

THE ATOLL POST OF THE *EANIJEN RAKIJEN* IN 1909: A Contribution to the Postal History of the Marshall Islands

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One of the most intriguing examples of Marshall Islands postal history stems from the German colonial period: handwritten cancellations made by captains of sailing vessels and by postal agents on several atolls. Ever since they were authorised in 1902, these cancellations have been sought after by collectors. Increased publicity of their existence in 1908, coupled with colonial fervour in the general press, created a strong demand among German stamp collectors. It is not surprising that enterprising expatriates in the Marshall Islands provided a philatelic 'service' catering for that market. Some of them, the philatelic literature has claimed, are outright falsifications that never saw real transportation aboard any of the island vessels. This paper will examine in detail the case of one set of these handwritten cancellations, those created in March and April 1909 aboard the schooner *Eanijen Rakijen*. It will demonstrate that the voyage indeed occurred, and that the cancellations are genuine, albeit most of them of a purely philatelic nature.

The Marshall Islands comprise 29 atolls and five islands and are located in the Central North Pacific. They are arranged in two parallel north-west to south-east oriented chains, the Ralik Chain in the west and the Ratak Chain in the east.

Germany annexed the Marshall Islands as 'protectorate,' buying it from Spain in 1885. The protectorate was administered from 1886 until 1906 on behalf of the German government by the Jaluit Gesellschaft, a concession company formed by a merger of German trading interests in the region. In effect, the major trading company had been handed the power of administration and, within wide bounds, the power to make laws and regulations which would affect trade. Abuse of the power, and incompetent heavy-handed management by one of the administrators, led to the cancellation of the concession in 1906 (Spennemann 1998b). In subsequent years the German administration was repeatedly restructured with the status of the Marshall Islands being progressively downgraded. In 1907 they became a district subordinate to the Governor in Rabaul (New Guinea) and, finally, a mere station of the Pohnpei District in 1911. On 3 October 1914 Japanese troops occupied the Marshall Islands as a result of Japan coming to

Britain's aid in World War I (cf. Spennemann 2000).

THE MAIL SERVICE

The standard mail services to and from the Marshall Islands went through Jaluit, which had been declared sole port of entry by 28 June 1888 (Knappe 1886a-b; 1887; Sonnenschein 1888). The Imperial German Government opened a Post Office on Jaluit in March 1889. Until the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 much of the mail went from Jaluit to the Spanish Garrison on Pohnpei (then 'Ponape') and then via Manila to other destinations. This was severely disrupted during and immediately after the war (Spennemann 2003).

The first regular steamer connection was established in 1902 using the Jaluit Gesellschaft steamer *Oceana* which connected Jaluit with Sydney and, in a later development, HongKong. From 1905 onwards the purpose-built steamer *Germania* carried out a regular service that ran as follows: Sydney – Ocean I. – Tarawa – Butaritari – Nauru – Jaluit – Kosrae – Pohnpei – Chuuk – Saipan – Yap – Palau – HongKong (and back the same way). The bulk of the mail was sent via the Jaluit Gesellschaft steamer, four times a year, however, mail was also sent to Sydney aboard the Burns Philp

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steamers buying up copra in the Marshalls and Kiribati (Reichskolonialamt 1911).

THE ATOLL CANCELS

The internal mail within the Marshalls was handled by small sailing ships operated by the Jaluit Gesellschaft. These vessels serviced the various trading stations, dropped trade goods and picked up copra. During the early period captains would take on the mail as a matter of courtesy, hand it to the postmaster on Jaluit who would then frank it, cancel it and send it on its way. The system seems to have relied on the preparedness and good will of individual captains to handle mail.

