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of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues

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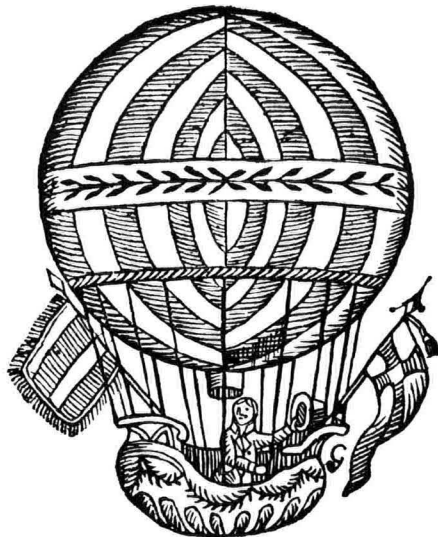
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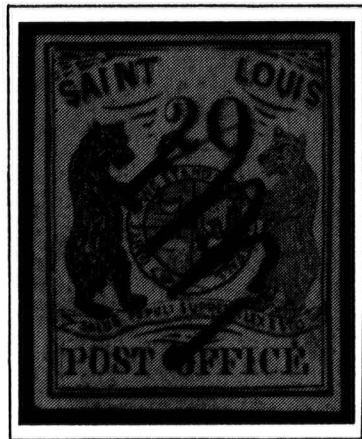
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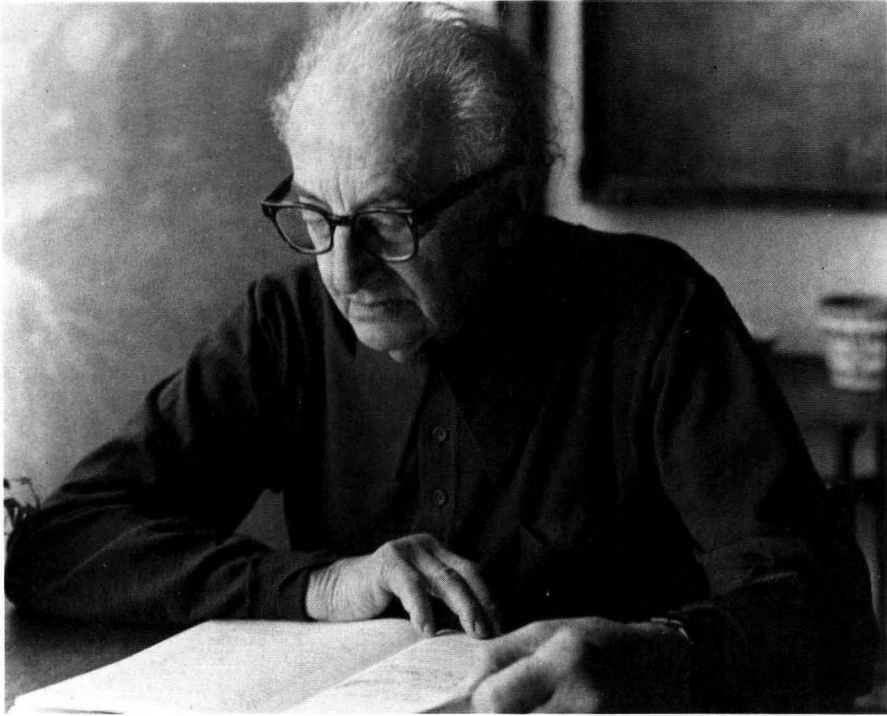
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IN MEMORIAM

OSCAR SALZER

1898 - 1987



Philately lost an extraordinary gentleman on February 8 with the passing of Oscar Salzer.

An Austrian born in Munich, Germany, in 1898, Salzer joined his family's antique business in Vienna, after serving with the Austrian Army in World War I. An outspoken nationalist, he left Austria in 1938, as war clouds began to gather over Europe. Settling in Los Angeles, he continued his association with the art world by becoming a noted dealer and promoter with a special interest in the graphic arts.

Salzer's collecting interest began with specialized collections of world-wide #1s. He later developed a keen interest in United States Postal History and especially stampless covers. He held membership #52 in the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society and was an honorary life member. As with his endeavors in the art world, Salzer emphasized that quality was the prime importance in philately. He derived as much pleasure, or more, from a perfectly struck common cancellation on a pristine cover as from a scarcer item in lesser condition.

In his later years, Salzer turned his attention to assisting the City of Fresno, California, establish an art museum from scratch. Much of the Fresno Metropolitan Museum's fine collection of still life and trompe l'oeil paintings was acquired by Salzer's donation of his life-long collection.

He is survived by Maria Salzer, his wife of 63 years.

J.M.

\$1.5 Million A Record.

The first part of the Louis Grunin 1851–57 Stamps on Cover set the highest realization for a U.S. Postal History sale ever—all 138 lots sold for a total of \$1,500,279 (buyer's premium included).

Among the sale highlights were the following covers and prices:

- 5¢ 1857 Pony Express—\$165,000
- 5¢ 1856 "Klep" Strip—\$121,000
- 12¢ 1857 Pony Express—\$110,000
- 10¢ 1855 Type IV Strip to Sweden—\$82,500
- 10¢ 1857 "Southern Letter Unpaid"—\$55,000
- 1¢ 1851 Type Ia Strip—\$52,800

The second part of this important collection will be offered in the fall, in conjunction with our usual sale of high quality United States stamps and covers. Christie's welcomes additional consignments of single rarities or entire collections from U.S. Classics Society members. While we cannot promise the same outstanding results, we can assure the same high level of service, presentation and market exposure.

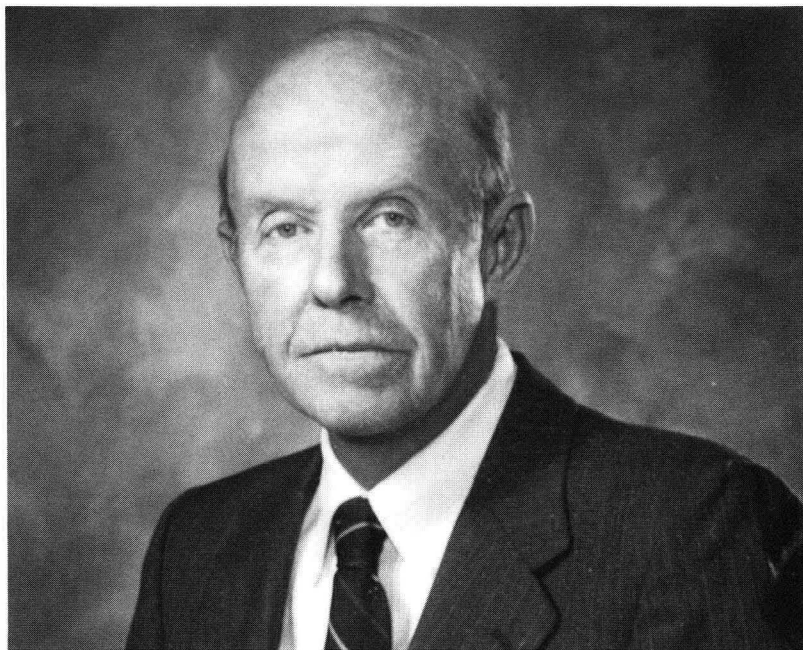
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IN MEMORIAM
DAVID T. BEALS III
1915 - 1987



One of the Society's greatest friends, David T. Beals III, died on April 16, 1987. For 18 years he has served as Associate Editor of *The Chronicle's* 1851-1861 Section. In addition to numerous committee memberships and service as a director over many years, he was President of the Society from 1976 to 1980.

Dave was a graduate of Yale University. At the beginning of World War II he joined the 2d Cavalry Division at Fort Riley, Kansas, and served in the European Theater with the 9th Armored Division, attaining the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. After the war he joined the Missouri National Guard and was a staff officer with the 35th Division, retiring as a Colonel.

He was an enthusiastic sportsman, being joint master of foxhounds for the Mission Valley Hunt. His stamp-oriented friends learned to accept the fact that even philately took a back seat in his priorities during the duck season.

His forebears, including a sutler at Fort Laramie, were pioneer settlers in the Kansas City area who were closely associated with the development of the West. This connection spurred his interest in the postal history of the area where he lived, western military posts, and the overland and ocean mail routes to the Pacific coast.

In addition to his philatelic and postal history collecting interests, Dave was an art collector and a major supporter of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City. He was a member of the Kansas City Country Club, the University Club of Kansas City and the River Club.

While his generosity in making his collection and knowledge available to students was legendary, he will probably be remembered more for his untiring work in promoting the interests of his friends and the societies that he thought worthwhile. The latter certainly include the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, the Collectors Club of Kansas City and Midaphil. We have lost a great and generous heart and will miss him sorely.

T.J.A.

This issue is a tribute to CAPEX 87, the international exhibition being held at Toronto in June. In a salute to our Canadian members and friends, and to philately in Canada, the section editors have all included items with a Canadian theme, from the stampless period to the bank note era, and from the American Revolution to the transatlantic mails.

Appearing also in this issue are an important article by Scott R. Trepel on the 3¢ all-over grill essays, the first of a series on the Columbians by George B. Arfken, and the conclusion of Robbie Lowe's account of the Chicago locals. Enjoy.

ECHOES OF SEVENTY-SIX

SUSAN M. McDONALD

"O monstrous! but one half-penny-worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!"

Henry IV, Part I

The Prize

The fall of Quebec in 1759 was decisive in the conquest of New France by British arms. In the following decade and a half, restoration of peace and civil government fostered intercourse between Canada and the colonies to the south. Yankee traders moved north, finding commercial opportunities, especially in Montreal, and becoming vocal in government affairs. The passage in June 1774 of the Quebec Act allowing the practice of Roman Catholicism and restoring French civil law allayed the fears of the ruling class and clergy in Canada, while the general population, mostly isolated and illiterate, showed little concern for politics.

The growing revolutionary ferment in the thirteen American colonies made inroads in Canada. The colonists tried to persuade Canadians, first by exhortation, later by force, to join in the struggle against the iniquities of British rule. For a while, it seemed they might succeed.

Although the American colonies professed such noble motives as securing the blessings of liberty and self-government to the Canadians, an equally compelling consideration was protection from possible attack by British forces which might operate from Canada unless it was under American control or at least neutralized. And others, untainted by altruism, wanted mainly to exploit its riches for personal gain.

In the American colonies the Quebec Act was a new focus of agitation and protest. Congress assembled in Philadelphia in the fall of 1774 (invitations to Canada and Nova Scotia to send representatives were disregarded) and addressed a letter to the "People of Great Britain" denouncing the Quebec Act and Roman Catholicism. A few days later the same body addressed the inhabitants of Quebec province with glowing promises of brotherhood and freedom — religious differences were ignored.

The propaganda continued — Canadians were confused by contradictory events and undecided in their loyalties. Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada and instrumental in passage of the Quebec Act, had trouble raising a militia among the *habitant* population.

Protest in the American colonies moved to open rebellion with the Battle of Lexington in the spring of 1775. The forts along the Champlain waterway were inadequately manned, their stores and armaments tempting prizes. Ethan Allen, with the assistance of Benedict Arnold, took Fort Ticonderoga on May 10; the next day Seth Warner and his men seized Crown Point. Arnold proceeded up Lake Champlain to St. Jean which fell May 17, although it was soon recaptured by troops from Montreal under Major Charles Preston.

The ease of these conquests led some Americans to believe that all of Canada could be persuaded to the American cause with little effort or bloodshed. Messages alternately persuasive or threatening were directed at Montreal. Congress had not yet determined on an overt invasion of Canada. Carleton arrived at Montreal with reinforcements on May 26, but did not suppress insubordination and disloyalty among American sympathizers. Many Canadians wanted to remain neutral.

The Struggle

On July 27 Congress resolved that an invasion of Canada should be mounted with the objective of capturing Quebec. General Philip Schuyler was sent to Ticonderoga and Crown Point to assess the situation. He was joined by General David Wooster and Ethan Allen; there was squabbling over authority. Congress sent Richard Montgomery to take command. Allen, in an attempt on Montreal, was defeated and captured at Long Point on September 25 and sent, a prisoner, to England. Montgomery meanwhile had laid siege to St. Jean on September 18. Schuyler fell ill and returned to Albany, leaving Montgomery in charge. A small American force went past St. Jean to Chambly, which surrendered on October 17 after a day and a half, putting St. Jean in an untenable position. Carleton was unable to muster troops to relieve St. Jean; Preston capitulated there on November 3. The way to Montreal lay open to Montgomery, who reached La Prairie November 11. That same day Carleton left Montreal, making his escape in an open boat in the dress of a *habitant*; however, most of his troops were captured. Carleton reached Quebec November 19. Montgomery's troops entered Montreal on November 13 to the apparent welcome of the citizens.

Meanwhile a bold scheme for the capture of Quebec had been implemented by Benedict Arnold. His plan was to march a force of 2,000 through the wilderness of what is now Maine, up the Kennebec River, across the height of land, and down the Chaudière River to the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec. The length and difficulty of this march were woefully underestimated. Arnold and his troops left Cambridge in mid-September; arriving by boat at the mouth of the Kennebec in late September, they set out up the river. After numbing hardships and weeks of unremitting struggle,¹ a much reduced force of about 650 (a group under command of Colonel Enos had turned back) emerged, close to starvation, near Ste. Marie on November 5 and reached Pointe Levis November 8. Arnold and his troops crossed the river November 13 — the day Montgomery's forces entered Montreal — and reached the Plains November 14. There was talk of storming Quebec but Arnold decided to wait for Montgomery; he made camp at Pointe aux Trembles about twenty miles upstream.

After consolidating his hold on Montreal and reorganizing his forces, Montgomery put Wooster in command and left Montreal November 28. He sailed with 300 troops (360 more joined them at Sorel) downriver to meet Arnold on December 3. On December 5 they laid siege to Quebec.

Although without artillery, Montgomery demanded surrender — the defenders of Quebec did not respond. When the artillery did arrive, it had little effect against Quebec's fortifications. The siege dragged on and the situation of the Americans deteriorated. Growing disaffection among the troops (the enlistments of many were about to expire) undermined morale. The undisciplined conduct of the soldiers and the inability to pay hard cash alienated the *habitants* on whom they depended for supplies.

Montgomery, a prisoner of his own reputation, grew impatient for success. Perhaps remembering 1759 — Quebec had fallen once, it might again — he decided on a desperate stratagem: a two-pronged attack on the lower town to gain access to the upper town and catch Carleton unaware. Under cover of a snowstorm the night of December 30-31, Montgomery led a sortie along the path by Cape Diamond while Arnold, with another force, approached from St. Roch. But surprise was lost; the British and Canadian militia, alert and waiting, fired

1. *Thrust for Canada* contains a vivid and stirring account of Arnold's march.

their cannon and muskets on Montgomery's advance party. Montgomery was killed, as were many of his soldiers; the survivors fled. Arnold's group struggled to gain some ground but suffered many casualties. Arnold was severely wounded and was carried away to safety. Daniel Morgan, who had accompanied Arnold on the Kennebec march, took over command but eventually had to surrender; his forces were taken prisoner.

The siege of Quebec continued but the American troops were demoralized. Many longed for home; some deserted. Smallpox spread and many soldiers fell ill and were unable to fight. Hard money was scarce, making provisions difficult to obtain.

When news of the unsuccessful attempt on Quebec and of Montgomery's death reached Congress, they reacted with dismay and alarm. The grand design of joining Canada with the other colonies was in danger. Congress still believed that Canadians could be persuaded if they understood the opportunities and future offered them. Emergency measures were undertaken and additional troops and funds authorized for use in the Canadian campaign, but the urgency of the situation was not truly appreciated. On March 30 Arnold described some of the difficulties facing him:²

. . . Our numbers are far short of what I expected before this time, and the New-England troops will be of very little service to us for some time, as the greatest part of them have the small-pox. . . . Our Surgeons are without medicine; our Hospitals crowded, and in want of almost every necessity . . . A well furnished military chest (which gives life and spirits to an army) is entirely wanting, without which we cannot make one movement in this country. For, to tell you the truth, our credit extends no farther than our arms. . . .

An even more candid report appeared in a letter from Moses Hazen, whom Wooster had left in charge at Montreal:³

To take a view of our little Army here, I have pretty good information that our strength in camp before Quebeck did not, on the 18th of March, much exceed that of the day after General Montgomery's fall. . . .

The taking of Quebeck is altogether casual. The keeping of the country, according to the present appearance of affairs, is totally against us. No preparation has, is, or can be made to guard the river, for a very good reason — no money or men of skill to do it; the whole country left without any other kind of law than that of the arbitrary and despotick power of the sword in the hands of the several commanding officers — too frequently abused in all cases of this nature.

The Commission

On February 15, 1776, Congress resolved to send a commission of three, two being congressional delegates, to Canada to deal with the Canadians and convince them to support the American cause. The Commission was composed of already distinguished men whose fame would increase in the future. The chairman, Benjamin Franklin, 70 the previous January, had returned from London in May of 1775. During the approximate year and a half he remained in America before departing for France he served in many capacities in behalf of the revolution and was a delegate to Congress. Samuel Chase (1741-1811), also a delegate, had been staunch in resistance to British rule. Later he signed the Declaration of Independence. President Washington appointed him to the Supreme Court where he wrote many pivotal opinions. In 1805, with the encouragement of President Jefferson, articles of impeachment were brought against Chase; his acquittal strengthened belief that impeachment of judges must be based on criminal charges. Charles Carroll (1737-1832) of Carrollton was a wealthy landholder in Maryland and a prominent Roman Catholic who had been educated abroad by Jesuits. He was elected to Congress July 4, 1776, and later served in many important positions, including the U.S. Senate. He was the last surviving signer of the Declaration.

2. Arnold to Silas Deane, Camp before Quebeck, March 30, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 549.

3. Hazen to Schuyler, Head-Quarters, Montreal, April 1, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 752.



Figure 1. The two Carrolls. Charles Carroll of Carrollton is on the left. His cousin, Rev. (later Bishop) John Carroll, is shown at right.

The fourth member of the party, but not a commissioner, was Rev. John Carroll, Charles Carroll's cousin, an eminent Catholic who had been ordained in 1769. He was later instrumental in founding a Catholic seminary which became Georgetown University. In 1788 Rev. Carroll became the first American Bishop of the Catholic church. Congress requested that Father Carroll join the Commission in the hope that he would be persuasive to the Catholic hierarchy in Canada. Accompanying the four was Baron Frederick de Woedtke, who had just been made a Brigadier General.

The Commission's charter read in part: "we . . . do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you, or any two of you, Commissioners for and on behalf of us, and all the People of the United Colonies whom we represent, to promote or to form an union between the said Colonies and the People of Canada, according to the Instructions herewith delivered you"

The Instructions included these lofty aims:⁴

Inform them that, in our judgment, their interest and ours are inseparably united. . . . To convince them of the uprightness of our intentions towards them, you are to declare that it is our inclination that the people of Canada may set up such a form of Government as will be most likely to promote this happiness. . . . Endeavour to stimulate them, by motives of glory, as well as interest, to assume a part in a contest by which they must be deeply affected; and to aspire to a portion of that power by which they are ruled; and not to remain the mere spoils and prey of conquerors and lords.

The Commissioners were also empowered to participate and vote in Councils of War.

Departure was delayed until the Commission's Instructions were issued on March 20. The Commissioners left New York by boat on April 2 to sail up the Hudson River. The condition of the roads and the presence of ice on Lakes George and Champlain held up the journey for many days. The Commissioners arrived at Montreal late on the afternoon of April

4. In Congress, March 20, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 411-13.

29. Charles Carroll kept a journal of the trip. It is a lively detailed account of the countryside, their travel experiences, and their observations; it deserves to be more widely read. However, there are few entries for the period the Commission remained at Montreal and none between April 29 and May 11.

On March 6 Congress had promoted John Thomas, the hero of Dorchester Heights, to the rank of Major General, and appointed him to take command of the army in Canada. The action at Dorchester Heights had forced General Howe and his adherents to withdraw from Boston. Thomas was instructed to proceed by way of Albany and the Champlain valley to Montreal and on to Quebec. Arnold's leg wound had nearly healed, and General Wooster had joined him at Quebec on April 1. The next day Arnold reinjured his leg; partly because of this but mainly because of Wooster's intransigence,⁵ he requested transfer to Montreal, where he replaced Hazen, having left Quebec April 12. On April 20 Arnold wrote to Schuyler, reiterating the need for troops and funds, and emphasizing the dire consequences of failure.



Figure 2. Benjamin Franklin in a fur hat that would have been suitable for Montreal in early spring. At the right is Major General John Thomas.

When the Commissioners reached Montreal, they were greeted by Arnold, fêted with a party, and housed at Thomas Walker's, supposedly the finest accommodations available. The following morning a Council of War was held at headquarters at the Chateau de Ramezay. The council, attended by the three commissioners and de Woedtké, and presided over by Arnold, agreed to set up and fortify with cannon a post on the shore at the falls of Richelieu, likewise the post at Jacques Cartier, and to build at Chambly six gondolas capable of transporting cannon. In their report to Congress the Commissioners explained that the measures proposed "are proper to prevent the further progress of the enemy in case they should oblige us to raise the siege of Quebec."⁶ By their next report dated May 8 they had learned the consequences of lack of hard money:⁷

Our enemies take advantage of this distress, to make us look contemptible in the eyes of the Canadians, who have been provoked by the violences of our military, in exacting provisions

5. Arnold to Schuyler, Montreal, April 20, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 1098-99.

6. Commissioners in Canada to President of Congress (Hancock), Montreal, May 1, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 1166-67.

7. Commissioners in Canada to President of Congress, Montreal, May 8, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 1237.

and services from them without pay — a conduct towards a people who suffered us to enter their country as friends, that the most urgent necessity can scarce excuse, since it has contributed much to the changing their good dispositions towards us into enmity, and makes them wish our departure. . . . In short, if money cannot be had to support your Army here with honour, so as to be respected, instead of being hated by the people, we report it as our firm and unanimous opinion, that it is better immediately to withdraw it.

General Thomas's journey to Montreal had paralleled that of the Commission; in fact, they had met in Albany and traveled in company of General Schuyler to Saratoga. John Thomas (1724-1776) had served in the French and Indian War and then had spent 15 years in the practice of medicine. The news Thomas received as he made his way to Montreal was not encouraging. With considerable understatement he informed Congress from Albany that "should a reinforcement of the enemy arrive before we get possession of Quebeck, considering the smallness of our number, some disagreeable consequence must ensue."⁸

Another difficulty was the deplorable conduct of the troops as Schuyler complained to Hancock, "I have been long apprehensive that the imprudent conduct of our troops would create a disgust to our cause in the Canadians. . . ."⁹

Thomas left Albany April 8 and arrived at Montreal on April 26. The following day he wrote to Washington that he had conferred with Arnold and others and learned that conditions at Quebec were unpromising because of the expiration of enlistments, shortage of ammunition, scarcity of provisions, lack of hard cash, and the unfriendliness of the population.¹⁰ He left almost immediately for Quebec, which he reached May 1.

Mail from Occupied Montreal

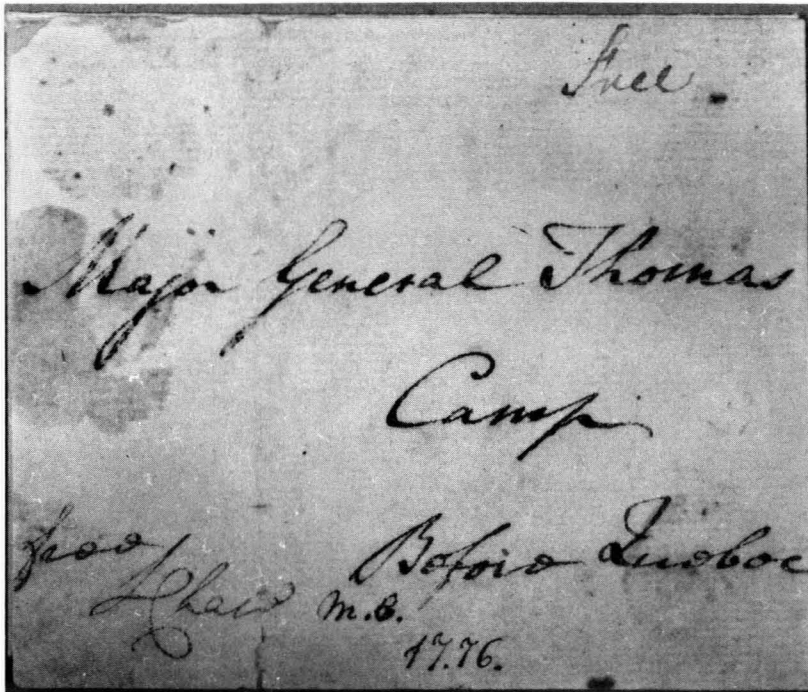


Figure 3. Cover (address leaf) from occupied Montreal, addressed to Major General Thomas at the "Camp/Before Quebec." Franked by Samuel Chase as one of the Commissioners and Member of Congress.

8. Thomas to President of Congress, Albany, April 8, 1776. *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 822.

9. Schuyler to President of Congress, Fort George, April 12, 1776. *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 868.

