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## GUEST PRIVILEGE

# THE SCOTT CATALOGUE EDITOR RESPONDS TO WILLIAM E. MOOZ (CHRONICLE 173, FEB. 1997) JAMES E. KLOETZEL <br> CATALOGUE EDITOR, SCOTT PUBLISHING CO. 

I want to thank Chronicle Editor-in-Chief Charles Peterson for making room for a response to William Mooz's suggestions for changes to the Scott Catalogue, based mostly on his own original research and insights presented in his Chronicle articles between Feb. 1992 and Nov. 1995. I use the term "suggestions" rather than the "corrections" used in Mr. Mooz's article title since the latter suggests right and wrong, or black and white, while in fact these suggestions often touch on larger issues of practicality, usefulness, opinion or catalogue listing style that are open to interpretation or debate, rather than the simple issues of right or wrong.

Mr. Mooz's articles were studied when they were published, of course, and important editorial changes were made in the Scott Catalogue based on his research. The first evidence of these changes was seen in the 1995 Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps, most importantly in the clarification of the listing of Scott 211B, the 2ф Washington "special printing."

It was my intention to review all of Mr. Mooz's articles on the special printings for this year's Scott Specialized Catalogue, for I did not want to overlook any portion of the research he has done as it touches the Scott listings. This response is a good way for me to rework and reconsider these articles and put my findings and thoughts on paper, as Mr . Mooz has done with his suggestions. I think the results may be useful not only in indicating what changes are likely to be seen for 1998 for these stamps, but, more importantly, they may be useful in explaining to interested readers why some changes are considered appropriate and others not. We can also consider the various listing practices and policies of the Scott Catalogue that come into play but are not always understood by some collectors or dealers.

In responding to Mr. Mooz's suggestions, it may be useful to handle the stamp issues in the order presented in the Feb. 1997 Mooz article. I believe the relevant facts and interpretations will unfold quite adequately following this format. For the reader to get the most out of what follows, it is highly recommended that the Feb. 1997 Chronicle article by Mr. Mooz, and all of his earlier articles, beginning in Feb. 1992, be handy for consultation as we proceed.

## 14 1869 Reprint (Scott 123, 133 and 133a)

Changes in the numbers issued of Nos. 123, 133 and 133a were made in the 1995 Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps based on a review of the Mooz data. The question now is, are further changes appropriate based on another view of the data? The Scott cataloging tradition is to list the first date of an issue, not necessarily to list the dates of all reprintings. If it could be shown incontrovertibly that the $1 \phi$ buff of the American Bank Note Co., Scott 133, was printed in 1881, as Mooz asserts (Chronicle, Feb. 1994), then this information could be inserted, along with 1880, as a date of printing of the 14 brown orange, Scott 133a. However, I have reviewed the Mooz data and assumptions concerning data, and I remain unconvinced that it is incontrovertible that the printings occurred as Mooz states. Forgetting about the necessity of making many assumptions concerning data, is it logical to suppose that, in an age of imperfect color matching, the American Bank Note Co. could print a stamp in 1880 in brown orange, fail to match that
shade in an 1881 reprinting (buff), and then match it so perfectly in an 1882 reprinting that not even the most advanced philatelists can differentiate the two brown orange printings?

But let's get practical for a moment. We all know that editorial matter and catalogue values in the Scott catalogue can influence actual stamp values. If we cannot know with absolute certainty how many of each shade of Nos. 133 and 133a were printed, is it perhaps more helpful to simply give the total number printed of both shades and let the marketplace determine values? We have adopted that approach in this case.

Incidentally, the years I used in the paragraph above are taken from Mooz's suggestions in his Feb. 1994 article. I now note that the years presented in the Feb. 1997 article are different. Here it is suggested that 1880 was the year of printing of the buff stamp (Scott 133) and 1881 and 1882 the years of printing of the brown orange stamp (Scott 133a). Is this a typographical error, or has Mr. Mooz reworked his data and assumptions and come up with a new ordering?

Finally, Scott refrains from giving separate listings to items that are not distinguishable from other listed items. The reference here is to the suggestion that two listings (and catalogue values?) be given to two printings of the brown orange Scott 133a, even though it is acknowledged that the items are indistinguishable. This does not seem helpful in a practical sense, and probably would be misleading to most collectors, who would feel that they should be able to go out and have the potential to buy what Scott lists. This is a logical assumption, and, in fact, this logic is the basis for Scott not listing items that are not known to exist, are indistinguishable from other items, or exist only in museum collections. These types of items could be footnoted, but they are never knowingly listed with catalogue numbers. This subject comes up later and even more forcefully when we discuss the Scott 211B special printing,

