City, 16 hours, 120 miles
- 6 PM: Arrive Virginia City [7.5 mph in Winter]

Schedule Leaving for Virginia City:

- December 30, 1864: Depart 1 PM: Pioneer Stage Coaches, 22 hours.
- January 17, 1865: Depart 3 PM: Pioneer Stage Coaches, 20 hours.
- February 22, 1865: Depart 1 PM.
- 11 AM: Latrobe. Depart on Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroads.
- 12:30 PM: Arrive Sacramento
- 1 PM: California Steam Navigation steamers *Yosemite* or *Chrysopolis* depart for San Francisco, stopping at Freeport.
- 10 PM: Arrive San Francisco.



Figure 10. Single riders could battle the snows better than stage sleighs.

	Pony	Revenue	e (and Number of	Stamps)	Pioneer Sta	Pioneer Stage Company	
Month-Yr	Rate	Interior (1)	San Francisco	<u>Total</u>	To Nevada	Bullion to S	
Sep-1861	n/a		-	-	\$1,520	\$1,430	
Oct-1861	n/a	100	-	4:	\$1,640	\$1,700	
Nov-1861	n/a	12	-	+	\$2,200	\$1,760	
Dec-1861	n/a	12	-	-	\$2,160	\$1,570	
Total 1861	n/a		-	-	\$7,520	\$6,460	
Jan-1862	n/a	-	-	-	\$1,640	\$840	
Feb-1862	n/a	-	-	-	\$1,360	\$2,400	
Mar-1862	n/a	1. 0	-	-	\$1,200	\$3,600	
Apr-1862	n/a	- 4	-	-	\$1,380	\$2,420	
May-1862	n/a	19	-	-	\$1,440	\$2,860	
Jun-1862	n/a	-	-	-	\$1,730	\$2,850	
Jul-1862	n/a	-	2		\$1,130	\$3,520	
Aug-1862	10¢	\$830 (8300)	\$160 (1600)	\$990 (9900)	\$1,330	\$5,220	
Sep-1862	10¢	\$706 (7060)	\$270 (2700)	\$976 (9760)	\$2,060	\$6,030	
Oct-1862	10¢	\$452 (4520)	\$270 (2700)	\$722 (7220)	\$2,350	\$5,660	
Nov-1862	10¢	\$528 (5280)	\$240 (2400)	\$768 (7680)	\$2,730	\$5,550	
Dec-1862	10¢	\$166 (1660)	\$165 (1650)	\$331 (3310)	\$2,620	\$5,760	
Total Sold	10¢	\$2,682 (26,820)	\$1,105 (11,050)	\$3,787 (37,870)	\$20,970	\$46,710	
Returned	10¢	\$254 (2537)	\$41 (414)	\$295 (2951)	n/a	n/a	
Total 1862	10¢	\$2428 (24,283)	\$1064 (10,636)	\$3492 (34,919)	\$20,970	\$46,710	
Jan-1863	25¢	\$1693 (6772)	\$475 (1900)	\$2168 (8672)	\$2,520	\$5,830	
Feb-1863	25¢	\$1445 (5780)	\$600 (2400)	\$2045 (8180)	\$2,900	\$6,070	
Mar-1863	25¢	\$2253 (9012)	\$1035 (4140)	\$3288 (13,152)	\$3,980	\$6,910	
Apr-1863	25¢	\$2823 (11,292)	\$1075 (4300)	\$3898 (15,592)	\$4,430	\$6,620	
May-1863	25¢	\$1872 (7488)	\$1250 (5000)	\$3122 (12,488)	\$5,620	\$7,200	
Jun-1863	25¢	\$838 (3352)	\$800 (3200)	\$1638 (6552)	\$3,890	\$6,190	
Jul-1863	25¢	\$1965 (7860)	\$550 (2200)	\$2515 (10,060)	\$4,110	\$7,190	
Aug-1863	25¢	\$1425 (5700)	\$550 (2200)	\$1975 (7900)	\$2,460	\$7,480	
Sep-1863	25¢	\$1673 (6692)	\$500 (2000)	\$2173 (8692)	\$2,490	\$7,590	
Oct-1863	25¢	\$1673 (6692)	\$375 (1500)	\$2048 (8192)	\$2,840	\$8,510	
Nov-1863	25¢	\$667 (2668)	\$340 (1360)	\$1007 (4028)	\$2,710	\$9,130	
Dec-1863	25¢	\$1165 (4660)	\$438 (1752)	\$1603 (6412)	\$3,220	\$9,600	
Total 1863	25¢	\$19,492 (77,968)	\$7998 (31,952)	\$27,480 (109,920)	\$41,170	\$88,320	
Jan-1864	25¢	\$552 (2208)	\$500 (2000)	\$1052 (4208)	\$2,910	\$8,880	
Feb-1864	25¢	\$1435 (5740)	\$500 (2000)	\$1935 (7740)	\$2,600	\$9,770	
Mar-1864	25¢	\$1469 (5876)	\$500 (2000)	\$1969 (7876)	\$2,850	\$9,980	
Apr-1864	25¢	\$1673 (6692)	\$500 (2000)	\$2173 (8692)	\$2,860	\$9,920	
May-1864	25¢	\$1623 (6492)	\$500 (2000)	\$2173 (8492)	\$2,730	\$10,520	
Total 1864	25¢	\$6752 (27,008)	\$2500 (10,000)	\$9252 (37,008)	\$13,950	\$49,070	
Grand To		\$28,672 (129,259)			\$83,610	\$190,560	

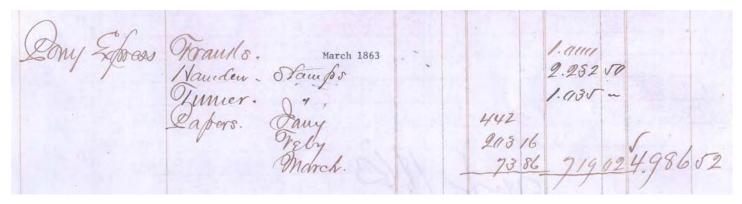


Figure 11. March 1863 was a typical month of stamp sales. William H. Harnden, who sold stamps to all offices outside of San Francisco, did twice the sales of Daniel K. Turner, who took care of San Franciscans. Wells Fargo phased out the sale of San Francisco *Evening Bulletins* this month, but had doubled its money on that portion of the venture.

SALES OF PONY EXPRESS STAMPS

Wells Fargo's earliest surviving cashbook runs from September 1861 to May 1864. I tallied the sales of Pony Express stamps, rounding figures to the nearest dollar. Entries for the sale of Pony stamps are often just by the seller:

- William H. Harnden, the son of William F. Harnden, who in 1839 founded the Express Business in the United States, sold Pony stamps to Wells Fargo's interior offices.
- Daniel K. Turner sold Pony Express stamps to San Franciscans. Turner was just beginning work for Wells Fargo and would retire as longtime Superintendent in Mexico City, "having risen by merit from the ground up," as Wells Fargo would say in 1893.

As an indication of the general growth of business between San Francisco and Virginia City, I have added the charges Wells Fargo paid the Pioneer Stage Company. Louis McLane, who was in charge of Wells Fargo's Pacific coast operations, bought the stage company in 1860, and owned it privately. His brother, Charles E. McLane, was superintendent and Henry Montfort was agent in Sacramento.

I have tallied the two main Pioneer accounts, "Freight and Iron Boxes to Washoe," which meant the gold coin needed to carry on commerce, and bars of silver "Bullion" from Washoe. I did not include minor payments of a couple hundred dollars a month designated as freight to Placerville, freight from Placerville to Washoe, and "sundries." I rounded sums to the nearest \$10. Table I (preceding page) summarized the

revenue and number of stamps sold by month for San Francisco and the "Interior" (mostly Virginia City, but also the other offices on the route between the two cities).

STAMPS SOLD MONTHLY AND LETTERS CARRIED DAILY

Each year had an individual business cycle that increased or decreased the demand for letters. I calculated 26 trips a month. For the 25.5 months the Virginia Pony Express ran, it carried an average of 227 letters daily from Virginia City to San Francisco, and 94 covers going east to Nevada for loads of 7.1 pounds westbound and 2.9 pounds into Virginia City. Weight does not include the oil silk, that is, the waterproof cloth wrapped around the bundles of letters to protect them. Figure 12 (following page) shows a graph by month of the data and Table II summarizes.

Table II	- Sun	nmary of Pony	Express Stam	ps & Revenue
	Pony	Revenue	(and Number of	Stamps)
Month-Yr	Rate	Interior	San Francisco	<u>Total</u>
Stamps	10¢	\$2428 (24,283)	\$1064 (10,636)	\$3492 (34,919)
	%	70%	30%	100%
Stamps	25¢	\$26,244 (104,976)	\$10,738 (42,952)	\$36,982 (147,928)
	%	71%	29%	100%
Stamps	Total	\$28,672 (129,259)	\$11,802 (53,588)	\$40,474 (182,847)
	%	71%	29%	100%
Letter Estimates:				
Jun 1, 186 Jul 20, 1		\$2650 (10,600)	\$1100 (4,400)	\$3750 (15,000)
Dec 30, 18 Mar 2, 1		\$2650 (10,600)	\$1100 (4,400)	\$3750 (15,000)
Grand To	otal	\$33,972 (150,459)	\$14,002 (62,388)	\$47,974 (212,847)

The Wells Fargo Virginia City Pony Express cash book entries end May 31, 1864; thus, the data from Jun 1, 1864 to Mar 2, 1865 are estimated by the author based on mining activity and previous year's seasonal volume during these time periods.

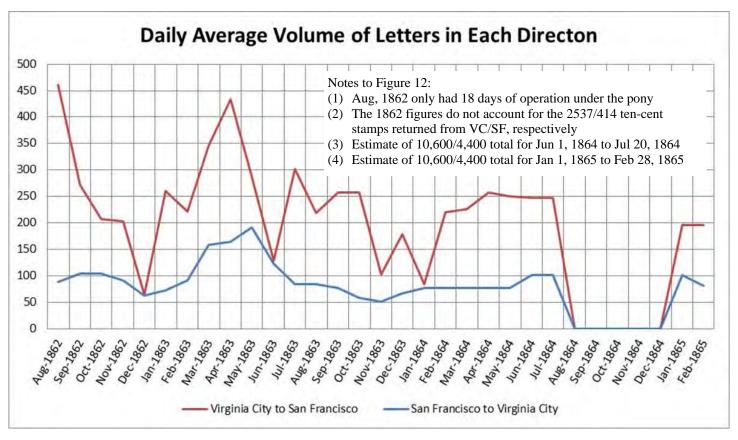


Figure 12. Hopeful Virginia City miners seeking capital sent twice as many letters to San Francisco as did San Franciscans to Virginia City. After the initial excitement, daily patronage dropped in the winter months. The greatest use of the Pony came in the summer of 1863, during the height of the mining boom. Still, these are merely patterns interpreted from monthly stamp sales, divided by 26 riding days per month.

Newspapers

The Pony Express always carried some newspapers as "exchanges" for newspapers at the termini. Yet for the first five months, the Pony Express carried the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* to make money. This paper appeared at 3 PM, time enough to make the upriver steamer and gave Wells Fargo the opportunity to deliver the latest news to Virginia City. The morning Sacramento *Union*, the paper of record for California, did not appear until 6 AM. By then, the Pony was at Placerville.

The *Bulletin* charged \$4 for three months, and prorating that to a month of 26 days, Wells Fargo bought 160 copies daily at 5 cents each. Over five months that equaled 20,800 papers that it sold for \$2437 or an average of 11.7 cents a paper. Wells Fargo probably charged a "bit," and coinage at that time called for a "short bit" of 10 cents, and a "long bit" of 15 cents. Wells Fargo received a majority of

dimes. Each paper weighed 1.5 ounces and together, they added 15 pounds to the load. The extra weight was worth it, as Wells Fargo doubled its money on this venture (Table III).

Table	e III - Newspap	er Sales
	Cost of San Francisco	Sale of Papers
Month-Yr	Evening Bulletin	at Carson City
Sep-1862	\$208	\$568
Oct-1862	\$216	\$453
Nov-1862	\$200	\$353
Dec-1862	\$208	\$344
Jan-1863	\$208	\$442
Feb-1863	-	\$203
Mar-1863	P	\$74
Total	\$1,040	\$2,437

Note: Wells Fargo bought the newspapers in the months shown with costs, but payments dragged on for two months or longer; thus, the lack of "Cost" shown for Feb and Mar with "Sales" during the same period.

REVENUE & EXPENSE

For these figures, I have excluded the 1862 San Francisco *Bulletins* and rounded expenses to the nearest dollar. I added total revenue for comparison. Petty Cash, not an entry in this cashbook, covered any deficits. Wells Fargo lost heavily in the 10 -cent era, but made \$3,000 after it raised the fee to 25 cents.

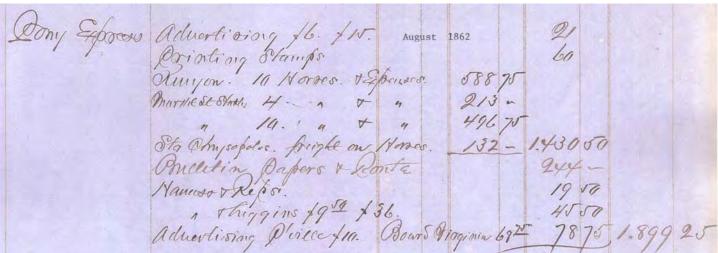
As noted previously, Wells Fargo paid \$1,800 a month to the Pioneer Stage and an extra \$200 to run the Pony between Carson and Virginia Cities. The data is summarized in Table IV. The data clearly shows the losses during the 10-cent period versus slight profitability during the 25-cent period.

COLORFUL DETAILS FROM CASHBOOK ENTRIES

Table V - Details of Cashbook I	ntries
Description of Entry in Cashbook	Amount
August, 1862	
Advertising (\$6 & \$15)	\$21.00
Printing Stamps	\$60.00
Kenyon, 10 Horses & Expenses	\$588.75
Market St. Stable - 4 Horses, etc.	\$213.00
Same - 10	\$496.75
Str Chrysopolis freight on horses	\$132.00
Bulletin Papers and Route	\$244.00
Harness & Reps	\$19.50
Harness (\$9.50 & \$36)	\$45.50
Advertising Placerville	\$10.00
Board Virginia	\$68.75

Ta	Table IV - Profit & Loss Statement				
	Pony			Apparent Profit	
Month-Yr	Rate	Revenue	Expense	or (Loss)	
Aug-1862	10¢	\$990	\$1,655	(\$665)	
Sep-1862	10¢	\$976	\$4,723	(\$3,747)	
Oct-1862	10¢	\$722	\$340	\$382	
Nov-1862	10¢	\$768	\$25	\$743	
Dec-1862	10¢	\$331	\$6,820	(\$6,489)	
Subtotal	10¢	\$3,787	\$13,563	(\$9,776)	
10¢ Returns	10¢	\$0	\$295	(\$295)	
Total 1862	10 ¢	\$3,492	\$13,858	(\$10,366)	
Jan-1863	25¢	\$2,168	\$343	\$1,825	
Feb-1863	25¢	\$2,045	\$125	\$1,920	
Mar-1863	25¢	\$3,288	\$5,443	(\$2, 155)	
Apr-1863	25¢	\$3,898	\$0	\$3,898	
May-1863	25¢	\$3,122	\$45	\$3,077	
Jun-1863	25¢	\$1,638	\$5,400	(\$3,762)	
Jul-1863	25¢	\$2,515	\$125	\$2,390	
Aug-1863	25¢	\$1,975	\$515	\$1,460	
Sep-1863	25¢	\$2,173	\$5,557	(\$3,384)	
Oct-1863	25¢	\$2,048	\$329	\$1,719	
Nov-1863	25¢	\$1,007	\$303	\$704	
Dec-1863	25¢	\$1,603	\$5,692	(\$4,089)	
Total 1863	25¢	\$27,480	\$23,877	\$3,603	
Jan-1864	25¢	\$1,052	\$214	\$838	
Feb-1864	25¢	\$1,935	\$192	\$1,743	
Mar-1864	25¢	\$1,969	\$5,221	(\$3,252)	
Apr-1864	25¢	\$2,173	\$304	\$1,869	
May-1864	25¢	\$2,123	\$3,843	(\$1,720)	
Total 1864	25¢	\$9,252	\$9,774	(\$522)	
10¢Period	10¢	\$3,492	\$13,858	(\$10,366)	
25¢Period	25¢	\$36,732	\$33,651	\$3,081	
Grand To	tals	\$40,224	\$47,509	(\$7,285)	

Figure 13. (below) Getting Ready: In August 1862, Wells Fargo paid \$60 to Britton & Rey to lithograph 35,000 stamps, bought 24 horses at \$50 each, and paid \$132 to transport them on the steamer *Chrysopolis* to Sacramento, and advertised the new Pony for \$31.



