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## IN MEMORIAM

## ROBERT A. SIEGEL 1913-1993



A giant of philately has passed on.
It is safe to say that Bob Siegel handled more United States classic stamps and covers than any other professional ever. Thus, his passing is not only a great loss for his friends and family, but it is the end of an era for U.S. classic philately.

Born in Kansas City 80 years ago, Bob Siegel started collecting stamps at the age of seven. By the time he was in his teens, he had already opened his store in K.C. In 1934, he opened an office on Nassau Street in New York City's thriving stamp district, and the rest is history.

The Siegel name is inexorably tied to the great collections and collectors of U.S. classics. To hear him speak of collectors he knew intimately-Krug, Newbury, Lilly, Neinken, Simpson, Rohloff, Baker, Matthies, Kapiloff, and so on-was a lesson in how great American collections were built and dispersed. Among this group he was highly regarded as a professional with knowledge, integrity and reliability. To everyone who dealt with him, he was always a straight arrow.

His daughter, Roberta, remembers that stamps were very much a part of the family's life. In fact, it was inescapable. Once, when she and her parents were traveling in Bali, her father was blissfully floating in the swimming pool. Just then, someone stuck his head out of a cabin and yelled, "Hey, Bob Siegel!" Philatelic fame followed Bob Siegel around the globe.

Bob loved young people and was always willing to advise and help them. He was a great supporter of new members of the trade, because he believed that the future of the business was not in veterans, such as he, but in the next generation. For this reason, he made provisions that his 63 -year-old firm would continue for generations to come by taking on Scott Trepel as his partner. A young and knowledgeable professional, Scott will help maintain the Siegel firm's strength and reliability, working with Bob's daughter and son-in-law, Roberta and Stephen Edelstein.

In addition to his children, Bob is survived by his sister, Betty Portwood, and two grandchildren, Jesse and Anthony.

He will be greatly missed by everyone he touched in and out of philately.
Raymond Vogel $\square$

CHARLES J. STARNES
APRIL 26, 1912—NOVEMBER 25,1993


Charles J. Starnes died November 25, 1993, at the MidMichigan Regional Medical Center, of pneumonia and congestive heart failure, at the age of 81 years. He passed away alone, a very private person whose self-imposed isolation denied his friends knowledge of his final illness. His loss was particularly sad to me as I knew that in his final years, because of a long bout with rheumatoid arthritis, he was slowly losing his sight and his ability to write. Both were the mainstays of his life-long desire to accomplish philatelic research.

The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, and the general philatelic community, owe much to Charles for his many contributions and long service to U.S. philately. In August 1975, he and Walter Hubbard, as Associate Editors, relieved George Hargest of the editorial responsibilities of the Foreign Mails section of the Chronicle. Since Walter lived in London, that meant that the major worries of providing quarterly research of the foreign mails fell on Charles' shoulders. Walter's death in 1984 left Charles the sole responsibility as Section Editor, a task which he faithfully performed for almost seventeen years with persistent vigor and technical honesty. He stepped down from this position in February 1992. While insisting on accuracy and relevance in the articles submitted for his section, he nevertheless encouraged young writers and enthusiastically assisted them with opportunities for their research to be recognized. I can still remember my first writing experience with him. Twelve years before I was to relieve him as Foreign Mails Section Editor, I submitted a very short article based on some data that I had found in the Post Office library and thought relevant to our studies of the German mails. I had significantly misinterpreted some of the data and my article wasn't very well written. Nevertheless, Charles offered remarkable encouragement to me for what I now know to have been a poor article, and proposed a corrected version of a suitable article for the Chronicle. The effect on me was the one he desired-I wanted to try harder the next time to prepare good research and arrive at proper conclusions. This was not lost on Charles as we would later work together on many different projects, he as the mentor and I, as the student.

Charles was elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the University of North Carolina, where he graduated with a masters degree in chemistry. He moved to Midland, Michigan, in 1940 and entered the service of the Dow Chemical Company, where he served for 32 years as an analytical consultant in organic chemistry. He lived alone, devoting his energies to philatelic research, with a keen interest in chess, poker, and classical music.

For years, Charles was fascinated by the complexities of the foreign postal rates during the classic period. Realizing that wholly satisfactory data was not available from any source, he slowly assembled massive amounts of information on foreign rates and formed his own interpretations of the treaties that derived those rates. His studies were reflected in the material he assembled for his own collections and in the precise information written alongside his covers. In 1971, George Hargest published his masterful History of Letter Post Communications between the United States and Europe, 1845-1875, which would become the standard reference work for the comprehensive evaluation of transatlantic letter postage. Charles realized the appended rate tables in Hargest's book, notwithstanding the quality of the primary text, were marred by numerous errors and omissions. He resolved to complement Hargest's excellent treatise with the needed, correct rate tables. Eleven years later in 1982, his work was published. The result of his diligent toil, United States Letter Rates to Foreign Destinations 1847 to GPU-UPU, was to become the standard reference on the subject. Many future generations of collectors and students will benefit directly from the essential information that he compiled. In 1989 he revised this reference with updated and additional data, always desirous to have the best possible information available to serious students. The importance of his work was recognized by the American Philatelic Society with the Luff Award for distinguished research. His achievements as editor and author also were acknowledged by the USPCS with two awards of the Ashbrook Cup (in 1977 and in 1982) and the Brookman Cup in 1985. In 1990, he became the eighth person to sign the Distinguished Philatelist Scroll of the society.

In early 1983, while in an extended hospital stay for surgery related to his rheumatoid arthritis, Charles' home was broken into and his beloved collections stolen. Lost were his exceptional collections of U.S. Officials used on cover, probably the finest ever assembled, and his foreign rate studies, a Gold Medal collection just beginning to be shown to the public. None of the material from these collections has ever been seen again. The loss to Charles was catastrophic. He never again purchased or collected another cover. Instead,
he turned exclusively to his studies of foreign rates, determined that, at least in this area, he could make a substantial contribution. But his heart was broken with the loss of his collections. Two years later, he had a serious stroke, from which he survived but lost the use of his limbs, forcing him into a wheelchair for the remaining eight years of his life.

Many found Charles difficult and even irritating. He was stubborn and unyielding when he thought that he was right. Often, over the years, I received letters from him chiding me for not reacting to his criticism as he wished. I so greatly admired and respected his knowledge that I didn't seem to mind, once I got over my first impulses to react negatively. In the end, he taught me to listen and to evaluate information with a formal but not inflexible perspective. He answered countless letters from collectors requesting explanations to simple and complex questions about covers in their collections. I'm sure that some did not get the answers they expected and others thought him abrupt. I always found his correspondence invigorating and always wanted to learn more. He was very generous in sharing his knowledge with me, for which I will always be grateful. He may have been a curmudgeon to some, but I found him a faithful and accommodating teacher through the dozen years that I was privileged to be his student. I think many will share my sense of personal loss of a friend and colleague.

Richard F. Winter

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## THE PRESTAMP \& STAMPLESS PERIOD FRANK MANDEL, Editor

## "BLACK LETTER" POSTAL MARKINGS FRANK MANDEL

The letter types used in U.S. postal markings is not a subject that has received much attention. For one thing, unless one has a professional reason to study type faces, their classification can be a little confusing.

Consider "Gothic" type.
Most people will conjure up an image of a picturesque or antique style which would be used to print, say, "Ye Olde Curiousitie Shoppe"-a heavy-faced type with some fancylooking ornamentation or extra strokes. They are not entirely mistaken, since in England, that bastion of peculiar customs and eccentric nomenclature, this kind of type is sometimes called "Gothic." However, elsewhere in the civilized world, and among professional makers and users of type, this term characterizes a style that has straight lines of even width and lacks serifs or other extra strokes. It is often contrasted with "Roman" type face, which is upright, light-faced and has serifs. The fancy antique style which is sometimes called "Gothic" in England is called "Black Letter" elsewhere. Since this seems to be the preferred usage among cognoscenti, it will be the term I use, but not without some misgivings since (as will be seen) quite a few of the philatelic items which fall into this category are not black at all.

Most U.S. postal markings have type faces that would be categorized under the standard Roman or Gothic (i.e., non-English Gothic) styles or their variants. I have not yet made a census, but I would guess that the total number of postal markings (inclusive of town markings, rating marks and auxiliary markings) that used Black Letter type, up to the 1860 s, would not number above one hundred.


Figure 1. NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND oval date stamp in blackish green, $42 \times 35 \mathrm{~mm}$., used with matching "FREE" ( $35 \times 9 \mathrm{~mm}$.), red ms. " 25 " deleted, on July 22, 1825, folded letter endorsed "On Public Service" to the Adjutant General, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C., contents headed Fort Wolcott. "FREE" is one of two sizes in Black Letter type from this office. (Photo courtesy of David L. Jarrett)


Figure 2. NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND oval date stamps in green, $42 \times 35 \mathrm{~mm}$., used with matching "PAID" ( $30 \times 9 \mathrm{~mm}$.) and " 6 " ( $9 \times 14 \mathrm{~mm}$.), on Dec. 256, 1823, folded letter to Warren, Rhode Island, with contents relating to church business. "PAID" is one of two sizes in Black Letter type known from this office. (Photo courtesy of David L. Jarrett)

To get the ball rolling, I have illustrated as Figures 1 and 2 the relatively common markings "FREE" and "PAID" in Black Letter, as used at Newport, Rhode Island, in the early 1820s. These are found in a number of different sizes (at least two for each marking) and colors (hues of green, greenish blue and bluish green, but alas! no black!) and are quite striking. Newport was an important and active office, and also a very old one (the town was founded in 1638). In the 1820s it was still involved in maritime commerce (mainly whaling), and it was to become a celebrated watering-place for the wealthy. Its use of this antiquated but attractive type face in its postal markings seems completely appropriate.

I hope to illustrate other examples in the future. Do you have any covers which you would like to include in this mini-gallery?


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## U.S. CARRIERS

ROBERT MEYERSBURG, Editor

# THE WAR AGAINST THE PRIVATE EXPRESSES: AN EXAMINATION OF THE POST OFFICE'S MONOPOLY POWER © 1994 Steven M. Roth 

## I. Introduction

The Congress shall have Power . . . To establish post-offices and post-roads. ${ }^{1}$
On the basis of this seven-word grant of authority, the Constitutional Convention planted the seed for the complex postal system we know today. While seemingly simple and straightforward in their scope, the granting words have given rise to controversy, fueling the struggle between those who would have a strong central government and those who would restrain the exercise of Federal power.

The arguments concerning the Establishment Clause that were proffered in the early days of the Republic reflected growing sectionalism in the Country, as well as the more specific clash between agrarian and urban/industrial/mercantile interests which had revealed itself during the period of Confederation. These points of contention were, in essence: did the Establishment Clause confer upon Congress the power to acquire land and to construct post offices and post roads or did it merely confer the power to designate from existing places and routes those that should serve as post offices and post roads? In due course these rudimentary questions changed. Because it is not obvious that the power "to establish" post offices and post roads includes either the power to provide delivery service or the power to create a monopoly to provide such service, another issue arose out of this grant: Was the authority to establish post offices and post roads an exclusive power granted to Congress, giving it a monopoly ${ }^{2}$ over the collection, distribution and delivery of the mails? This became the central, critical issue of the 1840 's and 1850 's as the private mail carriers arose in great numbers, taking advantage of their ability to compete successfully with the Post Office Department. It is this latter question we will examine here.

## II. A Brief History of the Post Office Monopoly Power A. The European and British Experience

There are ample reasons and discoverable models in European and British history to explain, if one is inclined to take a broad view of the interpretation of the Constitution, why the federal government could rightly assume that the Establishment Clause grant offered the Post Office a monopoly. ${ }^{3}$ These historical precedents, if one accepts them as binding or probative, also help to explain some exemptions from that power that Congress enacted when it passed statutes to carry out its declared monopoly.

The earliest postal systems originated in the ancient world to facilitate the transmission of governmental/royal instructions and information - what von Bertalanffy has described as
the posts of state, or more appropriately termed, the posts of courts and princes, tracing
back much farther than any organized mode of public communication service. ${ }^{4}$
${ }^{1}$ United States Constitution, Art.I, Sec.8,Cl.7.
${ }^{2}$ A monopoly, in its simplest economic terms, is the exclusive control by one group of the means of producing or selling a commodity or service. In a broader sense, the term is also used to designate the exclusive possession of or control over anything. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, New College Edition (Houghton Mifflin, 1976).
${ }^{3}$ We discuss below in Sections II.B, II.C and II.D the arguments "for" and "against" the legitimacy of the assertion of the monopoly power.
${ }^{4}$ Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "The History of the Letter From the Late Middle Ages," Postal History Journal, XVII, Whole No. 33 (January 1973), pp. 10-11.

Accordingly, they developed with two corollary features: they were operated and controlled by the state; and, they were available only to the ruling person or entity and to those few citizens who were fortunate enough to fall within the favor of the government. As a practical matter, these restrictions denied the general populace access to the state operated postal system.

Although these first postal systems were government operated and controlled, they were not postal monopolies per se, since they were neither created to provide universal mail service, nor were they intended to prohibit others from providing mail service. Rather, they were simply intended as personal postal services, designed to perpetuate the domestic and foreign power of the then governing ruler. Private and commercial correspondence was carried out through personal messengers and commercial travelers, for the most part on an ad hoc basis. The only apparent restrictions on such communications related to the use of state-operated facilities: roads, stations, carriages and personnel.

With the disintegration of the Roman Empire came an effective cessation of organized governmental postal service in Europe. Charlemagne attempted to reestablish a postal system in 807 , but with his death and the division of the kingdom this effort came to naught; by 843 all remnants of a centralized postal system had vanished.

Only the Church retained an effective, organized messenger service linking its bynow widely scattered parishes, bishoprics and monasteries. Gradually, as Europe began to wake from the Dark Ages, other institutions began to grow and expand, and other more or less organized communication networks appeared. Some served the internal needs of their own parent organizations (the university posts, the mail service of the Teutonic Knights, courier systems of individual guilds and commercial houses); others met obligations imposed by local or higher-level authorities (e.g., the butchers' posts of Germany); and, eventually, some developed as purely commercial enterprises to meet the needs of commercial, state and private customers (e.g., the Italian messenger companies). While many of these independent postal enterprises flourished for a considerable period of time, none had more than a localized or parochial significance. Organized state-wide postal service awaited the resurgence of strong, dynamic monarchies during the late Middle Ages-and ultimately, the greatest force in establishing centralized postal communications throughout most of Europe was the Holy Roman Empire, the over-arching political construct which was the theoretical temporal defender of Christianity and successor to Charlemagne's empire.

Evidence suggests that the postal monopoly was the invention of the dynastic monarchies which arose during the Renaissance in Europe. These absolute monarchs, using their plenary power over public affairs, either directly engaged letter carriers to transport official correspondence among the courts of Europe, or they granted concessions to favored subjects to perform this service for the Crown. For instance, the Emperor Maximilian and his successor Charles $V$ each granted the concession for the carriage of letters to the Counts of Thurn and Taxis. ${ }^{5}$

In sixteenth century England the postal monopoly also was dominated by the monarch. The Crown controlled the mails not only to carry its despatches, but also because of its increasing concern with the vulnerability of the Throne to Court conspiracies and to the threat of the use of the mails for treasonable purposes. For this reason, the Crown issued a Proclamation, dated April 26, 1591, which prohibited the carriage of letters to or from countries overseas by any person other than the ordinary posts and messengers. ${ }^{6}$

[^0]The postal service in the sixteenth century consequently fulfilled a political function for the monarch; it was not yet a revenue raising enterprise. ${ }^{7}$ Letter writing among private citizens (including the merchant class) was discouraged and was carefully supervised. ${ }^{8}$ This changed in the seventeenth century, however, when British merchants began making extensive use of the Post Office. Eventually, as a result, King Charles I on July 31, 1635 issued a Proclamation creating a regular post between London and Edinburgh, and eventually between London and other towns in England. ${ }^{9}$ The postal monopoly, indeed, became quite profitable for the Crown, which now viewed it as a valuable source of revenue. ${ }^{10}$

Although the so-called "Long Parliament" had condemned the post office monopoly in 1642 (only to have it reestablished in 1656 by its successor body ${ }^{11}$ ), the Cromwellian government, like its predecessor monarchies in England, resisted attempts by independent carriers to provide mail service, and reasserted the monopoly in the Act of Parliament of 1656. ${ }^{12}$ Unlike its predecessors, however, Cromwell's government encouraged merchants to use the government post in connection with their trading activities. Thus, while the Act of 1656 reasserted the postal monopoly, it also contained two exceptions: letters could be transported by carriers of goods along with the merchandise referred to by them; and, persons were permitted to send letters by messengers "...on purpose for their own affairs." ${ }^{13}$ Upon the occurrence of the Restoration, and the ascension to power of William and Mary, the postal monopoly continued. Private citizens continued to use illegal means to send letters. This occurred because the government could not adequately respond to the demand for better service that developed among the growing mercantile class. Carriers of merchandise secretly handled letters that did not relate to their cargo, and stagecoach drivers and passengers began to carry letters for others. ${ }^{14}$

In 1680 William Dockwra, who established the London "Penny Post", argued with good reason that his service did not interfere with the government's monopoly because the Crown provided no comparable (i.e., delivery) service. The government responded by harassing Dockwra which legal actions. Eventually, the Postmaster General took over Dockwra's Penny Post, and made delivery part of its monopoly service. Meanwhile, the practical pressures that argued for evasion of the government postal service continued to mount. As a result, for example, in 1709 Charles Povey invented a system of using bell ringers to collect letters, which he then delivered anywhere in London for one halfpenny. The Post Office prosecuted Povey for violating the monopoly; the court convicted and fined him. Thereafter, the Post Office adopted his system of bell ringers for the government's delivery service. ${ }^{15}$

[^1]In 1710, Parliament reorganized the entire postal system with the passage of the Act of Queen Anne. ${ }^{16}$ This statute, among other things, prohibited private express carriers from transporting letters not related to their goods, and altogether foreclosed stagecoaches from carrying mail. ${ }^{17}$ Parliament, in passing this Act, intended it to be an instrument of taxation, raising revenue for the general Treasury to help finance the War of the Spanish Succession. ${ }^{18}$ Evasion of the monopoly remained wide-spread in eighteenth century England.