10. Thomas to Washington, Montreal, April 27, 1776. *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, V, 1104.

A postal service of sorts existed at Montreal during the American occupation, November 13, 1775, to June 15, 1776.¹¹ The letters from Schuyler, Arnold, and others contain numerous references to the “Canada post.” Carroll’s *Journal* mentions an encounter with the Canada post as the Commission crossed Lake George. Few artifacts of this service have survived, although I presume some exist in the U.S. National Archives (as indicated by the records compiled by Force), and a few other institutions. One example is shown in Figure 3; it is an address leaf only — the contents are unknown. Addressed to Thomas at Quebec, it was franked by Samuel Chase in his capacity as a Commissioner. Although no date appears, the possibilities are limited to the period from April 30, the day after the Commission’s arrival at Montreal, to May 9, when news of the retreat from Quebec reached the Commissioners. The fact that the address is in another hand, probably a scribe’s, suggests that this was an official communication to Thomas from the Commission. As such, it may have been a report of the Council of War on April 30 in which the Commission participated; if so, it could have been

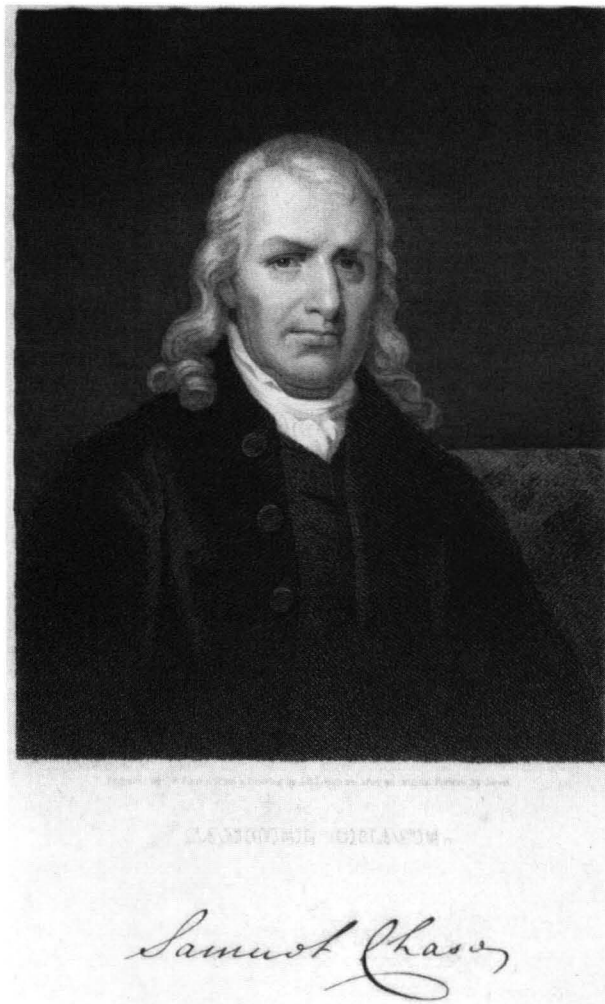


Figure 4. Samuel Chase in an engraving after a portrait by Jarvis. Compare his signature here with his frank in Figure 3.

11. See Alex L. ter Braake, *The Posted Letter in Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1628-1790*, pp. P-24-26.

written as early as April 30 or May 1. Whether it reached Thomas at Quebec before he left there is impossible to say. Since the outer leaf has survived, the contents may have, too, but Force cannot have had access to them, as nothing reproduced in *American Archives* is pertinent.

Retreat

When Thomas came to Quebec he found the situation even worse than anticipated. On May 5 he held a Council of War attended by Wooster and the field officers. As Thomas later informed Washington, the Council,¹²

. . . after mature deliberation, were unanimously of the opinion that as, upon the first arrival of any reinforcement to the enemy, all communication by the river would inevitably be cut off by their armed vessels, it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the invalids immediately to remove them to the Three Rivers, and to collect the artillery and other stores, in order to move them and the Army further up the river as soon as it could conveniently be done, to secure some posts where there would be a prospect of resisting with success.

The departure of Howe with troops and loyalists from Boston in March had a negative aspect. They made their way to Halifax for the remainder of the winter and, once the St. Lawrence was free of ice, were available for the relief of Quebec. On the evening of May 5 Thomas learned of "fifteen ships being forty leagues below Quebec."¹³ The following morning five ships were sighted downriver approaching rapidly. Carleton's forces at last emerged from the fortress and attacked the American sentries and guards. The attempt to remove the sick and withdraw supplies and artillery to a place of safety upriver turned into a precipitate rout. Abandoning supplies and some of the invalids, the American forces retreated to Deschambault. It was a withdrawal delayed too long in Thomas's opinion:¹⁴

. . . I do not mean to reflect on any gentleman who has had the command in this department; but, in my ideas of war, as there was nothing which promised success in the issue, it would have been highly proper to have made this movement some weeks past.

From Deschambault, which could not be defended, the American army retreated to Sorel. Thomas stayed at Deschambault with a rear guard of 500 for six days, then went on to Three Rivers May 15. He proceeded to Sorel where he was joined by reinforcements under Brigadier General William Thompson on May 16. By now Thomas was ill with smallpox which he had contracted soon after arriving at Quebec (average incubation is two weeks), and Wooster took over command. The disease followed a virulent course and Thomas died at Chambly on June 2.

News of the retreat from Quebec only confirmed the judgement of the Commissioners that their mission was futile. Franklin, the pragmatist, had thought so from the start. Convinced he could accomplish nothing and fatigued by the rigors of the trip north, he left Montreal on May 11. Father Carroll, who had always been uncomfortable in the rôle expected of him, followed the next day and joined Franklin at St. Jean for the journey south.

Chase and Carroll remained at Montreal, making trips of inspection to St. Jean, Chambly, and La Prairie. They reported on conditions to Hancock on May 17, and to Schuyler on several occasions. On May 27 they bluntly informed Hancock that "General Wooster is, in our opinion, unfit, totally unfit, to command your Army, and conduct the war. . . ."¹⁵ (Congress acted on this advice June 7.)

On May 29 Chase and Carroll left Montreal for Chambly where a Council of War was

12. Thomas to Washington, Head-Quarters, Point Deschambault, May 8, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 453.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, 454.

15. Commissioners in Canada to President of Congress, Montreal, May 27, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 589.

held the next day. The decision was to try to hold the area between the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers and prepare for an orderly retreat. The Commissioners departed Chambly May 31 for the return south, and were back in Philadelphia June 10. The Commission had failed, but through no fault of its own — the mission was doomed long before the Commissioners entered Canada.

Many officers, acutely aware of opportunities lost, felt anguish at the course of events in Canada. In a letter to Gates Arnold wrote:¹⁶

. . . I am heartily chagrined to think we have lost in one month all the immortal Montgomery was a whole campaign in gaining, together with our credit, and many men and an amazing sum of money.

William Thompson expressed similar sentiments to Washington:¹⁷

It is extremely hard to give up all the fruits of the last year's campaign in Canada, which cost so much, and, what was still a greater loss to us, the life of General Montgomery, without even releasing our distressed friends in Quebec.

General Sullivan at Chambly talked of a “glorious death” in battle; Schuyler had to lecture him that withdrawal was a wiser course:¹⁸

The evacuation of Canada will certainly be attended with many disagreeable [consequences]; but will not the total destruction of our Army, and a consequent loss of the country, be attended with those infinitely more fatal?

Some, especially at a distance from the scene, could not accept that the adventure was over and were eager to revitalize the campaign with more troops, more arms, more zeal. When realization came they tried to look on the bright side:¹⁹

The loss of Canada is undoubtedly, on some accounts, to be viewed in the light of a misfortune. . . . Yet, on the other hand, there is a mixture of good fortune attending it: that our Army should make so prudent a retreat as to save their baggage, cannon, ammunition, sick, &c., from falling into the hands of the enemy, will afford a partial consolation, and reflect honour upon the officers who conducted it.

Considering the superior force of the British troops, and a retreat as unavoidable, everything has been done which in such a situation would be expected. In short, I am extremely glad our Army is likely to get safe out of Canada.

Carleton with his British and Canadian troops pursued the fleeing Americans up the St. Lawrence, but did not engage them. He stopped at Three Rivers to await reinforcements. The American retreat continued; Sorel was evacuated on June 14, Montreal on the 15th, St. Jean on June 18. By July 2, the Americans had left Canada. Carleton halted at St. Jean and let them go.

There would be other battles, even other wars, but the campaign to join Canada with the American colonies was over. There was plenty of blame and regret to go around. In a long letter to his brother Thomas Cushing, the Massachusetts patriot and delegate, Charles Cushing, who served with Thomas's forces, detailed the whole campaign and expressed his doubts:²⁰

Had we taken Quebec, we could not have kept it, as the enemy could come in with their fleet, and cut off all communication; and nothing has hurt our cause so much as coming to Canada, where, in my opinion, we had nothing to promise ourselves.

16. Arnold to Gates, Chambly, May 31, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 649.

17. Thompson to Washington, Camp at Sorel, June 2, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 685.

18. Schuyler to Sullivan, Albany, June 20, 1776, 10 o'clock P.M., *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 997.

19. Hancock to Washington, Philadelphia, June 30, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 1133. A quite unrealistic appraisal.

20. Charles Cushing to Thomas Cushing, Camp at Crown Point, July 8, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fifth series, I, 128-32.

In a letter to Archibald Bullock, John Adams offered this analysis:²¹

The small-pox has ruined the American Army in Canada, and of consequence the American cause. A series of disasters has happened there, partly owing, I fear, to the indecision at Philadelphia, and partly to the mistakes or misconduct of our officers in that department; but the small-pox, which infected every man we sent there, completed our ruin, and compelled us to evacuate that important Province. We must, however, regain it some time or other.

* * *

It is a cruel reflection, that a little more wisdom, a little more activity, or a little more integrity, would have preserved us Canada, and enabled us to support this trying conflict at a less expense of men and money; but irretrievable miscarriages ought to be lamented no further than to enable and stimulate us to do better in future.

The same day, in a letter to Chase, Adams provided the coda:²²

Alas, Canada! We have found misfortune and disgrace in that quarter — evacuated at last.

Afterword

What might have been is incalculable. What is is inestimable. The refrain of Ian Tyson's *Song for Canada*, describing another partition, seems appropriate here, too: "Two nations in the land that lies along its shore, But just one river flowing free."

21. Adams to Bullock, Philadelphia, July 1, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 1193-94. Many historians cite Congress's vacillation as a prime cause of the expedition's failure.

22. Adams to Chase, Philadelphia, July 1, 1776, *Am. Arch.*, Fourth series, VI, 1194.

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PRINTED POSTAL MARKINGS

(Continued)

Dr. James W. Milgram has submitted an item which has a good Canadian association, in addition to being a very scarce, if not rare, example of a stampless typeset townmarking. Figure 1 illustrates the blue double lined 26½ mm. circle of Sandown, N.H., dated in manuscript June 18, (1857), sent to Port Hope, Canada West. The ink of the date matches the manuscript 10, this being the 10¢ per ½ oz. unpaid rate, as prepayment on mail to Canada was not compulsory at this date.

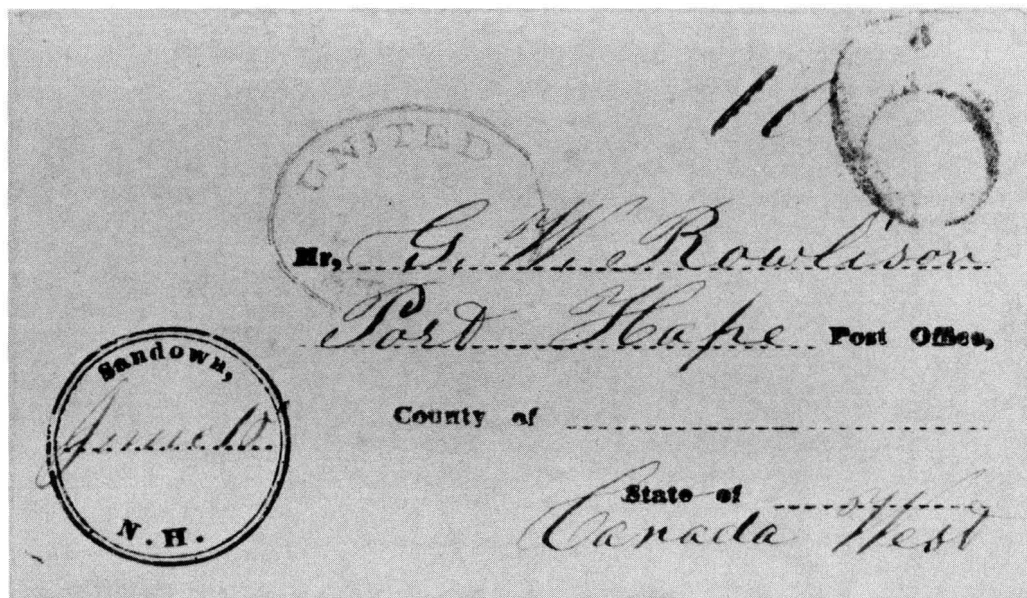


Figure 1. Printed townmarking of Sandown, N.H., used in 1857 to Canada. A rare and unusual cover. (Photo by James W. Milgram, M.D.)

There is also an impression of a black oval exchange marking similar in configuration to marking number 38, pg. 319 of the most recent edition of *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings, 1851-61*, which text identifies it as having been used at Boston, Mass. There is also a large blue 6, which is a marking common to several Canadian offices, indicating the equivalent 6d due to be collected from the recipient. It is probable that this cover travelled from Boston by "through bag" to the Canadian exchange office at Kingston, U.C., where the 6 was applied and was thereafter transmitted in the Canadian postal system until it reached its destination. This tends to be confirmed by the Canadian backstamps illustrated in Figure 2. Here one finds two strikes of the serifed no outer circle of KINGSTON/ U.C. dated JU(ne) 20/1857, and a sans-serif no outer circle of PORT HOPE/U.C. dated JU(ne) 21/1857. Port Hope was located on the north shore of Lake Ontario, about 55 miles N.E. of Toronto.

It will be noted that the printed townmarking was applied in the same printing process that provided the address lines Mr. . . . / . . . Post Office, / County of . . . / State of . . . , a pattern that has previously been noted for other printed postmarks. This points to a convenience feature, probably in connection with some sort of mass or periodic mailing, or commercial venture. Sandown was a post-township of Rockingham Co., N.H., located

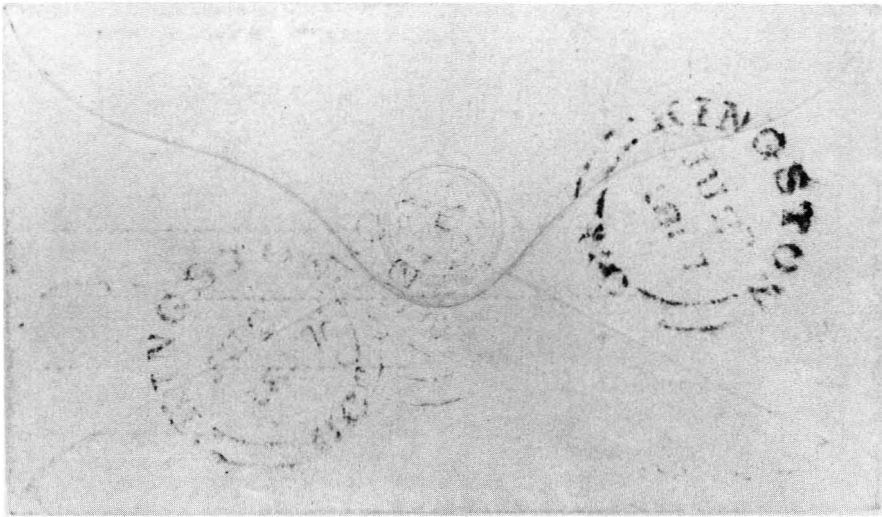


Figure 2. Flapside of Sandown, N.H., cover illustrating Kingston, U.C. exchange office markings and faint Port Hope, U.C., receiving townmarking. (Photo by James W. Milgram, M.D.)

about 34 miles S.E. of Concord not far from the Atlantic coast, with a population of about 500 inhabitants at that time.

SHORT PAID LETTERS TO CANADA — THEY MIGHT AS WELL HAVE BEEN STAMPLESS

One of the most interesting periods of U.S. stampless use, rich in material and variety, occurred after the introduction of the general issue postage stamps in 1847. Thereafter one begins to see the interplays between prepayment by stamp, prepayment by cash, and the unpaid transmission of letters. On the domestic side, the pressure to achieve uniform prepayment by stamps culminated in the postal laws of 1855, which made such prepayment compulsory, with notable exceptions (drop letters, free franked mail), effective January 1, 1856. Also, the mails to and from foreign countries were exempted from the prepayment by stamp requirement. It is my hope, eventually, to illustrate several different aspects of the stampless-stamped interfaces after 1847.

This connection would include instances in which the presence of an adhesive stamp or stamped envelope is completely superfluous, or where, for all intents and purposes, a cover might as well have been sent stampless. Such instances arose, for example, through the postal relations between the United States and Canada. Of particular interest here are covers sent after the agreement between the two countries that took effect on April 6, 1851. This established the rate, mentioned in the foregoing article, of 10¢ or 6d per ½ oz. to or from any place in the United States to or from any place in Canada (except the Pacific Coast, where the rate was 15¢ or 9d.) Under this arrangement there were no accountings kept (quite different from the credit and debit treaty-bound transatlantic mails!), and each postal system retained the monies collected on prepaid letters sent or unpaid letters received. Of special importance was the fact that while prepayment was not required, partial or short payments were completely disallowed, so that a letter sent with insufficient payment either in cash (evidenced by stampless markings) or stamps was treated as if completely unpaid.

Figure 3 illustrates a cover which originated June 3, 1852, at TROY/N-Y with a 3¢ 1851(#11), sent to Montreal. The stamp is obliterated with a blurry strike of a blue double circled X, which matches the townmarking, with a second clear strike of the same marking at the far right. This rating mark was used extensively during the period 1847-1851 on regular domestic mail, and after the rate changes of July 1, 1851, continued to be used on mail to

Canada, as well as unpaid letters to California. There is also a black exchange marking U.STATES in a fancy ribbon, often associated with the exchange office at New York, and a black Canadian circled 6^D for the amount to be collected by the unlucky recipient. There also is a red sans-serif no outer circle townmarking of MONTREAL/L.C. dated JU(ne) 5/1852 on the flapside.

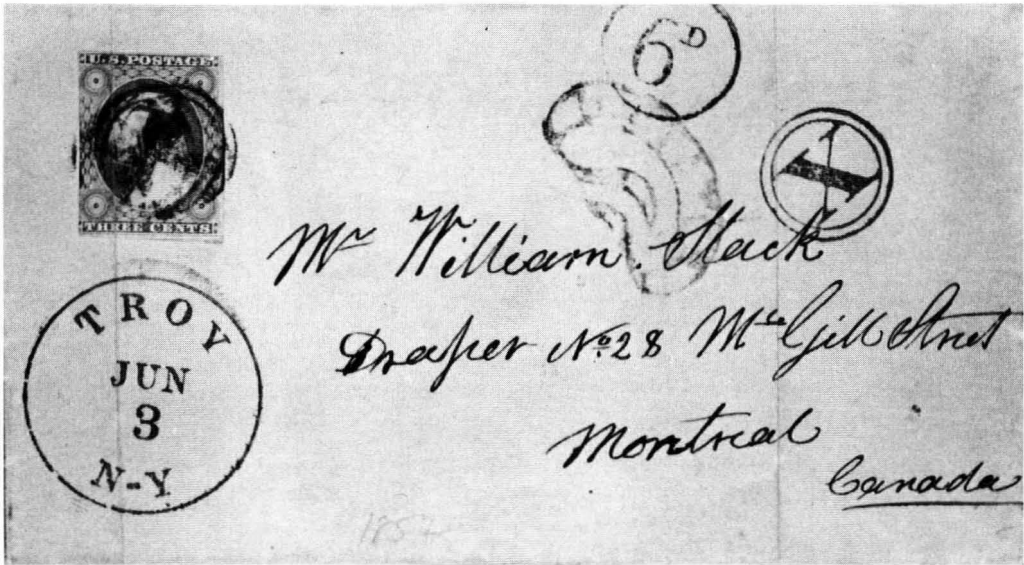


Figure 3. Short paid letter from Troy, N.Y., to Montreal, sent in 1852. Stamp obliterated and letter rated due with a double line circled X, a common marking on stampless uses from Troy. (Photo by Peter Hedrington)

Figure 4 illustrates a similar usage, originating at DUNKIRK/N.Y. on May 8, 1854. Here the wasted 3¢ 1851 (#11) has been cancelled with a matching black 10, which probably also was adapted from earlier stampless use. This cover bears a blue exchange marking U^D

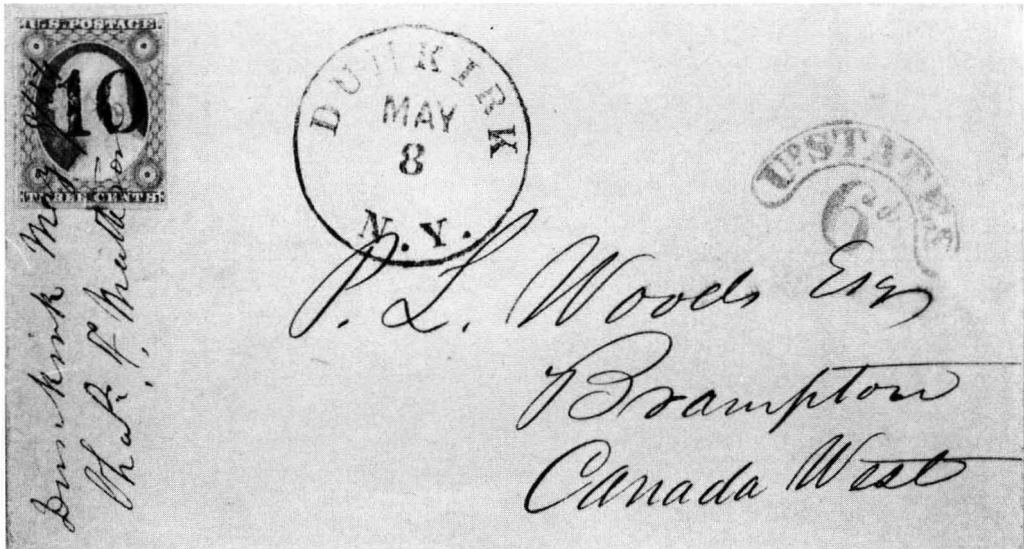


Figure 4. Short paid use from Dunkirk, N.Y., to Brampton, Canada West, in 1854. The 3¢ stamp is obliterated with a 10, the correct U.S. rate. No credit was given for such underpayments. (Photo by Peter Hedrington)

STATES/6^d, associated with the exchange office at Buffalo, N.Y., and a black sans-serif no outer circle backstamp of TORONTO/U.C. dated MY 9/1854, the transit point on its way to Brompton, Canada West, and its out-of-pocket recipient.

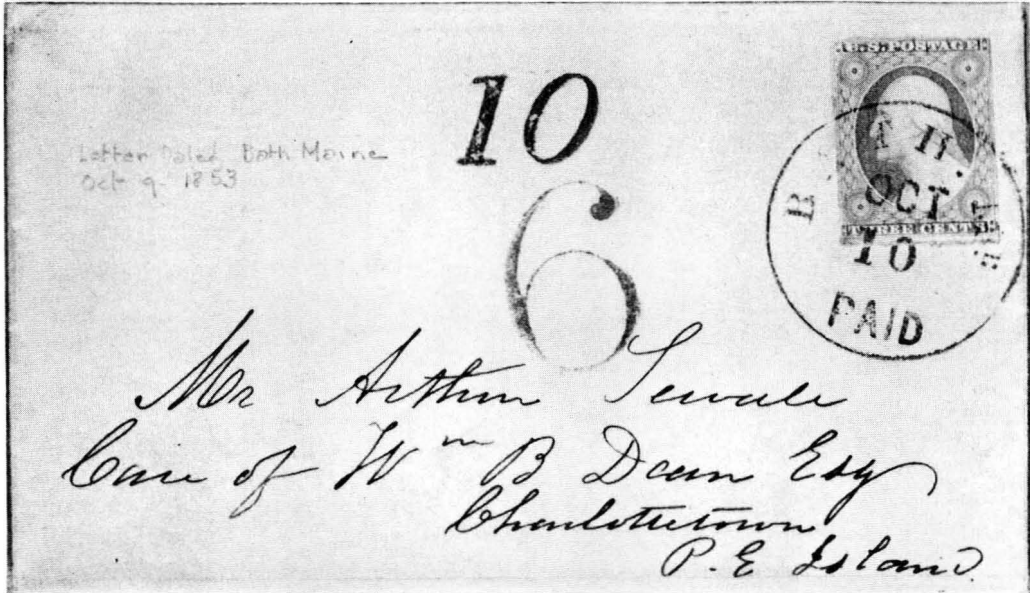


Figure 5. Short paid use from Bath, Maine, to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in 1853. The integral PAID in the townmarking is misleading. Use to one of the maritime provinces was handled as with other short payments, by treating the letter as if totally unpaid. (Photo by Peter Hedrington)

Figure 5 illustrates yet another wasted postage stamp, this being another 3¢ 1851 (#11) sent from BATH/M^E on October 10, 1853. The townmarking includes an integral PAID which, under the circumstances, would appear to be rather contradictory. The black italic 10 is a common marking which seems to have been used at several different U.S. exchange offices. This particular letter was exchanged with the exchange office at ST.ANDREWS/-N.B., so it is possible that the 10 was applied at the corresponding office at Robbinston, Maine. The large blue 6 matches the sans-serif no outer circle of St. Andrews on the flapside, which is dated OC 13/1853. The flapside also bears a black sans-serif no outer circle transit marking of ST.JOHN.NEW BRUNSWICK/OC 14/1853 and a black serifed no outer circle PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND/OC 20/1853. The transmission of the mail to the maritime provinces seems to have been quite a bit slower than with the contemporary uses in Canada proper.