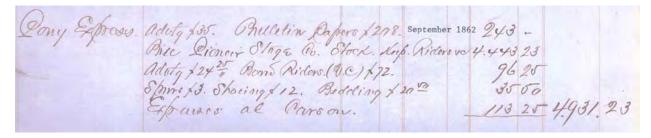


Figure 14. In September 1862, Wells Fargo paid the Pioneer Stage Company \$4,400 to inaugurate and run the operation to Carson City, while Wells Fargo separately paid to board riders in Virginia City. Meantime, more advertising bills came in, adding another \$59. The \$3 for spurs proved to the horses that they were no longer just walking around San Francisco.

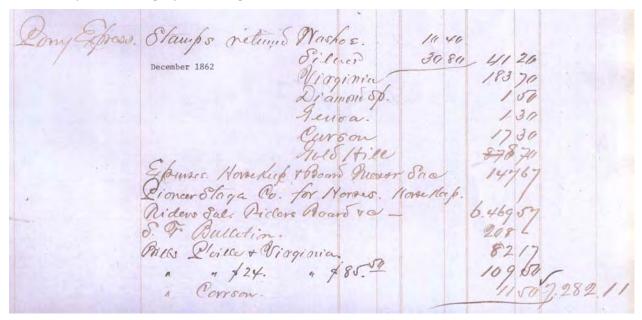


Figure 15. Wells Fargo quickly found that the 10-cent fee was a money-loser, especially after paying the Pioneer Stage another \$6,500, and it recalled unsold stamps. As Pony letters arrived in Sacramento several hours before the railroad left for Folsom, Wells Fargo dispatched them by horse, and paid \$150 for equine comfort in Sacramento. At Folsom, the Pioneer Stage Company took over.

Table VI - Details of Cashbook	Entries
Description of Entry in Cashbook	Amount
September, 1862	
Advertising (\$35 & \$24.25)	\$59.25
Bulletin Papers	\$208.00
Bill, Pioneer Stage Co. Stock Keep,	\$4,443.23
Board Riders (V.C.)	\$72.00
Spurs \$3, Shoeing \$12, Bedding \$20.50	\$35.50
Expenses at Carson	\$113.25
October, 1862	
Bulletins	\$216.00
60 Blankets @ \$4.50	\$270.00
Virginia City Board, \$10, \$13, \$10,	\$43.75
Cinches \$5, Harness \$12.50	\$17.50
Telegraphing \$2.53, Advertising \$6	\$8.53

Table VII - Details of Cashbook	Entries
Description of Entry in Cashbook	Amount
December, 1862	
Pony Express Stamps Returned: Washoe \$10.40, Silver \$30.80	\$41. <u>2</u> 0
Virginia	\$183.70
Diamond Sp.	\$1.50
Genoa	\$1.30
Carson	\$17.30
Gold Hill	\$8.70
Expenses Horse Keep & board Messengers Sacto	\$147.67
Pioneer Stage Co. for Horses, Horse Keep, Riders Salaries, Riders Board &c.	\$6,469.57
S.F. Bulletin	\$208.00
Bills Placerville & Virginia	\$82.17
Bills Placerville \$24, Virginia \$85.50	\$109.50
Bills Carson	\$11.50

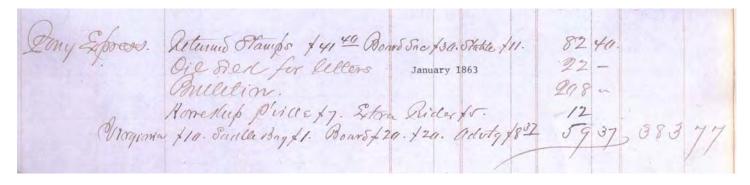


Figure 16. In January 1863, Wells Fargo paid \$1 for a common saddle bag. As at the most, letters westbound weighed 15 pounds including the oil silk, and 7 pounds into Virginia City, Wells Fargo did not need the specialized mochila (used on the Transcontinental Pony Express) for only a 24-hour ride, but it did pay \$22 to wrap and protect letters.

Table VIII - Details of Cashbook	Entries
Description of Entry in Cashbook	Amount
<u>January, 1863</u>	
Returned Stamps [SF]	\$41.40
Oil Silk for letters	\$22.00
Board Sac \$30, Stable \$11	\$41.00
Bulletins	\$208.00
Placerville Horse Keep \$7, Extra Rider	
\$5	\$12.00
Virginia: \$10, Saddle Bag \$1, Board \$20,	
Advertising \$8.37	\$59.37
<u>February, 1863</u>	
Printing Stamps	\$24.32
[Advertising Virginia] Bulletin	\$22.80
[Advertising] Sacto Union	\$5.62
Placerville Telegraphing	\$6.75
Horse Hire \$6, \$2	\$8.00
[VA City] Board Rider \$9, \$9, \$9, \$9, \$7.50	\$43.50
Repairs \$1, Shoeing \$2	\$13.00
March, 1863	
Paid Pioneer Stage Co. Keep Horses,	č5 400 74
Riders &c.	\$5,106.74
At Virginia & c.	\$278.50
At Carson	\$58.00

	Entries
Description of Entry in Cashbook	Amount
<u>June, 1863</u>	
Pioneer Stage Cos a/c this Quarter	\$5,472.24
Bills paid Carson \$77.75, \$19	\$96.75
Bills Paid Placerville	\$141.61
<u>July, 1863</u>	
Bills paid at Virginia City & c. for Board	\$124.65
of Riders, repairs, & c.	\$124.65
September, 1863	
For the Quarter, Pioneer Stage Co. \$44,	\$5,367.74
\$3570, \$1753.74	\$5,367.74
October. 1863	
Vouchers from Virginia City Paid Riders & c., Services & Board \$63.62, \$6, \$20,	\$328.69
\$9, \$72.50, \$35.07, \$7.50, \$50, \$15	3320.03
	\$320.03
\$9, \$72.50, \$35.07, \$7.50, \$50, \$15	\$5,500.00
\$9, \$72.50, \$35.07, \$7.50, \$50, \$15 <u>December, 1863</u> Pioneer Stage Co. for Qtr. (see cr. Petty	
\$9, \$72.50, \$35.07, \$7.50, \$50, \$15 <u>December, 1863</u> Pioneer Stage Co. for Qtr. (see cr. Petty Cash)	

Farewell, Pony Express!

Overall, due to the deficits in 1862, Wells Fargo lost money on the Virginia City Pony Express. Why did the company continue with the it? The populace expected it. Wells Fargo was a "can do" company. In San Francisco on August 26, 1865, six months after the Virginia Pony Express ended, Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, summed up what Wells Fargo meant to Westerners:

"There is no institution of the Coast that has interested me more than Wells & Fargo's Express. It is the omnipresent, universal business agent of all the region from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Its offices are in every town, far and near; a billiard saloon, a restaurant, and a Wells & Fargo office are the first three elements of a Pacific or Coast mining town; its messengers are on every steamboat, the rail-car and stage, in all these States. It is the Ready Companion of civilization, the Universal Friend and Agent of the miner, his errand man, his banker, his post -office. It is much more than an ordinary express company; it does a general and universal banking business, and a great one in amount; it brings to market all the bullion and gold from the mining regions--its statistics are the only reliable knowledge of the production; and it divides with the government the carrying of letters to and fro.

Going along hand in hand with the rapidly changing populations of the mining States, offering readier and more various facilities than the slower-moving and circumscribed government machinery, carrying the goods of the merchant and the bullion of the miner, as well as their letters, it has grown very much into the heart and habit of the people."

(Samuel Bowles, <u>Across the Continent</u> (Springfield, Massachusetts: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1865, pp. 294-5.)



Figure 17. The author holds his favorite Wells Fargo cashbook containing Virginia City Pony Express entries 1861-1864.

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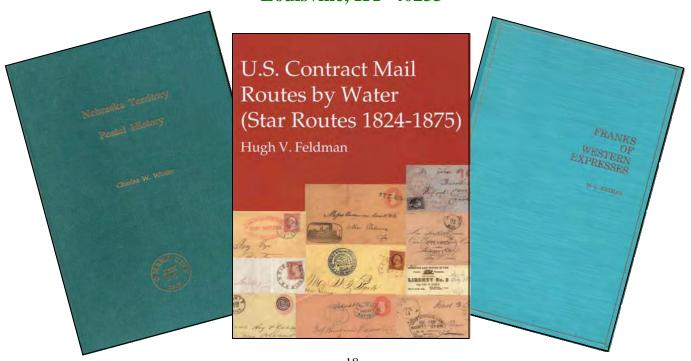
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A Trip from Washington to New Orleans by William Herries in 1804

By James W. Milgram, M.D. and Carol S. Milgram

William Herries was the third brother (born September 4, 1748) from a well-known English banking family. He began as a banker in Paris but decided to make his fortune in the new lands purchased by the United States from Napoleon, and in 1804 he made the ocean voyage to New York with intent to travel by land to New Orleans. About three dozen of his letters to his older brother, Charles, are still in existence, and they form a written record of an articulate Englishman's travels to New York, and then by horse and stage to New Orleans and Baton Rouge from March, 1804 on the ship "Jupiter" waiting to sail to America until his last letter written at a friend's house in Baton Rouge in 1811. He died in that year in November. Herries had brought his family of a Belgian second wife and two young boys over to join him, but met an untimely death, probably from malaria or hepatitis. His wife then for many years ran a famous boarding house in New Orleans and died in 1864. The letters, which are in a remarkable state of preservation, were all sent as private ship letters to London and do not show American postal markings except for one from New Orleans.

Herries was well-educated and writes so well that all of his letters are wonderful examples of the views about the myriad of experiences through which he passed. His brother, Colonel Charles Herries, was the author of a well-known guide to cavalry tactics, written after these letters. Charles was Colonel of the Horse Volunteers of Westminster. Also mentioned is a third brother, Robert, who appears to have been in the family banking business and, as oldest brother, held the family title.

After transcribing the many letters, we decided that his detailed descriptions of stage and horse travel in the then frontier regions of the country were worthy of publication. We had no sooner embarked on this project when we discovered that a letter from William Herries to President Thomas Jefferson existed from this trip out west, a letter which had been published in 1925 without any background as to why this fellow Herries was writing to Thomas Jefferson from Saint Louis in November, 1804. (1) Since the letters in our group explained Herries' relationship

to Jefferson, we decided to expand the discussion to include Herries' visit to Washington. We will include his letter to Jefferson at the point when Herries is at Saint Louis.

Herries waited in New York for a long period because he did not want to arrive in New Orleans during the summer due to the threat of yellow fever in that city. The first letter reproduced here is to the daughter of Colonel Herries, his niece, Isabella.

[Editor's note - paragraph separations have been inserted at appropriate points to aid in readability. In addition, some minor spelling corrections have been made throughout all the letters.]

"Washington (the Federal City of the United States-Territory of Columbia, Latitude 38°54'0" American Longitude 0 Long. 77°14' West of Greenwich observatory) Saturday Evening 30 June 1804

I am sure, my Dear Niece, you never received a letter with so long a date before, but tho' this is a very large city, it is not as yet generally known in Europe, and of those who know of its existence, supposing them even acquainted with its being situated on the Potomac, few of them, I believe, would point out its precise position which my date enables you to do. I shall have occasion, I think, to tell you more about it before I leave it, but in the meantime to continue the thread of the narration I have promised you respecting myself, I must take it up at Philadelphia & give you things as they are while fresh in my memory.

I need not tell you how anxious I was to see the greatest man in America, the chief of my adopted country, the President of the United States. I had understood while at New York that he would leave Washington to go to his seat at Monticello about the middle of July, but just on the eve of my departure some doubts were started about his returning earlier from the Capital city. It was said he would leave it the 1st July, which is tomorrow. I had intended to spend at least one day with an old acquaintance at Elizabethtown. We were only some hours together, and to enjoy his conversation from 9 o'clock till

two, I willingly consented to pass my night in an American mail coach, but not without, some hopes I might be agreeably disappointed at Philadelphia in the morning by learning that I should still have time to see my friends there & that fine city itself at some leisure, without being deprived of the satisfaction of seeing the President. My hopes deceived me in this respect. None of the gentlemen to whom I delivered letters could give me any other or better information and it was rather confirmed than otherwise by the Marquis de Casa Yrejo, the Spanish Minister, who could give me no certainty of Mr. Jeffersons being later at Washington than the 1st July.

I left Philadelphia on Thursday morning the 28th inst. at 8 o'clock in the mail coach & arrived at Baltimore at the same hour yesterday, very near a hundred miles & on some such road as I had never met with, tho' perhaps the darkness of the night made me think some very dangerous passes more dreadful than they really are in daylight. I was comforting myself with the hopes of getting a good breakfast at Baltimore, but the shocking state of the roads on account of the recent inundations having retarded us near three hours longer than usual, we found another mail coach at the door for Washington and I was only allowed time to drink a tumbler of milk and take a piece of bread in my hand to eat in the coach for which the Landlord charged me a quarter Dollar. I shall refer you to my separate itinerary for the roads &c from New York to Washington.

We got here yesterday Evening, over roads torn up by the inundations without being overset & broken that little short of a miracle. I took up my quarters at the Union Tavern in Georgetown kept by a Mr. McLaughlin. I went this morning in a Hackney Coach soon after 9 o'clock to deliver my letters to the Secretary of State James Madison Esq by whom I was very politely received. I went from there to pay my respects to the Commander in chief Genl. Wilkinson. He was gone out to call on the Minister of War but expected home every moment. I sat some time with his aid-de-camp till we saw his coach pass at a distance as if he were going to the President's House, which by the bye is a very magnificent Palace, & as I found it was a proper hour to wait on the President, I profited the more readily of the occasion as I had some hopes of finding General Wilkinson there to whom I was already personally known. He had however gone to some other place for the President was alone. The distance from where I was at General Wilkinson's beyond the Capitol, which one wing is only finished as yet, to the President's House is I think about a mile and a half. You will be anxious to know how I was received.

I was quite ignorant of what might be the etiquette here, but I trusted to being informed of it by the Secretary of State or the Commd in chief, or by Mr. Merry the British Minister or by Mr Pieton [?] the Charge d'affaires from France. I accordingly ask'd Mr. Madison having found him at home. He informed me it was not customary to be presented, but that the President received with pleasure the visit of any Gentleman who wished to be known to him. The coach drove into the enclosure & up to the stair leading to the Great Hall of the President's House & I was sorry to see neither Genl. Wilkinson's carriage nor any other was there.