## 5¢ Garfield Special Printing (Scott 205C)

Concerning Scott 205C, the 5ф Garfield special printing of 1882, Mr. Mooz simply suggests that the figure of 2,463 issued stamps be inserted in the catalogue. That sounds easy enough, for that indeed seems to be the number of stamps that the Office of the 3rd Assistant Postmaster General actually sold. But what a misleading insertion this would be. How could a stamp that was issued in a quantity of 2,463 have a catalogue value of $\$ 19,000$ ? In fact, that was the question the original Chronicle Mooz article of Feb. 1992 set out to answer. And an interesting and insightful article it is. What I cannot understand is how Mr. Mooz, after writing this wonderful article, can suggest inserting the printing figure of 2,463 into the catalogue. Isn't the point of the 1992 article that these $5 \phi$ Garfield stamps now accepted as genuine special printings actually represent a tiny fraction of those sold as special printings? Doesn't the article imply (no doubt correctly) that the majority of "special printings" of this stamp were indistinguishable from the regular issue? How many $5 \phi$ Garfields were sold of the type currently accepted as genuine examples of the special printing? The truth of the matter is that no one knows, but it certainly was a very small number. It is the Scott position that the collector or dealer is best served by not having an official but essentially meaningless (and very misleading) figure of stamps sold installed in the catalogue for the $5 ¢$ Garfield special printing.

## 2¢ Washington Special Printing (Scott 211B)

In his Feb. 1997 Chronicle article, Mr. Mooz states, "The Scott catalogue now assigns this Scott number to a special trial printing by a steam press." That is true. "The problem," states Mooz in his original Aug. 1993 Chronicle article on this stamp, "is that the special printing and the steam press printing have not been properly identified, separated, and individually catalogued, and consequently seem to have been confused, commingled, and combined under a single listing in the Scott catalogue. . . . Because of this confusion . . . both may be listed under the Scott designation of 211B. The result is that when one purchases a copy of Scott 211B, one does not know whether it is one of the 55 copies
of the 1883 special printing or one of the more common 1885 steam press stamps." There has been confusion regarding this stamp, and I am sure that the average collector has little or no understanding of the history of this stamp issue or its Scott listing. However, rather than the commingling or combining of listings Mooz alludes to, in fact the steam press stamp has been the only special printing $2 \phi$ Washington stamp listed in the catalogue since approximately 1903 (the stamp was not even listed until 1901). I think all students of these issues, including Mr. Mooz, know that the Scott catalogue has listed the steam press stamps as the special printing for the entire period of its listing, save only perhaps in the 1901 and 1902 editions when the imperforate between pair was not yet listed. The Philatelic Foundation, to my knowledge, has never issued a certificate for a Scott 211B that does not conform to the steam press impression and shade. Nor is there reason to believe that the original $18832 \notin$ special printing, of which it is true only 55 were sold, has an appearance that would be confused with the steam press stamps. In fact, what we know of these stamps would seem to indicate the original special printing must at least have been in a different shade, if not also with a slightly different impression. So the editorial changes made to this listing in the 1995 Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps were designed simply to make the facts of this listing more clear and unequivocal. They did not change the actual listing at all.

The history of Scott numbering for the $2 \not \subset$ Washington and $4 \not \subset$ Jackson special printings essentially reads as a case history of catalogue number refinement and maintenance. First appearing in the 1901 Scott Catalogue, these stamps were given what today would be called minor numbers, "211a" and "211b." Neither stamp was valued. In 1902, the numbers were changed to major numbers, "211A" and "211B." Scott 211B (the 4ф Jackson at this time) was valued at $\$ 25$. Scott 211A (the $2 \notin$ Washington) was left unvalued. Then, in 1903, Scott 211A had a minor listing "a" added, referring to the horizontal pair imperforate between. This broke a Scott listing rule that a major and minor number cannot have the same letter designation. Inexplicably, the 1904 catalogue returned to a " 211 a " (minor) listing style for the basic $2 \phi$ special printing, with an additional lower-case " $a$ " sub-listing for the pair imperforate between. Now the Scott rules were really broken, for then we had two different items with the same Scott number. (Proper Scott designation is to drop the letter connected to a major number before applying a minor designation. This rule is regularly disregarded or not understood by many. For example, the correct current designation for the pair imperforate between is Scott 211c, not Scott 211Bc.)

1905 saw no change, but the dual number discrepancy was corrected in the 1906 catalogue by designating the single "special printing" Scott 211b and assigning Scott 211c to the horizontal pair imperforate between. The $4 \notin$ Jackson now had to become Scott 211d. Finally, in 1915, the housekeeping was completed when the minor letter designations were changed to majors, and we see the current numbers for the first time: Scott 211B, 211c and 211D.

