The Canadian Philatelic Association, an Historical Sketch 1887-1897

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MONTREAL

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INTRODUCTION

The present Royal Philatelic Society of Canada (RPSC) has been in continued existence since 1920. However, it dates its foundation to 1887, when the first national philatelic organization was formed in Canada under the name of the Canadian Philatelic Association (CPA). As Canadian philatelists were celebrating the centenary of this association in 1987, Ralph Mitchener (1926-1995) published the first two instalments of an article on the history of Canadian philatelic organizations in the RPSC's periodical¹. In part one of this article, he presented an informed overview of the early days of stamp collecting in the country, from the 1860s to the establishment of the CPA; part two was devoted to the first years of the rather animated associative life of Canadian philatelists, with a vivid account of the epic cockfights that led to the creation of competing organizations in the early 1890s.

Although the article has "(to be continued)" at the end, no further parts were published². Also, in spite of Mitchener's hope that his effort would encourage others to delve more deeply into the history of philately and its practitioners in Canada, few seem to have heeded to his invitation, with the result that our knowledge of 19th-Century Canadian philatelic associations has not meaningfully advanced over the last 30 years, except for an article on the foundation of the CPA published by Charles Verge in 2012³. It is true that Mitchener was uniquely positioned to study was he called this "fascinating topic". As RPSC's historian and an Ottawa resident⁴, he had access to primary and secondary source material that was hardly available to other researchers, as it mainly consisted of old philatelic papers only found at the National Library of Canada, the National Postal Museum and in a handful of libraries. However, the advent of Internet has changed the context, with much of this material now being digitized by organizations such as Canadiana.org and readily retrievable through public library websites. Moreover, papeless editing has now made it possible to post studies that would otherwise have been too lengthy to fit into a periodical article or intended for an audience too narrow to be published in hard copy. These developments have made it feasible to undertake the desirable work of preparing an historical sketch of the CPA from its foundation in 1887 to its vanishing away a decade later.

Readers will find here a factual account of the life and activities of the CPA, derived from the monthly journals it successively used as its official organs: the *Toronto Philatelic Journal*, the *Halifax Philatelist*, and the *Dominion Philatelist*; these periodicals form the basis of this publication, along with other philatelic papers of the time.

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¹ Ralph Mitchener, "A centenary of nationally organised philately in Canada 1887-1987," *The Canadian Philatelist* 38, 3 (May/June 1987): 185-193 and 38, 4 (July/August 1987): 296-303. Earlier articles were published by Max Rosenthal, "Philately in Canada in the 1890's," *BNA Topics* 11, 2 (February 1954): 47-52, and Kenneth Rowe, "The Royal Philatelic Society of Canada – A Brief History," *The Canadian Philatelist* 20, 1 (January/February 1969): 7-11.

² Brian J. Birch, *The Philatelic Bibliophile's Companion* (Montignac-Toupinerie: B. J. Birch, 2018), 122-124.

³ Charles J. G. Verge, "125th Anniversary of Organized Philately in Canada," *The American Philatelist* 126, 9 (September 2012): 846.

⁴ Charles J. G. Verge, "Ralph Mitchener (1926-1995), A Tribute," *The Canadian Philatelist* 47, 2 (March/April 1996): 124-126.

I. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF PHILATELY IN CANADA BEFORE 1887

The first postage stamp was issued by Britain in 1840, but it was not until the beginning of the next decade that this new means for prepaying mail delivery was adopted across the Western world. From then on, stamps started coming in sufficient numbers and variety to draw interest for collectors, and "timbromania" spread among the youth in continental Europe, and shortly thereafter in the United Kingdom, as noted out by British philatelists in 1863:

We find that six or seven years ago, collectors were very few and far between, and on enquiring farther back, the pursuit seems to have been confined to three or four gentlemen (certainly very few more); but about five years since, when the number of stamps had increased so much as to attract some little attention, the number of collectors began to increase; still they could be counted by units, and it was not till three years after, that stamp collecting became anything like the general practice it now is⁵.

The new hobby quickly crossed the Atlantic, and stamp dealers and collectors were to be found in both the United States and British North America as soon as the early 1860s. In 1864, the year when the term "philately" was coined in the Old Continent, the first philatelic journal of the New Continent was published in Montreal by Samuel Allan Taylor under the name of *Stamp Collector's Record*⁶. The following year, another journal known as the *Stamp Collector's Monthly Gazette* began publishing in St. John NB under the editorship of George Stewart, a teenager who retired from the "timbrophilic profession" in 1867⁷. Taylor was a British-born U.S. national, Stewart was born in the United States, and most of their advertisers were U.S. dealers, in what took from the onset the form of a highly integrated North American stamp market.

Like Stewart, the first Canadian philatelists were mainly teenage sons of businessmen, whose initial enthusiasm for stamp collecting rapidly waned when they entered into adult life, as it was lamented in 1872 by Frederick William Wurtele, the Quebec City editor of the *Canadian Philatelist*:

There are in this city a large number of excellent collections of the rare old issues, but the owners have long since left off collecting and although they never look at their albums, would not part with them at any price. These collections were made up when the stamp mania first began in 1861, and we have seen a collection in this city which contains upwards of two thousand stamps all issued before 1866 [...] As it is in Quebec, so in all the cities of Canada, gentlemen who when school boys were ardent collectors, now leave their albums to moulder away in some garret, little dreaming how much they are worth⁸.

8 "Philately in Canada," *The Canadian Philatelist* 1st Series, 1, 1 (January 1872): 1.

⁵ Thornton Lewes and Edward Pemberton, *Forged Stamps: How to detect them* (Edinburgh: Colston & Son, 1863), vi-vii.

⁶ Taylor continued publishing the *Record* in Albany NY, and then in Boston where he embarked on a long career of stamp forger and faker. See Jan Kindler, "'Caveat Emptor' – The life and works of S. Allan Taylor," *Philatelic Literature Review* 15, 2 (1966): 59-77 and 80-89.

⁷ Mitchener, "A Centenary," 189.

[.] Series, 1, 1 (saridar y 15, 2), 1

Despite this "most lamentably dark" picture, Wurtele nevertheless saw "a new era downing" for Canadian philately, as he found collectors "springing up in every town and village". It would however take some time for his high hopes to materialize, as the Long Depression into which the world economy was mired from 1873 took its toll on philatelic activity. In Canada, the years of economic slump saw the rise and fall of many short-lived amateurish philatelic papers, along with a failed attempt at creating a national philatelic association in Toronto in 1876.

It was not until the worst of the recession had passed that stamp collecting resumed progress in the country, with Ontario and Nova Scotia superseding Quebec and New Brunswick as the hubs of Canadian philately in the mid-1880s. The return to relative prosperity coincided with the reemergence of quality philatelic journals in Canada, with such periodicals as the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* and the *Halifax Philatelist*. These publications echoed the renewed attempts at organizing Canadian philately, with the Toronto Philatelic Society being established in April 1885 (but disbanded by June 1887)¹⁰ and Halifax stamp collectors calling for the formation of a local association in January 1887¹¹.

These developments on the Canadian philatelic scene were mirroring the trends then observed south of the border¹². After the creation of philatelic societies in New York City and a few other localities such as Whyteville VA and Springfield MA in the 1870s, a rash of local associations were formed across the United States between 1884 and 1886¹³. This movement culminated in the founding of the American Philatelic Association (APA) in September 1886, with many local societies becoming chapters of that new national body. The APA was somewhat elitist, as the annual dues of one dollar represented one-fifth of a working man's average weekly earnings. This may explain why the association's membership did not exceed 300 at the time of its first convention in August 1887.

A number of Canadians joined the APA. While some argued that adhering to the American organization was the best way forward for organized philately in Canada, many others inclined towards the formation of a distinct national association, though closely modelled on the APA¹⁴. The U.S. society had not even celebrated its first anniversary when a small group of Ontario philatelists began campaigning for the establishment of a Canadian philatelic association.

⁹ Mitchener, "A Centenary," 190.

¹⁰ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 1, 2 (April 1885): 6, The Halifax Philatelist, 1, 6 (June 1887): 6.

¹¹ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 1 (January 1887): 8.

¹² The information on the early American philatelic associations is taken from Robert L. D. Davidson, "APS: The First Century," *The American Philatelist* 100, 1 (January 1986): 29-35.

¹³ A first New York Philatelic Society had been established in 1868, but it folded after a year, leaving the Philatelic Society of London, founded in 1869, the oldest philatelic association in continuous existence in the world.

¹⁴ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 4 (November 1887), 2.

II. SETTING UP A NATIONAL ASSOCIATION (MAY 1887-JANUARY 1888)

The leading mind behind the creation of the Canadian Philatelic Association (CPA) was John Reginald Hooper (1859-1944)¹⁵. Born in Port Hope ON, he first worked as a printer at a local newspaper. He subsequently served for some years in the military and took part in the 1879 Zulu campaign in South Africa and the 1885 expedition sent to quell the North-West rebellion in Saskatchewan. Promoted to the grade of lieutenant, he settled in Ottawa where he worked for a newspaper, before being given a position at the Post Office Department in June 1887¹⁶. Hooper was no unknown figure in Canadian philatelic circles; he started collecting stamps in 1871 and was apparently connected with the abortive attempt at creating an association in Toronto in 1876; also, his father Joseph was in charge of the numismatic department of the *Toronto Philatelic Journal*¹⁷.

Hooper's efforts to start a national philatelic association in Canada began in May 1887, as he reminisced a year later:

In May of last year, I started a paper ostensibly to be a society magazine, *The Gossip*, but the real design of this paper was to reach the first families of Canada, and to work the C.P.A. scheme, through this means reaching our best philatelists. I sunk \$200 in the enterprise by issuing three numbers, but have the happiness to say that my scheme worked wonderfully, and a large number of older philatelists joined. I formed a Board of Organization in June, consisting of Messrs. Grenny, Ketcheson, Leighton, McRae and Niesser¹⁸.

Except for Robert Finlay McRae (1868-1913), who was a stenographer in Montreal, the members of the Board were all from Ontario. Francis James Grenny (1840-1923) was born in Brampton, where he was working at the Post Office. A major in the active militia, he had taken part in the 1866 campaign against the Fenian invaders. As a philatelist, he had a collection of about 4,000 varieties and was specializing in British North America¹⁹. Henry Freeman Ketcheson (1862-1930) was born in Hastings County; a lieutenant in the militia, he was employed by the Post Office at Belleville and published a catalogue of Canadian stamps. Joseph Alexander Leighton (1870-1954) was a law student from Orangeville, while Julius Cuthbert Niesser, born in England in 1869, worked as a clerk in Toronto. Apart from for Hooper and Leighton, they were all involved in the stamp trade to a various degree.

In June 1887, with Hooper serving as secretary *pro tempore*, the Board of Organization issued a circular (signed by Hooper, Ketcheson and Leighton) that was published by several American

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¹⁵ Mitchener, "A Centenary," 192.

¹⁶ "Our Canadian Philatelists. John Reginald Hooper," *The Toronto Philatelic Journal* 2, 8 (February 1888): 33-34.

¹⁷ In 1891, Joseph Hooper was a founding member of the American Numismatic Association. Verge, "125th Anniversary," 846, and John N. Lupia, *The Encyclopedic Dictionary of Numismatic Biographies*, 2011-2016, http://www.numismaticmall.com/numismaticmall-com/hooper-joseph

¹⁸ "C.P.A. Official News. The Secretary's Report," *The Toronto Philatelic Journal* 2, 8 (February 1888): 34.

¹⁹ "Our Canadian Philatelists. F. J. Grenny," *The Toronto Philatelic Journal* 2, 10 (April 1888): 47-48 and Verge, "125th Anniversary," 846.

philatelic journals and by the *Halifax Philatelist* founded in January, which was at that point the only philatelic paper regularly edited in Canada:

The Undersigned Committee of Organization have decided to issue a general invitation to all interested in Philately in Canada, to join them in forming a Canadian Philatelic Association. Officers will be elected as soon as possible after all details have be [sic] arranged. All correspondence of those collectors intending to join should be addressed to the Secy. pro-tem, at Ottawa, Can. The officers to be elected are a President, a Vice-President for each province, a Secretay, a Treasurer, official organ, official editor, counterfeit detector, Executive Committee, etc. All names should be sent forthwith to the Secretary²⁰.

The *Halifax Philatelist* assured the organizers of its support, while expressing doubt as to the practicality of the endeavour in view of the difficulties encountered by the APA in the United States. However, these doubts were quickly set to rest by the positive response to Hooper's invitation, with more members joining the fledgling association and paying the 25¢ initiation fee, including four Ontarians: George Henry Harrison (1863-1939), a British-born resident of London who worked as a clerk for a local newspaper before moving to the United States in the early 1890s; Henry A. Simpson (b. 1868), a lawyer from Belleville; and F. E. Book and Henry Elton French (b. 1869), both of whom would launch philatelic papers in Niagara Falls in the coming months. A special recruit from Quebec City was Ernest Frederick Wurtele (1860-1936), a business executive and militia officer who was the son of a Superior Court judge and the scion of a seigneurial family, and who had just resumed stamp collecting after a first brush with philately as a child²¹. The group was completed by John H. Todd (b. 1869), the son of a public magistrate from Brandon, Manitoba, and two residents of Petitcodiac, New Brunswick: Rev. Henry S. Harte (b. 1864), an Anglican clergyman who eventually pursued his ministry in New England, and Charles E. Willis (1870-1930), a bank clerk who was himself the son of an Anglican clergyman.

By July, the *Halifax Philatelist* was able to report that "it is now pretty certain that a philatelic association is about to be started in Canada²²." Its four directors joined the CPA forthwith: the Editor Donald Albert King (1864-1934), a Post Office clerk and future Postmaster of Halifax; the Business Manager Andrew Berry Sydney DeWolf (1865-1909), a drug clerk; the Treasurer Harrison Locke Hart (1865-1929), a shoe dealer who was showcasing stamps in the window of his store²³; and the Advertising Manager Theodore Larsen (1854-1924), a Danish-born merchant. Apart from King, they all advertised as stamp dealers, like five other Halifax residents who adhered to the association, including Larsen's brother Olof; John R. Findlay, a printer who briefly partnered with Hart in the stamp business and published the *Canada Stamp and Coin Journal* in 1888-89; Frank Crossley Kaye (1863-1933), a Post Office clerk who emigrated to the United States in 1891; Francis O. Creed (b. 1868), a wholesale liquor dealer; and Henry Hechler (1853-1928), a tobacconist and fancy goods dealer who possessed a 10,000 varieties collection worth more than £600 sterling. Born in Germany where he had fought during the Franco-Prussian War, Hechler had emigrated to the United States in 1873 and then to Halifax, where he served as major in the militia and alderman; he had published a stamp catalogue in 1881 and the

²⁰ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 6 (June 1887), 5-6.

²¹ The Philatelic Advocate 8,1 (January 1900), 35.

²² The Halifax Philatelist 1, 7 (July 1887), 3.

²³ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 8 (August 1887), 6.

Philatelic Courier and Stamp Collector's Journal from 1881 to 1885²⁴. Eight Nova Scotia philatelists who were not involved in the stamp trade also joined the CPA between August and October: John Willis Caldwell and Edmund A. Smith (b. 1865), who were both salesmen in Halifax; Edward F. Smith (b. 1867), an accountant; Isaac Henry Mathers (1845-1932), an Irishborn ship broker; James Edward Gass (1870-1926), the son of a Halifax grocer; W. S. MacNeal from Neil's Harbour; Walter Edgarton Simpson (1867-1950), a bookkeeper in Guysborough who emigrated to the United States in 1892; and Alvin James Craig (1856-1942), a commercial traveller based in Pictou who had a 5,000 varieties collection. Another recruit from Atlantic Canada was John George Williston Brown (1862-1893), a Post Office clerk at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.

In August, the excitement generated by the new association in the Maritimes led the *Halifax Philatelist* to somewhat emphatically hail the creation of the CPA as an event "only second to that of the Queen's Jubilee" for Canadian philatelists²⁵. However, despite the strenuous efforts of Hooper who wrote letters to 352 collectors and received 192 communications, recruitment was lagging behind in Central Canada, with only one additional member in Quebec (J. A. Caron from Ste. Luce, who soon moved to Minnesota²⁶) and none in Ontario. This lack of momentum can be explained by the absence of a philatelic paper that could relay information about the inchoative organization to local philatelists. This was remedied in part by the launching of the *Niagara Falls Philatelist* by F. E. Book, who republished the CPA circular (with the additional signatures of Harte and Todd), expressed confidence that the association would be a success, and urged "every Philatelic publication to give it a hearty support" and all philatelists "to avail themselves of the opportunity of becoming a member²⁷."

By September, the CPA membership had reached 44, with only two new recruits from Ontario: Wilson Wilby (1866-1910) and George Alfred Lowe (1867-1942), who both worked as clerks and part-time stamp dealers in Toronto. This lack of traction in the Queen City moved the *Halifax Philatelist* to exclaim "Where are the live Philatelists of Toronto?²⁸". In an apparent effort to boost interest for the association in Ontario, the Board of Organization took the opportunity of the Toronto Industrial Fair to hold a meeting in the city, at the residence of Edward Young Parker (1868-1912) who, too, was a clerk and part-time stamp dealer²⁹. The meeting was attended by Henry Morell (b. 1867), a stamp dealer who waited until July 1888 to join the CPA; Morell had published an international directory of philatelists and edited the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* in alternance with Lowe and Parker in 1885-86³⁰. In October 1887, Lowe relaunched that journal, providing the CPA with a third news outlet.

Further to the Toronto meeting, the CPA gained some momentum west of the Maritimes, with the addition of eight new members in Ontario (including Parker), three in Quebec and one in Manitoba in October. The Ontarian recruits were Thomas J. McMinn, an assistant engineer at

²⁴ "Our Canadian Philatelists. Henry Hechler," The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 7 (January 1888): 25-26.

²⁵ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 8 (August 1887), 3.

²⁶ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 9 (March 1888), 42-43.

²⁷ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 1 (August 1887), 9.

²⁸ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 9 (September 1887), 2.

²⁹ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 3 (October 1887), 2-3 and Verge, "125th Anniversary," 846.

³⁰ Max Rosenthal, "Toronto Stamp Dealers of Another Generation," *BNA Topics* 30, 7 (August 1973): 172-174.

Toronto Waterworks Department and part-time stamp dealer, who had been Treasurer of the Toronto Philatelic Association in 1885; Henry Robb Ledyard (1871-1959), a clerk in Toronto; Dudley R. Holmes (1868-1941), a lawyer in Goderich; Dr. Eli E. Book (1836-1889) from Niagara Falls, a physician apparently related to the editor of the *Niagara Falls Philatelist*³¹; W. D. Boyd (b. 1856), a grocer from Simcoe; George Walker (1857-1889), a tailor in Peterborough; and Frederick Burnett from Brantford. In Quebec, the new members were all Montrealers: Albert Edward Warren (1868-1934), who worked as an employee for a hardware business; William Sullivan Barnes (1841-1912), the U.S.-born minister of the city's Unitarian Church³²; and Robert Augustus Baldwin Hart (1852-1903), a scion of Montreal's oldest Jewish family who was managing the prosperous financial and commercial firm founded by his father who had joined the Unitarian Church³³. In Manitoba, the CPA recruited John Ronald Davidson (1864-1892), a New Brunswicker who had settled in Brandon.

At the time of the Toronto meeting, Hooper, Ketcheson and Leighton were finalizing the draft Constitution and By-laws of the association. Instead of devising their own text, they borrowed heavily from the ready-made model of the APA statutes. Thus, like its American sister organization, the CPA would hold annual meetings and be managed by an official board (President, Provincial Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer), a three-member Executive Committee responsible for reviewing and reporting upon cases of fraud, and five officers in charge of member services: a superintendent of exchange (managing the circulation of stamp exchange sheets among members), a purchasing agent (in charge of obtaining unused stamps at bargain prices for members), a librarian (managing a mail lending library of philatelic books and periodicals), a counterfeit detector (called upon to check the genuineness of stamps at the request of members) and an official editor (responsible for publishing the association's records in a periodical selected as official organ and sent free of charge to the members). The draft statutes also provided that local philatelic associations could become branch societies of the CPA, even if some of their members did not join the national organization.

Although their work was "modelled considerably³⁴" after the APA statutes, the drafters had to mull over issues such as the admission of women, youth and foreigners. Whereas "women were not welcomed in most philatelic clubs³⁵", Hooper had expressed the view that the CPA Constitution should "distinctly set forth that ladies may become members of the Association [as they] make very useful members³⁶." However, the final draft merely stated that any stamp collector can become a member, and only two women ever joined the CPA, Mrs. Julia Selina Mason (nee Kidd) (1845-1910) from Toronto and Miss S. A. Hamilton, owner of a millinery shop in Wolfville NS. As for youth, it had been suggested that the Constitution "should define the age of members joining – say not less than 18 – so as to bar boys who are likely to tire of it³⁷." Although Hooper had accepted the application of C. E. Willis who was only 17, several applicants under 18 were "told to wait the decision of the Executive Committee in regard to the age

³¹ The History of the County of Welland, Ontario (Welland: Tribune Printing House, 1887), 490.

³² Phillip Hewett, "Barnes, William Sullivan," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 14, 1998.

³³ William Henry Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914*, vol. 3 (Montreal: S. J. Clarke, 1914), 111 and Carman Miller, "Hart, Theodore," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, 1982.

³⁴ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 10 (October 1887), 4.

³⁵ Sheila A. Brennan, *Stamping American Memory: Collectors, Citizens and the Post* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), 23.

³⁶ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 8 (August 1887), 5.

³⁷ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 8 (August 1887), 5.

limit³⁸." This idea of excluding young collectors was disputed by the editor of the *Niagara Falls Philatelist* who published the opinion of the Secretary of the Charleston Philatelic Society advising his Canadian friends that membership in an association would prevent young collectors from losing their interest in philately³⁹. The drafters finally settled for a middle ground and fixed the admission age at 16. However, in practice, young philatelists were accepted and this age limit was only applied to voting rights.

Also discussed was the status of foreigners, who made up one third of CPA members by the end of October, including 18 from the United States and two from Europe: Rudolf Wohlfahrt of Erfurt, a German philatelist who was in relation with Hooper, and A. Liebetrau of Gablonz (modern Jablonec, Czechia), an Austrian stamp dealer who learned about the CPA through the Halifax Philatelist. The American members included four officers of the Chicago Philatelic Society founded in 1886⁴⁰: Schuyler B. Bradt (b. 1858), a librarian and stamp dealer who was the first President of the society and APA's first Secretary⁴¹; Bradt's associates Charles R. Gadsden, who succeeded him as President, and Philip Mathias Wolsieffer (1857-1934), a stamp dealer who began his philatelic career in 1872 and is considered the inventor of the approval card⁴²; and G. A. Haskell, member of the society's Executive Committee. Another CPA member from Chicago was E. W. Voute, President of the Black Hawk Philatelic Society⁴³. Other noted U.S. recruits of the CPA included Adolph Lohmeyer (1849-1906), a German-born bookkeeper from Baltimore who was Secretary-Treasurer of a publishing and stationery company and editor of a postal card journal⁴⁴; and Hiram Edmund Deats (1870-1963) from Flemington NJ, who was to become APA President and one of the foremost U.S. stamp collectors of the 19th century with an enormous philatelic library and an unsurpassed collection of U.S. revenues⁴⁵. Four American members published philatelic papers: N. E. Carter, a stamp dealer in business since 1885 in Delavan WI who was editing the *Badger State Philatelist*⁴⁶; Charles G. Woodworth, editor of the Collector's Review in Denver⁴⁷; Charles W. Peugh from Kossuth IN who published One Dime⁴⁸; and Herbert Crane Beardsley from St. Joseph MO, who edited the Philatelic Literature Collector, the first journal dealing exclusively with philatelic literature⁴⁹. Interestingly, three American members were Canadian born: William F. Dent, President of the Buffalo Philatelic Society⁵⁰; John M. Sheridan, Secretary of the Brooklyn Philatelic Club⁵¹; and C. Wesley Price (1845-1907), a

³⁸ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 2 (September 1887), 2.

³⁹ Gustave J. Luhn Jr., "Let the Young Join," The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 3 (October 1887), 4.

⁴⁰ Philip Mathias Wolsieffer, "Origin and Progress of the Chicago Philatelic Society," *The Curiosity World* 3, 29 (July 1888): 72-73.

⁴¹ Brian J. Birch, "Schuyler B. Bradt and the First Philatelic Index," *Philatelic Literature Review* 61, 3 (3rd Quarter 2012): 221-238.

⁴² The APS Hall of Fame, American Philatelic Society, 2018, https://classic.stamps.org/HOF-1941#Wolsieffer

⁴³ The American Philatelist 2, 6 (March 1888), 137.

⁴⁴ "Obituary. Adolph Lohmeyer," *The Baltimore Sun,* June 24, 1906, 7.

⁴⁵ The APS Hall of Fame, American Philatelic Society, 2018, https://classic.stamps.org/HOF-1960#Deats

⁴⁶ Verge, "125th Anniversary," 846.

⁴⁷ Edward Denny Bacon, *Catalogue of the Philatelic Library of the Earl of Crawford, K. T.* (London: The Philatelic Literature Society, 1911), col. 511.

⁴⁸ Bacon, *Catalogue*, col. 671.

⁴⁹ Brian J. Birch, *Bibliography of Philatelic Periodicals* (Wigan: Brian J. Birch, 2014), 637.

⁵⁰ The American Philatelist 4, 4 (January 1890), 113.