These short paid, unrecognized uses of stamps to Canada are not difficult to find. Quite a few nice additional examples are illustrated in Susan McDonald's article on "Mails to British North America," in *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings, 1851-61* (pgs. 308-320) to which frequent recourse was made in writing up these covers. So many examples exist, in fact, that it is possible to suppose that there was widespread ignorance or misunderstanding about the laws and regulations governing this class of mail during the period. Many "stampless" markings can be found on this type of cover. In fact, prepayment on letters sent to and from the United States and Canada did not become compulsory until February 1, 1875.

THE UNOFFICIAL 6¼ CENT RATE ON UNITED STATES STAMPLESS COVERS

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

(Continued from *Chronicle* 133:27)

The final Florida usage bears a red oval "QUINCY FLO." with a manuscript "Dec 17" (1836) and "6¼" rate (Figure 8). As shown, the reverse of the cover reads: "If Mr. Ochiltree is not at Chattahoochee the Post Master will please give this letter to his mail carrier." However, as with the forwarded covers previously described, other examples of this Quincy to Chattahoochee usage do not show the unofficial rate, so it is quite confusing to theorize what factors determined its use. Certainly the five different usages of the 6¼ cent rate from Florida Territory shown here seem to indicate that the unofficial rate was often employed in this part of the country. This conclusion is reinforced by the existence of the post office paper currency as well as by the evidence of other covers such as the three described by Sampson and the two from Tallahassee shown to the writer by Phillips.

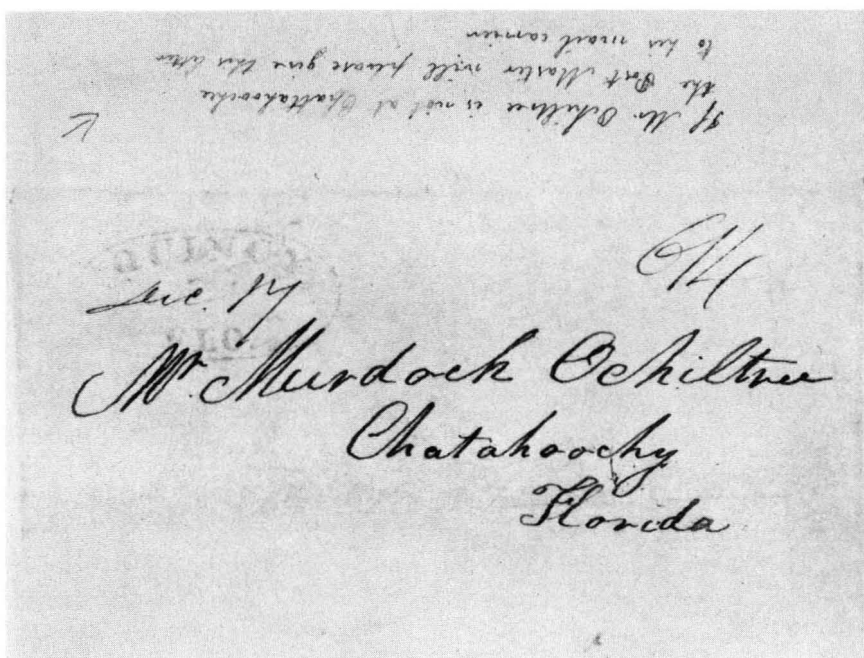


Figure 8. Quincy, Florida, to Chattahoochee (1836), rated "6¼" due. Note instructions to postmaster on back.

Figure 9 shows a cover postmarked in red "SHAWNEETOWN ILL. D.P.O. J. Stickney Sept 25th" and rated "6¼" to New Haven, Ill. The letter is headed "Hard Times near Equality Sept., 1844." Thus this cover is the latest recorded example of the unofficial rate. The *Illinois Postal Historian*, August 1986, contains an article on this post office by J. Hilbing. The letters "D.P.O." stand for Distributing Post Office. These were post offices to which the mail for other post offices was first sent for distribution. This is the only office recorded as having a postmark with this designation in the marking. J. Stickney was the postmaster. Shawneetown was the only town in Illinois designated as a distributing post office according to Hilbing. It is also the oldest surviving post office in Illinois. At one time in 1829 there was some consideration of moving the distributing post office from Shawneetown to Equality (the source of the cover shown in Figure 9).

It should be noted that there were two official 6¼ cent rates which may be found on

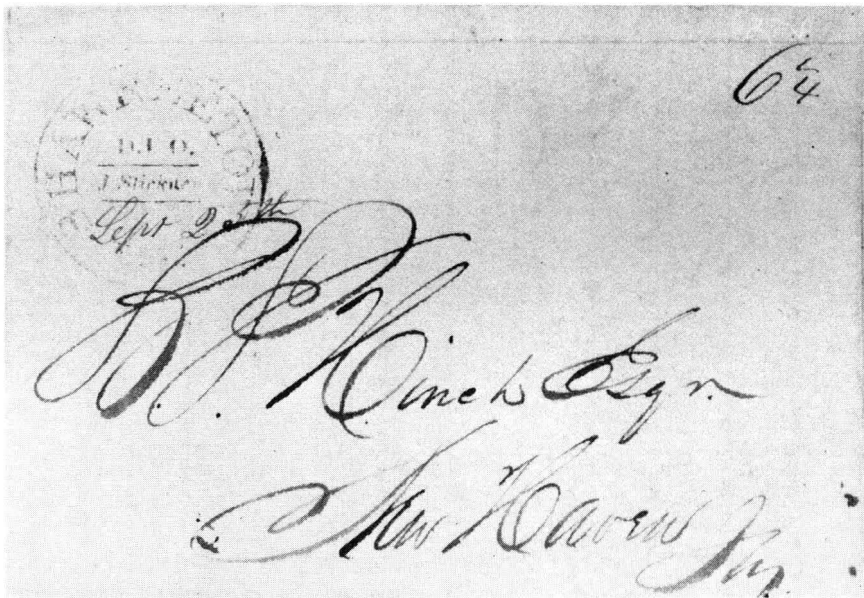


Figure 9. SHAWNEETOWN/D.P.O./J. Stickney/Sept. 25th to New Haven, Ill. Rated "6¼" — the latest example now recorded.

United States stampless covers, but which were not U.S. government rates. Texas was an independent republic for ten years from 1835 to 1845. For most of this period the Texas Republic had a ship rate of 6¼ cents (the U.S. ship rate was then 6 cents at the port or 2 cents plus inland beyond). There was also a Texas rate of 6¼ cents under 20 miles distance per single letter, in effect December 12, 1835, to December 18, 1837.

In Figure 10 is a January 30, 1839, cover designated to be carried by the 1836-1839 Express Mail, the first Pony Express (the cover is also shown as Figure 151 in my book, *The Express Mail of 1836-1839*). In 1839 the postage for that service had to be prepaid. As this quadruple letter was not prepaid, it was rated "100" and was not sent by the express, but

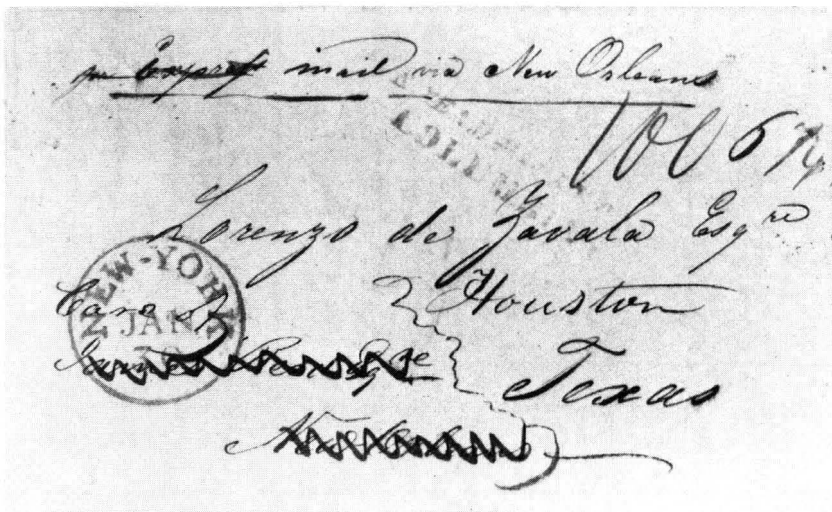


Figure 10. Quadruple rate cover from New York to Texas in care of a New Orleans forwarding agent who transferred it to a ship for carriage to Galveston. The "6¼" charge represents the Texas ship rate.

travelled by regular mail to New Orleans. A forwarding agent in New Orleans directed it to a ship, where it received a red "STEAM PACKET COLUMBIA" in two lines. It was carried to Galveston, Texas, where it was rated "6¼" on arrival. The ship rate was charged on both outgoing and incoming ship letters in Texas. Apparently the letter was not rated for inland Texas postage for transmission from Galveston to Houston. Figure 71 in *Texas: The Drama of its Postal Past* by A.L. ter Braake depicts an 1837 cover which was charged 6¼ cents for the ship rate and also 6¼ cents for the inland postage, 12½ cents total. This represents both of the 6¼ cent rates which Texas had in effect concurrently for a two year period.

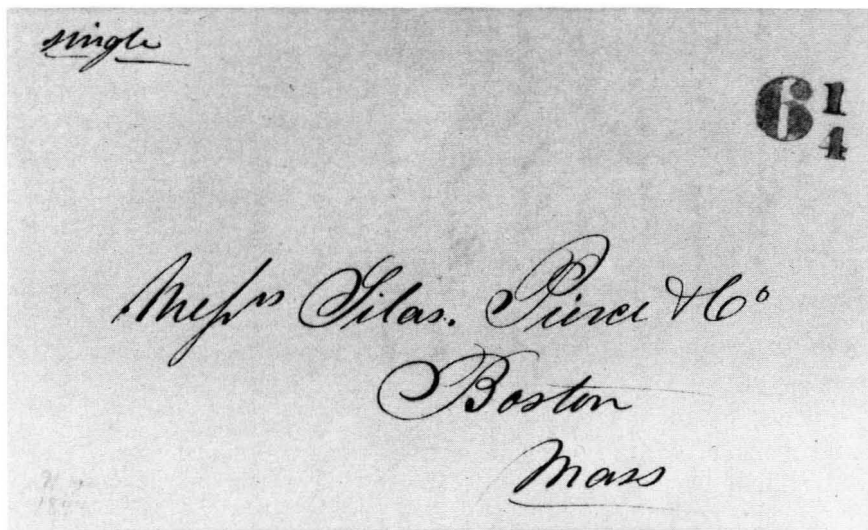


Figure 11. Handstamped 6¼ on a letter carried by an independent express operating between New York and Boston.

Finally, the 6¼ cent rate was charged by a number of independent expresses for letters carried between New York and Boston. Figure 11 shows a handsome example of these rates, a bold red handstamped "6¼" used by one of the express companies. The 6¼ cent rate was incorporated into the handstamped markings of a number of different companies and also exists in handwritten form as a rate on many other covers, mostly in the 1842-1844 period. In fact, these independent mail service markings are the most common 6¼ cent rated U.S. stampless covers that can be found by collectors. Texas ship rated covers also seem to be relatively plentiful. But the unofficial usage of 6¼ cents for the 6 cent domestic U.S. rate is quite scarce. I would be interested in seeing any additional examples in order to compile an updated list for publication.

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ROBERT B. MEYERSBURG

One normally doesn't associate Canada with the U.S. carrier system, but a number of connections have appeared, several of which will be discussed in this article.

During the 1840s and 1850s, letter mail was the exclusive means of communication over long distances; and there was substantial traffic between Canada and the United States involving both personal and business mail.

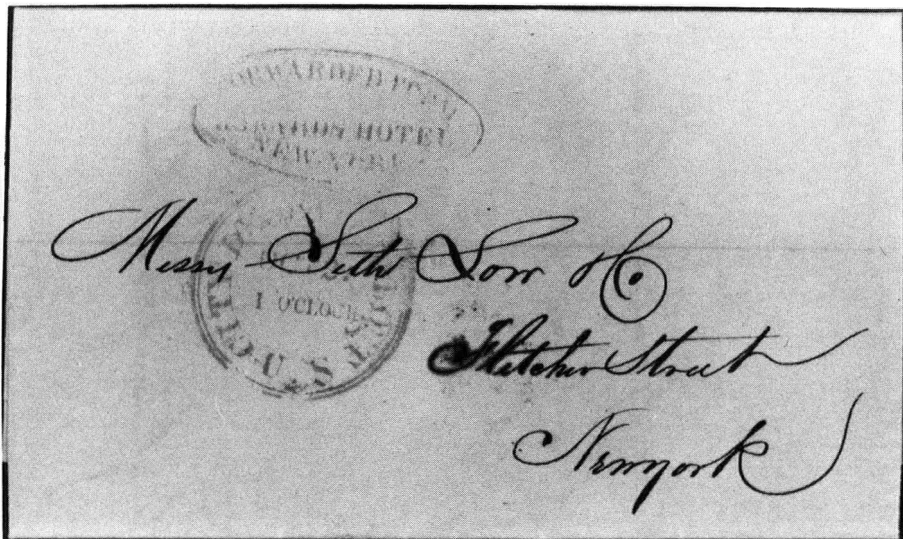


Figure 1. Letter from Toronto in 1842. Handled by U.S. City Despatch Post.

If time was a factor, carrier service, available in many of the larger cities and towns, could expedite carriage of outgoing letters to the post office and delivery of incoming mail to the addressee.

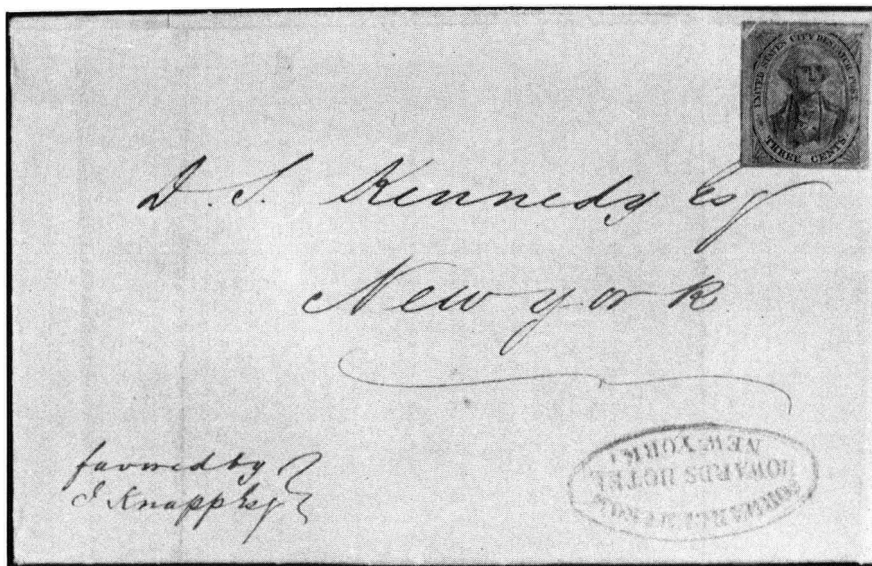


Figure 2. From Montreal, 1844. Drop letter and carrier fees paid by U.S. City Despatch Post three cent stamp.

Here we have four examples of this treatment:

Figure 1 is a letter written in Toronto, C. W., on October 24, 1842, ordering a supply of gum arabic and gum copal "to be shipped as soon as possible by the Albany and Canal Line tow boats." The letter was carried outside the mail to New York, and was posted in the Howards Hotel Forwarding Office of the U.S. City Despatch Post, whence it was delivered in the 1 P.M. delivery on October 27.



Figure 3. From New York City to Toronto in 1851. U.S. Mail one cent carrier stamp paid for carriage to the post office.

Figure 2 is a letter written in Montreal on March 25, 1844, to D. S. Kennedy, Esq., containing further correspondence to be forwarded by the next Liverpool packet. Mr. Knapp, who was kind enough to hand-carry the letter to New York, mailed it on arrival at the Howards Hotel branch office of the U.S. City Despatch Post. The blue carrier stamp is canceled by the red letters US in an octagonal frame. Three cents paid one cent drop-letter postage and two cents carrier's fee for delivery. This is one piece of the famous Kennedy correspondence that has retained its original format for a hundred and forty-odd years.



Figure 4. Postage to Toronto paid by stamps of the 1851 issue on 1855 cover. Carriage to the Philadelphia post office prepaid by Eagle carrier stamp.

Figure 3 is a letter to the Receiver General of Upper Canada in Toronto requesting information regarding banking capital. It was taken to the New York post office by the carrier service on March 20, 1851, reaching the addressee on March 24. The postage to the Canadian border, over three hundred miles distant, was ten cents, prepaid in cash. The Queenston, U.C., strike marks the transit point beyond which the Canadian postal rate of 4½d (marked in manuscript) became due from the addressee. The yellow carrier stamp prepaid the one cent collection fee to the New York post office. On April 6, just a few weeks later, a Canadian-U.S. uniform combined postal rate of ten cents U.S. or six pence Canadian per single letter became effective.

Figure 4 is a small mourning letter, mailed in Philadelphia to Toronto, C. W., on April 30, 1855. It is franked with the required ten cents postage and an Eagle carrier stamp, which prepaid the carrier's fee for taking the letter to the Philadelphia post office.

One may deduce from the nature of each of these letters that the saving of time was an important consideration, warranting the use of the carrier service in the collection or delivery of the letter.

CHICAGO LOCAL POSTS

ROBSON LOWE

(Continued from *Chronicle* 133:33)

It was probably July of 1860, when Floyd's Penny Post, the best organised and most successful of the Chicago private local posts, commenced operations. It was operated by John R. Floyd, whose father, Thomas, had come to Chicago from Pennsylvania in 1849 when John Floyd was 12 years old. Floyd's father, soon after his arrival in Chicago, had established a business, Thomas Floyd and Company, "dealers in iron, nails and glass; farm implements and builder's hardware." In 1851 the business was located at No. 2 Lind's Block, Market Street, and by 1854 John Floyd was employed as a bookkeeper in the family business, then located at 237 Lake Street, between Franklin and Market. During 1857, the father died and during the remainder of 1857 and part of 1858 young Floyd endeavoured to carry on the family business with a partner named James Malcolm. In 1857 Chicago was experiencing financial panic, and the resulting adverse business conditions coupled perhaps with young Floyd's inexperience (he was only 18), resulted in the failure of the hardware business. His occupation for the next 18 months is not known, but he was very active in a local militia company known as the National Guard Cadets. This company was later re-named the Chicago Zouaves, the name being copied from a noted French Regiment based in North Africa and composed of Algerians and Foreign Legion men from all over Europe. In 1859 the Commanding Officer for the Chicago Zouaves was a colourful personality, Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth by name, under whose leadership the Zouaves' membership rapidly trebled. A colourful uniform, similar to that worn by the French regiment, with bloused trousers was adopted and the Cadet Company developed intricate drills and manoeuvres which came to be in demand as features of the city's public events. By early 1860 the Chicago Zouaves had become nationally famous and by mid-summer of 1860 they were billed to make a summer tour of the United States, appearing with a complement of 66 men and a musical band of 15, in 21 different cities. In early 1860, the Zouaves' headquarters was the Garrett Block at the southeast corner of Lake and Market Streets, and it is perhaps noteworthy that *Cooke's Chicago Directory* for 1859-60 lists the same address as John Floyd's place of business, but without indicating his occupation. It may have been that John Floyd was probably then business manager and secretary of the Zouaves and that this may have been a full-time occupation. John Floyd, however, was not among the Zouaves when they left Chicago on July 2, 1860, for their summer tour of the United States. Members of the Cadets paid their own expenses, so possibly his finances would not permit extended travelling away from

home. It is also probable that he was then engaged in the organisation and establishment of his Penny Post. No initial announcement of the establishment of Floyd's Penny Post has yet been discovered in the Chicago newspapers, but the *Chicago Press and Tribune* of October 12, 1860, printed the following interesting editorial comment.

We had the pleasure yesterday to be shown into the minutiae of the Penny Post, by its founder John R. Floyd, Esq. and were pleased, after a thorough examination into its management to find it in so flourishing a condition. We saw testimonials in favor of its reliability and dispatch signed by principal Bankers, Insurance Companies, Railroads and many prominent businessmen. We could see no fault in its entire organization and came to the conclusion that all it needs to make it a permanent and lasting institution (of its great usefulness there is no doubt) is that the public should give it more patronage for it certainly deserves it.

It has now been in existence a little more than 3 months and is paying expenses. It employs 8 messengers and, taking into consideration the prejudices existing in this city against a penny post (arising from the fact of two former attempts to establish one, proved failures) this the proprietor considers encouraging.

There is no doubt of the success of this attempt. He is putting up new boxes of galvanised iron, perfectly waterproof, a very neat article, a decided improvement upon those used formerly and finds that his necessities require him to increase the number of his messengers every week. We heartily recommend this enterprise to the public, and ask its patronage, knowing as we do, that the energy and ability displayed in its management, most richly deserves it.

The sentence "It has now been in existence a little more than three months" indicates that the post must have started in or about July 1860. The reference to "past failures" prompts the query which "two" previous posts the editor had in mind. Most proprietors of other contemporary local private posts had always placed their collection boxes in hotels, drug stores, etc., where more often than not the stamps of the post were available. In 1859, the U.S. Post Office in New York and some other cities had placed locked iron boxes on city lamp posts. This made it possible to deposit mail on Sundays, holidays and after closing hours, a somewhat devastating discouragement to the competing private posts and an innovation which underlined the Post Office Department's post road monopoly.

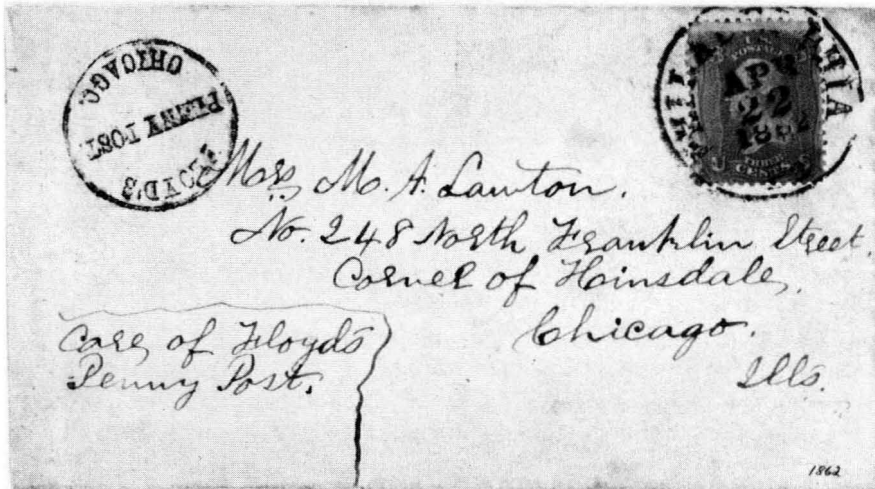


Figure 5. An 1862 letter from Philadelphia to Chicago, endorsed to and delivered by FLOYD'S PENNY POST. The circular company handstamp is in black.

Floyd's postal rate for collection or delivery has been generally assumed to have been one cent. The stamps have no indication of denomination but are inscribed "PENNY POST." At, or shortly before, the inception of Floyd's post, United States Postal Acts of April 3 and June 11, 1860, both effective June 30, 1860, had established a uniform carrier rate of one

cent. It seems unlikely that Floyd would have instituted a higher rate than that just introduced by the Government.

The issue of the *Chicago Tribune* for August 28, 1861, again endorsed Floyd's enterprise, in the following terms:-

FLOYD'S PENNY POST. This excellent institution has proved most advantageous to the citizens of Chicago and the benefits need only be known to secure for it a more extensive patronage. Letters are promptly and faithfully transmitted, not only to and from the Post Office; but to any part of the city. J.R. Floyd continues as business manager and will be devoting his time and attention thereto, endeavouring to meet the approbation of those entrusting business to his care.

Figures 5, 6 and 7 show representative Floyd's Penny Post handstamps on covers.



Figure 6. A blue FLOYD'S PENNY POST stamp prepaying the delivery fee on an 1861 city letter. The stamp is cancelled with a black oval company handstamp.

As far as is known Floyd had no competition in Chicago during 1860 and 1861, and it is evident, from a *Tribune* comment dated February 15, 1861, that his business had prospered and enlarged considerably during the seven months of its existence to that date. The *Tribune* says, in an article headed "St. Valentine's Day," "We have taken some trouble to hunt up a few figures in this connection and give the results below. We have no means of learning the precise number sent by Uncle Sam's carrier the Post Office, yesterday but judge from the number delivered by Floyd's Penny Post that the total bought and intended for delivery in the city cannot fall short of fifteen thousand."

The article goes on to say that one girl received 117 Valentines, another "was made happy 84 times," 43 of her Valentines arriving by one delivery.

If only half the estimated number of Valentines had been delivered by Floyd, his takings for February 14, 1861, must have amounted to some \$700. At least on that day Floyd had increased the number of his carriers to double what it had been when his post started.

But the times were troubled. Already on February 1, 1861, seven southern states had seceded from the Union. On April 12 Fort Sumter was attacked, and three days later President Lincoln declared that a state of "insurrection" existed. The Civil War had begun. On May 24, Ellsworth, Floyd's friend and Commander of the Chicago Zouaves, was killed while attempting to cut down a Southern flag, and his death, as the first commissioned officer of the Union Army to be killed, shocked the country generally, and in particular, Floyd, who must have felt torn between the desire to continue the management of his now prospering post and his duty to his country. Patriotism evidently gained the upper hand, for the following advertisement appeared daily in the *Tribune* from June 11-15, 1861.