So, is the original $2 \notin$ special printing lost to history? For now, no one is able to describe differences from the regularly issued Scott 210 sufficiently enough to allow identification. What does "historical accuracy" demand of the Scott catalogue? I would argue that what is required is exactly what is in the listings now. The footnote to Scott 211B states clearly that there are records of "an 1883 delivery and sale of 55 copies of the $2 \not \subset$ red brown stamp, but there is no clear evidence that these can be differentiated from no gum examples of No. 210." I believe this adequately states the facts, and it gets the existence of these 1883 special printings into the catalogue record.

Why not give the unidentifiable 1883 stamp a separate major catalogue listing? For the same reason that stamps that are only found in museums or stamps that are not distinguishable from other listed stamps are given only footnotes at the most. The Scott Catalogue is a listing of stamps potentially available to collectors in the philatelic marketplace. A stamp that is not identifiable is not available. The recent history of Scott 164, the
$24 \not \subset$ Continental Bank Note printing, is consistent with the policy just outlined. At one time, the $24 \varnothing$ was listed, but not valued, with a footnote explanation that it should exist but hadn't been identified. That listing was removed in 1972, consistent with Scott listing policy, but the footnote remained. It was only after the Philatelic Foundation identified a ribbed paper copy of the $24 ¢$ as a Continental printing and certified it as genuine that the listing was returned to the catalogue. If means are ever found to identify an original 1883 $2 \notin$ Washington special printing, a new major number designation will be warranted.

## 1¢ Agriculture Special Printing (Scott O1SD and O1SDc)

For this stamp, I think a minor alteration in the Scott listing may be in order. As noted by Mooz in his Nov. 1994 Chronicle article, Admiral Combs established that the ribbed paper variety of this stamp, Scott O1SDc, had a printing of 10,000 , and presumably was completely sold. We can accept that, and we will place a "numbers issued" of 10,000 after that stamp.

That would leave 10,234 as the number issued of Scott O1SD, the hard paper variety. Here things get a little sticky. The final 234 of these stamps were printed by the American Bank Note Co., apparently in 1883. As noted by Mooz, "Positive identification of the $1 申$ American Bank Note Company . . . printing has yet to be made, and scholars are divided into two camps." Some believe this 1883 American Bank Note Co. printing already is listed by Scott as No. O94. Others believe it is a form of Scott O1SD, but on an intermediate soft paper. As noted by Mooz, "Suffice it to say that a positive identification has yet to be made, and that only approximately 234 of this . . printing were sold."

In this case, a catalogue editor has to figure out the best way to handle such ambiguity. Since positive identification has not yet been made by scholars, this item cannot be given a separate catalogue listing. The reasons for and logic of this position have been outlined earlier in this article. If the 234 American Bank Note Co. stamps are currently identified by the Scott Catalogue as Scott O94 (soft porous paper, no "SPECIMEN" overprint), then not only is another listing not warranted, but this quantity also should be subtracted from the quantity of Scott O1SD printed and sold. Fortunately, in this case the number sold was very small, so a compromise can be reached. The 234 can be added to the 10,000 known copies of Scott O1SD that were sold, for a total of 10,234 . That is the figure that would be left once the 10,000 ribbed paper varieties are separated from the current figure for the total number of all O1SD stamps sold. Until there is scholarly agreement that these 234 American Bank Note Co. stamps can be identified positively, it would seem best to group them with the basic, non-ribbed $1 \notin$ Agriculture special printing.

## 1¢ Executive Special Printing (Scott O10SD, O10SDb, and O10xSD)

Mr. Mooz suggests clarifying the listings by breaking down the quantity sold per issue and adding 1881 as the date of issue of the American Bank Note Co. $1 \varnothing$ Executive. Here I can agree with Mr. Mooz's suggestions right down the line. Did I not see this Nov. 1994 article the first time around? Possibly. We will install the figures and dates correctly noted and thank Mr. Mooz for his reminder.

## 1¢ Justice Special Printing (Scott O25SD and O25SDc)

Once again, I will accept the figures given by Mr. Mooz, since the breakdown should be helpful for philatelists concerned with the relative scarcity of the varieties. But, to be absolutely honest, can we really know that 10,000 belongs with Scott O25SD and 9,729 with Scott O25SDc? Do we know for sure that all 10,000 of the first 1875 printing were sold before the 10,000 ribbed paper stamps of the second 1875 printing were received? Do we know that any unsold panes from the first shipment were placed on top of panes from the second shipment to be sold first, or were second shipment panes placed on top of first shipment panes? In the latter case, these first shipment stamps would be those that were unsold and destroyed at the end of the sales program in 1884. I mention these ambiguities
just in case any readers think we finally have hit upon a subject that can be separated absolutely into right or wrong, black or white.