⁵¹ The American Philatelist 2, 5 (February 1888), 107.

stamp and coin dealer in Plymouth MI. The remaining U.S. members were stamp dealer Karl C. Miner and stamp collector Alec Melvin Jones (1869-1957) from Hoosick Falls NY, and philatelists P. F. O'Keefe from Mansfield Valley PA, H. C. Kendall from Emmetsburg IA, and J. J. Palma Jr. from New York who moved to Guatemala and became the first CPA member in Latin America. The initial suggestion was that these foreigners should have the same voting privileges as Canadians without being eligible for office, but the final draft of the Constitution was more restrictive and barred them from holding any office or voting at elections⁵². However, this provision was hardly applicable to Americans, if only because a constant stream of Canadian members emigrated to the United States and some American members were born in Canada. Accordingly, Hooper quickly specified that U.S. collectors were excluded from these restrictions and welcome on the same terms as Canadians⁵³.

The draft statutes of the CPA were published in the October issue of the *Halifax Philatelist*⁵⁴. Some philatelists from Halifax, who were about to create the Nova Scotia Philatelic Association, held a special meeting at the home of J. W. Caldwell to discuss the Constitution; they proposed a few minor amendments that were forwarded to Hooper and endorsed by the Board of Organization⁵⁵.

In the same issue, the *Halifax Philatelist* also published the following notice from Hooper about the election of officers:

As it is impossible that a Convention should be called this year, the election will be by mail. The rules, regulations and by-laws have been all drawn up and will be submitted to the Board for approval. [...] All nominations must be sent to the Secretary *pro tem*, before Nov. 10, and will be published shortly after, when announcement of the date of election will be given⁵⁶.

This call for nominations was echoed in the two Ontario periodicals⁵⁷, with the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* even proposing a ticket for the upcoming election. Although the proposed President was H. Hechler from Halifax, this Toronto ticket was heavily slanted in favour of Ontarians who were given key positions conferring effective control of the organization, with J. R. Hooper for Secretary, T. J. McMinn for Treasurer, F. J. Grenny for Exchange Superintendent, and E. Y. Parker for Official Editor.

This initiative from the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* raised eyebrows among Nova Scotia members who feared maginalization, at a time when Atlantic Canada was still wary of being confined to the role of spectator in the Dominion twenty years after Confederation. This concern that Ontarians were forging ahead alone prompted the *Halifax Philatelist* to suggest a different course of action than the one set out by Hooper, and intimate that the Constitution should first be put to a vote by members, after which the officers could be elected:

⁵² The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 2 (September 1887), 2; The Halifax Philatelist 1, 10 (October 1887), 2-3.

⁵³ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 4 (November 1887), 3.

⁵⁴ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 10 (October 1887), 1-3.

⁵⁵ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 11 (November 1887), 3-5.

⁵⁶ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 10 (October 1887), 4.

⁵⁷ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 4 (November 1887), 3-4; The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 5 (November 1887), 9-12.

With due respect to our esteemed contemporaries the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* and the *Niagara Falls Philatelist*, we think they are rather previous in calling for nominations of the C.P.A. A thing worth doing at all is worth doing well and we fail to consider the time ripe for such a step yet. [...] If the managing committee favour our opinion in this matter we would suggest that a vote be taken on the Constitution first, either as originally presented or with the amendments. When this is settled then we shall be most happy to favour a speedy election of officers⁵⁸.

These Haligonian misgivings about the process were brushed aside in Ontario, with the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* replying that "anent the criticism of our contemporary the *Halifax Philatelist*, we are advised that we are in perfect order in publishing the ticket of the C.P.A. at this stage of proceedings⁵⁹." The Board of Organization did postpone the elections, but for a reason that had nothing to do with Nova Scotia, as Hooper was struck with typhoid fever, an illness often fatal at the time⁶⁰. On December 2nd, Ketcheson issued the following circular on behalf of the Board:

I have been instructed to inform you that, through the serious illness of Mr. Hooper, of Ottawa, the Secretary *pro tem*, the election of officers, and in fact all the business of the Association, will be delayed some weeks. Also, that if there are no objections to the Constitution and Amendments, as published in the HALIFAX PHILATELIST, we declare it carried⁶¹.

Hooper survived typhoid and the election process resumed in January 1888, with the *Niagara Falls Philatelist* informing its readers of the latest developments:

The Secretary pro-tem has been busy issuing ballots for the election of officers, and the result will be known about the latter end of this month. For President there are two candidates, Messrs. Ketcheson and Hechler, both gentlemen of ability. For Secretary, Messrs. Leighton and Hooper were nominated. The latter has withdrawn from the contest, and although the promoter and organizer of the C.P.A., he will remain a member. His late severe illness is the cause of his temporary retirement⁶².

Concurrently, a new journal edited by H. E. French in Niagara Falls, the *Canadian Philatelist*, published an article by "Canadensis" (pen name of Hooper) announcing that the votes would be counted on January 31⁶³.

At that point, membership had reached 108, up from 68 at the end of October. The 40 new members included 24 Canadians, 15 Americans and one Briton, John H. Johnson, a stamp merchant from Southport, England. Ontario was well represented in this fresh crop of members with 14 newcomers, such as Mrs. Mason, a stamp dealer from Toronto, already mentioned; William Henry Gardiner (1861-1935), a famous Toronto photographer who moved to the U.S. in 1891⁶⁴; William John Graydon (1863-1919), a prominent resident of Streetsville; Arthur Guy

⁵⁸ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 11 (November 1887), 5.

⁵⁹ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 6 (December 1887), 20.

⁶⁰ The mortality rate was 12-15% and those who survived were ill for about six weeks. William Osler,

[&]quot;Typhoid Fever in Baltimore," The Johns Hopkins Hospital Reports 4 (1894): 159-167.

⁶¹ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 12 (December 1887), 23.

⁶² The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 6 (January 1888), 4.

⁶³ The Canadian Philatelist 1, 1 (January 1888), 10.

⁶⁴ "William H. Gardiner," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_H._Gardiner

Ashton Fletcher (1870-1933), a medical student from Woodstock who became a physician in Toronto⁶⁵; W. D. B. Spry, a stamp dealer from Barrie; and the brothers Frederick and Joseph Ineson who worked for the Canadian Pacific Railways at Weston and were also involved in the stamp trade⁶⁶. Next came Nova Scotia with 7 new members, such as James Noble Crane (1856-1918), a manager and militia officer from Halifax who was President of the Nova Scotia Philatelic Association formed in November; Edward Grafton Shannon (1871-1960), a student who was the son of Irish-born judge and government minister Samuel Leonard Shannon⁶⁷; and John Alexander Craig (1859-1948), a druggist at Yarmouth⁶⁸. Finally, Manitoba was represented by F. Russell Jr. from Brandon, A. E. Williams from Killarney, and Francis William Rounsfell (1868-1938), a bank employee from Brandon who was born in Nova Scotia (he was a relative of Sydney DeWolf) and moved to British Columbia in 1888 where he became a noted financial agent⁶⁹.

South of the border, some recruits were known figures in philatelic circles⁷⁰: Robert C. H. Brock (1861-1906), a Philadelphia lawyer and National Guard colonel who was a member of APA Literary Board and one of the wealthiest American stamp and coin collectors⁷¹; Joseph J. Casey from New York, who was still highly sought after as a contributor to U.S. philatelic periodicals although he had been fired as editor of the *American Journal of Philately* for having produced fake local stamps in 1874⁷²; Walter L. Emory from Fitchburg MA who published the *Philatelic News*⁷³, Ernest R. Aldrich from Benson MN who edited the *Philatelic Fortnightly*⁷⁴; George William von Utassy fom Germantown PA, who published the *Philadelphia Philatelist*⁷⁵; Charles A. Townsend, publisher of an *American Stamp Collectors' Directory* in Akron OH⁷⁶; along with Alvah Davison (1863-1928) from Helmetta NJ and V. Gurdji from Galveston TX who later became respectively Secretary and Treasurer of the National Philatelical Society presided by H.E. Deats⁷⁷.

⁶⁵ William Cochrane, *The Canadian Album - Men of Canada*, vol. 4 (Brantford: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1895), 455.

⁶⁶ The other Ontarians were Edward P. Lea, Charles S. Meek and E. J. Phillips from Toronto, J. F. Macdonald from Paris, A. G. Needham from Milton, J. E. Skeele from Niagara Falls, and J. C. Spence from St. Mary's.

⁶⁷ Della M. M. Stanley, "Shannon, Samuel Leonard," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 12, 1990.

⁶⁸ The other Nova Scotians were H. Andrews, C. A. Curry and A. E. Smith from Halifax, and George H. Cox, a student at Shelburne.

⁶⁹ "Rounsfell, Francis William ("Frank") (1868-1938)," *Vancouver West End History*, https://westendvancouver.wordpress.com/biographies-n-z/biographies-r/rounsefell-francis-william-frank-1868-1938/

⁷⁰ The other Americans mostly came from New England: E. Coleman, Portsmouth NH, Frank B. Eldredge, Attleboro MA, E. O. Evans, Charlestown MA, G. Frank Read, Providence RI, and J. M. Douglas Jr., Middletown CT, in addition to Max Stadie from New York, and L. W. Edwards from Smith's Mills PA.

⁷¹ Warren Howard Coleson, *Postage Stamps and their Collection* (Boston: W. H. Coleson, 1907), 11.

⁷² Herbert A. Trenchard, "Charles Henry Coster (1852-1900) – A Great American Philatelist," *The Penny Post* 8, 2 (April 1998), 10-11.

⁷³ The Stamp World 4, 36 (February 1889), 91.

⁷⁴ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 12 (December 1887), 22.

⁷⁵ The Curiosity World 3, 29 (March 1888): 8.

⁷⁶ Bacon, *Catalogue*, col. 383.

⁷⁷ American Journal of Philately 6, 7 (July 1893), 393.

Ballots were issued to the 104 members residing in Canada and the United States. An Election Committee made of Leighton, Hooper and Grenny tallied the votes; the results were announced on February 4 and published in the February number of the *Toronto Philatelic Journal*. Most elective positions were contested between candidates from Ontario and Nova Scotia, with Ontarians emerging as winners in a majority of cases:

	Ontario		Nova Scotia	
President	H. F. Ketcheson	58	H. Hechler	38
Secretary	J. A. Leighton (unopposed)			
Treasurer	T. J. McMinn	35	H. L. Hart	58
Librarian	G. Walker	51	E. A. Smith	42
Exchange	F. J. Grenny (unopposed)			
Superintendent				
Official Editor	E. Y. Parker	42	T. Larsen	38
	H. E. French	6		
	F. E. Book	5		

J. R. Findlay from Nova Scotia was elected on the Executive Committee, along with J. C. Niesser from Ontario and R. F. McRae from Quebec. McRae was also elected Vice-President for Quebec, but he resigned that position in favour of E. F. Wurtele who had finished second. The other elected Provincial Vice-Presidents were J. R. Hooper (Ontario), A. J. Craig (Nova Scotia), H. S. Harte (New Brunswick), J. G. W. Brown (Prince Edward Island), and J. H. Todd (Manitoba). As Todd had just moved to British Columbia, he resigned the Manitoba vice-presidency, which was entrusted to his nominee J. R. Davidson, and he was appointed Vice-President for British Columbia and the Northwest Territories (which then included Alberta and Saskatchewan)⁷⁸.

Under the Constitution, the Counterfeit Detector and the Purchasing Agent were to be appointed by the Executive Committee rather than elected by the membership. However, members were asked to express their preferences for these positions, with the understanding that the Committee would have regard for their choices. DeWolf from Nova Scotia emerged as the preferred candidate for Counterfeit Detector, while E. Y. Parker from Ontario received a plurality of votes for Purchasing Agent. As Parker had also been elected Official Editor, he resigned that position in favour of G. A. Lowe, editor of the *Toronto Philatelic Journal*. To avoid further delay, the Election Committee immediately declared Parker and Lowe elected to their respective offices, while leaving the official appointment of DeWolf to the care of the Executive Committee⁷⁹.

Lowe's appointment as Official Editor was all the more logical given that the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* was selected as official organ of the CPA. The choice of an official organ was a matter of paramount importance for the philatelic associations of the time, as such an organ was their only way to keep regular contact with their membership; additionally, offering a free subscription to a philatelic paper was a means to recruit members. For the journals, being an official organ was a source of prestige and a way to attract advertisers who were guaranteed a circulation among a body of philatelists dedicated enough to join an association. Hence, the Canadian philatelic periodicals were engaged in intense competition for that status. As early as

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⁷⁸ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 8 (February 1888), 36-37.

⁷⁹ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 9 (March 1888), 45.

July 1887, the *Halifax Philatelist* was offering to become the official journal of the nascent CPA⁸⁰. In September, the *Niagara Falls Philatelist* entered the fray with an offer to devote four pages to the CPA every month⁸¹, while the Halifax paper was proposing special low advertising rates for CPA members should it be selected as official organ⁸². In October, the Niagara Falls journal replied with a somewhat clumsily worded offer to "make a reduction of 150 per cent on advertising rates⁸³", much to the fun of the Haligonian editor who ironized that he would gladly reserve all the advertising space and expect to receive the premium⁸⁴. In December, the Niagara Falls editor explained that his 150% discount meant 40¢ instead of \$1.00, and ventured "to make even a better offer of 20 cents per inch ad⁸⁵". By then, the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* had entered the competition and was behaving as a *de facto* official organ by publishing full-page reports on CPA business. Ultimately, the Toronto journal was selected as official organ by 49 votes, against 40 for the *Halifax Philatelist*, 6 for the *Niagara Falls Philatelist* that stopped publishing in January, and only 1 for the newly created *Canadian Philatelist* that folded in June.

These elections marked the end of the first phase of CPA's history. Nine months after the idea of a national philatelic association had been initially floated by Hooper, Canadian philatelists had a nationwide organization, complete with a Board of Officers and an official organ. High hopes were raised that this new association would have a promising future and even become "a formidable rival of the American Philatelic Association⁸⁶". However, whereas the APA has been in continuing existence since 1886 (with a name change to American Philatelic Society in 1908), the CPA barely lasted a decade, for reasons that will become evident as we advance in the association's history.

⁸⁰ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 7 (July 1887), 3.

⁸¹ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 2 (September 1887), 3.

⁸² The Halifax Philatelist 1, 9 (September 1887), 2.

⁸³ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 4 (October 1887), 4.

⁸⁴ The Halifax Philatelist 1, 11 (November 1887), 6.

⁸⁵ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 6 (December 1887), 4.

⁸⁶ The Niagara Falls Philatelist 1, 4 (November 1887), 2.

III. THE KETCHESON PRESIDENCY (FEBRUARY-DECEMBER 1888)

The mandate of H. F. Ketcheson at the helm of the CPA opened with a controversy. Apparently, there was a breach of communication between Ontario and Nova Scotia, where "no official information had yet been received from the Canadian Philatelic Association in connection with the late election⁸⁷" by February 13. In fact, the members from Halifax first learned of the election results through an article published in a Boston philatelic journal by Hooper who said that "all seemed to be well satisfied with the result⁸⁸." The *Halifax Philatelist* begged to differ, and bitterly complained that it was "left in blissful ignorance as to how matters stood" after November. The lack of communication initially led the Halifax paper to suspect some collusion between the Election Committee and the *Toronto Philatelic Journal*:

In the contest for the official organ the *Toronto Journal* seemed to have been the choice, and although we are perfectly contented with our lot we are by no means "satisfied with the result". We have been led to believe that the poll did not close on the last day of January, but was kept open a few days longer, now if this is correct, why was it done? Was it done in order to get somebody "satisfied with the result?" Another thing is that 96 votes were polled, and as the HALIFAX PHILATELIST only had published the names of 68, we are inclined to be suspicious as to the reason the 28 names were withheld from our information⁸⁹.

In due course, the February number of the Toronto journal reached the *Halifax Philatelist*, whose fears were assuaged by the official election reports⁹⁰. DeWolf's appointment as Counterfeit Director was confirmed by the Executive Committee, and the Nova Scotia Philatelic Association became a branch society of the CPA⁹¹. Yet, in April, several Halifax members were still complaining that they had not received copies of the official organ⁹². This situation is reflective of the communication challenges and risks of misunderstanding involved in creating a national philatelic society in a sparsely inhabited country where settled regions remained separated by vast areas of wilderness.

With Nova Scotia fully back on the bandwagon, the new Board of Officers set out to organize the CPA. The most pressing task at hand was to set up the Exchange Department, as the opportunity of exchanging stamps outside a limited circle was the "main object of Philatelic societies⁹³", and often the only reason why philatelists joined a national association. Members would put their duplicate stamps, entire envelopes and postal cards in circuit books that were circulated among them by the superintendent, who kept a percentage of the value of stamps taken from the books to pay for the expenses of the exchange. This service also provided a measure of security

⁸⁷ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 2 (February 1888), 24.

⁸⁸ The Eastern Philatelist 1, 3 (February 1888), 6.

^{89 &}quot;A Philatelic Sermon," The Halifax Philatelist 2, 3 (March 1888), 33.

⁹⁰ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 3 (March 1888), 34.

⁹¹ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 3 (March 1888), 36; The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 10 (April 1888), 48-49.

⁹² The Halifax Philatelist 2, 4 (April 1888), 48.

⁹³ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 10 (April 1888), 51.

to exchangers, as the books only circulated among *bona fide* collectors whose membership application had been approved by the association.

In April, Grenny published the rules and regulations of his Exchange Department, which were practically a copy-paste of the instructions issued by the APA of which he was a member⁹⁴. Members had to order exchange sheets, at the price of 5¢ each, to which stamps had to be attached with hinges; they would write in their name and the price of each stamp, and mail their sheets to the Exchange Superintendent who made them into books and boxes and placed them upon a circuit route that had to be strictly adhered to. Once the books had completed their circuit, the Superintendent would send an account statement to the members, who had eight days to settle balances due to the Exchange Department, while balances due to members were remitted as soon as accounts could be adjusted. Special provisions were made for branch societies, whose secretary would gather the exchange sheets from the society's members and send them to the Superintendent, who would in turn send him exchange books to be circulated among his members. The Superintendent drew balances as a whole for each branch, whose secretary had to adjust the account with his members⁹⁵.

Grenny lost no time in organizing the Exchange Department. In March, Ketcheson was praising him for showing "a good deal of enterprise and energy in getting his department in working order so soon⁹⁶" and in May, Hooper was terming the exchange service a "magnificent success⁹⁷." In his first report as Superintendent in April, Grenny mentioned that he had received 128 filled sheets and covers and that all exchange books were now circulating among members⁹⁸. By the early summer, he reported that about 60 members were taking advantage of the exchange and that he had received 350 filled sheets for a value of \$1,500⁹⁹. However, some users were complaining about the quality of the stamps placed on circuit. In Nova Scotia, where the exchange was handled by the local branch, it was commented that "the books are not as good as they ought to be, and there are numerous stamps on them that should not be there¹⁰⁰." In a letter published in the June number of the *Halifax Philatelist*, a member of the Nova Scotia branch congratulated Grenny for his "able management", while criticizing exchangers for overpricing some stamps and rebuking Canadian members for not sending in enough sheets for exchange, as most of the sheets belonged to American dealers¹⁰¹.

In the same letter, the author suggested that with the exception of the Exchange Department, the CPA was "very nearly a failure". It seems indeed that the other services were off to a slow start. In March, Parker published the guidelines that would govern the operations of his Purchasing Department, also inspired by the APA model. He specified that he would make arrangements to obtain, at the lowest cost possible to members, unused specimens of all newly issued stamps from countries he would list in the official organ; members could also send in

⁹⁴ The American Philatelist 1, 1 (January 1887), 5-6. See Grenny's account of the beginnings of the CPA in The American Philatelist 2, 3 (December 1887), 41-42.

⁹⁵ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 10 (April 1888), 51-52.

⁹⁶ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 9 (March 1888), 44.

⁹⁷ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 11 (May 1888), 57.

⁹⁸ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 10 (April 1888), 49.

⁹⁹ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 3, 1 (July-August 1888), 6.

¹⁰⁰ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 4 (April 1888), 48.

¹⁰¹ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 6 (June 1888), 69.

stamps for sale, that would be announced in the official organ¹⁰². However, no such lists or announcements were ever published, nor were any further reports from Parker, which suggests that the purchasing service failed to get any traction. Similarly, the library apparently met with only mixed success. On the one hand, Librarian Walker received many books, such as Ketcheson's catalogue of Canadian stamps, and periodicals, such as complete files of the *Halifax Philatelist*, the *Niagara Falls Philatelist* and several American journals. Donations of publications came in at the pace of about 50 per month, especially from CPA officers like Grenny, Hooper and Leighton¹⁰³. On the other hand, Walker did not get much response to his request that officers and members send him their photographs, and there is no evidence that members actually borrowed any materials from the library.

Another sign of sluggishness was the significant drop in the number of membership applications. Whereas 108 philatelists had joined the CPA during the eight-month period leading to the elections, only 31 new members were admitted in the following eight months, with a majority of Americans. Notable among them were John C. Feldwisch (1865-1910) and H. A. Babb from Colorado, respectively Vice-President and Secretary of the Denver Stamp Collectors' League¹⁰⁴; Babb edited the *Collector's Review* while Feldwisch published the widely circulating journal *The Stamp*¹⁰⁵. Feldwisch was serving on the APA Board of Officers, together with new CPA members W. A. MacCalla from Philadelphia and William C. Stone from Springfield MA who were in charge of publishing the *American Philatelist*¹⁰⁶. MacCalla printed this official organ and sat on the APA's Committee on Official Journal with W. L. Emory and A. Davison who were already members of the CPA¹⁰⁷. Also joining the CPA were J. C. Feldwisch's brother Frederick (1867-1950), W. S. Aldrich who was President of the Portland Philatelic Society in Maine¹⁰⁸, and future APA officers George N. Campbell from Kentucky and Percival Parrish who would eventually become manager of the Philadelphia branch of Scott Stamp & Coin Co.¹⁰⁹

Only 13 Canadians joined the CPA between February and September 1888. About half of them were from Ontario, including Henry Morell from Toronto¹¹⁰ and Edward J. Rogerson and W. D. Morton from Barrie¹¹¹. Quebec came next with three prominent philatelists: Cléophas Charles Morency (1852-1897) from Quebec City, and Alfred Eugène Labelle (1866-1927) and John Edward Schultze (1867-1899) from Montreal. An accountant by profession, Morency was a long time philatelist who built a 15,000-variety collection¹¹². Labelle was a

¹⁰² The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 9 (March 1888), 43-44.

¹⁰³ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 9 (March 1888), 45; 2, 10 (April 1888), 49; 2, 12 (June 1888), 65.

¹⁰⁴ The American Philatelist 2, 8 (May 1888), 192.

¹⁰⁵ Bacon, *Catalogue*, cols. 511 and 768.

¹⁰⁶ The American Philatelist 2, 1 (October 1887), 10.

¹⁰⁷ The American Philatelist 2, 12 (September 1888), 263.

¹⁰⁸ The American Philatelist 2, 9 (June 1888), 216.

¹⁰⁹ The other American recuits were W. H. Bacon and Charles B. Russell from Massachusetts, M. Brill from New York, Morrice E. Finney and Jesse E. Harpel from Pennsylvania, M. B. Holley from Michigan, John Starr Bixby from Illinois, F. N. Mossoth from Indiana, Felix Brande from Nebraska, and J. A. Shannon, a Post Office clerk from Wyoming.

¹¹⁰ See *supra*, p. 9.

¹¹¹ The other Ontario recruits were David A. Watson from Dundas, F. Gottorf from Hamilton, and S. G. Retallick from Belleville.

 $^{^{112}}$ He was already mentioned as a stamp collector in the early 1870s. See *The Canadian Philatelist* 2^{nd} Series, 1, 2 (October 1872), 13.

corporate executive and militia officer who collected and traded revenue stamps¹¹³; he was the son-in-law of judge Louis Wilfrid Sicotte, the leading French Canadian philatelist of the time¹¹⁴. Finally, Schultze was the Vice-Consul of Austria-Hungary in Montreal, as an assistant to his wealthy German-born father who served as Consul and worked as a fur merchant¹¹⁵. The last four Canadian recruits came from the Maritimes: George Daniel Ives (1840-1913), a clerk from Pictou NS who left for the United States in 1893, Henry R. Donohoe, a clerk in St. John NB, along with Frederick George Harvie and Arthur Allison Bartlett (1852-1920) from Charlottetown PE. A bookkeeper, Bartlett had a large stamp collection that he sold for \$20,000 in the early years of the 20th century; a part-time stamp dealer, he bought the remainders of the stamps of Prince Edward Island in 1884 and, with D. A. King, the remainders of Nova Scotia in 1896¹¹⁶.

The paucity of new recruits was compounded by the challenge of getting existing members to renew their subscription. Like all CPA Secretaries after him, Leighton kept reminding members to pay their annual dues, failing which they would be suspended or removed from the rolls¹¹⁷. These admonitions did have an effect, as only nine of the 32 delinquents identified in May were expelled for non-payment of dues in June¹¹⁸. Nonetheless, with these expulsions plus a few resignations, the CPA was left with 122 members in good standing in September, i.e. only 14 more than eight months before.

This lack of momentum may be explained in part by the somewhat aloof way in which Ketcheson and Hooper exercised their mandates. Apart from commonplace statements about how he would do all in his power to advance the interests of the association as President, Ketcheson's reports mostly consisted in accounts of the activities of other CPA officers¹¹⁹. As for Hooper, his only report as Ontario Vice-President did not go much beyond praising the association for its growth and the harmony within its ranks¹²⁰. It looks as if the two men who had spearheaded the creation of the CPA with such energy had to focus on their professional lives at a time when the association could have benefited from stronger leadership on their part.