## B. The American Experience: The Case for the Monopoly

In America, the postal system developed as an offshoot of the British monopoly. Thomas Neale, Master of the Mint, petitioned the Crown for authority to establish a postal system in North America. In his memorial accompanying his petition, Neale pointed out that there never had been a post for the conveying of letters within or among Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New York, New England, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania and northward as far as the King's dominions reached in North America. ${ }^{19}$ On February 17, 1692, William and Mary granted a twenty-one year Patent to Thomas Neale, giving him a monopoly over the posts in all thirteen colonies,
for the receiving and despatching of letters and pacquets, and to receive, send, and de-
liver, . . . same under such rates and sums of money as the planters shall agree to give. ${ }^{20}$
This gave Neale the right to receive and retain all profits from the operation of the posts. The Patent exempted the letters of merchants and others who might choose to employ messengers.

Neale did not himself travel to the colonies to carry out his Patent. Rather, he appointed Andrew Hamilton as his on-site deputy, charging Hamilton with the responsibility for organizing the postal service. Hamilton's first task was to attempt to arrange for the operation of the service in each colony. This was not easy to achieve since each colony previously had been free to make its own postal arrangements. Because the Patent was not selfexecuting, and because there was controversy over the scope of the grant that had been given to Neale, Hamilton was required to seek from each colonial legislature the passage of implementing legislation. He succeeded only in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and then only to a limited extent. ${ }^{21}$

Although these four colonies did comply with the Patent in measured terms, they did so only after passing colonial acts containing mutual obligations, penalties and exceptions to the Patent. ${ }^{22}$ New York, for example, carved out an exception for all letters going up or down the Hudson River or to or from Long Island, which comprised most of the corre-

[^2]spondence in New York colony during this period. ${ }^{23}$ New York's act of selectively accepting the Patent not only reflected its desire to gather to itself all of the mail revenue from letters that originated and terminated within its borders, it also suggested general growing hostility toward the British system of taxation under the Act of Queen Anne (1710) through the use of the postal monopoly by the Home Office. ${ }^{24}$ Evasion of Neale's monopoly persisted, with stage drivers giving letters to passengers to carry, or themselves tying letters to bundles of straw so that they could claim that the letters related to cargo. ${ }^{25}$

The postal system struggled under Neale and Hamilton. Because the geographic area to be serviced was vast and the population was sparse, revenues were insufficient to meet the cost of operations. As a result, Neale suffered great personal financial losses under the Patent. After he died bankrupt, his successors to the balance of the term, Hamilton (and, ultimately, Hamilton's widow) and a creditor named West, were unable to reverse the situation. Eventually, the Crown purchased the remainder of the Patent's term.

Subsequent management of the colonial post by the British Postmasters General was without distinction. The Crown's Parliamentary Post Office continued to serve the colonies poorly. For example, the Home Post Office rarely approved requests from the colonies for extensions of postal routes. If a community not having postal service wanted it, the local government generally was compelled to take up private subscriptions from its citizens, and to hire its own post riders. The assemblies of five of the thirteen colonies established individual postal systems in this manner to supplement the British post, giving rise to postal systems that ultimately would compete with the Crown's post.

Individuals in the colonies, as well as communities, attempted to supplement or to substitute for the unsatisfactory Parliamentary Post. William Goddard of Baltimore, the publisher of the Maryland Journal, suggested the establishment of "an American Post Office on Constitutional principles. ${ }^{226}$ The Committee of Correspondence in Boston, early in 1774, sent Goddard to Salem with a letter of introduction suggesting that it would be advisable to establish an independent post office in the colonies. His mission to Salem was successful. The Committee of Correspondence in Salem, replying to its counterpart in Boston a few days after Goddard's visit, wrote that the act of the British Parliament establishing a post office in the colonies was dangerous in principle. The Salem Committee demanded peremptory opposition, and it raised funds to establish a post office in Salem. With the encouragement he received from Salem and Boston, Goddard laid his plan before all the Committees of Correspondence throughout the colonies. On May 2, 1774, he placed a notice in a Boston newspaper, inviting the public to make subscriptions. ${ }^{27}$ While his fund-raising efforts met with much success, he was not triumphant in realizing his postal system for a variety of reasons, including his inability to get along with people. ${ }^{28}$

[^3]Substantively, however, his failure to institute a system of provisional posts contesting the Parliamentary Post mostly resulted from the closing of Boston Port by the British on June 1, 1774, and the concurrent interest that the Continental Congress was beginning to show concerning the establishment of a centralized patriotic post office. ${ }^{29}$

In Philadelphia in September 1774, the delegates to the Continental Congress assembled and, by degrees, gradually took upon themselves all of the functions of government. The question of providing for the speedy and secure conveyance of intelligence was submitted to the Congressional Delegates on May 29. Congress instructed a committee, of which Benjamin Franklin was a member, to render a report concerning the creation of a patriot post. ${ }^{30}$ On July 26, 1775, with the report of the committee before it, the Continental Congress established its own Post Office, operating in opposition to the British Parliamentary Post. ${ }^{31}$

The first official statement by the new government concerning the postal monopoly power was set forth in the Articles of Confederation, which provided, inter alia (in the form finally adopted, effective March 1, 1781), ${ }^{32}$ that Congress would have,
the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office... ${ }^{33}$

Three points are obvious in this grant of power: it was to be "sole and exclusive," thereby evidencing the intent to create a monopoly; the monopoly was to apply only to in-ter-state service; and, the postage was to be sufficient to cover only the expenses of operating the system (there was to be no surplus revenue, i.e., a tax, as there had been under the Parliamentary colonial system).

In 1782, under the power granted by the Articles of Confederation, the Continental Congress revised all prior regulations affecting the Post Office, and reduced them to one

[^4]statute. ${ }^{34}$ This Ordinance, too, provided for a Post Office monopoly:
The Postmaster General of these United States for the time being... and [his] agents, post-riders, expresses and messengers, respectively, and no other person whatsoever, shall have the receiving, taking up, ordering, despatching, sending post or with speed, carrying and delivering of any letters, packets or other despatches from any place within these United States for hire, reward, or other profit or advantage... ${ }^{35}$ [Emphasis added]

Note that the Ordinance did not carve out an exemption for letters relating to cargo, although it did elsewhere exempt persons who were on their own business carrying their own letters. It also permitted the creation of private cross posts and post roads with the approval of the Postmaster General, where the general Post Office did not yet provide service, until government service commenced. ${ }^{36}$

Although the Ordinance was clear that the federal government had a monopoly over the carriage of the mail, several states presumed to grant monopolies over post roads for stage routes within their jurisdictions. This, in turn, led to the clandestine carriage of letters by the stage operators. Virginia in 1784 granted a monopoly over the main post road to Nathaniel Twining and John Hoomes for the road between Alexandria and Petersburg; ${ }^{37}$ Maryland in 1785 granted a monopoly to Gabriel Van Horne (Twining's partner) to run stages between the Susquehanna and Potomac Rivers. ${ }^{38}$ This grant gave Twining and Van Horne (because of their partnership) virtual control of the main post road from Philadelphia to Alexandria, thereby arousing opposition from within the Commonwealth of Virginia and the State of Maryland, as well as from the federal government. ${ }^{39}$ New Jersey, on the other hand, did not grant monopolies, but encouraged the brisk business in staging that had developed. In 1786, the State began to levy tribute by exacting an annual tax of $\$ 400$ from each stage line crossing New Jersey between New York and Philadelphia. This, too, brought protests from the federal government. ${ }^{40}$

In December 1784, Postmaster General Hazard instituted suit against Gershom Johnson of Philadelphia for his practice of regularly carrying letters on his stage line between Philadelphia and New York. Although Johnson was typical of most stage drivers in this regard, it is likely that Hazard wanted to make an example of him because of the importance of Johnson's route. ${ }^{41}$ Hazard wrote to Congress that
[n]otwithstanding the Prosecution of Johnston [sic] Many Letters ... are carried by the Owners of Stages, or their Agents; but it is done in such a Way as to evade the Ordinance ... Perhaps the Wisdom of Congress may find a Remedy for this Evil which, there is Reason to think, is a growing one. ${ }^{42}$

[^5]During the period following the passage of the Ordinance of 1782 (up to the passage of the Act of 1792 which reorganized the postal system), Congress took no important action concerning the Post Office. The records of the Constitutional Convention and of the ratification debates in the several states show that there was virtually no debate over the postal clause. ${ }^{43}$ In the Convention, on June 15, 1787, William Paterson of New Jersey suggested that "in addition to the power vested in the United States by the existing articles [sic] of Confederation, they be authorized to pass acts for raising a revenue . . . by a postage on all letters and packages passing through the general Post Office, to be applied to such federal purposes as they shall deem proper and expedient.[Emphasis added] ${ }^{3+44} \mathrm{~Pa}$ terson's proposal obviously was not concerned with the management of the Post Office; he submitted his plan in the context of the debate over the proposed scope of Congress' taxing power: whether Congress should be empowered to tax directly or whether Congress should be required, as it had been under the Articles of Confederation, to rely on indirect taxes and requisitions received from the states. Those delegates who opposed giving Congress the power to levy taxes directly, such as Paterson, could better support their position if they could propose other sources of revenue for the government. The Paterson proposal sought to do this, but the Committee of Detail, which issued its Report to the Convention on August 6, did not accept Paterson's plan. ${ }^{45}$ Indeed, the report ignored the revenue raising aspects of Paterson's proposal; it simply provided in Article VII that "The Legislature of the United States shall have the power . . . to establish post-offices." ${ }^{.} 46$ Ten days later the Committee recommended that the phrase "and post roads" be added. Congress accepted this amendment. ${ }^{47}$

This absence of controversy over the postal clause suggests that although the language of the Establishment Clause was vague, there probably was general agreement about what it meant and the scope of authority it gave to Congress. The Establishment Clause, I suspect, probably was intended to achieve no more than to validate in the Constitution the powers that the Continental Congress had exercised under the Articles of Confederation. If I am correct, this would explain why the Federalist Papers mentioned the Establishment Clause only once:

The power of establishing post roads must, in every view, be a harmless power and may perhaps, by judicious management become productive of great public conveniency. ${ }^{48}$
It is not surprising that this was the only reference to the postal system in the Federalist Papers since the establishment of post offices and post roads was not then considered to be complex, nor was the creation of the post office then thought to offer political patronage benefits. However, the Delegates to the Convention did view the operation of a

[^6]postal system as essential to the development of the new nation. ${ }^{49}$ The First Congress' debates concerning the postal system reveal that the legislators' predominant concern was to promote the circulation of newspapers and periodicals. ${ }^{50}$ The Delegates perceived the Post Office as assuring and protecting the exchange of information.

The fact that the postal system historically had always been conducted under the auspices of government also might explain why the very limited discussions about the federal post office, both in the Federalist Papers and in the debates at the Convention, were concerned with the implementation of the postal system rather than with its justification. It is my premise that because private enterprise was then in its infancy and could not have fulfilled the postal needs of the frontier nation, the Delegates took for granted that the central government would provide this service. I further propose that the colonial and Confederation experience of operating under multiple postal systems functioning in and among the colonies and states contended for a strong central postal authority. Since, I believe, the question of private enterprise supplying the needed postal service never entered the Constitutional debates, the specific question of the government's monopoly probably was never formally considered. If I am correct, then the issue of the constitutionality of the monopoly power must, in default of other evidence, be answered by history. If this is so, then the Framers must have had in mind that for approximately one hundred-fifty years, both in England and in the colonies, the postal service had been a monopoly of the government. The postal service also had remained a monopoly under the Articles of Confederation. This premise is supported by the first postal Act of Congress adopted after the effective date of the Constitution (March 4) in 1789, when it was said that
the regulations of the post-office shall be the same as they last were under the regulations and ordinances of the late Congress. ${ }^{51}$ [Emphasis added]
(to be continued)

[^7]
## PHILATELIC BIBLIOPOLE

Authoritative philatelic literature on: US, CSA, GB, Maritime, Forgeries, GB and the Empire We stock many major publishers, over 100 in all:
Robson Lowe, Collectors Clubs of Chicago and New York, Philatelic Foundation, Britannia
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## AN EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION AND COMMENT

It is my hope that the 1847 section under my editorship will become a venue for scholarly presentations by many students of the 1847 issue rather than a personal Bully Pulpit. To that end, this issue features writings by two outstanding philatelic scholars.

Phil Wall is known to all U.S. classicists for his important studies of black stamps, including the $10 \varnothing$ 1847, the New York Postmaster Provisional and the Brattleboro provisional, among others. In this issue he honors our pages with an interesting article in the field of 1847 New York City postal history.

Though perhaps less well known among the general USPCS membership, Mal Brown has kept the lamp burning on the study of the $5 \notin 1847$ through the long years of official disinterest and neglect in the plating of the most common, yet most difficult, denomination of our first issue. Mal's response to my request in the last issue for comments regarding the absence of the dot in the ninth stamp of the strip of ten $5 \notin$ on cover, Lot 22 in the Christie's sale of the Ishikawa collection, was so erudite that it obviously deserved publication-and doubtless would have even if it had not been the only one received.

That last observation was a gentle chiding to the Chronicle readership. I sincerely appreciate the numerous positive comments which readers have made about the past two issues. However, volunteers eager to aid in the ongoing study have been fewer. I actively solicit scholarly manuscripts which will push the 1847 philatelic frontier a little farther forward. We have a long way to go, and time is short.

## New York, New York, it's a Wonderful Town- <br> Where Postal History Is Upside Down

For us country folk who live in the backwoods west and south of the Hudson, New York City remains the glittering, sophisticated metropolis where the unusual is usual. However, Phil Wall has noted a curious reversal of that aphorism, namely, that in the New York City 1847 issue postal history the usual is unusual. Nothing is more common in an 1847 cover, $5 \not \subset$ or $10 \phi$, than one from New York City. And the round, red, seven-bar grid is the most common 1847 handstruck cancellation. But Phil Wall presents the result of a most interesting survey and analysis about what happens when these two-an NYC 1847 cover and the 7-bar red grid-come together.

## THE ROUND GRID CANCELER USED AT THE NEW YORK CITY POST OFFICE-1847-1851 PHILIP T. WALL

The most common handstruck device used at the New York City post office to cancel $5 \notin$ and $10 \notin 1847$ stamps was the well-known 13-bar diamond grid. This canceler came into use in November 1846, being used on the NYC Postmaster Provisional, and remained in use during the life span of the 1847 issue.

However, the standard 1847 round, red, seven-bar grid is also known used from NYC. In Chronicle No. 97 (February 1978), p. 25, Creighton Hart noted that this grid "is a bit scarce on New York [City] covers." However, there is more to the story, and, indeed, the description of the round grid on NYC covers as "a bit scarce" is an understatement.

Ashbrook mentioned the round red grid twice in his Special Service: in the November 1955 Issue No. 56, p. 444, Ashbrook discussed a $10 \Varangle$ cover from New York City to St. Catherines, Canada West, postmarked November 23 (1849), with the stamp canceled by a round red grid (photo 233). He stated that the use of a round grid at the New

York post office to cancel an 1847 stamp is most unusual. Ashbrook then quoted Dr. Chase from his 1916 series of articles in the Philatelic Gazette, p. 334: "New York also used, though very rarely, the ordinary round gridiron."

Subsequently, in the February 1956 (Issue No. 59) Special Service, Ashbrook discussed the Caspary sale of 1847 s, and on page 469 in his comments on Lot 118-a cover from the Kennedy correspondence to New York from Montreal in February 1850, with two $5 \nmid$ stamps canceled by the round red grids of the New York office-he wrote, "1847 covers from New York showing use of the round grid are quite a scarce item, yet this grid is well known on the Forty-sevens on mail to and from Canada. We wonder if there is any significance?"

These comments by Ashbrook have always intrigued me. As far as I have been able to determine, Ashbrook never wrote any more about the round New York grid. However, his "We wonder if there is any significance?" suggests that Ashbrook may have thought that this grid was intended for use on mail going to and from Canada.

To test this hypothesis, I have surveyed auction catalogues of numerous name collections that included strong sections of the 1847 issue on cover. ${ }^{1}$ I have found the covers from New York City with $5 \notin$ and $10 \notin 1847$ s canceled with the round red grid are indeed few in number and account for only approximately $1 \%$ of all covers surveyed. This grid is always in red. The following table shows the record of all 26 NYC 1847 covers I have found having stamps canceled by the round red grid:

DESCRIPTION DATE
Covers from Canada to New York City
$5 \notin$ pair from Montreal
5申 (two) from Montreal
$10 \notin$ from Montreal
$5 ¢$ strip of $5+3 d$ Beaver
Covers from New York City to Canada
$10 \notin$ to London, C.W.
$5 \not \subset$ (two) to La Baidu Faibver, Bas Canada
$10 ¢$ to Toronto, C.W.
$10 \notin$ to St. Catherines, C.W.
$10 \notin$ to Toronto, C.W.
$5 \not \subset$ pair to London, C.W.
$10 \not \subset$ to London, C.W.
$10 \notin$ to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia

Oct. 20, 1849
Feb. 18, 1850

Domestic usages, New York City to various
$5 \notin$ to Middletown, Conn. Oct. 20, [?]
$5 \not \subset$ pair to Grand Rapids, Mich. Oct. 30, 1849
$5 \not \subset$ to Boston, Mass.
$5 申$ (two) front to Lockport, N.Y.
$10 \not \subset$ to Philadelphia, Pa.
$10 \notin$ to Pontiac, Mich.
$10 \notin$ to New Orleans, La.