This was formalised on 25 June 1902 by the acting district administrator von Bunsen who decreed that (i) mail service was the prerogative of the German Post Office in Jaluit, and that (ii) captains of vessels visiting atolls of the Marshalls were obliged to carry mail and had to announce their departure twenty-four hours in advance (v. Bunsen 1902). A directive issued by the German Post Office in Jaluit, dated the same day, specified that the letters had to be franked with the correct stamps and that the captain of the vessel had to cancel these letters by writing on them the name of the vessel and the date of receipt. This was the genesis of the famous 'Atollpost' (atoll mail) of the Marshalls, which attracted much attention in collectors circles (cf. Friedemann 1908b), and which led to widespread abuse at a later stage (Laup 1929). On 16 June 1903 an agreement between the German administrator and the Jaluit Gesellschaft saw the establishment of formal procedures, whereby a single (white) trader was authorised to collect as well as to receive all mail from and to a given atoll (Brandeis & Hütter 1903).

In addition to the formal shipping services provided by the captains of the Jaluit Gesellschaft, we also need to be aware that several traders owned small vessels that may have carried their own mail if and when they went to Jaluit. Additionally, mail could have been transported by the schooners owned by the various Marshallese chiefs. Mail transported by these means would be almost indistinguishable from the normal mail despatched from Jaluit

except in unusual circumstances when it could be identified from the context of the sender (cf Spennemann & Taylor 2003).

In 1908 Friedemann published a brief paper on the handwritten atoll cancellations (Friedemann 1908b), which immediately caused a demand for these items. Once the philatelic demand for these letters began, the former postmaster Carl Domnick, now owner of the Jaluit hotel and pub 'Germania', commenced the production of such covers on a larger scale. By 1908 a formidable production 'ring' had been formed, comprised of Carl Domnick, his wife Auguste Domnick, Captain Carl Jeschke, Ms Elisabeth Heyne and the Marshallese Likokur (Laup 1929, p. 2602). Jeschke was the captain of the Jaluit Gesellschaft Schooner *Aeolus* and provided legitimate means of creating genuine albeit philatelic covers. While postmaster, Domnick had already created bisected stamps, supposedly as an emergency measure, almost all sent to confederates in Pohnpei and had thereby demonstrated his philatelic entrepreneurial skills.



Fig 1. Philatelic cover addressed to E. Heyne sent from Mile on 1 April 1909 on board the Eanijen Rakijen. (Cherrystone Auction 204 #1136).

THE EANIJEN RAKIJEN CANCELS

The atoll cancels either carry the date together with the name of the atoll, the date with the name of the vessel or the date with both. On record as 'cancellers' are the following German trading schooners: *Aeolus*, *Diana*, *Gazelle*, *Mercur*, and *Triton*, and the American vessels *Morn-*

ing *Star* and *Luisa D.* In addition there is one Marshallese name among these ships, the *Eanijen Rakijen* (Laup 1929).

Marshallese chiefs owned European schooners as early as the 1870s. Port statistics and ship registration files show that in the first decade of the twentieth century at least four Marshallese-owned schooners plied the waters of the Marshall Islands: the *Kotemene* (22.5 tons) owned by *irooj* ('chief') Ujelan (Arno), the *Mercur* (52 tons) owned by *irooj* Litokwa (Jaluit), the *Benak* (52.9 tons) and later the *Eanijen Rakijin* (47 tons) both owned by *irooj* Kabua (Jaluit), (Kaiser 1905; Schwabe 1906). It is the latter vessel that for 1909 is on record as having produced atoll post cancellations. These will be the focus of this discussion.

Friedemann in his discussion of these cancels refused to illustrate them as all of these were, in his view, 'makes' (cf. Friedemann 1921, p. 336; Wittmann 1957). He listed a number of cancellation dates for the schooner *Eanijen Rakijen*, labelling all of them as philatelic creations (Table 1) and thus essentially worthless. This harsh view has somewhat mellowed in the more recent past, with *Eanijen Rakijen* fetching considerable prices at auction (cf Cherrystone Auction 204).

Table 1. *Atoll cancels by the vessel Eanijen Rakijen* (German date conventions maintained).