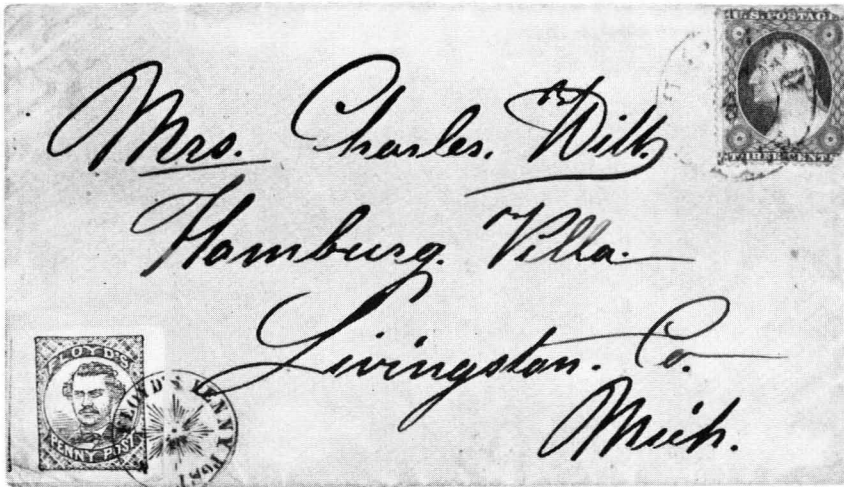


Figure 7. The brown FLOYD'S PENNY POST stamp paying the pick-up fee to the Chicago post office on a letter to Michigan. The local stamp is tied by a black circular company handstamp containing a striking central sunburst.

FLOYD'S PENNY POST. On Saturday June 15th, 1861 (unless sooner disposed of) Floyd's Penny Post will be discontinued and what stamps I may have out will be redeemed in gold and silver. It was my intention when I established the Post one year ago to have made it a permanent institution, but circumstances over which I have no control, and which I consider unnecessary to make public, compel me to make this announcement. During the time it has been in operation its success has exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and to the generous public who have sustained me in my enterprise I return my most sincere thanks.

JOHN R. FLOYD

N.B. To a person of good business qualifications a rare chance is offered.

Five days later the columns of the *Tribune* contained the following announcement;

FLOYD'S PENNY POST. It is my pleasure to announce that the Penny Post will be continued in this city, I having disposed of my right title, interest and goodwill in Floyd's Penny Post to Mr. Charles W. Mappa, long and honorably known in business circles in this city and who, I am confident, will make the Post an honor to Chicago. I shall remain with him for the present and promise to give my former patrons and friends my undivided attention to making the most prompt, cheap and reliable method for the despatch of letters, notices, circulars, cards of invitation etc, to be found. Thankful for past favors and hoping for your patronage to the new proprietor.

John R. Floyd, Room 9, Warner's Hall, 124 Randolph Street.

Mappa, the new proprietor, had in 1859 been partner in a firm of real estate agents, Baker & Mappa, with offices at 88 Randolph Street. Mappa resided at 118 S. LaSalle Street. Although making a quick sale, Floyd had evidently been required by Mappa to remain long enough in Chicago to give him an introduction to the working of the Post and to its patrons. At about this time Mappa took a new partner in the real estate business and moved his office to the same office that the Post occupied. Floyd was now living on Douglas Avenue, close to the site of Camp Douglas, a training ground for the recruits for the war. Doubtless Floyd spent much of his spare time, as an experienced guardsman cadet, in helping to train the new recruits to the Northern cause.

Brief paragraphs in the *Tribune* for September 1861 indicate that he had been appointed Drill Master and Instructor of Infantry, holding the rank of Lieutenant at Camp Butler in Springfield, doubtless with leave of absence from Mappa. By the end of the year Floyd must have persuaded Mappa to release him from any further obligations in connection with the post, and on January 6th of 1862 he enlisted as a private in the 65th Regiment of Illinois

Infantry. In March he was commissioned First Lieutenant and saw action in the Army of the Potomac and later fought under General Sherman during the Atlanta campaign. By 1864, Floyd was Quartermaster of the Second Brigade. The Prisoner of War records show that he was captured by the Confederates but paroled by them at Harper's Ferry on September 15, 1864. Shortly after this, Floyd tendered his resignation from the Army "on account of private business requiring attention and the necessity for supporting orphaned sisters."

Floyd's subsequent history is that he returned to Chicago and worked for the American Express Company. He was married on August 27, 1867, and a year later he was appointed Chicago cashier of the Express Company and remained in that position until 1890 when he retired on pension. He died ten years later in January 1900.

The history of Floyd's Penny Post under Mappa's ownership after January 1862 when Floyd enrolled in the army is obscure, chiefly because of the insufficient facts and source material.

The "Business Register" of *Halpin and Bailey's Chicago Directory* for 1862-63 (published between May 1st and July 1st 1861) lists "Penny Post, Floyd's" with new proprietors, Kimball and Waterman, office in Room 7, Methodist Church Block.

At what actual date Mappa sold out to Kimball and Waterman is not known. Clarence Hennan noted that in 1860 a Mack S. Brady was a "collection clerk" working for the United States Express Company. He apparently established a Post called Brady & Company's Penny Post. Nothing else about the Post or its operation is known. One or two Brady stamps are recorded on cover, the only apparent cancellation being a red or black blotchy cork cancel. Elliott Perry noted a single stamp cancelled with two crossed heavy pen strokes and one or two others cancelled with red crayon strokes. The stamp is a lithograph, the corner scroll ornament of the design appears to have been copied from the upper corners of the U.S. postage stamp of 1851-60, the one-cent Franklin. The stamp is printed on medium wove paper in slate violet or dark lavender grey. The design consists of a vertical oval enclosed by two frame lines. At the top on a curved band of dark colour are the words ONE CENT in white serifed letters, below this is the inscription in three lines, "BRADY & CO'S/CHICAGO/PENNY POST" (Figure 8).

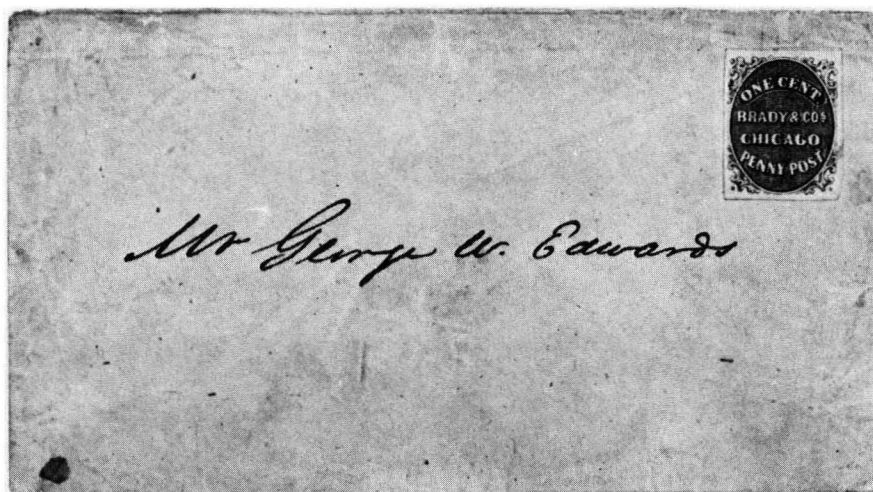


Figure 8. A local envelope bearing an uncanceled copy of BRADY & CO.'s CHICAGO PENNY POST stamp.

The *Chicago Tribune* for October 18, 1862, carried an announcement reading:

THE CHICAGO PENNY POST. A new Penny Post has been established in this city by John Johnson and Joseph E. Coupe, the office of which is at 113 Randolph Street. The proprietors intend this to be the best and safest medium in the city for the transmission of letters.

All the mail designed to be sent out of the city will be promptly conveyed to the General Post Office in time for the various mails. Boxes have been set up at nearly every business corner in the city and stamps can be procured at those places or at the general office in the Kingsbury block.

There are very few surviving dated covers bearing the Chicago Penny Post "Beehive" stamp and even the stamps off-cover are very scarce. Floyd had disposed of his Penny Post to Mappa in June of 1861 and most authorities agree that Mappa continued to operate the Post until the end of that year or into early 1862. *Halpin and Bailey's Chicago Directory* for 1862-63 (published between May 1 and July 1, 1862) lists "Penny Post, Floyd's," with new proprietors, "Kimball and Waterman, office Room 7, Methodist Church Block." One dated Beehive cover (ex-Worthington collection) was sold by Harmer, Rooke and Co, March 7, 1951. This was postmarked in blue, "CHICAGO JANUARY 2, 1862." Clarence Hennan records a single copy off-cover bearing a Government postmark in black, known to have been used in November 1862. Another copy is known cancelled "CHICAGO PENNY POST, EDWARD T. COOKE, SUPT." The 1862-63 Chicago directories list an Edward Cooke as a "news carrier" and the directories for the year previous and the year succeeding list Cooke as employed by "S.C. Griggs and Co, booksellers."

On the evidence of the cover date (1862), the Beehive stamp must have been issued by Mappa, or possibly by his successors Kimball and Waterman if he had disposed of the post to them by that time. Henry Abt pointed out that it is not uncommon for postal clerks to make an erroneous year date for datestamps early in the new year. On this supposition the stamp in question should have been dated January 1863, and would have presumably been issued by Johnson and Coupe for the "new" Chicago Penny Post mentioned in their advertisement. However, as so little authentic material is available and so few definite facts are known, it seems wiser not to indulge in over-speculation, and let's simply say that the stamp was probably in use during the autumn of 1862 and possibly the first part of 1863 and that the proprietors of the post may have been any of the individuals mentioned.

The latest of the Chicago Local Posts was Allen's City Despatch established by Edward Allen, probably during the latter half of 1881, to carry letters and circulars within the city limits. The stamps were printed in sheets of 100 (10 x 10); they bear no indication of the value but were sold for 75 cents per hundred. The post had only a short life, being suppressed by the Post Office authorities on February 5, 1882, with the arrest of Allen for violating the Post Office's monopoly laws. After the Post was suppressed, Allen sold the remainder of his stamps to dealers in August of 1883. The stamps are recorded used with dates between November 1, 1881, and February 1, 1882. The stamps were usually cancelled with the Spread Eagle in violet and the post also used a large oval handstamp with the wording "ALLEN'S CITY DESPATCH" above and the address "125 CLARK STREET" below, with the date in the middle. The company handstamp was also struck in violet. Allen sold the remainders cancelled or uncanceled; it is, therefore, not possible to tell the difference between the cancelled remainders and the genuinely used stamps.

The stamps and the forgeries of all the Chicago Local Posts have been covered in studious detail in the works of Dr. Clarence Hennan and Donald S. Patton, and it was not our purpose to duplicate their studies. We commend the works of these students to our readers who wish to pursue the subject of the Chicago Local Posts.

The author acknowledges indebtedness to the following sources: Henry Abt's articles on the Private Posts of Chicago, *The American Philatelist*, Vol 70, pages 775-777, and Vol. 71, pages 31-33; notes and published articles of Dr. Clarence Hennan and Donald Patton.

THE 1851-61 PERIOD

THOMAS J. ALEXANDER, Editor

DAVID T. BEALS III, Assoc. Editor

UNDERPAID COVERS TO CANADA

THOMAS J. ALEXANDER

We are all familiar with the usual prepaid letter to Canada bearing a 10¢ U.S. stamp or a single 1¢ and three 3¢ stamps to make up the 10¢ rate. A spectacular example of a double rate letter to Montreal is shown in Figure 1. Although this cover is missing the point of origin townmark, the distinctive square grid identifies it as having entered the mails in New York City. The unusual "U. STATES" exchange marking is also characteristic of New York City.



Figure 1. A double weight cover from New York City. The strip of six 3¢ orange brown stamps are positions 25-30L5^E; the 1¢ stamps are from Plate 1 Early. Backstamped at Montreal on 18 October 1851.

Overpayment of the rate is occasionally seen, as in Figure 2 from Wheeling, Virginia, with the interesting routing direction "via Detroit & Montreal." Adamsville is some 50 miles east of Montreal; normal routing would have been through New York state or Vermont.

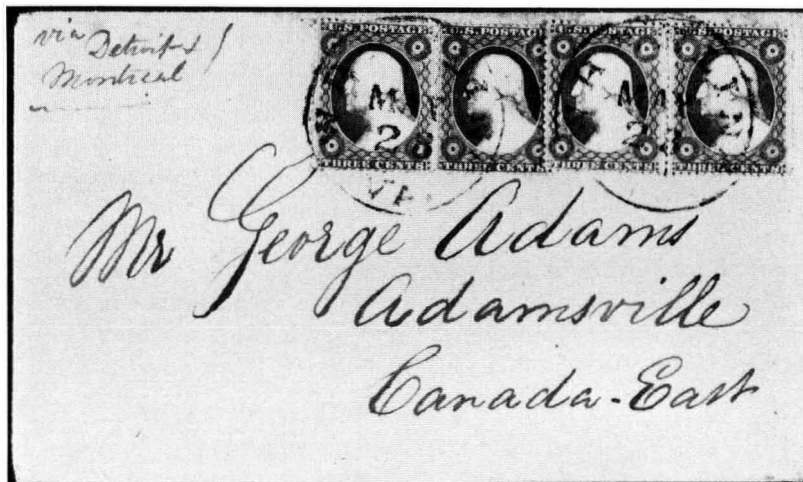


Figure 2. An 1858 cover from Wheeling, Virginia, prepaid with four Type IIa 3¢ stamps.

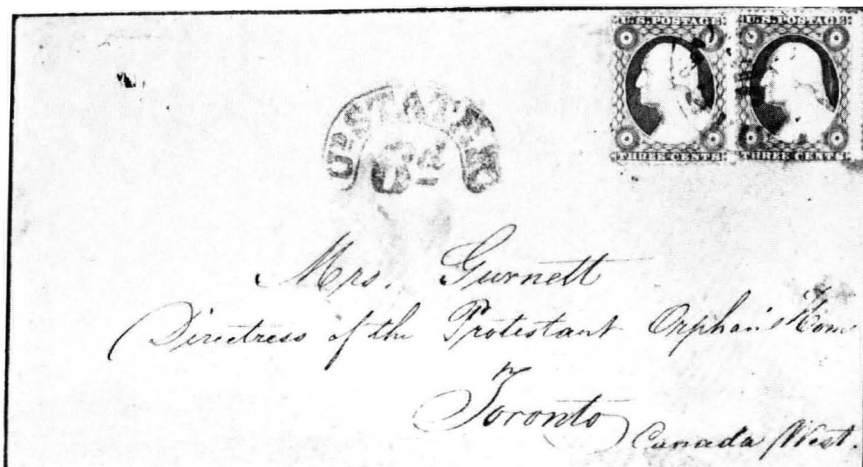


Figure 3. Rated due 6d at the Buffalo exchange office.

Quite unusual, however, are examples of ignored partial payments. The agreement between Canada and the United States provided that the rate could be prepaid or collect, and that partial payments would not be recognized. The Canadian equivalent to the U.S. 10¢ rate was 6d, and so covers partially paid in the U.S. normally bear the 6d collect notation. Typical of this class of underpayment is Figure 3, where the writer may have thought that 6¢ U.S. was the equivalent of 6d.



Figure 4. Both the Boston clerk and the Ogdensburgh exchange office rated this cover due 10¢, ignoring the 3¢ stamp. The Canadian exchange office at Prescott also struck the 6D due marking.

Figure 4 shows both the U.S. due marking “10” contained within the Ogdensburgh townmark and the 6^D Canadian due marking for the entire rate. A partial strike of the distinctive Ogdensburgh exchange marking appears in the center of the cover.

The cover to New Brunswick (Figure 5) likewise bears due markings for the full rate, expressed both in cents and pence, despite the 3¢ prepayment. This envelope was mailed at Dover, N.Y., in August 1857. The Boston exchange applied the “10” and oval exchange marking.

Not every cover bearing less than 10¢ in postage is an example of an ignored partial payment. At first glance the letter from Boston to Newfoundland (Figure 6) appears to be in the same category as Figure 3. This is not the case. For a time, U.S. mail to Nova Scotia was treated as outgoing ship mail, requiring only prepayment of the rate from point of origin to port of departure. Sometime in late 1854 the U.S. rate was increased to 5¢ to correspond to



Figure 5. Rated 10¢ due at Boston and 6d due at New Brunswick.

the rate charged on British open mail to foreign destinations under terms of the U.S.-U.K. Postal Convention. This rate did not cover the packet or Nova Scotia postage. This cover was carried by a Cunard steamer (the ms. "R.M.S." stands for Royal Mail Steamer) to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where it was trans-shipped to St. John's, Newfoundland, by ship and to Harbour Grace by overland conveyance. The usual 4d stg. due marking representing packet postage does not appear on the face of the cover. A manuscript "3" in the address area indicates 3d inland postage due from St. John's to Harbour Grace.



Figure 6. Packet letter to Newfoundland through Nova Scotia, prepaid the 5¢ U.S. inland rate only (overpaid 1¢).

References

- McDonald, Susan M., "Mails to British North America," *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings 1851-61*, pp. 309-320.
- McDonald, Susan M., "Cunard Packet Mail Between Nova Scotia and the United States," *Postal History Journal* 29:2-14; 30:27-40.

PACIFIC MAIL LIST

At *Chronicle* 133:35 we reprinted a newspaper notice dated 5 March 1856 that purported to authorize the creation of a list of letters going to the West coast. The list was to be supplied to each post office in California and Washington and Oregon Territories so that miners would know where mail was awaiting them. In that issue, the section editor wondered if this system was ever put into effect.

Robert J. Mazzaferro has pointed out another newspaper notice from the Cincinnati postmaster that does seem to confirm the operation of this scheme. However, it also seems apparent that this notice was prepared by the same party who prepared the initial announcement of the plan in Washington, and that the Cincinnati postmaster printed it as an accommodation to him. It was first reprinted in *Pat Paragraphs* by Elliott Perry (Bureau Issues Association, Inc. reprint, 1981) at pages 222-23. Because that source is very difficult to read, the pertinent parts of the notice are reproduced here:

To Persons Mailing Letters to California, and the Territories of Oregon and Washington.

Under the Authority of Congress, the Post Office Department, has adopted as an auxiliary to its operations, the following system for securing the *safe* delivery of letters sent by mail to California, and the Territories of Oregon and Washington, and has thus given publicity to the same, in order that those who think proper, may avail themselves of its advantages.

Suppose, for instance, that a letter has been directed to

Mr. George Wilson
(Formerly of Missouri,)
Sacramento, California

But it is feared that Mr. Wilson may not be in Sacramento, and hence may not get the letter.

In this case *deposit the letter as usual* in the mail for California, but at the same time send to the New York Post Office a *slip of paper, upon which is copied the address of the letter.*

This slip of paper, must be enclosed *together with a three cent postage stamp*, in an envelope and directed to the

“PACIFIC MAIL LIST NEW YORK POST OFFICE”

The *address* upon the slip of paper thus received at the New York Post Office will be entered in its appropriate place in the Pacific Mail List, which list is printed, and being sent by each mail, *to each and every Post Office in California and the Territories of Oregon and Washington*, it will point out to Mr. Wilson, wherever he may be, that a letter for him has been sent to the Sacramento Post Office.

Tens of Thousands of letters may thus be safely and speedily received that would otherwise become Dead Letters.

An envelope directed to the Pacific Mail List pays postage like ordinary mail matter and *must be pre-paid.*

The three cent postage stamp enclosed in the envelope defrays the expense of publication, and must not be pasted, but simply inclosed. When two or more addresses are inclosed in the same envelope, each address should be written on a *separate* slip of paper. These slips of paper should be cut to fit an envelope loosely and should be inclosed *without folding.*

Cards will make excellent substitutes for the slips of paper.

It is advisable to give in the address on a letter, the name of the *State* (as in the above example) from which the person for whom the letter is intended, emigrated to the Pacific Coast, but, as in many cases this may not be known, the letter may still be registered, *by sending its address* to the “Pacific Mail List.”

When sending the address of a letter to the “Pacific Mail List,” be careful to *name the Post Office* in the Pacific region to which the letter *has been sent*. Several instances have occurred in which this important point has been omitted.

Observe: It is only the *address of the letter*, that must be sent, (together with a three cent postage stamp, in a pre-paid envelope) to the “Pacific Mail List,” New York. The *letter itself*, must be deposited in the mail *as usual*, precisely as if no such system was in operation. No other

writing should be on the slip of paper than the *address of the letter*, and the address should be written *distinctly* with either pen or pencil. The slip must be *enclosed without folding*.

The time and care devoted to writing letters, and the money spent in *pre-paying postage* on the same, are too often rendered so much useless expenditure, from the *frequent changes of residence* in the Pacific region, of persons to whom the letters are addressed. Over four thousand letters (on an average) are dispatched by each mail to California and Oregon, which from this cause, are *never received* by the persons for whom they are intended, and consequently become *Dead Letters*. During the past year over *one hundred and twenty thousand* (120,000) letters sent to Post Offices in the Pacific region, became *Dead Letters*. Inasmuch, as a letter that has been registered in the "Pacific Mail List," can hardly fail to be *safely and speedily* delivered to the person to whom it is addressed, if he be *anywhere* in California or the Territories of Oregon or Washington, those persons who will receive this card by giving as much publicity to the system as they can conveniently, may perform an important service to many persons.

The above system is so simple as actually not to require ONE minute to register a letter and the three cent charge for *registration*, added to the *postage* on envelope, addressed to "Pacific Mail List," will make the entire extra cost, at *UTMOST*, but six cents.

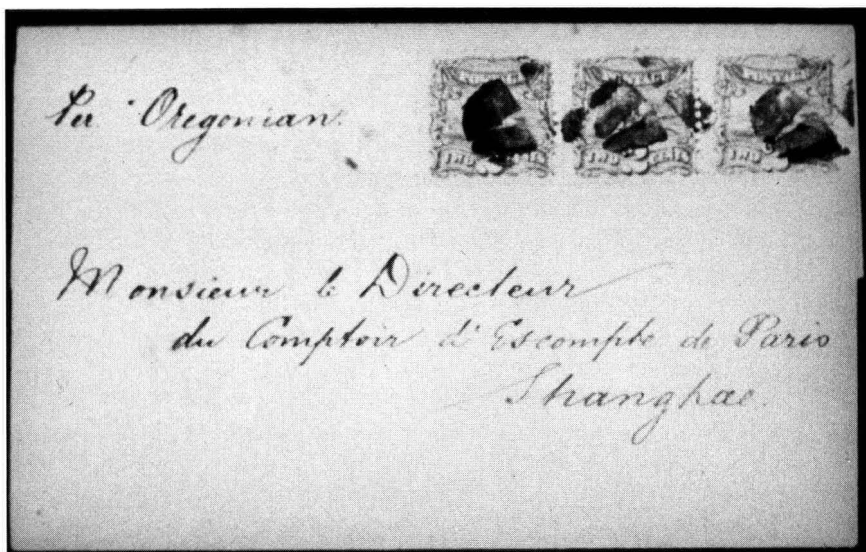
FAKE THREE CENT TYPE I STAMPS

The difference in catalog value between mint blocks of four of the 3¢ Type I and the 3¢ Type II has always been very large. For instance, the 1938 *Scott's U. S. Specialized Catalog* lists the Type I block at \$125 and the Type II block at \$4.00. This great disparity in value has thus always been a temptation to the forger since the Type II blocks have always been plentiful.

Adding top and bottom frame lines in the same color as the stamp, and eliminating the evidence of continuous vertical frame lines must be technically very difficult. Shown here is a not quite successful, but very ingenious, attempt. First, the faker scraped away the color of the vertical frame lines in the margins between the stamps. Unfortunately, he disturbed the surface of the paper in the process. He then drew in the required horizontal frame lines, in a color that exactly matches that of the stamps. In doing so, he realized that an attempt to draw over the disturbed paper would result in "feathering" of the ink, which would immediately reveal the fraud. So he stopped the horizontal lines just as they reached the disturbed area; the result is a failure of any of the horizontal and vertical frame lines to meet at the stamp corners, except at the lower right corner of the lower left stamp. The hand drawn lines further identify themselves as fakes because of their uneven strength along the line.



PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS



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THE 1861-69 PERIOD

RICHARD B. GRAHAM, Editor

WILLIAM K. HERZOG, Assoc. Editor

EDITORIAL

There have been a good many very useful reports sent me on both the Civil War valentines and the soldier's letter certification handstamps on Civil War soldiers' letters that were discussed in the February *Chronicle*, but they will have to wait for future issues.

This month, the subject of this column is the experimental grills of 1867-69, in a most interesting presentation by 1869 editor Scott Trepel. I find Scott's approach, viewing from my own background of engineering research and development, most refreshing in that he presents his data extremely well and doesn't over-interpret by drawing conclusions beyond what is warranted by the data. Many of the writers of the past, including the giants in the hobby, have seemed to feel that they had to present positive conclusions even when their supporting evidence was meagre to say the least, and that attitude has been responsible for so many of our millstones around our necks, such as the status of the premières gravures.

Following Trepel's article, I am presenting a few additional ideas that support Trepel's suggestions that the items he discusses are either experiments or actual uses rather than the fakes they have been heretofore branded.

To me, although I have never pretended to be an expert of the stamps of 1861-69, it is most gratifying to see a research article about the stamps of this section appear at this time. Not being all that expert on the stamps, I cannot furnish articles about stamps with much interest or authority, but I do appreciate that this section needs a better balance between articles on stamps and postal history.

I should also note that as far as I am concerned, the purpose of the Neinken award is to provide good and provocative research articles such as that of Scott Trepel's which is presented here. I recall several discussions with Mort Neinken on just this subject, but neither of us was able to do much for the stamps after 1861.

Richard B. Graham

THE THREE-CENT ALL-OVER GRILL ESSAYS; ORIGIN OF THE TRIAL CANCELLATION

SCOTT R. TREPTEL

Collectors of early United States stamps are probably familiar with the so-called "biscuit grill" essays, also known as the Mandel or Earl of Crawford essays, in tribute to those turn-of-the-century philatelists as the principal sources. These 3¢ 1861 stamp items are notorious for being passed off as the issued 3¢ 1867 "A" grill stamp, Scott #79. The Philatelic Foundation's records are filled with examples submitted in good faith as Scott #79, but which have been certified as the essay stamp. So prolific are these imposters, the Scott Catalog carries a note after the 3¢ "A" grill listing, which reads:

An essay which is often mistaken for No. 79 shows the points of the grill as small squares faintly impressed in the paper but not cutting through it.