Oct. 19, 1849
Nov. 8, 1849

Nov. 6, 1849
Nov. 23, 1849
Nov. 28, 1849
Jan. 24, 1848
March 13, 1850
Sept. 28, 1850

Nov. 17, 1849
Dec. 22, 1850
Dec. 24, [?]
Jan. 31, 1850
Feb. 2, 1850

## REFERENCE

1968 RAS Rarities, Lot 21
H.R.Harmer (Caspary), 1/16/56, Lot 118
Ex-Ishikawa, Lot 71*
Ex-Ishikawa, Lot 84*

Kelleher 3/5/91, Lot 3454
Kelleher 1/20/91, Lot 510
R. Kaufmann 4/30/90, Lot 249
R. Kaufmann 4/30/90, Lot 252

Kelleher 3/17/92, Lot 415
1981 RAS Rarities, Lot 23
Kelleher 6/20/89, Lot 396
Ishikawa book (not in sale)

Kelleher 1/21/88, Lot 148
Harmers NY 5/5/71, Lot 66
Kelleher 3/5/91, Lot 3412**
Kelleher 3/17/92, Lot 336
Kelleher 2/28/89, Lot 519
Koerber sale, early 1970s
R. Kaufmann 10/11/89, Lot 123

[^8]$10 \phi$ to Madison, Conn.
$10 \notin$ to Portland, Me.
$10 ¢$ to Charleston, S.C.
$5 \notin$ strip of 4 to Providence, R.I.
$10 \not(4)$ to Stockton, Calif.
$5 \not \subset$ to ??
$5 \notin$ (pair) to ?, Me.

Feb. 16, 1850
March 14, 1850
May 2,1850
July 21, [?]
Oct. 10, 1850
May ?, 1851
?, 1848

Kelleher 3/5/91, Lot 3355
RAS 5/17/79, Lot 287**
Harmers NY 5/5/91, Lot 114
Kelleher $1 / 22 / 91$, Lot $527^{* *}$
R. Kaufmann 10/22/91, Lot 527

RAS 1985 Rarities, Lot 23**
RAS 1980 Rarities, Lot 28**
*Ishikawa sale references are to Christie's 9/28/93 sale; for a review of this sale, see Chronicle, November 1993.
**denotes Express Mail service
In summary, the recorded covers consist of the following: covers to Canada - 8; covers from Canada - 4; domestic usages - 14, including five New York Express Mail covers. I would estimate there are probably $8-10$ such covers of which I have no record, but I believe all of the pertinent ratios set forth above will stay the same if and when additional covers are tabulated.

This listing sends a mixed signal. On the one hand, the high percentage of Canadarelated covers strongly suggests that there was an intention to use this canceler in connection with mail to and from Canada. On the other hand, the not insignificant number of domestic usages would indicate the contrary.

If the high percentage of usage of the canceler with Canada-related mail was not merely coincidental, the further question is presented as to whether this was due simply to the fact that the clerk who handled letters to and from Canada had a different obliterator from those used by his fellows handling ordinary mail, or whether the round grid was intended to serve some purpose such as, e.g., to signal other sorters down the line that the letters were Canada-related. These questions do not appear to have any present answers, but if a reader has a solution, a letter would be welcome.

Some interesting conclusions can, however, be derived from the tabulation of these round red grid covers. For example, there is the question of the period of use. From the covers tabulated above, the round red grid was apparently first used in New York City in October 1849. ${ }^{2}$ The earliest usages that I record are: covers to Canada - October 19, 1849; covers from Canada - October 20, 1849; domestic usage - October 20, 1849. ${ }^{3}$

The latest usages that I find are: covers to Canada - September 28, 1850; covers from Canada - February 18, 1850 (except for the combination 5¢ Franklin strip of five and 3d Beaver cover to London via the United States, posted in May 1851); domestic usage - October 20, 1850, except for one Express Mail cover that is described as an 1851 usage (RAS 1985 Rarities sale, Lot 23).

With respect to denomination usage, the survey shows the following: $5 \notin$ covers under 300 miles - four covers; $5 \not \subset$ between 300 and 3,000 miles - seven covers, plus one quadruple weight cover to Rhode Island with a horizontal strip of four, and the combination $5 \phi$ strip of five +3 d Beaver cover previously discussed. One $5 \phi$ cover to Middleton, Conn., also bears a copy of the New York City carrier, Scott \#6LB11. As to $10 \notin$ covers, I

[^9]record 12 covers to destinations between 300 and 3,000 miles from New York City, plus one cover with four single \#2s to California. No combination $5 \phi+10 \phi$ covers have been recorded.

The five New York Express Mail covers are a most interesting group. In this group are two covers with single stamps to Rhode Island and Boston; one cover with two 5ф stamps to Maine plus the magnificent quadruple weight/strip of four cover to Providence, Rhode Island.


Figure 1. 5c 1847 use from Canada; Montreal to NYC, Feb. 18, 1850, with $2 \times 5 ¢$ postage; round grid cancel.


Figure 2. 10¢ 1847 single on Sept. 28, 1850 cover, NYC to Nova Scotia, round grid cancel.

Some illustrations of these covers may be of interest. Figure 1 is an illustration taken from the sale catalogue of part of the Caspary cover from Montreal to NYC. Figure 2 shows a cover going the other way; the illustration of this cover to Nova Scotia, which was not in the 1993 sale, was taken from the Ishikawa book. Figure 3 shows a $5 \notin$ on cover to Madison, Connecticut, from my collection, which carries no indication of special usage either on the envelope or the enclosure which is contained in it.

Figure 4 was taken from the front cover of the catalogue of the Robert Kaufmann sale of the "Elite" 1847 collection (October 11, 1989). It shows one of the finest 1847 covers known. It is the New York to Stockton, California, Oct. 10, 1850, cover bearing four single $10 \phi$ stamps to pay the $40 \notin$ transcontinental rate, with each stamp neatly canceled by a single strike of the round red grid.


Figure 3. Round grid on Feb. 16, 1850 cover, NYC to Madison, Conn.


Figure 4. NYC-Stockton, Calif., Oct. 10, 1850, cover with $4 \times 10$ ç 1847, round red grid cancel.

Certainly the finest of all covers bearing 1847 stamps canceled with the New York round red grid, and arguably the greatest of all 1847 covers, is the strip of five $5 \phi$ plus Beaver cover previously mentioned, which was the highest grossing lot in the September 1993 Ishikawa sale.

## Conclusions

I am of the opinion that the round red grid used at the New York post office was intended to be a special purpose canceler used for a particular type of mail service. Since its usage when first placed in service was predominantly on mail to and from Canada, it appears this was the intended use.

I think that the use of the round red grid on outgoing domestic mail was inadvertent. Later the round red grid was used primarily for express mail service from the New York post office. This indicates to me that its intended purpose had changed.

In any event, covers bearing the New York round red grid during the 1847-1851 period are both scarce and most desirable.

## THE USE OF THE "NEW YORK" [CITY] CDS AS A CANCELING DEVICE JEROME S. WAGSHAL

Phil Wall's observations regarding the scarcity of use of the standard round red grid on NYC mail bring to mind an equally curious fact regarding the NEW YORK cancellation date stamp.


Figure 5. NEW YORK cds as cancel on 5¢ 1847, NYC-Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 16 [no year].

Since New York City was the largest single user of 1847 stamps, it follows that the NEW YORK cds is the most common cds found on 1847 covers. However, it is rarely found used as a cancelling device. Postal clerks in some other cities regularly used their cds hammers to cancel stamps on cover. Examples are frequently found from Philadelphia, where the cds hammer was generally struck a second time tilted slightly at an angle to make a part strike on the stamp, and St. Louis, where a single strike frequently did the double job of cds placement and cancellation.

Not so in New York City. The NEW YORK cds almost never cancels an 1847 stamp on cover, that function generally being performed by the diamond grid or, as Phil Wall explains, rarely by the round red grid. Collectors of New York City postal history have therefore prized the few known covers showing double use of the NEW YORK cds as a cancelling device and town marking. On occasion, the NEW YORK cds is struck twice, as in Figure 5, this being the $5 \phi$ cover of a matched pair of $5 \phi$ and $10 \phi$ covers sold by the Ivy firm in the $3 / 16 / 89$ sale of the William A. Kelly collection. (It realized $\$ 2,700$ hammer against a sale estimate of $\$ 1,000-1,500$.) Another example on the $5 \notin$ stamp is known in which a single strike of the hammer did the job (Figure 6).

The covers known to me do not suggest that the use of the NEW YORK cds hammer as a canceling device connoted any special postal service. More likely, the large volume of mail sent through the New York City post office resulted in an occasional cover being struck in this way simply as an exception to the usual method of processing the mail. One could theorize that some supervising clerk might have directed the workers to cancel stamps with the diamond grid to ensure more effective obliteration, and a new clerk might have made an occasional slip in routine. Such speculation however is unlikely to be proved one way or the other.


Figure 6. NYC-Boston cover, $5 ¢$ 1847, NEW YORK cds used as cancel.

Nevertheless, it remains true that the use of the most common of the 1847 cds hammers as a canceling device is yet another instance in which the usual is unusual in New York City.

## OBSERVATIONS ON LOT 22 IN THE ISHIKAWA SALE: A LETTER FROM MALCOLM L. BROWN

This responds to your request for opinions about Lot 22 in the Christie's September 28,1993 , sale of the Ishikawa collection, the horizontal strip of ten $5 \notin 1847$ s. You asked why the ninth stamp of this strip does not have the "Dot in ' S '."

To begin with, I must agree that the strip is from the left pane. The left-hand selvedge is certainly larger than 7.5 mm ., which is the separation distance between the framelines of the left- and right-hand panes. The three known 1847 straddle pane items are evidence of that fact.

Since the strip is definitely from the left pane, the ninth row stamp would be expected to show the "Dot in ' $S$ '." It is commonly accepted that all ten stamps in the ninth vertical row of this pane have the "Dot in ' S "" variety progressively weakening from the top
row to the bottom row. However, since the ninth stamp in this strip does not show any "Dot in ' S '," I believe we have another important piece of evidence that the $5 \phi$ plate was reworked at some late point in its life. Other pieces of evidence include:

1. Double transfer "B" (Position 90R). Most copies of this position show a very distinct bruise-like area of color in the lower left margin just outside of the frame line. However, copies of Pos. 90R are known without the bruise. The inference is that the mark was burnished out at some point during the period of the plate's usage, probably a late point since fewer copies are without the bruise.
2. Quite often copies of the $5 申 1847$ are found on which one or more framelines are markedly stronger than the others. This again suggests a reinforcing or deepening of some of the framelines on the plate.
3. There is a marked difference in scarcity among the double transfers on the $5 申$ 1847 stamp. From my own experience, it would seem that there are three distinctively different degrees of rarity. The "A" (80R) and "B" $(90 R)$ varieties are the most common. The "C" and "D" (positions unknown) are rarely seen. The " F " (position also unknown) is by far the most elusive. (The "E" or Mower Shift, which may not be a double transfer, is a special case since these lines may have been on the plate as originally prepared and may have worn off during use.) These differences in rarity lead one to consider the possibility of a reworked plate as Ashbrook suggested in his Special Service (p. 435). Indeed, these differences suggest the plate may have been reworked twice.

From all the above it can be concluded that a reworking of the $5 \notin$ plate took place late in its life. It would be most interesting if a similar case could be made for the $10 \phi$ plate.

I cannot leave this issue without offering the suggestion that both the $5 \notin$ and $10 \notin$ plates were cut in half very late in their respective lives. That action, if it did occur, would have reduced the effort and cost to Rawdon, Wright, Hatch \& Edson in reworking the plates. Further, it would explain the so-called "destruction affidavit" of December 1851 which attested to the destruction of plates of 100 subjects of the $5 \notin$ and $10 ¢$ denominations, or as stated in the affidavit, plates with "100 on." [Editor's Note: See Brookman, The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century, Vol. I, 1966 ed., p. 91.]

## The Editor's Concluding Comment

The docketing on the strip of 10 cover, Ishikawa Lot 22, states that the enclosed court document was filed on June 9, 1851. This is good evidence that the cover itself was mailed near that date, and this in turn is significant evidence that the strip of 10 was from the last delivery of the $5 \notin$ stamps. This is consistent with Mal Brown's suggestion that the absence of the dot in " S " was the result of a reworking of the plate late in its life. It all seems to fit.

## A NOT-SO-MINOR CORRECTION REGARDING A MAJOR PIECE

While on the subject of the Ishikawa sale, Scott Trepel notes a correction to my article in the last issue regarding that sale. Scott states that Ishikawa purchased the Beaver cover, Lot 84 , by private treaty from the Siegel firm for a sum greatly in excess of the reported $\$ 100,000$ and, in fact, well over half of the $\$ 717,500$ realization. Please correct your scorecards.

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## THE ISHIKAWA SALE AND THE 1869 ISSUE JON W. ROSE

One simple fact reinforced the lasting significance to me of the Ryo Ishikawa U.S. Collection Sale last fall at Christie's New York City: the 1869 Pictorials portion of 153 lots realized $\$ 2,156,000$ alone!

True, the top five lots themselves brought in a gross of $\$ 1.31$ million. But the remaining $\$ 850,000$ will buy a considerable amount of 1869 material-I know!

Eventually, the whole sale will bring in about $\$ 9$ million after adjustments, meeting the low end of the pre-auction estimate of \$9-12 million; but it's a tremendous sum for 746 lots of classic U.S. stamps and covers, which included hundreds of lots selling for under \$1,000 each.

Getting away from the cold, hard realities of money for awhile, let's examine the philatelic significance of Ishikawa's 153 lots of 1869 s , and the whole sale in general.

Although a Japanese national, Ryo, a casual friend of mine since 1981 and a member of the USPCS, was and is genuinely fascinated by things American - especially those having to do with American history.

With the encouragement of collectors like Bob Paliafito and dealers like the late Bob Siegel and Raymond Weill, Ryo started his U.S. collection in 1970, actually with the stamps of Hawaii, which grew exponentially into an international Grand Prix assemblage. Remnants-what remnants!-were sold as recently as the Robert Siegel Rarities of the World sale this past November.

Ishikawa's Hong Kong and Treaty Ports collection won international honors, as did his concentrated showing of the $1 \not \subset 1851-57$ Franklins, formed with the willing assistance of Siegel and Weill, and the help of premier student Mortimer Neinken, successor to Ashbrook. Collector Duane Garrett, now deeply involved in Democratic Party politics, also played a part, as a provider of great 1847 items. Agent-dealer Bill Crowe, now senior expert at the Philatelic Foundation, acted as Ryo's point man in the late 1970s, the days of the "running chicken" cover if you will.

By 1981, just ten years after startup, the Ishikawa 1847-69 exhibit was Grand Prix International winner at Vienna (WIPA 1981).

Ryo's intense desire to acquire and study stamps and covers, and seemingly limitless funds, enabled him to accomplish in a decade what others could only do in a lifetime, if then-form a world-class U.S. classics collection. Now, 23 years from the beginning, the collection has, thankfully, been dispersed to other collectors and to dealers. And part of that dispersion is the subject of this article.

The 1869 portion and the 1847 section are the props of the Ishikawa showing, anchoring both ends, with the $1851 \mathrm{~s}, 1857 \mathrm{~s}, 1861 \mathrm{~s}$ and 1867 grills sandwiched between most tasty philatelic bread.

But the $\$ 2.1$ million 1869 portion was not complete, nor was it of the highest quality in all respects. And there are understandable reasons. Time, not money, was the culprit: necessary singles, multiples and covers just did not appear on the market for sale.

Let's look at the 1869 auction sale results value by value. The $1 申$ Franklin, Scott \#112, exemplifies in microcosm the problems of the entire Ishikawa sale. The $1 \phi$ section consisted of used off-cover singles, pairs and a strip of three; unused and used blocks of four; and three covers. The two highlights were, in my opinion, a f -vf original gum block of four, and the legendary "running bird" cover, also known as the "Running Chicken Cover" (Figure 1).

The chicken cover was estimated to bring in $\$ 80,000-100,000$, despite it having sold for the much higher sum of $\$ 264,000$ in 1979 (when Crowe purchased it for R.I.). The theory behind Christie's conservative estimate for the Waterbury cancel rarity was that a "low" start to the bidding would encourage a number of bidders to engage in auction room and telephone line combat. The strategy clicked, and floor and phone bidders hammered the offers up to $\$ 230,000$. The gross, paid by a phone bidder, was $\$ 253,000$-almost the equal of the "glory days" price the cover had sold for 14 years prior.


Figure 1. 1869 1c "running bird" cover.

However, it was the very first 1869 lot, Lot 597, which really set a major precedent: high quality 1869 items blew catalogue prices out the window. The very nice unused block of four brought in $\$ 5,750$ against a 1994 Scott Specialized United States Catalogue quote of $\$ 1,300$. The second lot also set a precedent, a bad one, which was to be most vividly exemplified in the final lot, the famous used $24 \varnothing$ invert block of four. Lot 598 was the unused block of four, which sold for a hammer price of $\$ 480$ (and a gross price of just $\$ 552$ ), just under the $\$ 500$ catalogue valuation. Although the right vertical pair showed slight creasing, the overall quality of the piece equaled that of the unused block. Used multiples just don't have the cachet among many advanced, well-heeled collectors. But, as we shall see, the used 1869 multiples are often as rare as or much rarer than the unused.