Atoll	Date	Illustration
Arno	27.3.09	Fig 2a
Mili	1.4.09	Fig 1
Majuro	4.4.09	
Aurh	7.4.09	
Wotje	9.4.09	
Likiep	11.4.09	
Kwajalein	13.4.09	Fig 3
Wotho	7.4.09	
Ujae	18.4.09	Fig 4
Lae	20.4.09	
Lib	23.4.09	
Namu	24.4.09	
Ailinglaplap	26.4.09	

W. Laup (1929, p. 2602-03), in his seminal work on the atoll mail of the Marshall Islands, provided a somewhat more differentiated view of the *Eanijen Rakijen* covers, made possible by eye witness information. Based on information

received from Captain Justus Krümling, erst-while harbourmaster of Jaluit, Laup (1929, p. 2597-98) claimed that the *Eanijen Rakijen* was chartered by the German administration in 1909 to carry out an inspection tour of the entire group, and that Krümling had served on that trip assisting the captain of the *Eanijen Rakijen*.

Having confirmation that the trip was genuine, Laup could assert that *Eanijen Rakijen* covers were created in large numbers on orders from philatelic traders in Germany. Accordingly he lists these cancellations among philatelic letters (Laup's Sorte III).

Moreover, in Laup's view, some of the covers are actually genuine items, cancelled by Krümling.

Laup (1929, p. 2601) mentions and depicts (p. 2610 n° 60) one example where the date for Arno was erroneously written as '27.5.09' and then corrected to '27.3.09.' Laup deems this item (Fig 2a) a demand letter addressed to H. Anderson in Jaluit. The stamp bears a cancellation executed in Captain Krümling's handwriting (Laup's Sorte I). A second example, cancelled at Kwajalein on 13 April 1909 was also executed in Captain Krümling's handwriting (Fig 2b), which Laup classified, while genuine, as a philatelic example of his Sorte III (Laup 1929, p. 2601 n° 64).



a) Arno cancel



b) Kwajalein cancel

Fig 2 *Eanijen Rakijen* handwritten cancels depicted by Laup (1929).

In addition to these two, Laup identified a third group. He cautions that all letters addressed to and sent by Ms Elisabeth Heyne of Jaluit have to be regarded *a priori* with extreme caution. He suspected that these were forgeries, carried out by people who were not authorised to do so, and which were hand-cancelled and counter-cancelled in Jaluit for purposes of philatelic fraud (Laup's Sorte V).

Two such covers were sold at the 2004 Cherrystone Auction (n° 204), one with a handwritten cancellation from Mile ('Milli')(Fig 1) and one with a cancellation from Kwajalein ('Kwadjelin')(Fig 3). Both are addressed to "E. Heyne, Jaluit," with the address written by typewriter using a blue-violet ribbon. The address makes it very clear that these letters were prepared ahead of time for the collector's market, especially if we consider that typewriters were scarce in the Marshall Islands at the time and not commonplace on atolls other than the commercial centre of Jaluit. One of the envelopes has the address repeated in handwriting, adding the salutation 'Fr' (Fräulein, Miss). The handwriting used is different from that cancelling the stamp (Fig 3).



Fig 3. Philatelic cover addressed to E. Heyne sent from Kwajalein on 15 April 1909 on board the Eanijen Rakijen.
(Cherrystone Auction 204 # 1134).

All envelopes are furnished on the back with a receiving stamp of the type 2II Jaluit cancel, bearing the date 28 April 1909. That was the date the envelopes were delivered to the Jaluit post office. Common to all envelopes discussed so far is that they are correctly franked with red 10Pfg Yacht-type stamps.

A further cover can be illustrated here. It was cancelled at Ujae on 18 April 1909 and is addressed to Oberleutnant von Hartmann, SMS *Condor*, Jaluit. Franked with a 20Pfg Yacht-type stamp on the envelope, the cover is thus franked well above the required 10Pfg

rate. Given Laup's classification system, this cover would belong to Sorte (class) III.