The 3¢ "biscuit grill" essay stamps exist with a form of cancellation previously thought only to be a trial mark intended to test the efficacy of the grills. However, as reported later in this article, the so-called trial cancellation was actually used on mail during or close to the time of experimental grill production. Although other forms of trial cancellation on grilled stamps are known — pen marks, small cork handstamps, etc. — the author believes that the particular type used on the "biscuit grills" is the only form proven to have been used on mail.

Whether or not this new information will lead to any substantial change in the present classification of all-over "A" grills is not apparent now. However, the possibility of a major

revision must be considered. The current Scott classification is based on the assumptions and observations made decades ago by early authorities such as J. B. Leavy, John N. Luff, John K. Tiffany, William L. Stevenson, Elliott Perry, and Lester G. Brookman. These philatelists, if alive today, would surely accept the possibility that some of their conclusions were subject to change with the emergence of new evidence during the years of subsequent philatelic study.

The All-Over Grill Types

Four types of all-over grills have been described by past authorities of the issue. The author's own observations confirm that at least four distinct types of all-over grills exist on both stamps and essays (in certain cases, the distinction between the two is not clear). A description of these grills must begin with an explanation of the widely accepted, although unproven, theory of grill manufacture. There are no documents, eyewitness accounts, or surviving apparatus known to the author which verify the following suppositions; the analysis of issued stamps, essay material, patent documents (which do not describe the machinery), and engineering logic have been the basis for this theory.

It is believed that the two basic forms of grilling devices are male and female. These two forms are analogous to printing methods; *i.e.*, male grills are to female grills, as typography (letterpress) is to engraving. Sheets embossed with male grills are impressed with a metal roller (or plate, as some believe) possessing rows of small pyramid-like bosses which are raised above the surface. The effect of the male grill is to puncture or cut into the paper. Female grills work the opposite way. The female grill consists of small depressed bosses (or, viewed from another perspective, rows of intersecting lines). As the sheet of paper is pressed against this surface, the paper is forced into the depressed bosses. The effect of this female grilling process is to create raised points on the surface of the paper (so-called "biscuits"). The surface of each point shows tiny irregular fractures, the result of the paper's being squeezed into the grill. Referring back to the printing analogy, typography creates an impression by pressing raised lines or letters into the paper; engraving leaves its impression when the paper is forced into the etched lines in the plate. The former bites into the paper; the latter creates a raised design.

The characteristic, "points up" or "points down," simply relates to the position of the sheet in relation to the grill roller. If the printed side of a sheet is facing the raised points of a male grill, the effect will be points down: the cuts showing on the face of the sheet, with the points of the embossing projecting through on the gummed side. If placed face up towards a female grill, the effect is points up, because the printed side of the sheet is forced into the depressions of the grill. Obviously, reversing the position of the paper for either grill will create the opposite effect.

Assuming that grilled stamps were made by the process described above, attention can now be turned to the four types of all-over grills used during the experimental grill production in 1867. The grills are described below and numbered for reference, but the arrangement is not intentionally chronological:

1. *"Music Box" Grill* — named for the concept's inspiration. This grill consists of needle-like points that pierce the paper over the entire surface of the sheet. Stamps produced with the "music box" grill are known in various experimental forms, including trial cancelled examples (see Figure 1 for illustration shown in Brookman and Brazer books). Its status as strictly an essay item seems likely.

2. *Type "A" Female Grill* — according to authorities on grilled stamps, this roller, capable of grilling sheets of 200 stamps at a time, was the *only* all-over grill used on stamps issued to the public through post offices (please note the author's wording). To qualify as an issued "A" grill stamp, the embossing must show the characteristic biscuit-like points with a degree of fracturing on the surface of each point commensurate to the strength of impression

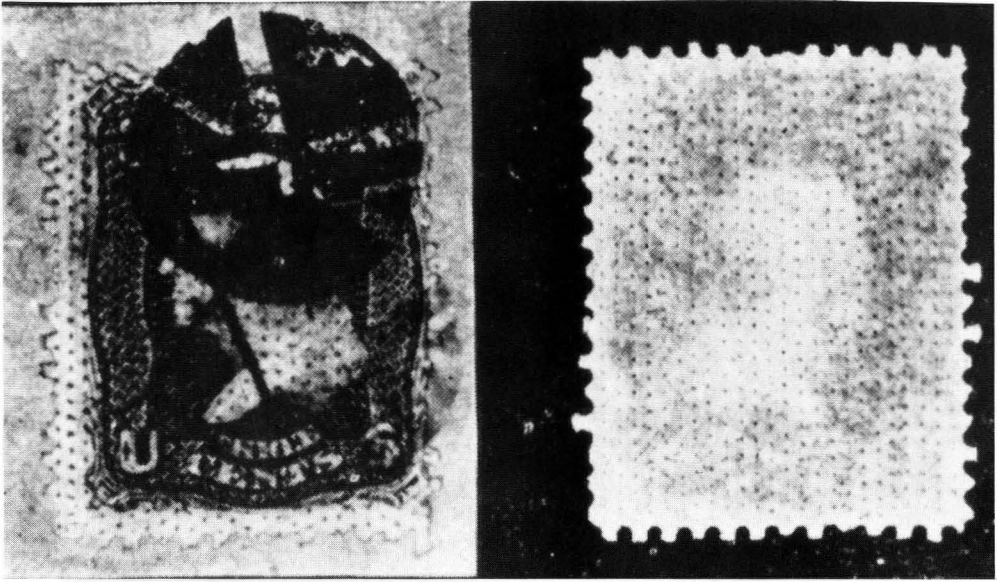


Figure 1. The 3¢ “Music Box” grill essay on piece with trial pen and cork cancellation. Illustrated in the Brookman and Brazer books.

(see Figure 2). The 3¢ “A” grill stamps come in a Rose shade, unlike the typical 3¢ “E” and “F” grills of 1868. Imperforate 3¢ “A” grill stamps, in the author’s opinion, are unfinished products which, many years ago, were listed in the *Scott Catalog* because they appeared to be a variety of issued stamps. The current Scott footnote, “No. 79a was not regularly issued,”

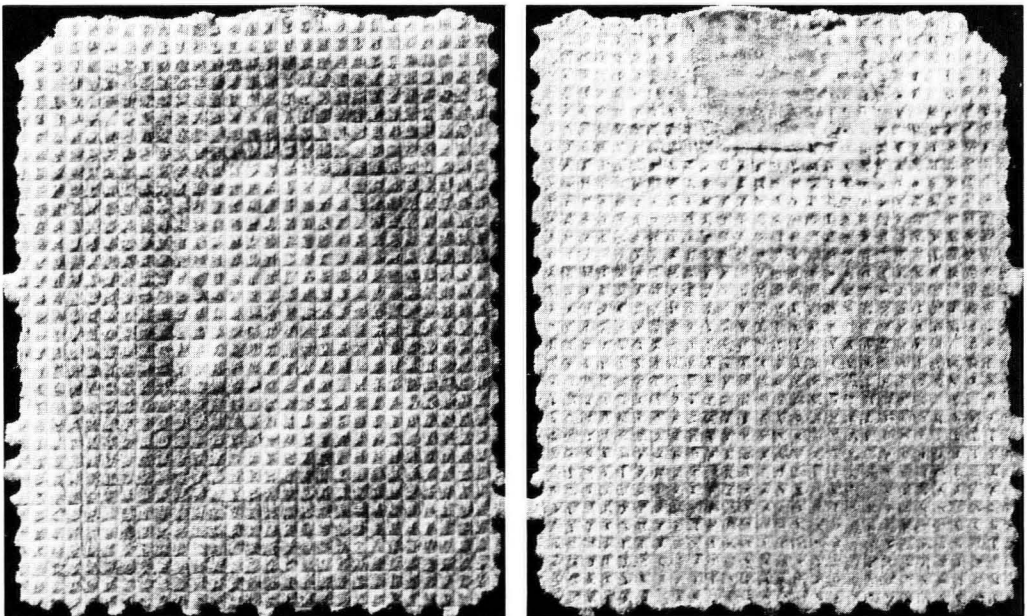


Figure 2. Female “A” grill, Scott #79, produced by #2 grill device described in text. The face of the stamp (pictured at left) shows the raised “biscuit” points, each of which has tiny, irregular fractures caused by the strain on the paper as it was pressed into the depressed pits on the grill surface. The back (at right) shows the rows of intersecting lines which, according to the accepted theory of grill manufacture, reflects the surface of the grilling roller or plate, i.e. the surface of tiny depressed pits, or bosses.

implies that some of these stamps were *issued* through a post office. From known evidence, the likelihood of the imperforate 3¢ “A” grills’ being sold at a post office is remote. Like the earlier “Première Gravure” or “August” issues, and 3¢ Scarlet (#74) stamp, the imperforate “A” grill stamps should be reckoned among sample products.

3. *Type “A” Male Grill, Flat Top Bosses* — this roller produced the 3¢ “biscuit grill” essay stamps. It is similar to the all-over female grill, except that it appears to have been made from a male roller, consisting of flat top bosses which did not effectively break through the paper. Philip H. Ward, in *Mekeel’s* Sept. 19, 1958 issue, described this so-called essay grill:

The second roller which like the first was made to grill a sheet of 100 stamps at a time. This roller when impressed shows the points of the grill as small faint squares not cutting the paper and is what is known as the essay roller. Many of the 3¢ grilled all over now in collections have this grill and they are nothing more than essays which should rank with the music box grill *for a used copy has never been found*. It was this very roller that was later cut down and used to make the experimental grills on the Continental stamps of 1873. [author’s italics]

Ward’s last comment about the Continental stamps is probably his own speculation. The Philatelic Foundation records contain examples of this grill, including sheets of blank paper impressed with all-over grills from rollers #2 and 3 (see Figures 3a and 3b).

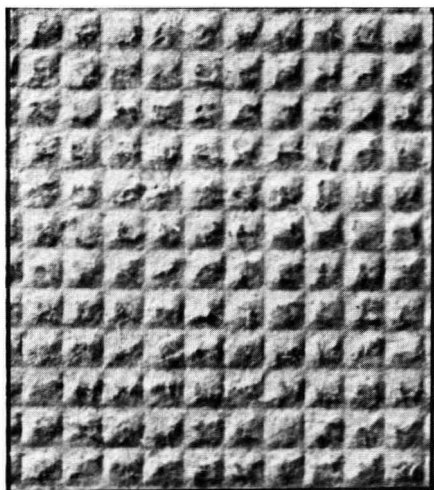


Figure 3a. A blank sheet impressed with the Female #2 grill, which produced the all-over “A” grill stamps listed in the Scott Catalog. The face of this sheet is shown (points up).

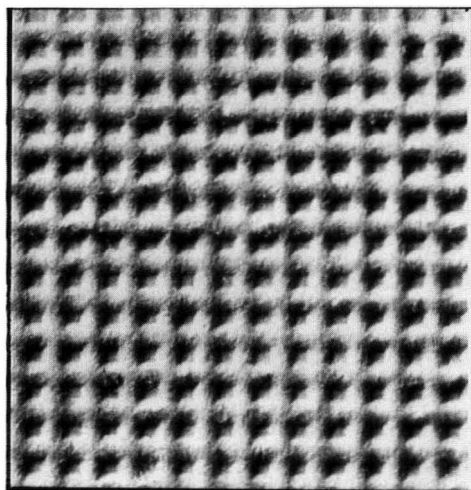


Figure 3b. Another blank sheet, impressed with Male grill #3. Notice the shape of each grill point (produced from flat top bosses). The face of this sheet is shown (points down).

4. *Type “A” Male Grill, Pointed Pyramidal Bosses* — this grill is alluded to elsewhere in the *Mekeel’s* article cited above, but the author believes Ward erred in his opinion that this male grill roller never produced essays or stamps before being cut down and used for reduced area grills (the “F” grill, according to Ward). The author has examined a good number of essays (and stamps) that show the distinctive traits of this grill in its all-over state. These are: a strong impression of the embossing; small “X” shaped indentations (rarely cutting through paper) in each boss; and a lack of the characteristic female grill fracturing on each point. A letter from Elliott Perry to Winthrop Boggs (P.F. files) contains an interesting comment on some 3¢ all-over grill stamps submitted to him in 1954:

Three of the used stamps appear to have pyramid grills impressed from the back and the fourth has pyramid grills impressed on the face. They all have the “male” characteristics, and in my experience no stamps with “male pyramids” are found genuinely used or are known to have been on sale in any post office. Therefore they are assumed to be fraudulent.

The author does not know exactly which stamps Perry was looking at, but his opinion

regarding the existence of used “male” all-over grills provides insight into how some authorities have treated any evidence that does not conform to their own assumptions about the issue.

Of the four all-over grills, the last type, #4, is the most intriguing. In the author’s opinion, it is this grill roller, in its all-over state, which produced the stamp/essay items such as the 1¢ “A” grill single (Figure 4) and block, and possibly some of the 3¢ and 5¢ “A” grill stamps declared to be essays.

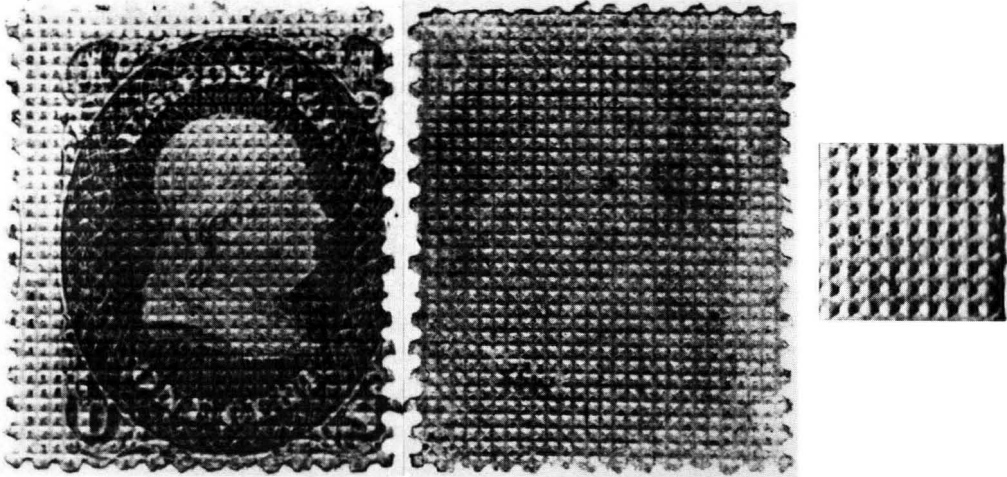


Figure 4. Male “A” grill, with pointed pyramidal bosses, applied to 1¢ 1861 single (face at left, back at center) and block currently regarded as essay items. A small blank piece (right) with this grill shows the characteristics: strong impression, “X” cuts in each boss, and lack of fracturing on each point.

Modification of the All-Over Grills

It is widely accepted that the “A” grill female roller was modified to correct the interference of the grill with perforations. There is no doubt that the all-over grill caused mutilation of the stamp when separated from adjoining copies in the sheet. Further, the order of manufacture (printing, gumming, grilling, pressing, perforating) shows the perforation process must have been complicated when applied to the weakened all-over grill sheets. Therefore, from both points of view — production and use — it was necessary to reduce the embossing to an area smaller than the dimensions of each stamp.

To correct this situation, the grilled area on the roller(s) was “erased.” In the case of the female grill (#2), the modification created a grilled area on each stamp measuring 13 x 16 millimeters (width by height). This state of the roller is known as the “C” grill. Within the roller, the size of the rectangular embossing varied slightly, and at one point, enough of the outlining grill remained to produce a sub-type: the 18 x 15 mm “partially erased” “C” grill. The blank sheet of “C” grills in Figure 5 shows this partial erasure. It is this sub-type which played an important part in the controversy surrounding the existence of the 3¢ “B” grill stamp. While a bit off the track, the story of the “B” grill debate is worth re-telling in this article, and does demonstrate a point which will be made shortly.

For many years, the *Scott Catalog* listed the 3¢ “B” grill (#82) as an 18x15 mm male grill, points up, based on the existence of the so-called Luff reference copy now in the P.F. reference collection (see Figure 6). Other prominent experts, such as Perry, Ward, and Brookman, openly challenged the authenticity of this 3¢ “B” grill stamp, asserting that the real “B” grill was actually the partially erased “C” grill from the modified female all-over grill roller. In *Pat Paragraphs*, Perry went into great detail about this subject, claiming that the Luff copy, a male grill stamp, could not be the true “B” grill, which, as Perry argued, was a

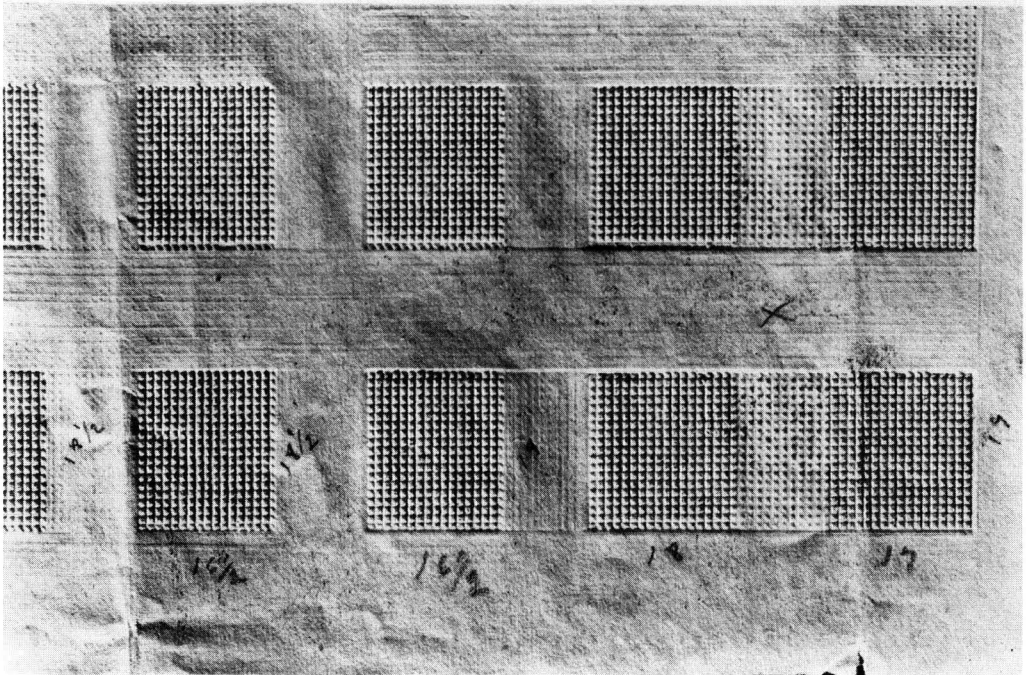


Figure 5. Female "C" grill from the #2 all-over grill in its modified state. This blank sheet, shown face up (points up), shows partial erasure of the raised intersecting lines of the female grill. This so-called "partially erased" "C" grill measures 18 x 15 mm.

partially erased *female* grill.

The evidence weighed heavily against the Luff copy, and much in favor of Perry's theory. For a brief time, the *Scott Catalog* was changed to reflect Perry's opinion. Then, in the 1960s a full cover bearing four copies of the 3¢ with *18 x 15 mm male grills* surfaced to firmly establish the existence of the "B" grill, as described by Luff. Ironically, Luff was working from a copy that most experts agree is not an issued stamp! (Some have argued it is a



Figure 6. The Luff copy of the 3¢ "B" grill (face and back), which is now regarded to be a forgery or an essay. It is cancelled by a target which appears to have been applied after the grill.

forgery; others believe it is an essay.)

The author has examined one copy of the on-cover 3¢ “B” grill stamps, as well as photographic enlargements of the stamps and cover (the envelope’s current whereabouts is not known). These pictures are reproduced in the three volume Brookman book. The copy examined (the left-hand stamp) shows a distinct male grill impressed into the back of the stamp, creating points up on the face (see Figure 7). Within each boss is a tiny “X” shaped indentation. The bottom of the grill (as viewed from the back) shows partially erased points — about nine points starting from the left, below the 18th horizontal row, and about five points from the left on the next row. The shade of the stamp is closer to the Brown Red printings than the Rose “A” grill stamp shades. The characteristics of the grill are similar, and possibly identical, to the #4 male grill described earlier. In any case, these “B” grill stamps could not have come from the female grill roller.

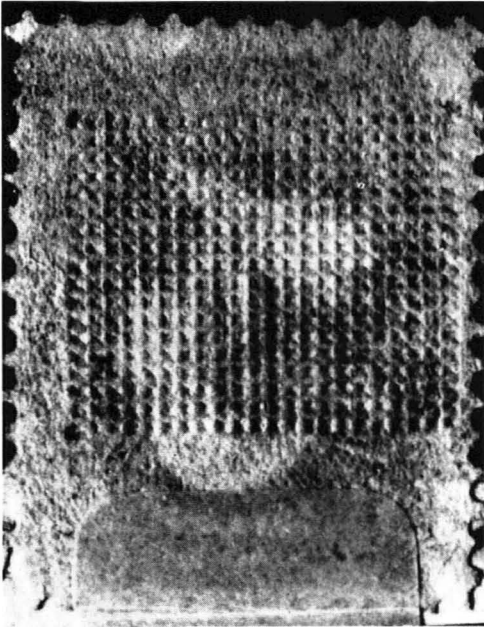


Figure 7. The back of one of the four accepted 3¢ “B” grill stamps from the discovery cover which firmly established the 18 x 15 mm male grill as an issued stamp. The cover from which this stamp comes was mailed from Mason, Texas, to Germany in Feb. 1869.

There is no question in the author’s mind that these “B” grill stamps were grilled when affixed to the cover (leaving a “ghost” impression when removed), and that they were grilled when cancelled in Mason, Texas, in February 1869. The late use of an experimental grill from a comparatively remote post office makes logical sense, if one accepts that experimental grill sheets were stockpiled along with other postage. The issuance of grilled stamps on a random basis is further supported by the three earliest recorded 3¢ “A” grill uses from cities in Virginia, Ohio, and New York. Further, considering that the printing firm’s contract was due to expire, from a business standpoint it makes sense that they should have cleaned house in early 1869.

The point of this story is this: at least one post office received at least one sheet of 3¢ stamps with an experimental grill produced from a *male roller*, points up, in a size similar to the modified “C” grill. The evidence disproves Perry’s statement about the 18 x 15 mm male grill, and if taken one step further, might also disprove his assumptions about the existence of all-over male grills.

Among the other items related to modified all-over grills that currently are regarded as essays are the Earl of Crawford “C” grills. These were acquired by Colonel E. H. R. Green and sold as part of the 25th Green sale. In the auction catalog, two sets of 3, 5, 10, 12 and 30-cent stamps were listed as having 13 x 16 mm grills — one set showing points up, the other points down. The foreword to this section of the sale (ten lots altogether) noted the existence

of the 1¢ stamp with the 13 x 16 mm essay “C” grill. Ward, in the *Mekeel's* article, offered his opinion on the Crawford 1¢ “C” grill stamp:

There were some finished grilled stamps in the collection that have never been catalogued. For instance he [Lord Crawford] has a mint block of the 1¢ grilled 13 x 16. It had the identical grill of the recognized 3¢ variety [Ward might be wrong on this point]. There was also a copy of this stamp in the Worthington collection sold at auction on August 21, 1917 — Lot 332. It sold at \$250 and Morganthau described it as unique. At that time the existence of the Crawford block was not known. The Worthington copy is now in our collection of mint blocks for the Crawford block was broken by Klemann and where a block does not exist we must be satisfied with a single.

The Worthington 1¢ “C” grill stamp is the same copy certified by The Philatelic Foundation as a genuine “C” grill with points down (Figure 8). This copy was responsible for the Scott #82A that was listed briefly in the early 1970s. It was de-listed and is currently footnoted as an unissued essay. The corresponding 1¢ “C” grill, points up, is also shown in Figure 8.

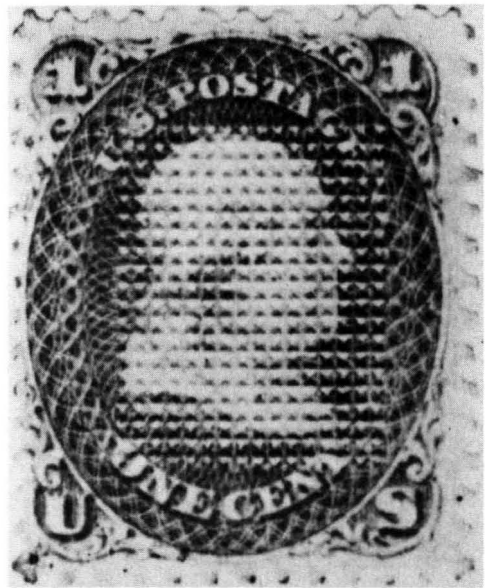


Figure 8. The 1¢ “C” grill, points down, ex-Worthington, Ward. At right is the corresponding “C” grill, points up.