## 1¢ Navy Special Printing (Scott O35SD and O35xSD)

The figures of 10,000 stamps sold of Scott O35SD and 4,182 stamps sold of Scott O35xSD can be accepted with the same warning against absolute certainty as outlined above. Again, the figures are more useful broken down this way to give a picture of relative scarcity. To those who would support the current Scott practice of simply saying that 14,182 were sold of Scott O35SD and O35xSD combined (absolutely correct) versus the proposed plan of showing 10,000 sold of Scott O35SD and 4,182 sold of Scott O35xSD (probably correct), I would simply answer that knowing the former was sold in approximately twice the quantity of the latter is the more important piece of information for the catalogue to impart. Some may disagree, and I understand that.

## 1¢ State Department Special Printing (Scott O57SD, O57SDc, and 057xSD)

The same arguments and logic exist for these changes as for those regarding the other official special printings. There is more risk with the $1 \notin$ State Dept. American Bank Note Co. stamp, Scott O57xSD, because many of these apparently were destroyed and comparatively fewer sold. If all 5,000 of the American Bank Note Co. stamps were placed on the tops of the existing stocks to be sold, it theoretically is possible that all 5,000 of this last printing could have been sold, the stamps destroyed being one of the other varieties, either O57SD or O57SDc. The current catalogue value of O57xSD, however, formed over many decades of trading in the marketplace, would tend to support the 1,672 figure as being the correct number sold. Interestingly, we also have support for this belief from the records of another official special printing, the $1 \notin$ War Dept., Scott O83SD. As pointed out by Mooz in his May 1995 Chronicle article, it is known that 5,000 copies of this stamp were purchased from the American Bank Note Co. in 1881, along with the $1 \notin$ Navy, $1 \phi$ Executive, and others. All of these certainly were on soft porous paper. 5,390 of the total of 15,000 examples produced by both the Continental Bank Note Co. and American Bank Note Co. were destroyed at the end of the sales program in 1884. Theoretically, some of the American Bank Note Co. 1ф War Dept. stamps could have been sold, yet none ever has been found, and the stamp is not listed by Scott. This strongly suggests that the new American Bank Note Co. stocks of 1881 were placed on the bottom of the stacks of stamps to be sold.

## 5¢ 1865 Newspaper and Periodical Reprint (Scott PR5 and PR8)

I have examined the changes that were made to the listings of these stamps after my first review of Mr. Mooz's Nov. 1993 Chronicle article, and I see no reason to make further substantive changes. Mooz indicates in his 1993 article that it is not definitely known if the two American Bank Note Co. printings of Scott PR8 can be distinguished, but strongly suggests that the color of the second printing may be different. He suggests a new listing for the Feb. 1884 printing, but offers no conclusive method to differentiate the printings. In no case would a second printing based on a new printing date alone be included as a separate listing in the Scott Specialized Catalogue. If you will imagine for a moment what such a listing policy would mean for thousands upon thousands of stamps in the catalogue, it is mind boggling. Imagine definitive stamps reprinted ten times over a twenty year period, most in indistinguishable shades but now given separate listings and catalogue values. The pandemonium that would result among collectors and dealers would be a sight to see (but, as catalogue editor, I would rather not be around to see it).

It is quite conceivable that a major shade difference could receive a minor listing under Scott PR8, and Mooz's work indicates strongly that a bright blue shade exists that would complement the dark blue shade already listed. I will be checking examples of Scott PR8 at stamp shows to establish the basis for a possible minor listing. Better yet, I would
urge interested parties who own Scott PR8 in significantly different shades to send them to me at Scott Publishing Co. for inspection. As to which shade might be the 1881 printing and which the 1884 printing, there is no way to tell with certainty at the present time. We are back to our by-now-familiar question of whether new stock was placed on top of, or under, old stock. And now we have the 1884 receipt of new stocks with which to deal, and we have no clue as to how these were handled. In truth, we do not know in this case, and thus we would not place dates beside shade listings unless conclusive proof is brought forward.

## 2¢ 1875 Newspaper and Periodical Special Printing (Scott PR33 and PR80) and $3 ¢ 1875$ Newspaper and Periodical Special Printing (Scott PR34)

Is my face red now. Obviously, I have been remiss in not making the obvious changes here that are necessary to bring accuracy to the listings and make them consistent with the same types of items in the officials special printings. The suggested listing designations for the ribbed paper stamps will be implemented, and the quantities issued of each type will be inserted.

## 14 Postage Due Special Printing (Scott J8)

Mr. Mooz is absolutely correct that 9,420 examples of this stamp were sold, rather than the 4,420 currently shown in the catalogue. This change will be made. The stamp has a catalogue value of $\$ 6,250$. Where are all of these stamps? This sounds like a possible topic for another interesting article by Mr. Mooz: "Why is This Stamp (Scott J8) So Expensive?"