On May 18, Ketcheson did chair a meeting convened at the residence of Parker to reorganize the Toronto Philatelic Society as a branch of the CPA¹²¹. The members of the revived TPS held their first formal meeting on June 7 at the residence of Mrs. Mason and elected a board of officers with McMinn as President, Lowe as Vice-President, Morell as Secretary-Treasurer, and Mason, Parker and Wilby as Executive Committee¹²². At their next meeting on July 9, it was decided to form a joint stock company for the publication of stamp albums and catalogues. By August, several CPA members from outside Toronto (French, Grenny, Harte, Ineson, Price, Rogerson, Wurtele) had become shareholders of that company which took over Lowe's

¹¹³ Yves Drolet, *Notice historique sur les philatélistes du Québec à l'époque victorienne* (Montreal: Yves Drolet, 2018), 18.

¹¹⁴ Caroline Truchon, *Entre raison et passion : une histoire du collectionnement privé à Montréal (1850-1910).* Ph.D. thesis, Université de Montréal: 2014, 153-155 and 178-179.

¹¹⁵ The Canadian Almanach and Miscellaneous Directory (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1898), 311.

¹¹⁶ Robert V. C. Carr, "A Short Biography of A. A. Bartlett," BNA Topics 23, 2 (February 1966): 39-41.

¹¹⁷ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 9 (March 1888), 44; 2, 10 (April 1888), 48.

¹¹⁸ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 11 (May 1888), 57; 2, 12 (June 1888), 64.

¹¹⁹ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 9 (March 1888), 44; 2, 11 (May 1888), 56; 3, 1 (July-August 1888), 5.

¹²⁰ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 11 (May 1888), 56.

¹²¹ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 11 (May 1888), 58.

¹²² The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 12 (June 1888), 66-67.

publishing business, including the *Toronto Philatelic Journal*¹²³. As Lowe was the company's secretary, it might be inferred that the purpose of this endeavour was to inject capital in his business. The presence of Rev. H. S. Harte among the company's shareholders is not surprising, as he contributed articles to the Toronto journal¹²⁴, on top of his reports as Vice-President for New Brunswick, where he deplored the small number of philatelists in the province while expressing hope to rekindle interest for philately among "several gentlemen who had been ardent collectors in the days of yore¹²⁵."

Harte also weighed in on the issue of the place and time of the first annual convention of the CPA, which had become "the leading topic among stamp collectors¹²⁶" in the spring of 1888. The event was originally scheduled for January 1889 in Montreal or Toronto, but on June 1st, Harte warned that the Canadian winter would prevent many members from attending and suggested holding the convention in September instead; as for the location, he preferred Montreal which was "more easy of access to the majority of our members¹²⁷". The *Toronto Philatelic Journal* concurred with the September suggestion but, as would be expected, argued that Toronto should be chosen as "it is the most central city in Canada, and more accessable to our American members than any other¹²⁸." Ultimately, Ketcheson decided that the convention would be held in Toronto on September 19 and 20, 1888, with the understanding that the officers elected at the meeting would begin their term with the New Year¹²⁹.

Like it did in November, the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* issued an Ontario-biased ticket for the upcoming elections, this time under the name of the Toronto branch society, with Parker for President, Lowe for Secretary, Grenny for Exchange Superintendent, Leighton for Librarian, Morell for Counterfeit Director, and McMinn for Official Editor, Nova Scotia being limited to Hart for Treasurer and Kaye for Purchasing Agent¹³⁰. Members who could not attend the convention were also urged to send their proxies to Parker. Interestingly, Hooper and Ketcheson were both conspicuously absent from this ticket, the acceptance of which would have been tentamount to handing over the CPA to the company formed by Lowe and his stamp dealer friends from Toronto.

Resistance to this takeover attempt came from Nova Scotia. As we have seen, members there had grudgingly come to terms with the results of the January vote. The reconciliation seemed effected in June, when provincial Vice-President Craig sent a letter to the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* in which he lauded the CPA for having created a "common bond of brotherhood" between Canadian philatelists, and pledged to attend the annual meeting that would be assuredly a "brilliant success, for there is nothing like personal intercourse of its members to benefit the association¹³¹." There were however limits to this brotherhood and to the "bond of

¹²³ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 3, 1 (July-August 1888), 4.

¹²⁴ "Canadian Post Cards," *The Toronto Philatelic Journal* 2, 6 (December 1887), 17; Philatelic Tid-Bits," *The Toronto Philatelic Journal* 2, 9 (March 1888), 41.

¹²⁵ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 10 (April 1888), 53. Saint John NB had been a hub of Canadian philately before the fire that razed much of the city in 1877, Mitchener, "A Centenary," 191.

¹²⁶ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 12 (June 1888), 66.

¹²⁷ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 12 (June 1888), 67.

¹²⁸ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 12 (June 1888), 66.

¹²⁹ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 3, 1 (July-August 1888), 5.

¹³⁰ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 3, 1 (July-August 1888), 4.

¹³¹ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 12 (June 1888), 63-64.

fraternal friendship" hailed by Hooper in May. For example, when Harte told *The Stamp* from Denver that the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* was the only paper that contributed anything of interest to Canadian stamp collectors, the *Halifax Philatelist* retorted that the Reverend would probably have included it as an interesting paper as well had the editor accepted to publish his articles which he offered "for cash, not for the advancement of the knowledge of Philately, but for the cold dollar¹³²". More generally, the Halifax paper never missed an occasion to criticize its Toronto rival in its monthly review of philatelic periodicals.

The official announcement of the election date and place and the Toronto ticket were published in a double July/August number of the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* that only reached Nova Scotia in early September, prompting Haligonians to once again suspect shenanigans from their Ontario counterparts:

Not having the pleasure of seeing the July or August numbers of the official organ, we were surprised by a friend shewing us about the beginning of this month a copy of it for the two months mentioned rolled into one copy. In it we find the ticket nominated by the Toronto branch, and also the news that the election for officers will be held at the convention, on Sept. 19th and 20th. By this little manoeuvre of springing the election like this we have no doubt that our Toronto friends think they will have the election in their own hand 133.

Determined to thwart the plans of the Toronto branch, the *Halifax Philatelist* issued its own ticket which retained much of the rival list while restoring some balance by entrusting to Nova Scotia the presidency, official editorship, official organ and organization of the next convention, on top of the treasury¹³⁴:

	Toronto Ticket	Halifax Ticket	
President	E. Y. Parker	H. Hechler	
Vice-Presidents	G. Walker ON, R. A. B. Hart QC, H. S. Harte NB,		
	A. J. Craig NS, W	/. Brown PE, J. H. Todd BC	
Secretary	G. A. Lowe		
Treasurer	H. L. Hart		
Librarian	J. A. Leighton		
Exchange	F. J. Grenny		
Superintendent			
Counterfeit Detector	H. Morell		
Purchasing Agent	F. C. Kaye	H. F. Ketcheson	
Official Editor	T. J. McMinn	T. Larsen	
Official Organ	Toronto Philatelic Journal	Halifax Philatelist	
Executive Committee	J. C. Niesser, C. C. Morency, F. C. Kaye		
Convention 1889	Montreal	Halifax	

¹³² The Halifax Philatelist 2, 6 (June 1888), 70. Harte was served a similar rebuke by French from Niagara Falls: The Canadian Philatelist 1, 6 (June 1888), 33.

¹³³ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 9 (September 1888), 105.

¹³⁴ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 9 (September 1888), 107. Interestingly, the Halifax ticket included Ketcheson who was not on the Toronto ticket, while Hooper was absent from both lists.

The Nova Scotians lost no time in organizing themselves for the election. Although the CPA had no more than 24 members in the province, A. J. Craig was able to muster 40 proxies for the convention, whereas Parker merely managed to get 13, essentially from the Toronto area. When the convention met at Richmond Hall, Toronto, on September 19, only 17 of the 122 CPA members were present in person, including 14 from Ontario¹³⁵, Craig from Nova Scotia, Schultze from Quebec, and Emory from the United States who held proxies from 24 American members¹³⁶. When the election for the 1889 Board of Officers was called in the evening, 12 attendees took part in the vote and cast ballots for 98 absent members. The result was a complete triumph for Halifax:

	Halifax Ticket		Toronto Ticket	
President	H. Hechler	56	E. Y. Parker	51
Purchasing Agent	H. F. Ketcheson	97	F. C. Kaye	6
Official Editor	T. Larsen (unanimous)		T. J. McMinn	
Official Organ	Halifax Philatelist	77	Toronto Philatelic Journal	33
Convention 1889	Halifax	65	Montreal	28

The result was also a personal defeat for Lowe, who failed to be elected Secretary although his name was on both tickets; he received only 22 votes, against 81 for McMinn who had apparently withdrawn from the race for Official Editor. Another noteworthy change from the tickets was that Hooper rather than Niesser was elected on the Executive Committee with Morency and Kaye¹³⁷.

On the following day, the delegates turned to the other business of the convention. A revised version of the Constitution and Bylaws drafted by Craig, Grenny, Ketcheson and Spry was adopted and it was decided that it would be printed and distributed together with a list of members¹³⁸. On the disciplinary front, stamp dealer F. E. Book, the former editor of the *Niagara Falls Philatelist*, was expelled from the CPA for having counterfeited surcharges, while Findlay resigned from the Executive Committee further to unspecified complaints and was replaced by fellow Nova Scotian D. A. King for the remainder of his term¹³⁹.

Purely philatelic matters were not absent from the discussions. On a motion by Walker supported by Emory, it was proposed that the CPA endorse the claims of Patrick Chalmers that his father James Chalmers was the true inventor of the adhesive postage stamp rather than Rowland Hill who was commonly credited with the idea. From 1881 until his death in 1891, Chalmers vigourously pressed his claim and met with some success among American philatelists, including CPA member P. M. Wolsieffer, although there is nothing to show that his father "made any suggestions or was involved in the movement for postal reform prior to Hill's proposal being

¹³⁵ E. E. Book, French, Grenny, Ineson, Ketcheson, Leighton, Lowe, McMinn, Morell, Niesser, Parker, Spry, Walker and Wilby.

¹³⁶ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 10 (October 1888), 109-110.

¹³⁷ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 10 (October 1888), 110-111.

¹³⁸ Constitution of the Canadian Philatelic Association (Peterborough: The Peterborough Review Printing and Publishing Co., 1888).

¹³⁹ Findlay later resigned from the Nova Scotia Philatelic Association. *The Halifax Philatelist* 2, 12 (December 1888), 144.

published¹⁴⁰." The convention decided that a vote on this motion should be deferred until the next annual meeting, a move that was later praised by Hooper who dismissed the "Chalmer's craze" as a "bugbear" and suggested that "a discussion on this subject is so much space thrown away" since there are no "sufficiently strong reasons to change our resolve that Mr. James Chalmers did not invent adhesive postage stamps¹⁴¹."

The convention adjourned at 4:30 p.m. and was immediately followed by an exhibition, after the example set at APA's first convention in 1887. Six members exhibited their stamps in a room at one end of which was draped a Union Jack surrounded by an American Eagle and a Canadian Beaver, both made by Mrs. Mason. Most space was occupied by Grenny and Craig, who had brought their entire collections to Toronto. Grenny's exhibit included all stamps from Canada with the exception of the 12 d., all stamps from Newfoundland except four of the first issue, complete collections of Bermuda and Falkland Islands, along with rarities from the United States and Guatemala, and 40 impressions of handstamps used by Canadian postmasters before 1851. For his part, Craig exhibited his collection of 5,000 varieties mounted in three volumes of Stanley Gibbons' Imperial Albums, which included such rarities as a block of 6 unsevered Canada ½ d. 1856 stamps on the original envelope, along with complete collections of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

The description of the exhibition appeared with a summary report on the convention in the October issue of the *American Philatelist*¹⁴². The same month, the official report of the convention was published in the *Halifax Philatelist*. Secretary Leighton had originally sent the report to Lowe on the understanding that the *Toronto Philatelic Journal* would continue until December, but the Toronto journal never resumed publication and its Halifax rival became the *de facto* official organ three months before the formal date of the switchover¹⁴³. Lowe resigned from the CPA in January and his company dissolved, along with the Toronto Philatelic Society; he left the stamp business until 1893, while running a bookkeeping and shorthand school, and then a watch and jewellery store¹⁴⁴. He left no fond memories with the CPA; Grenny considered that the official organ was "lame and inefficient¹⁴⁵", while another member commented that, "whisper it softly", the Association did not put on mourning when the Toronto paper breathed its last¹⁴⁶.

There was a lull of sort in the CPA business in the last quarter of 1888, as the outgoing officers waited for their successors to take over. Reconducted as Exchange Superintendent, Grenny continued managing his department to the satisfaction of users, with 350 filled sheets received and 40 exchange books circulated between September and December¹⁴⁷. The other busy officer was Leighton, as 30 new members joined the CPA during the quarter, while Skeele from Niagara Falls and Palma from Guatemala were dropped for non-payment of dues. The new

¹⁴⁰ Jan Kosniowsky, "Claimants to the title of the 'Inventor of the Postage Stamp'," *Stamp Domain*, 2015, http://www.stampdomain.com/stamp invention/james chalmers.htm

¹⁴¹ John R. Hooper, "Chalmers-Hill Controversy and the C.P.A.," *The Halifax Philatelist* 2, 11 (November 1888), 131.

¹⁴² The American Philatelist 3, 1 (October 1888), 17-19.

¹⁴³ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 11 (November 1888), 129.

¹⁴⁴ Rosenthal, "Toronto Stamp Dealers," 173.

¹⁴⁵ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 1 (January 1889), 12.

¹⁴⁶ The Dominion Philatelist 1, 1 (January 1889), 6.

¹⁴⁷ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 1 (January 1889), 11.

recruits included 18 Canadians, 11 Americans, and A. R. Todd from Jamaica who was referred by Townsend from Ohio¹⁴⁸. In Canada, the two philatelic powerhouses were equally represented with 6 recruits each for Ontario¹⁴⁹ and Nova Scotia¹⁵⁰, the roster being completed by M. R. Knight, a Methodist minister in Prince Edward Island, James H. Gowan Jr., a stamp dealer in Winnipeg, William Andrew DeWolf Smith (1859-1947), a New Brunswick-born Freemason who was surgeon to the New Westminster penitentiary in British Columbia¹⁵¹, and 3 Quebecers: Alexander Thomas Ogilvie (1867-1935), nephew of Montreal businessman A. W. Ogilvie¹⁵², Charles Edward Cameron (1861-1937), a Montreal physician, and E. T. Taylor, a British officer from Upper Melbourne who was later posted to Burma and became the lone CPA member in Asia. On the U.S. side, 5 new members came from New England¹⁵³, the others being J. O. Hobby from New York, George E. Pryor from Pennsylvania, and four publishers of short-lived philatelic journals: W. S. Kinzer who edited the *Philatelic Journal of Ohio*, Arthur Lehmann Jr. who edited the *Collector's Magazine* and the *New Jersey Philatelist*, Edward Biggar who edited the *Nebraska Stamp News*, and S. C. Scott who edited the *United States Philatelist* in Iowa¹⁵⁴. With these additions and deletions, the CPA was 150-member strong at the end of the year.

Leighton was also busy with financial duties, as the Secretary collected the membership dues and paid much of the association's expenses. For the year, the dues received amounted to \$136.15, and Leighton spent \$89.70, mostly for postage and printing. He forwarded the balance to the Treasurer, who also paid some expenses, with the result that the balance on hand was \$24.10 when Ketcheson formally passed the torch to his successor on January 1st, 1889¹⁵⁵.

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¹⁴⁸ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 11 (November 1888), 130.

¹⁴⁹ Levy Dunsford, a stamp dealer from Peterborough, George A. Kingston (1869-1943) from Belleville, Alfred Lane from Barrie, James C. Montgomery (1861-1928) and A. E. Wickens from Brantford, and Frederick W. Nellis from London.

¹⁵⁰ T. S. Francis, Frank Hirschfeld and Thomas Finlayson Tobin from Halifax, Charles Hyde fron Truro, Miss S. A. Hamilton from Wolfville, and F. D. Crosby from Yarmouth.

¹⁵¹ "W. A. DeWolf Smith," Masonic Biographies, 2017,

http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/grand_masters/dewolf_smith_w/dewolf_smith_w.html

¹⁵² John Alexander Gemmill, *The Ogilvies of Montreal* (Montreal : The Gazette Printing Co., 1904), 94.

¹⁵³ William J. J. Culross, Howard C. Moody, Silas D. Reed and Charles E. Shaw from Massachusetts, and W. H. Bruce from Connecticut, a regular contributor to philatelic papers.

¹⁵⁴ Bacon, *Catalogue*, cols. 509, 651, 653, 811.

¹⁵⁵ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 4 (April 1889), 56-57.

III. THE HECHLER PRESIDENCY (JANUARY-DECEMBER 1889)

In his inaugural address, written the day he took office, President Hechler assured members that no effort would be wanting on his part to ensure the progress and prosperity of the CPA, and that in these efforts, he would "confidently rely upon the loyal and ever enthusiastic assistance of all the members¹⁵⁶" and the officers elected for 1889:

President H. Hechler

Vice-Presidents A. J. Craig (Nova Scotia)

H. S. Harte (New Brunswick)
W. Brown (Prince Edward Island)

R. A. B. Hart (Quebec)
G. Walker (Ontario)
J. R. Davidson (Manitoba)
J. H. Todd (British Columbia)

Secretary T. J. McMinn
Treasurer H. L. Hart
Exchange Superintendent F. J. Grenny
Librarian J. A. Leighton
Counterfeit Detector H. Morell
Purchasing Agent H. F. Ketcheson

Executive Committee J. R. Hooper (Chairman), F. C. Kaye, C. C. Morency

This address appeared in the *Halifax Philatelist*, now formally the CPA's official organ. The Haligonian publication had once again become Canada's only philatelic journal with the demise of the Toronto paper; it did not enjoy this exclusivity for long, though, as Ketcheson launched his own monthly journal, the *Dominion Philatelist*, in Belleville in January. Although this new periodical did not publish the official reports of the CPA, it contained as much, if not more information about the national association than its Halifax peer.

The first news item reported by both journals was that Leighton would not take up his new function of Librarian. After three years as a law student, he had veered toward theology and enrolled at Trinity College in Toronto to prepare for the ministry; as he could no longer devote time to organized philately, he resigned from the CPA¹⁵⁷. He eventually became an Episcopalian priest and spent most of his career teaching philosophy at Ohio State University¹⁵⁸.

Leighton was succeeded as Librarian by E. Y. Parker from Toronto. This choice was well received, but eyebrows were raised when the *Halifax Philatelist* announced that the new Librarian had been appointed by the "Executive Board", i.e. the Executive Committee chaired by Hooper¹⁵⁹. Through his journal, Ketcheson commented that the Executive Committee "do not seem to understand what their duties really are" and "decidedly exceeded their authority" as the

¹⁵⁶ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 1 (January 1889), 10.

¹⁵⁷ The Halifax Philatelist 2, 11 (November 1888), 132; 3, 2 (February 1889), 29; The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 2 (February 1889), 3.

¹⁵⁸ Verge, "125th Anniversary," 846.

¹⁵⁹ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 2 (February 1889), 29.

Constitution distinctly states "that the President only has power to fill vacancies¹⁶⁰." Several members concurred with this criticism and asked for an explanation from Hooper as to why the committee took the appointment of the Librarian into their own hands. The committee replied that Parker "was appointed by the President, subject only to our recommendation" and asked where the misleading information came from. Ketcheson did not buy the argument and answered that the information was taken from a report published in the official organ and signed by the committee, whose members "are beginning to see that they have done wrong"; he went on wondering under what article of the Constitution the committee had assumed the title of Executive Board¹⁶¹. The innuendo was that Hooper was trying to run the CPA by surreptitiously turning the Executive Committee into a standing management board.

In April, it was McMinn's turn to resign as an officer; he had moved to New York and his business did not permit him to continue to perform the duties of Secretary, although he remained a member of the CPA¹⁶². His succession was the occasion of another spat between Hooper and Ketcheson. The new CPA Secretary, D. A. King (who held a similar position with the Nova Scotia Philatelic Association), was duly appointed by the President, but the May issue of the *Eastern Philatelist* from Massachusetts included an editorial note denouncing the inordinate number of CPA officers in Halifax. In June, Ketcheson opened the pages of his journal to "Acadia", a member from Nova Scotia who accused Hooper of having authored or inspired this article¹⁶³. In July, Hooper wrote a rebuttal in which he denied being behind the note and pointed out that he had recommended King for Secretary after refusing the position that had first been offered to him by the President. Hooper's letter was published in the official organ¹⁶⁴, and also by Ketcheson¹⁶⁵ who nonetheless gave the last word to Acadia who somewhat begrudgingly accepted Hooper's assertion without offering any apologies¹⁶⁶. Apparently, with many officers residing in Halifax, the Ontario-Nova Scotia rivalry had given way to a contest between Hooper and Ketcheson for leadership in Central Canada.

One thing over which everyone agreed was the need to step up the recruitment efforts. During the first half of 1889, only 29 new members joined the CPA, with 14 each from Canada and the United States, along with Richard Hollick (1853-1930) of the Birmingham Philatelic Society in England¹⁶⁷. On the Canadian side, seven recruits came from the Maritimes, including Arthur Edeker Jubien (1873-1949) who replaced King as Secretary of the Nova Scotia Philatelic Association¹⁶⁸. Ontario came next with five members among whom Thomas S. Clark who managed the Bank of Montreal branch in Belleville and also dealt in stamps¹⁶⁹. Finally, in

¹⁶⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 3 (March 1889), 3.

¹⁶¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 3 (April 1889), 6-7.

¹⁶² The Halifax Philatelist 3, 4 (April 1889), 55; The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 5 (May 1889), 3.

¹⁶³ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 6 (June 1889), 5.

¹⁶⁴ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 7 (July 1889), 88.

¹⁶⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 7 (July 1889), 3.

¹⁶⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 9 (September 1889), 6. The grudge between "Acadia" and Hooper was apparently fuelled by their opposite views on the Chalmers-Hill controversy.

¹⁶⁷ Who Was Who in Philately. The Association of British Philatelic Societies, 2015,

http://www.abps.org.uk/Home/Who Was Who/index.xalter#H

¹⁶⁸ The others were Russell McLean and C. B. Fraser from Pictou NS, W. J. Calder and C. B. Nicholson from Windsor NS, Foster W. Curry from Horton Landing NS, and Thomas H. Barker from St. John NB.

¹⁶⁹ The others were Frederick James Brimer from Toronto, Rober D. Kay from Galt, Lewis G. Parnal from Newcastle, and Racey U. Young from Milton.

Quebec, Montreal was represented by Victor Horace Young, who worked as a journalist, and Paul Sicotte (1874-1894), a student who collected stamps with his father and was the brother-in-law of A. E. Labelle¹⁷⁰.

South of the border, the most prestigious addition was APA's Vice-President Rudolphus Ritzema Bogert (1842-1910), a New York stamp dealer who had been a pioneer of organized philately in the United States as President of the National Philatelical Society (NPS) founded in 1874¹⁷¹. Other New Yorkers who joined the CPA at that time included Charles Broadwell Corwin (1852-1920), a businessman who was President of the NPS and an influential member of the APA¹⁷², German-born Nassau Street stamp dealer Henry Gremmel (1862-1897)¹⁷³, A. G. Bishop from the Brooklyn Philatelic Club, and George H. Watson who had one of the finest collections of post cards in the country¹⁷⁴. The CPA also recruited William B. Whitney from Upper State New York, who published the *American Philatelic Business Directory*¹⁷⁵; William H. Putnam, a stamp dealer in Maine; William H. Goodrich, President of the Fitchburg Philatelic Society in Massachusetts¹⁷⁶; Charles Beamish Jr. and Charles M. Breder from Pennsylvania; William Von Der Wettern, a stamp dealer in Baltimore; T. J. Mitchell who was Treasurer of the Chicago Philatelic Society and President of the Chalmers Society¹⁷⁷; along with stamp dealers William H. Nienstedt and Charles J. Fuelscher who were partners of the short-lived American Philatelic Company in St. Louis MO¹⁷⁸.

The paucity of enrollments was compounded by a significant loss of membership. During the first half of 1889, 18 members resigned from the CPA¹⁷⁹, including PEI Vice-President Brown, and two passed away, including Ontario Vice-President Walker who died of diabetes at age 32¹⁸⁰. The vacancies left by Brown and Walker were not filled, and Nova Scotia Vice-President Craig suggested that the Provincial Vice-Presidents were "of no real use or benefit to the Association¹⁸¹" and should be replaced by a single Vice-President starting in 1890. A case in point of the lack of use of Provincial VPs was the fact that New Brunswick Vice-President Harte was not involved in the creation of the New Brunswick Philatelic Association in January¹⁸². That association did not seek to become a branch of the national body, and among its officers, only

https://images.findagrave.com/photos/2018/108/152881144_1524179663.jpg

¹⁷⁰ See *supra*, p. 19-20.

¹⁷¹ Davidson, "APS: The First Century," 30.

¹⁷² C. Wegner, "Timeline for Charles Broadwell Corwin,"

¹⁷³ Alvin Fay Harlow, *Paper Chase. The Amenities of Stamp Collecting* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1940), 111.

¹⁷⁴ Harlow, *Paper Chase*, 57.

¹⁷⁵ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 6 (December 1887), back cover.