I walked up, and asked the person who received me in the Hall if the President was at home & if I could pay my respects to him. Being very civilly answered in the affirmative, I told him my name & he shewd me into a very elegant Room where he desired I might sit down & he informed me the President would come to me immediately. He came in a few minutes while I was looking at an Indian Belt & arrow suspended below a looking glass. He received me in the most affable & easy manner, desired me to sit down, which we both did and he gave me the opportunity of informing him more particularly of my view & my intentions of going to Louisiana to establish myself there and bring up my sons to business. This led naturally to a conversation on the subject of that newly acquired possession, and I perfectly agree with him that New Orleans must one day become the greatest trading city in the world (or at least some city on the entrance of the Mississippi), being informed of the route I meant to take by the Ohio & down the Mississippi, & that I intended taking some days rest here, he askt me to dine with him on Monday at half past three oclock which I accepted & took my leave lest I should encroach too much on his time.

On my way home I went to call on Mr. Merry to deliver my letter to him. I was very agreeably received & invited to dine with him tomorrow. He told me he is to set out on Monday on a tour to the eastern states, to spend some part of the hottest season in Long Island & perhaps go as far as Rhode Island with Mrs. Merry. I am glad I came in time to have the pleasure of being known to him. On coming from thence I went to deliver my letters to Robert Peter Esq & to John Laird Esq of Georgetown which is only separated from the city of Washington by Rock Creek so that I reckon myself on the latter tho' I am really only on the outward border of it. Having thus employed my morning I got home very tired with the heat or rather with the jolting of the mail coach the preceding two days & all the night on very bad rough roads through which European drivers & Horses would get on very slowly if they got through at all.

I am not very timorous in a carriage & I have in my life seen some bad roads & difficult passes, but nothing equal to these, some accidents happen, but it is not depressing to give you an idea of it I shall mention that the floods had carried away the Bridge or Bridges on Northeast River at the head of Chesapeake Bay. We had to make a road for ourselves according to the driver's judgment by going farther up & fording the two branches driving hap hazard over new catbanks. We soon after crossed Principio Creek all the neighborhood of which is bare shelving rocks without earth or gravel on them. We had neither moon nor stars, a large piece of rock had been moved by the flood in the river the driver checked his horses in the passage where I saw by the foam a cascade below us, within a yard of the wheel and it seemed very doubtful if the Driver with all his dexterity would be able to clear the fragment of the rock which stopt him on the right without coming too near the brink of the fall on the left, but he succeeded to the very agreeable surprise of the passengers. We were four in the coach at that time & none of us saw any method of escaping.

I must own I never saw more dextrous drivers. With four excellent horses in hand they sit in the fore part or front bench of the carriage where the roof covers them from the rain unless it happens to be in their face, they seldom use the whip, or even the voice. They are attentive & silent in general, they play

with the reins & study the equality of draught, dashing on at full trot on roads where I should be afraid to drive a pair at a walk. To be sure, in the present state of the roads particularly in Maryland the jolting is beyond anything I ever experienced, it would be much worse were the horses less obedient, less spirited or less docile, each of them seems to understand the driver perfectly when he speaks to him as one would do to a friend without flurry or noise- & he sometimes touches him gently with the whip on the opposite side when he wishes him to spring sideways over a gully or deep rut. It was quite an amusement to me to pay attention to this sort of driving so new to me. I had seen during the French Revolution roads much broken & very bad, but then, the postellions thought they had great merit if they got on at a walk while they were stunning your ears with their whip & peals of horrid oaths. As to the English drivers they do very well, & go very fast on the finest roads in the universe.

I own that for the first stage after leaving the stage coach & getting into the mail coach at New Brunswick in the Jerseys, I repented it and had I not wish'd particularly to gain time, I would have quitted it again at Princetown, tho' that road is tolerable when compared to what I saw afterwards or rather to what I felt, for however unaccountable it is to me, every one agrees that matters are so arranged as that the worst road between Philadelphia & Baltimore is passed in the Dead of night by the mail coaches & the fine road in Pennsylvania by daylight.

The drivers are order'd to carry Lanterns & so they do, but they do not light them. It seems the order does not extend to that point. Some of those drivers are owners of the Horses, some of them are very civil, others the contrary & seem to consider the passengers they carry as rather below their notice. This I attribute to want of education & a false notion which seems not uncommon among the lower classes here, that to be rude & uncivil gives them more consequence, for where I have observed it, it seemed always to be a studied & systematic incivility with respect to the Drivers of whom I am speaking I saw several examples of it to my fellow passengers & in two instances I was a party. The first of these was at Newport in the State of Delaware. We dined there & changed coaches & during dinner a

small leather case in which I had my papers, my letters & a sealed parcel for the Secretary of State was taken out of the seat of the coach to make room for some things under the coachman's care & tied on behind with two trunks belonging to other passengers. I wanted the coachman to untie it & put it into the coach as it had been before, to induce him to do so I told him the contents & that it even contained dispatches for Govt. It was all in vain. He said it was as safe there as anywhere else. I observed it threatened rain. He answered if the leather was good it would hold out water & leaving me he went into the House, but a man who had been helping him to pack the coach came up to me with an air of self importance, beyond any thing I had ever seen & addressing himself to me, while I was speaking French to a fellow traveller who spoke no English, he told me that if my leather case was not placed to my satisfaction he would be at the trouble of taking it off, that he would throw it out and it should not go forward by the coach at all. And he said all this with great coolness & absolute composure. It immediately struck me that not understanding French, seeing me pointing to the parcel & speaking a language unknown to him, he concluded I was making some ill natured remarks. My only reply was to ask if he was the Landlord of the Inn where we had dined so ill at double price. He seemed vexed, said the landlord was a better man than me, as to himself he was only coach driver, but not such as those in England who looked upon themselves as the servants of the Passengers because they paid them, but that here the driver is the master & addressing himself to the French gentleman & me he added as to you who think much of yourselves because you can speak other languages, you will tell me you have seen much of the world, but the more some people see the less they know & that is your case.

I told him to hold his tongue & let me alone, we were just getting in & we heard the continuance of this abuse till the distance put a stop to it. Now I assure you this man was not drunk, and an Irish gentm in the coach seemed to have much difficulty to avoid answering him.

The other instance I meant to tell you was at Harford sometimes called Bush the state after crossing the Susquehannah- it was after two oclock of the morning when the coach stopt to take the Bag of

letters at the Post Office. It was moon light. The Driver askt if we choosed to stretch our legs. We all got out but the Frenchman who travelling for the second night preferred sleeping. While we were walking within a few yards of the coach the four horses, which were very sprightly, set off at a gallop. I had seen the coachman go into the House with the way bag. I called as loud as I could to him that his horses were ran away & then I ran to try to overtake them, much alarmed for the poor Frenchman. The Irish gentleman profited of a bend of the road, cut across & threw himself before the Horses, but luckily did not catch the bridle, seeing his danger he leapt back with great agility & had almost thrown me down, another passenger ran well & gained ground on them at first-they both ran fast & fairly distanced me, indeed I saw nothing for it but walking on as quick as I could till I should get some news of what was likely to happen.

We had called so loud to stop the horses that people began to get out of their houses. I soon overtook the two passengers who were stopt by a ford on Binam's Run and there the thing was explained. It was a frolic of the Drivers to keep us awake & give us exercise, he had succeeded. I was in a violent perspiration. He had stopt in the later to let his horses drink. He had crept into the coach at the opposite side unperceived by any of us while the horses were running on and we could not see he was in the coach. The French gentleman awaking & seeing us run, with the attempt to seize the horses reins & stop them & hearing our cries, did all he could to get the Driver to stop & could form no idea of the meaning of all this.

When the Driver had turned in the River & brought the carriage out on the same side where we were, we stopt him there and as he told us he was going back to change the Horses, we insisted on getting into the coach indeed I was close by the wheel for that purpose when he call'd to us to stand out of his way & added that since we had run there we might run back again. I had some difficulty to same myself when he drove off as fast as he had come, when we got up to the Inn or House where the fresh Horses were, we saw several people come out to inquire what had happened & one person particularly was reproaching the Driver with his conduct & accusing him of having lately overset the mail coach. We

were, as you may conceive not quite silent, but he gave us abundance of impertinent language in return. I told him I hoped there might be some means of punishing him since he was in the service of the Post Office & that I wished to know his name. He said it was Bowyers, that he was well known & did not care a button for any thing we could do, so ended this adventure about which I think I shall do right to speak to the Postmaster General here & I intend it.

Now my dear niece it is time, in every sense of the word, I should close this long epistle and go to my bed. It shall be accompanied by another before I leave Washington where I mean to spend some days. How much I regret being alone on this interesting journey. It would be ten times more interesting had I some person with me possessing your quick penetration & indefatigable desire of knowledge. Your affet uncle Wm. Herrries"

Herries writes his next letter from Baltimore over two weeks later to Col. Charles Herries, but includes a detailed description of his visit with Jefferson on July 1, 1804.

"Baltimore 17 July 1804 Dear Brother

I profit of a gentle breeze come on this evening to begin a letter for you. I have ventured out as far as the Coffee House to read the newspapers, walking deliberately under my umbrella, but on my return I have found the air much cooled & the thermometer down to 84°.

By the Philadelphia papers of yesterday morning I have learnt three important things- the reality of a change of ministry in England, the vote of the Tribunate of Paris to create the first consul Emperor & the death of Genl. Hamilton of New York that by the Vice President Mr. Burr. I was indebted to both while at New York for their attentions to me & particularly to the latter. I had little doubt the first consul would make himself Emperor & try to extend his Empire over the world- & every thing we learnt of late seemed to indicate a change of your ministry. Yet I saw both the President of the United States &

the Secretary of State Mr. Madison on Friday last & no advice was then got to Washington of these presumed events having taken place.

I left the Federal City the 14th Saturday at half past five of the morning & got here at eight in the Evening very tired & rather unwell. This I attributed to the heat & the dreadful jolting of a vehicle without springs on shocking roads. I intended setting out from this place tomorrow for Pittsburg, but I must defer it till tomorrow night as the stage goes only once a week, or rather is to go, for tomorrow is the first day of it. It would be imprudent in me to go tomorrow. I feel myself too weak to risk it, but I am much better, tho' for these two days I have hardly been able to go downstairs & this is the first time I have had the smallest reason to complain of my health since I arrived in America., tho' driving the two days of the greatest heat while I was at Washington, the preceding Sunday & Monday, I was surprised to find on the evening of the latter that my skin was covered with small red spots all over my body.

I had dined that day with the President & speaking to him of the great heat he said his thermometer was on Sunday at 95° & on that day 95½°. Mr. Merry left Washington on Friday Evening, slept at a short distance, stopt again about three fourths of the way here on Saturday & advancing on Sunday his coachman died of the heat before he reached Baltimore & his postilion was very ill but is recovered.

The road is a good deal through lofty woods which interrupt any air there may be & I was in a sort of coach containing nine persons. I put up at the Inn where the coach stopt without even enquiring what Inn it was. I calld for Brandy & water desiring it might not be cold, warned by the fate of several gone to their graves within these few days by drinking cold water, even corrected by spirits, when they were hot. This revived me a little, but hearing myself addressed by my name shortly after, by a gentleman before me, I was so stymied as not at first to recollect him, tho' he had left me a few days before at Washington.

It was Mr. Martell going as French commissaire dCommerce (I suppose Consul now, tho' no candidate for an Empire) to reside at New Orleans &

who had nearly agreed to meet me at Pittsburg to go forward together. I am sorry he has taken another determination. I was happy to find so agreeable a young man in the next room to mine. When I was cool, I ventured to take cooling things but I passed the night in a high fever. Tho' my head kept clear, & by daylight I applied to my medicine bag & continued my remedies with such success, that I have now had a good nights rest & am well tho' very weak. The red specks on my skin begin to disappear I think they are owing to irritation of the pores by the great perspiration, tho' they look like the scarlet fever. I hope I shall have not occasion this, nor any other time, for their physicians. I find they order people to eat nothing but Ham, bacon, salted, dried & smoked meat. They may be right, but these are just the things I avoid- tho' that system seems generally adopted here.

I wish I knew something about you. I do not see you in the Philda list of the new ministry, but my firm belief is that you will have more reason to be pleased with the new than with the old. Tho' it is a doubt with me whether any of your ministries will ever make it a point of conscience to reward the merit of those who deserve it. They find employment enough for their favorites in turning their enemies into friends securing those who threaten to leave them, & making all those who have anything to say, sing to the same tune. Our friend J Charles will have less to do, but I hope he will not feel the change in any other way.

I have not a single line from any part of Europe since I came to America. I have desired Mr. Clark to send any letter he may have for me till the 20th inst. to Lexington in Kentucky where I hope to be in about a month.. I was a fortnight at Washington including a visit to Alexandria. I was much pleased with my reception by the President & others. dined twice with him & was besides frequently at his House, which is a very fine Palace. He spoke to me among other things of a road he has much at heart to make direct to New Orleans by which the post may go in ten days. (I see the last letters have taken 47 days). He sends a Mr. Briggs to explore the road & was in hopes to get a Box Sextant for him, but received a letter while I was there, informing him the owner had disposed of it & that there was no other in America. I assured him of the contrary &

offered him mine with its artificial horizon &c which he readily accepted & Mr. Briggs will by that means set out in a few days time. My observations were only intended to fill up some idle hours in the wilderness & Mr. Briggs's are for public utility.

I was happy to find so unexpected an opportunity of doing something so agreeable to Mr. Jefferson, with whose conversation I was much pleased & the flattering reception I met with from him & everybody made me prolong my stay at Washington some days longer than I had intended. The day after I got there I waited on the President, the Secy of State, the Comr in chief & Mr. Merry. It was Saturday 30 June. The latter askt me to dine with him next day & I went. He was ready to set out on a tour of Jersey & Long Island. Mrs. Merry said, it should be extended to Rhode Island, & so it will of course. She says Washington is a most unhealthy place, others think differently, the situation is high, varied & delightful, beyond any position I have met with for a city & when all built it will be of an enormous size.

At present the houses & offices are to dispersed that I walked one day above three hours without getting through the visits I intended, but I generally took a Hackney Coach. Some people go about on Horseback & at every door of note there is a place to tie your horse to. You see horses tied at the President's door, the same as at others. There you find no ceremony nor etiquette, but much politeness & civility. I never saw a man more attentive to his guests than Mr. Jefferson. He does the honours of his table in the most hospitable manner & it is served with elegance & abundance in every respect. His secretary receives the company at the top of the stair, leads the Ladies through the Great Hall & ushers them & the gentlemen into the Rotunda where the Presidents receives his company on days of ceremony. I mean on public days & when he gives entertainments, I imagine no other public court day is kept but the 4th July, the anniversary of Independence.

I said to Mr. M. in the course of conversation at table the 1st July that as he intended going away the 2d or 3d he would not be present on the great Gala day. The Lady I thought seemed offended at my supposing he would have been present had they not been going, but I meant no offence. As to himself he said "it is no day of rejoicing for me" and tho' my

opinion is that Great Britain really gained by the loss of America, I felt that was not a thing to be touched.

Their departure was fixed for the 2d & I really thought them gone as I saw every thing ready, but when I went to the President's House the 4th July I learnt (I believe from Mr. Law, Lord Ellenborough's Bro) that they were still on their departure, tho' they did not appear at the circle which was brilliant & numerous. I went there about half past twelve, several Gentlemen & some Ladies were already arrived. They continued coming in till near two & I got home a little after three. After seeing the evolutions of the cavalry Infantry & a detachment of artillery, manoeuvered & paraded before the Palace. There was a band of music in the Hall & all sorts of refreshments, liqueurs &c distributed in profusion.