## 1¢ Franklin and 1¢ Eagle Carrier Reprints (Scott LO3, LO4, LO5 and LO6)

The carrier reprints are preceded by two paragraphs of notes in the Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps that explain away some of the facts presented by Mr. Mooz. It will take a bit of thought and consultation to decide what information, if any, should be transferred from mere notes into more specialized listings, and what additional information might be included in the notes. Do not expect any major changes for the 1998 catalogue. Interested parties who have knowledge and opinions about these stamps and their catalogue listings are invited to contact the Scott Catalogue Editor.

Why are the imperforate Franklins and Eagles called reprints while the perforated stamps are called special printings? Researching the evolution of these listings, my feeling is that the imperforates are called reprints because they were made in the same format as the original stamps, whereas the perforated varieties, not being produced imperforate as were the originals, were considered by previous Scott editors to best be called special printings in the broadest sense of that term. Until someone convinces me that a different designation is more appropriate for the perforated stamps, I am happy to abide by the decisions made by my predecessors. Certainly the term reprint is the correct term for the imperforates.

The research performed over the years by Mr. Mooz has certainly been beneficial for philately, and one benefit has been the incorporation of much new, more accurate and more useful information into the Scott Catalogue. Some of Mr. Mooz's articles, such as "Why Is This Stamp Rare?" (Chronicle, Feb. 1992) and "Why Is This Stamp (The Two Cent Washington Scott 211B) Not Rare?" (Chronicle, Aug. 1993), I personally find to be jewels of philatelic writing. I hope this response to Mr. Mooz's remaining suggestions for Scott Catalogue revisions has indicated to some extent the complex nature of some of the listing and other decisions a catalogue editor faces. The deeper we get into many questions, the more obvious it gets that there are facts, there are opinions, there are assumptions, there are policies, and there are many ways in which all of these things intertwine. The catalogue editor's job is to produce listings, notes and values that are both factually correct and as helpful as possible to the largest possible number of catalogue users. It is not quite as straightforward as many would believe.

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## THE 1847 PERIOD

JEROME S. WAGSHAL, Editor

## THE ART OF STANLEY B. ASHBROOK AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE ASHBROOK DIAGRAMS OF THE TEN CENT 1847 "POST OFFICE SHIFT" $\bigcirc$ © JEROME S. WAGSHAL

Stanley B. Ashbrook was without a doubt the greatest artistic talent in classic U.S. philately. There is no close second. However, his was not the genius of original creation. Rather, Ashbrook based his work on the designs created about a century earlier by the engravers of Rawdon, Wright, Hatch, \& Edson, the company which produced the 1847 issue, and Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear \& Co., producers of the 1851 issue. Taking the flawed and sometimes downright incompetent siderographic efforts of those two firms, he translated them into art.

I well remember the first time I thumbed through Volume 1 of Ashbrook's 1938 treatise on The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857, and saw his breathtaking drawings of the complex plate varieties of that issue, such as the inverted transfers of Plate 1 early and late, and the triple transfer of Plate 11. These intricate drawings with their precise, delicate lines are more than the product of scholarly research and good drafting. In my opinion they are the most esthetically pleasing of any philatelic illustrations ever made.

Ashbrook's involvement with the 1847 issue is less well known than his work on the One Cent 1851-1857 stamp. His One Cent 1851-1857 treatise was disseminated under his own name, and it became his hallmark. Ashbrook's research on the 1847 issue, although appearing in publications well known to serious students, never was brought together in a single comprehensive volume, and his work on the 1847 issue is overshadowed by Elliott Perry's accomplishment in plating the Ten Cent stamp. Thus Ashbrook's master drawings of the plate varieties of the 1847 issue are less familiar to the philatelic public than his illustrations of the 1851-1857 One Cent stamp.

Nevertheless, Ashbrook's illustrations of the 1847 issue plate varieties embody the same artistic skill as those of the One Cent stamp. As a base, Ashbrook prepared plating mats of both the Five Cent and Ten Cent denominations, and these mats are in themselves magnificent renderings. I have never seen an explanation of how he created these beautiful mats, but they appear to be accurate in every detail. They are so faithful to each line of the original designs of the two denominations that I suspect Ashbrook may have used a combination of photography, of which he was also a master, and his skill with the pen to create them.

Using those mats, Ashbrook illustrated plate varieties of each of the two 1847 denominations with such skill and accuracy that the eight diagrams of 1847 double transfers in the Scott U.S. Specialized Catalogue-the A, B, C and D major double transfers of each denomination-have been based on them since 1936. ${ }^{1}$ As to the Five Cent denomination, Ashbrook acknowledged that his drawings of the four double transfers were the basis of the diagrams in the catalogue. ${ }^{2}$ I have found no similar claim by Ashbrook with respect to

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Figure 1. The Brookman Mat (photo by Dattilo)


Figure 2. Estate Mat 2 (photo by Dattilo)


Figure 3. Estate Mat 3 (photo by Dattilo)
the four Ten Cent diagrams, but all the circumstances point to Ashbrook's work being the basis of the Ten Cent diagrams as well.