¹⁷⁶ The American Philatelist 2, 6 (March 1888), 138.

¹⁷⁷ The American Philatelist 2, 10 (July 1888), 234; 3, 4 (January 1889), 116.

¹⁷⁸ The Post Office 1, 11 (February 1892), 130.

¹⁷⁹ Leighton (3), Niesser (5), Harrison (7), Brown (27), Sheridan (29), Lowe (33), Bradt (47), Ledyard (56), Andrews (86), Williams (94), Casey (105), Townsend (107), Brill (110), Donohoe (113), Rogerson (120), Haskell (133), Reed (152), Mitchell (174).

¹⁸⁰ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 6 (June 1889), 75; The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 6 (June 1889), 5-6. The other departed member was Dr. E. E. Book, see *supra*, p. 10.

¹⁸¹ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 5 (May 1889), 68.

¹⁸² The Halifax Philatelist 3, 2 (February 1889), 30; The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 2 (February 1889), 3. Due to ill health, Harte interrupted his ministry and spent the winter in Montreal as a full-time stamp dealer. He later resumed his ministry in New England.

Secretary H. R. Donohoe belonged to the CPA, from which he resigned in March. Similarly, the Ontario Vice-President apparently took no part in the establishment of a branch society of the CPA in Barrie in March, with E. J. Rogerson as President and Exchange Manager and W. D. B. Spry as Secretary-Treasurer¹⁸³. Rogerson quickly arranged a prompt service with regard to exchange books with Superintendent Grenny, but he resigned from the CPA in July and the branch whittled away.

Another branch society was organized in Montreal in March¹⁸⁴, but the one branch that was fully functional was the 28-member strong Nova Scotia Philatelic Association. The NSPA held monthly meetings and regular auction sales, and was a full participant in the CPA exchange mechanism. As the 1889 CPA convention was to take place in Halifax, the NSPA was responsible for organizing and hosting the event, the date of which was set to July 31 in order to take advantage of the special travel facilities offered in connection with the city's summer carnival¹⁸⁵. In view of the convention, the NSPA proposed in June a ticket that reconducted Hechler for President, King for Secretary, Parker for Librarian and Hooper for Executive Committee Chairman, but surprisingly nominated Ketcheson for Official Editor and the *Dominion Philatelist* for official organ for 1890¹⁸⁶. The reason for this nomination was that the *Halifax Philatelist* was running into financial difficulty and its editors, who also played a leading role in the NSPA, were contemplating ceasing publication and eventually transferring the business to the Belleville journal, which only had good words for the Haligonian paper and association¹⁸⁷.

In June, the *Dominion Philatelist* issued its own ticket for the upcoming elections¹⁸⁸. The ticket was fairly balanced, with six nominees from Ontario (including Parker for Vice-President), four from Nova Scotia (including Craig for President and King for Secretary) and two from Quebec (including Cameron for Treasurer). Ketcheson stressed that Craig, King and Cameron were private collectors and not dealers, and thus could not be suspected to use their office to further their business. Interestingly, Hooper was nominated for Librarian instead of Chairman of the Executive Committee, which effectively removed him from any position of authority. Of course, Ketcheson nominated his journal for official organ for 1890, with the commitment that it would publish all official matter and correspondence of the CPA and be sent free to all members who would receive a 20% discount on advertising rates, all this in return for the same \$50 annual grant made to the *Halifax Philatelist* in 1889¹⁸⁹. By July, it was evident that the *Dominion Philatelist* would be elected by acclamation as official organ¹⁹⁰, a function which it assumed as soon as August since the Halifax journal effectively folded after the July number¹⁹¹. As the new official organ, the *Dominion Philatelist* published a lengthy report on the convention in August, followed by the official minutes of the proceedings in October¹⁹².

¹⁸³ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 3 (March 1889), 4; The Halifax Philatelist 3, 4 (April 1889), 51.

¹⁸⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 3 (March 1889), 3. See infra, p. 36.

¹⁸⁵ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 5 (May 1889), 67.

¹⁸⁶ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 6 (June 1889), 80.

¹⁸⁷ The *Halifax Philatelist* was praised as "a credit" to the CPA, while the growth of the NSPA was considered "marvellous to say the least". *The Dominion Philatelist*, 1, 1 (January 1889), 6.

¹⁸⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 6 (June 1889), 3.

¹⁸⁹ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 6 (June 1889), 4.

¹⁹⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 7 (July 1889), 4.

¹⁹¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 9 (September 1889), 4.

¹⁹² The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 8 (August 1889), 3 and 5-7; 1, 10 (October 1889), 1-6. The delay in publishing the official minutes was due to the illness of Secretary King.

The second annual convention of the CPA opened as scheduled on Wednesday July 31, at the YMCA Hall in Halifax. The three-day event was sparsely attended with only 12 members present, including nine from Nova Scotia (President Hechler, Vice-President Craig, Secretary King, Treasurer Hart, Executive Committee member Kaye, DeWolf, Jubien and the Larsen brothers) and three from Massachusetts (Emory, Goodrich and Stone). Four of the attendees held proxies for 40 members, which meant that only 52 members were represented at the meeting. This was enough to adopt the officers' reports and cast votes on such matters as the location of the next convention (Montreal was preferred to Niagara Falls), but less than the two-thirds of members required to amend the Constitution; it was therefore decided that the amendments proposed at the meeting would be printed in the official organ and submitted to a mail vote of members¹⁹³.

These constitutional amendments dealt with three issues. First, as had been suggested earlier, it was proposed to abolish the Provincial Vice-Presidents and replace them with a single Vice-President. Second, it was proposed that the term of the officers elected for 1890 be extended until the close of the convention in the summer of 1891 and that the subsequent boards step into work right after their election; the rationale was that it seemed "very absurd to elect a board of officers nearly six months before they take office 194." The third set of amendments concerned the Executive Committee. As we have seen, the somewhat ill-defined powers of the committee had led to controversy in the case of the Librarian appointment; another contentious issue had emerged in March when the committee proposed that only one person be accepted as member from each country outside Canada and the U.S. and serve as corresponding member of the CPA¹⁹⁵. This initiative was disapproved of by the convention, as contrary to the Constitution which set no limit to the number of members in any foreign country. To dispel any ambiguity as to the authority of the committee, the convention proposed that the terms "Executive Committee" and "Executive Board" be deleted, and that the three members in charge of discipline be known as Trustees while the four officers running the association (President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer) would be termed the Official Board; it was also reiterated that the only elected officers would be the Official Board members who would then appoint all other officers.

In anticipation of the acceptance of these changes, members had been sent ballots to elect these four officers for the 1890-91 term. In addition to the 52 members represented at the convention, only 25 returned their ballot, and the results were overwhelmingly in favour of Ketcheson's candidates:

President	A. J. Craig	52
	H. Hechler	21
	R. A. B. Hart	4
Vice-President	E. Y. Parker	71
	Others	5
Secretary	D. A. King	77
Treasurer	C. E. Cameron	76
	H. L. Hart	1

¹⁹³ This was printed in November: *The Dominion Philatelist*, 1, 11 (November 1889), 1-3.

¹⁹⁴ *The Dominion Philatelist*, 1, 9 (September 1889), 3.

¹⁹⁵ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 3 (March 1889), 36. Hooper took the inspiration from the Amsterdam Philatelic Society of which he was a corresponding member.

The convention also heard and accepted the financial reports of the Secretary and the Treasurer. For the first seven months of 1889, the receipts amounted to almost \$200 while the expenses were much lower, with the result that the balance on hand had gone up from \$24.10 to \$87.14. The Exchange Department kept its own accounting; Grenny reported expenses of slightly more than \$34 to run the exchange which business had largely increased since September 1888, with \$1053.46 worth of stamps removed from 72 returned books valued at \$3113.54, and with 20 more books worth \$1231.94 still in circulation. The only serious problem encountered by the department during the period was a case of stamp substitution in the exchange books; after a lengthy investigation, the culprit was found to be W. S. Kinzer from Ohio who was expelled from the CPA¹⁹⁶.

Back in May 1888, the Exchange Department had been asked to join the International Exchange of the Dresden Philatelic Society in Germany¹⁹⁷. Although the idea was well received, this association did not materialize, nor were the affiliations with foreign philatelic societies contemplated by President Hechler at the beginning of his term¹⁹⁸. A relationship was established, though, with the Amsterdam Philatelic Society whose international exhibition held in April 1889 was advertised in the Halifax Philatelist and attended by CPA member A. A. Bartlett¹⁹⁹. Several CPA members also visited the first major U. S. philatelic exhibition which took place in New York in 1889. Aspiring to emulate these models, the organizers of the convention planned to close the event with an exhibition that was open to the public in the afternoon of August 3²⁰⁰. Six attendees exhibited stamps worth at least \$1200. Chief among them was Craig with 20 cards containing Nova Scotia and New Brunswick complete and Canada almost complete, along with some fine sheets of old Mexico and California. King showed several sheets of very fine provincials and other British colonials, while Kaye's exhibit included a post paid Mauritius and four Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shillings. Stone and O. Larsen showed cards with stamps from every issuing country, and Goodrich displayed his complete collection of Guatemala. One thing that was not going to be featured in the exhibition was the stamps that Nicholas Seebeck, a German-born American stamp dealer, was beginning to print for some Central American countries under a contract providing that the stamps would only be valid for one year and that the unsold stamps would be returned to him for sale to collectors and he would be allowed to reprint them at will²⁰¹. This new practice was denounced by the CPA convention, which did not prevent Seebeck from flooding the market with his stamps during the following decade.

On Saturday August 4, the visiting convention attendees were treated to a steam launch excursion down Halifax harbour and around the Northwest Arm inlet. Along with their Nova Scotia peers, they enjoyed the outing which lasted the whole afternoon with plenty of fruits, beer, lemonade and an elegant lunch. A photograph of the party was taken by President

¹⁹⁶ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 6 (June 1889), 78-80.

¹⁹⁷ The Toronto Philatelic Journal 2, 11 (May 1888), 56.

¹⁹⁸ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 1 (January 1889), 10.

¹⁹⁹ The Halifax Philatelist 3, 2 (February 1889), 24-25; 3,5 (May 1889), 64.

²⁰⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 8 (August 1889), 7-8.

²⁰¹ On Seebeck, see Danilo Augusto Mueses, *Seebeck: Hero or Villain*, 2nd Ed. (Troy OH: Mirific Editions, 2018).

Hechler, and the Halifax members "regaled their guests with splendid singing upon the homeward trip²⁰²".

The convention had proved a definite success for Ketcheson, who secured a firm grip on the CPA in Ontario together with his Vice-Presidential candidate Parker. Ironically, both men had been criticized at the convention for their respective ineffectiveness as Purchasing Agent and Librarian. In fact, Parker resigned as Librarian in October and Hooper was appointed to succeed him by President Hechler, following what had been suggested in Ketcheson's ticket. Hooper began forthwith to arrange and catalogue the library to which only eight members had contributed until then²⁰³. In the November issue of the official organ, he published a list of the documents kept in the library; this included catalogues (Scott, Bogert, Vedel, Grenny, Stanton and Hooper's Canadian Revenue Catalogue, Ketcheson's Catalogue of Canada Stamps), philatelic directories (Morell for Canada and Stanton for the U.S.), along with incomplete series of some 70 Canadian, American and European philatelic journals. Members were urged to complete these series, and also to send their photos which would be displayed at the next convention²⁰⁴. The member in charge of the photo project was V. H. Young from Montreal, who also made a substantial donation of 43 pieces to the library, along with E. F. Wurtele (128 pieces), A. Lane (20 pieces) and Hooper himself (10 pieces)²⁰⁵.

On top of running the library, Hooper was an enthusiastic user of the exchange service, through which he had been able to enrich his collection by about \$90, and he warmly congratulated Grenny for his able management of this department²⁰⁶. Indeed, Grenny reported that, for the last four months of 1889, he had received 260 filled sheets valued \$1388 and circulated 442 sheets valued \$2455 among 24 members of the Halifax and Montreal branches and 25 individual members in the United States²⁰⁷.

For his part, Secretary King was seeking new members. Starting in September, he ran a full-page recruitment ad that was featured in the inside front cover of the official organ:

The Canadian Philatelic Association is now firmly established and most of its departments are in first-class working order.

Any stamp collector may become a member of this Association by applying to the Secretary; such application shall be signed by at leat two members of the Association, and shall be accompanied by the sum of \$1.00, to be credited on account of annual dues if the applicant is admitted, and to be returned if admission be refused. The Secretary shall thereupon cause the name and address of the applicant and his reference to be published in the next number of the Official Journal, and if no objection shall be received by the Secretary within one month of such publication, the applicant shall be considered elected, and entitled to receive the membership card of the Association.

²⁰² The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 9 (September 1889), 6.

²⁰³ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 10 (October 1889), 7 and 9.

²⁰⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 11 (November 1889), 4-6.

²⁰⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 1, 12 (December 1889), 4.

²⁰⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 1 (January 1890), 6-7.

²⁰⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 1 (January 1890), 4.

If you would like to get acquainted with the foremost collectors and dealers join the C.P.A.

If you would like to see forgeries abolished and swindlers put down join the C.P.A. and lend your assistance.

If you would like to dispose of your duplicated to good advantage and get stamps you want in return, join the C.P.A., and patronize the Exchange Department.

These efforts met but with little success, and King kept lamenting month after month about the small number of applications and the trouble he had in getting members to renew thir dues. Between August and December 1889, only 14 new members joined the CPA, including 8 from Canada and 6 from the United States. Five recruits came from Ontario: William Henry Brouse (1859-1925), a lawyer from Toronto who was the son of a Canadian Senator and the owner of an advanced collection including four Canada 12 pence stamps²⁰⁸; Charles J. Musson from Islington; J. S. Robertson, a lawyer from St. Thomas; along with Drs. Thomas W. Reynolds and Thomas Joseph Workman Burgess (1849-1926), two physicians working at the Hamilton Asylum for the Insane. In 1890, Burgess moved to Montreal to become superintendent of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane²⁰⁹. Montreal was also home to two new CPA members: Charles Reynolds who worked as an accountant, and John Henry Chapman (1863-1927), owner of a medical and dental equipment business, who became manager of the CPA's 6-member branch in the city²¹⁰. Finally, the CPA welcomed William R. Graham from Nova Scotia.

On the American side, the best known recruit was APA's Exchange Superintendent Edward Boker Sterling (1851-1925), a stamp dealer from Trenton NJ who published the first descriptive price catalogue of U. S. revenue stamps²¹¹. The others were Duncan S. Wylie, a stamp dealer from New York; S. R. Sircom and Edwin A. Durgin from Boston, where Durgin edited a short-lived journal called the *Philatelic Nonpareil*²¹²; and John W. Allen and Philip H. Dilg from Chicago. In addition, a former CPA member, Percival Parrish from Rhode Island, was readmitted to the association with a different member number.

On the other hand, four members resigned from the CPA during the period²¹³, and it was found that Thomas J. Barker had been recorded as member #182 although he did not qualify²¹⁴, with the result that, based on the data provided in the monthy Secretary reports, the association would have been 169-member strong by the end of 1889. However, 20 members left the organization without their withdrawal being recorded in the official organ²¹⁵. Thus, the actual membership was 149 when Craig succeeded Hechler as President on January 1st, 1890.

²⁰⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 9 (September 1892), 116.

²⁰⁹ Guy Grenier, "Burgess, Thomas Joseph Workman," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 15, 2005.

²¹⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 1 (January 1890), 4.

²¹¹ Stanley M. Bierman, "E. B. Sterling: the pioneer fiscalist," *The American Revenuer* 40, 3 (March 1986): 42-45

²¹² Bacon, *Catalogue*, col. 698.

²¹³ McRae (6), Warren (46) who later rejoined the association, Gadsden (48) and Francis (163).

²¹⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 1 (January 1890), 3.

²¹⁵ Findlay (51), Liebetrau (52), Davidson (54), Barnes (65), Johnson (75), Spry (76), Cox (87), Stadie (91), J. A. Craig (95), Gardiner (102), J. Ineson (106), Gottorf (121), Brande (130), Biggar (142), Gowan (145), Nellis (157), Culross (158), Tobin (164), Hamilton (169), and Goodrich (185).

IV. THE CRAIG PRESIDENCY (JANUARY 1890-AUGUST 1891)

The handover of authority at year's start was a smooth one, as Craig had been acting President for the past three months during the absence of Hechler in Europe. In his greeting to the members²¹⁶, the incoming President announced that the member vote on the amended Constitution would take place at an early date; in fact, the ballots were mailed in February and the Constitution was adopted by 68 votes to none in March²¹⁷. Craig also announced that the 1890 convention in Montreal would be held in August, at one week's distance from the APA annual meeting in New York to accommodate members wishing to attend both events.

The first task at hand for the new Official Board was to appoint the other officers for the 18-month term. Grenny and Hooper were reconducted in their functions, while the appointed Trustees were A. A. Bartlett from PEI, J. N. Crane from Halifax and J. H. Chapman from Montreal. The offices of Purchasing Agent and Counterfeit detector were not filled, in an acknowledgement that these departments had never lifted off the ground. As a result, the CPA was governed by the following group of officers:

President A. J. Craig
Vice-President E. Y. Parker
Secretary D. A. King
Treasurer C. E. Cameron
Exchange Superintendent F. J. Grenny
Librarian J. R. Hooper

Trustees A. A. Bartlett (Chairman)

J. N. Crane J. H. Chapman

The seven months leading up to the Montreal convention were rather uneventful. The library received a new impetus under the energetic leadership of Hooper, who dutifully published monthly reports recording the number of pieces received from each donor.

Membership was the sour point of the period, as only 21 new members joined the CPA between January and July 1890, including 9 Canadians and 12 Americans. Among the Canadian recruits, four came from Ontario, including Henry Francis Mooers, the son of a Kingston businessman²¹⁸; four others came from Nova Scotia, including Rev. J. Crouzier, a French Roman Catholic priest who came to Canada in 1866 to minister the Acadian population of Tusket Wedge²¹⁹; finally, in Quebec, Alfred Lionais (1854-1931) was a French Canadian business paper editor in Montreal. On the American side, two of the new members were known figures in philatelic circles: F. J. Stanton from Smyrna NY who edited the *Philatelic Tribune* and co-authored Hooper's catalogue of Canadian revenue stamps, and Lincoln Rappleye (1865-1941) from Trumansburg NY

²¹⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 1 (January 1890), 2-3.

²¹⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 3 (March 1890), 21.

²¹⁸ The others were W. L. Grant from Kingston, R. K. Sprowle from Toronto and Thomas Oliver Pardoe from Ingersoll.

²¹⁹ The others were Ingram C. Margeson from Waterville, Charles D. Macdonald from Pictou and J. D. McCarthy from Amherst.

who published the *Empire State Stamp Journal*²²⁰. There were five more recruits from New York State²²¹ and five from the rest of the country²²².

Over the same period, 11 members resigned from the CPA²²³, and in May, the Secretary carried out his long-standing threat to expel those members who were in arrears for dues and had not paid up, which led to the removal of 36 names from the rolls²²⁴. As a result, the membership list published in connection with the convention contained only 123 names as at July 1890, including 64 Canadians, 57 Americans and 2 Britons (Hollick in England and Taylor in Burma)²²⁵.

The two-day third annual convention of the CPA opened on Tuesday August 12, in a building located at the corner of McGill College Avenue and St. Catherine Street in Montreal²²⁶. Like the previous year, the event was sparsely attended with only 11 members present, including six from the host city (Treasurer Cameron, Trustee Chapman, R. A. B. Hart, Schultze, Labelle and Sicotte), three from Ontario (Hooper, Ketcheson and Robertson), H. L. Hart from Nova Scotia and C. Beamish from the United States. Six of the attendees held proxies for 33 members, which meant that only 44 members were represented at the meeting. In the absence of the President, Vice-President and Secretary, excused for private reasons, the proceedings were chaired by Dr. Cameron, who "made a model presiding officer" and ensured that "there was no time lost with useless speechmaking and personal attacks".

As Treasurer, Cameron read his report showing a balance of \$9.66 at hand; an additional balance of \$52.91 was in the hands of the Secretary, for a total of \$62.57 which was down \$24.57 from a year earlier. The convention expressed surprise and displeasure at the amount held by the Secretary, and recommended that the collection of dues be henceforth handled by the Treasurer as provided in the Constitution. This criticism elicited a response from Secretary King who wrote on September 10 that he had collected dues at the request of the President to save the Treasurer as much work as possible, and that he had since sent the bulk of the amount on hand to the Treasurer²²⁷.

²²⁰ Bacon, *Catalogue*, cols. 363 and 541.

²²¹ W. H. Bratt and William Kleine from New York City, John A. Sheridan from Brooklyn, I. D. Willett from Flushing and Milo C. Reynolds from Eagle Bridge.

²²² C. Van Deusen from Massachusetts, Frederick Northrup from New Jersey, Thomas C. Howley from Minnesota, W. T. Parrish from Missouri and Frederick Noyes from Texas.

²²³ Carter (13), A. E. Smith (77), Davison (82), Coleman (90), Harvie (124), McCalla (125), Aldrich (134), Wickens (154), Bishop (171), Nienstedt (176) and Putnam (179).

²²⁴ J. H. Todd (8), H. A. Simpson (12), Creed (19), Woodworth (26), E. F. Smith (30), Caron (31), Palma (32), Voute (40), Wohlfahrt (41), Caldwell (59), W. E. Simpson (60), McMinn (66), Mason (70), Shannon (71), Curry (78), Lea (83), Meek (88), Graydon (89), Fletcher (92), von Utassy (99), Needham (108), Babb (111), J. C. Feldwisch (112), Bacon (115), Bixby (117), Retallick (132), F. W. Feldwisch (135), Kingston (144), Scott (146), Montgomery (147), A. R. Todd (166), Dunsford (167), Crosby (168), R. U. Young (173), Fuelscher (177) and Calder (178).

²²⁵ Constitution, By-laws and List of Members of the Canadian Philatelic Association (Halifax: Nova Scotia Printing Co., 1890), 17-22.

²²⁶ The official minutes and various reports of the convention were published in *The Dominion Philatelist*, 2, 8 (August 1890), 60-69.

²²⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 9 (September 1890), 74.

The convention also reviewed the Exchange Department report for the period from September 1889 to July 1890. As Superintendent, Grenny reported expenses of \$47.23 to run the exchange, with \$1121.00 worth of stamps removed from 80 returned books out of the 88 books valued \$5366.00 put in circulation. He complained about "the delay caused by some members who have balances against them and seem to have no idea of paying them", which "makes it impossible to pay all creditors promptly", with the result that many of them "have withdrawn their support while others have threatened to do so²²⁸". In an attempt to solve the problem, the convention decided that the Exchange Superintendent would send a quarterly account statement to those indebted who would have 15 days to settle, failing which he would have the power to dispose of the stamps; the convention also asked that "members having more to their credit than the amount of stamps taken not to be called for payment".

The convention then heard the Librarian report. Hooper indicated that the number of pieces (books, catalogues, journals, photographs) held by the Library had increased from 306 to 2012 under his tenure. He commended the 30 individuals and organizations who had contributed documents, which special mentions to G. H. Watson from New Jersey (579 pieces) and E. F. Wurtele from Quebec (205 pieces). He also thanked the publishers of six American philatelic journals who regularly sent a copy of their papers to the Library.

The delegates finally dealt with two matters arising from the previous years' discussions. First, they unanimously adopted a resolution moved by Hooper "that this Convention having had the question of Chalmers claims to the invention of the adhesive postage stamp before it for the past two years, does not believe that any evidence has been brought forward which warrants an expression of opinion from the C.P.A.²²⁹" on this "worn out subject²³⁰". Second, they once again expressed the desire to secure affiliations with organizations outside North America such as the Dresden Exchange. To this end, they proposed the appointment of an International Secretary and Foreign Exchange Superintendent on the model of the APA, and nominated Schultze for this position because of his international business and diplomatic contacts; as this required a constitutional amendment, it was decided that this proposal would be printed in the official organ and submitted to a mail vote of members.

After selecting Ketcheson's home town of Belleville as the place of the next convention to be held in August 1891, the meeting adjourned Wednesday afternoon, and the delegates were invited to a social evening hosted by the Montreal Philatelic Society²³¹ and organized by Labelle at the headquarters of the 65th Battalion in which he held the rank of Major. This gathering featured an exhibition of the collections of Chapman and H. L. Hart, along with an auction sale by Ketcheson who had advertised it in the July issue of the *Dominion Philatelist*²³² and during the APA convention which he had attended earlier in August; the sale was termed a "decided success", with an item such as a Nova Scotia shilling stamp fetching \$21.00. The evening concluded with a banquet during which Mr. Smith, from the Montreal Philatelic Society, applied for membership in the CPA and was duly initiated on the spot.

²²⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 8 (August 1890), 62.

²²⁹ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 8 (August 1890), 66.

²³⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 7 (July 1890), 54.

²³¹ The Montreal branch of the CPA created in March 1889. It remained in existence until 1914.

²³² The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 8 (July 1890), Advertisements, 3-7.

After drinking to the health of Dr. Cameron and the CPA, the delegates separated around midnight and those from out of town returned to the recently built Hotel Balmoral where they were staying. The following day, they were treated to a sightseeing tour of the city's attractions, including Mount Royal, the Museum of Fine Arts and Sohmer Amusement Park. They left Montreal with a sense of optimism regarding the future of the Association. Little did they imagine that when they would meet a year later, the CPA would be on the brink of collapse.