There seems to be little question that the ex-Crawford, Green “C” grill stamps are the same as (or similar to) ones described by Luff in an *American Journal of Philately* article (vol. 9, 1896) entitled “Dangerous Counterfeits of United States Grills.” The entire article is reproduced in Brookman’s book. To summarize, Luff believed that the stamps shown to him — duplicate sets of grills, points up and down — were forgeries. These included “1868 Grills” (1, 3, 5, 10, 12 and 30-cent) measuring 13 x 16½ mm (according to Luff; 13 x 16 mm by all other accounts). There were also 1870 Continental Bank Note Co. stamps grilled 9 x 12 mm. Regarding the 1868 grills, Luff had this to say:

. . . the grills are all too heavily impressed, which is due to the fact that they had not been put through the hydraulic press, as was the case with all that were sold to the public

The lot shown us contained also a magnificent block of 4 of the 1 cent 1861, grilled all over, which showed the same difference in impression from the originals as the other stamps already mentioned [“C” grills]. A few of the specimens, if shown to us separately, would certainly have elicited a favorable opinion as to their genuineness, but from the fact that some of the stamps in the lot were certainly fraudulent, we have arrived at what we consider the warranted conclusion

that the entire lot was wrong, from beginning to end

We have at different times seen specimens of the 3¢ of 1867, with the grill covering the entire stamp, offered at auction with the grill showing the points down. We feel sure that no such impressions were made at the time, and that a careful examination of the specimens will prove them to be counterfeit. Also there have recently appeared specimens of the 1¢ and 5¢ of 1868, with the grill covering the entire stamp, but we would advise collectors to be very careful about buying any of these. It is very easily possible, although we are not able to state it as a fact, that they came from the same lot from which the stamps described herein emanated, and, if so, they are of the same character.

The author has not examined any of the Crawford "C" grills, nor the 1¢ and 5¢ "A" grill items cited by Luff. However, photographs of these items on file at The Philatelic Foundation give the appearance that the grills were made from a male roller (#4). The illustrations in Figure 4 show the face and back of the single 1¢ "A" grill. As Luff described, they are heavily impressed grills, but this characteristic does not necessarily disqualify them as issued stamps. In the author's opinion, if they are not stamps sold at the post office, then they are finished samples, and, as such, should enjoy the same popularity as the 1861 "August" or "Première Gravure" stamps.

With respect to Luff's condemnation of any all-over or "C" grill stamps showing points down, this "rule" is outdated. It is known that the 3¢ "C" grill (female) exists with points down, and the author is convinced that equally genuine 3¢ "A" grill stamps with points down were produced and issued. William Herzog covered this subject in *Chronicles* 103 and 104.

In the case of the Crawford grills, the 1¢ "A" grills, and the various essay/stamp items to which Luff, Perry and Ward made reference, the author cannot state definitely how these are related (*i.e.*, that certain rollers produced certain stamps). However, from the information and photographs available, it appears that some, and perhaps all, were produced from the #4 male grill roller described earlier, in its original all-over and subsequent modified states. The author's current objective is to examine and compare the following items:

1. The five recorded 1¢ "A" grill stamps (single and broken block, ex-Crawford).
2. The recorded 3¢, 5¢ (six) and 30¢ (eight) "A" grill stamps currently accepted as issued stamps.
3. The two 5¢ "A" grill stamps, unused, which the P.F. certified as essays. One of these has points down.
4. The 1¢ "C" grill single and broken Crawford block cited by Ward. Do these stamps show the #4 roller characteristics?
5. The Crawford "C" grill stamps dispersed in the Green sale. How do these compare with the accepted "A" and "C" grills (female) and the #4 grill?
6. The three other 3¢ "B" grill stamps from the cover and the cover itself. Do stamps #2, 3 and 4 in the sequence show partial erasure around the 18 x 15 mm embossing? How do these compare with the Crawford grills?

It is premature to suppose that a logical relationship between the essays and issued stamps can be drawn from examination of the examples listed above. However, the opportunity to assemble all of these for comparison would certainly result in a better understanding of the technical aspects of these stamps.

The Trial Cancellation

The news in this article is the discovery of the trial cancellation's origin. Ten copies of the 3¢ "biscuit grill" essay stamps (#3 roller) are shown in Figure 9. These are:

1. Single, ex-Dos Passos collection (Robbins sale).
2. Pair, from the sale featuring the Thomas Morris II (son of the President of the American Bank Note Co.) collection and presumed to be a part of that holding (Siegel sale, 1977).
3. Strip of three, Philatelic Foundation files.
4. Block of four, Philatelic Foundation files.

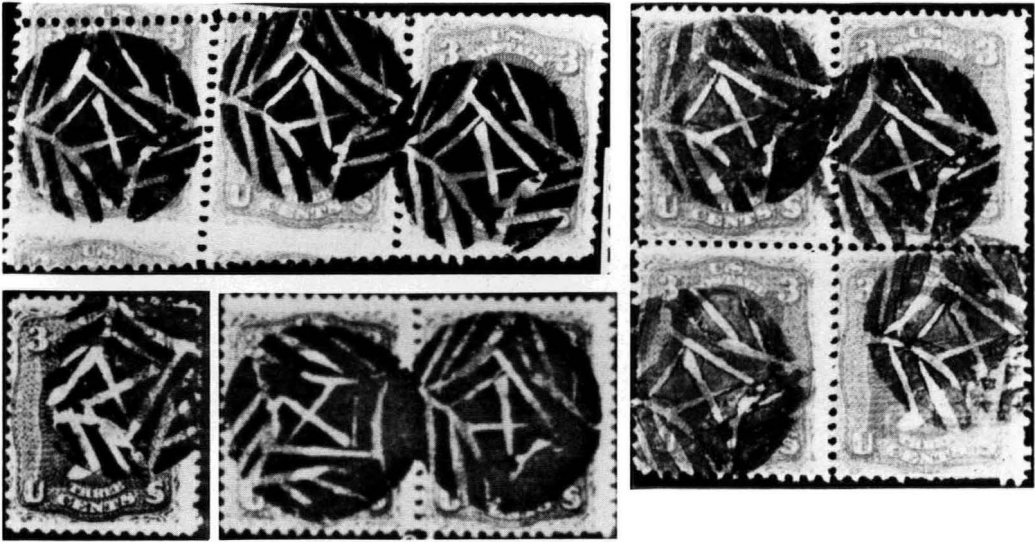


Figure 9. Ten 3¢ “biscuit grill” essays, with distinctive “Segmented Diamond within Circle” cancellation.

It is not known if any of these emanated from the Crawford-Green holding. The Green catalog for the 25th sale described a number of examples of the essay grill, but was unclear as to their exact appearance. Two lots (187, 188) described two pairs of the cancelled essay grill:

3¢ Rose, similar horiz. used pair [*i.e.*, all over grill of small squares points down], with fancy trial cancellation to test the penetrating power of the ink on the griled paper. Fine and rare

.....

3¢ Rose, a similar horiz. pair centered left

Other descriptions in the catalog specifically mentioned original gum, so it is presumed that these two pairs were without gum. The other examples pictured in Figure 9 are ungummed.

The ten (and possibly 14) recorded examples of the cancelled 3¢ “biscuit grill” stamp are identical in shade and centering. Other copies of this stamp exist unused, in a wide range of centering (the records do not show shade). Further, the ten cancelled copies have the same distinctive cancellation: a “Segmented Diamond within Circle.”

The cover in Figure 10 is irrefutable proof that this so-called trial cancellation was

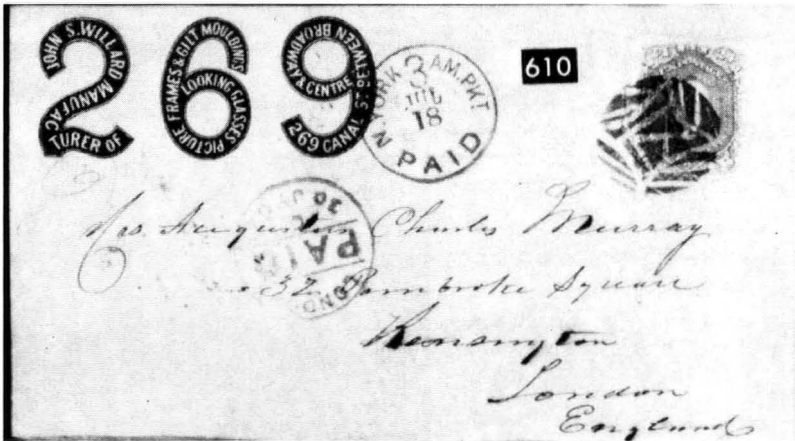


Figure 10. The 24¢ 1861 cover proving use of this cancellation at New York City in July 1867, the time of the experimental grill production. The National Bank Note Co. was located in New York City at this time.

actually used on mail at one New York City post office in July 1867. The cover is addressed to England from a commercial firm on Canal Street in lower Manhattan, not far from the author's own residence. The cover is year-dated by postmark.

There are three logical explanations for these items that come to mind. The first, which the author does not subscribe to, is that the grills on the cancelled 3¢ stamps are forged, or that the cancel on both the stamps and cover is not genuine. It should be mentioned that The Philatelic Foundation rendered the opinion that the grills on the strip and block were counterfeit. However, the author was involved in that decision and can testify that the other identical essays were not known (at least, not to the author) at that time. The author believes the Expert Committee made a mistake, simply due to lack of information.

The second explanation, which conforms to the current Scott classification of "A" grills, is that the cancelling device was borrowed by the National Bank Note Company for their experiments, or that a representative brought the stamps to the post office for trial cancellation, without actually using them on mail. In short, this explanation maintains the accepted notion that the "biscuit grill" (#3 roller) essay/stamps were not sold through the post office.

Some would contend that the identical shade and centering (*i.e.*, that the stamps came from one sheet) indicates trial cancellation from a single source. In other words, if these stamps were sold to the public at a post office, and used on mail, the surviving copies would not be so similar. The author believes this point of view is not valid because the eight recorded 30¢ "A" grill stamps and the four 3¢ "B" grill stamps are identically centered and cancelled because, in fact, they *did come from the same sheet*. If the similarity of the 3¢ "biscuit grill" stamps means anything, it certainly conforms to the norm established by other rare grill varieties.

The third explanation, with its formidable implications, is that these stamps are neither essay nor trial items, but were issued through the post office and used on mail, probably during the same period as the accepted 3¢ "A" grill, Scott #79. If, like the 3¢ "B" grill stamps, these were found intact on a cover, philately would be forced to accept that the #3 male all-over grill roller produced stamps which were sold to the public. Instead, it is an open case, because of the possibility that the cancelled copies were never used to pay postage on mail, despite the presence of a genuine and officially used cancellation.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article, apart from reporting the origin of the so-called trial cancellation, has been to raise significant questions about the present classification of grilled stamps. The author is convinced that there is a need for revising many of the "rules" set forth decades ago, which are still used to classify examples of stamps. If the rules are changed to conform to new evidence (rather than discrediting new, non-conforming evidence), then consequent re-classification of other stamp items might well be necessary. It is too early to say whether or not "new" stamps will be created in the process, but philately should certainly be open-minded to this potential. Unlike true historical research, most of philately is based on a catalog of opinions, *i.e.*, the *Scott Catalog*. Lacking in many cases is the source documentation to prove or disprove an opinion. However, when such documentation does surface, as in the case of Wagshal's brilliant discovery regarding the Chicago perfs, the difference between what is and what was supposed can be startling.

Without real proof, only a fool stakes his or her reputation on the assumptions made by others. The author cannot say that any stamp, for which we have no official documentation of its issuance (as in the case of the different grills) and no definite proof of usage, is strictly an essay. Instead, it is only possible to build a case for or against a stamp, using evidence that is current. For example, the imperforate 3¢ "A" grills have no place among the listings of issued U.S. postage stamps, because no one has ever produced evidence that they were sold to the

public. This is not to say they definitely were not issued and used, but that the pattern of evidence does not indicate such usage.

In the case of the 3¢ “biscuit grill” stamps, with the new evidence that the so-called “trial” cancellation was used at New York within a month of experimental grill production, the clear lines of division between the cancelled copies, essay items and issued stamps have disappeared. Possibly a cover will surface and neatly solve the mystery, but in the event philately is not so fortunate, how will we deal with this issue?

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to express his thanks for the help of The Philatelic Foundation, Carl O. Mamay (photographer), William J. Crowe, Richard B. Graham, Calvet M. Hahn, William K. Herzog, and Jerome S. Wagshal.

SOME COMMENTS ABOUT THE USED EXPERIMENTAL GRILLED STAMPS OF 1867-9

Scott Trepel’s article about the three-cent experimental grills of 1867-69 presents three possible hypotheses regarding the use of the cancelled stamps with experimental grills. He also comments strongly about an attitude of “experts” and expert committees in that they do not readily accept new ideas nor do they seem to maintain an open mind such as is necessary in order that anything new ever be forthcoming or accepted.

As one who has spent many years as an R. & D. engineer, I can testify to the validity of Scott’s comments. I spent as much time combatting the innate conservatism of those who thought the buggy-whip market would last forever (or at least until they retired) and the “NIH” (not invented here) syndrome as I did on development. I approve strongly of Scott’s viewpoint but am even more pleased that he did not attempt to draw conclusions beyond what his evidence warrants.

However, it appears that there are other facts that add to the probability the experimental grills he discusses are genuine.

Part of this comes from the writer’s knowledge of experimental work, and the difference in our attitude today toward research work in the manufacturing world as opposed to what it probably was in the 1860s. Today, the public thinks of R. & D. (research & development, which most companies present as an R. & D. department to produce the necessary public image — and an occasional new product) as a place where new products are born as a result of elaborate and expensive programs.

This certainly wasn’t true in the 1860s; the term “R. & D.” probably was never used, and new developments or products were usually the work of individual “loners,” considered to be crackpots who sold the ideas they produced to companies — just as Charles F. Steel sold his grill concept to the National Banknote Co.

How did the National Banknote Co. prove to itself that Steel’s ideas worked? Presumably, by having cancels applied at a local post office to the experimentally grilled stamps, so that the inks and cancellers used would be the same as those which would be used on finished products. Although I think it likely the National Banknote Co. would cancel a few stamps off cover to see how the ink penetrated, I believe the “test program” would also include what we would call today “field testing” by trying cancelling stamps on cover as well as off cover. I believe adhesion of the grilled stamps was also a factor and thus tests to detect differences, if any, between the grilled and ungrilled stamps in that respect would have been made.

The point is, however, that we should not have expected the National Banknote Co. to have had a laboratory, or, for that matter, the elaborate test programs and projects that modern companies routinely provide to work up new products. Rather, any tests that were made would have been very informal, aside from the samples made up to be submitted to the

Post Office Department officials in attempting to sell the new product.

Thus, I think that use of cancelling inks and instruments either at or borrowed from the New York post office is a certainty for the National Banknote Co. to test out various grill types to learn what differences each change made. And, it is also extremely probable that the various changes were made for manufacturing reasons for the most part or because, as with the grilled all-over stamps, it affected separation. This, too, is probably a manufacturing reason: the National Banknote Co. would have found that sheets that tore apart of their own weight in being handled were an unacceptable product.

There is another consideration that also affects the use of the experimental grills, as to whether they were ever sold over post office counters: economics. The National Banknote Co. was in business to sell their printed products, including postage stamps, at a profit — an obvious statement, but one we sometimes tend to forget.

In his article, Scott Trepel notes that the only known examples of the “B” grill 3¢ stamps were used on a cover sent from Mason, Texas, in February 1869. Yet, it would seem far more logical that these experimental grilled stamps would have been produced in 1867, so how did they reach Mason, Texas, not to be used before 1869? We expect experimental products, particularly those that differ substantially from the final designs, to stem from the early part of a development program before the designs and processes become stabilized so that only small changes can be made.

In Fred B. Schuerer’s *The United States 1869 Issue; An Essay-Proof History*, (The Collectors’ Club of Chicago, 1974), on pages 22-3, he quotes parts of an internal memo of the Post Office Department that has intrigued me very much. I wish he had been able to quote all of it (it apparently wasn’t available to reproduce fully) but the memo gave some very useful information relative to other matters than just the 1869 dies, proofs, and essays.

First, it indicated that the 1869 stamps were “issued” on March 19, 1869, which, I assume was the date the first stamps of that design were turned over by the National Banknote Co. to the Post Office Department to be sent to post offices throughout the country. Thus, the date is probably the earliest any 1869 stamps could have been used.

Next, it indicated that the traditional way of handling delivery and acceptance of postage stamps by banknote company contractors to the Post Office Department was being changed. Previously, the contractor had delivered stamps to a Stamp Agent who had an office in the contractor’s printing plant, and the agent shipped the stamps to the post offices in accordance with orders sent to him from the P.O.D. in Washington. Presumably, the Stamp Agent remained on the job, but his clerk, who did the labor, was eliminated. What we don’t know is whether the Stamp Agent’s status was changed or reduced by this change, but the National Banknote Co. assumed the job of shipping the stamps effective with the start of shipping the 1869 issue.

Most important, relative to the furnishing of the stamps of the 1861 designs, the National Banknote Co. was told of the changes in February or even previously, but “there being a considerable number of the old stamps on hand, it was decided to continue their issue until all were exhausted.”

Consider this statement from the standpoint of the economic welfare of the National Banknote Co. It really informed them, that, as soon as the new stamps began to be furnished, any remaining stocks they had on hand of the 1861 designs would thenceforth be unsaleable. The obvious answer was, I think, that they “cleaned out their closets” and storerooms of all unsold sheets of the 1861 issue. Such could have included sheets of experimental grilled stamps and possibly even experimental shades, but this idea furnishes a very logical explanation why the only recorded used 3¢ 1867 “B” grills were used from Texas in February 1869.

It also has bearing on the reasons for the appearance of blocks and a single or so of other 3¢ grilled stamps that had not been circulated all that generally.

It is also possibly pertinent that the announcements of the designs of the 1869 issue were sent out by the Post Office Department in Washington in envelopes franked by the 3¢ all-over "A" grills. Whether these "A" grills were routinely distributed at this time by the National Banknote Co., or whether they just happened to be available in Washington, I do not know, but most other uses stem from late 1867. The reason that stamps were used to mail the official letters to every post office in the country was that by an Act of Congress approved Mar. 1, 1869, only written signatures were acceptable to frank official mail. Postmaster General Creswell's announcement of this fact, in a printed bulletin dated Mar. 12, 1869, also had to be mailed about that time. It should be noted that the Grant administration had just entered office on Mar. 4, 1869, and the changes at the P.O.D. were sweeping. Not only was there a new Postmaster General but all three Assistant Postmasters General were replaced.

Whether the new or old administration was involved, there were, according to the PMG report of 1869, 27,106 post offices in operation in the U.S. as of June 1, 1869; this meant that for each notice sent to all from Washington, nearly 30,000 handwritten franking signatures had to be applied. At the time, postage stamps cost the Department about 2¢ per thousand, and use of stamps was probably far better for all than wasting time of important officials to frank mail by hand.

Previously, of course, all P.O.D. official mail was being sent under printed envelopes with a facsimile signature part of the design — and even had that been still authorized, new envelopes were required!

Summing up, we thus have factors that indicate the possibility or even probability of a wide range of usages of special and experimental grilled stamps in the early months of 1869.

It also should be recognized that no one would have been interested that some of the sheets sent out did have special grills or, perhaps, were printed in shades not quite the norm at the time. If the Stamp Clerk knew he was to lose his job soon, he wouldn't have made any difficulties about shipping such sheets; each prolonged his employment slightly as a matter of fact!

Thus, these factors substantially support Scott Trepel's premise that some of the experimental grilled stamps were sold over post office counters in 1869.

Richard B. Graham

AN ADDED NOTE ON PICTOU, NOVA SCOTIA

J.C. ARNELL

While the article "Pictou, Nova Scotia, Distribution Center" by C.W. Bert Christian (*Chronicle* 132, page 268) records that Pictou played an important role in the conveyance of transatlantic mail to and from the Canadas, some added information will show its full significance during the five years that the Cunard auxiliary steamer *Unicorn* carried the Mails between Pictou and Quebec during the months that the St. Lawrence River was open to navigation.

As noted by Christian, there had been a regular thrice-weekly mail service between Halifax and Pictou for several decades before the maiden voyage of the Cunard *Britannia* in July 1840 inaugurating the British steam packet service between Liverpool and Halifax/Boston. Nevertheless, in anticipation of this event, John Howe, Junior, Deputy Postmaster General of Nova Scotia, wrote to Col. Maberly, Secretary of the General Post Office in London, on 16 June 1840 calling his attention to the fact that two waggons would be required to handle the transatlantic Mails, as the newspapers alone would weigh 1,200-1,500 lb.

Samuel Cunard also recognized that these Mails for the Canadas required a fast and efficient form of transportation connecting the transatlantic and river steamers, and offered to provide the necessary service. In *The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*, it is

recorded that Cunard received £550 sterling for a coach service during the latter half of 1840 and received a one-year contract for £1,500 sterling in 1841, instead of the seven-year contract he had requested. This prompted Sir Rupert George, former Nova Scotian Provincial Secretary, to comment to the Commissioners investigating the B.N.A. Post Office on 8 February 1841 that “if Mr. Cunard’s tender to run Mails between Halifax and Pictou had been accepted by the Lords of the Treasury, as offered, for seven years instead of for one, that enterprising individual would have left nothing to be wished for in this respect on that road, but even as it is, the arrangements he is making will ensure a more expeditious and satisfactory conveyance of the Mail and passengers than has ever yet been afforded in this Colony.”

The impact of the movement of these large additional Mails on the Pictou Postmaster was contained in comments by Joseph Howe, Speaker of the N.S. House of Assembly and a member of the Executive Council, to the Commissioners dated 21 June 1841:

The case of the Post Master of Pictou may be thus stated. From the central situation of his office, the Mails for Canada, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, &c., pass through it, thus imposing upon him more duty than any other Officer out of Halifax. I think he told me that his salary had not averaged more than £50 per annum for 15 years, after deducting expenses. Under present regulations the whole of the Canada Mail brought by the steamers are entrusted to his care, and while I was in Pictou I remained under his roof for 12 hours, waiting the arrival of the Unicorn. This of course does not always occur, but yet there is an amount of duty and responsibility cast upon him, which seems scarcely requited by the salary he receives. Besides the ordinary routine of business, which keeps his Office open eight hours a day, he is often knocked up at night to receive and despatch the Canada Mails. The Officer himself is a highly respectable man, and should be put upon a different footing from our other country Post Masters, in consideration of the more important duties which devolve upon him.

As an indication of the size of the Mails being handled on the Halifax-Pictou route, the 4 August 1842 Mail from Liverpool by the *Britannia* contained:

- 1 bag letters and 1 bag newspapers for Prince Edward Island
- 7 bags letters and 19 bags newspapers for Quebec.

Two years later, the *Hibernia* brought the 4 July 1844 Liverpool Mail containing the following:

- 1 portmanteau (letters) for Quebec
- 2 portmanteaux (letters) for Montreal
- 1 portmanteau (letters) for Pictou
- 1 portmanteau (letters) for Prince Edward Island
- 27 sheepskin bags newspapers for Quebec
- 1 sheepskin bag newspapers for Pictou
- 1 sheepskin bag newspapers for Prince Edward Island.

In addition, there were two canvas bags from Halifax for Quebec and Pictou. This Mail left Halifax at 6:30 p.m. 15 July and reached Pictou at 11:15 a.m. the next morning. The *Unicorn* sailed one hour later and arrived at Quebec at 2:55 p.m. on 19 July — 3 days 20 hours 25 minutes transit time.

The return Mail from Quebec consisted of:

- 1 portmanteau (letters) for London
- 1 portmanteau (letters) for Liverpool
- 2 sheepskin bags newspapers for London
- 4 sheepskin bags newspapers for Liverpool
- 1 sheepskin bag newspapers for England through Liverpool
- 3 sheepskin bags newspapers for Scotland through Liverpool
- 2 sheepskin bags newspapers for Ireland through Liverpool
- 1 canvas bag for Halifax

- 1 canvas bag for Pictou
- 1 canvas bag for Gaspé.

The *Unicorn* left Quebec at 12 noon 29 July and arrived at Pictou at 12:30 p.m. 1 August. The mail coach left half an hour later and arrived at Halifax at 6:15 a.m. the next morning — 3 days 18 hours 15 minutes transit time.

When the *Unicorn* arrived at Halifax on 16 November 1844, it marked the end of the St. Lawrence River route for the transatlantic mails, as an agreement with the U.S.P.O. provided for the transmission of the Canadian Mails in closed bags via Boston. This resulted in a large reduction in the amount of mail carried between Halifax and Pictou, as well as a decrease in the number of coach runs. This was reflected in a Halifax Post Office notice dated 3 July 1845 calling for tenders to convey the Mails between Halifax, Truro and Pictou twice a week from 18 February 1846 “in a Waggon of suitable size.” Presumably the Pictou postmaster had an easier time thereafter.

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SIX-CENT 1869 USED FROM SAN FRANCISCO, APRIL 27, 1869

SCOTT R. TREPEL

A cover from San Francisco to Paris, France, postmarked April 27, 1869, provides evidence that the 6¢ 1869 — and probably other values of this issue — were sent out to post offices prior to the dates listed in the *Scott Catalog*.

Although the earliest use of the 6¢ 1869 is recorded as April 26 in *Scott's*, this San Francisco cover (see Figure 1) shows that shipments of stamps must have been sent out weeks earlier, in order to reach the west coast for use on April 27. Normal transit time from east to west via Panama (the route used at this time) was about 24 days. The March 24 and April 1, 1869, sailings from New York would have to have carried this 6¢ 1869 for use on April 27.