Fig 4. Philatelic cover addressed to Oberleutnant von Hartmann, SMS *Condor*, sent from Ujae on 18 April 1909 on board the Eanijen Rakijen.
(Heinrich Wasels).

There are two questions to be answered:

(i) Was the voyage of the *Eanijen Rakijen* genuine, and if so, why did a Marshallese-owned vessel cancel German inter-atoll mail?

(ii) Are the *Eanijen Rakijen* cancels pure manufacture, *ie* all made in Jaluit after the fact, or were they made on the voyage and are thus philatelic evidence of the trip?

If it can be demonstrated that the voyage indeed occurred, and that all covers were made *en route*, then the *Eanijen Rakijen* covers would gain credibility as genuine mail items, albeit philatelic constructions—even the covers Laup classified as philatelic fraud.

The route of the *Eanijen Rakijen*

The voyage of the *Eanijen Rakijen* did in fact occur. Before we consider the historic records for the voyage, however, let us briefly engage in a reconstruction of the vessel's route purely based on the chronological sequence of the atoll cancels (Fig 5). The start and end point of the voyage would have been Jaluit. The sequence of atolls visited certainly makes sense from a geographical point of view. The travel times, as can be gleaned from the atoll dates are also reasonable and within the range of known times. In this regard the inconsistent date of 7 April 1909 for the Wothe cancellation is assumed to be a typesetting error in Friedemann (1921, p. 336) that was carried on to new editions (see Wittmann 1957).

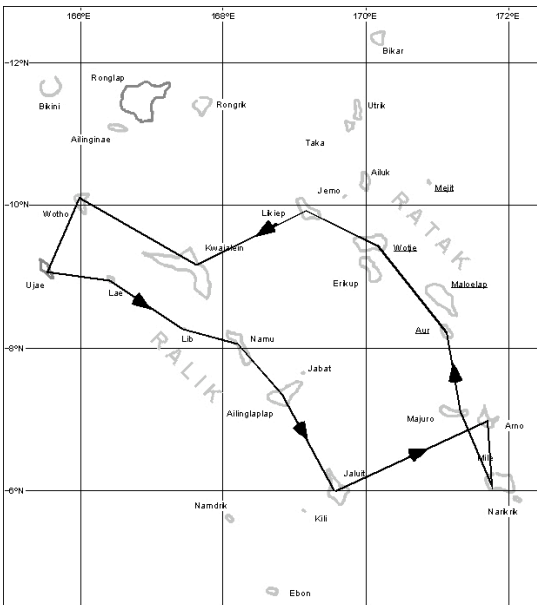


Fig 5. Map of the Central Marshall Islands, showing the theoretical route of the *Eanijen Rakijen* based on the cancel chronology.

The voyage stopped at all of the major inhabited atolls on the circuit with one conspicuous omission: Maloelap. While a stop-over on Maloelap could theoretically have occurred (but no cancelled letters have surfaced so far), the overall timeline would not afford enough time for a stop-over and associated inspection of the island(s) and the hearing and settling of pending judicial cases. Indeed, historic records suggest that Maloelap was passed by.

Missing from the route also are the northern atolls of the Ratak Chain (Ailuk and Uterik) as well as the northern islands of the Ralik Chain (Rongelap and Rongerik). The reasons for that will become clear when we consider the historic records.

The ability to reconstruct a cohesive travel sequence from the dates of the atoll covers, which can be demonstrated for the *Enanijen Rakijen* voyage of 1909, has major implications. If it can be demonstrated that it is likely that philatelic fraud did not occur, but that all such covers in fact represent actual dates when German trading vessels were at the atolls, then we can use these philatelic records to reconstruct the movements of trading vessels within the Marshalls (which shall be the focus of separate study).

THE RECORDS

An in-depth analysis of the voyage is hampered by the fact that the local level records of the German administration in Jaluit, those that would have recorded that level of detail, were lost after the German Marshall Islands were occupied by Japanese forces in the early days of World War I on 3 October 1914. The available correspondence is limited to the files that were held by the German Governor's Office in Rabaul (the German New Guinea) and the files held at the Colonial Office in Berlin.