The first signs of dysfunctioning appeared in the wake of the convention, as the Secretary did not follow through on the decisions made at the meeting. The proposed constitutional amendment on the appointment of a Foreign Exchange Superintendent was never published or voted upon, and the name of Mr. Smith from the Montreal Philatelic Society was never entered on the membership roll. Moreover, the Librarian and the Secretary were the only officers who published regular reports in the official organ during the 12 months following the Montreal meeting and, in the case of the Secretary, these reports were far from encouraging.

Already in July, King had warned that with more resignations than admissions, the CPA would "soon die for lack of support²³³". Between August and December, only 2 Canadians and 7 Americans joined the CPA. In Canada, the recruits were Walter McMahon from Toronto and Edward Harry Douglas Hall (1851-1939), a prominent lawyer and businessman from Peterborough ON. In the United States, the new members were Edwin B. Todd (1854-1902), a New Brunswick-born resident of Calais ME who had begun collecting stamps at age 15²³⁴; Charles Haviland Mekeel (1861-1921) from St. Louis MO, stamp dealer since 1877 and publisher of the *Philatelic Journal of America*²³⁵; William C. Mayo, a clerk at the Department of State in Washington; F. G. Johnson from Painesville OH; along with August DeJonge, Henry Clotz and Rudolf F. Albrecht, three German-Americans who were respectively President, Treasurer and Exchange Superintendent of the Staten Island Philatelic Society in New York²³⁶.

Although they were quality philatelists, these newcomers were far too few to offset the loss of members who failed to renew their dues and forced the Secretary to proceed with a second round of deletions from the rolls in December²³⁷. This time, 29 delinquent members were dropped²³⁸. Only two of them were reinstated (G. E. Pryor and H. C. Moody), while a third one, A. E. Jubien, wrote that he should not have been included in that group since he had resigned in good standing in June²³⁹. In the end, the CPA was left with 105 members at the close of 1890.

The situation did not improve with the new year. During the seven months leading up to the Belleville convention, only 7 new members joined the CPA: Montefiore Joseph (1851-1943), who

²³³ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 7 (July 1890), 52.

²³⁴ Calvet M. Hahn, *Intertwining of Philatelic and Social History* (New York: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 2000).

²³⁵ The APS Hall of Fame. American Philatelic Society, 2018, https://classic.stamps.org/Hall-of-Fame

²³⁶ The American Philatelist 6, 10 (October 1892), 168.

²³⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 12 (December 1890), 100.

²³⁸ Harte (10), French (14), Mathers (25), E. A. Smith (34), McNeal (43), Dent (49), Miner (55), Gass (68), Aldrich (72), Emory (79), Eldredge (97), Watson (109), Morton (120), Holley (122), Morell (136), W. A. D. Smith (143), Lane (148), Pryor (150), Moody (161), Hirschfeld (162), Parnal (188), V. H. Young (189), Nicholson (192), Brimer (194), Kay (195), Jubien (197), Musson (200), Dilg (201), Graham (204), Allen (205), Robertson (206).

²³⁹ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 12 (December 1890), 101.

was a leading member of Quebec City's Jewish community, C. M. Taylor from Winnipeg, W. J. English from Peterborough, R. M. Spencer from Nordhoff CA, A. P. Chandler from Fargo ND, along with Thomas Dorman from Halifax and Charles Guinand Blackader (1869-1921), a British Lieutenant in the Leicestershire Regiment who was stationed at Halifax from 1890 to 1893²⁴⁰. Over the same period, nine members resigned from the CPA including Trustee Chapman²⁴¹, and seven more left the organization without their departure being recorded in the official organ²⁴². As a result, the CPA was merely 96-member strong when the convention opened in August.

This constant drain on membership thwarted every effort to carry through significant projects. For example, Victor H. Young from Montreal, who had been entrusted with collecting photos of CPA members²⁴³, ran into financial hardship, left the city and was expelled for non-payment of dues in December 1890. In January, Hooper was asking for his address as he had not returned some photos borrowed from the library, while another member was wondering what had become of the picture he had sent him²⁴⁴. The answer came from Chicago, where P. M. Wolsieffer indicated that the photos were now in his care and that he would assess the feasibility of producing a group picture; as it turned out, only four members were willing to contribute to the costs of this project, and the photos were returned to their senders and the library in May²⁴⁵. By August, Wolsieffer himself had left the ranks of the CPA.

The CPA officials recognized that the association was "passing through a period of great depression", and their initial reaction was to lay the blame on some members. In the words of Ketcheson:

The difficulty has been caused chiefly by inexperienced collectors with a few hundred very common duplicates. They join the Association with the impression that through the exchange department they would be able to dispose of their cheap duplicates at full catalogue prices, and at the same time get rare stamps at 50 per cent, below catalogue prices in exchange. They have been placed on circuits, books have been sent them by the Superintendent, they have bought liberally, expecting to pay for same by stamps sold off their sheets, but when six months is past and the Superintendent returns their sheets, together with a statement that they owe the exchange department a large cash balance, they get angry and say the Association is a fraud and the exchange Superintendent a robber, and the whole thing a big swindle. The fact is they themselves are to blame²⁴⁶.

Similarly, Grenny proposed the following explanation for the "great falling off" of the CPA:

At the beginning nearly all the members were advanced collectors in want of good stamps only. During the four years since organization of the C. P. A. nearly all of the best collectors have sold out their collections or ceased collecting. Of those

²⁴⁰ "Charles Blackader," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Blackader

²⁴¹ The others were T. Larsen (23), Stone (123), McLean (175), Von Der Wettern (181), Van Deusen (224), Grant (227), Lionais (233), English (246).

²⁴² O. Larsen (20), DeWolf (21), Wolsieffer (42), Read (100), Fraser (184), Sprowle (218), Mayo (237).

²⁴³ See *supra*, p. 32.

²⁴⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 1 (January 1891), 3 and 7.

²⁴⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 2 (February 1891), 15; 3, 3 (March 1891), 4; 3,5 (May 1891), 6.

²⁴⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 1 (January 1891), 6.

remaining the majority were dealers or sellers in it only for what might be had in cash from the sale of their stamps²⁴⁷.

However, for the first time since the creation of the association, voices critical of Grenny's management of the Exchange Department started to be heard. In December 1890, T. S. Clark complained that he had been unable to collect a balance of \$12 owed to him since July:

For aught I know the Manager may be in Timbuctoo or in heathen China, as he seems to make it a point never to answer an application for money. [...] I notice that the blame is always placed dupon the delinquent members of the society who do not pay up. It seems to me that the least the Manager of the Department can do is to show a little courtesy to the members who help him to increase his collection of stamps or the contents of his pocket, according to his own inclination²⁴⁸.

All hell broke loose in March, with an incendiary letter from young Paul Sicotte, who took exception at being called to payment by Grenny while he was owed a larger sum by the Exchange, contrary to what had been suggested at the Montreal convention:

The Canadian Philatelic Society is dying through its own fault. Every number of your newspaper contains numerous resignations and expulsions and with but few new members joining. What is the cause of all this? The answer is very simple. All the members of the Society admit that there is only *one* advantage in belonging to it, as owing to their residence being in different parts of the Dominion and the United States they are unable to meet weekly or monthly for the purpose of exchanging ideas, and discussing their interests. The only advantage then, is, the Exchange in connection with the Society which unfortunately is not conducted properly. The stamps which are sent for circulation among the members are unheard of for months together and are not even acknowledged by its Exchange Superintendent. Even when there is a return and a sum to one's credit there is great difficulty in getting paid. Nevertheless the Superintendent of the Exchange is very careful to exact all sums due, even when there is something due us²⁴⁹.

This criticism elicited a furious response from the President himself. Breaking his usual silence, Craig pointed out that all philatelic societies had similar difficulties with their exchange mechanisms. He went on denouncing the "unbounded impudence and ignorance" of Sicotte, likening him to those members "who imagine that the society is run for their express benefit and lives only by their favor". Apparently relying on what he had been told by Grenny, he even suggested that the stamps placed on circuit by Sicotte were "a brilliant array of forgeries, reprints and trash which only a fraud or a fool would keep in his possession or offer for sale²⁵⁰."

The three following months saw Sicotte, Craig and Grenny engaging in a bitter exchange of open letters, filled with claims and counterclaims about the genuineness of some Mexican stamps included in Sicotte's exchange sheets, the appropriateness of Grenny serving himself first on the stamps sent by members, or the effectiveness of Craig leadership²⁵¹. In June, Sicotte's friends

²⁴⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 9 (September 1891), 4.

²⁴⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 2, 12 (December 1890), 101.

²⁴⁹ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 3 (March 1891), 3.

²⁵⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 4 (April 1891), 6.

²⁵¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 5 (May 1891), 7-8; 3, 6 (June 1891), 6-9; 3, 7 (July 1891), 8-9.

from Montreal joined the debate: Labelle blamed the President for having made public accusations against a member instead of referring the matter to the Trustees in accordance with the by-laws, while Schultze took a middle ground and traced the problem to the workings of the CPA, with the President not running the association, the Exchange Superintendent trying to run it, and the Trustees not trying²⁵².

By then, it was known that the President, Vice-President, Secretary and Trustees would not seek reelection, and that Grenny did not wish to continue in his functions. As Hooper had made it clear that he did not want to be renominated as Librarian²⁵³, voices were raised asking for his return to a leadership role, as the person best positioned to salvage the organization. In April, Wolsieffer nominated him for President, considering that he had "occupied but a minor position" for the originator and best known member of the CPA and that he would work to prevent membership from decreasing "until there is no one left²⁵⁴." At the same time, Wurtele nominated Hooper for Exchange Superintendent. Without completely closing the door to becoming President should "the office seek him", Hooper enthusiastically accepted the nomination as Exchange Superintendent and laid out a blueprint of how the department would work under his direction, with separate structures for exchangers and sellers²⁵⁵.

The prospect of Hooper coming off the sidelines was not to everyone's liking. Treasurer Cameron reminded members that under the Constitution, the Exchange Superintendent was not elected, but rather appointed by the Official Board; Cameron also opposed Hooper's suggestion to lower the annual dues from \$2.00 to \$1.00 in order to attract more members²⁵⁶. For his part, Ketcheson undertook in May to ward off a Hooper presidency by issuing a ticket for the upcoming elections, with Cameron for President, H. L. Harte for Vice-President, T. S. Clark for Secretary, F. Burnett for Treasurer, along with E. F. Wurtele, C. C. Morency and M. Joseph for Trustees²⁵⁷. The latter three were all residents of Quebec City, in keeping with the wish expressed by several members that the Trustees be elected from and live in the same city in order to be able to meet in person as often as necessary, instead of seeing their duties "begin and end with their election to office²⁵⁸."

In June, Hooper reacted to Ketcheson's ticket by arguing that, as a "subsidized organ", the *Dominion Philatelist* had no right to tell the members who to vote for, to which Ketcheson replied that he was doing a favour to the CPA by publishing its reports for half the sum charged to advertisers. Ketcheson added that he had proposed 9 of the 14 members recruited during the past year, against none for Hooper²⁵⁹. The wrangling continued in July, with Hooper stating that he had recruited several prospective members whose applications had never been acknowledged by the Secretary²⁶⁰. The table seemed set for a showdown between the old rivals on the convention floor, but the expected confrontation failed to materialize as Hooper did not attend the meeting.

²⁵² The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 6 (June 1891), 6-11.

²⁵³ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 5 (May 1891), 4.

²⁵⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 5 (May 1891), 6.

²⁵⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 5 (May 1891), 9.

²⁵⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 6 (June 1891), 7.

²⁵⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 5 (May 1891), 4.

²⁵⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 4 (April 1891), 3.

²⁵⁹ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 6 (June 1891), 5.

²⁶⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 7 (July 1891), 7.

The fourth annual convention of the Canadian Philatelic Association was held in the office of Ketcheson at Belleville on August 25-27, 1891. A clear sign that the CPA had reached its nadir, only 57 of the 96 members had paid up their dues and were entitled to vote, and only 48 of these were represented at the meeting, either in person (Treasurer Cameron from Montreal, Ketcheson and his fellow Belleville resident T. S. Clark, and Walter McMahon from Toronto) or by proxy; 42 proxies were held by Cameron and the remaining 2 by Ketcheson²⁶¹.

Being the only officer present, Dr. Cameron chaired the meeting, as he had done in Montreal. He read a telegram from President Craig wishing the participants a successful and pleasant convention. He then presented his Treasurer report showing a balance on hand of \$22.56, down \$40.01 from a year earlier. The four delegates also read the final reports sent in by the outgoing Librarian and Exchange Superintendent. Hooper reported that the number of pieces held in the library had increased from 2,012 to 3,128 since the last convention; he commended again G. H. Watson and E. F. Wurtele for their exceptional contributions, and reiterated that the library would be more useful if it were moved from Ottawa to a city with an active branch society.

For his part, Grenny reported that during the last 12 months, he had put in circulation 50 exchange books valued \$1876.56 contributed by 24 members, out of which \$300.42 worth of stamps were removed. Pointing out that this was much less than the 88 books circulated during the previous period, he deplored that his department "which was once so flourishing, has this last year dwindled down to so great an extent." Grenny appended to his report a provisional statement of assets and liabilities, specifying that he could not yet provide a final balance of his accounts, as he had to wait for the return of 9 books that the Halifax branch had retained for six months and just put back on circuit. The delegates decided that this statement would be "commented on in the near future". If fact, as we will see, the settlement of Grenny's account was going to be a thorn in the side of the CPA for many months to come.

The next item on the agenda of the convention was the election of officers. According to the Constitution, the Trustees should have called for nominations and sent ballots to the members; however, Trustee Chapman had not been replaced and his two remaing colleagues had neglected their duties, with the result that the four delegates suspended the constitutional provisions governing the election and proceeded with electing the officers in open convention and by ballot, with the following results:

President C. E. Cameron, Montreal Vice-President H. L. Hart, Halifax Secretary-Treasurer T. S. Clark, Belleville

Trustees E. F. Wurtele (Chairman), Quebec City

C. C. Morency, Quebec City M. Joseph, Quebec City

This newly elected board was similar to Ketcheson's ticket, except that Burnett was dropped in favour of combining the functions of Secretary and Treasurer under Clark. The merger of these two positions was one of the constitutional amendments proposed at the convention; other

²⁶¹ The minutes of the convention were published in *The Dominion Philatelist*, 3, 9 (September 1891), 2-8.

changes included raising the minimum age for admission to 18, opening voting membership to collectors from all countries, and providing that all officers (President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer, Librarian, Exchange Superintendent, Counterfeit Detector and three Trustees) would be elected by the members starting with the next term. As more than two thirds of the 57 members in good standing were represented at the convention, the four attendees adopted the revised Constitution. Finally, having learned that the APA convention would take place in August 1892 on the U. S. side of Niagara Falls, they decided that the next CPA convention would be held immediately after on the Canadian side of the border.

The closing of the convention marked the end of A. J. Craig's 20-month tenure as CPA President. After an auspicious start, his term in office had witnessed a steady decline of the association, particularly during the last year. Membership had dwindled, finance were shrinking, and the Exchange Department was withering. Economic conditions may have played a role in this downturn. After the renewed prosperity of the late 1880s, which had been conducive to the development of organized philately, the North Atlantic economy experienced a new bout of recession in 1890. This may explain in part why many advanced philatelists sold out their collection or ceased collecting, as witnessed by Grenny²⁶². For example, CPA Past President Hechler from Halifax put his collection for sale in New York in January 1891²⁶³. Indeed, the once thriving Halifax branch of the CPA was but a shadow of itself, and the national officers from Nova Scotia appeared incapable of efficiently performing their duties. Irrespective of the economy, it may be that running a Canada-wide association from the Maritimes was too daunting a task given the limited transportation and communication means of the time. This could be the reason why the Nova Scotia member of the new Official Board was given the largely ceremonial position of Vice-President, while effective leadership of the CPA was transferred to Central Canada.

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²⁶² See *supra*, p. 38.

²⁶³ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 2 (February 1891), 18.

V. THE CAMERON PRESIDENCY (AUGUST 1891-AUGUST 1892)

Upon taking office, the newly elected CPA Official Board set out in earnest to revitalize the organization. President Cameron acknowledged that the former officers had allowed the association to drift along "so well that the grave was not far off" and commented that a more centralized administration would provide for better management²⁶⁴. Secretary-Treasurer Clark asked "all those who are inclined to lose their interest in the C.P.A. to renew their subscriptions once more, and see if it will not pay them to continue members" and invited those who had resigned "to come in with us again and help us take the place which we ought to hold among Philatelic Societies²⁶⁵." For his part, Vice-President Hart attempted to reorganize the Halifax branch with the assistance of past Secretary King²⁶⁶.

The first task at hand for the board was to fill the three appointed officer positions, two of which were entrusted to Montrealers: Labelle was appointed Librarian, while the revived function of Counterfeit Detector was conferred to Lachlan Gibb (1853-1922), president of a long-established family business of merchant tailors²⁶⁷. Born in England, Gibb was a member of the prestigious London Philatelic Society; he had attended the 1890 CPA convention as a guest, but only joined the association upon being selected as an officer. Those appointments were well received and uncontroversial, but the third nomination was to have momentous consequences for the future of organized philately in Canada, as Ketcheson was preferred to Hooper for Exchange Superintendent.

Writing in a U.S. philatelic journal in September, an infuriated Hooper accused Cameron and Ketcheson of having illegally "traded an honorable gift of the Society" by colluding to appoint each other to their respective positions. With the same energy he had displayed in 1887, he embarked on a vigorous letter-writing campaign to create a new national philatelic society aimed at replacing the CPA. His efforts proved extremely successful and, within a month or so, he had set up the Philatelic Society of Canada (PSC), complete with a board of officers, an official organ and branches across the country, starting with his own newly established Ottawa Philatelic Society²⁶⁸.

It has been suggested that Hooper may have wanted to become the CPA Exchange Superintendent so that position would not be held by a stamp dealer²⁶⁹. When his name was first circulated for the position, Hooper had indeed stated that he could not "see how a dealer can run a society exchange department properly²⁷⁰", but he may in part have used this argument to prop up his candidacy as a non-dealer, since he had never raised the issue while dealer Grenny held the office. Similarly, Hooper was adamant that his new association would

²⁶⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 10 (October 1891), 5.

²⁶⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 9 (September 1891), 9.

²⁶⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 10 (October 1891), 12.

²⁶⁷ Gibb Family Fonds, McCord Museum, Montreal, http://collections.musee-

mccord.qc.ca/scripts/explore.php?Lang=1&tableid=18&tablename=fond&elementid=32 true

²⁶⁸ Canada's oldest philatelic club still in existence today. https://www.ottawaphilatelicsociety.org/

²⁶⁹ Mitchener, "A Centenary," 299.

²⁷⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 5 (May 1891), 10.

not be controlled by dealers and would benefit collectors. However, his first move was to associate himself with Lawrence Merner Staebler, a stamp dealer from London ON who became Secretary-Treasurer of the PSC and was the editor of the *Canadian Philatelist*, a journal launched in August 1891 and selected as official organ of the new society in October. Moreover, Hooper boasted that "in our ranks are several reliable dealers, some of them the first and foremost in North America²⁷¹" and at least three of them were found among the officers of the new association. Conversely, with officers like Cameron, Gibb and Wurtele, it could hardly be argued that the CPA was totally "controlled by dealers". Therefore, the creation of the PSC can also be viewed as the culmination of a personality conflict between the two leading figures of organized philately in Ontario; evicted from the CPA leadership by Ketcheson, Hooper marshalled the support of one of his rival's competitors to take the helm of a Canadian philatelic society, something illness had prevented him from doing back in 1887.

The expansion of the PSC was nothing short of meteoric, with membership rising to 73 in October, 155 in November and 211 in December²⁷². There was a very simple reason for this rapid growth, which in Hooper's terms "startled the philatelic world" and "astounded other societies²⁷³": annual dues were set at \$0.25 compared to \$2.00 for the CPA²⁷⁴. In fact, the PSC was following the model of the Sons of Philatelia, an American association founded in 1890 to provide rank-and-file collectors with an affordable alternative to the APA, in response to the democratization of the hobby²⁷⁵. It is no coincidence that the *Canadian Philatelist* reported that the Sons of Philatelia was "progressing finely" while the APA had a "miserable showing" and risked "dwindling down to a mere nothing²⁷⁶."

To boost the ranks of his society, Hooper made various attempts at recruiting members of the CPA. For example, on September 1st, he invited Wurtele to join what he somewhat disingenuously called an exchange society; Wurtele answered favourably, but withdrew his consent when he learned that the new organization was in direct opposition to the CPA²⁷⁷. Then, on September 15, Hooper offered free admission to all CPA members past and present²⁷⁸. These efforts met with some success, as 6 former²⁷⁹ and 7 current²⁸⁰ members of the CPA joined the PSC, including three who remained on the rolls of both associations. One of the latter was Walter McMahon, who became PSC's charter member No. 3 (right after Hooper and Staebler) and Vice-President for Ontario, although he was one of the four attendees of the Belleville convention whom Hooper was accusing of having illegally suspended the Constitution and conspired against him. Added to the fact that Ketcheson and Staebler kept advertising in each other's journals, this should warn us against making too much of the sometimes vehement

²⁷¹ The Canadian Philatelist, 1, 4 (November 1891), 36.

²⁷² The Canadian Philatelist, 1, 4 (November 1891), 38; 1,5 (December 1891), 56.

²⁷³ The Canadian Philatelist, 1, 4 (November 1891), 36.

²⁷⁴ This would amount to reducing the dues from \$56.00 to \$7.00 in 2019 currency. www.westegg.com/inflation/

²⁷⁵ Edmund B. Thomas, Jr., "The Sons of Philatelia," *The American Philatelist* 109, 12 (December 1995): 1138-1143.

²⁷⁶ The Canadian Philatelist, 1, 5 (December 1891), 52.

²⁷⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 10 (October 1891), 11.

²⁷⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 9 (September 1891), 12.

²⁷⁹ McRae (6), Carter (13), DeWolf (21), J. Ineson (106), Lane (148) and Robertson (206).

²⁸⁰ Hooper (1), Beardsley (38), F. Ineson (98), Mooers (223), Pardoe (232), Johnson (235) and McMahon (242).

language used by the protagonists of each organization, in what largely remained a personal quarrel between Hooper and Ketcheson.

The most virulent reaction to Hooper's moves came indeed from Ketcheson, who rebutted his adversary's assertions in a text entitled "A liar exposed", in which he likened Hooper to the Biblical character Annias who was stricken by God for having lied to the Apostles²⁸¹. On a less pugilistic tone, President Cameron categorized Hooper as "a disappointed candidate for office" and suggested that he should resign from the CPA "for his period of usefeulness is a thing of the past²⁸²." Hooper did send in his resignation in January 1892, while waiting until then to hand over the books of the library to Labelle, in a last dig at his former association²⁸³.

The CPA officers did not wait until Hooper's resignation to try and energize the organization. By October, Ketcheson was reporting that the Exchange Department was "now in first class working order", with sheets worth \$349.64 received from six members²⁸⁴. He also republished the 1889 recruitment ad in his journal²⁸⁵. Thanks to these efforts, Clark was able to report some progress on the membership front, with 14 new members, including 10 from Canada²⁸⁶, and no resignations during the last four months of 1891. Noted Canadian recruits were William Kelsey Hall (1867-1943), a law clerk from Peterborough ON who had started collecting stamps at 15 and was charter member No. 6 of Hooper's PSC, and Frank S. Scammel, one of the largest coal merchants of Saint John NB. On the U.S. side, the new recruits were A. R. Rogers, an APA Purchasing Agent from New York²⁸⁷; Alvin Smith, a stamp dealer from Boston; George P. Ferguson from Hudson NY; and Charles E. Osborn, Manager of the Philadelphia Philatelic Society. With these additions, the CPA was 110-member strong at the end of the year.

However, this upturn proved short-lived, with 9 members resigning²⁸⁸ and 22 more being dropped for non-payment of dues (including former President Hechler)²⁸⁹ in January 1892, reducing the membership to an all-time low of 79. The CPA put a brave face on the situation. Clark wrote that "it is a matter for regret that some members have resigned but if the remaining members will stand by the officers and do some missionary work there is no reason why we should not make considerable headway²⁹⁰." For his part, Ketcheson commented that "in spite of all the obituaries that have been written announcing the death and burial of the C.P.A., it still

²⁸¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 9 (September 1891), 12.

²⁸² The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 10 (October 1891), 5.

²⁸³ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 1 (January 1892), 8, and Mitchener, "A Centenary," 300.

²⁸⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 10 (October 1891), 7.

²⁸⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 3, 12 (December 1891), 5. See supra, p. 32-33.

²⁸⁶ Lachlan Gibb and William Patterson from Montreal; A. J. Allison, W. A. Buchanan, William Kelsey Hall and E. L. Weatherhead from Ontario; John Kerr and Frank S. Scammel from St. John NB; Frederick Jones Scott and A. S. Butchart from Manitoba.

²⁸⁷ The American Philatelist, 5, 1 (January 1891), 13.

²⁸⁸ Hooper (1), R. A. B. Hart (53), Hobby (165), Curry (186), C. S. Reynolds (213), Stanton (214), Mooers (223), Howley (230), Kleine (231).

²⁸⁹ Hechler (24), Kaye (28), Beardsley (38), Burnett (57), Crane (80), Shannon (127), Massoth (128), Lehmann (140), Pryor (150), Shaw (156), Moody (161), Whitney (190), Parrish (208), Durgin (212), Margeson (215), McDonald (219), Bratt (220), M. C. Reynolds (222), McCarthy (228), Crouzier (229), Pardoe (232), Willets (234).