A single, used $1 \not \subset 1869$ with a New York Foreign Mail office strike (Waud-Van Vlissingen Type G13), normally a $\$ 50-75$ used stamp, soared to $\$ 748$ despite having a tear, being off-center and having two rounded corners! And this points up a second factor which sometimes influenced bidding at the low end (under $\$ 5,000$ or so): rare items, if perceived to be unique or one of two or three extant, were bid to unprecedented heights.

The $2 \phi$ stamp section was very lacking in anything approaching a record piece or world-class cover. Why? It is because they are in other collections, mostly closely and long held ones. An unused plate number (No. 27) and part imprint block of eight of the $2 \not \subset$ Postriders sold for a gross realization of $\$ 3,355$, far above the 1994 catalogue of $\$ 1,800$ plus. Much larger unused pieces exist, one of which is the Plate No. 3 and top imprint block of 50 in the Swiss PTT's Charles Hirzel collection of U.S. stamps. A full pane of 150 is extant as well.

An unattractive, irregular used block of eight (3+5) sold below estimate at $\$ 350$ (gross $\$ 403$ ). Same prejudice. The largest used block known to me is that of ten ( $2 \times 5$ ) on the Hiogo (Japan) - Germany cover (which was once in the Ishikawa Treaty Ports collection, incidentally).

Three of the 32 known bisect covers were in the auction. The 9/22/1869 cover from Grangeville, Pa., to Centralia, Pa., was not previously recorded on my $2 \nless 1869$ cover bisect list (see 1869 Times, No. 52, May 1991, pp. 12-14). This cover sold for $\$ 3,335$. A 2ф 1869 bisect cover was last priced in the 1944 Scott Specialized Catalogue at $\$ 400$. Perhaps the dash in Scott should now be replaced by a price. A $2 \phi$ bisect on an ad cover was hammered down for a big $\$ 4,830$, and a third example (diagonal bisect) for $\$ 1,725$. These three examples averaged $\$ 3,000$ gross or $\$ 2,867$ hammer. I suggest that Scott attach a price tag of about $\$ 3,000$-plus to this item in their 1995 work. Prices realized at the Ishikawa sale are up markedly from the $\$ 1,000-2,250$ prices being realized just a few years ago.

Let me pause here to somewhat contradict a statement I made above, which was that the Ishikawa collection contained no "world-class" $2 \notin$ items. Correction! It happened that, apart from the 1869 section at the end of the catalogue, four other covers were sold which each bore at least one 1869 value. These were covers with 1867 grill stamps which also carried either (or in one case, both) of the $2 \phi$ and $3 ¢ 1869 \mathrm{~s}$.

Two of the covers had $2 \notin 1869$ s, one from the D.H.B. Davis correspondence (originating in Port Chester, N.Y.), the other an astonishingly rare cover to Ahmednuggur, India, with not only \#113 but also F grill $24 \not \subset$ and $30 \notin$ stamps. Each of the latter ( $24 \notin$ and $30 \notin$, Scott Nos. 99 and 100) is known used on no more than 40-60 covers, making them about as rare as their $24 \notin$ and $30 \notin 1869$ counterparts.

The first (Davis) cover sold for $\$ 3,680$ (four F grill $15 ¢$ Lincolns in a strip of four paying the bulk of the double $34 \phi$ rate), and the second reached $\$ 4,600$.

Fifteen lots comprised the $3 \notin$ offering. And it wasn't much, either, apart from a plate number block of 21 and two scarce mixed frankings. There are about 90 mixed franking 1869 covers recorded, those being stamps of the U.S. 1869 Pictorial Issue and those of one or two other countries.

Because there are still several complete panes of $1503 \& 1869$ s around, a plate number block of 10 (Scott $\$ 7,000$ )-even Ishikawa's block of 21 -did not loom large. Lot 620 , the block of 21 , opened at $\$ 6,000$ and sold for $\$ 7,000$ ( $\$ 8,050$ gross with Christie's $15 \%$ buyer's commission for lots costing up to $\$ 50,000$ ). The first $3 \notin$ mixed franking Ishikawa cover with $1 \frac{1}{2}$ Hawaiian banknote stamps (the " $1 / 2$ " being a diagonal bisect) sold for a formidable $\$ 18,975$. The realization was far above the maximum estimate of $\$ 10,000$. Why?

Consider the next lot, L-634, the mixed franking U.S.-Canada cover with an average pair of the $3 \notin 1869$ and a defective pair of Canada \#37a, both extremely common stamps cataloguing $\$ 7$ and $\$ 5$, respectively. This lot, estimated at no more than $\$ 3,000$, sold for $\$ 5,980$. There are only three bisect Hawaiian mixed franking covers recorded, and just two from eastern Canada with stamps of Canada and the 1869 issue.

The answer, in a word, is rarity! The auction provided a number of long-suffering buyers the opportunity to acquire items which had not been up for sale publicly for years, even decades.

The $6 \notin 1869$ s, aside from the first lot, again were unspectacular. The section was notably deficient in fancy cancels and covers replete with multi-color frankings or sent to exotic or unusual destinations. Later in the sale three covers with higher 1869 values appeared which also bore $6 \notin 1869$ s; the most noteworthy is Lot 728 .

Lot 635 , the first $6 \not \subset$ lot, was at least spectacular from the standpoint of exhibiting. Philatelically it was dull. For a mere $\$ 39,100$, Scott Trepel, acting for a collector or the House of Siegel, acquired the premier unused piece of the $6 \phi$ Washington, a square, unused, o.g. block of 16, and very fine. Even a VF+ o.g. single is difficult to find. Here were 16 attached. This block was acquired by Ishikawa in 1975 for $\$ 9,000$, as part of the Louis Grunin holdings. The price paid is some twice current catalogue, relatively the same markup Ryo paid 19 years ago. Provenance of this piece includes the Caspary and Wunderlich collections.

Amazingly, another o.g. block of 16 survived, but it is (was) far inferior. It belonged to Fred Schmid, whose collection was sold in 1974 by Roger Koerber.

Lot 644, while extremely rare, being one of two recorded used blocks of four of the $6 \notin$, sold for "only" $\$ 3,680$. But it was a poorly centered and slightly faulty piece. Scott has jacked up the price of a used \#115 to $\$ 5,000$ from $\$ 1,000$ in the 1993 Specialized. Prices running in the $\$ 3,500-4,500$ range over the past two years have almost justified the huge catalogue increase.

Beginning with the $10 \notin$ stamp, the Ishikawa presentation begins to really come into its own. Four lots brought more than $\$ 10,000$ each. Only a total of 28 of the 1531869 lots reached this level. The first "decamil" $10 \notin$ lot, Lot 648 , a $3 \times 2$ unused block of six, was one of two known but only the third largest in size to be recorded. This particular block was broken off from the top left of the Philip Ward block of 25 with bottom imprint. It sold for $\$ 10,350$. It is of just fine centering, and two stamps are creased.

A used block went for just $\$ 2,645$, although it was one of the finest of the five known. The 1994 catalogue reflects the upward price movement, however, listing at \$2,500 against just \$1,150 in 1993.

One-third of all 1869 mixed franking covers have the $10 \propto$ value. This is because the $10 \notin$ stamp was the stamp of first choice in the 1869-70 period for satisfying so many ship rates, e.g., from Hawaii and the West Indies inbound and to Germany and Latin America outbound.

Three examples at Christie's each brought some $\$ 15,000$ or better. The pick of the litter, and one of my personal favorite covers, went to dealer Andrew Levitt for $\$ 24,150$. Bidding opened at $\$ 5,000$, and many prospective buyers entered the fray. A $10 ¢ 1869$, with what appears to be a NYFM tying it, took the cover in July 1869 to Lautenbach, Württemberg; but 13 kreuzer in Württemberg stamps were applied there to redirect the cover to Paris, providing a delightful three-color franking. This cover was purchased by Ishikawa from the late, great 1869 postal history aficionado, Elliott Coulter, for a sum reported to be well into five figures.

Lot 664, the cover redirected within Baden which bears a $10 \notin 1869$ and a Baden 3 kreuzer deep rose (Michel \#24), went to an agent for $\$ 15,500$. I can't help but think that German collectors were at least partly responsible for driving the prices of these two German States mixed franking beauties to record levels.

The $12 \phi$ section was highlighted by two sweet blocks and a record cover. An o.g. block of nine, defective, off-center and with extensive rejoinings, realized just $\$ 2,300$, not even half the estimate. This is the largest known unused piece of the $12 \phi$, although the two blocks of six known to me are of better quality.

A lovely used block, striking with its brilliant, crimson cancels (Figure 2), went for $\$ 1,495$, above catalogue. The used block of eight on the cover to be discussed next is the largest known used piece of the $12 \not \subset 1869$.

Charles Shreve, of Ivy, Shreve and Mader, picked up the 16x\#117 cover. The price: a formidable $\$ 14,375$. This big item traveled by stage, train and ship from Fort Cummings, New Mexico Territory, to Calvados, France. The $13 \times 15 \notin$ per quarter ounce rating indicates a letter of just over three ounces, probably documents.

There were only 20 lots of the $15 ¢ 1869$, both Types I and II. This includes inverted frames. All the inverts, $15 \phi, 24 \phi$ and $30 \phi$, seven lots, were bunched at the end of the sale for maximum dramatic effect. Of these, more below.

Ryo Ishikawa, like all 1869 collectors, had a passion for the bi-colored top four values. These stamps are pioneering and uniquely beautiful, as well as hard to find in top condition. Covers range from scarce to non-existent (the $90 \not \subset$ ). Multiples are few and far between, and cancellation varieties are hard to obtain.

The $15 \not \subset 1869$ s, ostensibly portraying the landing of Columbus in the West Indies, included two record blocks of the $15 \varnothing$ Type I (\#118), a mint block of nine and a used block

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$6 \times 20 \times 30 \times$, Edmund Scientific Co., with calibration reference reticle. An excellent microscope. FLASHLIGHT magnifier, 10x, Japan. Big Eye magnifier, Hong Kong. Flashlight magnifier, 5x, Japan. Eagle flashlight magnifier, $5 x$, Hong Kong. Estimated value \$700; best offer takes all.

LEN J. MASON, 1833 Donald Circle, Boise, ID 83706-3122.
of four. The unused block sold for $\$ 27,600$, more than justifying its catalogue value of $\$ 23,250$. This block, badly centered and with reinforced perfs, stands as the largest survivor of a stamp issued in limited quantity (less than 150,000 ) during a brief period (March-May 1869).

This big piece has graced the collections of George Worthington, Joseph Lozier, Wharton Sinkler, Henry C. Gibson, Rudolph Wunderlich and others, just in the twentieth century. Four or so unused blocks exist-at most-and one used. The used block reached Ishikawa's collection after his glory days, and is from the remarkable (for its rarity and variety, not quality) collection of Sidney A. Hessel, sold by H.R. Harmer in the mid-1970s.


Figure 2. 12¢ green 1869 used block of 6, Ishikawa sale.

Scott prices the used block at $\$ 20,000$, but it was hammered down for only $\$ 12,000$ ( $\$ 13,800$ gross) at the September sale to Andrew Levitt. The block is badly centered left and high, and is wrinkled. And it's used! So perhaps $\$ 13,800$ for a so-far unique piece of low quality isn't far off the mark.

One of the many Type II blocks (this one of six, $3 \times 2$, selling at $\$ 12,650$ ) brought a record price for a piece cataloguing $\$ 6,750$. A nice mixed franking, re-directed cover to Germany from France (with a 30c brown Yvert \#30) brought a big \$6,325.

The three blocks (one inverted), two invert singles, three covers and additional singles and multiples of the beautifully fabricated $24 \varnothing$ stamp made the $24 \phi$ portion of the Ishikawa collection the finest of any.

It should be noted that Ishikawa's $24 \not \subset 1869$ s comprised $10 \%$ of the total net amount realized for the entire sale: and just 18 lots. The sale had 746 lots.

I believe this is testimony to the most desirable of all U.S. classic stamps. Certainly the $10 \notin$ Washington, humble $3 \notin$ 1861-67 Washington and the $90 \notin$ Lincoln are also contenders, possibly the $1 \not \subset$ 1851-57 Franklin or $3 \not \subset$ 1851-57 Washington. But for sheer beauty and scarcity, Scott \#120 must rank at or very near the top.

Unused examples of the grilled and ungrilled $24 \not \subset$ realized $\$ 4,600$ and $\$ 5,175$, respectively. Used copies sold for prices between $\$ 276$ and $\$ 690$, permitting almost anyone bidding on the sale to acquire a better copy of this stamp, ex-Ishikawa if you will.

The defective but nice-looking unused block, one of four blocks of four stamps, sold for just $\$ 9,200$; and the used block, one of four, sold for $\$ 12,075$, considerably less than the nearly $\$ 21,000$ Ishikawa paid for it in 1981. But at that time the market was on fire.

The three $24 \phi$ covers, two to Spain and one to Peru (Davis correspondence) sold for $\$ 20,700, \$ 28,750$ (Davis) and $\$ 18,975$ (a pair on a slightly overpaid British mail rate cover to Cadiz, from the José E. Gomez correspondence).

Catalogue is just $\$ 10,000$ for a $24 \phi$ cover, so perhaps Scott should boost this price, too. Of course high value 1869 s used with other 1869 s or stamps of other issues on the same cover almost always bring more than the catalogue price for the high value on cover by itself. The first $24 \phi$ cover sold, the $\$ 20,700$ one to Spain, is undergoing review by the Philatelic Foundation at this writing; its complete authenticity is in doubt.

Fourteen lots of the $30 \phi$ stamp, including two inverts and three choice covers, realized a total of more than $\$ 300,000$. The $30 \notin 1869$, a patriotic conflagration of color, with flags, shield, eagle and additional stars, is a thing of beauty in its own right. A VF unused, large part o.g. copy soared $\$ 8,000$ (catalogue: $\$ 2,400$ ). A catalogue adjustment upward is justified here, as other recent prices have moved beyond $\$ 3,000$. Five used copies sold for prices in the modest $\$ 300-500$ range. The beauty of this stamp has led to many, many used copies being saved to this day, perhaps as many as $3,000-5,000$. Maybe more, as some 300,000 were issued; Brookman's figure is conservative.

A used block of 12 with the always present wispy, black cork brush strokes went to $\$ 2,070$; quite high, but one of only two or three used blocks of 12 . Shreve locked onto the showpiece, the $15 \times 30 \notin$ ungrilled bottom plate number and imprint block, full o.g.-for a client. Price: only $\$ 96,000$. Plate number blocks of any 1869 , much less a bi-color, are rare. In fact, I know of no more than a handful of bi-color plate blocks out of all four values.

The three $30 \notin$ covers sold for $\$ 9,775, \$ 17,825$ and $\$ 31,050$-a single to France, two singles to France and a pair with a $6 \notin 1869$ to India. The last named is in my opinion one of the six greatest 1869 covers, others including the $24 \varnothing$ invert, the Types I and II $15 \phi$ cover and the quintuple $24 \varnothing$ cover, these last two buried in the Swiss PTT Museum's Hirzel Collection. Also, the triple mixed franking $30 \notin$ cover and the $90 \notin$ Ice House cover to Calcutta, which are in limbo or destroyed. The other double $30 \notin$ covers (seven) are of inferior quality and/or rarity.

The sale concluded with the $90 \notin$ Lincolns and the seven invert rarities, four of them philatelic superstars.

The $90 \notin$ lots included nine singles (one of which was found to be a rebacked proof after the sale), as well as an unused and a poor used block. An unused normal single and an unused without grill-both o.g.-sold for $\$ 4,715$ and $\$ 4,600$, respectively. Both copies were better than the average, not truly exemplary. The population of unused, o.g. copies of the 90 \& 1869 is small. I recall waiting several years until I found one which met my standards.

The used copies sold at high prices for their condition, no doubt due to auction floor excitement over participation in a name sale. The electricity on the floor was marked, and sometimes one bidder would generate a counter-flurry of bids from other quarters. A good example involved the so-called plate number single of the $90 \notin$ used. This "stamp" opened at $\$ 1,000$ (against a top estimate of $\$ 1,000$ ), and was quickly bid up to its top hammer of $\$ 2,500$ (gross: $\$ 2,875$ ). This for a defective stamp which catalogues $\$ 1,150$-and more to the point, later examination showed it to be a re-backed India plate proof masquerading as a used $90 \not \subset 1869$ stamp!

The unused block of four set a record at $\$ 90,500$ (catalogue: $\$ 65,000$ ), while the equally rare but far inferior used block (perhaps the worst of the six known!) brought only $\$ 9,775$ against current $\$ 30,000$ catalogue. A better block sold about two years ago for almost $\$ 29,999$.

The finale was sale of the six 1869 invert singles (a used and an unused set) and the world-class used block of four of the $24 ¢$ stamp with inverted frame.

The unused 1869 inverts are "mega" rarities in the words of my fellow Chronicle author, Jerry Wagshal. There are three, four and seven copies known of the three values, 15\&, $24 \varnothing$ and $30 ¢$, respectively. All three were at the Ishikawa sale (Figures 3, 4, 5). They were hammered down for $\$ 195,000, \$ 205,000$ and $\$ 105,000$, respectively, to three dealers (if my ears and ears didn't play tricks on me): bidder 821 (15申), Harry Hagendorf (24¢) and Charles Shreve (30ф).