The Harbour Records

The harbour records provide us with the movements of the 47-tons schooner *Eanijen Rakijen*¹ for 1909 (Table 2). Based on the harbour records the *Eanijen Rakijen* left Jaluit on 24 March for a tour of the group and returned

¹ Little is known about the 47 tons schooner *Eanijen Rakijen* (literally 'northward-southward'). The copper-clad, two-masted and single decked schooner was built in San Francisco in 1905 (Kaiser 1905; Schwabe 1906). According to recollections by Justus Krümling, the vessel, ferried by Krümling reputedly arrived in Jaluit in late 1907 (Laup 1929, p. 2597). It is on record, however at least since December 1906 (Schwabe 1906). The ship was formally registered in Jaluit with the call sign FCLG and owned by *irooj* Kabua of Jaluit (Schwabe 1906). After his death in 1910 the vessel passed on to *irooj* Leit, also of Jaluit. The vessel was mainly engaged in inter-atoll travel.

on 28 April from the 'Raliks.' Thus the time frame of the trip and the purported atoll cancels match well. Normally the crew of the *Eanijen Rakijen* in 1909 and 1910 was reported as seven or (mainly) eight. For the period in question the crew was nine, with a Marshallese, Loggerak, listed as the vessel's captain in the harbour records. During that period the vessel had two passengers on board.

From colonial correspondence we know that at the time the German district administrator ('Bezirksamtman') Wilhelm Stuckhardt was indeed on an inspection trip of the atolls to investigate the needs of the atoll populations and, in his function as magistrate, to sit in judgement over petty matters that had accumulated since the last visit. Because the German administration on Jaluit did not own an official vessel, such patrol visits were usually carried out aboard visiting German warships, or on sailing vessels chartered for the occasion. For the 1909 voyage Stuckhardt had chartered the *Eanijen Rakijen*, then owned by *irooj* Kabua.

While it would have been customary to send a copy of the official report on the inspection trip to the Governor in Rabaul, we seem to be lacking this report—possibly because of the events that overshadowed anything that could have transpired during these days.

The Japanese feather poachers on Bokak

While listening to the community concerns on Wotje, Stuckhardt was informed by a Marshallese lower ranking chief that several Japanese poachers had been living on Bokak Atoll in the far north of the Ratak Chain and were engaged in illegally killing birds for their feathers (Stuckhardt 1909). Because Stuckhardt appeared inclined to ignore the matter, a German trader sailed to Jaluit to make a formal deposition to the German secretary Krempien. Once on record, it could not be ignored. Actions eventually followed after Stuckhardt had returned to Jaluit on 28 April (Stuckhardt 1909; Spennemann 1998b).² This, however, forced

Stuckhardt to justify why he had not proceeded directly from Wotje to Bokak (580km north), but went some 380km south to Jaluit instead.

Sidelight on the inspection trip

In his correspondence with the German colonial office on the matter, Stuckhardt provides some information on the inspection trip. Stuckhardt goes to great length to argue that the 47-ton *Eanijen Rakijen* was only built for Indigenous peoples and was lacking a toilet and bathroom. Moreover, the cabins were, in his view unsuitable because of vermin and ants (Stuckhardt 1909). One wonders why he had chartered the vessel in the first instance, as his patrol trip through the Marshalls took him 4 1/2 weeks and exposed him to such conditions. Stuckhardt also stressed that the official captaincy of the vessel had to be left to a Marshallese employed by the owner, as the *Eanijen Rakijen* was not insured and no insurance company was prepared to accept it unless a fully trained captain with a Masters Certificate for Open Sea Navigation was in charge (Stuckhardt 1909). That, however, none of the Marshallese possessed. On the other hand, the charter conditions with *irooj* Kabua were such that in case of an accident under the command of anyone but Kabua's own captain, a sum of Reichsmark 40,000 was to be paid in compensation (Stuckhardt 1909). This comment explains why Krümling was indeed aboard—to serve for emergencies during the trip and advise the captain should he become lost—but does not figure in the harbour records.