About 11 years after these eight double transfer diagrams first appeared in the Scott catalogue, similar illustrations of all eight were published in the first edition (1947) of the Brookman treatise. ${ }^{3}$ However, Ashbrook's participation in Brookman's treatise did not extend beyond Brookman's first edition. In the slightly more than a decade between Brookman's 1947 first edition and Ashbrook's death in 1958, Ashbrook of course continued his study of the 1847 issue and produced additional 1847 issue plate position renderings, but none of these were added in Brookman's second edition. (I do not know what arrangements led to the inclusion of Ashbrook's diagrams in Brookman's first edition, but it probably was a gratuitous courtesy. In 1965 Lester Brookman called and asked me for some photographs of my New York Foreign Mail cancels of the Bank Note era for his second edition, and I was happy to accommodate him. These illustrations appear in Volume 3 of Brookman's second edition. Brookman never offered payment, and I never suggested it. However, after 1947, when Brookman first published Ashbrook's drawings, Ashbrook worked as a professional philatelist, and it may be that Brookman's appreciation for gratuitous assistance was not sufficient inducement for Ashbrook to continue his participation in Brookman's work.) Whatever the reason, Ashbrook's diagrams in the first Brookman edition were simply republished in Brookman's 1966 second edition without change, and were not supplemented by Ashbrook's post-1947 work.

Luckily for philately, much of Ashbrook's artwork depicting the 1847 issue has survived. And this surviving work includes inkings on mats of many positions of both denominations in addition to those illustrated in Brookman. The body of this original artwork constitutes one of my most treasured philatelic holdings.

Of all of these beautiful Ashbrook drawings, I regard Ashbrook's rendering of the intricate and complex Ten Cent 1847 "POST OFFICE" shift as his most impressive work.

The Ten Cent 1847 "POST OFFICE" shift, position 31 right, is a siderographic error of massive proportions. The residual evidence of the first transfer is far greater than on any other position of either denomination of the 1847 issue. The "POST OFFICE" shift ranks in the hierarchy of classic U.S. double transfers with the One Cent 1851 positions 7R1E and 99R2; invidious comparisons among these three serve no purpose. Moreover, the dramatic "POST OFFICE" shift doubtless was the model for that ingenious bit of fakery known as the "Knapp Shift," which was once thought by some, including Ashbrook, to be a true production variety, but is now generally conceded to be a philatelic forgery.

The original mat of Ashbrook's drawing of the "POST OFFICE" shift as published in the original Brookman edition, p. 61 of Vol. 1. is illustrated here as Figure 1. (Note: Ashbrook labeled it as double transfer "C" as it was listed in Scott's U.S. Specialized at the time he made it. In 1956, the Scott classification of the Ten Cent double transfers changed and position 31R was given its present listing as double transfer "B."4) The illustration is a beautiful piece of philatelic artistry. However, there is more to the story, and for clarity in the telling I will refer to Figure 1 as "the Brookman Mat."

Ashbrook was not content with the single effort at depicting the "POST OFFICE" shift as embodied in the Brookman Mat. He returned twice more to this subject, and those two additional renderings passed, with the Brookman Mat, to a major 1847 collector in the

[^2]sale of Ashbrook's estate, and many years later to me. They are illustrated in Figures 2, and 3, and I will refer to these as the "Estate Mats," and individually as "Estate Mat 2" (Figure 2) and "Estate Mat 3" (Figure 3), respectively. As far as I am aware these two Ashbrook works have never previously been published. By the vehicle of this article I am pleased to share them with the philatelic community, because of their beauty and the added knowledge they provide about the configuration of the "POST OFFICE" shift.

Unfortunately, illustrations of these mats will not fully convey the beauty of the originals. The mat design is about 4.5 by 5.5 inches, and is printed in a light greenish gray on stiff artist's board. The doubled lines are added, with Ashbrook's sure, errorless strokes of what appears to be India ink. Those who, like me, have tried to do a plating diagram will appreciate the high order of skill, going beyond mere draftsmanship, embodied in these masterful drawings. Just as a print of a great painting, regardless of how accurate it may be, cannot convey the beauty or power of the original, so, too, black and white reproductions of these mats cannot fully convey the esthetic qualities of the originals.