I should explain here that Christopher Burge himself, the president and chief executive officer of Christie, Manson \& Woods International, Inc., and also a licensed auctioneer, had taken personal charge of the auction gavel as sale of Ishikawa's 1869s began.

As he began selling the final seven lots, there was no small amount of tension in the auction room. For good reason. The last seven lots would have to put Christie's over the $\$ 9$ million minimum estimate for the sale. (Christie's kept a running total.) And the lots did! The mega and major items at the tail wagged the dog past $\$ 9$ million, putting another $\$ 1,013,500$ under the hammer. Add $10 \%$ under Christie's (misguided?) policy of split buyer's commission of $15 \%$ up to and including $\$ 50,000$ and $10 \%$ over $\$ 50,000$. Art world stuff!


Figure 3. 15c 1869 invert.


Figure 4. 24¢ 1869 invert.


Figure 5. 30c 1869 invert.

One million of the approximately $\$ 8$ million final total net hammer, and one realizes the significance of these 1869 lots. This was to be almost half the realization of all 82 lots of 1847 material sold the previous day!

And truthfully, only four of the seven lots did well. Both $30 \phi$ inverts and the legendary used block of $24 \not \subset$ were busts.

While the $30 \phi$ inverts looked great, each had a fatal flaw. The unused copy had no gum, and the used had a "shallow" thin. Lack of gum on unused stamps and a "major" flaw (tear, thin or piece missing) on used stamps these days is the curse of financial death. No matter that none of the $30 \notin$ inverts has full gum, and all but one has NO gum at all; no matter that the used copy was of marvelous appearance and, as with the Hawaiian Missionaries, thins are frequently encountered in used 1869 inverts, often in grills.

The prices for the $15 ¢$ and $24 ¢$ unused 1869 s were seemingly rich, and should be reflected in the 1995 Scott Catalogue: $\$ 195,000(\$ 217,000$ gross) and $\$ 205,000(\$ 228,000)$, respectively. But, like the whole pursuit of rare stamps and covers, these realizations don't quite square with the facts. The $15 \phi$ stamp, in my opinion, is undervalued, especially the Ishikawa copy, and even at $\$ 217,000$. And the $24 \varnothing$ stamp, the finest of the three copies outside public collections, should sell for more than $\$ 228,000$. But this copy was unused (no gum), barely of fine centering, and it even had one of the often-found "grill thins." But it is the finest copy available to the collecting world. 'Nuf said.

The sale concluded with what was probably the biggest disappointment, excluding the large unused 1847 blocks (as explained in the November 1993 Chronicle by Wagshal).

It sold for $\$ 450,000$ under the most ridiculous circumstances, or perhaps by luck. Estimated to bring three quarters of a million dollars or so, it did not even fetch a half a million. Why? Same reason: it was used.

I dare say that a mint block would have topped a million. And if any of the inverts should show up in unused block form, I would almost stake my reputation on it, providing the item was of quality equal to the used $24 ¢$ invert block.

Scott Trepel opened the bidding on the block and closed it with a mini-bump of $\$ 2,500$. This multiple was discovered more than 100 years ago, ironically, in England. It changed hands back then for a pathetic amount of pounds, the owner being an office worker in an import-export firm who sold the block to a traveling vest-pocket dealer. The block passed through the hands of dealer Y. Souren, collector Leslie White, dealer Raymond Weill and an as yet unnamed Texas collector, then back to Weill from whom Ishikawa bought it for a sum reported to be about $\$ 1$ million.

After the sale I spoke with Scott Trepel, longtime friend, managing director and part owner of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc., and section editor here. He intimated he had a few buyers in mind for the block. And I can assure you, readers, someone will find the way and means to acquire it, possibly sooner rather than later.

Will Trepel carry the block around with him as Y. Souren reportedly did, and as Irwin Weinberg did with the British Guiana $1 \not \subset$ magenta? Of such stuff are legends perpetuated. Oh, the final price: $\$ 497,500$ to Bidder 855 .


## EXOTIC POSTAL USAGES WITH TWO CENT BANKNOTE STAMPS FROM THE BARBARA RAY COLLECTION—PART 1 RICHARD M. SEARING

This is the first of two articles featuring the $2 \phi$ banknote stamps used to foreign destinations, as seen in the collection of Barbara Ray. This collection has never been exhibited, and is part of a much larger collection devoted to the topic of Andrew Jackson.

In this first article, I shall show examples of usage of the $2 \phi$ brownish shades of banknote stamps. These include the grilled and ungrilled National Banknote Company stamps of 1870 and the Continental Banknote Company issue of 1873. As with the $3 ¢$ stamps discussed in earlier articles, there are many exotic foreign destinations for letters during the banknote period before the advent of the General Postal Union (GPU) treaty, which took effect on January 1, 1876. We can only hope to show a few of these covers in these articles; the choice of selections is mine.


Figure 1. San Francisco, Calif., to Melbourne, Australia, on August 17, 1874.
The first cover to be discussed was sent to Australia, which in 1874 was an out-of-the-way destination for U.S. mail. This letter, shown in Figure 1, was mailed from San Francisco on August 17, 1874, to Melbourne via North German Union closed mail. The letter was paid at a triple rate of $63 \phi(3 \times 21 \phi)$ and had a $1 \phi$ overpay. The reverse of the envelope shows a Melbourne receiving mark, dated Sept. 28, 1874; the total time of transit was 42 days by steamship. The stamps all appear to be the Continental printings. Mail to the Australian continent in this time period is generally scarce and considered very desirable as postal history.

During the early part of the banknote period, a great deal of mail was sent from New England to the many whaling ships around the world at various ports of call. Figure 2 illustrates a whaling cover from the Capt. George Allen correspondence, out of New Bedford, Mass. The double weight cover paid the $2 \times 22 \phi$ rate to a mail holding office in Valparaiso, Chile, on January 25, 1875, with passage via both American and British packet. The backstamps show receipt of the letter in Valparaiso on February 27, 1875, for a transit time of 27 days at sea. When Capt. Allen actually picked up the letter is unclear; the cover reverse shows that the envelope was used later for keeping accounts.


Figure 2. New Bedford, Mass., to Valparaiso, Chile, on January 25, 1875.
Other mail of this period was often addressed to ports along the South American coast. Figure 3 shows a cover addressed to Callao, Peru. It was mailed from some place in New York via New York City on November 26, 1872, for passage by American packet to Colon and then by British packet to Callao. The cover was paid at the $2 \times 22 \phi$ rate which was valid after March 1, 1870; it was received on January 1, 1873, after a transit of 33 days. The $22 \phi$ rate to South America was in effect until January 1, 1876, when the GPU treaty was implemented.

During the banknote era and up to 1922, the U.S. maintained a postal agency in Shanghai, China, where U.S. postage stamps were valid for mailing purposes. Mail could be sent to the U.S. at normal treaty rates or sent to various consulates at special rates. The cover in Figure 4 is an example of the latter usage. It was mailed from the U.S. Postal


Figure 3. Somewhere in New York state to Callao, Peru, on November 26, 1872.


Figure 4. Consulate mail from Shanghai, China, to Yokohama, Japan, mailed November 15, year unknown.

Agency in Shanghai, China, to Yokohama, Japan, on November 15 (no year indicated), at the inter-consulate rate of $6 \phi$ per $1 / 2$ ounce. The reverse shows receipt on November 22 and carries various Japanese manuscript notations.

During the period between January 1, 1870, and August 1, 1874, the United States had no formal postal treaty with France; all mail was prepaid to England and forwarded to France with postage due from the recipient. Figure 5 shows the $4 \varnothing$ rate from New Orleans, Louisiana, to La Rochelle, France, on a June 19, 1871, cover sent by British open mail. This letter was mailed during the Franco-Prussian War, when Paris was under siege by the


Figure 5. New Orleans, La., to La Rochelle, France, on June 19, 1871.


Figure 6. Boston, Mass., to Ahmednuggur, India, on June 29, 1871.


Figure 7. New York City to Genoa, Italy, on April 10, 1873.

Prussians, with no mail delivery across the lines. The GB/40c marking indicates 40 centimes due England under the Anglo-French postal treaty and the pen " 5 " indicates 5 decimes due from the addressee. Backstamps show receipt on July 7, 1871.

The cover in Figure 6 is from the famous Bissell correspondence to India that surfaced in 1912. I wrote up the story of this correspondence in Chronicles Nos. 132 and 133, and listed the covers bearing the National $24 \phi$ stamp. This cover shows a $2 \times 28 \phi$ rate. It was mailed on June 29, 1875, from Boston to Ahmednuggur, India, through London and then via the port of Brindisi on the Adriatic Sea. The letter was received in London on July 19, 1875. Backstamps show the India "Sea Post Office" marking of July 23, for a 24 -day transit, as well as the Ahmednuggur receiving marking. Two days after the letter was mailed, the rate was reduced by $1 \phi$, to $27 \phi$ per $1 / 2$ ounce for the same route. Not many of the Bissell covers bear both the $24 \varnothing$ and $30 \phi$ banknote stamps as well as the $2 \phi$ stamps.

Figure 7 shows a nice usage of three National grilled stamps from New York City to Genoa, Italy, on April 10, 1873. This cover was paid at the $10 ¢$ North German Union direct mail rate which commenced in October 1871, and which was discontinued in 1876 with the implementation of the GPU treaty. The backstamps show receipt in Genoa on April 27, 1875, for a 17-day transit time.


Figure 8. Scottsville, N.Y., to a ship in Yokohama, Japan, on September 8, 1876.

On February 8, 1876, Japan signed a postal treaty with the U.S. which fixed the single letter rate at $5 \notin$ per $1 / 2$ ounce. On June 1, 1877, Japan formally joined the GPU. During the 17 month interim, the $5 \notin$ rate was equal to the GPU rate to come later. Letters to Japan in this interim period are very scarce. The cover shown in Figure 8 was mailed on September 8, 1876, at Scottsville, New York, to Lt. Commander (later Admiral) Franklin Hanford on a U.S. ship stationed at Yokohama, Japan. There are blue town and red Yokohama markings on the front; there are no discernible backstamps.

Figure 9 shows a scarce usage to Imperial Russia during the banknote period. The letter was mailed from Boston to Kronstadt, Russia, on May 13, 1871, at the $15 \notin$ treaty rate via the North German Union. The red "Franco" marking on the face shows receipt on May 28, while the handstamps in the Cyrillic alphabet show receipt at Kronstadt on May 19. At this time, Russia was still on the old Gregorian calendar, which was approximately two weeks in arrears of the western Julian calendar.

The final usage for this article is illustrated in Figure 10, which shows a banknote period letter addressed to Sweden. The cover was mailed from Red Wing, Minnesota, to Sweden, on October 10, 1870, at the North German Union closed mail rate of $14 \not \subset$ per $1 / 2$ ounce. The backstamp shows receipt on October 29, 1870, for a total transit time of 19 days.


Figure 9. Boston, Mass., to Kronstadt, Russia, on May 13, 1871.


Figure 10. Red Wing, Minn., to Sweden, on October 10, 1870.
This concludes the first of two articles on the Barbara Ray collection of $2 \not \subset$ Jackson usages to foreign ports of call. Your comments and corrections/additions are most welcome. In the final article of the series, I shall cover the foreign usages of the vermillion $2 \phi$ stamps of the Continental and American Banknote Companies.

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## SPECIAL PRINTINGS 1875-84

## THE REISSUE OF THE ONE CENT 1869 STAMP WILLIAM E. MOOZ

This is the third in this series of articles on the 1875 special printing program. It examines the records of the $1 \varnothing 1869$ reissue (Figure 1), which I have found to be especially interesting. As in the previous articles, I have relied upon three sources of data. The first source is the "Bill Books," which are the accounting records of the Post Office Department. The second is the "Press Copies of the Invoices," which are the records of the individual sales of these stamps for the period from May 1879 to July 1882. The third source is the 1902 book by John N. Luff, The Postage Stamps of the United States. This last work contains data which Luff obtained from Post Office Department records which no longer exist. I have attempted to integrate these three sources in a way that produces a picture of the sale of these stamps that has heretofore not been available, to develop more accurate data on the number and type of stamps sold.


Figure 1. 1875 special printing of 1¢ 1869 stamp.

To begin, we examine the records of the purchases of the stamps by the Office of the Third Assistant Postmaster General. As with many of the stamps in the 1875 program, the first purchase of the $1 \not \subset 1869$ was for 10,000 stamps. For most of the stamps in the program, this proved to be more than enough, and for many of the issues, most of the stamps printed were eventually destroyed because they were unsold. However, for certain popular stamps, of which the $1 \not \subset 1869$ was one, 10,000 stamps proved insufficient, and it was necessary to order more of them to satisfy the demand. The records show the following purchases of the $1 \not \subset 1869$ stamps: issues of 1861 and 1869 , and stamps furnished of three issues to be sold by Apartment as specimens to ttanef-gatherero. - Articles fun. misted by ctational Bank cote Co., of ct. Y. - Bill certified for payment as for articles purchased in open market ant orderets phis july $22.19 \%$ s.
for reproducing the following plates vip:

I. cont
15. cent (border)
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I plates in all. at Hoo per plate
Furnishing

100.000 - (10.0.0.ca.12.3.6.10.12.15.20.30. rgoent) * 1869.


Figure 2. Bill Book record of purchase of 10,000 copies of 141869 reissue from National Bank Note Company, July 22, 1875.


Figure 3. Bill Book record of purchase, March 31, 1880, of 5,000 copies of 1 ch 1869 reissue from American Bank Note Company.


Figure 4. Bill Book record of purchase, August 31, 1881, of 10,000 copies of 141869 reissue from American Bank Note Company.


Figure 5. Bill Book record of purchase, August 31, 1882, of 10,000 copies of 1 ¢ 1869 reissue from American Bank Note Company.

Date
7/22/75
Contractor
3/31/80
8/31/81
8/31/82

National Bank Note Company
American Bank Note Company
American Bank Note Company
American Bank Note Company
TOTAL

## Quantity

10,000
10,000
5,000
10,000
10,000

35,000
These records are illustrated in Figures 2 through 5.
The total number of stamps sold during the program may now be calculated by subtracting the remainders from the 35,000 stamps purchased. Luff records that $1,748 \mathrm{stamps}$ were unsold and destroyed on July 23, 1884, ${ }^{1}$ which means that a total of 33,252 stamps was sold during the life of the program.


Figure 6. Chart of the sales of sets and individual copies of the 1c 1869 reissue.

The sales of these stamps may be examined for the period from May 1879 to July 1882 by using the Press Copies of the Invoices. ${ }^{2}$ These records yield the data shown in Table 1, where the sales of both single copies of the stamp and complete sets of the 1869 issue are illustrated in cumulative fashion. The sales in this three-year period total 10,752 copies, which is a surprise, since Luff and Scott (using Luff's figures) list the total sold in the entire nine-year program as 8,252 copies. The data shown in Table 1 are plotted in Figure 6; sales averaged about 3,300 copies per year during the period. Note from Table 1 that most of the stamps were sold without being in sets of the issue, and that the number of sets sold was so small in comparison to the number not sold in sets that the number of sets barely shows in Figure 6.

[^10]| Table 1 - Cumulative sales of 11869 Reissue |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Date | 14 1869 | 1869 sets |  |
|  | sum | sum | stps total sum |
|  |  |  |  |
| Apr-79 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| May-79 | 305 | 1 | 306 |
| Jun-79 | 330 | 2 | 332 |
| Jul-79 | 955 | 3 | 958 |
| Aug-79 | 1355 | 10 | 1365 |
| Sep-79 | 2005 | 11 | 2016 |
| Oct-79 | 2405 | 13 | 2418 |
| Nov-79 | 2756 | 17 | 2773 |
| Dec-79 | 3256 | 20 | 3276 |
| Jan-80 | 3556 | 21 | 3577 |
| Feb-80 | 3607 | 23 | 3630 |
| Mar-80 | 3608 | 25 | 3633 |
| Apr-80 | 3610 | 28 | 3638 |
| May-80 | 3660 | 31 | 3691 |
| Jun-80 | 3760 | 32 | 3792 |
| Jul-80 | 4860 | 33 | 4893 |
| Aug-80 | 4860 | 35 | 4895 |
| Sep-80 | 4860 | 37 | 4897 |
| Oct-80 | 4860 | 38 | 4898 |
| Nov-80 | 4861 | 42 | 4903 |
| Dec-80 | 4912 | 46 | 4958 |
| Jan-81 | 4913 | 46 | 4959 |
| Feb-81 | 5714 | 59 | 5773 |
| Mar-81 | 6244 | 63 | 6307 |
| Apr-81 | 6949 | 71 | 7020 |
| May-81 | 7154 | 77 | 7231 |
| Jun-81 | 7417 | 81 | 7498 |
| Jul-81 | 7417 | 83 | 7500 |
| Aug-81 | 8286 | 84 | 8370 |
| Sep-81 | 9031 | 85 | 9116 |
| Oct-81 | 9056 | 85 | 9141 |
| Nov-81 | 9516 | 88 | 9604 |
| Dec-81 | 9516 | 88 | 9604 |
| Jan-82 | 9716 | 89 | 9805 |
| Feb-82 | 10316 | 94 | 10410 |
| Mar-82 | 10569 | 102 | 10671 |
| Apr-82 | 10590 | 110 | 10700 |
| May-82 | 10615 | 118 | 10733 |
| Jun-82 | 10621 | 127 | 10748 |
| Jul-82 | 10622 | 130 | 10752 |

Table 1. Cumulative sales of the 1ç 1869 reissue, April 1879-July 1882.