Finally, Stuckhardt also noted that fresh water and food supplies proved limited on Likiep, where he had intended to restock, and that the wave action in the northern Marshall Islands was so considerable that he had to postpone the intended visits to Rongelap and Rongerik (Stuckhardt 1909).

The outcome of the above discussion is that the voyage indeed occurred and that the sequence of atolls visited appears to be genuine.

² Rather than using the already chartered *Eanijen Rakijen*, for reasons that will be discussed below, Stuckhardt chartered the Jaluit Gesellschaft-owned schooner *Aelous* to carry him on the law enforcement mission (Stuckhardt 1909)—most likely because he did not

wish to enforce German sovereignty aboard a Marshallese-owned vessel (Spennemann 1998a). He departed on the *Aelous* on 4 May, returning to Jaluit on the 18th.

Table 2. *Movements of the vessel Eanijen Rakijen in and out of Jaluit in 1909*

Arrival	From	Cargo	Captain	Crew	Pass	Departed	To	Cargo
11-Jan	Ailinglaplap	Provisions	Kabua	8	120	13-Jan	Ailinglaplap	Ballast
19-Jan	Ailinglaplap	Ballast	Jopikle	8	125	21-Jan	Namorik	Ballast
11-Feb	Namorik	Copra	Ligjerak	8	3	16-Feb	Raliks	Ballast
11-Mar	Ailinglaplap	Copra	Loggerak	8		24-Mar	Group	Ballast
28-Apr	Raliks	Ballast	Loggerak	9	2	01-May	Ebon & Namorik	Ballast
12-May	Ebon	Copra	Loggerak	9	2	15-May	Mejit	Ballast
08-Jun	Mejit	Ballast	Lejemala	9	3	20-Jun	Ujelang	Goods
17-Jul	Ujelang	Coals	Friedrichsen	7		21-Jul	Likiep	Goods
01-Aug	Likiep	Copra	Friedrichsen	7		08-Aug	Ujelang & Enewetok	Goods
19-Sep	Ujelang	Copra	Friedrichsen	9		27-Sep	Likiep	Ballast
10-Oct	Likiep	Coals	Lejemala	7	15	19-Oct	Ebon	Ballast
08-Nov	Namorik	Ballast	Lejemala	7		12-Nov	Ebon	Ballast
22-Nov	Namorik	Ballast	Lejemala	7		24-Nov	Raliks	Ballast

GENUINE OR 'GENUINE'?

What needs to be considered now, is whether the cancellations are genuine philatelic items made on the ship, or whether they were made in Jaluit. Laup is quite adamant that Krümling never engaged in philatelic practices, and that where they occur, Krümling's cancellation aboard the *Eanijen Rakijen* are genuine (Laup 1929, 2601); Laup classifies the two examples of cancelled stamps he exhibits as 'Sorte III.'

Let us for a moment consider the German stamp collecting scene at the time. By 1900 Germany had established its colonial empire with the acquisition of (Western) Samoa, preceded by the acquisition of much of Micronesia in 1899 (Bennigsen 2003). German colonial fervour was rampant, a fact from which stamp collectors were hardly immune. Moreover, the Pacific was a place that was romanticised in the German media and public opinion. Germany had just issued its new colonial stamps (of the Yacht design) which brought new collection opportunities.

The handwritten atoll cancellations, published by Friedemann's 1908 article conjured up the image of primitive conditions, of the 'real' South Seas without reliable connections and a reliable post office. It is hardly surprising that demand set in immediately after the news of

the handwritten atoll cancellations had come to the attention of the stamp collecting public at large.



Fig 6. *Philatelic atoll post cover created by Carl Dominick addressed to his wife Auguste. Sent Likiep 25 May 1908; received Jaluit 3 June 1908.*
(Leski Auction 185 # 495).