Why did Ashbrook do two additional drawings of the same subject? Although the definitive answer rests in the grave with Mr. Ashbrook, it is an interesting subject for speculation. For one thing, it is a familiar pattern that artists sometimes return repeatedly to a subject which they have previously rendered, particularly one they have painted successfully. This is even true of the greatest artists, as, for example, Van Gogh and his sunflowers. I do not equate Ashbrook's talent with the manic genius of Van Gogh, or, indeed, any recognized master of graphic art, but perhaps the psychology of repetition is similar.

Then, too, there is the subject. Ashbrook was understandably fascinated by this enormous plate variety. There is much to study in the extensive doubling of this flawed bit of siderography. Perhaps when additional copies became available to him, namely, the two examples shown in photographs at the center of the two Estate Mats, Ashbrook sought to determine whether there were any differences among different examples of this variety. In addition, he may have been spurred on by his effort of years earlier to authenticate the "Knapp Shift" for his friend Edward Knapp.

It is my impression that each of Ashbrook's three renderings was done independently of the other two, and each was based on a different example of the "POST OFFICE" shift. It must be assumed that the stamps on which Estate Mats 2 and 3 were based are the ones shown in the photographs hinged in the center of each mat. I don't know where these two pen-canceled examples are, but if the owner of either reads this article he will learn that his ostensibly unremarkable copy has a distinguished pedigree.

Careful comparison of these three mats suggests that the Brookman Mat may have been Ashbrook's first rendering because it lacks a number of marks which are present in the other two. Among the most noticeable of these are two marks in the lower half of the "S" of "U S." These marks are on the variety itself, and, though absent from the Brookman Mat, are on the two Estate Mats. Also noteworthy is the fact that these two marks are present on the diagram in the Scott U.S. Specialized Catalogue, thus indicating that the Brookman mat was not the one on which the catalogue diagram was based. Additional differences between the Brookman Mat and the two Estate Mats include the following:

- there is a fine vertical line outside the left frame line extending from a point below the left trifoliate to a point just above the lower left "X," and this, too, is not shown on the Brookman Mat but is on the other two.
- the Brookman Mat shows a single curved line of doubling at the upper right of the "O" of "OFFICE." However, the two Estate Mats correctly show a second smaller curved line nestled inside the larger one.
- a very subtle addition in the two Estate Mats consists of a doubling of the horizontal background shading lines just to the right of the top half of the lower right " X ," and extending just outside the right border of these lines on the final transfer.
- On the Brookman Mat the two short, thick lines of doubling running from each of the two upper corners of the first " F " of "OFFICE" are horizontal. They are in fact vertical in the variety itself and are correctly shown on both Estate Mats.

The interested reader can by careful comparison find other differences between the Brookman Mat and the two Estate Mats, all of which tend to show greater accuracy in details in the Estate Mats, and hence the value of their being published as a gentle correction or supplement to the Brookman diagram.

Differences also exist between the two Estate Mats themselves. Consider, for example the horizontal bar extending from the middle of the stem of the second " F " of "OFFICE." Estate Mat 2 shows this extension separated from the stem by a vertical line and this line is missing from the Estate Mat 3 drawing. And the rendering of the doubled cross hatching of the background of the vignette in the colorless oval surrounding the vignette is different in the two Estate Mats. These minor variations demonstrate that the evidence of a prior transfer on position 31R is far more extensive than has previously been shown, and a completely accurate drawing may have to be assembled from a composite of the two Estate Mats.

Which of the three mats was the basis of the Scott catalogue diagram? Certainly not the Brookman Mat, which lacks numerous markings found on the catalogue diagram. ${ }^{5}$ Though Estate Mat 2 appears to be the closer of the two to the U.S. Specialized diagram, that mat also shows tiny differences from the catalogue diagram.

Could there have been a fourth "POST OFFICE" shift specially crafted by Ashbrook for the Scott Publishing Company's catalogues starting in 1936? James E. Kloetzel, Editor of the Scott catalogues, has informed me that no such treasure is to be found in the files of the company. ${ }^{6}$ That fact leads to a rumor which has been current in the philatelic community for many years regarding the philatelic files of the late Eugene N. Costales. Mr. Costales was the Scott catalogue editor until leaving in the 1960s. It is said that he had voluminous files of philatelic material acquired over the years, including during his tour at Scott, which he regarded as his personal property and which were later sold in a private transaction. The buyer has never been identified, and the Costales files have never appeared since then. If anyone knows their location, and could make them available for study, that would be a great service to philatelic scholarship.

It is commonly believed that Ashbrook's long term objective was to incorporate his research on the 1847 issue in a volume which would have complimented his works on the One Cent, Ten Cent, and Twelve Cent 1851-1857 issues. He was not spared the time to complete that work. It is, however, gratifying that the beautiful artwork that he did do which may have been intended for this objective has been preserved to help illuminate the way for those who seek to carry on his studies.