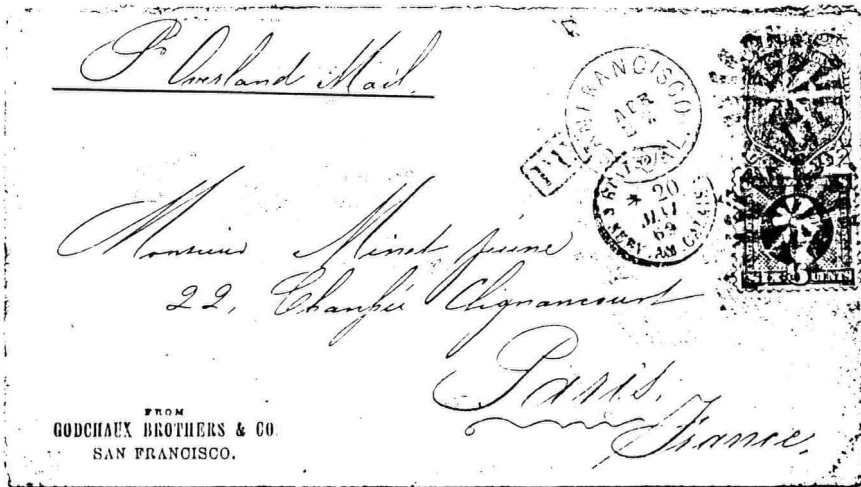


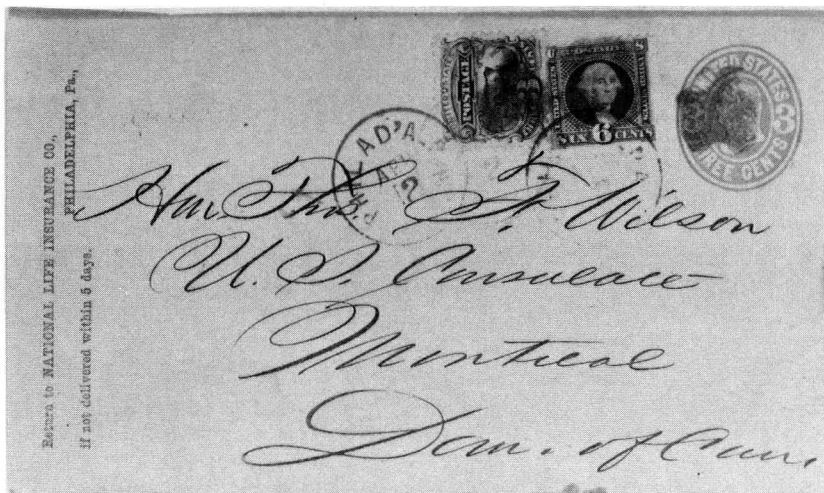
Figure 1. Cover from San Francisco to Paris, France, with 24¢ 1868 and 6¢ 1869, postmarked April 27, 1869. Sailings from N.Y.C. to S.F. via Panama on Mar. 24 or Apr. 1 must have carried the new stamps for use on Apr. 27.

The cover is part of the Oscar Salzer collection. Information about the via Panama sailings was brought to the author's attention by Calvet M. Hahn.

Postscript: Shortly after this article was prepared, the sad news of Oscar Salzer's passing was received. Mr. Salzer's generosity toward young philatelists, such as myself, will always be remembered by those fortunate enough to know him. From one generation to another, that spirit will be carried.

THE 6¢ 1869 USED TO CANADA

During the currency of the 1869 issue, the letter rate to Canada was 6¢ per ½ oz., so that the stamp most often seen on mail addressed to Canada is the 6¢ Washington. A large correspondence from Oak Park, Ill., to Montreal has supplied the majority of such covers — about 18 percent according to *The 1869 Issue on Cover: A Census and Analysis*. In the chapter on usage of the 6¢ stamp Millard Mack lists "Canada 57/British North America (not Canada) 28" for a total of 85. Since Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were included in Confederation in 1867, the 27 covers addressed to those provinces are, strictly speaking,

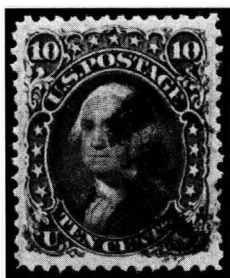


Philadelphia to Montreal, April 2, 1870, 3¢ and 6¢ 1869 on a 3¢ envelope making up double the 6¢ rate to Canada.

covers to Canada.

These 85 covers constitute an important segment of the 420 surviving 6¢ 1869 covers recorded to date. Most of them represent single uses of the 6¢ stamp with only a few multiples noted — three pairs and one strip of four. Shown with these notes is a double rate cover — a 3¢ envelope (U59) on which the 3¢ and 6¢ 1869 stamps are combined to pay the 12¢ rate. This is the only combination cover to Canada in Mack's list, although others must surely exist.

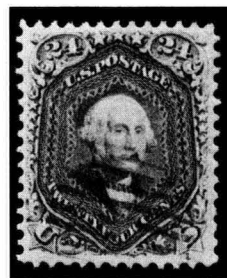
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THE BANK NOTE PERIOD

RICHARD M. SEARING, Editor

CANADA DURING THE BANKNOTE PERIOD

On July 1, 1867, the new Confederation of Canada was formed by the combination of Canada West (Ontario) and Canada East (Quebec), together with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Two years later, the western territory was purchased from the Hudson Bay Company, and from it was formed the province of Manitoba which entered the Confederation in 1870, followed by British Columbia in 1871. Shortly after, in 1873, Prince Edward Island joined the Confederation.

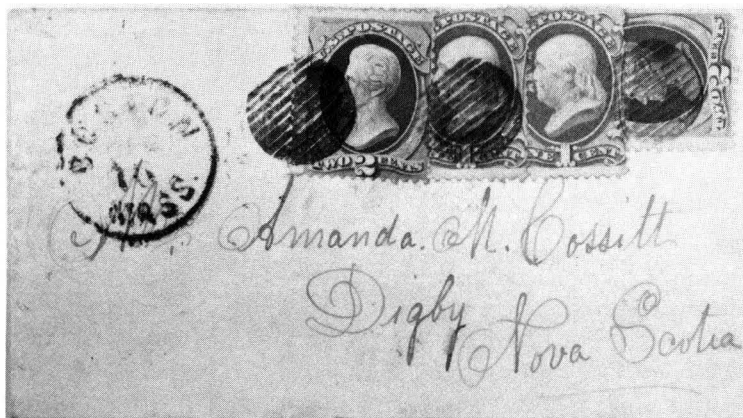


Figure 1. Boston to Nova Scotia Dec. 16 (1872), the 6¢ rate made up by overlapping copies of the National 1¢ ultramarine and 2¢ red brown.

In 1884, with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, an all-Canada mail service was finally established between the eastern and western areas. Extension of the railroad to the Pacific coast linked British Columbia with the Atlantic coast and established an all-Canada link of communication with Great Britain for the first time. Prior to this, British Columbia was almost entirely dependent on the U.S. Postal Service for the moving of mail.

During the banknote period, one of the well known postal finds was the Brimley correspondence which originated in Oak Park, Ill. This correspondence began during 1868

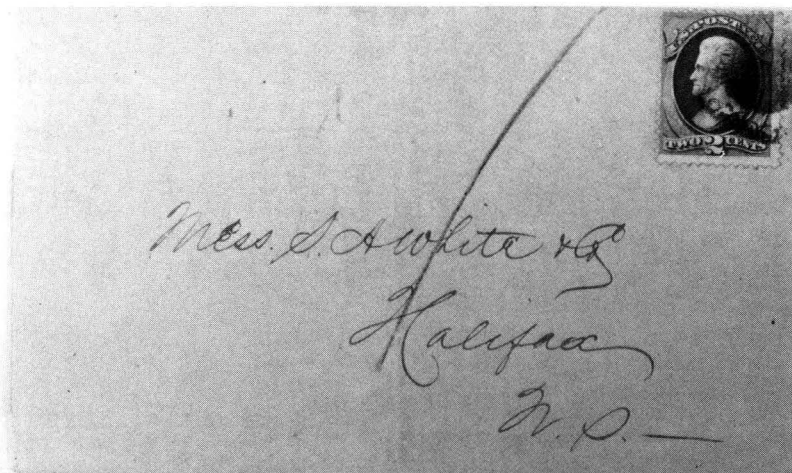


Figure 2. Printed circular from Philadelphia, dated July 8, 1871, to Halifax. U.S. circular rate paid by National 2¢ red brown. Blue ms. "1" cent Canadian postage due. Circulars and other transient matter were still "paid to the lines" only.



Figure 3. The 3¢ rate from Charleston, Mo., April 27, 1883, to Toronto. Postage paid by American 1¢ re-engraved and 2¢ vermilion.

and carried forward into the middle 1870s. During this period, the rate to Canada was 6¢ per ½ ounce. Most of the letters are franked with the 6¢ 1869 stamp, but I have seen examples with the 6¢ carmine of the National Banknote Company. Most of these letters are distinguished by a manuscript year date and the notation “Box 629.” Can any reader produce a cover from this correspondence during the 1870s? I have a record of 12 1869 6¢ covers from this find, but only six additional covers which are franked with the 6¢ National stamp.

The single letter rate to Canada (*i.e.*, all provinces in Confederation) was 6¢ from April 1, 1868, as shown in Figure 1; unpaid or short paid letters incurred a penalty rate of 10¢. Printed circulars required 2¢ prepayment (Figure 2). This amount paid the U.S. portion only.

A new agreement effective February 1, 1875, provided that the domestic letter rate of either country applied to letters mailed to the other. The 3¢ rate remained in force on letters to Canada (Figure 3) until the U.S. letter rate was lowered to 2¢/½ oz. Oct. 1, 1883 (Figure 4).

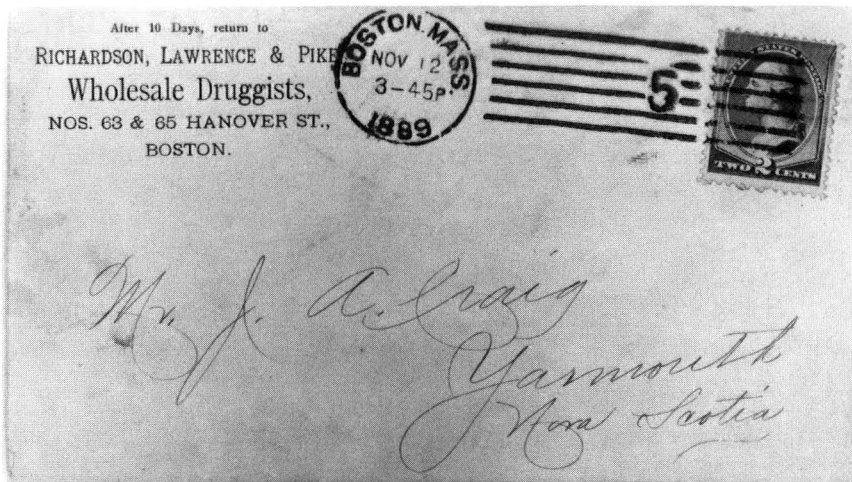


Figure 4. Boston to Nova Scotia in 1890, the 1887 2¢ green paying the letter rate (2¢ per ounce from July 1, 1885).

THE COLUMBIAN COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS

With this inaugural article by George Arfken, we begin our series on the Columbian stamps which will run over the next five years. Each denomination will be covered and interesting covers will be emphasized. If you can contribute to this effort, please help.

THE U.S. COLUMBIANS

GEORGE B. ARFKEN

It was the greatest exposition the country had ever seen. Since the Centennial Exposition of 1876 there had been half a dozen local or regional expositions but this was something much more elaborate, much grander. This was a true world's fair — the World's Columbian Exposition. Years in the planning, it cost \$40,000,000. Forty-six foreign nations participated. Twenty-seven and one half million people attended. There were spectacular displays of the new electrical technology that was rapidly changing the lives of people. There were 150 buildings whose architecture embodied the new classicism of the American Renaissance. Indeed, the influence on architecture may have been the most significant influence of the great exposition. The exposition also included for the first time, a separate amusement area, the Midway Plaisance. It was there that the hootchy-kootchy girl, "Little Egypt," first won public notice.

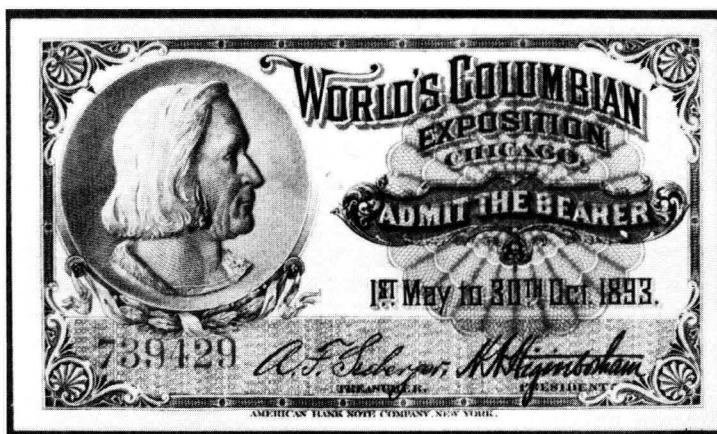


Figure 1. A souvenir admission ticket for the World's Columbian Exposition. The profile of Columbus is similar to that on the \$5.00 stamp but facing right instead of left.

Figure 1 shows one of the souvenir admission tickets to the World's Columbian Exposition. Note the dates: May 1, 1893 to October 30, 1893. Years in the planning and a year behind schedule. This delay permitted Postmaster General John Wanamaker to conceive and develop his grand idea. Wanamaker had noticed the special stamped envelopes issued for the Centennial Exposition of 1876 when he had visited the exposition.¹ He determined to issue a special series of stamps to celebrate the World's Columbian Exposition.² Yes, there was a second reason. The stamps were also to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the new world. A third reason is noted below.

In late September 1892 the Post Office gave the American Bank Note Company the contract for producing the U.S. Columbian stamps, a set of 15 stamps. (The 8¢ denomination came later.) The 15 stamps ranging from 1¢ to \$5.00 were put on sale January 1, 1893.³ Postmaster General Wanamaker followed precedent with the low values. There were Columbian stamps corresponding to each of the 1890 definitives, 1¢ through 30¢. Then, instead of following precedent, Wanamaker set precedent. The 90¢ value was replaced by a

1. Louis J. Heizmann, "Wanamaker's Columbians," *American Philatelic Congress*, No. 34, pp. 91-98, 1968.

2. For details on the exposition and related exposition material see *Columbian Exposition*, by James P. Doolin, 1981; also, "World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, Official and Unofficial Souvenir Postal Cards," by Gordon Bleuler and Jim Doolin, *The American Philatelist*, Vol. 94, pp. 713-726, Aug. 1980.

3. Scott gives January 2, 1893, as the first day of issue. January 1 was a Sunday but some large post offices were open. Covers dated January 1 are known. The 8¢ value was issued later — March 1893.

50¢ value. Finally, with little or no postal justification, there were our first \$1.00 stamp, our first \$2.00 stamp, our first \$3.00 stamp, our first \$4.00 stamp, and our first \$5.00 stamp.

The third reason for issuing this set of stamps came directly and eloquently from Postmaster General John Wanamaker:⁴

. . . the “mania,” as it is called, for collecting postage stamps, as specimens, is universal throughout the world. It affects every class and condition of people, and is not confined by age or sex. It is shared, perhaps, by millions of people, from the school boy and girl to the monarch and the millionaire and the value of stamps in private collections which will never be drawn upon to pay postage may safely be placed at many millions of dollars. The beauty and unique character of the new Columbian stamps will cause their sale in large quantities, simply for use in collections; and not only will they be purchased in single or partial sets by collectors, but, in view of the limited time in which they will be issued, they will be accumulated in great quantities by dealers and others to meet future demands.

Stamp collectors, philatelists, speculators were expected to buy the U.S. Columbians and enrich the U.S. Treasury. Despite the \$16.34 face value of the 16 stamp set, a very high cost in 1893 dollars, stamp collectors, philatelists and speculators moved in. While they did not buy as many stamps as Wanamaker had hoped, the number of stamps purchased was far more than the stamp collecting community could absorb at that time. After an initial rise, prices dropped and for more than a quarter of a century a mint set of the 16 U.S. Columbians could be purchased for less than face value. It was all very well to say “Use them for postage,” but what postal rate could one pay with a \$5.00 postage stamp?



Figure 2. A block of four 3¢ Columbians tied together with the 2¢ Pilgrim Tercentenary of 1920. The 3¢ Columbians were being used as postage at least 27 years after they had been issued.

Figure 2 shows an example (nonphilatelic) of very late usage of the 3¢ Columbians. The block of 3¢ Columbians is tied with a 2¢ Pilgrim Tercentenary issued in 1920. Here, 27 years or more after they were issued, these 3¢ Columbians were being used up at face value. Herman Herst, Jr., has often pointed out that in 1893 these Columbians were a poor investment.

The stamp collectors of 1893 were excited about the new Columbian stamps and, like most people, they were excited about the World’s Columbian Exposition. They wanted Columbian stamps on cover with exposition postmarks. Today these exposition postmarks (WORLD’S FAIR STA.) on cover command a high premium. One of the more fantastic of these exposition covers is shown in Figure 3. The addressee, J.A. Pierce, was a Chicago stamp dealer. He probably sent this cover (and many others) to himself.⁵ The cover is clearly

4. *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1892, p. 77.

5. Another J.A. Pierce Civil War patriotic Columbian Exposition cover is shown (in color) in “The Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893,” by Gordon Bleuler and Jim Doolin, *The American Philatelist*, Vol. 93, pp. 994-1006, Nov. 1979.

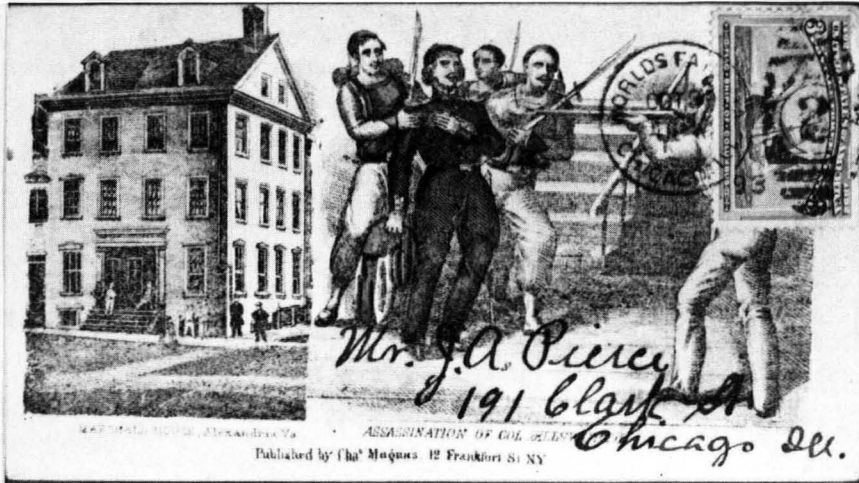


Figure 3. Exposition postmark: WORLD'S FAIR STA., OCT 30 93. Overpaid 1¢. The reason for the use of a Civil War patriotic envelope remains a mystery.

“philatelic” in the sense that it was contrived to create a philatelic item. Why Pierce chose to use a Civil War patriotic cover is a mystery. The scene shows the slaying of Col. E.E. Ellsworth by a southern sympathizer. Ellsworth immediately became a hero and a martyr, at least in the North. Details about Ellsworth the man and about Ellsworth patriotic covers have been given by Connett.⁶

Some Columbia Exposition WORLD'S FAIR STA. postmarks border on the incredible. Figure 4 shows a most unusual example. The date is NOV 3 93, four days after the Columbian Exposition closed! The postal card is also unusual in other respects. The Universal Postal Union rate for post cards was 2¢ so the addition of the 3¢ Columbian to this 1¢ postal card was a 2¢ overpayment. On the other hand this card, Scott UX10, was approximately 1/8 inch longer and 1/4 inch wider than UPU regulations permitted, and technically should have been charged the UPU letter rate of 5¢. So, technically, the card was 1¢ underpaid.

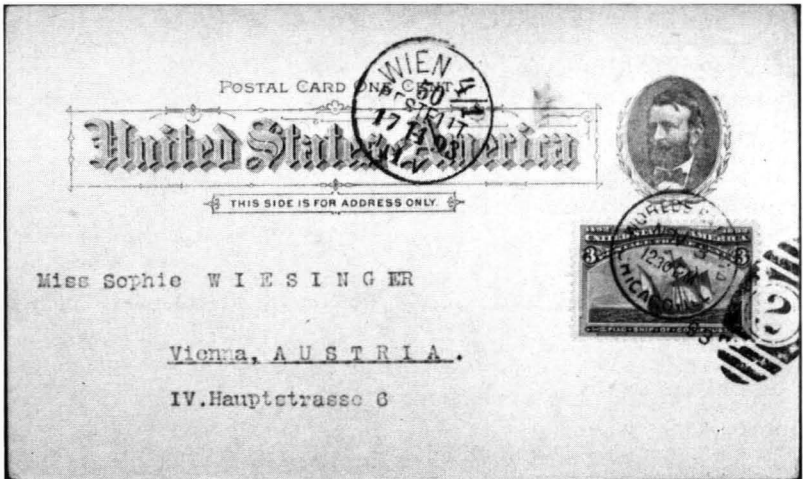


Figure 4. WORLD'S FAIR STA., NOV 3 93, four days after the exposition closed. This oversize card is 2¢ overpaid as a post card, 1¢ underpaid as a letter.

6. Eugene V. Connett, 3rd., “Patriotic Covers. Colonel E.E. Ellsworth,” *American Philatelic Congress*, No. 22, pp. 13-41, 1956.

Postmaster General Wanamaker saw clearly that the U.S. Columbians would draw world-wide attention to the World's Columbian Exposition. In addition to this immediate influence the set of U.S. Columbians had a strong influence on subsequent stamp-issuing policies and practices in much of the rest of the world. This U.S. series established the large horizontal format that is common today for commemorative stamps.

In 1897 Canada, apparently following the U.S. example, issued its own series of 16 stamps to commemorate the diamond jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria. The size and shape of the Canadian Jubilees were almost identical to the U.S. Columbians.⁷ Some of the denominations were different. Canada included a half cent value to pay some special rates such as individual newspapers and periodicals not over one ounce in weight. As with our Columbians Canada issued \$1.00, \$2.00, \$3.00, \$4.00 and \$5.00 values. As was the case of our Columbians for us, these Canadian Jubilee dollar values were the first postage stamps of these denominations Canada had ever issued. As with our Columbians there was little postal need for the dollar value Jubilees. While some dollar values were used for bulk mailing of newspapers, the dollar value Jubilees were of interest mostly to collectors and speculators.

Subsequent articles in this series will take up the individual U.S. Columbian stamps and explore how they were used.

7. The Canadian Jubilees are also Bank Note stamps, having been printed by the American Bank Note Co., Ottawa.

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AN UNUSUAL CANADA-GREAT BRITAIN TRANSATLANTIC RATE STRUCTURE VIA THE UNITED STATES

ALLAN L. STEINHART

In this article I will attempt to explain an unusual system of franking and rating on transatlantic covers from Canada to Great Britain and the reasoning behind this rating structure.

In 1840 the Cunard steam packet service commenced carrying mails between Canada and Great Britain. In the case of letters from Canada, such letters were routed on to Quebec and then overland to Halifax to connect with Cunard vessels on their Liverpool-Halifax-Boston-Halifax-Liverpool route on the return portion of their voyages.

Commencing with the sailing of *Acadia* from Halifax on September 3, 1840, a new rating structure came into effect on letters from Canada to Great Britain. This was announced by Deputy Postmaster General T. A. Stayner in a circular dated August 19, 1840, at Quebec based on various communications he had received from Britain, including letters, the new Act, and the Treasury Warrant. The new rate on letters between Canada and Great Britain by Cunard packet via Halifax was to be 1/2 sterling single, 2/4 stg. double, 4/8 stg. treble or quadruple rate. These rates were based on the 1/2 ounce weight; up to, but not exceeding 1/2 ounce was one rate; 1/2-1 ounce, but not exceeding 1 ounce, two rates; 1-2 ounces, but not exceeding 2 ounces, four rates. Above an ounce, the charge increased by two rates in ounce increments, *i.e.*, two rates, four rates, six rates and so on (no odd rates). These charges converted into Canadian currency were 1/2 stg. = 1/4 cy.; 2/4 stg. = 2/7 1/2 cy.; 4/8 stg. = 5/2 1/2 cy., etc., and so we see the conversion varied as the exchange rates did. Of each 1/2 stg. (1/4 cy.) rate, one shilling sterling was the British share, which included interior British postage, plus ocean postage for Cunard service to Halifax or Boston, as had been established in 1839. The new rating structure established a rate of two pence sterling (2 stg. = 2 1/2 d. cy.) for the interior rate of postage in Canada as the Canadian portion of the total transatlantic rate which thus became 1/2 stg. or 1/4 cy.

The new 1/2 stg., 1/4 cy. rate from Canada could be prepaid or collect at the option of the sender. In the case of such letters addressed to Canada, a number are seen prepaid 1/2 stg., others are seen collect 1/4 cy., and some are found prepaid 1/- stg., with the 2d. stg. or 2 1/2 d. cy. collect.

The route from Quebec to Halifax was not a good road, and in winter the mails took an average of seven to nine days between Quebec and Halifax according to a letter of Stayner dated July 1841. This meant that letters had to be mailed several days in advance of the Halifax sailing date. Many business men wished for speedier mail service and were desirous of somehow sending their letters to Britain per Cunard service via Boston as such letters in many cases could catch an earlier Cunard departure or be mailed later and still be in time for the same sailing as an earlier letter via Halifax. In such a case the ordinary Canadian postage had to be paid to the border, along with U.S. postage to the port. For example, from Peterboro, Upper Canada, to London, England, the Canadian postage was 9d. cy. to the border at Queenston, plus 25¢ U.S. postage from the opposite border office at Lewiston, N.Y., to Boston. The 1/0 stg. packet rate (British internal and ocean postage combined) by Cunard service was collect. This rate and route were more expensive but generally faster than the Halifax route.

On December 1, 1843, Stayner issued a circular of instructions to postmasters in Canada from the General Post Office at Quebec. This circular announced a most important change in

the rating of letters in Canada by weight instead of by the number of sheets of paper, as was previously the case. This was the result of a Treasury Warrant from the Lords of the Treasury in Great Britain dated October 11, 1843, and effective January 5, 1844.