Mr. Jefferson was remarkably attentive to every one he knew & particularly so to the Ladies whose number was much less than that of the Gentlemen, upon the whole I was much pleased to have been by chance at Washington on that particular day. The President often enter'd into conversation with me as I happened to come in his way & as the doors of the adjoining rooms were open, I was at one time examining a map on a larger scale than I had yet seen including Louisiana. He came up & pointed out to me the trail of the road he intends getting made. This was in his cabinet & he askt me if I was acquainted with the new copying machine which writes two letters at once. Upon my answereing I was not, he opend one on his Bureau & shewd me that while he wrote with one pen, another pen wrote precisely the same thing on another sheet of paper fixed on his right hand. The two pens being fixed in the same frame, it is neatly executed, made by a man in Philadelphia & he says he often uses it. I had heard they make such things in London, but I thought they had not answer'd.

Tho' I began this epistle on Tuesday evening I did not write at all then, but at times when I found myself inclined to write I added a few lines more. It is now Friday evening 20th July. I have had a slight return of my fever, which I thought would be the case but I think the matter is now settled by the medicines I have taken. The weather has been rather

cooler since a violent storm we had with much thunder & lightening. A church & a house near us were struck but no great damage done. I have paid my visits here & seen some gentlemen. I have not yet met with Mr. Wood for whom our friend Capt. Dunlop gave me a letter, tho' I have called four times at his house & at last left the letter. I shall try once more tomorrow to see him. He is a man much esteemed here. This is a fine town & very prosperous, but it is not equal to New York in any respect.

25 July (I have since seen Mr. Wood)

I now continue again to write you the morning of my departure. I have taken my place in this stage which was not overset the last week. I hope we shall be equally fortunate. My fever came back, but I have now got quite clear of it. I have at last met Mr. Wood. I find Mr. M & his Lady are still here. I have no time now to pay my respects to them, indeed I have no great wish to do it. I do not know how they manage in England to pick up people for ministers seemingly so very unfit for it. I would never send a man to a country against which either himself or his wife have strong prejudices. They are sure to disserve those who send them, without intending it.

I heard all the old story about the Presid. leading Mrs Madison first to the dining room, European manners, European modes of politeness would probably have prohibited that Mr. M should have been led first in, but it seems here they set it down that as foreign ministers (by American rules) are to pay the first visit to the secretary of State before he pays them one. So he (& of course his wife) goes before them& their wives on public occasions. This was the practice with Mr. Liston & no offence was meant to Mr. My but it seems the Lady made much more about it & the "Gray mare &c" The Presid. finding this, wrote a line to Mr. M. to beg of him to come to dine with him with some particular friends & without ceremony. Mr. M. refused & wrote four pages upon etiquette, whereas care had been taken to inform him that it was meant to do almost anything he pleased to satisfy him & convince him of no offence being meant. Yet he was above attending the private dinner for that purpose & to settle the matter in future. Then I understand it ended, but no member of Govt ever mention'd a word on the sub-

ject to me. Nor was his name mentioned in my presence but once by the President on the occasion of the Death of his coachman.

I can assure you that the New Empr has long been out of the Presids Books & I am certain that a reasonable affable, unceremonious man as Min'r from Engld would do almost anything he likes., but if when he goes to the Presidt in a morning (as any individual may do & always see him) he must not be offended if he receives him in whatever clothes he happens to have on, for that is His Etiquette. LAT-IN...he may be spoke to on business at any hour. Now has any foreign nation a right to dictate other modes, other ceremonies? Have they a right to complain when what they require has been done for no other & will be done for no other? I wished to know what they thought of Mr. Liv letter about a late affair & I found that the moment the P. knew it by the public papers he sent to Mr. My to tell him that he absolutely disavowed it. I told the Sec of St of it one day I was anxious to have letters from France & expected Mr. Liv would bring me some to know when he thought he would arrive. His answer was "I suppose very soon" he has been made acquainted with the appt of his successor & the tone indicated displeasure at the man. I dined with Gl Avensheng who succeeds him, at the P's he is said to a be a good sort of man.

Now Adieu my dear sir. God bless you all. I send you along story for Isabella marke'd F I do not send E as being too long a story for the Post and I have not been able to write her the other letter I intended from Washington. Indeed I shall try to find out some means of conveying gratis my bulky journals for they are not worth postage. She will find many repetitions, but I am not writing for the Press & she will excuse my long details about nonsence. I shall not be able to leave Pittsburg before the 12 Augt. & I shall go straight down the Rivers & indeed my finances will not permit my doing otherwise. These long detentions by the way cost very dear. Yet I was so much pressed for the sake of my life not to go down to Orleans before Sept. especially by Dr. Romagne that I thought it a duty I owed my family to comply. & yet I should not have found the heat many degrees more than I found it at Washington.

Mr. Briggs has been with me & set off yesterday for his new road direct through the Cherokee & Chickasaw country to Orleans. He is much pleased with my instruments & again told me how much the Pr. thought himself obliged to me for enabling him to proceed. I declined however being of his party lest my health should not stand it. He goes with an assistant without escort & being a Quaker he does not mean to defend himself against the Indians should they get drunk & treat him ill. They never do otherwise. There is a king & eleven others with two boys next door to me here for the Osage river, fine men. I had the honour of shaking hands with his Majority at the Presidents they are above 6 feet high Adieu complements to all friends yours ever WmH"

This long letter was enclosed in a wrapper marked 1 oz. SHIP LETTER DOVER with crown. This onepage sheet contained a one page letter dated July 25 at Baltimore. Near the end of this short letter he mentions: "Genl. Wilkinson the Com r in chief has provided me with letters to the comdg officers at Pittsburgh, Fort Massac, Fort Vincennes. Kaskaskia, St. Louis, New Madrid, the Chickasaw Bluffs, Natchitoches, and New Orleans." The next full letter is from Pittsburgh, at that time on America's frontier. Ohio had just been admitted as a state the previous year. He mistakenly places Pittsburgh in Ohio.

"Pittsburgh, Ohio, 6th August 1804 Dear Brother

I wrote you from Baltimore & I find by the note I kept that my letter was dated the 17 & continued till the 25th ulto. I begged Mr. D.C. Stewart & Co. to forward it with others I wrote to France by such opportunities as they might find.

I left Baltimore that day, I mean the 25th at 3 oclock of the afternoon, crossed the 27th the south mountain otherwise called the blue mountains a southern ridge of the Allegany & arrived at Chambersburgh in Pennsylvania, where I remained waiting for the mail cart (for I cannot call it a coach) from Philadelphia till Sunday 29th. I had luckily pickt up a Mr. Dodge on this part of my journey, bound also for New Orleans, we found just room in the coach or

cart, in which there were besides us & our baggage ten other persons including the coachman & three children. It was quite impossible to sit in any tolerably easy posture. We got forward 19 miles that day over shocking roads.

We arrived at MacConnelstown at the foot of Scrub ridge another of the Allegany mountains at 9 oclock at night, supped & slept among myriads of bugs till past three next morning. We were off by four & soon began to ascend the mountains. All equally unacquainted with the road over which the coach was not attempting to pass for the third time & it was a very strong carriage with four fine horses. We supposed they had made such arrangements as to let us get breakfast at a reasonable hour, but the interest of the owners was against that calculation.

We passed several taverns always in hopes our breakfasting place would come in sight, but we were doomed to fast & be jolted to death till 12 o clock. The Driver (& these gentlemen are masters here) was inexorable. They have so settled it that you are to stop only at houses kept by the interested in this new undertaking. When we got to this favorite alehouse, I had distributed to the children some bread intended for my little dog, Miss Jersey (who I think I told you had pickt me up & insisted on going to defend me from the Rattlesnakes, copperheads & black snakes offering to follow coaches or horses tho' she is only like a small terrier).

We were all fairly knockt up & one gentleman a Mr. Hopper from Hull, was rendered incapable of proceeding farther. We left him & his baggage there, to wait a week for a chance of the next stage should there be room & should he have recovered this rude assault, which we determined in our council of war to be a conspiracy of the owners against the lives of their fellow citizens & resolved to take our measures for next day. As I was senior of the company & best armed full powers were given me unanimously for that purpose.

We got at night to Bedford a charming village, called a town, on the beautiful banks of the Small River, one of the prettiest small rivers I have seen with the most romantic scenes on any side here, after being recruited with some victuals, I informed the Landlord in the name of the company that we

were determined to defend our lives against starvation next day & being to move off too early to eat I declared to him we would lay violent hands on the Driver at the first tavern after nine oclock, adding that we would publish & certify their unwarrantable system calculated to destroy their passengers so that they might shut shop. My threats succeeded. We were allowed half an hour by the way to eat bread & milk, & got our second breakfast at noon which we called our dinner.

We crossed other mountains, next day & arrived at Somerset which I saw little of, getting in late & being off before day light. Here I again warned the Interested Landlord of our threatened vengeance if he starved us. He is a Capt. of the army & promised positively to reform these abuses entirely rather than be exposed in the papers. We again obtained our bread & milk in due time & the Drivers became very civil. We now crossed the highest Allegany Mountain on our way called the Laurel Hill & afterwards the Chestnut ridge. To describe the impossible roads we passed (in a new coach the former being shaken almost to pieces) is out of the question, no words can convey any idea of it.

One descent of about three or four miles was dreadful. The preceding day & this we had six horses. We now took off the two Leaders. The lady who had a young child was most to be pitied. I offered to ride one of the leaders & take her behind me, but she found it impracticable to hold the child & hold me & nobody was to attempted sitting in the coach that on all hands was settled to be impossible. At last her brother & a black man agreed to carry the child by turns. She was a good rider & stuck close behind me on the Horse, but with his collar & chains for traces, his appearance & ours we should have made an excellent subject for a painter. I then wished I had had my saddle which I had sent by the carriers to meet me here. However we got safely to the Inn, very long before the coach or any of the company & got breakfast prepared for them.

We crossed that day the last ridge & slept at Greensburg the next, the 2d inst. We got safely here on tolerable road tho' very hilly, but a delightful country. The approach here is charming & the place itself still more so. I never saw a spot that pleased me so much. The Allegany river on one

side, the Monongahela on the other, each almost equal to the Thames at London, form their junction just below the pretty town of Pittsburg all laid out in straight lines with wide streets & from the point of meeting of these Rivers flows the beautiful Ohio, all this is really grand.

The Monongahela is navigable from Morgantown to this place, a distance by water of 107 miles. The Allegany or Allegheny is navigable for arks with great cargoes & flat bottoms from Presqu'isle now called Erie which by water is 300 miles from Pittsburg. & by the best information we can obtain the Ohio with its various windings runs a course of 1096 miles to its junction with the Mississippi. From thence this last river is 1032 miles to New Orleans & 108 miles more to its mouth. Thus before Mr. Dodge & I get home we have still 2128 miles to go, and as the waters are too low at this season for loaded boats we are in treaty for the purchase of a little yawl (built for a ship that got aground here) about 17 feet long to carry us down with a certainty of not losing by her there as they build cheaper & better here). If we buy her we shall have a little sail & oars, & if we can find a couple of hands who will row for their victuals & passage we shall do very well.

I have been much pleased to make Mr. Ross's acquaintance here. I delivered him Mr. Marings letter for which I am much obliged to him & beg you will thank him in my name. I had also other letters & one for Mr. Bernard Lintol of the Natchez (grandson of Mr. Lintol mentioned by Posse) whose son I have met here & learnt the fathers death. I have been civilly received by Mr. John Irwin to whom I was recommended & particularly by the House of Terrascon freres, Barthoud & Ce great builders. They have a fine ship on the stocks of 330 tons, just by me on the Monongahela, she will go to Kentucky & pass the Rapids in light ballast drawing then only 9 or 10 feet water, but she may there take in some cargo & be completely loaded to go down the Mississippi proceeding from thence to Europe, another of 240 tons is also on the stocks in another builders yard & Messrs Tarrascon Berthoud & C have one now got down to Louisville of above 300 Ton where she waits the rise of the waters to pass the rapids. Mr. Berthoud is there.

This place was destined by Nature for trade. It is remarkably healthy. Lat. North 40° 26' which in America is temperate. The thermometer has not been above 84° since I arrived, but we shall find it much hotter as we go forward, we hope to proceed in about 8 days. The current of the waters is not at present two miles an hour, but we shall row & I hope get some fair winds, tho' I do not expect to reach the Natchez before the end of Sept. & then we have about 300 miles to New Orleans. If I had the means I could buy a flat bottomd boat here & load her here or 100 miles first with flour at 3½ Dollars a barrel (200lb or rather 196 lb) selling at New Orleans at 10 & 11 dollars. It would pay all the expenses of my journey. Hemp would give the same profits. I see much that may be done. I shall see still more. I shall take notes of every thing. The means may afterwards be found to profit of many things, all is new here, & all is interesting. I find this place very delightful & yet the inhabitants say I shall think little of it when I see Kentucky. It may be so, some tell me it is less healthy than it seems to me from its fine situation but they add that this is owing to the filth & negligence of some part of the inhabitants.

Mr. Wilson by whom I send this to Philadelphia to be forwarded by Mr. Francis is going off tomorrow morning otherwise I should have added a chapter of details for Miss H. but I give you the substance in the meantime. I believe we shall get a passage to Kentucky in a better boat than the little yawl & from thence find our way to St. Louis & then down the river. Many compl ever yours W. Herries"

On back cover:

"Philada Sept 3d 1804 Recd & forwarded by your obt. Servt Tho. W. Thaneis?

Col Herries L H V\orderly room Strand London 194"



Figure 1. Postmark leaf of Lexington letter of September 23, 1804 showing large circular "NEW* ORLEANS* NOV 20" and weak oval "SHIP-LETTER LIVERPOOL" double oval with ms. 2/2 postal rate. The back bears a red "JAN 23 1805" date stamp.

"Lexington, Kentucky, 23 Septr 1804

Dear Brother

By the notes I have kept in my little memorandum Book, I find it was the 6th of last month when I wrote you last, my letter was dated at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on the Ohio or rather at its head. I sent it under cover to Mr. Francis of Philadelphia with one for France by a Gentleman setting out to cross the mountains.

My detention was much longer at Pittsburgh than I had reckon'd upon owing chiefly to the bruise on my thigh bone which took much time to disperse entirely notwithstanding all my care. I found it grow worse on the least exercise & patience was necessary. In the meantime the waters lowered greatly. Men of experience assured me I might be two months on the Ohio exposed to great heats. This convinced me in the plan of going on horseback, tho' Mr. Dodge had left me & gone forward.

I had hopes of buying a Horse cheap from the Osage Indians expected every day, but found they were bad & worn out by reports of those who had seen them. I bought a mare, but upon complete trial found her too slender & got clear of her at a

small loss, then bought a stout little horse about 14 hands & a half of Dr. Bedford & baptised him Trodge. I then waited some days for Mr. Johnston going to see his estates on the Muskingum. We left Pittsburgh the 6th inst crossed the Monongahela there, passed out of Pennsylvania into a corner of the upper part of Virginia, crossed the Ohio at Charlestown (64 miles below Pittsburgh by water), visited some very fine lands of Mr. Johnston north of the River in the State of Ohio & made out our way as we could but through perpetual forests till we found the road or path. I should have followed had I been alone by crossing into the State of Ohio at Wheeling 15 miles further down.