A better idea of the pace of the sales may be had by combining the information in Table 1 and Figure 6 with the purchase data shown above. To do this, we make the assumption that the order for additional stamps was not placed until it was fairly clear that the existing supply would soon be depleted. This would imply that approximately 9,000 of the first 10,000 stamps might have been sold by March 1880. A review of Table 1 shows that 3,633 stamps had been sold between May 1879 and March 1880, which would imply that about 6,000 stamps had been sold prior to May 1879. Taking this assumption as valid, we add 6,000 stamps to the total sales data in Table 1 and Figure 6. Doing so suggests that almost 15,000 stamps had then been sold by August 1881, and this is in fact the date at which the next reorder for 10,000 stamps was placed. This helps to verify the original assumption that perhaps about 6,000 stamps were sold prior to the detailed records in the Press Copies.


Figure 7. Total sales of 1¢ 1869 reissue, April 1879-July 1882.

Now, using the data in Table 1, raised by 6,000 stamps, plus the facts that 33,252 stamps were sold in total and zero stamps were sold in March 1875, we can plot the pattern of sales. This appears in Figure 7. What is shown is extremely interesting. Sales began very slowly with a pace of about 1,500 per year, on average, from March 1875 to March 1879. Then sales picked up, and for the next three years or so averaged about 3,300 stamps per year, or more than double the previous rate. From July 1882 until July 1884, the rate increased perceptibly to over 8,000 stamps per year. The initial slow rate of sales would explain why the first reorder was for only $5,000 \mathrm{stamps}$. This amount would last for a bit over three years at that rate. But when the rate doubled, the clerks must have ordered in a way that would prevent running out of their stock. The second reorder for $10,000 \mathrm{stamps}$ was made, as we have seen, when the stock on hand must have been about 1,000 stamps. The third reorder of 10,000 stamps came after only a couple of thousand of the second reorder had been sold, but it proved to be prophetic, given the increase in sales rate to over 8,000 per year.

Examining the Press Copies of the Invoices shows that stamp dealers were a major factor in these sales. We find that, as examples, the following sales of almost $9,000 \mathrm{stamps}$ were made to dealers during the period for which we have invoice copies, and during which Table 1 shows that 10,752 copies were sold:

| E.A. Holton | 400 | M. Lowenstein | 200 |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: |
| E.F. Gambs | 200 | Collins \& Mills | 235 |
| F.A. Finke | 800 | Scott | 700 |
| G.B. Calman | 300 | Taussig, Hagemeyer | 200 |
| H.N. Wide | 2,500 | Whitfield, King | 821 |
| Julius Galner | 869 | Nichols, Butler | 250 |
| J.P. Biedenstein | 700 | Paul Lietzow | 150 |
| L.W. Durbin | 50 | W. Lincoln | 600 |

There was a total of four printings of this stamp. The first printing was by the National Bank Note Company, and is readily identified by the hard white paper which National used in 1875. It is reasonable to assume that all 10,000 of these stamps were sold. The second printing of 5,000 stamps, and the third and fourth printings of 10,000 stamps each, were all by the American Bank Note Company, and were all presumably on the soft paper typical of their printings. We can assume that all 5,000 of the second printing were sold, and that all 10,000 of the third printing were sold. The fourth printing sold 8,252 copies, with the remaining 1,748 copies being destroyed. The soft paper variety is found in two distinctly different shades, buff and brown orange. Of these two, the literature alleges that the buff stamp is the scarcer, and this might be one reason why its Scott value is higher.

How are these stamps identified in the Scott catalogue? Of course, there is Scott \#123, the first printing, which is correctly identified as being on the National hard paper, and which has a 1993 catalogue value of $\$ 325 .{ }^{3}$ Then Scott lists \#133 as buff colored, with gum, at a value of $\$ 200,{ }^{4}$ and $\# 133$ a as brown orange, without gum, at a value of $\$ 175 .{ }^{5}$ This gives two descriptions of color to cover the three different stamps on soft paper, and this being the case, two of the American Bank Note printings must have been the same color and indistinguishable (by color) from each other. The third of these printings has a unique color. The possible "single" color could be the buff, which is reputed to be scarcer than the brown orange, or it could be the brown orange. The "single" color would be either the second, third or fourth printing. Table 2 illustrates the number of buff and brown orange stamps which would have been sold for each of these cases.

| COLORS |  | RATIOS |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Buff, with Gum | Brown Orange | Brn-Or:Buff <br> $(133 a: 133)$ | Hard paper:Buff <br> $\mathbf{( 1 2 3 : 1 3 3 )}$ |
| 5,000 (2nd) | 18,252 (3rd \& 4th) | $3.65(3.65$ to 1$)$ | $2.0(2$ to 1$)$ |
| 8,252 (4th) | 15,000 (2nd \& 3rd) | $1.82(1.82$ to 1$)$ | $1.2(1.2$ to 1$)$ |
| 10,000 (3rd) | 13,252 (2nd \& 4th) | $1.32(1.32$ to 1$)$ | $1.0(1$ to 1$)$ |
| 13,252 (2nd \& 4th) | 10,000 (3rd) | $0.76(1$ to 1.32$)$ | $0.76(1$ to 1.32$)$ |
| 15,000 (2nd \& 3rd) | 8,252 (4th) | $0.55(1$ to 1.82$)$ | $0.67(1$ to 1.5$)$ |
| 18,252 (3rd \& 4th) | 5,000 (2nd) | $0.27(1$ to 3.65$)$ | 0.55 (1 to 1.82$)$ |

Table 2. Examples of the numbers of buff and brown orange stamps under different assumptions, and ratios of brown orange to buff and hard paper to buff.

To try to determine which printing was which color, an analysis of stamp auction catalogues was made. From the numbers of the three identifiable varieties (the hard paper on buff, and the two colors on soft paper), it was hoped to be able to estimate ratios of each of the soft paper colors to each other and to the hard paper variety, and to use these ratios to help estimate which color was on which printing. This is a process which embodies certain statistical assumptions which provide some stumbling blocks in the process.

[^11]The first stumbling block is the assumption that each of the stamp descriptions which appear in the auction catalogues is accurate as to the stamp color, or its identification as either Scott \#133 or 133a. The analysis will only be accurate if each stamp offered for sale at auction has also been offered the same number of times in the past, and the sales at which it was auctioned are included in the data base used. As an illustration, suppose that stamp "A" is sold at auction and it is put into an album where it stays for a very long number of years. Suppose that stamp "B" does not sell in an auction, and it requires three auctions to sell it. Stamp "A" will appear once in the data base, and stamp "B" will appear three times. This does not mean that there are three times as many of stamp "B" as of stamp "A." This particular assumption is troubling in this analysis because the amount of work necessary to verify the assumption, or to cause the data to conform to it, is enormous. However, a method has been found to deal with this problem.

The auction records were examined for offerings of 2,678 stamps of the reissue, in 1,798 lots over a 20 -year period, by 19 auction houses, and the following results obtained:

| House | \#123 <br> Hard paper, <br> buff | \#133 <br> Soft paper, <br> buff | \#133a <br> Soft paper, <br> brown orange |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bartlett | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bennett | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| Christie | 33 | 29 | 132 |
| Harmer | 127 | 110 | 63 |
| Ivy | 132 | 82 | 54 |
| J. Fox | 11 | 6 | 13 |
| Kelleher | 70 | 71 | 50 |
| Manning | 16 | 26 | 8 |
| Mozian | 10 | 18 | 2 |
| Newman | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| Quality | 1 | 6 | 12 |
| Scott | 1 | 7 | 1 |
| Siegel | 277 | 364 | 483 |
| Simmy | 70 | 118 | 36 |
| Sotheby | 43 | 40 | 25 |
| Superior | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. Fox | 34 | 30 | 21 |
| Weiss | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Wolffers | 3 | 7 | 7 |
| TOTAL | 842 | 921 | 915 |

Table 3. 1869 1¢ Reissue Auction Analysis
In the recording of this information, the catalogue descriptions were taken at face value as being correct. While there is no proof that all of the descriptions are accurate, it is worth noting that the vast majority of the sales listed are from auction houses where the likelihood of such errors is quite low. However, what is troubling about this analysis is shown in Table 4.

| Multiple Size |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Scott \# | $\mathbf{1}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{8}$ | $\mathbf{9}$ | $\mathbf{1 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | $\mathbf{4 0}$ | $\mathbf{7 0}$ | $\mathbf{8 0}$ |
| 123 | 820 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 133 | 575 | 13 | 0 | 53 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 133 a | 301 | 8 | 1 | 34 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 |

Table 4. Number of examples of multiples found in survey
Of the large pieces, one single block of 80 brown orange stamps (Figure 8 ) has been offered four times, and this affects the results in a major way, since this single block of
stamps represents about $35 \%$ of the total number of brown orange stamps in the survey data base. Other blocks which appear in the data base and which have been offered more than once include a block of ten (offered twice), a block of nine of \#133 which was offered twice, and two blocks of nine of \#133a, one of which was offered twice. Blocks smaller than these were not always capable of analysis, because there were not always photos in the auction catalogues. Including the multiple offerings of these large blocks in the data base improperly distorts it, so the data must be adjusted to compensate. In this case, the data will be adjusted so that each stamp, or multiple of stamps, is represented only one time in the data base. This has been done by removing all duplicate offerings of the blocks of nine or larger so that these blocks appear only once in the data base. When this is done, the total number of "other" stamps in the data base decreases substantially. For example, the number of soft paper buff stamps reduces to 821 , and the number of brown orange stamps reduces to 496 . We have no idea how many times these "other" stamps have been offered, but we can parameterize the number in order to make estimates of the ratios of the different stamps.


Figure 8. Unused plate/imprint block of 80, 1¢̧ 1869 reissue.

The way that this is done is to treat the number of the "other" stamps as a variable which is a function of the number of times that these stamps have been offered. The results can then be plotted as a function of the number of offerings, and the results can be used to make reasonable estimates. Using this technique yields the following formulas to represent the number of stamps which have been offered at auction only a single time.

Scott \#123 = 842/X,
Scott \#133 = 91+821/X,
Scott \#133a $=160+496 / \mathrm{X}$, where $\mathrm{X}=$ the number of times which these "other" stamps have been offered at auction

Since we do not know what the value of $X$ is, we plot the three formulas given above as functions of X . These data have been plotted in Figure 9 for values of X between 1 and 10, and then the ratios have been plotted in Figure 10. A review of the latter plot, together with the data in Table 2, shows that the only plausible scenarios are that the brown orange stamp (Scott \#133a) was either the third printing, or a combination of the second and fourth printing. Note that this conclusion is essentially independent of how many times the stamps are assumed to have been offered.


Figure 9. Auction statistics, 1c 1869 reissue.


Figure 10. Auction ratios.

But we already have evidence, in the form of a brown orange stamp on cover, that the second printing was brown orange. The single example is a post card addressed to Uruguay, which has an October 5, 1880 cds. This stamp was auctioned as Lot 721 in the Harmer San Francisco sale of 6/3/82. The stamp was described as "Scott \#133 [sic], brown orange." It is unfortunate that the Scott number and the color do not agree, but I assume
that the color description is correct and that the catalogue number was a typographical or other error. Consequently, it appears that the third printing was buff, and the fourth printing was also orange brown. With this information, we can now list the identification and number of stamps in the four printings.

| Printing | Date | Paper | Color | Company | Number sold |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| First | June 1875 | Hard | Buff | National | 10,000 |
| Second | Mar.1880 | Soft | Brown or. | American | 5,000 |
| Third | Aug. 1881 | Soft | Buff | American | 10,000 |
| Fourth | Aug. 1882 | Soft | Brown or. | American | 8,252 |

Table 5. Characteristics of the four printings
From this we see that the total number of buff stamps on soft paper, catalogued as Scott \#133, is 10,000 . The total number of soft paper brown orange stamps is 13,252 . This finding supports the anecdotal evidence in Luff, Brookman and Markovitz that the brown orange stamp is more plentiful than the buff stamp. It also shows that the number of buff stamps is equal to the number of the hard paper variety, and that the number of brown orange stamps exceeds the number of the hard paper variety by as much as $30 \%$.
(The assumption is made that all of each printing was sold prior to sales of the subsequent printing. This may not be entirely correct, but because almost all of the 10,000 copies of the fourth printing were sold, errors in this assumption cannot be very large.)

As we have seen, the Scott catalogue, following Luff, errs in the statement that the total number of stamps from all printings of the $18691 \notin$ reissue was $8,252 .{ }^{6}$ This error apparently occurred because Luff did not take into account the numbers of stamps provided by the second, third and fourth printings. This meant he was 25,000 stamps short in his accounting. The catalogue records also err in identifying only one soft paper printing and attributing it to $1880 .{ }^{7}$ This is Scott \#133, buff, with Scott \#133a listed for the brown orange stamp. The listing of the buff soft paper prior to the brown orange soft paper further compounds the confusion, since the second printing of the reissue was brown orange, not buff. Proper listings should follow the following format:

1875

> REISSUE OF 1869 ISSUE
> Produced by the National Bank Note Company
> Perf. 12

Without grill, hard white paper, with white crackly gum
$1231 \notin$ buff $(10,000)$
1881
REISSUE OF 1869 ISSUE
Produced by the American Bank Note Company
Perf. 12
Without grill, soft porous paper, issued with gum
133
$1 \not \subset$ buff, issued with gum $(10,000)$
1880, 188
REISSUE OF 1869 ISSUE
Produced by the American Bank Note Company
Perf. 12
Without grill, soft porous paper, without gum

| 133 a | $1 \not \subset$ brown orange | 1880 | $(5,000)^{*}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $1 申$ brown orange | 1882 | $(8,252)^{*}$ |

* It has not been determined how to distinguish the 1882 issue from the 1880 issue.

[^12]
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## INDICATIONS OF A U.S.-BRITISH MAIL ARRANGEMENT PRIOR TO THE 1848 CONVENTION RICHARD F. WINTER

Figure 1 illustrates a common-looking cover sent from England to Philadelphia in 1847. In fact, the cover seems so common that most collectors who see it might completely overlook a particularly noteworthy feature, as I did for many years. The item is a very small lady's envelope, $100 \times 58 \mathrm{~mm}$., with an enclosed letter from a sister in Birkenhead, England, to her brother on Spruce Street, Philadelphia. It was endorsed in the upper left "Pr. Britannia Steamer/4 Sept." Birkenhead is located immediately opposite Liverpool on the estuary of the Mersey, where the letter was taken and posted on 4 September 1847. The Liverpool post office struck both the octagonal PAID AT/LIVERPOOL/SP 41847 and the one-shilling rate marking in red ink on the left side of the cover. The letter was included in the mail bags of the Cunard steamer Britannia, which departed Liverpool that same day and arrived in Boston on 19 September 1847. The easily overlooked aspect of this letter concerns the rating process and application of the postage due marking.


Figure 1. Birkenhead, England, 4 Sep 1847, to Philadelphia by Cunard Britannia to Boston. One shilling packet letter rate paid at Liverpool. Postage due of $\mathbf{1 2 ¢}$ marked by 19 mm double circle blue rate marking of Philadelphia.

Normally, the following regulations were applicable to incoming ship letters in 1847:'

## Postage on Ship and Steamboat Letters.

122. All ship letters and packets are to be charged with a postage of six cents each, when delivered from the office at which they are first received [emphasis provided by the author]; when forwarded in the mail to other offices, with two cents, in addition to the ordinary rates of postage. They should all be marked "Ship," at the time of receiving them. This applies to all letters and packets from foreign countries, as well as those conveyed from one port to another in the United States over routes not declared post roads.
[^13]
# Master of every Vessel from a Foreign Port, to deliver Letters and Packets into Post Offices 

191. Every master of a vessel from a foreign port is bound, immediately on his arrival at a port, and before he is permitted to report, make entry, or break bulk, under a penalty not to exceed $\$ 100$, to deliver into the post office all letters brought in his vessel, directed to any person in the United States, or the Territories thereof, which are under his care or within his power, except such letters as relate to the cargo or some part thereof.

The letter in Figure 1 was correctly rated for $12 \phi$ postage due ( $2 \phi$ ship fee plus $10 \phi$ U.S. inland postage from Boston to Philadelphia, the distance being greater than 300 miles and requiring the $10 \notin$ inland fee); however, the 19 mm . double circle " 12 " due marking applied to this cover is actually a well-known Philadelphia marking. Contrary to existing regulations, therefore, it is evident that this letter was rated in Philadelphia, rather than at the arrival port of Boston. Since there are many similarly rated letters during this pretreaty period, it is doubtful this deviation in the rating process was only employed for those occasional letters that slipped past the postal clerks at Boston and had to be rated at the office of destination. In fact, the abundance of postal history material begs for a better explanation.

While I have tried for years, I have yet to find definitive instructions or agreements that would account for what appears to be an anomaly in the rating procedure applied to some incoming ship letters. But I have found some very strong evidence indicating an attempted agreement between the United States and Great Britain for mails carried by the Cunard steamers from Liverpool to Boston in the years preceding the 1848 Convention, causing this unusual rating procedure. In addition, there are many cover examples to provide proof that alternative rating procedures - that is, the rating of letters at the city of destination and not the arrival port-were in effect. With this in mind, I shall provide the documentation I have located to date as it applies to such an "arrangement," and share my thoughts on a number of covers that show this alternative rating process.