The demand for the cancels was very high. Also, we have on record a number of collectors who tried to get complete sets of the atolls for their collection. The economic opportunity these covers presented has already been mentioned, as was the fact that the former postmaster Carl Dominick developed a scheme to generate many of these desired covers (cf. Fig 6).

The production of these covers, however, was limited to opportunities presented when

one of the ‘consortium’, Captain Jeschke, went to respective atolls. The voyage of the *Eanijen Rakijen* on the annual patrol voyage in 1909, and being scheduled to call on most atolls of the Marshalls, allowed the creation of a range of atoll post covers that would fill many orders to come.

Moreover, this patrol would touch on a number of atolls which were normally not covered by the known atoll mail, because they had no resident trader formally recognised as a postal agent. In such cases the atoll mail would be cancelled with the name of the vessel only. To make these covers different, it was necessary to not only cancel them with the name of the vessel, but also add the name of the atoll. This had previously been done for covers generated purely for the philatelic market (the ‘Diana’ covers, Laup 1929).

Any production atoll covers for the philatelic market was only possible, however, if either of the two German administrators on board who were authorised to cancel the letters actually conspired to do so. There is no evidence that Stuckhardt ever cancelled any such letters, and his handwriting, judging from the file records, appears very different from that on the cancelled stamps.

That leaves Krümling, who in fact is already on record as having cancelled some letters, deemed philatelic, but genuine rather than forgeries.

Based on the available evidence, there can be little doubt that Krümling accepted all the letters as formal mail and hand cancelled them according to regulations. This then raises two issues: either Krümling was formally handed the letters to be marked at every location the *Eanijen Rakijen* stopped, or Krümling had a stock of these prepared letters and cancelled a set portion of them at each atoll. The first option implies that an ‘accomplice’ of the philatelic consortium was on board the *Eanijen Rakijen* and could supply the letters to Krümling for mailing; the other explanation is that Krümling was indeed ‘in’ on the deal. Laup (1929) comments that Krümling did not take part in any of these dealings—even though many of the items bear cancellations in his handwriting.

One needs to consider, though, that Krümling was the main, if not sole, informant to Laup on the matter of practices surrounding the atoll cancel. Moreover, if we consider the Ujae cover addressed to Oberleutnant von Hartmann (Fig 4), we note that the handwriting on the cover appears to be the same as that of the cancellation (Fig 7). This suggests that Krümling indeed sent out at least one philatelic item, to an acquaintance of his.³



Fig 7. Enlarged view of the hand cancellation of the Ujae cover (Fig 4).

Furthermore, the use of the 20 Pfg stamp shows that this always was a philatelic item. We also need to consider that any correspondence that could have occurred under normal circumstances between Ujae, an atoll of 153 people in 1910 (Merz 1912), and Jaluit, would have been limited to business correspondence requiring 10Pfg stamps. It is inconceivable that a trader on Ujae would keep 20Pfg stamps needed for the extremely rare, if ever, sent heavier items—especially when for such cases two 10Pfg stamps would serve. The same applies to a captain of any inter-island vessel. Among the philatelic covers made by Carl Dominick during 1908, however, 20Pfg stamps are frequently used. This strongly suggests that the cover had been prepared prior to departure from Jaluit.

³ The German cruiser SMS *Condor*, Korvettenkapitän Otto Kranzbühler commanding, was scheduled to arrive in Jaluit in November 1909 on the annual tour through Micronesia. These dates clearly identify the item as a philatelic one.

There can be little doubt, however, that some letters were genuinely used on the run and that not all *Eanijen Rakijen* mail is philatelic—the example of the demand (?) letter addressed to H. Anderson in Jaluit, and cancelled in Arno seems to attest to that. Yet equally, there can be also no doubt that the vast majority of the *Eanijen Rakijen* covers had been prepared in Jaluit *before* the vessel sailed, which is attested to by the typed address, but that they had been hand cancelled as the vessel went through the group. Indeed, it would have been impossible to accurately hand cancel these items ahead of time as the intended route of the *Eanijen Rakijen* changed unexpectedly due to bad weather conditions.