I had never before seen such fine land, nor nature in its truly primative state- to appearance at least tho' not in reality primitive, since there cannot remain a doubt in any man's mind who visits that part of the country of its having been inhabited & cultivated by a civilized people long before our accounts of the Creation. The astonishing regular fortifications, some of which near my route contain 80, 90 & 100 acres dispel all doubts on that point. Some of the Ramparts are still 20 feet perpendicular height above the bottom of the ditch & above & below are trees of amazing dimensions offspring of many generations of trees which have grown fallen

rotted & made a thick soil of the produce of decomposed vegetation of these very ramparts & ditches. No doubt discoveries will continue to be made as population increases in these parts. It is now very scanty. Seven years ago there was not even a hut on some hundreds of miles on our route, and few wells have been dug without finding some remains of antiquity on which no value is set.

Mr. Johnston stopt at Zanesville on the Muskingum. I staid two days there not only to cure myself of some feverish attacks arising from the great heat & fatigue (the thermometer having been one day at 114° in my coat pocket, another at 93° & one at 95° in the shade equal to 114° in the sun) but my stay was also partly on my poor Trodge's account. He was only bought & taken from grass a few days before I set out, loaded with the monstrous saddle bags you gave me tho' without the canteens which I sent with my rifle gun & other baggage by the Osage Indians by water to St. Louis from Pittsburgh. Still with pistols, great coat, a blanket to sleep on &c my poor horse was too heavily loaded & his back required curing notwithstanding all my care. In the interval I was joined by a gentleman belonging to the Bank of the United States.

We came on together to New Lancaster on the Hockhocking River which tho' only 40 miles was a good days journey considering that in every bottom we were up to the horses belly in that black luxuriant soil & had so many steep hills to pass that I was obliged to pass a girth round Trodge's counter & contrive a double crupper for him. We came then to Chillicothe on the Cioto & steering a southwesterly course we at last got again on the Banks of the beautiful Ohio which we crossed at Big bone ferry, Maysville in the State of Kentucky, here I rested again a day & a half and reached Lexington the 20th unst. but out of pity to my horse I left the great saddle bags & half my baggage at Maysville (425 miles below Pittsburgh by water) to be sent by boat to meet me at Louisville 240 miles further downwhere I mean once more to cross the Ohio.

I found the Indians who have the rest of my baggage had passed Maysville two days before I got there, but from Louisville I shall find opportunities of sending by water what I left & every thing else but a couple of shirts, my blanket, pistols & oil skin covering, as I shall then have provisions to carry for myself & my horse for 120 miles to Fort Vincennes on the Wabash & from thence again 180 miles to Kaskaskias on the Mississippi, on which road there are no habitations, indeed one would prefer sleeping in the woods to some places I have slept in.

I had no idea of the state of filth in which some people live by mere laziness & the horror they seem to have of washing anything of linen. Clean sheets is generally speaking a thing out of the question in American Inns. I was not sorry we got sometimes only one & sometimes none, but in such weather the floor is the best bed for bugs & vermin abound, I mean fleas musquitos &c&c in one place where seven travellers slept on the floor I called out as I was lying down that a mouse had passed me, but it was found to be a toad, yet in the woods of Ohio there is one exception from the general nastiness & dirt. 12 miles from Zanesville we stopt to breakfast at a miserable loghouse whose outward appearance made us doubt if even oats could be had there. We were answer'd by a young girl in the affirmative. We found all better within- a very decent landlady & four daughters all clean & neat. We unloaded our horses took off our saddles & took them to the stable at a little distance & both remarked how clean these people appeared. We got an excellent breakfast & could not help praising the extreme neatness & cleanness of every thing, but I got hardly time to eat by answering the ladies questions about England. Her husband & three sons were out at work. Their name is Baird they came lately from the neighborhood of Liverpool- their humble dwelling is a paradise compared to the general prevailing filth & stench

24th I wrote what precedes yesterday Sunday, during a violent rain, the hour of dinner came & I went to dine with Mr. McBean, of the Bank here. I knew his uncle formerly Wm McBean no longer in London. I came home to the Inn (a good one) towards dark & placed my hat in the passage as usual with my umbrella. Some person of the light fingere'd tribe borrowed it while we were at supper to return it in the next world tho' I had much use for it in this. I regret it much & also the oil skin cover, which I cannot replace here, but still the man was luckily for me too much hurried to borrow my um-

brella. Three other gentlemen's hats & two great coats were just by mine, but the fellow took the best & left the others. I have got another this morning & must take patience.

The weather changed the 18th inst the therm fell in the mornings to 44° which made me feel very cold even with my great coat after such heats. It is not now above 70 & 72 in the middle of the day, so I shall have to make a fire in the woods. I intend setting out this afternoon in hopes to meet Mr.Badollet the Surveyor General of Indiana on his way to Post Vincennes & enjoy his company from Louisville across that part of the desert. I shall very probably there meet some fellow traveller, if not I mean to ride with the man who carries the letters once a fortnight as it is necessary to be with somebody who knows where to find water by the way. I shall meet Mr. Chouteau at St. Louis, one of the first men there in the fur & skin trade. I made his acquaintance at the Federal City. He conducts the Osage Indians who came down to see the United States.

The king is with them as I believe I told you formerly, they overtook me at Pittsburgh & His Majesty shook hands with me most cordially. He seems rather fallen off since I met him at Washington. He has a very stately appearance, I think him about 6 feet 5 inches high. He eats always by himself & knows how to maintain his dignity.

I still think my going by St. Louis & the Illinois country interesting otherwise I would gladly avoid this part of the tour. I also think future benefit will arise to me, in some shape or other from the remainder of my long & fatiguing journey, more expensive than I could have imagined, for the worst of all possible lodging & food for a night the smallest expense is a dollar, horse included. I give my horse 3 gallons of oats (when I can get them) at night & generally three feeds of a gallon each in the course of 35 or 40 miles during the day. I found it hard work in very hot days to saddle & take care of my horse.

If I had money to lay out in lands I now know where I could buy the finest in the world at \$2 to \$5 per acre near Rivers which would carry the produce to the Ocean & which in a few years will sell for \$15 or \$20 pr acre as I see by others in less favoured

situations, but...amazing consignments must now go gradually augmenting from this to New Orleans-Hemp, tobacco, flour, cordage, beef & pork, salted, & many other things. & they must import much

24th Sept continued

I find it much more difficult to end a letter to you than to begin it. This one requires a cover & I do not like to send you any blank paper. I send it with one for Paris to Mrs. Skipwith under cover to Mr. Clark (or Messr Chew & Relf who do his business) I was in great hopes to have found here letters from Europe & some news of my family as I had wrote Mr. Clark to send me letters to Mr. Morton here, but I have got none, and must now take patience till I reach Natchez towards the beginning of November.

The only letter I have got here is from the worthy Doctor Romayne of New York. I do not write to my wife because I conclude she will embark with my sons early in October, but write to her sister. I wrote our Brother Sir Robert late in August from Pittsburgh by way of Philadelphia, as he may perhaps now have got that letter. I wish you would send him this or by mail it to Mr. R H. in St. James Street he can after perusal put it in a frank to Cheltenham. I hope they are all well & long much to hear something about you all. Pray say every kind thing from me to every member of your family & our mutual friends, some of whom will perhaps complain of my writing them so often when once I get to Orleans. Had any person of genius been with me he would have found it an easy task to write an interesting narrative of such a tour, but as for me I have contented myself with taking daily some short notes of places, distances &c &c in this part of America so little known even to Americans themselves that no information can be obtained beyond twenty miles from where one is & that is constantly defective.

Adieu my dear Sir may every good thing attend you all ever yours truly Wm. Herries"

The cover bears the large circle postmark of "NEW* ORLEANS NOV 20" as well as British ship letter markings 2/2 Liverpool Ship Letter (Figure 1).

"Louisville Falls of Ohio 4 Oct 1804 Lat N. 38°15' Long. W from Phila 10°25' 665 miles below Pittsburg by water Dear Brother

I have the opportunity of sending you word from this place that I am proceeding in good health on my journey. I wrote you from Lexington, Kentucky, the 24th ulto by the way of New Orleans. I send this by Mr. Heaton to Philadelphia. He is Cashier in the Bank of the United States & we have travell'd together from Zanesville in the State of Ohio. He returns home & I go tomorrow morning across the Ohio into the Indiana Territory.

I was detained at Lexington longer than I would have wished by the difficulty to care my horse's back about which I took much pains, but I found he was not likely to be so well at to venture into the Wilderness upon him unless I had given him ten days longer and after all I considered him too weak to carry five days provender for himself & me, which must be the case at Port Vincent or Fort Vincennes. I made a bargain for these reasons for another much stronger but much less spirited. He is indeed very lazy. I have baptised him Aegatarde, as he is of Spanish breed.

I left Lexington at 4 o'clock afternoon the 1st inst. & got here yesterday at half past three 78 miles through a most delightful country. I am now for the last time on the Bank of the charming Ohio at some places near this it is about a mile broad, at some more & others less. I have just been riding on its banks with Mr. James Berthoud by whose amiable family I have been most hospitably received. He is doing great things here & has another ship of 325 tones quite ready to go down.

I have had the good luck to overtake Mr. Morison of Kaskaskias here. He has waited today to oblige me & we enter the first part of the wilderness tomorrow morning. I am busy getting all in order. We hope to reach Post Vincent on the Wabash in three days. It is 120 miles. I have wherewithall to make a fire a small saw a small axe, a spare shoe for my horse nails & pincers & besides my small saddlebags I carry a bushel of oats, cold roast beef, a roast fowl, some chocolate, a pint of brandy & biscuit. My horse is only 14½ hands. Mr. Morrison's is 16

hands so that in deep water he will have the advantage, but we shall find the waters low & we can between us make a raft & swim our horses his dog Ponto & my little yellow dog Jersey form the rest of our company.

We neither of us know much about the road but he once travell'd it & we know it is West by North & afterwards due West as far as Port Vincent from whence west continues our route. We have from thence 180 miles in a perfect wilderness. For the first part there are two huts. I have a small blanket under my saddle a larger one above it my oil skin covering, an umbrella slung across my shoulders all that will be very useful, but I know how to build a little hut to shelter us in half an hour where we meet with woods. We shall find some Papaws I hope. They are excellent. I feasted on them yesterday & have preserved some seed to send you from Orleans. I leave that & my heavy luggage in the large saddle bags with Mr. Berthoud to be sent down to me. I have made some valuable acquaintances in Kentucky & think I shall have consignments. Now I go to see what is to be done in the Illinois Country. If half a dozen Englishmen were to make such a tour as mine properly provided how delightful it would be. I could now point out what they should leave & what they should not have which I could not learn from any man I met with. I have a note of all the roads & distances not only those I have travell'd but many others, but for Botanists, antiquarians & curious men, or those who wish to see society in its infancy what a treat they would meet with here.

This is a beautiful place, but sickly at the present time. I have been a little incommoded two days ago by taking very unintentionally a strong emetic which deprived me of a hearty breakfast I had eaten at Frankfort on the Kentucky River. I left it all in the woods & was very glad to get it off my stomach. I am since perfectly well & hope to keep so by the precautions I take. I expect to reach Kaskaskias in about 9 or 10 days, then Kahokia and then St. Louis. I shall only be thereabouts till a Boat is going down the Mississippi by which in 10 or 12 days I may reach the Natchez. The Indians who have my baggage passed here 12 days ago, but I may reach St. Louis as soon as them.



Figure 2. Postmark leaf of the St. Louis, Louisiana, letter of November 12, 1804 showing "Ship Letter ISLE OF WIGHT" double oval. The backstamp is unreadable but the docket reads "Recd April, 1805".

What are you all about in Europe? We do not even know here what is doing on the other side of the Mountains. I found at Lexington Mr. Trist the Collector at Orleans had died suddenly & very many others. I immediately wrote to the Secretary of State to put the Prest. in mind of Mr. Sk[ipwith] & offer'd to be his substitute till he arrives. Mr. Connor used to say Nothing lost by asking. Now God bless you all. I am going to get a Bell for my horse & a strap to tie his feet. Adieu Ever yours Wm. Herries"

There are then no letters until he gets to St. Louis. St. Louis was in the District of Louisiana from October 1, 1804 to July 5, 1805 and then was in the Territory of Louisiana July 4, 1805 to December 6, 1812. There is only one St. Louis postmarked letter from the District of Louisiana period. However, this correspondence contains an even earlier letter from November, 1804. (2) That letter was carried by hand to Washington by the famous fur trader, Pierre Chouteau, who put the next letter into the mails to Europe. It is postmarked "Ship Letter ISLE OF WIGHT"

"St. Louis, Louisiana, 12 Novr 1804 Dear Brother

I did not intend writing you from this place, but having learnt by letters yesterday from New Orleans dated as late as the 8th ulto. that the Yellow fever has cause great ravages in that city & fearing my letter from Louisville in Kentucky may have miscarried, I consider you might be uneasy about me.

I am just going to embark for New Orleans having at last met with an opportunity by the complaisance of the late Spanish Govr. Me De Lassus now going down with his troops &c. We shall stop at St. Genevieve and New Madrid so that, the water being quite low we must not expect to reach New Orleans till about Christmas when all symptoms of yellow fever will have ceased.

The accounts we have are I hope exaggerated- 3000 people are said to have died. At all rates I shall find it a sad scene. I know some of the Gentlemen are dead to whom I have letters of introduction. It is said that of 700 troops 570 are dead. I hope they

mean that number remain. I was well advised not to go quicker but of late that has not depended on myself. I came here from Kaskaskia & Cahokia the 17^{th} ulto. I have since made an excursion to the Missouri with Govr. Harrison, who at present commands all upper Louisiana- besides the Indiana State & those include some millions of square acres more than all Europe.

I wrote you from Louisville the 4th Oct via Philadelphia. I slept five nights under the Canopy of Heaven in the Wilderness & found it one of the most agreeable parts of my journey tho' my horse got sick & had almost died, but as to myself I have no complaints to make of my health.

This is an interesting position for the Peltry trade of which I should never have seen the real state without coming here. I intend sending this to Baltimore or Phila. by Mr. Chouteau one of the first men here, going to Washington City. I have given him a letter to the President of the United States and one to the Secretary of State, thanking them both for this atrocious wine. We have not nothing but fetes et bals depuis nous arrivée- tout [?] a la françoise- on parle que français- the occasion of then was the arrival of Govr. Harrison, who set out [?] days ago for Ste. Genevieve, & the mines. I shall find him again as we move down in our Tubs. We are rather heavy loaded with artillery &c. I am now brushing up my Spanish. I have laid in my stores, beef, biscuit &c&c for two months and I have sold my horse Aegatarde- he turned out well & fetched \$60- tho he has splints in both forelegs. Many compliments to all friends. I have no letters from Europe since I left you. Yours W. Herries"

Thus the reason for William Herries to write to Thomas Jefferson from St. Louis is now clear. In fact, the other letter from St. Louis which he wrote to his brother, just transcribed above, mentions two letters to Jefferson and Madison.

St. Louis, Louisiana, 3d Novr, 1804 Sir

I hope you will forgive the liberty I take in seizing this opportunity to beg you will accept my thanks &

sincere assurance of gratitude for the very flattering reception with which you honored me in July last. I was happy to perceive, at that time, that my intention to take a general view of some parts of the United States least known in Europe, previous to settling myself with my family in New Orleans, for the remainder of my life, seem'd to meet with your approbation. I was sensible how imperfect the accounts must be of new countries so very extensive, & I am highly pleased with the long ride I have been taking in them.