²⁹⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 1 (January 1892), 6.

lives, and from all we can learn it is likely to live for many years to come. [...] All the useless and rotten timber has been weeded out, and only the good sound and substantial material is left²⁹¹."

These remarks illustrate the basic dilemma faced by the CPA officials, who were torn between a desire to expand membership so as to provide the promised benefits of the association, and an ingrained reluctance to admit ordinary stamp collectors who could not afford paying high annual dues. Instead of lowering their dues to a level competitive with the PSC, they seemed content with letting Hooper's society cater to the needs of what they considered "useless and rotten timber", while they focused on the "foremost collectors and dealers". Like their APA counterparts, they "struggled with the growing popularity of their pursuit as they clung to a romanticized and elitist notion that limited collecting to those few with means to travel abroad or shop regularly with dealers²⁹²."

The elitist slant of the CPA is reflected in one of the rare events hosted by the association outside of its annual conventions. On New Year's Day 1892, Secretary-Treasurer Clark, who was a part-time stamp dealer, came to Montreal to hold an auction sale, which was attended by Ketcheson, Wurtele, Cameron, Labelle and several noted local collectors. The sale took place at St. Lawrence Hall, a prestigious hotel located in the heart of the city's business district. The total value of stamps sold was \$563.31, including \$25.00 for an 1856 Austrian newspaper stamp²⁹³. The five officers present then held a meeting where "matters of importance to the welfare of the Association were discussed²⁹⁴." This event was reported at length in the January issue of the Dominion Philatelist, where readers also learned that Wurtele owned one of the rarest Canadian revenue stamp in existence. Added to the fact that Ketcheson had doubled the subscription price of his journal for the new year, this clearly shows that the CPA was no longer, if it ever had been, a home for casual collectors. It rather looks as though the association was morphing into a Victorian gentlemen's club, as its founders were aging into their thirties.

For the remainder of Cameron's term, the CPA settled in the routine of serving well-to-do philatelists and dealers, with the officers regularly reporting on their activities. As Secretary, Clark recorded the admission of 16 new members between January and August, including only 6 Canadians: Henry Ades Fowler (1874-1951), who was the son of a Toronto architect; C. S. McKee and J. S. Wilson from Toronto; P. R. B. Jones from London ON, Charles H. Holden (1865-1936) from Port Dover ON, and Dr. Hastwell William Thornton (1858-1907), a physician from New Richmond QC who had been Cameron's classmate at McGill University Medical School in Montreal²⁹⁵. The noted American recruits were S. B. Bradt from Chicago, who was returning to the CPA from which he had resigned in 1889²⁹⁶, C. Witt from New York, who was an APA Purchasing Agent, Emil Glogau from St. Louis, who was director of the North American section of the French *Société timbrophile d'échange*²⁹⁷, and Harlow E. Woodward who was to become

²⁹¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 1 (January 1892), 9.

²⁹² Brennan, Stamping American Memory, 92.

²⁹³ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 1 (January 1892), 5.

²⁹⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 1 (January 1892), 10.

²⁹⁵ Peggy Willett, "William Cuthbert, 1794-1854, of Cascapedia Bay," *Gaspesian Heritage Web Magazine*, 2017, http://gaspesie.quebecheritageweb.com/article/william-cuthbert-1794-1854-cascapedia-bay ²⁹⁶ See *supra*, p. 11 and 28.

²⁹⁷ The American Philatelist, 6, 3 (March 1892), 47.

Vice-President of the Boston Philatelic Society²⁹⁸. Over the same period, there were seven resignations²⁹⁹, and two members were removed from the rolls in August: R. Hollick from Britain was dropped for non-payment of dues, while it was found that P. R. B. Jones admitted in March never qualified for membership³⁰⁰.

In his other capacity of Treasurer, Clark distinguished himself from his predecessors by posting monthly financial reports in the official organ, starting in February. His first report showed receipts of \$92.56 and expenditures of \$51.06 for the period from August 21, 1891 to February 15, 1892, with the balance on hand increasing from \$23.56 to \$41.50³⁰¹. For the period from February 16 to August 18, receipts declined to \$43.94 while expenditures rose to \$84.57, reducing the closing cash balance to \$24.43³⁰². The income came exclusively from dues, which explains the drop during the second half of the fiscal year; the main cost items were the official organ (\$50.00) and the Secretary's salary (\$25.00) and expenses (\$12.50), with sundry administration costs making most of the remaining expenditures, including about \$9.00 for the Library.

Librarian Labelle issued two reports after having received the books from Hooper. In February, he posted a list of about 1,400 publications held in the library, noting that he did not include some 2,200 duplicates and price lists that he would soon put up at auction. His list comprised most philatelic papers edited in North America and Britain, along with some French and German journals³⁰³. In a first indication that the library was actually available to members, he specified that any of the books and volumes could be borrowed by sending 5¢ to pay postage and promising to return them within 10 days. In April, he acknowledged the receipt of several pieces from W. D. Boyd and Wurtele, and mentioned that any "donations of philatelic papers are always thankfully received (except, of course, price list and circulars)³⁰⁴".

The last officer who published reports in the official organ was Ketcheson in his capacity of Exchange Superintendent. In April, he indicated that for the half year ending March 31, he had received 156 filled sheet worth \$1,301.56, which were made up into 27 books and placed on circuits; \$194.05 was sold from the 13 books that had completed their circuit. As for the account of the department, which was kept separate from CPA accounting, the expenditures amounted to \$25.02 (books, rubber stamp, stationery, postage, and the printing of 4,000 blank sheets), against receipts of only \$4.65 (93 blank sheets sold 5¢ each). Ketcheson noted that although "the expenditure largely exceeded the receipts, I now have all the books and blank sheets necessary for a long time. I trust more of the members will patronize this Department, as I am sure they would be pleased with results³⁰⁵".

²⁹⁸ The other new U.S. members were C. H. P. Roney from Worcester MA, Luther W. Mott from Oswego NY, W. W. MacLaren from Cleveland, Henry T. West Jr. from Milwaukee, C. E. Stewart from Peabody KS, and W. B. Shattuc from Denver.

²⁹⁹ Parker (67), Gremmel (180), Corwin (183), Sheridan (225), Butchart (257), Ferguson (261), McKee (266).

³⁰⁰ *The Dominion Philatelist*, 4, 8 (August 1892), 100.

³⁰¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 2 (February 1892), 20-21.

³⁰² The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 8 (August 1892), 106-107.

³⁰³ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 2 (February 1892), 21-25.

³⁰⁴ *The Dominion Philatelist*, 4, 4 (April 1892), 51.

³⁰⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 4 (April 1892), 48-49.

Ketcheson's efforts at encouraging a wider participation in the Exchange were hampered by the fact that several members were still owed money from the former Superintendent Grenny, who was unable to settle his accounts. The immediate problem was that 9 exchange books sent out on circuit over a year ago had not yet been returned³⁰⁶; after having remained at the Halifax branch for several months, they were in the hands of Wilson Wilby, of Toronto, since November. The matter appeared solved in April, when E. Y. Parker recovered the books from Wilby and returned them to Grenny³⁰⁷. However, even with all the books in his possession, Grenny failed to straighten up his accounts, prompting the Trustees to instruct Ketcheson not to send any more sheets out on circuit until the difficulty with the old exchange was removed³⁰⁸. The issue was still pending when the CPA convention met in August.

The fifth annual convention of the Canadian Philatelic Association opened at the International Hotel at Niagara Falls on August 17, 1892³⁰⁹. Twelve members were present (Ketcheson, Grenny, Fowler and McMahon from Canada, and Albrecht, Bradt, Bogert, Campbell, Deats, Mekeel, Mott and Rogers from the United States), and 26 more were represented by proxies held by the Canadian attendees, including 22 by Ketcheson. Several American visitors were also present, including APA President John Kerr Tiffany and former CPA member Alvah Davison³¹⁰. The reason for this strong U. S. representation was that the APA had just finished its own convention on the other side of the border.

In the absence of the President and Secretary, S. B. Bradt was called to take the chair (the only time an American presided over a CPA convention) and Ketcheson acted as secretary of the meeting. The first item on the agenda was the reading of the reports sent in by the Secretary-Teasurer and the Librarian. In his report, Clark stressed that although the nominal membership had decreased over the year, the number of paid-up members had actually increased from 57 to 85; he also reported that the receipts for the year amounted to \$160.06 while the expenditures totalled \$135.63, with a closing balance on hand of \$24.43. For his part, Labelle reported that 753 pieces had been given to the library during his tenure, including 421 by President Cameron, bringing the total number of documents to 3881. However, he expressed disappointment at the state of the library he had been handed over by Hooper, as only 1825 pieces were useful, the rest being composed of duplicate papers and price lists. He was asking for, and was granted by the convention, the authorization to sell the duplicates and apply the proceeds towards getting a case where he would keep the papers in alphabetical order. He also mused about binding some volumes, although he advised against spending on this unless members started using the library, as only one of them had availed himself of the opportunity to borrow material during the year.

The Exchange Department occupied the bulk of the convention's time. Ketcheson reported that he had placed on circuit 29 books valued \$1350.20 from which total sales were \$340.10. He pointed out that he had experienced considerable difficulty with his department owing to the

³⁰⁶ See *supra*, p. 41.

³⁰⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 2 (February 1892), 27; 4, 3 (March 1892), 37; 4, 4 (April 1892), 52.

³⁰⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 4 (April 1892), 49-50.

³⁰⁹ The minutes of the convention were published in *The Dominion Philatelist*, 4, 9 (September 1892), 105-111.

³¹⁰ The others were APA members William Carlos Stone, Isaac A. Mekeel, George William Rode, James H. Houston, and Gustave L. Luhn.

unsatisfactory condition of the affairs under his predecessor, noting that many members who formerly bought and sold largely from the Exchange had not participated during the past year, as they were waiting for the old accounts to be settled. In their report read at the convention, the Trustees indicated that in June, Grenny had forwarded them a balance sheet showing that the Halifax branch and four members (Cameron, Taylor, Sicotte and Bogert) were owed a total of \$156.03 from 21 members; since then, \$11.78 had been collected from the debtors and \$25.13 had been paid to the creditors. The Trustees pointed out that Grenny still had not answered their request for a detailed statement of the monies he had received and expended, and they recommended that the convention take action to compel him

[...] to furnish a statement of the affairs in order to enable a settlement with such as are interested, and we consider that no excuse can be entertained for any longer delay, as every opportunity has been given Mr. Grenny to make a statement had he desired so to do³¹¹.

On the convention floor, Grenny replied that he had done his best to straighten up the affairs of the Exchange Department and made every effort to collect these amounts, but had failed. Ketcheson then expressed the opinion that two-thirds of the delinquent accounts could be collected, and he was authorized by the convention to take over the duty of collecting all accounts and settling all balances due.

The final order of business was the election of officers. As Cameron and Hart were not seeking reelection, Ketcheson had proposed in July a ticket with Wurtele for President and Bartlett from Prince Edward Island for Vice-President (and unofficial representative of the Maritimes on the Board)³¹². Both were elected, along with Clark, Ketcheson, Labelle and Gibb who were reconducted in their functions. The new Trustees were from Toronto: McMahon and Fowler, who attended the convention, and W. H. Brouse. The attendees then decided that the next CPA convention would be held in Quebec City, hometown of the new President.

The delegates left the convention with the belief that in spite of the difficulties, the CPA could expect a promising future. In the words of Secretary-Treasurer Clark, "our prospects are better than they were a year ago, and if all the present members will stand by us there is no reason why we should not grandly succeed in the coming year [...] Our new membership is composed of men who, I think, will stay with us, and I hope our roll of members will be much larger when the time for another Convention arrives³¹³." However, the CPA officials may not have fully realized how few philatelists were willing or able to pay a consequent amount to belong to a national association in Canada, which raised serious questions about the enduring viability of an organization that was increasingly turning into "a private preserve for established dealers and specialists³¹⁴."

³¹¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 9 (September 1892), 108.

³¹² The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 7 (July 1892), 88.

³¹³ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 9 (September 1892), 105-106.

³¹⁴ Mitchener, "A Centenary," 298.

VI. THE WURTELE PRESIDENCY (AUGUST 1892-DECEMBER 1897)

The CPA was five years in existence when E. F. Wurtele began what was going to be the first of several consecutive terms at the helm of the organization. The new President was a highly respected Canadian philatelist. Shortly after his election, he was awarded the first prize and a bronze medal for his stamp collection at Ottawa's Central Canada Exhibition³¹⁵. In his inaugural message, Wurtele expressed confidence that the CPA could look forward to a large increase in its membership and that the Exchange Department would shortly pay off its indebtedness and enter upon a new life³¹⁶. Alas, he was to be proven wrong on both counts.

During the first year of Wurtele's tenure, recruitment into the association virtually came to a standstill, with a mere 6 new members joining the organization: George A. Moore, T. W. Brown and John J. Codville from Ontario, John Skillman O'Meara (1875-1952) from Quebec, Charles E. Shaw from Massachusetts, and Clifford Washington Kissinger (1874-1938) from Pennsylvania. O'Meara was the son of a Quebec City customs officer who was an acquaintance of Wurtele, while Kissinger was the founding president of the Philatelic Sons of America organized in 1893 as a rival association to the Sons of Philatelia³¹⁷. Over the same period, even these few additions were offset by an equal number of resignations, including that of Moore who was a member for only seven months³¹⁸. Faced with a potential drying up of enrollment, the CPA officers decided to lower the annual dues from \$2.00 to \$1.00 in March 1893 – ironically, a move that had been suggested by Hooper back in 1891³¹⁹. However, they did so reluctantly, as they were satisfied with a smaller membership of "active advanced collectors, a very desirable class of members for an association to be composed of "20", and they felt it necessary to point out to the members

[...] the desirability of exercising great care in the selection of candidates for membership. Philatelic Societies which are necessarily composed of persons residing in different sections of the country, are such as to demand that the persons recommended for participation in their benefits, should be in possession of the necessary characteristics to ensure the ultimate success of the Associations to which they belong. From past experience we have had cause to regret the entry into the Association of persons who have since proved themselves detrimental to its interests in a marked degree³²¹.

The last comment may have been directed at Hooper and a few members who had been expelled for various reasons, but it likely referred also to Grenny and the bad debtors of the Exchange Department. Shortly after the Niagara Falls convention, Grenny had forwarded to Wurtele his cash book from September 1888 to July 1892, showing inflows and outflows of

³¹⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 10 (October 1892), 133.

³¹⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 10 (October 1892), 129.

³¹⁷ The APS Hall of Fame, American Philatelic Society, 2018, https://classic.stamps.org/HOF-1990

³¹⁸ The other resignees were W. T. Parrish (226), E. D. H. Hall (243), F. J. Scott (253), W. B. Shattuc (269) and W.W. MacLaren (275).

³¹⁹ See *supra*, p. 40.

³²⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 2 (February 1893), 32.

³²¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 3 (March 1893), 43-44.

\$1218.56. The inflows included \$68.45 from the sale of sheets, while the outflows included \$173.61 for the Department expenses (eg. postage, paper, sheets, etc.) and \$166.03 for Grenny's commission. A trained accountant and a stickler for rules and numbers, Wurtele noted that according to the By-Laws, "any deficit in the expenses of the Exchange Department not covered by the sale of shests and covers, shall be paid by the Superintendent out of the commission he receives on the sales", which meant that Grenny had to refund an amount of \$105.16 (\$173.61 minus \$68.45), which would be used to settle the old debts of his Department³²².

The extent of the Department's indebtedness was also open to question, as some of the debtors identified by Grenny were disputing their bills, while claims were issued by three members (Beardsley, Ineson and Warren) who were not on the original list of creditors. These new claims were eventually confirmed, and given that Grenny was showing no willingness to make any refund, it was decided that dividends would be paid to the creditors until their claims were settled. Thus, between December 1892 and March 1893, a total of \$78.93 was distributed to the Halifax branch and the 7 individual creditors of the Department³²³. This charge put an additional strain on an already tight financial situation, so much so that the CPA cash balance on hand was down to \$3.05 by the end of March³²⁴.

Bogged down by the legacy debts of Grenny's administration, the CPA Exchange Department was unable to gain back any traction. From September 1892 to August 1893, Ketcheson only managed to put on circuit 12 books valued \$643.24325. This inability to get the exchange mechanism back on its feet was all the more problematic as it disincentivized local philatelic associations from acting as CPA branch societies, at a time when such associations were springing up across the country. In Nova Scotia, where the once thriving CPA Halifax branch was apparently reduced to a single individual whose only task was to distribute monies owed to the local creditors, neither the Bluenose Philatelic Association created by William Fraser in Pictou nor the Maritime Philatelic Association formed in Amherst in 1893 showed any willingness to join the CPA³²⁶. In Montreal, the MPS which was serving as CPA branch since 1889 decided to exclude stamp dealers from its ranks, prompting the creation of the Montreal Stamp Collectors' Club in March 1893³²⁷ (renamed the Montreal Philatelic Association in 1896); although the new club's Executive Committee was chaired by CPA Librarian Labelle³²⁸, neither it nor the MPS appear to have acted as a branch of the national association from that point. In Toronto, the void left by the dissolution of the Toronto Philatelic Society in early 1889³²⁹ was filled by the establishment of the Toronto Philatelic Club in September 1892; although the club's President was W. H. Brouse, Chairman of the CPA Board of Trustees, it was expressly stated that "it is not considered necessary for the purposes of our own that members should belong to the Canadian Philatelic or any other association³³⁰", and few members joined the CPA. Even

³²² The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 10 (October 1892), 129-131.

³²³ The Dominion Philatelist, 4, 12 (December 1892), 171; 5, 2 (February 1893), 30; 5, 3 (March 1893), 42.

³²⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 3 (March 1893), 43.

³²⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 9 (September 1893), 141.

³²⁶ The Nova Scotian Philatelist, 1, 2 (March 1893), 2; 1, 6 (August 1893), 28.

³²⁷ The Post Office, 3, 27 (June 1893), 36.

³²⁸ The International Philatelist, 2nd Series, 1,1 (September 1893), 5.

³²⁹ See *supra*, p. 24

³³⁰ The International Philatelist, 1,1 (October 1892), 2.

Wurtele's own Quebec Philatelic Club founded in December 1892 did not formally associate with the CPA, and only 6 of its 25 known members ever enrolled in the national association³³¹.

The developing local clubs attracted CPA and PSC members alike, along with unaffiliated philatelists, some of whom advocated "a union of all the local societies of Canada [...] to do away with the two useless national societies, who are continuously engaged in warfare³³²." Others were calling for the two national organizations to amalgamate, in line with similar discussions then occurring among the three American associations. These calls were made in the new philatelic papers published in the wake of the expansion of the philatelic public, including the pro-Hooper *Ottawa Philatelist*³³³ and the Toronto-based *Philatelic Journal of Canada*, where the case for amalgamation was vigorously made by Joseph Bernstein Jr.:

Why *cannot* the C. P. A. and P. S. of C. be united under one banner and constitution and why *should* they not? In union there is strength, and united only we can stand. The C. P. A. is now enjoying many benefits and distinctions which the P. S. of C. cannot lay claim to, and the P. S of C. can pride itself on privileges which none but it can wield. The P. S. of C. has might; the C. P. A. has right. [...] The C. P. A. has material, the P. S. of C. has numbers; the C. P. A. has an active exchange department, the P. S. of C. has an excellent library; the P. S. of C. is incorporated, the C. P. A. is not; the C. P. A. is well established, the P. S. of C. is not. What, then, could be of more benefit to each than a consummation of all the virtues contained in, and all the privileges and distinctions enjoyed by each? Neither the P. S. of C. nor C. P. A. can lose anything by this union, while both have much to gain. [...] The conventions of the C. P. A. and the P. S. of C. are soon to be in session, and why should this not be the all-absorbing topic of discussion and the issue of the day?³³⁴

Amalgamation was indeed going to be an item on the agenda of the CPA convention. In June, Wurtele announced that the annual meeting would take place on August 23, and both he and Ketcheson issued a ticket for the upcoming elections³³⁵:

	Wurtele Ticket	Ketcheson Ticket
President	A. A. Bartlett, Charlottetown	E. F. Wurtele, Quebec City
Vice-President	D. A. Kin	g, Halifax
Secretary-Treasurer	T. S. Clark	, Belleville
Librarian	A. E. Labelle, Montreal	
Exchange	C. C. Morency, Quebec City	W. K. Hall, Peterborough
Superintendent		
Counterfeit Detector	H. A. Fowle	er, Toronto
Trustees	C. E. Cameron, L. Gibb,	J. E. Schultze, Montreal

In July, Bartlett declined the nomination, stating that he could not effectively run the CPA from Prince Edward Island, which left the Exchange Superintendent position as the only contested

³³² The Philatelic Journal of Canada, 1,4 (March 1893), 57.

³³¹ Drolet, Notice historique, 22.

³³³ The Ottawa Philatelist, 1,4 (April 1893), 1.

³³⁴ J. Bernstein Jr., "Canadian Philatelic Unon," *The Philatelic Journal of Canada*, 1,4 (March 1893): 53-54.

³³⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 6 (June 1893), 99-100.

function³³⁶. Interestingly, Ketcheson was not seeking reelection to the Board of Officers. Apparently, his experience as Exchange Superintendent had left him somewhat disenchanted with the CPA, as he had been unable to collect more than \$10.00 from the department's debtors and he had to consent that his grants for official organ remain in abeyance in order to allow the payment of dividends to the creditors³³⁷.

The sixth annual convention of the Canadian Philatelic Association opened at the offices of the the Quebec, Montmorency and Charlevoix Railway (of which Wurtele was the Secretary-Treasurer) in Quebec City on August 23, 1893³³⁸. The event was sparsely attended, with only four members present (Wurtele, Morency and Joseph from Quebec City and J. J. Codville from Ottawa) and 27 represented by proxy. The meeting was adjourned till the evening to allow the participants to enjoy a train excursion to the Falls of Montmorency and the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré. The evening session was held at the residence of M. Joseph, where the President read and commented his and the other officers' reports.

Clark's Secretary report indicated that membership remained steady at 85 and that the reduction of the annual dues to \$1.00 would hopefully help recruiting new members. Wurtele commented that the new amount would facilitate an increase of membership, without increasing the chances of getting undesirable members in the Association; he reaffirmed that to avoid a repetition of past problems, enrollment in the CPA had to be reserved for "men of upright and honourable intentions and dealings". This was apparently the reason why the convention decided that it was not advisable to take any action in the matter of amalgamation with the PSC; to Wurtele and his bourgeois friends, the prospect of joining ranks with the 400+cheap dues paying PSC members looked little more than a recipe for future trouble, even though such a move would have alleviated some immediate concerns, particularly with regard to finances.

Clark's Treasurer report painted a bleak picture indeed of the CPA financial position, with a balance sheet in the red by \$46.73. Cash on hand was only \$5.80, and the remaining assets of \$93.00 consisted in sums deemed recoverable out of the amounts due by members for membership fees (\$23 out of \$72) and by the debtors of the Exchange Department (\$70 out of \$135); liabilities consisted in \$83.03 still owing to the Exchange Department creditors, and \$62.50 held in abeyance for three quarterly grants to the official organ and the Secretary's salary. Wurtele commented that the financial woes were mainly related to "the want of honourable action" on the part of Grenny; as the latter had failed "to reply to many official communications addressed him on the subject of his administration", the convention resolved to expel him from the CPA in view of the injury he had done to the association. It was also resolved that that all matters connected with the old Exchange Department be handed over to the Secretary-Treasurer, to allow the new Exchange Superintendent to manage his department upon its own merits, without being hampered in his work by the assumption of the indebtedness of the past years.

³³⁷ Clark also had to accept that his salary as Secretary be held in abeyance for the same purpose. *The Dominion Philatelist*, 5, 1 (January 1893), 195.

³³⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 7 (July 1893), 106-107.

³³⁸ The minutes of the convention were published in *The Dominion Philatelist*, 5, 9 (September 1893), 133-142.

Action was needed to redress the financial situation. In his Librarian report, Labelle was suggesting that most of the publications now in the Library be sold, as only one member had borrowed some of them during the year, and the proceeds be used to purchase more interesting books, such as the works of the London Society on the stamps of British Colonies. The convention resolved that the publications deemed undesirable be sold, but the proceeds be applied to the payment of the CPA debts, postponing the purchase of books to the time the funds of the association would permit it. Restoring finances also involved cutting costs through switching to a new official organ. The convention accepted an offer from Trustee Fowler to print free of charge the proceedings and announcements of the CPA in the *Canadian Journal of Philately* he had launched in Toronto in June, and to furnish this journal to members at a reduced subscription rate of \$2.00 per year.

The convention then proceeded to the election of officers. In his Exchange Superintendent report, Ketcheson was complaining that he could not close his accounts because 8 of the 12 exchange books were in the possession of D. A. King, nominated for Vice-President, who was not forwarding them to the next person on circuit. Wurtele read a letter from King, apologizing for the long delay in returning books on circuit, stating that the books had now been sent back, and declining to be elected to office. It was also learned that Lachlan Gibb, nominated for Trustee, had withdrawn as he was leaving for an extended stay in Europe. With these last minute changes, and short of time to find a new Vice-President from the Maritimes, the following were elected as officers for the 1893-94 term:

President E. F. Wurtele, Quebec City
Vice-President W. K. Hall, Peterborough
Secretary-Treasurer T. S. Clark, Belleville
Exchange Superintendent C. C. Morency, Quebec City
Librarian A. E. Labelle, Montreal

Counterfeit Detector

A. E. Labelle, Montreal
H. A. Fowler, Toronto

Trustees C. E. Cameron (Chairman), Montreal

J. E. Schultze, Montreal W. Patterson, Montreal

It was finally resolved that the 1894 convention would be held in Montreal, at a time and place to be fixed by the President after consultation with the Trustees.