## Historical Background

Three months after the first regular mails began arriving at Boston from Great Britain by the Cunard steamships, concerns in Boston were raised regarding the best ways to handle the large quantities of mail these steamers carried. On 19 October 1840, Postmaster General John M. Niles answered a letter from Nathaniel Greene, the Postmaster of Boston. ${ }^{2}$ Greene had informed the Postmaster General that he wished to take six to eight weeks absence from Boston to travel to Europe. One of the reasons for his leave of absence was to seek an arrangement with the Postmaster of Liverpool relative to the forwarding of mails to the United States. Postmaster General Niles would neither authorize nor forbid the trip, for this was a decision of the local postmaster and not the Postmaster General. He did caution Greene, however, not to make any agreement that would subject his "Department to any expence [sic] whatever" and that:

> Should you conclude to visit England \& find that you can effect any arrangement, with the PM at Liverpool to facilitate the conveyance of the mails or letters from that country to the United States not involving any change upon this Dept or individuals to whom letters may be addressed in the United States, it [sic] will approve of the arrangement, although I have no power to set a negotiation on foot, or render it obligatory on any one.

I do not know if this trip was ever made, or what success, if any, Postmaster Greene had in reaching an "arrangement" with the Postmaster of Liverpool. In fact, I have found no other reference to this trip.

[^14]The earliest British documentation brought to my attention from the British Postal Archives, related to the subject of this article, concerns not the Boston Postmaster's visit but a communication several months later. ${ }^{3}$ Two aggressive lawyers, James D. Ogden and James G. King, were representing the Chamber of Congress of New York. Concerned that the merchants of their city were being adversely affected by the tardiness of British mails landed at Boston, they apparently wrote to the Postmaster at Liverpool, England in early 1841. They proposed that the Liverpool Postmaster subdivide the mails for New York and other important U.S. cities south of Boston, and bag this mail separately so that it would be transhipped from Boston faster after its arrival there. While a copy of their letter has not been found, Tabeart located the following memorandum (minute) for the British Postmaster General ${ }^{4}$ : [emphasis provided by the author]

> New York Proposition that letters should be sent in separate sealed Bags to Boston Lpool Dep 17 April 1841
> For the Postmaster General
> I submit the American chamber of Commerce may be informed that having made inquiry into their representation of the $8^{\text {th }}$ Inst'. it appears that every thing in the power of the Postm of L'pool has been done to facilitate the despatch of the Packet Letters for the United States on their arrival at Boston by sorting them as far as practicable \& subdividing them into parcels for New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore \&c, but that the request that all the correspondence from the United Kingdom by this conveyance for New York should be forwarded in a separate \& sealed Bag addressed to that City, cannot be complied with without interfering with important regulations essential to the Security of this Practice. Your Lordship will probably add you take for granted the Applicants have addressed themselves to the P.O. Authorities of the United States for the adoption of such measures at Boston as may tend to facilitate the despatch of the correspondence alluded to.

$31^{\text {st }}$ May 1841
Ten months after the first Cunard steamer began carrying British contract mails to Halifax and Boston, the New York merchants were relying so heavily on the mails carried by these vessels that they began to complain about the untimely deliveries beyond the western terminus of Boston. This minute leaves no doubt that recommendations by Ogden and King, to separately bag mails for some U.S. cities, fell on deaf ears. The minute does, however, document that some sorting and subdividing of the U.S. mails was already underway at Liverpool. Perhaps those sorting attempts resulted from the visit by the Boston Postmaster? The bags themselves, however, would still have to be opened and the contents dispersed at Boston.

Nonetheless, Ogden and King must have complained to the U.S. Postmaster General, Charles A. Wickcliffe, who took office in October 1841. Their communications with Washington have not been found, but by June 1842, Wickcliffe was championing their cause. ${ }^{5}$ By June 1842, he sent a communication to Edward Everett, the U.S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at London. Not knowing to whom his proposal should be submitted, he enclosed a letter that explained the problem with British mails

[^15]sent to the U.S. and proposed a specific solution. Note that he names those cities south of Boston for which he requested separate mail bagging. ${ }^{6}$

Hon Ed. Everett
June $28^{\text {nh }} .1842$
Envoy Ex. \& Minister Plen. U.S.
London.
Sir, I have taken the liberty to send to your charge the enclosed letter, which you will please to read, then seal and direct, and cause to be delivered to the proper person.

You will understand the subject, and if any further explanations are necessary, I hope it will be compatible with your views to aid me in effecting this much desired arrangement. I do not know to whom to address this communication, or I would not trouble you with it.
C.A.W.
P.O. Dept. June $28^{\text {h. }} 1842$

Sir, The mail between this and your government has become so important, that I am induced to address you this communication, under hope that by a single regulation, which I am sure you will take pleasure in making, (if not inconsistent with other laws and regulations deemed paramount,) I may be able to overcome an inconvenience seriously felt by the City of New York.

The most important and most regular mails from London and Liverpool are received by the cunard Line of Steam Packets, which sail between Liverpool and Boston. Much the largest number of letters, however, are destined for New York and points south of New York. These letters have to be transported overland to New York, but before this takes place, the whole mail matter being directed to Boston and mixed up in the same mail sack, has to be delivered and distributed at the Boston Post Office. The time to do this often detains the mail so long that the mail cars, which are obliged to start at a given hour for New York, leave before the Ship mail is assorted. The English Mail consequently is often detained a day at Boston, much to the injury of the commercial community of New York.

To obviate this evil, I propose that you cause the mail matter destined for New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington City, Richmond,Va. Charleston S.C. Mobile Al. and New Orleans, La. to be put up in a separate bag, mailed and labeled "New York." Matter for all other points than those named, also to be mailed in a Separate bag labelled "Boston." When the mail arrives at Boston, there will then exist no necessity for a moments delay beyond the time required to empty the contents in a mail bag of the United States.

I hope I am understood upon this subject, and that you will find it entirely compatible with your views to give directions necessary and advise me of them.

Accept Sir a tender of my regard

C.A.W. P.M. Genl. U.S.

Note that this proposal simply requested two separate types of mail bags, one type labeled for New York with mails for that city and other specified cities south of Boston, and the other type labeled for Boston containing the remaining mails. This proposal would have permitted the New York bags to go directly to the mail train and to be opened and assorted later. Ten days later, PMG Wickcliffe responded to a letter from Ogden and King. His letter acknowledged that he had met with them in New York. Undoubtedly, he had received their input for a solution when he penned his proposal to England in his letter of 28 June 1842. To further state his willingness to improve upon the post office operations, which had distressed many New York merchants, he revealed that he had organized express mails on the Boston-New York and Buffalo-New York mail routes. Note his reference to the U.S. mail "as the legitimate channel of communications," an obvious reference to his ongoing problems at this time with private express companies.?

[^16]James D. Ogden \&
J G. King Esq ${ }^{\text {s }}$ I have been compelled to defer until now the acknowledgement of yours of the $28^{\text {th }}$ June.

Very soon after I had the pleasure of an interview with you at New York, I addressed the Head of the British Post Office through Mr. Everett and requested that all letters destined for New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington \& South should be made in a separate bag, for New York, with which request I anticipate a compliance by the Agents of the British Post Office. If this be done one of the evils not unfrequently felt by the merchants and others of New York caused by the delay of the British mail at Boston long enough to arrange, assort and distribute, by which it is detained until after the departure of the New York cars well[sic] be obviated.

You may rest assured Gentlemen that every thing which the means of this Department will justify shall be done on my part to relieve the community whose interest you represent from all unnecessary burthen and delay, in the Post Office operations.

In order to give to the business community the longest possible time for the transactions of the business of each day, and enable them to avail themselves of the United States mail as the legitimate channel of communications I have organized the mail agents from Boston to New York \& from New York to Buffalo \& from New York South into a species of Express mail who will receive and deliver letters up to the moment of the departure of each mail. By this means, I hope to furnish all necessary mail facilities to the business correspondence of your city.

C.A.W.

By late July 1842, a firm proposal was in London and the New York merchants were assured that actions were underway to alleviate their problem. Wickcliffe's preference now, and in the years to come, would be to use his authority to negotiate agreements between Postmasters General rather than conventions between countries.

It is hard to believe that Everett waited until November 1842 to present the U.S. Postmaster General's proposal, but the British records seem to indicate that is just what happened. British minutes of November 1842 and January 1843 showed that the proposal was passed around the British postal organization between Liverpool and London before arriving at a negative response.

United States Proposition for Subdivision of Mails to/from England
C. Everett Esq. 10 Nov 1842

For the Postmaster General
I submit for your Lordship's consideration \& approval a draft of the reply I propose to make to Mr. Everett on this subject, the papers will then be handed to Mr. Bokenham for his further enquiry at Liverpool when he proceeds to that Post, \& his reproach to the best course to be pursued.

12 Nov 1842
Approved
Nov $14^{\text {dh }} 1842^{8}$
United States. as to Subdivision of Mails for in England
W Bokenham Esq. $12^{\text {th }}$ Jan 1843
For the Postmaster General
I submit Mr. Everett may be informed with reference to the letter from him of the $15^{\text {th }}$ Nov last that Yr. Lordship cannot under existing circumstances afford any more facilities than those rendered to the United States Post Office by the subdivision of the letters, but that if the American Govern't should be disposed to enter into a Convention with Great Britain for the improvement of the intercourse by post between the two
countries, you do not doubt means may be found to extend the accommodation now granted.

17 Jan 1843

## Approved

$18^{\text {ti }}$ Jan $1843^{9}$
By early November 1843, Wickcliffe had not only received the denial from England, but also a follow-up letter from Ogden and King. His reply to their 28 October 1843 letter contains his commitment to continue seeking an arrangement with England. ${ }^{10}$

## Post Office Department

 November $9^{\text {th }} 1843$James D. Ogden \& James G. King
Com' Chamber of Commerce, New York.
Since my return, your communication of the $28^{\text {m }}$ ult. has been laid before me. I applied through the Hon. Edward Everett, for the adoption of the arrangement you suggested as the most simple and practicable for obviating the delay to which the mails brought by the British Steamers to Boston for New York and the South are subjected, but it was denied, because the separation of the mails in sealed bags, one of them destined for New York, "would prevent," as stated by Col Mabery [sic], "that examination and check of the Liverpool portion of the correspondence referred to which it is indispensable should be performed by the agent of the British Post Office at Boston before the mails are handed over to the Post Office of that city for dispatch."
I will again write and press the subject upon the attention of the British Post Office in the hope that, if the difficulty presented by Col. Maberly be considered insurmountable, some other method may be devised to relieve the citizens of New York and others interested from the evil of which they complain.
C.A.W.

Responding to a complaint from the Postmaster of Charleston, South Carolina later that same month, Wickcliffe again explained the problem and how he was attempting to resolve it. ${ }^{11}$

Post Office Department
November $28^{\text {dh }} 1843$.

## Postmaster

Charleston, S.C.
Your favor of the $28^{\text {th }}$ inst. informing me of the failure of the letter mail from New York at Charleston, that morning, - that it brought with it no private letters, which arrived in the Steamer at Boston, though the mail brought newspapers \&c. which came by the Steamer, thereby causing great dissatisfaction among the Merchants and others of your city, was received to day. The reason why you did not receive your letters by the mail is unknown to the Dept. I, however, can conjecture it. Sometimes the mail Steamer reaches Boston so short a time before the Rail Road Cars leaves for New York, that it is impossible to assort and mail the letters at Boston in time to be sent by the mail train of that date; while it often happens that the news men get the loose papers on board and get them to the cars in time.
Assorting and mailing not less than 20,000 letters cannot be done ordinarily in less than three hours.
To avoid this evil as far as it was practicable, I addressed Mr. Everett, our Minister at London, to see if he could not obtain an order from the P.M.Genl. to have the letters put up in London in separate bags for Boston, New York, Phila. Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, etc. He was unable to convince the P.M.Genl. of Great Britain that this

[^17]ought to be done. The letters from London to the U.S. are all put in the same bag, directed to Boston. The P.M. at Liverpool has been induced to put up the letters, for New York, in a separate bag and now when the mail boat arrives at an hour when it is impossible to mail the letters at Boston, that bag is sent on to be changed at New York. In this way the mail was saved by the last mail boat. Possibly the letters for Charleston were in the Boston bag. But why your letters were not mailed in New York, in time, if in that way, for the mail next day $I$ am unable to say.
I have directed a copy of your letter to be sent to the P.M. at New York, and request him to write you. I will also write to the P.M. at Liverpool, and request him to put all the letters and newspapers for Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington City, Richmond, Charleston, Mobile and New Orleans, in the same bags for New York and in this way hope to do all in my power to give to these points their letters by the first mail.
C.A.W.

On the same day he wrote to the Charleston Postmaster, Wickcliffe took a dramatic step by writing directly to the Postmaster of Liverpool. He referred to an arrangement already in effect with the Liverpool Postmaster for separate bagging of mails to New York. Since no documentation of this arrangement has come to light or been generally known by postal history students and collectors, acknowledgement of this aspect of special mail handling is an important new revelation. At the very least, it means that mails for New York, which were brought to the United States by Cunard steamer, from late 1843 can be expected to show no markings of the arrival port, Boston, because they were bagged separately for New York and not opened at Boston.

Thanking the Liverpool Postmaster for his improvement in mail handling between the two countries, Wickcliffe decided to go one step further and ask for the separate bagging of letters for ten other cities south of Boston. Where he hadn't been successful with the Postmaster General in London, he hoped to reach accord with the Postmaster of Liverpool. While no response to this short letter has been found, covers sent to at least four of the cities south of New York (all of which were mentioned in his proposal) have been found, each showing that the letters were rated at those cities and not at the arrival port of Boston or at New York where closed mail bags containing those letters might have been sent. This is very strong evidence that an expansion of the existing agreement was ultimately reached. The letter follows: ${ }^{12}$

Post Office Department Nov $28^{\text {di }} 1843$.

> Postmaster
> Liverpool, England
> By an arrangement heretofore made the letters for New York by the mail Steamers to Boston are put up at your office in bags labelled New York. These letters are sent immediately upon the arrival of the Steamer to New York, without remailing at Boston. The object I have in addressing you this communication is to tender you my thanks for this convenient arrangement and to ask you whether it would not also be convenient to put in the New York bags, in separate packages, all letters for Philadelphia, $\mathrm{P}^{\mathrm{a}}$ Baltimore, M ${ }^{d}$ Washington City, D.C. Richmond \& Petersburg V ${ }^{a}$ Charleston, S.C. Savannah \& Augusta, Ga Mobile, Ala. \& New Orleans, La. These letters if put up in the same bags which are for Boston are apt to be left twenty four hours to be remailed there of which the citizens of these places complain and it is impossible for me to remedy it without your kind offices.
C.A.W.

In a response to the Postmaster of Savannah, Georgia two weeks later, Wickcliffe confirmed that he had proposed an arrangement and that Savannah had been specified as a city whose mail was to be presorted. ${ }^{13}$

[^18]George Schley Esq.
P.M. Savannah, Ga.

I am pleased to have it in my power to state, in answer to your letter of the $5^{\text {th }}$ inst. that Savannah was included in the arrangement proposed by me to the P.M. of Liverpool, on the $28^{\text {dh }}$ ulto. for the transmission of letters, \&c. by the Cunard Steamers in separate packages covered by the same bag to New York. The cities South of New York named in the proposed arrangement are Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Petersburg, Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Mobile and New Orleans.
C.A.W.

Only one other Packet Minute has been found in the British Post Office Archives related to this subject. ${ }^{14}$ Dated 27 December 1843, it appears to have resulted from the London headquarters' learning that the Liverpool Postmaster was propositioned to accept an agreement with the American Postmaster General.
P.M.G. at Washington request for Subdivision at Liverpool of ltrs for United States
$27^{\text {th }}$ Dec 1843
For the Postmaster General
I submit that the Postmaster of Liverpool may be desired merely to acknowledge the receipt of the letter from the Postmaster General of the United States, stating that he had referred it to your Lordship, and to adopt the same course with regards to any other Communications he may receive from any of the Officers of the United States Post Office.
$29^{\text {th }}$ Dec 1843
Approved
Dec $30^{\text {m }} 1843$
In the same bureaucratic fashion found in previous dealings of the Post Office headquarters in London, the staff recommendation to the British Postmaster General was to have the Liverpool Postmaster respond with a non-response. The British Postmaster General approved this recommendation. Dozens of covers subsequent to this time bear evidence that the Liverpool Postmaster decided on his own to accommodate the Americans.
(to be continued)
${ }^{14}$ Packet Minutes, op. cit., Post 44 Volume 44, p. 274.

## CORRIGENDUM

In my article, "Freight Money Paid in Gardiner, Maine," in Chronicle 160:276-77 (November 1993), I incorrectly stated that Robert Morris, postmaster of New York, probably returned the overpayment of the freight money fee to the Gardiner postmaster. The postmaster of New York at the time of the 1840 Gardiner letter was J.J. Coddington, the postmaster first responsible for handling freight money fees when the system was instituted in 1838. Robert Morris was not appointed postmaster of New York until May 1845.

## THE COVER CORNER SCOTT GALLAGHER, Editor

## ANSWERS TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUE 160

Figures 1 and 2 show the front and back of a folded letter sent in December 1865 from Cuba to the U.S.A. On the back is a fancy-bordered marking U.S. MAIL STEAMSHIP FAH KEE St. Jago (nowadays Santiago). On the front is NEW YORK SHIP LETTER and a penciled " 6 " rating. This item was sold in a Siegel auction on November 21,1993 , Lot 1148 , so it has a new owner who may be amused to have it called an anomaly. This is because it was rated as a ship letter, when it is clearly a steamship letter which


Figure 1. Front of Dec. 6, 1865, U.S. Mail Steamship Fah Kee cover from Santiago de Cuba.