I no sooner arrived at Pittsburgh, that I found my curiosity would not be much gratified, with respect to the interior country, if I embark'd on the Ohio, and I resolved to prosecute my Journey on Horseback. I crossed that fine River three times in the course of my tour, & saw, with admiration, so many large ships building at so great a distance from the Sea. I was most agreeably surprised to find such very rich lands & a soil I had, till then, no clear idea of, in the State of Ohio & in Kentucky, in which last, & indeed in both, much greater progress is made than I could possibly have supposed for so short a time.

I was in general favoured with good weather, & particularly so to traverse the Wilderness by Vincennes to Kaskaskia, so that sleeping five nights in the open air proved by no means disagreeable to me, while my fancy was pleased with the hopes that my children may see those amazing Prairies in a state of cultivation capable of furnishing the most important articles to all the World by the mouths of the Mississippi.

I had not imagined that the lands I had seen would be equaled any where else, but in this I was mistaken, for the Banks of the Mississippi and the Missouri, in as much as I have seen of both thus far, seem to me to possess superior advantages, & extensive tracts of soil equally good, & in some places perhaps even better, that what I had met with, situated so near those noble Rivers, where ships of any burthen may be built, where the Country around offers the finest timber & is capable of producing everything requisite. Where even now, & without further cultivation, the Prairies offer the means of feeding immense herds of cattle, requiring only a little more industry & population to supply all the

shipping of the world with Salted Provisions, nature having provided the salt in the neighborhood-& now, under the government of the United States, I may be allow'd to hope with confidence that the time is not distant when Cargoes of wheat, of flour, of Hemp, of cordage & a variety of other useful productions will be moving down the River, in vessels fit to carry them to any distant Port or Country, in lieu of the few Boats thus far sent down with Peltry, while even the greatest part & the best of this appears to have been sold to Canada, every thing being thus far, cramp'd by exclusive privileges.

When I add to all those considerations the variety of Minerals, discover'd & appearing daily, I cannot but think nature destined this part of the country, with its temperate healthy climate, to be one of the most favour'd residences for civilized man.

I find there is abundance of Pit Coal both on the Missouri & Mississippi conveniently situated for shipping. Iron ore is equally plenty, and independent of the Lead works now in activity, a specimen has been given me of ore which seems very rich, found much higher up this River, where I am told it is to be had in any quantity, with other ores of which I am promised specimens hereafter; there is also on the Missouri, a Gypsum, which appears to me to be equal to the Plaster of Montmartre, with which I have compared it, & a variety of Clays which I have not seen. All these things will add to the great national story of unexplored riches for ages to come.

I have now to beg your pardon for taking up so much of your time, & to mention that Mr. Chouteau the Elder by which I take the liberty of sending this Letter, is not only one of the best informed Men in this Country, but enjoys the esteem & respect of all the inhabitants. He is capable of giving you every sort of information in regard to this very interesting part of America. He is about to set out for the seat of government, & I am now on my departure for New Orleans where I hope to meet my family from Europe.

I have the honour to be with the most sincere respect, Sir

Your most obt hble Servt. Wm. Herries" William Herries completed his trip to New Orleans and sent another letter to his brother from there. Just portions of that letter relating to his travels are excerpted here:

"New Orleans 16 February 1805 Dear Brother

I arrived here the 6th inst. on foot having left the Boats a little higher up the River- they are since come down & I have got out my baggage. I received the next day of Mr. Clark your favor of the 20 Sept. from Brighton, not having been able to meet him the evening of my arrival. I also received letters from my wife to the beginning of July last & some from Mr Skipwith, but several from both are lost & a large parcel from Port Vincennes on the Wabash about skins which was interesting to me, & I fear some others of my letters have shared the same fate owing to a singular circumstance.

The fleet of Spanish boats loaded with artillery & the garrisons up the country, by which I came down from the Illinois, did not stop at the Natchez to which plan I had beg'd Mr. Clark to send my letters & I had desired some to write me to the care of Mr. C. Foreman Hunt & Col of that place. The Commandant give me a Piragua with four men & on our approach to the Natchez at some leagues distance, with two officers of the fleet, we were so unfortunate as to strike with great violence on a stump in a very thick fog. We had for a moment no hopes, but the danger was soon over our Piragua stood the dreadful shock & after being thrown out of the water, by the stump, about a foot high, taking her in the centre where I sat, she fell unbroken in such a position as to right again in the strong current. One of the officers lost his sword. I got only wet, being thrown from my seat upwards & falling on my back on the bottom while we shipt a sea. We gained the shore & put all to rights again. That Piragua, cut out of one tree, was 35 feet long & 2 feet and a half wide without any keel, so you may consider what a roll we got & how surprising it was she did not break.

This detraction shorten'd the time I was able to stay at Natchez where the fleet passed almost as soon as we had landed. Mr. Forman was gone to New Orleans. Mr. Hunt in the country- their clerks said there

were parcels for me, but under Mr. Hunts lock & key, all I could do was to leave directions to send them by post back to Mr. Clark & in the evening I joined the fleet again.

Mr. Hunt followed my directions and the Post Boy with my letters was robb'd of the mail. It was thrown into the River after being opend & dispursed. Some letters have been recovered but not mine which is very vexing to me. I apprehend I have lost some of later dates from my wife for I learn indirectly she was ready to leave Paris in October & was expected with my two sons at Bordeaux early in November to sail in the Lovely Nan for this place. That ship has been expected here this month past. God grant they be all well, but I am very uneasy.

Let me now thank you for your long letter of the 20th Sept. and give many thanks to Miss Herries for hers. She shall hear from me by the first direct opportunity. I have been just told of a ship, I believe the United States, for Liverpool. It seems she goes today and I seize the opportunity to tell you & my friends through you that I am in the land of the living. Perhaps you or some of them may have received some of the letters I wrote from various places by way of giving them a chance, if not, the loss is small & lest you should not, I shall by way of satisfying your curiosity in the meantime repeat here, that after leaving New York I went to Philadelphia, to Baltimore, spent a fortnight at the Federal City of Washington went back to Baltimore, then over the Alleghany Mountains to Pittsburg, Rode on Horseback into the North part of Virginia, crossed the Ohio to see the fine trail of country to the North of that River, now called the State of Ohio, in that state I crossed the Muskingum at the proposed town of Zanesville, the Hockhocking at New Lancaster & went to the capitol. Chillicothe on the Scioto.

Nothing in nature can be more beautiful than that country but it is almost uninhabited as yet. I then took a more southerly course, crossing again the Ohio at Maysville on entering the civilized state of Kentucky, I arrived at Lexington the 20th September (the date of your letter & my own birthday) where I was vastly well received. I sold my Horse there, and poor Trodge was an excellent horse, but his back failed me. I bought another & on the first days

ride I named him Algatarde, but he was miscalled for his apparent laziness proceeded from his having just come off a journey of 1600 miles which to me was a recommendation, for he knew how & where to find food in the wilderness. He was much afraid of thunder & lightening to such a degree that I believe one night he would have lain down upon me while I was sound asleep, had not my little dog Jersey barked & got upon me to wake me, when I conceived I was in the claws of some panther, the horses nose being very close to mine & the fire got so low that I could hardly see it was him. The poor creature stood shaking with fear & it was with difficulty I could drive him back into the wood.

Horses & dogs are quite companions at all times, but put yourself only at a hundred miles from all habitations they become estimable friends. I gave Algatarde during a night & a morning to cure him of a sort of colic all my stock of Salts, Rhubarb & Rum, and next day I drove him before me, to avoid loading him with my weight till he got better. One feels very uncomfortable at the idea of losing your only horse with a chance of walking some days at least before you find assistance in an Indian camp, but these good people show'd always a wish to serve me, & I like them better than many frontier white men.

To carry you at once over my route I must tell you that from Lexington I went to Frankfort the Capitol, then to Louisville on the Ohio which I crossed for the third time on entering the wilderness of Indiana. At the end of the first days journey on the Banks of the Blue River I saw a house not finished. I passed on & slept at a spring in the forest. I hoped to sleep in a house the second night 40 miles farther but could not find it in the dark, tho' a gentleman then with me thought as I did we could distinctly hear dogs, but we found it was only wolves, for we were not within a mile of the houses.

I was favoured with good weather till I reach'd Post Vincennes on the Wabash, from that place my direction was towards Kaskaskia. I was not so fortunate in point of constant fine weather in that part of the uninhabited wilderness & prairies. I stopt some days there & then rode northwesterly to Cahokia. There I crossed the Mississippi & rode up its banks to St. Louis in the Illinois. I found Govr Harrison

there and had the pleasure of joining in his excursion to the Missouri. I then came back to St. Louis & embarked for New Orleans, where you see I am at last safely arrived in good health indeed my health never was better, exercise always agrees with me. I had a sort of fever at Baltimore when some people died of the extraordinary heats. I caught another among the close forests of the State of Ohio. It stopt me two days on the Muskingum, after suffering two paroxysms on horseback for want of a tolerable place to stop & cure it. I caught, by the march miasmata, a quartan ague on the Mississippi the first attack of which lasted me 24 hours, but I had good medicines & after the second I heard no more of it.

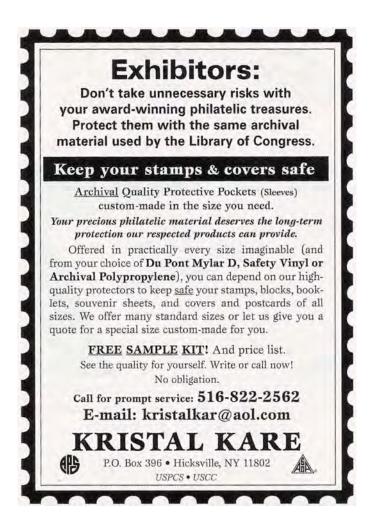
... My tour has been very agreeable to me, but it would have been ten times more so if I had only had a single travelling companion, disposed as I was to sleep as sound under the canopy of Heaven, even without the comfort of a Buffalo skin to cover me, as I would possibly do in the best bed in England, but any man who could not go through & laugh at difficulties, would have been an intolerable boor then. We have all prejudices & many foolish ones. I had beforehand reconciled myself to eating a piece of a Bear, yet when I saw fine salad in the garden of the Inn at Chillicothe & upon enquiry found I must eat it with Bears oil my stomach felt queer. I had never heard of eating Bears grease before. I soon recollected how inconsistent my ideas were and I now find Bears oil very good. I assure you it is...

I am glad to tell you the yellow fever or plague has not been so terrible as I wrote you from St. Louis. Yet it has been bad enough. It only ceased in November. The country all round even within a mile quite healthy. The old inhabitants of the town escaped it, those living near, tho' born in the country, were carried off in a few days residence in town. It is a dreadful thing. Be easy for me we shall move out in June for certain & set about building houses on some fine spot. ... My letter must go adieu yours ever Wm. Herries"

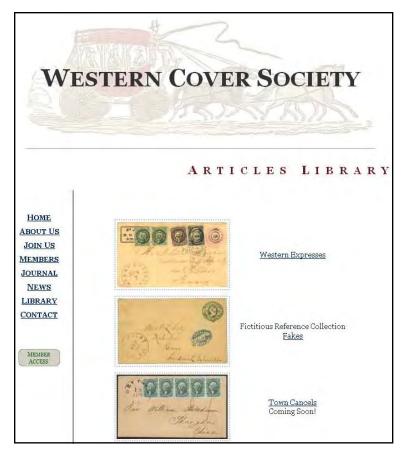
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Postal Rates on Mail from British Columbia and Vancouver Island via San Francisco, 1858 - 1870

By Steven C. Walske

The following article was originally published in the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society publication, *The Chronicle*, No. 212, Vol. 58, No. 4 (November 2006), pages 289-297.

Located on the western edge of Canada, the two British Crown Colonies of British Columbia (BC) and Vancouver Island (VI) were isolated geographically and postally from other Canadian provinces in the 1858-1870 period. Consequently, virtually all mail to foreign destinations from the two colonies was necessarily routed through San Francisco, California. Since neither colony had a postal treaty with the United States (US) before July 1870, both colonial postage and US postage had to be paid separately on mail transiting through the US. That gave rise to interesting mixed frankings, and a composite rate structure which was complicated by changing rates in both the US and the two colonies. These composite rates ended with the July 1, 1870 US-BC Postal Treaty.

This article examines the composite rates on mail from BC and VI via San Francisco in the 1858-1870 period. Much of the rate information has been derived from Alfred Deaville's important 1928 work, *The Colonial Postal Systems and Postage Stamps of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849-1871.* This has been correlated with US rate information from a number of sources (see the bibliography), and a census of 273 BC and VI outbound covers which passed through San Francisco. This article covers only mail that was carried by the BC or VI post offices via San Francisco. Mail carried by express companies is not included.

The postal system in BC was administered by VI until August 1860, and rates in both colonies were governed by VI regulations until July 1862. Curiously, VI never had a formal postal ordinance, and BC operated without one until June 1864. Listed in Table I at the bottom of this page is a summary of key postal dates and events in the two Colonies during this period.

Table I - Key Postal Dates and Events for BC & VI (1858 - 1870)							
Nov 19, 1858	Colony of British Columbia established						
Nov 24, 1858	Victoria Post Office Notice:						
	2½d rate on foreign mail from VI post offices						
	2%d per % oz. rate on foreign mail from BC post offices						
Jul 19, 1862	British Columbia Postal Notice:						
	2½d per ½ oz. on foreign mail from New Westminster						
	5d per ½ oz. on mail from the Frazer River intermediate zone						
	Higher rates on foreign mail from farther upcountry						
Jun 20, 1864	British Columbia Postal Ordinance:						
	3d per ½ oz. rate on foreign mail from New Westminster						
	9d per ½ oz. rate on foreign mail from all other locations in BC						
Nov 17, 1866	Union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island						
Apr 2, 1867	United Postal Ordinance:						
	5¢ per ½ oz. on foreign mail from the Fraser River delta zone						
	12½¢ per ½ oz. on foreign mail from inland Fraser River zones						
	25¢ per ½ oz. on foreign mail from the Cariboo (Williams Creek)						

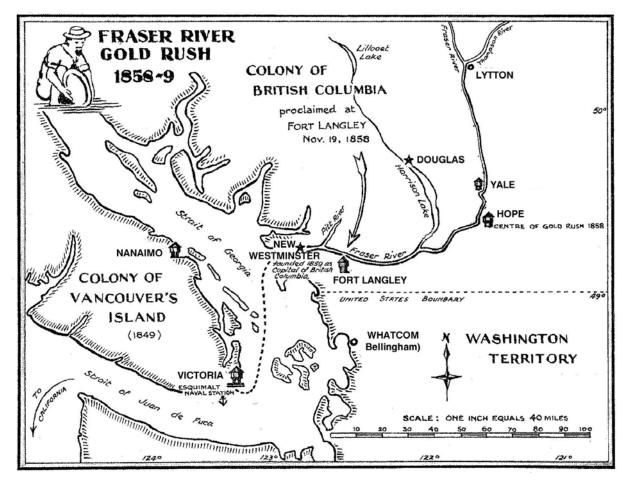


Figure 1. Map of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, showing the Fraser River gold rush region (Gerald Wellburn drawing).

BC domestic rates varied according to distance. Figure 1 shows the locations of the Fraser River post offices relative to the main post offices at Victoria and New Westminster. This article identifies four BC postal zones: the Fraser River delta zone (New Westminster and, in 1867, Langley), the Fraser River intermediate zone (Langley, Hope, Yale and Douglas), the Fraser River up-country zone (Lytton and Lillooet), and the Cariboo region (Williams Creek, far north of Lytton and not shown in Figure 1).