Could they have been cancelled after return to Jaluit, using the logbook of the *Eanijen Rakijen* to obtain the correct dates? Theoretically this is possible, but given the arrival stamps in Jaluit, the letters were handed to the post office on the day of the vessel's return to port. That would have left only a very small window of opportunity. In this scenario, as Krümling hand cancelled the items, it would have been him forging the covers on return, in collaboration with at least Elisabeth Heyne. Given the official position of Krümling as harbour master, and occasional chief of police—both positions of a civil employee of the German Empire—Krümling would have been committing forgery of official documents. This is an unlikely matter.

CONCLUSIONS

In my interpretation of the issue, Krümling was indeed part of the production of the philatelic covers, but did so within the bounds of legality. The atoll cancels of the *Eanijen Rakijen* voyage of 1909 must be regarded as genuinely items, hand cancelled aboard the vessel when it was at the respective atolls, but purely produced for the philatelic market.

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DIE ATOLL POST DER MARSHALL INSELN: Geplante Analyse und Vorläufiger Katalog

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Ich bin dabei eine historische and philatelistische Analyse aller Atollpost Briefe zu erstellen. Wie der vorstehende Beitrag zeigt, sind die Daten derjenigen Atollpost Briefe die nicht als Total-Fälschungen herausgestellt werden wohl echt. Für meine historischen Forschungen bedeutet dies, daß ich damit Schiffbewegungen und inter-Atoll Kommunikation innerhalb der Marshall-Inseln rekonstruieren kann und somit Informationen gewinne die über die Hafenstatistik von Jaluit hinaus gehen.

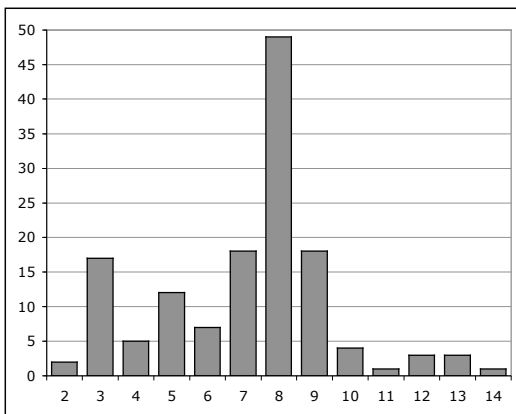


Abb. 1. Häufigkeit der Entwertungsdaten (n=140).

Eine vorläufige Frequenzanalyse von 140 Belegen (Briefen, Briefstücken und Einzelmarken) zeigt deutlich den Einfluss des 1908 in der philatelistischen Literatur erfolgten Hinweises auf diese Entwertungen (Abb 1). Zudem zeigt es einen Sturz nach 1909, was darauf hinzuweisen mag daß die negative Pub-

lizistik zu den Domnick/Heyne Briefen gegriffen haben mag—oder aber daß der generelle philatelistische Bedarf gedeckt war.

Die vorläufige Auswertung der auf *ganzen* Belegen angetroffenen Markenkombinationen ist in Tab.1 dargestellt (Michelnummern).

Tab. 1. Häufigkeit der Frankierungsarten (n=82).

Einzelfrankierung		Mischfrankierungen	
Marken	N	Marken	N
12	1	13 (2x), 14	5
13	2	13 (2x), 14, 16	1
13 (2x)	1	14, 15, 17	1
13 (4x)	1	14, 17	1
14	12	16 (2x), 17	1
14 (2x)	10		
15	29		
16	9		
17	2		
18	4		
DR 71	2		

Ich möchte unbedingt diese Datenbasis ausweiten. Daher wäre ich jedem Leser der *Berliner Protokolle* recht dankbar wenn ich Scans von Atollpost Briefen zugesandt bekommen könnte, welche sich im Original, oder als Bild, im Besitz der Leser befinden.

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