Wurtele's second term began with a major hurdle, as the new official organ failed to be published³³⁹. In November, the President cancelled the arrangements entered into with Fowler and announced that the *Dominion Philatelist* was once again the official organ; Ketcheson would publish the CPA reports free of charge until the next convention, and members were invited to subscribe to the journal³⁴⁰. This was all the more important that there was a sudden rise in membership applications, and the names of applicants had to be posted in the official organ one month before they were formally admitted in the organization. Thus, 14 philatelists who had applied for membership since August had to wait until November and December to officially join

³³⁹ The Canadian Journal of Philately was only issued in June and July. In December, Fowler abandoned the project altogether.

³⁴⁰ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 11 (November 1893), 175.

the CPA. This renewed interest for the association was confirmed in the following months, with 22 more members enrolling between January and August 1894³⁴¹.

The 36 recorded new members included 15 Canadians, 15 Americans and 6 Britons. In Canada, four recruits belonged to the Toronto Philatelic Club: the club's Secretary G. A. Lowe, who had been a CPA member from August 1887 to January 1889³⁴²; Harton Walker (1861-1928), a real estate promoter; Hiram Jasper Simeon Dingman (1874-1947), a future banker; and George Warren, a newcomer to the city. The other Ontarians were L. M. Staebler from London, editor of the Canadian Philatelist that had served as official organ of the PSC from October 1891 to August 1892³⁴³; William D. Morton, a banker from Barrie who had been a member of the ephemeral branch society established in that city in 1889³⁴⁴; and Rev. Albert Sims (1851-1935) from Uxbridge. In Quebec, two recruits came from the Quebec Philatelic Club: Gaspard LeMoine (1848-1934), a merchant who was the club's Vice-President, and Frederick Owen Judge (1874-1941), a student who was the club's Secretary-Treasurer. The other Quebecers were Francis Bartels, an insurance agent who was the U.S. Vice-commercial agent in St. Hyacinthe; and Charles Hewitt Buell from Montreal, who was the son of a confectioner from Brockville ON345. In April 1894, three philatelists from Winnipeg joined the CPA: Isaac Christie Pitblado (1867-1964), a lawyer born in Nova Scotia; Ernest Wood Dingman (1877-1963), a distant cousin of Hiram above born in Ontario; and Frederick J. Scott. In May, William W. Walsh (1868-1941) from Halifax was the lone Nova Scotian to enroll in the CPA since late 1891.

Some American recruits were well known in philatelic circles³⁴⁶: F. W. Ayer from Bangor ME, a member of New York City Collectors Club who "developed an important general collection but disposed of most of his holdings because his father felt his son was spending too much money on stamps³⁴⁷"; Lewis G. Quackenbush from Oneida NY, author of learned articles in philatelic journals³⁴⁸; L. H. Benton from Taunton MA, future editor of *Philatelic Literature*; William Lawrence Green, Vice-President of the Albany Philatelic Club; Edward W. Hensinger from San Antonio, Secretary of the Alamo City Philatelic Society; along with three noted Californian philatelists: Brewster C. Kenyon from Long Beach, "one of the best known collectors on the coast³⁴⁹"; A. W. Dunning, stamp dealer in Los Angeles; and Georges Carion, a French-born stamp forger who managed to get appointed Counterfeit Detector of the Philatelic Society of San Francisco³⁵⁰.

³⁴¹ However, six of these 36 recruits were later found to be not qualified for membership and dropped from the rolls without their removal and their names being recorded in the monthly Secretary reports. *The Dominion Philatelist*, 6, 9 (September 1894), 125.

³⁴² See *supra*, p. 9 and 24.

³⁴³ See *supra*, p. 44.

³⁴⁴ See *supra*, p. 29.

³⁴⁵ Drolet, *Notice historique*, 17 and 22.

³⁴⁶ The others were Dr. Charles E. Banks from Maine, Edward E. Pearl and William N. Neifert from Massachusetts, George F. Hine from Syracuse NY, Norval A. Hawkins from Detroit, Edward H. Buehler from Chicago, and Walter A. Withrow from Indiana.

³⁴⁷ William W. Wylie, An Informal History of the Collectors Club (New York, 1971), 9.

³⁴⁸ Such as "The Evolution of the Stamp Album, from Lallier to Mekeel," *The Philatelic Journal of America*, 11, 4 (April 1894): 155-169, and a series of five articles published in the *Dominion Philatelist*, from November 1894 to March 1895.

³⁴⁹ The American Journal of Philately, 4, 8 (August 1891), 368.

³⁵⁰ The Post Office, 7, 7 (July 1897), 43 and 46-48.

Completing the picture were 6 recruits from England: Richard Hollick who had been a CPA member from 1889 to 1892³⁵¹; his fellow Birmingham resident William G. Walton; William Brown (1864-1927), a stamp dealer from Salisbury who founded and published the *Philatelic Journal of Great Britain*³⁵²; Theodor Buhl (1865-1922), a German-born stamp dealer from London who published *Stamp News*³⁵³; George Isaac Bryant, Librarian of the City of London Philatelic Club³⁵⁴; and Kinnaull H. Clark from Worthing.

During Wurtele's second term, there were only four recorded resignations from the CPA³⁵⁵, but 17 members were dropped for non-payment of dues in February, including former President Craig³⁵⁶. Moreover, two Toronto members were expelled during the period. In March, Fowler was removed after he was found to have "made use of his official position to mislead and defraud intending candidates for membership", apparently by improperly collecting dues from five candidates he had recruited; he was replaced by J. J. Codville as Counterfeit Detector³⁵⁷. In April, George Warren, who had been admitted the month before, was expelled when it was discovered that he had defrauded several stamp dealers³⁵⁸.

With these additions and deletions, the CPA closed the 12-month term with 92 members, 22 of whom patronized the Exchange Department during the year. Thus, Morency received a total of 196 sheets that were made up into 52 books forming 15 circuits, with a value of \$1438.08³⁵⁹. Another development was the establishment of exchange relations between the CPA and the Birmingham Philatelic Society, on the model of the international exchange that had been contemplated in the past with the Dresden society³⁶⁰. The arrangements were made through former Vice-President Bartlett, and the new department was entrusted to Secretary-Treasurer Clark in order to keep it separate from the regular Exchange and not increase the workload of Superintendent Morency³⁶¹. Together, the increase in membership, the renewed interest for the Exchange Department and the opportunity created by international relations led to encouraging prospects for the association on the eve of the 1894 convention.

³⁵¹ See *supra*, p. 27 and 47.

^{352 &}quot;Stamp Dealer Mail," The Great Britain Philatelic Society, 2019,

http://www.gbps.org.uk/displays/stamp-dealer-mail/

^{353 &}quot;Theodor Buhl," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodor Buhl

³⁵⁴ The London Philatelist, 2, 11 (November 1893), 208.

³⁵⁵ Breder (191), Mekeel (238), Gibb (250), and Kerr (259); the latter rejoined the CPA two months after resigning. There were 6 resignations in total, but two of them went unrecorded in the monthly Secretary reports. *The Dominion Philatelist*, 6, 9 (September 1894), 125.

³⁵⁶ Craig (16), Wilby (37), A. E. Warren (46), Kendall (62), Massoth (128), Ives (139), Ogilvie (141), Taylor (159), Wylie (202), Sterling (207), Northrup (216), Rappleye (221), Spencer (247), Rogers (255), Weatherhead (260), Osborn (262), Roney (270).

³⁵⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 3 (March 1894), 38-40. Fowler moved to Chicago in 1895.

³⁵⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 4 (April 1894), 61 and 66.

³⁵⁹ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 9 (September 1894), 126-127.

³⁶⁰ See *supra*, p. 31 and 36.

³⁶¹ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 3 (March 1894), 40.

The seventh annual convention of the Canadian Philatelic Association was held at the Queen's Hotel in Montreal on September 8, 1894³⁶². Like the previous year, the event was sparsely attended, with only five members present (Labelle, Patterson, Sicotte and Burgess from Montreal and Ketcheson from Belleville) and 25 represented by proxy. Owing to the death of a near relative, President Wurtele was unable to attend the meeting, which was chaired by Labelle, with Ketcheson acting as Secretary and reading the reports sent in by the officers.

Clark's Treasurer report indicated that the cash balance on hand stood at \$5.80 and the deficit had been lowered from \$46.73 to \$19.65. A dividend of \$49.76 had been paid to the creditors of Grenny's Exchange Department who were still owed \$33.27, while Ketcheson had received \$13.00 on his \$37.50 bill for the official organ, and Clark was due \$50.00 and "patiently awaiting a substantial token of appreciation of his arduous labours on behalf of the Association for the past two years". The convention also accepted Ketcheson's offer to continue publishing the CPA reports in the *Dominion Philatelist* and mail the journal to the members for \$20.00 per year.

The incumbent officers were reelected, except for the Vice-President position that was handed back to a member from the Maritimes, with the resulting Board for the 1894-95 term:

President E. F. Wurtele, Quebec City
Vice-President E. B. Todd, St. Stephen NB
Secretary-Treasurer T. S. Clark, Belleville
Exchange Superintendent C. C. Morency, Quebec City
Librarian A. E. Labelle, Montreal

Counterfeit Detector J. J. Codville, Ottawa

Trustees C. E. Cameron (Chairman), Montreal

J. E. Schultze, Montreal W. Patterson, Montreal

It was finally resolved that the time and place of the next convention would be decided by the President.

In his report to the convention, Wurtele had written that in view of the increase in membership, "we can look forward to better results in the [next] twelve months". Once again, he was proven wrong, with no applications for membership received over the remainder of the year and only 4 new members admitted in the first months of 1895: John Waller de Courcy O'Grady (1854-1914), a banker from Wallaceburg ON who later established a bank at Winnipeg³⁶³; J. M. MacKenzie, a banker from Toronto; J. J. Scrugham from Belleville; and Tomasso Coelho, a stamp dealer from London, England. To make matters worse, 6 members resigned from the CPA over the same period, including past Vice-President Kelsey Hall³⁶⁴.

The one bright spot of Wurtele's third term was the Birmingham exchange. After a slow start that saw Clark threatening to drop the project altogether if members were not participating, the exchange went in operation in November, with sheets from four members being sent to

³⁶² The minutes of the convention were published in *The Dominion Philatelist*, 6, 9 (September 1894), 119-128.

³⁶³ Gordon Goldsborough, "Memorable Manitobans: John Waller de Courcy O'Grady (1854-1914)," Manitoba Historical Society, 2017, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/ogrady_jwc.shtml ³⁶⁴ Hall (254), Witt (267), Shaw (282), Kenyon (291), LeMoine (313), Sims (314).

England³⁶⁵. Five more members embarked in December, with Clark advising that "there is little use in sending stamps priced under 25 cents and that stamps valued 1.00 and over will be more likely to be sold than the cheaper varieties³⁶⁶". In March, Clark reported that he had been circulating the Birmingham Society's books, with sales of about \$65.00, and written to the Secretary of the Society requesting the return of the CPA books so that he could make payment to the owners³⁶⁷.

What became of this international exchange arrangement remains unknown, as the *Dominion Philatelist* unannouncedly ceased publishing after the March 1895 issue³⁶⁸, leaving the CPA without an official organ and depriving us of our only regular source of information on the activities of the association. From that point, the history of the CPA has to be reconstructed piecemeal from bits of information gleaned from various philatelic papers.

The sudden demise of the *Dominion Philatelist* clearly left the CPA in disarray. Nothing was heard of the association until February 1896, when Wurtele issued the following release in the Toronto-based *Canadian Philatelic Magazine*:

To Members of the Canadian Philatelic Association

The Annual Convention of the Canadian Philatelic Association will take place in the City of Quebec on Tuesday, March 10th, 1896, at the office of the undersigned, Quebec and Lake St. John Railway Building, at 10 a.m.

As matters of great importance to the Association will be taken into consideration, it is hoped that members will make an effort to be present. Such as are unable to attend, are invited to send their views, with regard to the future welfare of the Association, to the President.

Nominations for officers for the current year are requested, which kindly address to the undersigned ³⁶⁹.

The convention did take place, and we can surmise that the CPA Board of Officers had not disbanded, based on the report published by Wurtele:

The report of the Canadian Philatelic Association convention is short, as it adjourned after the reading of reports from the Sec'y-Treasurer, Exchange Superintendent, and the Librarian, in order that the President might communicate with some of the officers, who were unable to be present. In a short time certain steps will be taken which, it is hoped, will materially benefit the Association.

Election of officers was postponed, pending the arrangement of matters directly connected with the society, of which members will be duly advised ³⁷⁰.

In June, it was announced that the CPA had been reorganized further to a convention recently held in Montreal³⁷¹ (likely a follow-up meeting to the March convention). However, things

³⁶⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 10 (October 1894), 139-140; 6, 11 (November 1894), 156.

³⁶⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 12 (December 1894), 173.

³⁶⁷ The Dominion Philatelist, 7, 3 (March 1895), 44.

³⁶⁸ The journal had lost the privilege of second-class mail rates in May 1894 and had been published at a loss since then.

³⁶⁹ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 2, 12 (February 1896), 6.

³⁷⁰ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 1 (March 1896), 6.

³⁷¹ The Ontario Philatelist, 1, 4 (June 1896), 45.

apparently remained unsettled, and Wurtele was mulling over a possible amalgamation with the Dominion Philatelic Association, a national organization created in 1894, in succession to the PSC that had fizzled out in the wake of a criminal affair that stunned the Canadian philatelic circles and came to be known as "murder in stampland³⁷²". This affair had begun in October 1893, when J. R. Hooper was arrested on suspicion of having murdered his wife who had died while on a train trip on the north shore of Montreal, by administering her prussic acid he had obtained from Dr. Cameron, ostensibly to put down a dog³⁷³. He had previously committed his wife to an asylum and posed as a widower to propose marriage to another woman³⁷⁴. Hooper was tried in January and found not guilty for lack of conclusive evidence that his wife had died of poisoning, but he was re-arrested forthwith and charged with the attempted murder of his wife by drowning earlier during the same trip³⁷⁵. In June, he was found guilty of that lesser charge and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment in a federal penitentiary³⁷⁶.

This turn of event dealt a deadly blow to the PSC, that immediately fell to pieces. As commented by L. G. Quackenbush in January 1894, Hooper was "the life and blood" of that society that found itself "like a railroad train without any locomotive attached³⁷⁷". To fill the need for a philatelic society aimed at rank-and-file collectors, a young stamp dealer from Halifax, Alexander Moir Muirhead (1876-1941), organized the Canadian Sons of Philatelia, on the model of the Sons of Philatelia in the U.S.; the annual dues were set at \$0.25 and the official organ was the *Canadian Philatelic Magazine* launched by Muirhead in November 1893³⁷⁸. In the summer of 1894, Muirhead sold his journal to the Librarian of the Toronto Philatelic Club and the organization was renamed the Dominion Philatelic Association (DPA)³⁷⁹.

Unlike the PSC, the DPA entertained cordial relations with the CPA. Both sides recognized that the two associations were complementary, as they appealed to different classes of collectors³⁸⁰. By the summer of 1896, Wurtele's friend C. C. Morency was Vice-President of the DPA, and the idea of a merger was floating around. An official amalgamation proposal was made by Wurtele in a letter sent to the DPA in August:

With regard to the subject of Philately in Canada, I note that your annual meeting is to take place next month. Would it be possible to have the subject of amalgamation taken into consideration at that time? [...] I would suggest as a proper and just plan that a list be obtained of all those desirous of coming in under the new system, which would be as far as possible restricted to persons who were properly interested in Philately, and that this list should be the new Association from which nominations could be made and elections held³⁸¹.

³⁷² Michael Peach and James Gray, "Murder in Stampland: The Dramatic History of John Reginald Hooper," *The American Philatelist* 123, 4 (April 2009), 354; and Terry Boyle, *Hidden Ontario: Secrets from Ontario's Past* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2011), 169-171.

³⁷³ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 10 (October 1893), 164.

³⁷⁴ The Dominion Philatelist, 5, 11 (November 1893), 177.

³⁷⁵ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 1 (January 1894), 1-3.

³⁷⁶ The Dominion Philatelist, 6, 6 (June 1894), 87.

³⁷⁷ Quoted by Mitchener, "A Centenary," 302.

³⁷⁸ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 1, 3 (January 1894), 3; 1, 4 (February 1894), 3.

³⁷⁹ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 2, 1 (September 1894), 8 and 12.

³⁸⁰ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 2, 6 (August 1895), 6.

³⁸¹ The Ontario Philatelist, 1, 9 (December 1896), 72-73.

This proposal was put to the first annual convention of the DPA held in Toronto in September, but "after discussing the question, members thought it best to continue their own society³⁸²". Faced with this refusal, Wurtele continued with his own reorganization plans and contemplated a meeting of officers in January, believing that in a few months, "considerable headway will have been made, and greater after the officers have been chosen and the society's plans made known³⁸³"; the dues of the reorganized association were set at \$1.00 per year³⁸⁴.

However, some minds were changing at the DPA, with many members seemingly in favour of amalgamation, including President I. E. Weldon³⁸⁵; in October, a committee was appointed by the Trustees to "negotiate terms that would be acceptable to both societies, but to conclude nothing final³⁸⁶" Chaired by Muirhead, this committee reported in November that they believed a union of the two associations could be consummated under four conditions set by Wurtele, i.e. the annual dues would be no less than \$0.50 and preferably \$1.00, the annual grant to the official organ would be no less than \$25.00 and preferably \$50.00, a sum would be paid to the Secretary, and the representatives of the two associations would meet in January to appoint a new board of officers³⁸⁷. This proposal was not universally popular though, and the editor of the *Canadian Philatelic Magazine* very much doubted whether the members of the DPA would be wiling to pay \$0.50 a year as dues³⁸⁸.

On January 1st, 1897, Wurtele and Weldon issued a joint statement in which they proposed that the two associations amalgamate under the name of the Dominion of Canada Philatelic Association, with annual dues set at \$0.50; this proposal was to be put to the members of each association at special meetings on January 28³⁸⁹. The CPA meeting was held in the rooms of the Montreal Philatelic Association at Chateau de Ramezay, while the DPA meeting took place in Toronto, in the office of former CPA Trustee and PSC Vice-President Walter McMahon. All but one of the DPA members attending the Toronto meeting were in favour of amalgamation, but on condition that the dues should be within reach of all members, i.e. not exceeding \$0.30; the President was instructed to negotiate with Wurtele on that basis³⁹⁰.

In February, Wurtele advised the officers and members of the CPA that the amalgamation negotations had failed owing to the conditions imposed by the DPA. He commented that the CPA still numbered a good percentage of energetic collectors who would take an active part in the association but for the absence of an official organ. He announced that a special general meeting would be held at his office in Quebec City on March 6, 1897, expressing confidence that in the near future, the CPA would become as in the past the leading philatelic association of

³⁸² The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 7 (September 1896), 3.

³⁸³ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 7 (September 1896), 6.

³⁸⁴ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 8 (October 1896), 9.

³⁸⁵ The Ontario Philatelist, 1, 7 (October 1896), 53-54.

³⁸⁶ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 8 (October 1896), 9.

³⁸⁷ The Ontario Philatelist, 1, 9 (December 1896), 72.

³⁸⁸ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 10 (December 1896), 9.

³⁸⁹ The American Journal of Philately, 10, 1 (January 1897), 53; The London Philatelist, 6, 1 (January 1897), 16.

³⁹⁰ The Ontario Philatelist, 1, 10 (January 1897), 82; The Philatelic Advocate, 2, 2 (February 1897), 19.

Canada³⁹¹. Later on, Wurtele asked for nominations in view of the election of officers and official organ that would take place in April³⁹².

A flurry of new philatelic papers were springing up across the country at the time, and many of them relished at the prospect of becoming the official organ of a reorganized CPA. Already in January, the *Philatelic Messenger* published by Matthew R. Knight in New Brunswick was offering its services to the would-be revived association, while the *Philatelic Canadian* edited by Walter McMahon in Toronto was a candidate for the official organship of an amalgamated national society³⁹³. The CPA choice fell on the *Canadian Weekly Stamp News* edited by H. G. Gregory in Toronto. On May 17, that journal reported that "once more the Canadian Philatelic Society is on the move, and in our next issue we hope to publish a report from the secretary; the members of this society are to receive this paper³⁹⁴". On May 24, the journal was printed as the official organ of the Canadian Philatelic Association, with the comment that "in our next issue, we hope to publish the report of the C.P.A. No doubt it will have reached us by that time³⁹⁵". However, no report was published in the June 1st issue, after which the journal folded.

Not everyone at the DPA had been displeased at the failure of the amalgamation negociations. In March, the *Philatelic Advocate* published by the Starnaman brothers in Berlin (present Kitchener) ON commented that "it will hardly be news to state here that the amalgamation scheme was no go. The D.P.A. is a grand society and is bound to grow and remain Canada's favorite stamp association. If the C.P.A. was not dead it was paralyzed and we want none but live workers in our society³⁹⁶". In July, as the next DPA convention was approaching and it was rumoured that the amalgamation question would be brought up again, the same journal advised DPA members to "bury it so deep that it will never see the light again. Let our motto be THE D.P.A. FOREVER³⁹⁷." The members apparently abided by this, and the matter was not raised at the convention.

Nothing further was heard of the CPA until December, when Ketcheson briefly resumed publishing the *Dominion Philatelist* and announced that Wurtele was proposing to make another effort to reorganize the national philatelic society. Ketcheson promised his support and trust and expressed the hope that "ere long, Canada will have a good live society³⁹⁸". However, no further issues of the journal were published, and Wurtele's ultimate effort ended in failure, prompting him to apply for membership in the DPA in August 1898³⁹⁹.

³⁹¹ The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 11 (January 1897), 8.

³⁹² The Canadian Philatelic Magazine, 3, 12 (February 1897), 8.

³⁹³ The Philatelic Messenger, 1, 2 (January 1897), 14; The Philatelic Canadian, 1, 2 (January 1897), 5.

³⁹⁴ The Canadian Weekly Stamp News, 2, 1 (May 17, 1897), 2.

³⁹⁵ The Canadian Weekly Stamp News, 2, 2 (May 24, 1897), 2.

³⁹⁶ The Philatelic Advocate, 2, 3 (March 1897), 24.

³⁹⁷ *The Philatelic Advocate*, 3, 1 (July 1897), 5.

³⁹⁸ The Dominion Philatelist, 7, 4 (December 1897), 5.

³⁹⁹ *The Philatelic Advocate*, 5, 2 (August 1898), 21.

EPILOGUE

The CPA having died out, E. F. Wurtele was admitted into the DPA in September 1898 and served as its President from July 1899 to July 1901⁴⁰⁰. As the DPA clearly set itself in continuity with the PSC, this turn of even could have represented the final triumph of Hooper over Ketcheson⁴⁰¹. However, a decade later, the DPA had vanished from the scene, and another society known as the Canadian Philatelic Association had become the sole national philatelic organization in the country.

That association had been established in Montreal under the name of the League of Canadian Philatelists (LCP) at the very moment when Wurtele was joining the DPA. Its founder was Rudolf Cornelius Bach (1879-1932), a young German-born stamp dealer who had just launched a journal called the Montreal Philatelist and decided that the quickest way to turn it into an official organ was to create his own national philatelic association. At first, this move was not met with universal approval, since it could be seen as reviving the old divisions. However, this mistrust had subsided by July 1899, when Bach was accepted as member of the DPA, while Wurtele had become member of the LCP in November 1898. In October 1899, Bach left the country for the Boer War after it was found that he had made and sold counterfeit stamps. His successor at the head of the LCP was former CPA Vice-President Kelsey Hall. In 1900, the members of the Montreal Philatelic Association joined the LCP, including former CPA members Labelle, Gibb and Patterson. In July 1901, the organization was renamed the Canadian Philatelic Society and Wurtele was appointed Vice-President⁴⁰². In 1910, the society was reorganized as the Canadian Philatelic Association under the presidency of Henry Hechler, who had presided over the old CPA in 1889-90. After laying dormant during World War I, this new CPA was revived in 1920 and renamed the Canadian Philatelic Society in 1923, forming a direct line with the present Royal Philatelic Society of Canada (RPSC)⁴⁰³. Both Hechler and Wurtele were members of the society, with Wurtele acting as Honourary Vice-Chairman of the national exhibition it organized in Montreal in 1925⁴⁰⁴. This creates a link between the old CPA and the RPSC, which can rightfully claim to have emerged from the organization created in 1887.

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⁴⁰⁰ The Philatelic Advocate, 5, 3 (September 1898), 34; 7, 2 (August 1899), 21; 11, 2 (August 1901), 16.

⁴⁰¹ Ketcheson left his post office job to carry on a successful insurance business and was elected mayor of Belleville, while Hooper was pardoned in 1902 and was again involved in organized philately in Winnipeg and Los Angeles. Donald Brearley, *Mayors of the City of Belleville, Ontario, 1850-2003* (Trenton, Quinte Branch of the Ontario Genealogical Society, 2011), 38; Verge, "125th Anniversary," 846.

⁴⁰² Yves Drolet, *The Montreal Philatelist: Anatomy of a Philatelic Journal, 1898-1902* (Montreal: Yves Drolet, 2019), 56-65.