Vancouver Island Colonial Postal Rates

The November 1858 VI Postal Notice set the VI colonial postage rate of 2½ pence. This rate remained in force until April 1867, although it was expressed in cents (at 2 cents per penny) after VI converted to decimal currency on January 1, 1863. It was applied without regard to weight on all mail leaving Victoria for foreign destinations, and was recog-

nized on letters either by means of a hand-stamped frank or a VI postage stamp. US postage stamps were available in Victoria, and were added to outgoing letters to prepay the US portion of the postage.

British Columbia Colonial Postal Rates

Even though mail from BC to foreign destinations passed through Victoria on its way to San Francisco, VI colonial postage was not assessed on such mail. Only BC domestic rates were applied to mail leaving the colony. Postage in BC was typically paid by colonial postage stamps, although rare handstamped "Paid" franks are known, perhaps from periods when postage stamps were unavailable. US postage stamps were also available in New Westminster, and were usually applied there to prepay US postage on outgoing mail. On January 1, 1866, BC converted its currency from pence to cents, at a rate of 6½ cents per 3d.

United States Postal Rates on Mail from BC and VI via the US

The US rates applicable to mail from either VI or BC during this period were governed by successive US Postal Acts. At the June 1858 start of the period covered by this article, the April 1, 1855 US Postal Act rates were in effect. As new rates were introduced in the US, there was a time lag in the receipt of notification of those new rates in BC and VI. Accordingly, new US rates were implemented in BC and VI a short time after the effective date of the rates in the US:

- July 1, 1863 US Postal Act rates were adopted sometime in August 1863
- July 1, 1864 US Postal Act rates were adopted sometime in July 1864

• January 1, 1868 US-Great Britain Treaty rates were implemented in February 1868

These adoption dates have been derived from an analysis of the census of BC and VI covers which passed through San Francisco.

Composite Rate Periods

The combination of the US, BC and VI rate structures results in six composite rate periods for mail leaving BC and VI to foreign destinations, as shown in Table II, below.

Table II - Composite Rate Periods on Mail Leaving BC & VI, 1858 - 1870									
	<u>First</u>	Second	<u>Third</u>	4th A	4th B	<u>Fifth</u>	<u>Sixth</u>		
Dates	11/58-7/62	7/62-8/63	8/63-6/64	7/64-12/65	1/66-3/67	4/67-1/68	2/68-7/70		
Regulations	11/58 VI	7/62 BC	7/62 BC	6/64 BC	6/64 BC	4/67 BC	4/67 BC		
	4/55 US	4/55 US	7/63 US	7/64 US	7/64 US	7/64 US	1/68 US-GB		
Colonial Postage	From:								
VI	2½d	2½d/5¢	5¢	5¢	5¢	5¢	5¢		
BC Delta	2½d	21/2d	21/2d	3d	6¼¢	5¢	5¢		
BC Intermediate	2½d	5d	5d	9d	18¾¢	12½¢	12½¢		
BC Up-Country	21/2d	12d	12d	9d	18¾¢	12½¢	12½¢		
BC Cariboo	n/a	24d	24d	9d	18¾¢	25¢	25¢		
US Postage To:									
US (<3k miles)	3¢	3¢	3¢	10¢	10¢	10¢	10¢		
US (>3k miles)	10¢	10¢	3¢	10¢	10¢	10¢	10¢		
Canada West	15¢	15¢	15¢	10¢ (1)	10¢	10¢	note (3)		
Nova Scotia	15¢	15¢	15¢	15¢	15¢	15¢	note (3)		
New Brunswick	15¢	15¢	15¢	10¢ (2)	10¢	10¢	note (4)		
Great Britain	29¢	29¢	24¢	24¢	24¢	24¢	note (4)		

All rates per ½ oz., except for VI colonial postage, which was not weight-based. "d" signifies pence.

The difference between periods 4A and 4B is currency, since BC converted to cents on Jan 1, 1866.

- (1) This rate became effective on Feb 17, 1864, but was not adopted in BC & VI until July, 1864.
- (2) This rate became effective on Aug 1, 1864.
- (3) Rate uncertain; see text
- (4) Fully-paid rate of 25¢, payable in colonial postage stamps, so no US postage was required.



Figure 2. April 1861 cover sent from New Westminster, BC to Halifax, Nova Scotia via San Francisco, prepaid 2½d colonial postage, and 15¢ US postage from San Francisco to Nova Scotia.

First Composite Rate Period - November 1858 to July 1862

During this period, the composite rates were governed by the November 1858 Victoria Post Office Notice, and the April 1855 US Act. Figure 2 gives an example of these rates.

The April 1861 cover in Figure 2 was prepaid 2½d colonial postage in New Westminster, BC, by means of a British Columbia and Vancouver Island 1860 21/2d pale rose stamp (Scott #2), cancelled by the New Westminster blue oval "PAID" marking. This curious stamp was issued jointly by the colonies of BC and VI, and was valid for use in either colony. An additional 15 cents for US postage was paid in cash at the time of posting per the manuscript "15 Cents PP" marking. The letter was forwarded to San Francisco along with the cash to pay the US postage. On May 1, 1861, the San Francisco post office added 1857 Issue 5¢ brown (Scott #30A) and 10¢ green, Type V (Scott #35) stamps for the US postage to Nova Scotia. The letter was carried overland to Detroit, where the red "U. STATES" entry marking was applied, and arrived in Halifax on May 29.

Second Composite Rate Period - July 1862 to August 1863

During this period, US rates were still governed by the April 1855 Act, but BC introduced new domestic rates per their July 1862 Postal Notice. BC domestic postage to New Westminster was required to be prepaid on letters leaving the colony from inland post offices, and letters originating in New Westminster or VI were prepaid 2½d colonial postage. Figure 3 shows an example of these rates.

The June 1863 cover in Figure 3 (following page) was prepaid 5d domestic postage from Yale, BC to New Westminster by a pair of the British Columbia and Vancouver Island 1860 2½d pale rose, which was cancelled by the numeral 4 of Yale. US domestic postage of 3 cents (for a distance of less than 3,000 miles) was also paid in cash at the time of posting, per the red crayon "3c" marking. The letter was processed through New Westminster on July 4, which marked it "PAID", and added the US 1861 3¢ dull rose stamp (Scott #65). San Francisco cancelled the US stamp with its duplex marking on July 10.



Figure 3. June 1863 cover sent from Yale, BC to San Francisco, California, prepaid 5d colonial postage and 3¢ US domestic postage.



Figure 4. December 6, 1863 cover sent from New Westminster, BC to Illinois via San Francisco, prepaid $2^{1/2}$ d colonial postage and 3 e US postage.

Third Composite Rate Period - August 1863 to June 1864

During this period, the July 1862 BC Postal Notice rates remained in effect, and VI continued to charge 5¢ colonial postage. On July 1, 1863, however, the US lowered its postal rates per the July 1, 1863 Act. This change in rates was received in BC and VI sometime in August 1863, so that is when they began to be applied. Figure 4 provides an example of these rates.

The December 1863 cover in Figure 4 was prepaid 2½d BC domestic postage from New Westminster by a British Columbia and Vancouver Island 1860 2½d pale rose, which was cancelled by the oval "PAID" marking of New Westminster. The US rates were apparently poorly understood, since the obsolete 1855 US postage rate of 10 cents for a distance of over 3,000 miles was paid in cash at the time of posting, as indicated by the red crayon "10" marking. New Westminster or Victoria later added the US 1861 3¢ dull rose, which reflected the cor-



Figure 5. September 1866 cover sent from Williams Creek, BC to Aylmer, prepaid 9d (1834¢) colonial postage and 10¢ US postage from San Francisco to Canada West (Michael Perlman collection).

rect US rate. San Francisco cancelled the US stamp with its duplex marking on January 28, and the letter was sent overland to Illinois.

Fourth Composite Rate Period - July 1864 to March 1867

In July 1864, both the June 20, 1864 BC Postal Ordinance and the July 1, 1864 US Postal Act came into effect. The US Act raised US domestic postage on mail from BC and VI to 10 cents, and the BC Ordinance set a new structure for BC domestic rates. The new BC rates on mail leaving the colony were the 6d domestic rate between New Westminster and other BC post offices plus 3d colonial postage, for a total of 9d. Letters originating in New Westminster were charged 3d colonial postage, and those originating in VI were charged 5¢ colonial postage. Figure 5 gives an example of these rates.

The September 1866 cover in Figure 5 was prepaid 12½¢ BC domestic postage from the Cariboo region to New Westminster plus 6¼¢ BC colonial postage (BC had converted to decimal currency on January 1, 1866) by a BC 1865 3d blue strip of three (Scott #7), which was cancelled by the numeral 10 of Williams Creek, BC. At this time, the BC 3d stamps were being sold provisionally at 6¼¢. Although 10

cents US postage to Canada West was also prepaid in cash, the practice of marking the amount paid in red crayon had been discontinued. The letter was processed through New Westminster on September 14, where the US 1861 10¢ green (Scott #68) was added. San Francisco cancelled the US stamp with its duplex marking on September 19, and the letter arrived in Aylmer on October 10.

Fifth Composite Rate Period - April 1867 to January 1868

During this period, the US July 1864 rates remained in place and the April 1867 BC Postal Ordinance came into effect in the recently united colonies of BC and VI. The new rates, expressed in decimal currency, were comparable to those in the 1864 BC Postal Ordinance, except that the colonial postage was reduced to 5 cents, and the rate from the Cariboo region to New Westminster was increased to 25 cents. Unlike the 1864 Ordinance, however, only the BC domestic postage was required on mail leaving the colony, and 5 cents colonial postage was not added to the domestic rates. The 5 cents colonial postage rate was only applicable to mail leaving New Westminster, Victoria, Langley, or Nanaimo. Figure 6 (following page) gives an example of these rates.



Figure 6. September 1867 cover from Victoria, BC to California, prepaid 5ϕ colonial postage and 10ϕ US domestic postage.

The September 1867 cover in Figure 6 was prepaid the 5 cents colonial postage required for a letter from Victoria to California. The BC franking is a Vancouver Island 1865 imperforate 5¢ rose (Scott #3), cancelled by the blue long oval "Post Office Paid Victoria Vancouver Island" marking. A US 1861 10¢ stamp was also added in Victoria to pay the postage to California. This 10¢ rate reflects the application of the US 1864 steamship rate to mail from BC, rather than US domestic rates as had been the case previously. San Francisco cancelled the 10¢ stamp with its duplex postmark on September 11, and forwarded it to Campo Seco, California.

Sixth Composite Rate Period - February 1868 to July 1870

On January 1, 1868, a new US-Great Britain Postal Treaty became effective which included provisions for mail from BC. It set a fully-prepaid closed mail rate from BC to Great Britain via the US of 25 cents per ½ oz. which could be prepaid in BC stamps. BC also interpreted this as applying to mail from BC to the US and Canada, but was corrected by the US post office on February 21, 1868, and the old system of adding both US and BC postage to letters leaving the colony was reinstated for those destinations. No covers from this period with full prepayment in BC

postage stamps to the US or Canada are known, although covers showing the 25 cents prepaid rate to Great Britain have survived. Figure 7 (following page) illustrates this rate.

Figure 7 was posted in Victoria on February 22, 1868 with a 25 cents franking made up of Vancouver Island 1865 perforated 5¢ (Scott #5) and 10¢ (Scott #6) stamps, cancelled by the blue long oval "Post Office Paid Victoria Vancouver Island" marking. This franking fully prepaid the postage from BC to Great Britain.

1869 Issue Covers from BC to Canada

Effective April 1, 1868, a modification of the existing postal treaty reduced the US-to-Canada postal rate to 6 cents per half ounce. It is not clear whether this new rate applied to mails sent from BC to Canada via the US. As the transcontinental railroad neared completion, such mail was increasingly sent overland, entering the US mails at Portland, Oregon (or less frequently Port Townsend, Washington) and traveling via stage to the eastern railhead. By the time the US 1869 Issue stamps came into use, most covers from BC to Canada did not pass through San Francisco and thus are not covered by this study. The few covers from BC to Canada that survive,



Figure 7. February 22, 1868 cover sent from Victoria, BC to Scotland, fully prepaid 25ϕ in BC postage stamps. This letter was sent in a closed mailbag through the US.

showing mixed-franking uses of BC and US 1869 Issue stamps, offer ambiguous or contradictory evidence. Some are franked with 10 cents US postage, presumably paying the steamship rate that continued to apply on all mail from BC to the US. Others are franked with 6 cents US postage, presumably paying the US-Canada treaty rate. No official evidence has been found to support the application of either rate. Contemporary mailers appear to have been uncertain about which rate applied, and this confusion persists to this day.

Conclusion

Six composite rate periods can be defined for mixed franking mail from BC or VI to foreign destinations in the 1858-1870 period. US postage on mail to Great Britain became unnecessary with the 1868 closed mail rate, and then on all foreign mail with the 1870 US-BC Treaty. This information can be useful in analyzing covers of this period, and in determining the dates of usage when year dates are not present.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks are due to Dale Forster, Richard Frajola, Michael Laurence and Scott Trepel for their helpful editorial review of this article.

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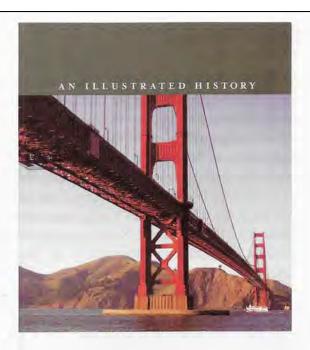
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Queen of Scripophilic Vignettes: the Mazeppa

By Michael Mahler

Themes "ripped from the headlines" are a stock-intrade of crime-based TV shows. Remarkably, both the company name and vignette on this 1863 stock certificate of the Mazeppa Gold and Silver Mining Co., issued at Virginia City, Nevada Territory, fall into the same category. Out of context, the vignette is positively bizarre: a young woman is bound, back to back, to a horse charging over a rocky landscape. As usual, though, context is everything.

Mazeppa is a narrative poem written by Lord Byron in 1819, based on a popular legend about the early life of Ivan Mazepa (1639-1709), who later became Hetman (Commander) of the Ukrainian Cossacks. In the poem the young Mazeppa, a page at the Court of King John II Casimir Vasa,

has an affair with a Countess married to a much older man. When the Count learns of the affair, he punishes Mazeppa by tying him naked to a wild horse and setting it loose. The bulk of the poem describes the traumatic journey of the hero. A play called *Mazeppa*, or the Tartar Horse was first staged in London in 1823, and was added to the repertoire of many British and American companies.

Enter actress Adah Isaacs Menken ("The Menken" to her devotees). Although she took elaborate pains to conceal her origins, Menken was reportedly born Adah Bertha Theodore in New Orleans on June 15, 1835, to a very beautiful French Creole mother, and Auguste Theodore, a highly respected free black. If contemporary accounts can be believed, Adah was



Figure 1. Adah Isaacs Menken as *The French Spy*, circa 1863, shortly before she scandalized and delighted Western audiences in *Mazeppa*.

exceedingly bright, an exceptional scholar, spoke French and Spanish fluently, painted, and wrote poetry of good quality. twenty-one she had taken to the stage. The backstory to her theatrical exploits is an impressive succession of husbands, lovers and suitors, including musician Alexander Isaacs Menken, pugilist Johnnie Heenan (the "Benicia Boy," arguably the most popular man in America in 1860), Niagara Falls tightrope wonder Blondin, Charles Dickens, Alexander Dumas pere, and an array of others, to say nothing of hordes of smitten admirers who worshipped only from afar. For an account of the meteoric ascent of her career one can scarcely improve on Samuel Dickson's version from Tales of Old San Francisco:

[In New York in 1861 Menken's business manager suggested] that because her boyish figure was so lovely and there was such fire in her voice and eyes, she should play in *Mazeppa*....