What concerns us here is what appears to be a minor part of the Treasury Warrant, which, in relation to letters between the United Kingdom and British North America, noted:

. . . That on all letters, not exceeding half an ounce in weight, transmitted by the post between any place in the United Kingdom and any place in British North America . . . there shall be paid, in addition to the rates of British postage payable on such letters, . . . an uniform colonial rate of two pence, whether such letters shall pass between British North America, . . . and the United Kingdom direct, or via the United States; provided always, that if such letters passing through the United States shall be charged with any foreign postage, such foreign postage shall be charged on such letters in addition to the British postage and the said colonial rate.

Stayner covered this point in section 4 of his circular of December 1, with the following: “. . . but on letters between the United Kingdom and this country, via the United States, the Provincial charge is reduced to a uniform rate on a letter not exceeding ½ oz. of two pence sterling or two pence half penny currency, from any part of Canada to the Frontier line between Canada and the United States or vice versa, and in proportion of 2d. stg. for every additional ½ oz. This charge on letters from Canada addressed to the United Kingdom via the United States, must invariably be pre-paid”



Figure 1. Montreal to London, February 26, 1844. Prepaid 2½d. cy. plus 37½¢ U.S., double the 18¾¢ rate for 150-400 miles. Packet rate (including Br. inland) collect 1/-.

This rating structure would last from January 4, 1844, to July 1, 1845, when new U.S. rates came into effect. These rates, prescribed by the Act of March 3, 1845, were 5¢ single (not over ½ oz.) up to 300 miles, and 10¢ single over 300 miles on letters within the United States.

From the above facts we can now formulate the possible single letter rates on covers from Canada to Great Britain per Cunard packet via the United States as follows:

2½d. cy. Can. + 18¾¢ U.S. prepaid	1/- stg. collect	Jan. 5, 1844-June 30, 1845
2½d. cy. Can. + 25¢ U.S. prepaid	1/- stg. collect	Jan. 5, 1844-June 30, 1845
2½d. cy. Can. + 10¢ U.S. prepaid	1/- stg. collect	June 30, 1845-Apr 6, 1851

On April 6, 1851, the Canada-United States rate became 6d. cy. or 10¢, single, and what happened to the rate structure outlined above remains to be discussed at another time.

In early 1845 an arrangement was reached (the Wickliffe agreement) which permitted the transit of Canadian transatlantic mails in closed bags over U.S. territories to connect with

Cunard sailings from U.S. ports. The same 1/2 stg. or 1/4 cy. rate was charged as on mail via Halifax. This arrangement took effect with the April 4 sailing of *Caledonia* from Liverpool and her May 1 return from Boston. As a result loose letters via the U.S. became much less frequent.

As illustration of the rate structure described I offer these examples. The first cover (Figure 1) is dated February 26, 1844, from Montreal, Lower Canada, to London, England, endorsed "Paid to Boston" and rated "PAID 2½," the colonial portion of the postage, and "PAID 37½," double the 18¾¢ U.S. rate from the border to Boston. (Mails between Montreal and Boston were actually forwarded by through bag, so this letter was not handled at the border.) The cover was carried by the Cunard packet *Hibernia* on her 6th return voyage. She sailed from Boston on March 1, 1844, and arrived at Liverpool on March 13. The cover bears a red London receiving datestamp of March 14 and was rated in manuscript 1/- collect. At this date a discrepancy existed in rate calculation methods; Canadian and British progression was based on weight, while U.S. was still based on number of sheets. This letter was under ½ oz., thus single by Canadian and British systems, but two sheets, therefore double by U.S. standards.

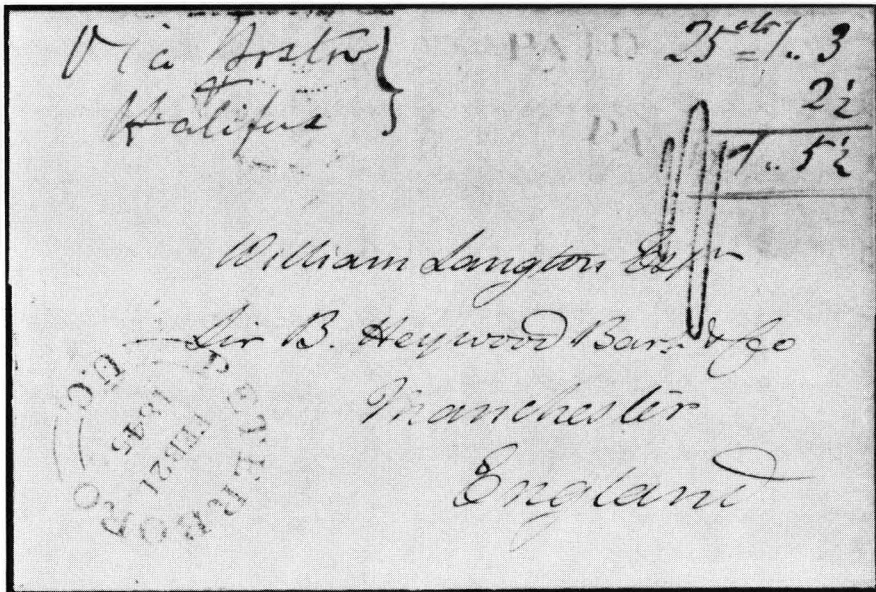


Figure 2. Peterboro, U.C., to Manchester, February 21, 1845. Prepaid 25¢ = 1/3 for U.S. postage over 400 miles plus 2½d. cy. colonial, for total payment of 1/5½ cy. Marked at Liverpool 1/- collect.

A cover from Peterboro, U.C., dated February 21, 1845, and addressed to Manchester, England, is shown in Figure 2. It was endorsed "via Boston & Halifax," not in the hand of the writer but in the same ink and hand as the party (the post office clerk) rating the letter. The cover was rated "PAID 25cts = 1.3," the 25¢ U.S. rate from the border to Boston converted to 1/3 cy., plus "2½," the 2d. stg. (2½d. cy.) colonial portion of the 1/2 stg. (1/4 cy.) rate for a total of 1/5½ cy. prepaid. The cover was forwarded from Boston per the Cunard steamer *Hibernia* on her 11th return voyage. She sailed March 1, 1845, from Boston and arrived March 17 at Liverpool where an "AMERICA/LIVERPOOL/MR 17/1845" datestamp was applied on the reverse. There is also a Manchester datestamp of receipt. A stylized handstamp for 1/- was struck on the face of the cover at Liverpool to indicate postage due.

The cover illustrated in Figure 3 was mailed at Woodstock, U.C., March 22, 1847, addressed to Edinburgh, Scotland (North Britain). Woodstock is located about 40 miles west of Hamilton. According to Dr. J. C. Arnell (*Atlantic Mails*, p. 148), in 1845, after the closed mail system had been adopted, some correspondents in the western areas of Canada

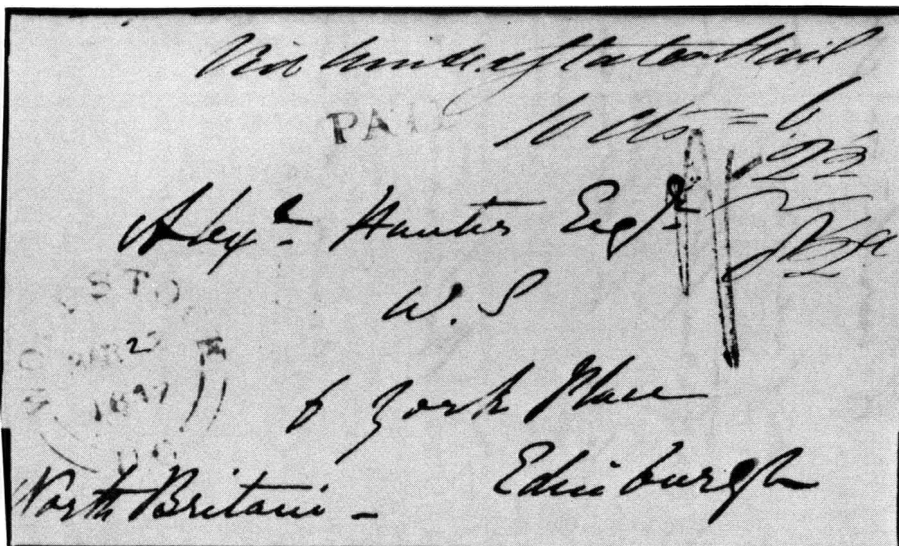


Figure 3. Woodstock, U.C., to Edinburgh, Scotland, March 22, 1847. Endorsed "Via United States Mail." Paid 10¢ U.S. = 6d. cy., plus 2½d. cy. Canadian portion. Rated 1/- collect on arrival at Liverpool.

complained of delays in mails to and from overseas, since their mail was now routed via Montreal for processing instead of coming direct from Boston. The Liverpool postmaster was consulted; he advised those complaining to have their letters endorsed "By the United States Mail" so that these letters would be excluded from the closed mails. The cover shown is endorsed "Via United States Mail" in the same ink and hand as the rating and not in the writer's hand. Presumably this was done at the instructions of the sender. The cover was rated "PAID 10cts = 6," the 10¢ U.S. postage for over 300 miles from the border office at Lewiston, N.Y., to Boston, converted to 6d. cy. plus 2½d. cy., the colonial portion, for a total of 8½d. cy. prepaid. The cover was routed via Hamilton, U.C., and Queenston, U.C., the Canadian office exchanging with Lewiston. It left Boston on the Cunarder *Hibernia* on her 21st voyage, sailing April 1, 1847, and arriving at Liverpool April 15. As in the case of Figure 2, the datestamp "AMERICA/LIVERPOOL/AP 15/1847" was applied, along with an APR C 16 N 1847 receipt on the reverse. The same 1/- handstamp was struck at Liverpool to show the inclusive collect rate.

The rating structure discussed in this article, involving the 2½d. colonial and U.S. postage prepaid in Canada is unusual and fairly scarce. In examining probably 5,000 or more transatlantic covers between Canada and Britain during the last dozen years, I have not seen more than ten such pieces.

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ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUE NO. 133

Figure 1 shows a cover from Belize into New Orleans in 1868 with both British and U.S. postage paid (U.S. in part). British Honduras is in Central America and its shore is wetted by the Caribbean Sea. Fortunately for students, Robson Lowe included British Honduras in his *Encyclopaedia*, Vol. V, which largely covered British North America to 1952. Planned Vol. VI covering South America and the Caribbean has been partially written. For collectors interested in reading about the Caribbean, I gave a list of pertinent books in a chapter in *Opinions II*, published by the Philatelic Foundation. The *Chronicle* correctly concerns itself with U.S. related material through the Bank Note Period, so there is no emphasis for the Caribbean student or collector, for whom the publications of the British Caribbean Study group or the France and Colonies Philatelic Society may be of help. Based on STOCKHOLMIA last year, and CAPEX this June, interest in Caribbean material seems keen.

The answer to this problem cover is complex, and the mystery can be solved only by establishing ship departure and arrival dates. We should appreciate the work of students such as Jack Arnell, Clifford Friend, Susan McDonald, Charles Starnes, Robert Stone, and Richard Winter in working up listings helpful in analyzing covers. The late Walter Hubbard had done great work also in this analytical approach. Much of the data available pertains to transatlantic mails, and U.S. students are still documenting Caribbean mails.

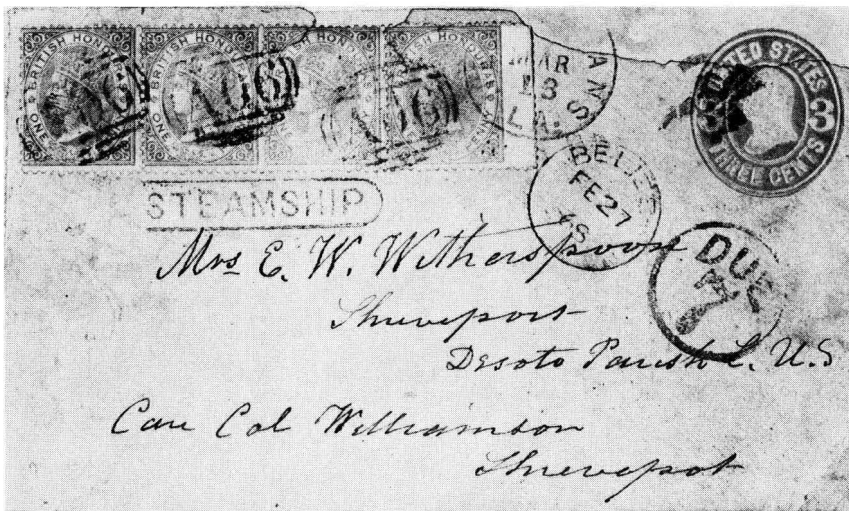


Figure 1. From British Honduras to the United States in 1868.

Three answers were received. The first, from Robert Stone, says:

This is a steamship letter charged at the regular 10¢ rate, and since the 3¢ U.S. entire was used, the New Orleans P.O. charged it 7¢ due. The "STEAMSHIP" mark is Wierenga NO-6, and not too common. The questions are: what ship brought the letter into N.O., was it a ship direct from Belize to N.O., or was it a ship that came from Mexico [SG note - Vera Cruz or Tampico]?

Robson Lowe in Vol. V of the *Encyclopaedia*, page 662, lists this cover plus two similar ones except not "Due 7." Otherwise, there were British contract packets from Belize to Jamaica and from there mail could be forwarded to Havana, and from there to New Orleans. The U.S. steamship letter rate of 10¢ was charged on any steamers regardless of registry coming in to U.S. ports over routes on which there were regular steamship services.

Another answer was received from Theron Wierenga, who says he is working on a

sequel to his *Incoming Steamship Mail* book, and that this cover fits in. He gives us these comments to supplement Robert Stone's:

The four pence paid the British "all in" rate, and it is probable that this letter was carried by a U.S. contract ship between Belize and N.O. and Lowe states that this service began in May of 1867, and the PMG report of 1868 documents this. It is also possible that the letter was carried to Havana and from there to New Orleans. The four pence would have paid for this. A search of New Orleans newspapers of 13 Mar. 68 could give the answer. The oval "STEAMSHIP" marking used at N.O. is seen on other letters where an odd amount was due. Sometimes we are fooled by assumptions and when the actual delivering ship is determined the routing is surprising.

The final piece of the puzzle was supplied by zealous researcher Dick Winter who, citing Lowe's *Encyclopaedia*, states that the British Honduras stamps

probably pay the 4d rate by packet direct to New Orleans This fee prepaid the transit charge to the U.S. border only, requiring an additional 10¢ fee for incoming steamship letters from countries with which the U.S. had no postal arrangement. The 3¢ U.S. embossed envelope was allowed as a partial payment of the 10¢ postage due leaving 7¢ postage to be collected from the addressee. Lowe lists this cover as one of his recorded examples. A check of the New Orleans newspapers for the 13th of March 1868 reveals that the steamship "Trade Wind" arrived directly from Belize, Honduras, having departed there on 8 March 1868. I do not know if this vessel was involved in a regular service between these two ports. Lowe also suggests that the prepayment by routing via Havana or Jamaica would have been 6d instead of 4d. According to Lowe, letters to the U.S. could have the U.S. internal postage prepaid in Honduras. This probably led to the belief that only 3¢ had to be paid with U.S. postage instead of the incoming steamship rate.

A follow-up letter from Bob Stone also confirms that a regular direct steamer connection between Belize and New Orleans by the steamship *Trade Wind* was in operation at this time.

The 4d rate between ports within the British dominions in North America had been established by the Act of October 10, 1765.



Figure 2. New Brunswick to Britain via the United States, 1859.

Figure 2 shows a spectacular letter from New Brunswick to England, via the U.S. It was recently sold at auction by Harmer's of New York where it realized over \$40,000. We are featuring it because of the B.N.A. connection in honor of CAPEX being held in Toronto during June.

The first answer came from Robson Lowe, forwarded by Robert Meyersburg, and Robbie writes:

This was illustrated in my *Encyclopaedia*, volume V, page 326. Quite obviously the letter had the two New Brunswick stamps added at St. John. The U.S. P.O. had a steamboat letter carriers' stamper on the St. John-Eastport-Portland-Boston-New York route. This letter was posted after the steamer mail closed at St. John and was given to the carrier who applied the Colonial Express c.d.s. on board. At New York the carrier applied the U.S. 1¢ and 3¢. Possibly 3¢ was the incoming ship letter rate and the 1¢ a drop letter.

The letter was probably carried on the Cunard "Persia" which left New York on the 25th May and arrived in Liverpool on the 4th June. As the letter was carried by a British packet, G.B. was due 19¢ (16¢ sea postage, 3¢ G.B. inland) under the current accountancy arrangements.

Another letter exists from St. John to Glasgow via New York posted in July 1857 bearing U.S. 1¢, 3¢ and four 5¢, all cancelled with the Colonial Express c.d.s.

I hope all this is of some use.

This response was followed by one from our Editor-in-Chief, Susan McDonald:

According to *The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick* by C. M. Jephcott, V. G. Greene, and John H. M. Young, (pp. 206-207), the U.S. Post Office in 1845 appointed steamboat letter carriers for the Boston-Portland-Eastport run. In 1853 the system was extended to include St. John, N. B. A notice from the N. B. PMG, dated July 23, 1853, states that mail to the U.S. could be forwarded by these steamers; the mails closed Monday, Wednesday, and Friday 15 minutes before the advertised time of departure ". . . but Col. Favor, on board the Admiral, and Mr. Flint, on board the Eastern City, will be prepared to take charge of loose letters, from the time of closing at this Office until the Boats leave."

The notice concludes: "It must be borne in mind, however, that loose letters forwarded in charge of Colonel Favor or Mr. Flint, cannot be prepaid in money — they must either be prepaid by affixing Postage labels, or be forwarded unpaid."

The authors point out, "When 'loose' letters, either unpaid or prepaid by stamps, were handed to the steamboat letter carrier, they were struck with these markings [the various Express Mail and Colonial Express Mail/St. John postmarks]. As such letters did not go through the Post Office, they did not bear any New Brunswick postmarks but only those applied on board the steamers." Once a letter was received aboard the steamer, it had entered the U.S. mails.

The problem cover went forward in the U.S. mails to England under U.S.-U.K. treaty arrangements, at the 24¢ rate, as if it had originated in the U.S. This is confirmed by the typical 19¢ credit to Britain and the Liverpool BR PACKET receiving postmark.

At this date the possible routes and rates from N.B. to the U.K. were 7½d cy. (6d stg.) by Canadian packet, 10d cy. (8d stg.) by Cunard packet from a U.S. port, and 1/5½ cy. (1/2 stg.) by U.S. packet.

This cover was carried by the Cunard SS *Persia* from New York 25 May, arriving at Liverpool 4 June. Of all possible sailings in the five days following mailing this was the earliest. An Allan Line vessel had sailed from Quebec on 21 May; the next sailing was 28 May. Other scheduled sailings from New York were later than *Persia's* and would have involved the U.S. packet rate.

The endorsement "Royal Mail Steamer New York to Liverpool" (under the stamps) shows the sender expected the letter to go by British packet (at the 10d cy./8d stg. rate). I think the letter reached the St. John Post Office too late for the regular closed bag for BNA transatlantic mails. The sender was informed that, if the letter was taken to the steamer, it could still make the sailing, but would have to be prepaid by stamp. The sender applied two N.B. 6ds, but these were not adequate, since their value was only 20¢ U.S. The U.S. stamps were probably supplied by the steamboat agent, winking at the regulations, who sold them or accepted money to buy them in Boston. Either the agent or the Boston post office struck the PAIDs and the letter went into the TA bag for New York to go aboard *Persia*.

I have records of five more covers, all stampless, from this correspondence mailed between 11 March and 26 August 1859: four by Br. packet (three paid, one unpaid) and one unpaid by U.S. packet. The interval in some cases was only three days, suggesting an urgency in the correspondence.

PROBLEM COVERS FOR THIS ISSUE

Figure 3 shows the latest mystery cover. It has five markings in greenish blue on the front and none on the back. There is no enclosure and no year date. Is this a fabrication of a faker playing with devices, or is it a genuine item? If so, what is the probable period of usage based on the rate of 4¢? Did it come from a foreign country? Was a carrier fee charged?

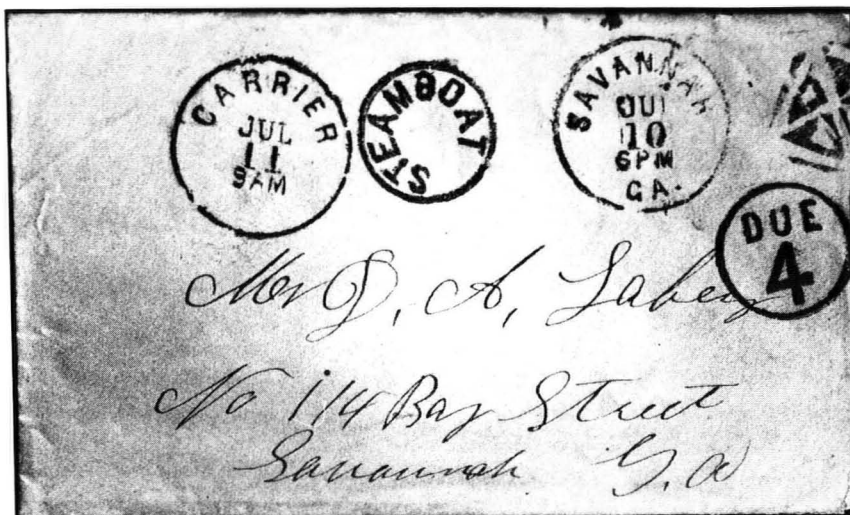


Figure 3. Cover with numerous markings; are they legitimate?

Figure 4 shows a cover sent to Spain in 1862. The member submitting it says the 5¢ is #67a and the pair of 10¢ #68. He wonders if 25¢ is the correct postage and asks if it paid the total charges? If "PD" means "paid to the destination" is the Spanish 4R marking in blue a credit or due? The Calais transit marking is dated 23 May 1862, 13 days after the N.Y. cds.

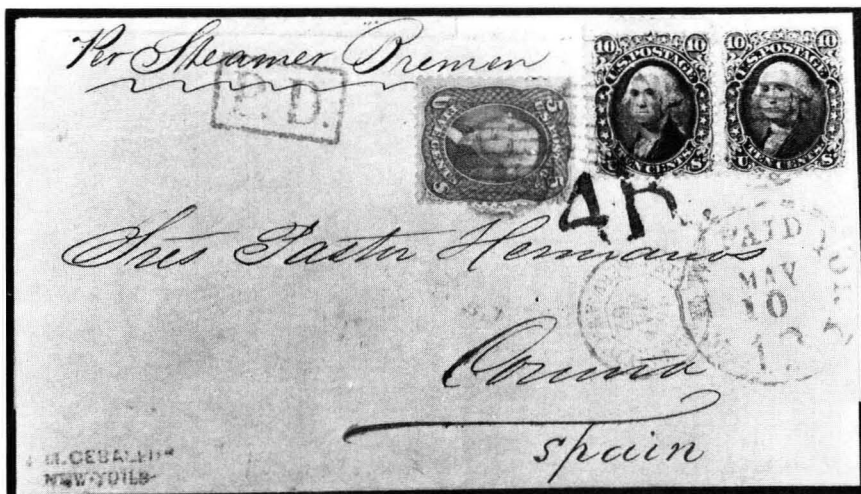


Figure 4. To Spain in 1862; what do the stamps pay?

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: NOVEMBER PROBLEM COVER

One of the problems in this section where puzzles are posed, and answers supposed, is the normal human trait to postpone. This results in answers received too late for the next issue. In mid-February I received a well-thought-out answer to the Problem Cover in the November 1986 *Chronicle*. Independently, responder Norman Gahl gave the same answer Theron Wierenga gave in the February 1987 issue, and added that "Plata F" means "fuerte" and not "fina." Either way, the silver was sterling quality, and not the copper alloyed

"vellow" silver of Spain. Route agent Norman believes that the ½ real was the domestic Cuban rate and that the "1" with the "NA" on the cover represents a 1 real fee ("porteo") to be collected. Others have suggested that the "1" means single weight, and still others that it represents a zone traverse (from Habana). We will try to show another U.S.A. to Cuba cover in a future issue to stimulate this argument.

Review: Post Offices of the United States 1876. By Don Simmons of Simmons Historical Publications, 1986. (\$7.50 ppd., from the compiler, P.O. Box 66, Melber, KY 42069.)

This "Alphabetical List of Post Offices by States" presents the names of the post offices (town/location) and the county in which each post office is located (alphabetically by name of the post offices) for each state of the Union beginning with Alabama and ending with Wyoming. This soft bound, 125 page, booklet resembles an official government publication, and may have been taken from one; but it is useful, and clearly legible.

Scott Gallagher

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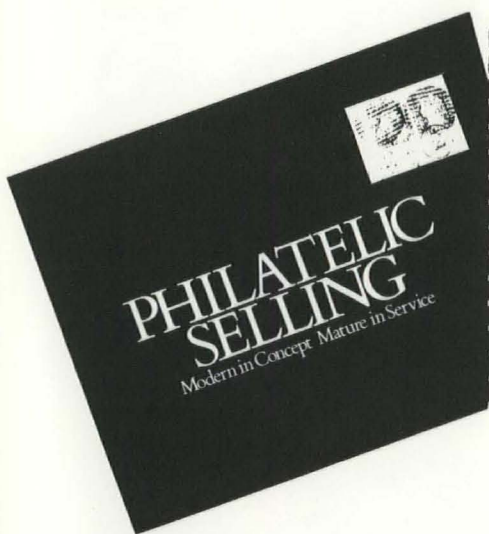
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