Figure 2. Back of Fah Kee cover, and clipping from New York Journal of Commerce announcing the service.
should have been rated at $10 \notin$ due. Probably the clerk did not look at the back, and did not know the FAH KEE written in manuscript at top left on the front as a new contract steamship.

Theron Wierenga wrote about the Fah Kee in his book U.S. Incoming Steamship Mail, published by him in 1983. On page 65 he writes,

The Postmaster General has concluded an arrangement with Messrs. Waydell \& Co., of New York, for the transportation of the United States mails monthly, by steamship, between New York, St. Georges (Bermuda) and St. Jago de Cuba. The steamer Fah Kee, the pioneer of the line, will leave New York with the mails for Bermuda and St. Jago de Cuba, on Tuesday next, Oct. 3, 1865, and thereafter a steamer will leave New York regularly on the first of each month. The United States postage charge on letters transmitted by this line of steamers is ten cents the single rate, prepayment required. Postmasters will send letters for Bermuda, \&c., intended for transmission by this line of steamers, to New York for distribution.

The Fah Kee was a 699-ton steam propeller, and was registered as such at the port of New York on February 16, 1863. She was sold to the United States Navy on July 15, 1863, and documented the U.S.S. Fah Kee on September 24, 1863. During the Civil War, Fah Kee was assigned to blockade duties and was involved in the destruction of the Bendigo at Lockwood's Folly Inlet, South Carolina, on January 3, 1864. For a time, during 1865, she was also assigned to the Brazil Squadron. On September 22, 1865, she was redocumented, no doubt to Waydell and Company, and started her service to Bermuda and Cuba a few days later.

Whether the Fah Kee ran on a regular basis is uncertain. The "Tables of Steamship Departures" in the United States Mail and Post Office Assistant list sailings to Santiago de Cuba in November 1865, May, June and September of 1866, and none in 1867. Obviously other sailings occurred, as the cover mentioned above does not fall on these dates. The Fah Kee was changed to a foreign registry in 1872.

In Wierenga's book, he explains the differences between steamship and ship letter rates, with the latter lower. It is probable that our problem cover was carried on the first voyage of the Fah Kee from Cuba to the U.S., which should please the new owner.

In Robert G. Stone's newly-published book, A Caribbean Neptune, the Fah Kee covers, not over ten known, are described. Stone states that letters were taken loose directly to


Figure 3. Barbados to Boston cover, 27 July 1880, backstamp "CARRIERS DIV. BOSTON MASS."


Figure 4. Knoxville, Ten., cover with puzzling "DUE" marking.


Figure 5. Enlargement of "DUE" marking on 1864 Knoxville, Ten., cover.
the ship at Santiago, and not through the Cuban post office, and canceled by the purser on board, without a date slug at times. Stone cites this Dec. 1865 letter.

Readers with an interest in this usage should seek letters carried to or from Bermuda by the Fah Kee. None are reported, in writings at hand. Those searching should look at backs of letters as well as fronts.

## PROBLEM COVERS FOR THIS ISSUE

Figure 3 shows a letter sent from Barbados 27 July 1880, into New York 6 August and into Boston 7 August. On the back is "CARRIERS DIV. BOSTON MASS." There is no enclosure, so the submitter does not know if it contained a letter or a circular. Why was $5 \not \subset$ due?

Figures 4 and 5 show an 1864 cover from Knoxville, Tennessee, to Ma(n)chester, New York, and a closeup of an odd marking in black which seems to read "DUE $60{ }^{633}$." Although slight creases in the envelope indicate a heavy enclosure, it is unlikely that this small ordinary envelope could have contained anything causing $60 \not \subset$ due. There are no markings on the back. The $3 \notin 1861$ stamp is tied by the bullseye killer used at Knoxville after reoccupation. Can anyone identify this due marking?

Please send your answers, comments and new submittals within two weeks to the editor at P.O. Box 42253, Cincinnati, OH 45242, or FAX to (513) 563-6287.

## NEW CARIBBEAN POSTAL HISTORY BOOK

A Caribbean Neptune: The Marine Postal Communications of the Greater and Lesser Antilles in the 19th Century. By Robert G. Stone. Published December 1993 by the Philatelic Foundation, New York City. Distributed by Leonard H. Hartmann, P.O. Box 36006, Louisville, Kentucky 40233; phone (502) 451-0317; fax (502) 459-8538. Price \$65 postpaid to any part of the world.

This long-awaited tome is now available. Delays were caused by the reorganization of the PF, editing, revisions, and additions, and by relocation of the author to the United Methodist Home at Quincy, Pennsylvania. The 396-page book has a splendid blue buckram binding with silver lettering. It contains 14 sections and concludes with the SpanishAmerican War in 1898.

My wife, Shirley, and I have maintained close contact with Bob Stone over the past six years as this book jelled, and we recently asked him for a comment to include in this review. Bob stated: "I wrote this mainly for postal historians, but added items with potential to enlighten and fascinate others who may have interests outside the scope stated in the title."

Indeed, Bob Stone's ability to tie socio-economic aspects to postal history does indeed broaden this publication. He did the same in Danish West Indies Mails, Vol. 1, Postal History, published in 1979 and now worth about \$200. The purchase of this out-of-print slim book will not be necessary for many, since A Caribbean Neptune contains most of the earlier information, plus much more assembled in the past two decades.

A detailed review would require too many pages of the Chronicle, as so much material is covered in this new book, with maps, charts, lists and illustrations. This is a difficult area, with the routes and rates puzzling for many letters. Bob Stone continues to be a pioneer, and his new book is much more than just a compilation of information. The reader will be pleased and stimulated, especially if now enabled to understand and explain some letters which were unclear before.

Only 750 copies of A Caribbean Neptune were printed, and almost 200 are gone! Don't delay in getting your copy.
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[^0]:    ${ }^{5}$ Howard Robinson, The British Post Office (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).
    ${ }^{6}$ A.D. Smith, The Development of Rates Of Postage, reprint ed. (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, Inc., ND), p. 7.

[^1]:    ${ }^{7}$ Ibid., pp. 6-7.
    ${ }^{8}$ Ibid., p. 7.
    ${ }^{9} \mathrm{~J}$ Wilson Hyde, The Post In Grant And Farm (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894), pp. 75-77.
    ${ }^{10}$ Ibid., pp. 69-77.
    "Parliament acknowledged this shift from a purely political rationale to an economic basis for the postal monopoly in 1656 when it reaffirmed the postal monopoly through appropriate legislation. William Smith, The History of the Post Office in British North America 1630-1870, reprint ed. (New York: Octagon Books, 1973), p. 3.
    ${ }^{12}$ William Smith, loc. cit.
    ${ }^{13}$ Robinson, p. 46. These exemptions, which would be carried forward in United States postal legislation, demonstrated the classic division between possessing a power and choosing to exercise that power.
    ${ }^{14}$ Ibid., p. 67-68.
    ${ }^{15}$ Ibid., p. 69-102.

[^2]:    ${ }^{16}$ Act Of 9 Anne c.10, $\S 2$ (1710), effective 1711.
    ${ }^{17}$ The Act also required that the ship's captain, upon landing, immediately turn over to the Post Office all letters carried on board by him, thereby suggesting that there then existed another popular method of evading the monopoly.
    ${ }^{18}$ A.D. Smith, op. cit., p. 15.
    ${ }^{19}$ William Smith, op. cit., p. 8.
    ${ }^{20}$ Quoted in A.D. Smith, p. 60. Actually, the rates were to be same as the rates set forth in the Post Office Act of 1660 , or such other rates as the planters were willing to pay.
    ${ }^{21}$ Virginia went so far as to obstruct Hamilton's efforts by enacting a statute prohibiting the implementation of the Patent. Act of March 3, 1692, in Commonwealth of Virginia Colonial Statutes at Large, 112 (Hening ed., 1823).
    ${ }^{22}$ U.S. House of Representatives. Report of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, June 29, 1973, p. 56.

[^3]:    ${ }^{23}$ New York, however, in 1692 also passed a law which stated that any persons or body politic or corporate other than the Postmaster General presuming to "carry, re-carry, or deliver letters for hire, or to set up or imploy [sic] any foot-post, horse-post or pacquet-boat whatsoever" for the carrying of letters or packets should forfeit 100 pounds. A.D. Smith, p. 60, n.1.
    ${ }^{24}$ Rich, The History Of The United States Post Office To The Year 1829 (Harvard University Press, 1924), pp. 14-15. The Post Office Act of 1710 made it unnecessary to continue to consult with each colonial legislature in order to set charges for the conveyance of letters. Now, the supreme control and management of the postal system throughout the British Empire, beyond the seas as well as at home, rested with the Postmaster General in England. The Act fixed the postal charges at uniform rates. It even provided for the disposal of surplus revenue arising from the operation of the post office. William Smith, op. cit., p. 19.
    ${ }^{25}$ Rich, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
    ${ }^{26}$ Pickering Papers, Vol. 39 (Mass. Hist. Soc.), quoted in William Smith, op. cit., p. 63.
    ${ }^{27}$ William Smith, op. cit., pp. 60-65.
    ${ }^{28} \mathrm{Ibid}$. , p. 63.

[^4]:    ${ }^{29}$ Pickering Papers (Mass. Hist. Soc.), Vol. 39, 38 (Mar.21,1774), 75 (April 4, 1774), 86 (April 20, 1774); cited in A.D. Smith, op. cit., p. 63. Goddard's proposal was for a partially decentralized post office, created and maintained by subscription. Control of the post would rest in the hands of a committee, which would be appointed annually by the subscribers. The committee would appoint postmasters and would hire post riders. It would also fix the rates of postage. The whole operation would be under the direction of a postmaster general, who would be elected annually by the subscribers.
    ${ }^{30} 2$ Journals of the Continental Congress [hereafter JCC] 71 (1774).
    ${ }^{31} \mathrm{Ibid}$.
    ${ }^{32}$ When the Articles of Confederation were submitted to the states for their consideration, there was no objection to the grant of the postal power because the grant was limited in scope. Originally, in the first draft, Article VIII gave the United States "the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . establishing and regulating post-offices throughout all the United Colonies, on lines of communication from one colony to another." It further provided that, the United States "shall never impose or levy any taxes or duties except in managing the post office." 5 JCC 551 (1780). [Emphasis added] This suggests that Congress' power, as set forth in the first draft, reached only inter-colonial mail, and left the regulation of internal, intra-colonial mail to each state. The scope of the postal power set forth in the second draft was identical to the power adopted as part of the final Articles. The taxing restriction, however, was relaxed in the final Articles. Ibid.
    ${ }^{33}$ Art.IX, para. 4. The Continental Congress considered establishing a postal monopoly in 1775 in order to suppress the British Post, but the proposal was rejected. 3 JCC 488 (1775). In 1776 the Continental Congress indirectly moved toward establishing a monopoly when it reduced the wages of government messengers who carried private letters or packets. Act of Nov. 5, 1776, 6 JCC 927 (repealed 1782). A Report in 1782 suggests that in enacting the 1776 statute Congress may have intended to create a monopoly, 22 JCC 123 (1782), but it is not certain. Clearly such was the intent when the Ordinance of 1782 was passed.

[^5]:    ${ }^{34}$ Ordinance of Oct.18, 1782, 23 JCC 670 (1782).
    ${ }^{35} \mathrm{~A}$ comparison of this language with the almost identical language of the Act of Queen Anne (1710) demonstrates that in 1782, at least, Congress intended to incorporate into its postal system the British concept of postal monopoly.
    ${ }^{36}$ For a discussion of private post roads under the Confederation and Constitutional Posts, see Robert J. Stets, "U.S. Government-Authorized Private Mail Service 1787-1800," Chronicle 156 (Nov.1992), 233ff; 157 (Feb.1993), 9ff; and 158 (May 1993), 83ff.
    ${ }^{37}$ XI Commonwealth of Virginia Statutes at Large, 395, 467 (1784) (Hening ed., 1823).
    ${ }^{38}$ Index to the Journals of the Senate and House of Delegates of the State of Maryland (Annapolis 1856-1857).
    ${ }^{39}$ Letterbook " $B$ " of the Postmaster General, p. 21.
    ${ }^{40}$ American State Papers, Class VII [Post Office Department], "Tax on Mail Stages in New Jersey, Feb. 9, 1793," p. 15 (Theron Wierenga reprint ed., 1981).
    ${ }^{41}$ LXI Papers of the Continental Congress, foll. 181-185.
    ${ }^{42}$ Ibid.

[^6]:    ${ }^{43}$ Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Reported by James Madison (W.W. Norton \& Company, 1987), pp. 118-119; 389; 470; 620; 2 Elliot, The Debates In The Several State Conventions On The Adoption Of The Federal Constitution . . . . , 406 (1845).
    ${ }^{44}$ Notes of Debates . . . Madison, pp. 118-119; Ferrand, Records of the Federal Convention, Vol. II, pp. 158-159.
    ${ }^{45} \mathrm{Ibid}$. The Paterson proposal, while perhaps acquitting him of his responsibility to suggest an alternative to direct taxation, could not have been seriously considered by the Constitutional Convention. In 1787 the Post Office had returned profits of approximately $\$ 5000$; government domestic expenditures in that year were more than $\$ 337,000$. Postal revenues would not have compensated for the power to levy taxes. 34 JCC 463-464.
    ${ }^{46}$ Notes of Debates . . . Madison, p. 389; Ferrand, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 177.
    ${ }^{47}$ Notes of Debates . . . Madison, p. 470.
    ${ }^{48}$ Federalist Papers, No. 42 (Modern Library ed.).

[^7]:    ${ }^{49}$ George Washington, when he recommended the postal provisions to Congress which became part of the Act of 1792 , pointed out the political importance of such a service as aiding the diffusion of the knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the Government. Message to Congress, October 25, 1791.
    ${ }^{50}$ II Annals of Congress, 1580-82, 2236, 2357, 2409 (1st Cong., Gale \& Seaton ed., 1834); III Annals of Congress, 214, 219, 237, 241, 254, 282-85, 298 (2d Cong., 1849 ed.).
    ${ }^{51}$ Act of Sept. 2, 1789, Ch. 16, 1 Stat. 70 (1789). This statute was continued in force by the Acts of Aug. 4, 1790, 1 Stat. 178 (1790) and Mar. 3, 1791, 1 Stat. 218 (1891).

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ Among the catalogues surveyed were Caspary, Knapp, West, Moody, Newbury, Brown, Waterhouse, Gibson, Sweet, Dick, Picher, Shierson, Krug, Hindes, Sinkler, Burroughs, Brigham, Bingham, Lehman, Hind, Rohloff, Mayer, Matthies, Baker, Rust, Haas, "Elite," Hart, Kapiloff and the Siegel Rarities sales from 1964 through 1993. In addition to these name sales I have reviewed long runs of catalogues from most of the major auction houses for the past 25-30 years.

[^9]:    ${ }^{2}$ During the July 1,1847 , to June 30 , 1851 , period the New York City postmark did not show the year date of use. Fortunately, the Canadian exchange offices and receiving post offices used postmarks that did include the year date, thus making it easy to determine the year of use on mail going to and from Canada. The year on domestic mail can almost always be determined from either the dateline or the docket date.
    ${ }^{3}$ A cover in the 1980 Siegel Rarities sale, only partially illustrated and without the postmark showing, is described as an 1848 cover. Inasmuch as this date is entirely out of sequence with all of the other covers I record, I question the year of usage given for that cover.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ John N. Luff, The Postage Stamps of the United States, The Scott Stamp \& Coin Co., Ltd, 1902, p. 351.
    ${ }^{2}$ Records of the Post Office Department, Record Group 28, Press Copies of Invoices, 1879, GSA, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[^11]:    ${ }^{3}$ Scott 1993 Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps, Scott Publishing Company, p. 384.
    ${ }^{4}$ Ibid.
    ${ }^{\text {s }}$ Ibid.

[^12]:    ${ }^{6}$ Ibid.
    ${ }^{\prime}$ Ibid.

[^13]:    'Laws and Regulations for the Government of the Post Office Department, Washington 1847, Theron Wierenga reprint edition, p. 20 and p. 29 of the Regulations. Ship letter fees in the United States and regulations concerning them go back at least to the Act of 20 February 1792.

[^14]:    ${ }^{2}$ Letters Sent by the Postmaster General, Record Group 28, Post Office Department, The National Archives, Washington, D.C., Volume K-1, pp. 308-309.

[^15]:    ${ }^{3}$ USPCS member Colin Tabeart, a well-known maritime postal historian residing in England, has been assisting me for several years through visits to the British Postal Archives in London. His assistance has been invaluable.
    ${ }^{4}$ Packet Minutes, British Postal Archives, London, England, Post 34 Volume 36, p. 247.
    ${ }^{5}$ The Letterbooks of the Postmaster General are full of letters showing that Wickliffe was an aggressive Postmaster General who didn't hesitate to pursue new ideas for postal improvements. For example, his agreement with the Postmaster General of Great Britain in 1844, which bears his name, created a closed mail through the United States from Boston to the Canadian border to speed up mails to and from Canada.

[^16]:    ${ }^{6}$ Letters Sent . .., op. cit., Volume N-1, p. 120. ${ }^{7}$ Ibid., Volume N-1, p. 149.

[^17]:    ${ }^{9}$ Ibid., Post 34 Volume 41.
    ${ }^{10}$ Letters Sent . . ., op. cit., Volume P-1, p. 109.
    "Ibid., Volume P-1, p. 137.

[^18]:    ${ }^{12}$ Ibid., Volume P-1, p. 139.
    ${ }^{13} \mathrm{Ibid}$., Volume P-1, p. 154.