⁴⁰³ Charles J. G. Verge, "Happy 50th Birthday to the Canadian Philatelist," *The Canadian Philatelist*, 50, 1 (January/February 1999): 4-6 and 32.

⁴⁰⁴ Rowe, "The Royal Philatelic Society of Canada," 7; Cimon Morin, "Il y a 75 ans... se tenait la première exposition philatélique au Québec," *Philatélie Québec*, 231 (December 2000): 16-18.

APPENDIX

Members of the Canadian Philatelic Association

Date of admission	Member #	Names and particulars
06/87	1	John Reginald HOOPER, Ottawa ON (resigned 01/92)
00,07	2	Francis James GRENNY, Brantford ON (expelled 09/93)
	3	Joseph Alexander LEIGHTON, Orangeville ON (resigned 01/89)
	4	Henry Freeman KETCHESON, Belleville ON
	5	Julius Cuthbert NIESSER, Toronto ON (resigned 03/89)
	6	Robert Finlay McRAE, Montreal QC (resigned 09/89)
	7	George Henry HARRISON, London ON (resigned 04/89)
	8	John H. TODD, Brandon MB (dropped 05/90)
	9	Ernest Frederick WURTELE, Quebec QC
07/87	10	Henry S. HARTE, Petitcodiac NB (dropped 12/90)
	11	F. E. BOOK, Niagara Falls South ON (expelled 09/88)
	12	Henry A. SIMPSON, Belleville ON (dropped 05/90)
	13	N. E. CARTER, Delevan WI (resigned 03/90)
	14	Henry Elton FRENCH, Niagara Falls South ON (dropped 12/90)
	15	Charles E. WILLIS, Petitcodiac NB (resigned 05/88)
	16	Alvin James CRAIG, Pictou NS (dropped 02/94)
	17	John R. FINDLAY, Halifax NS (dropped bef. 07/90)
	18	Donald Albert KING, Halifax NS
	19	Francis O. CREED, Halifax NS (dropped 05/90)
	20	Olof LARSEN, Halifax NS (dropped 65/30)
	21	Andrew Berry Sydney DeWOLF, Halifax NS (dropped bef. 07/91)
	22	Harrison Locke HART, Halifax NS
	23	Theodore LARSEN, Halifax NS (resigned 02/91)
08/87	24	Henry HECHLER, Halifax NS (dropped 01/92)
08/8/	25	Isaac Henry MATHERS, Halifax NS (dropped 12/90)
	26	Charles G. WOODWORTH, Denver CO (dropped 05/90)
	27	
		John George Williston BROWN, Charlottetown PE (resigned 07/89)
	28	Frank Crossley KAYE, Halifax NS (dropped 01/92)
	29	John M. SHERIDAN, Brooklyn NY (resigned 04/89)
	30	Edward F. SMITH, Halifax NS (dropped 05/90)
	31	J. A. CARON, Ste. Luce QC, then Duluth MN (dropped 05/90)
	32	J. J. PALMA Jr., New York NY, then Guatemala (dropped 11/88)
20./07	33	George Alfred LOWE, Toronto ON (resigned 01/89) (see also #290)
09/87	34	Edmund A. SMITH, Halifax NS (dropped 12/90)
	35	Adolph LOHMEYER, Baltimore MD
	36	P. F. O'KEEFE, Mansfield Valley PA (dropped 06/88)
	37	A. Wilson WILBY, Toronto ON (dropped 02/94)
	38	Herbert Crane BEARDSLEY, St. Joseph MO (dropped 01/92)
	39	Hiram Edmund DEATS, Flemington NJ
	40	E. W. VOUTE, Chicago IL (dropped 05/90)
	41	Rudolf WOHLFAHRT, Erfurt, Germany (dropped 05/90)
	42	Philip Mathias WOLSIEFFER, Chicago IL (dropped bef. 07/91)
	43	W. S. McNEAL, Neil's Harbor NS (dropped 12/90)
40/07	44	C. Wesley PRICE, Plymouth MI
10/87	45	W. D. BOYD, Simcoe ON
	46	Albert Edward WARREN, Montreal QC (dropped 02/94)
	47	Schuyler B. BRADT, Chicago IL
	48	Charles R. GADSDEN, Grand Crossing IL (resigned 09/89)
	49	William F. DENT, Buffalo NY (dropped 12/90)
	50	G. A. HASKELL, Chicago IL (resigned 05/88)
	51	Dudley R. HOLMES, Goderich ON (dropped bef. 07/90)
	52	A. LIEBETRAU, Gablonz (Jablonec, Czechia) (dropped bef. 07/90)
	53	Robert Augustus Baldwin HART, Montreal QC (resigned 01/92)
	54	John Ronald DAVIDSON, Brandon MB (dropped bef. 07/90)

	1	Val C MINED Have in Fall NV (have at 42 (00)
	55	Karl C. MINER, Hoosick Falls NY (dropped 12/90)
	56	Henry Robb LEDYARD, Toronto ON (resigned 04/89)
	57	Frederick BURNETT, Brantford ON (dropped 01/92)
	58	George WALKER, Peterborough ON (died 06/89)
	59	John Willis CALDWELL, Halifax NS (dropped 06/88)
	60	Walter Edgarton SIMPSON, Guysborough NS (dropped 05/90)
	61	Alec Melvin JONES, Hoosick Falls NY
	62	H. C. KENDALL, Emmetsburg IA (dropped 02/94)
	63	Charles W. PEUGH, Kossuth IN (resigned 05/88)
	64	Eli E. BOOK, Niagara Falls South ON (died 04/89)
	65	William Sullivan BARNES, Montreal QC (dropped bef. 07/90)
	66	Thomas J. McMINN, Toronto ON, then New York NY (dropped 05/90)
	67	Edward Young PARKER, Toronto ON (resigned 02/92)
	68	James Edward GASS, Halifax NS (dropped 12/90)
11/87	69	E. J. PHILLIPS, Toronto ON (dropped 06/88)
	70	Julia Selina MASON, Toronto ON (dropped 05/90)
	71	Edward Grafton SHANNON, Halifax NS (dropped 05/90)
	72	Ernest R. ALDRICH, Benson MN (dropped 12/90)
	73	L. W. EDWARDS, Smith's Mills PA (resigned 06/88)
	74	Francis William ROUNSEFELL, Brandon MB (dropped 06/88)
	75	John H. JOHNSON, Southport, England (dropped bef. 07/90)
	76	W. D. B. SPRY, Barrie ON (dropped bef. 07/90)
	77	A. E. SMITH, Halifax NS (resigned 02/90)
	78	C. A. CURRY, Halifax NS (dropped 06/88)
	79	Walter L. EMORY, Fitchburg MA (dropped 12/90)
	80	James Noble CRANE, Halifax NS (dropped 01/92)
	81	F. RUSSELL Jr., Brandon MB (dropped 06/88)
	82	Alvah DAVISON, Helmetta NJ (resigned 03/90)
	83	Edward P. LEA, Toronto ON (dropped 05/90)
	84	J. F. MacDONALD, Paris ON (dropped 06/88)
	85	J. M. DOUGLAS Jr., Middletown CT (dropped 06/88)
	86	H. ANDREWS, Halifax NS (resigned 03/89)
	87	George H. COX, Shelburne NS (dropped bef. 07/90)
	88	Charles S. MEEK, Toronto ON (dropped 05/90)
	89	William John GRAYDON, Streetsville ON (dropped 05/90)
12/87	90	E. COLEMAN, Portsmouth NH (resigned 07/90)
12/6/	91	Max STADIE, New York NY (dropped bef. 07/90)
	92	Arthur Guy Ashton FLETCHER, Woodstock ON (dropped 05/90)
	93	E. O. EVANS, Charlestown MA
	94	A. E. WILLIAMS. Killarney MB (resigned 01/89)
01/88	95	John Alexander CRAIG, Yarmouth NS (dropped bef. 07/90)
01/66		
	96	J. C. SPENCE, St. Marys ON (dropped 06/88)
	97	Frank B. ELDREDGE, Attleboro MA (dropped 12/90)
	98	Frederick INESON, Weston ON Googra W. von LITASSY, Gormantown BA (dropped OF /00)
	99	George W. von UTASSY, Germantown PA (dropped 05/90)
	100	G. Frank READ, Providence RI (dropped bef. 07/91)
	101	V. GURDJI, Galveston TX
	102	William Henry GARDINER, Toronto ON (dropped bef. 07/90)
	103	J. E. SKEELE, Niagara Falls South ON (dropped 11/88)
	104	Robert C. H. BROCK, Philadelphia PA
	105	Joseph J. CASEY, New York NY (resigned 05/89)
	106	Joseph INESON, Weston ON (dropped bef. 07/90)
	107	Charles A. TOWNSEND, Akron OH (resigned 07/89)
	108	A. G. NEEDHAM, Milton ON (dropped 05/90)
03/88	109	David A. WATSON, Dundas ON (dropped 12/90)
	110	M. BRILL, New York NY (resigned 04/89)
	111	H. A. BABB, Denver CO (dropped 05/90)
	112	John C. FELDWISCH, Denver CO (dropped 05/90)
04/88	113	Henry R. DONOHOE, St. John NB (resigned 03/89)
	114	Percival PARRISH, Newport RI (see also #208)
	115	W. H. BACON, West Newton MA (dropped 05/90)
	116	Charles B. RUSSELL, Mariboro MA
05/88	117	John Starr BIXBY, Decatur IL (dropped 05/90)
	118	Morrice E. FINNEY, Harrisburg PA
	119	Cléophas Charles MORENCY, Quebec QC
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123 William C. STONE, Springfield MA (resigned 01/91) 124 Frederick George HARVIE, Charlottetown PE (resigned 07/90) 125 W. A. MacCALLA, Philadelphia PA (resigned 07/90) 126 Arthur Allison BARTLETT, Charlottetown PE 127 J. A. SHANNON, Carbon WY (dropped 01/92) 128 F. N. MOSSOTH Jr., Hanover Centre IN (dropped 02/94) 129 Edward J. ROGERSON, Barrie ON (resigned 07/89) 130 Felix BRANDE, Milford NE (dropped bef. 07/90) 07/88 131 Alfred Eugène LABELLE, Montreal QC 132 S. G. RETALLICK, Belleville ON (dropped 05/90) 133 Jesse E. HARPEL, Pottsville PA (resigned 04/89) 134 W. S. ALDRICH, Portland ME (resigned 04/89) 135 Frederick W. FELDWISCH, Denver CO (dropped 05/90) 136 Henry MORELL, Toronto ON (dropped 12/90) 137 George N. CAMPBELL, Hopkinsville KY 138 John Edward SCHULTZE, Montreal QC 139 George Daniel IVES, Pictou NS (dropped 02/94) 11/88 140 August LEHMANN Jr., Paterson NJ (dropped 01/92) 141 Alexander Thomas OGILVIE, Montreal QC (dropped 02/94) 142 Edward C. BIGGAR, Fremont NE (dropped bef. 07/90) 143 William Andrew DeWolf SMITH, New Westminster BC (dropped 12/90) 12/88 144 George A. KINGSTON, Belleville ON (dropped 05/90) 145 James H. GOWAN Jr., Winnipeg MB (dropped bef. 07/90) 146 S. C. SCOTT, Calmar IA (dropped 05/90) 147 James C. MONTGOMERY, Brantford ON (dropped 05/90) 148 Alfred LANE, Barrie ON (dropped 12/90)	
124 Frederick George HARVIE, Charlottetown PE (resigned 07/90) 125 W. A. MacCALLA, Philadelphia PA (resigned 07/90) 126 Arthur Allison BARTLETT, Charlottetown PE 127 J. A. SHANNON, Carbon WY (dropped 01/92) 128 F. N. MOSSOTH Jr., Hanover Centre IN (dropped 02/94) 129 Edward J. ROGERSON, Barrie ON (resigned 07/89) 130 Felix BRANDE, Milford NE (dropped bef. 07/90) 07/88 131 Alfred Eugène LABELLE, Montreal QC 132 S. G. RETALLICK, Belleville ON (dropped 05/90) 133 Jesse E. HARPEL, Pottsville PA (resigned 04/89) 134 W. S. ALDRICH, Portland ME (resigned 03/90) 135 Frederick W. FELDWISCH, Denver CO (dropped 05/90) 136 Henry MORELL, Toronto ON (dropped 12/90) 137 George N. CAMPBELL, Hopkinsville KY 138 John Edward SCHULTZE, Montreal QC 139 George Daniel IVES, Pictou NS (dropped 02/94) 11/88 140 August LEHMANN Jr., Paterson NJ (dropped 01/92) 141 Alexander Thomas OGILVIE, Montreal QC (dropped 02/94) 142 Edward C. BIGGAR, Fremont NE (dropped bef. 07/90) 143 William Andrew DeWolf SMITH, New Westminster BC (dropped 12/90) 12/88 144 George A. KINGSTON, Belleville ON (dropped 05/90) 145 James H. GOWAN Jr., Winnipeg MB (dropped bef. 07/90) 146 S. C. SCOTT, Calmar IA (dropped 05/90) 147 James C. MONTGOMERY, Brantford ON (dropped 05/90) 148 Alfred LANE, Barrie ON (dropped 12/90)	
125 W. A. MacCALLA, Philadelphia PA (resigned 07/90) 126 Arthur Allison BARTLETT, Charlottetown PE 127 J. A. SHANNON, Carbon WY (dropped 01/92) 128 F. N. MOSSOTH Jr., Hanover Centre IN (dropped 02/94) 129 Edward J. ROGERSON, Barrie ON (resigned 07/89) 130 Felix BRANDE, Milford NE (dropped bef. 07/90) 131 Alfred Eugène LABELLE, Montreal QC 132 S. G. RETALLICK, Belleville ON (dropped 05/90) 133 Jesse E. HARPEL, Pottsville PA (resigned 04/89) 134 W. S. ALDRICH, Portland ME (resigned 03/90) 135 Frederick W. FELDWISCH, Denver CO (dropped 05/90) 136 Henry MORELL, Toronto ON (dropped 12/90) 137 George N. CAMPBELL, Hopkinsville KY 138 John Edward SCHULTZE, Montreal QC 139 George Daniel IVES, Pictou NS (dropped 02/94) 11/88 140 August LEHMANN Jr., Paterson NJ (dropped 01/92) 141 Alexander Thomas OGILVIE, Montreal QC (dropped 02/94) 142 Edward C. BIGGAR, Fremont NE (dropped bef. 07/90) 143 William Andrew DeWolf SMITH, New Westminster BC (dropped 12/90) 12/88 144 George A. KINGSTON, Belleville ON (dropped 05/90) 145 James H. GOWAN Jr., Winnipeg MB (dropped bef. 07/90) 146 S. C. SCOTT, Calmar IA (dropped 05/90) 147 James C. MONTGOMERY, Brantford ON (dropped 05/90) 148 Alfred LANE, Barrie ON (dropped 12/90)	
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148 Alfred LANE, Barrie ON (dropped 12/90)	
149 M. R. KNIGHT, Little York PF	
145 W. R. RIVOTT, ERRIC TOTALE	
150 George E. PRYOR, Scranton PA (dropped 01/92)	
151 Charles Edward CAMERON, Montreal QC	
152 Silas D. REED, Taunton MA (resigned 07/89)	
153 W. S. KINZER, Wooster OH (expelled 06/89)	
154 A. E. WICKENS, Brantford ON (resigned 01/90)	
155 W. H. BRUCE, Hartford CT	
156 Charles E. SHAW, Clinton MA (dropped 01/92)	
157 Frederick W. NELLIS, London ON (dropped bef. 07/90)	
158 William J. J. CULROSS, Waltham MA (dropped bef. 07/90)	
159 E. T. TAYLOR, Upper Melbourne QC (dropped 02/94)	
160 Charles HYDE, Truro NS (dropped bef. 07/90)	
161 Howard C. MOODY, Malden MA (dropped 01/92) 162 Frank HIRSCHFELD, Halfax NS (dropped 12/90)	
163 T. S. FRANCIS, Halifax NS (dropped 12/30)	
164 Thomas Finlayson TOBIN, Halifax NS (dropped bef. 07/90)	
165 J. O. HOBBY, New York NY (resigned 01/92)	
166 A. R. TODD, St. Anns, Jamaica (dropped 05/90)	
167 Levy DUNSFORD, Peterborough ON (dropped 05/90)	
168 Frank D. CROSBY, Yarmouth NS (dropped 05/90)	
169 Miss S. A. HAMILTON, Wolfville NS (dropped bef. 07/90)	
01/89 170 Charles BEAMISH Jr., Philadelphia PA	
A. G. BISHOP, Brooklyn NY (resigned 07/90)	
172 Paul SICOTTE, Montreal QC	
173 Racey U. YOUNG, Milton ON (dropped 05/90)	
174 T.J. MITCHELL, Chicago IL (resigned 07/89)	
175 Russell McLEAN, Pictou NS (resigned 01/91)	
176 William H. NIENSTEDT, St. Louis MO (resigned 06/90)	
177 Charles J. FUELSCHER, St. Louis MO (dropped 05/90)	
178 W. J. CALDER, Windsor NS (dropped 05/90)	
179 William H. PUTNAM, Lewiston ME (resigned 04/90)	
03/89 180 Henry GREMMEL, New York NY (resigned 07/92)	
181 William Von Der WETTERN, Baltimore MD (resigned 07/91)	
04/89 Thomas H. BARKER, St. John NB (application denied)	
Charles Broadwell CORWIN, New York NY (resigned 07/92)	
184 C. B. FRASER, Pictou NS (dropped bef. 07/91)	

	185	William H. GOODRICH, Fitchburg MA (dropped bef. 07/90)
	186	Foster W. CURRY, Horton Landing NS (resigned 01/92)
	187	Rudolphus Ritzema BOGERT, New York NY
05/89	188	Lewis G. PARNAL, Newcastle ON (dropped 12/90)
06/89	189	Victor Horace YOUNG, Montreal QC (dropped 12/90)
•	190	William B. WHITNEY, Marlborough NY (dropped 01/92)
	191	Charles M. BREDER, Bethlehem PA (resigned 01/94)
	192	C. B. NICHOLSON, Windsor NS (dropped 12/90)
	193	Thomas S. CLARK, Belleville ON
	194	Frederick James BRIMER, Toronto ON (dropped 12/90)
	195	Robert D. KAY, Galt ON (dropped 12/90)
	196	George H. WATSON, New York NY
	197	Arthur Edeker JUBIEN, Halifax NS (dropped 12/90)
	198	Richard HOLLICK, Birmingham, England (dropped 08/92) (see also #301)
09/89	199	S. R. SIRCOM, Boston MA
	200	Charles J. MUSSON, Islington ON (dropped 12/90)
	201	Philip H. DILG, Chicago IL (dropped 12/90)
	202	Duncan S. WYLIE, New York NY (dropped 02/94)
10/89	203	William Henry BROUSE, Toronto ON
	204	William R. GRAHAM, Windsor NS (dropped 12/90)
11/89	205	John W. ALLEN, Chicago IL (dropped 12/90)
	206	J. S. ROBERTSON, St. Thomas ON (dropped 12/90)
	207	Edward Boker STERLING, Trenton NJ (dropped 02/94)
12/89	208	Percival PARRISH, Newport RI (dropped 01/92) (see also #114)
	209	Thomas Joseph Workman BURGESS, Hamilton ON
	210	Thomas W. REYNOLDS, Hamilton ON
	211	John Henry CHAPMAN, Montreal QC (resigned 01/91)
	212	Edwin A. DURGIN, Boston MA (dropped 01/92)
	213	Charles S. REYNOLDS, Montreal QC (resigned 01/92)
01/90	214	F. J. STANTON, Smyrna NY (resigned 01/92)
	215	Ingram C. MARGESON, Waterville NS (dropped 01/92)
	216	Frederick NORTHRUP, Deckerstown NJ (dropped 02/94)
	217	Frederick NOYES, Collins TX
	218	R. K. SPROWLE, Toronto ON (dropped bef. 07/91)
02/90	219	Charles D. McDONALD, Pictou NS (dropped 01/92)
	220	W. H. BRATT, New York NY (dropped 01/92)
	221	Lincoln RAPPLEYE, Trumansburg NY (dropped 02/94)
03/90	222	Milo C. REYNOLDS, Eagle Bridge NY (dropped 01/92)
	223	Henry Francis MOOERS, Kingston ON (resigned 01/92)
	224	C. VAN DEUSEN, Westfield MA (resigned 04/91)
04/90	225	John M. SHERIDAN, Brooklyn NY (resigned 02/92)
	226	W. T. PARRISH, Kansas City MO (resigned 09/92)
	227	W. L. GRANT, Kingston ON (resigned 07/91)
	228	J. D. McCARTHY, Amherst NS (dropped 01/92)
	229	J. CROUZIER, Tusket Wedge NS (dropped 01/92)
	230	Thomas C. HOWLEY, Lake Park MN (resigned 01/92)
	231	William KLEINE, New York NY (resigned 01/92)
05/00	232	Thomas Oliver PARDOE, Ingersoll ON (dropped 01/92)
05/90	233	Alfred LIONAIS, Montreal QC (resigned 01/91)
06/90	234	I. D. WILLET, Flushing NY (dropped 01/92)
08/90	235	F. G. JOHNSON, Painesville OH
09/90	236	Edwin B. TODD, Calais ME
	237	William C. MAYO, Washington DC (dropped bef. 07/91)
10/00	238	Charles Haviland MEKEEL, St. Louis MO (resigned 11/93)
10/90	239	Henry CLOTZ, New York NY
	240	August DEJONGE, Staten Island NY
11/00	241	Rudolf F. ALBRECHT, Staten Island NY
11/90	242	Walter McMAHON, Toronto ON
04 /04	243	Edward Harry Douglas HALL, Peterborough ON (resigned 01/93)
01/91	244	Montefiore JOSEPH, Quebec QC
	245	C. M. TAYLOR, Winnipeg MB
	246	W. J. ENGLISH, Peterborough ON (resigned 07/91)
02/01	247	R. M. SPENCER, Nordhoff CA (dropped 02/94)
03/91	248	A. P. CHANDLER, Fargo ND
07/91-10/91	249	William PATTERSON, Montreal QC

	250	Lanklan CIRR Mantreal OC (resistant 00/03)
	250	Lachlan GIBB, Montreal QC (resigned 08/93)
	251	Thomas DORMAN, Halifax NS
	252	Charles Guinand BLACKADER, Halifax NS
	253	Frederick Jones SCOTT, Winnipeg MB (resigned 09/92)
	254	William Kelsey HALL, Peterborough ON (resigned 03/95)
	255	A. R. ROGERS, New York NY (dropped 02/94)
44/04	256	A. G. ALLISON, Belleville ON
11/91	257	A. S. BUTCHART, Hartney MB (resigned 08/92)
	258	Alvin SMITH, Boston MA
	259	John KERR, St. John NB
	260	E. L. WEATHERHEAD, Brockville ON (dropped 02/94)
	261	George P. FERGUSON, Hudson NY (resigned 02/92)
42/04	262	Charles E. OSBORN, Philadelphia PA (dropped 02/94)
12/91	263	Frank S. SCAMMEL, St. John NB
01 /02	264	W. A. BUCHANAN, Norwood ON
01/92	265	Henry Ades FOWLER, Toronto ON (expelled 03/94)
02/02	266	C. S. McKEE, Toronto ON
02/92	267	C. WITT, New York NY (resigned 01/95)
	268	C. E. STEWART, Peabody KS
	269	W. B. SHATTUC, Denver CO (resigned 09/92)
	270	C. H. P. RONEY, Worcester MA (dropped 02/94)
02/02	271	Luther W. MOTT, Oswego NY
03/92	272	P. R. B. JONES, London ON (dropped 08/92)
2.122	273	Henry T. WEST Jr., Milwaukee WI
04/92	274	Hastwell William THORNTON, New Richmond QC
22/22	275	W. W. MacLAREN, Cleveland OH (resigned 01/93)
06/92	276	Charles H. HOLDEN, Port Dover ON
	277	J. S. WILSON, Toronto ON
07/92	278	Emil GLOGAU, St. Louis MO
	279	Harlow E. WOODWARD, Boston MA
09/92	280	George A. MOORE, Toronto ON (resigned 04/93)
01/93	281	T. W. BROWN, Mimico ON
04/93	282	Charles E. SHAW, Clinton MA (resigned 10/94)
08/93	283	Clifford Washington KISSINGER, Reading PA
	284	John J. CODVILLE, Ottawa ON
	285	John Skillman O'MEARA, Quebec QC
11/93	286	William BROWN, Salisbury, England
12/93	287	L. H. BENTON, Taunton MA
	288	Lawrence Merner STAEBLER, London ON
	289	Francis BARTELS, St. Hyacinthe QC
	290	George Alfred LOWE, Toronto ON (see also #33)
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	315	Edward W. HENSINGER, San Antonio TX
04/94	316	Isaac Christie PITBLADO, Winnipeg MB
	317	Frederick J. SCOTT, Winnipeg MB
	318	Ernest Wood DINGMAN, Winnipeg MB
05/94	319	William W. WALSH, Halifax NS
06/94	320	F. W. AYER, Bangor ME
07/94	321	Georges CARION, San Francisco CA
	322	William N. NEIFERT, Vineyard Haven MA
01/95	323	John Waller de Courcy O'GRADY, Wallaceburg ON
02/95	324	Tomasso COELHO, London, England
	325	J. M. MacKENZIE, Toronto ON
04/95	326	J. J. SCRUGHAM, Belleville ON

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