It had been a tradition that during the ride of the barebacked horse, a stuffed dummy, naked and resembling Mazeppa, would be used. Menken would have no stuffed dummy. She would ride the horse herself. She would wear skin-tights. No matter how it shocked the audience that had never seen an actress in tights, she would play the role with dramatic realism; she would wear tights. So she wore tights. The audience was shocked—scandalized—

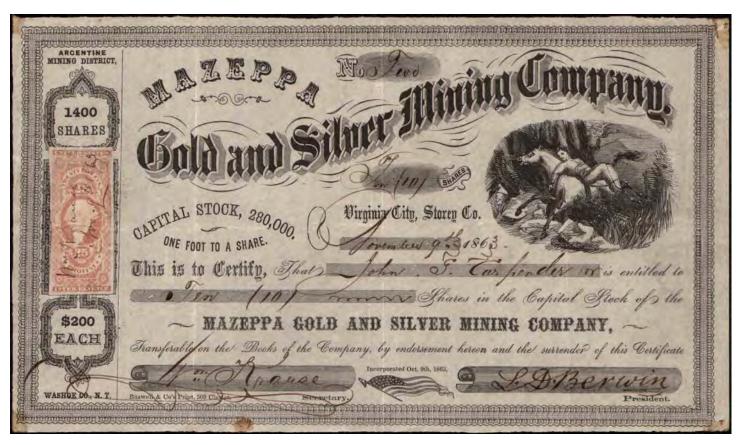


Figure 2. 1863 stock certificate of the Mazeppa Gold and Silver Mining Co., Virginia City, Nevada Territory, incorporated only weeks after *Mazeppa* opened in San Francisco. The vignette depicts Adah Menken in the title role.

horrified—and delighted! But New York was too stilted, too smug, too proper truly to appreciate great art. And Adah Menken said, "I'll go to the one place where the audience demands real art; I'll go to San Francisco."

On August 24, 1863, that supreme master of San Francisco's theatrical history, Tom Maguire, announced and presented at Maguire's Opera House the great Menken in the daring, the sensational, the unprecedented *Mazeppa*, in which "Miss Menken, stripped by her captors, will ride a fiery steed at furious gallop onto and across the stage and into the distance."

According to the San Francisco papers of the next day, that night all the streets leading to Maguire's Opera House were thronged with the most elegant of the city's elite.

Ladies in diamonds and furs rode up in handsome carriages; gentlemen in opera capes and silk hats were their attendants. It was a first night such as the city had never before seen. And when (again quoting the San Francisco papers), at climax of the play, the Menken vaulted to the back of her full-blooded California mustang and, clad tights with hair streaming down her back, raced her steed at mad pace across the mountains of Tartary, the enthusiasm of the audience was a mad frenzy never to be forgotten. So thrilling was the performance that it was said that on the opening night the leading man, Junius Booth—brother of Edwin—stood in the wings and completely forgot his lines. ...

Bohemian San Francisco took Adah Menken to its gay and ample bosom...wherever you went, to whomever you talked, the two favorite topics of conversation in San Francisco—topics of equal importance—were the progress of the Civil War and the success of Adah Isaacs Menken.

Here is a more detailed description of the crucial action:



Figure 3. Detail of the "Mazeppa" stock certificate vignette, showing Adah Menken's sensational portrayal of the Cossack Ivan Mazepa, clad in tights and appearing unclothed to Victorian eyes, strapped backward to a galloping horse.

... she fell, toward the close of Act I, into the clutches of a villain who had plotted a longdrawn-out equestrian murder. "Bring forth the untamed steed" he cried to his minions, and presently they led on stage a real, live horse. Stripped, Mazeppa was bound to the steed's back and sent forth into the world. "Now let the scorching suns and piercing blasts, devouring hunger and parching thirst, with frequent bruises and ceaseless motion, rend the vile Tartar piecemeal!" shouted the villain. In Act II, the horse galloped on a treadmill past changing scenery, unrolled yard after yard, showing steppes and mountains, wolves and vultures. Writhing on the horse's back, Adah cried, "Eternal Heaven! Where will these horrors end?" She was not naked. The modern eye would find nothing indecorous in her opaque, skin-tight costume. But to the Victorian eye she seemed utterly unclad and wildly provocative. Everywhere she went—San Francisco, Virginia City, Salt Lake City—she left windrows of deliciously shocked and restless men...many an oldtimer had as his proudest boast not the fact that he had looked the fierce Comanche in the eye or had a drink with old Jim Bridger, but that he had seen Adah on that horse.

By October 9, 1863, just six weeks after that first performance, the Mazeppa Gold and Silver Mining Co. had already been incorporated. President L. D. Berwin was presumably one of Adah's enthusiastic admirers—or perhaps simply hoped the name would attract buyers! By November 9, certificates were being sold: the example illustrated in Figure 2 (previous page) is #2; #4 and #15, both issued the following day, have also survived (the serial numbers are written out as "Two," "Four" and "Fifteen" with each bearing a 25¢ Protest imperforate revenue stamp). The works were in the Argentine Mining District, Washoe County, Nevada Territory . Printers Buswell & Co., 509 Clay St., San Francisco, had already obtained a suitable illustration of Adah in action, perhaps custom-made for the company, more probably created for one of numerous other purposes one can imagine, and simply borrowed here. In any case it had taken a mere ten weeks for Adah Menken's appearance on the San Francisco stage to be mirrored in a stock certificate—a turnaround time that Law and Order could only dream of! It is a further testament to Adah's popularity that the certificates were issued, not in San Francisco, but in Virginia City, some 200 miles to the East, but not surprising, as the two cities were in close communication, and news this sensational travelled very fast.

Propelled by Adah's success, *Mazeppa* became the most widely performed drama in the American West from the 1860s until the turn of the century. In 1872, nonpareil political satirist Thomas Nast would famously lampoon Presidential hopeful Horace Greeley as "the Modern Mazeppa" on his rocky road to the Democratic convention (see Figure 4, following page). In 1877 the dime novel *The Indian Mazeppa or The Madman of the Plains*, would transpose the Mazeppa myth to the Wild West. But Adah knew none of this; she had died in impoverished obscurity in 1868. Again from Dickson,

... the tide turned. Ill health, the fruit of dissipation, wasted her away. She had made a fortune; her great wealth disappeared, and she lived in comparative poverty. In London, desperately in need of funds, she published her volume of Victorian poems and realized a few dollars.



Figure 4. Adah's performances made "Mazeppa" a household word. Thomas Nast's bizarre 1872 depiction of Horace Greeley as "the Modern Mazeppa" was immediately understood and appreciated.

London was cold, unfriendly. She returned to Paris and Paris had found new loves.

Faithful to her adopted religion, she spent her last hours speaking of life and faith and hope to a friendly rabbi. Then she wrote a brief note to an acquaintance. It was her hail and her farewell. She wrote, "I am lost to art and life. Yet, when all is said and done, have I not at my age tasted more of life than most women who live to be a hundred? It is fair, then, that I should go where old people go."

Then she died. She was thirty-three years old. Her passing was unmarked, save for a brief eulogy in verse that appeared in a Paris paper:

Ungrateful animals, mankind; Walking his rider's hearse behind, Mourner-in-chief her horse appears, But where are all her cavaliers?

Skidoo, Inyo County, California

By Oscar Thomas, WCS #1053



Figure 1. Sign at Bad Water, Inyo County, California, in the midst of a very diverse landscape.

Inyo County is one of the largest counties in California. Found within its borders is the lowest spot in the Western Hemisphere, at "Bad Water" (Figure 1). One of the highest points in the United States is less 100 miles away, at Mt. Whitney. The Bristlecone (*pinus longaeva*) is considered by most to be the oldest living thing. This small pine tree lives on the eastern mountains of the county and can trace their

beginnings as saplings to before the time of Christ. In some of the highest, cold, western watersheds of Inyo County lives a member of the family Salmonidae (the family of fish that includes salmon and trout) that was locked in for isolation 10,000 over

years. Until the turn of the last century, the Golden Trout, the state fish of California, could be found no where else in the world. The deep colored shades of a setting sun on the valleys and canyons of Death Valley are offset by the tranquility of a high mountain stream. The area within Inyo County is truly one of the unique treasures of the west.

And yet for all of this, the early postal history of this area is primary tied to the pursuit of mineral wealth. The county has supported close to eighty post offices during its rich history, which started in the early 1860s. Some appeared for only a few months, others have come and gone, only to reappear as economic events have changed over the course of time. Today only nine post offices are active in Inyo County. Most of these are clustered around the major population centers. The exception is the Darwin post office, which can count a city population of around 15 when you have two cars passing through town with a couple of people in each car. Collectors of this area have been unable to locate any postal markings from upwards of twenty percent of the post offices of Inyo County. A large percentage of these missing postal markings are from around the 1900 – 1910 period and should exist as this was the heyday of the post-

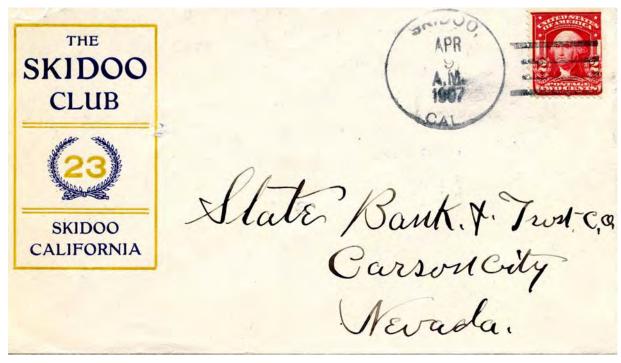


Figure 2. Skidoo, Cal. Apr 9, 1907 postmark on printed cover of "The Skidoo Club".

card era. If found, most likely they will be in the form of a manuscript marking.

Inyo County is one of the California counties that has a great deal of collecting interest. The postal history of this area is coveted by county, desert, railroad, and ghost town collectors.

In 1905, a trace of gold was found on a high waterless plateau of the Tucki Mountains, located about half way between Bad Water and Mt. Whitney. The mere perception of mineral wealth created overnight the town and post office of Hoveck. The location was named after Matt Hoveck who was vice president of the newly formed Skidoo Townsite and Mining Co. The post office only existed for about four months, and is one of those from which collectors have not been able to find a postal On February 2, marking. 1907, the good citizens of the town got angry with Mr. Hoveck for some transgression that is now lost to time. They promptly changed the name of the town to Skidoo,

part of the slang phase "23 Skidoo" that was popular at the time which, according to the on-line encyclopedia Wikipedia, means, "leaving quickly, being forced to leave quickly by someone else, or taking advantage of a propitious opportunity to leave, that is, 'getting out while the getting's good.' The exact origin of the phrase is uncertain." If you are going to name a town Skidoo, then you must have a "23" club (see Figure 2, previous page). The visionaries that selected the name were correct, as the town only lasted about ten years.

The earliest recorded mark from the newly named town of Skidoo is found on the back of a post card

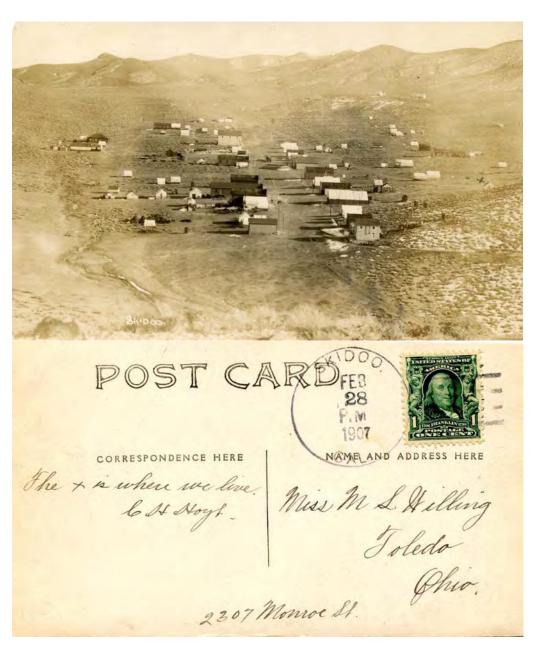


Figure 3. Picture postcard of the town of Skidoo, postmarked Feb 28, 1907. The sender notes his tent at the edge of town with an "X".

that shows a picture of the town (Figure 3). This picture is looking north and was taken in the early morning hours. Some snow can be seen on the ground in front of several of the tent buildings. And, if you look closely, you can see a freight wagon coming down the street at the far end of town, as well as several horses grazing in the street. An "X" is found next to one of the tents to the right of the main street. The handwritten note on the back of the postcard reads, "The X is where we live." One has to wonder about the emotional imprint that this card had on the addressee, Miss Willing.

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Western Stamp Collector - November 13, 1935

By Wally Motloch

This interesting look back in time was submitted by Wally Motloch. Note the mention of W. W. Phillips' frame of Western Express material.



The Stockton, Calif., Stamp Club held a very successful exhibition, dinner and auction at Hotel Stockton, Sunday, Nov. 3, 1935.

Some very interesting frames were exhibited, the highlights probably being J. W. Willy's complete set of U. S. Rev. 1871 Proprietary including the \$5.00 (Cat. \$1000.00) and also a pair of #3940 inverted.

W. W. Phillips frame of Western Expresses contained one labeled "Union and Eureka Express" which is not listed in any catalog.

Vern A. Brown showed two frames of early Portugal, some on cover, with eleven of the first issue (Cat. \$515.00).

Two first day Michigan Centenary covers, each with a block of six, were displayed, having arrived at 9 a. m. of the exposition date.

Mr. Paul E. Lewis presented the finest frame for the benefit of the uninitiated, it being an illustrated glossary of philatelic terms.

The exhibition opened at one o'clock and was well attended.

At 5:30 the dinner was held, a few over one hundred being present, including representatives of the clubs in the San Joaquin Valley and from the Bay district.

ostmaster Charles Pearson of Stockton made the welcoming ad-

dress and short talks were made by C. E. Turner, President Sacramento Club, A. Rowell, President Oakland Philatelic Society, Mr. Lainner of San Leandro Club, H. F. Bowring, President Modesto Stamp Club, Geo. W. Ludlow, Editor Shut-In Column, W. S. C., Mr. Graham of San Jose Club, Miss M. C. Rooney, Vice-President Pittsburg Club, and Milt Summers of Oakland.

Mr. Harry E. Gray, Editor of the Stamp Column, in Oakland Tribune, was the speaker of the evening.

J. J. Quinn, Dr. Gatchell and John Willy were introduced. Their combined time as active stamp collectors totals 168 years. They all had frames at the exhibit.

The auction followed the dinner. Nearly 300 items were presented, many of them bringing excellent prices.

There is no question but what a good time was had by all and the club is to be congratulated.

Their officers are: Fred P. Giottonini, Pres.; W. W. Phillips, Secretary; L. P. Behler, Treas.; and the committee responsible were Paul E. Lewis, general chairman; A. E. Storm, Publicity; Mrs. Celia Hicks and the president, banquet; E. C. Schalk, Exhibits; W. W. Phillips, correspondence; Fred E. Hicks, auction and L. P. Behler, entertainment.

The club meets every Wednesday night at the Stockton High School.

dress and short talks were made by C. E. Turner, President Sacramento Club, A. Rowell, President Oakland Philatelic Society, Mr. Lainner of San Leandro Club, H. F. Bowring, President Modesto Stamp Club, Geo. W. Ludlow, Editor Shut-In Column, W. S. C., Mr. Graham of San Jose Club, Miss M. C. Rooney, Vice-President Pittsburg Club, and Milt Summers of Oakland.



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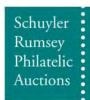
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