[^3]
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# THE CHICAGO PERFORATIONS <br> © 1997 W. WILSON HULME, II 

## Introduction

This article shares new information concerning the Chicago Perforations, including details of how the perforating machine worked. It amends the previously published solution and provides a census and analysis of known items. Previous writers have treated the Chicago Perforations as an isolated topic of study. However, I believe they cannot be understood without placing them in context with government efforts to obtain perforating machinery for U.S. postage stamps.

This article represents one part of a broad-based research project dealing with the development of perforations on U.S. stamps in the 1850s. That research is intended to improve understanding of both private and official perforations. In this undertaking I received tremendous support from a number of collectors who generously lent items for analysis and plating. The result has been to obtain a "critical mass" of many rare perforations, including all known copies of some unofficial varieties. These collectors also shared their knowledge and analytical skills, contributing immeasurably to the project.

I have been fortunate to locate unpublished documents from sources such as the National Archives, the Bemrose family, and major libraries. This includes correspondence with Bemrose and Sons regarding the purchase of a perforating machine by Toppan, Carpenter \& Company. In 1898, five letters from this correspondence were published by E.D. Bacon and F.H. Napier. ${ }^{1}$ Subsequently, these letters were reprinted and analyzed by a number of writers including Chase ${ }^{2}$ and Boggs. ${ }^{3}$ With only five letters of "source data," writers had to assume facts not available. The newly located correspondence fills in the missing details.

## Overview

Collectors have known of Chicago Perforations (hereafter referred to as Chicago Perfs) for many years because their $12^{1 / 2}$ gauge is quite different from the $15^{1 / 2}$ gauge of the government perforated stamps. These perforations are found on $1 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ stamps of the U.S. 1851 issue, commonly postmarked from Chicago in 1856 or 1857.

Early philatelic authors speculated about the source of these perforations. The most popular theory was that they were trials made by the U.S. Post Office to test how the public would react to perforated stamps. A frequently mentioned alternative is that they were trials by the postmaster of Chicago. Neither of these theories nor any other published prior to 1986 was correct.

Jerome S. Wagshal published the solution under the title of "The Origin of the 'Chicago Perfs': A Great Mystery Solved." ${ }^{4}$ He uncovered the key while searching in a government library in 1966, twenty years before he wrote his article. To my knowledge no

[^4]one else found the letters during those twenty years and logically put all the facts together, even though the letters remained in government files. ${ }^{5}$

Wagshal proved that the perforating machine which made these items was built by Elijah W. Hadley, a dentist in Chicago. R.K. Swift, a noted banker and Chicago businessman, was an advocate for Dr. Hadley and tried to convince the U.S. Post Office to purchase Hadley's machine. Additionally, Swift used stamps perforated on Hadley's machine on all his business correspondence.

## Historical Context <br> March 1855 - A Key Month

Before directly discussing the Chicago Perfs, it is necessary to set the stage with events that ultimately bear on the Hadley machine.

In mid-March 1855, Postmaster General Campbell set the wheels in motion to perforate U.S. stamps. He may have previously contemplated perforation, but this was the point when he took decisive action. Several events prompted his decision.

First, the need for stamps was forecast to increase significantly. The law of March 3, 1855, made prepayment of postage mandatory beginning April 1855, and prepayment of postage mandatory by stamps effective January 1, 1856. The prediction proved correct. Usage of stamps of all denominations doubled in two years, and quadrupled by 1861 (Figure 1).

## Annual Quantities of U.S. Postage Stamps Issued



Source: Origin \& Use of Postage Stamps, Stamped Envelopes. Report of A.D. Hazen, Third Assistant Postmaster General, for fiscal year ending June 30, 1878.

Figure 1. Total quantities of U.S. postage stamps issued by year.

[^5]Second, existing methods of separating stamps were inadequate. Separation by scissors was common, but far too slow for busy post offices or large businesses. Many examples can be found where stamps were torn from the sheet, usually by folding and tearing against a straight edge. Some individuals invented alternative methods, evidenced by rouletting in Newbern, North Carolina, and sawtooth separations in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Bergen, New York.

Third, stamps from Great Britain perforated on a machine invented by Henry Archer ${ }^{6}$ were showing up in the U.S. as evidenced by this letter from the National Archives:

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Hon. James Campbell
Postmaster General U.S.
Philada.
6 1 \text { South 6th}
March 15, }185
My dear Sir,
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During my visit to England last year, I was struck while sending [letters] in London with the convenience of the English P.O. Stamps, which are pierced with small holes so as to enable the public to dispense with scissors, knife, or any other implement other than the fingers in separating them from the Sheet. I enclose a set of four upon which the experiment may be tried. It is said, moreover, that the fringe which is formed by the small semi-circles secures a firmer adhesion to the paper. I do not know by what machine the holes are perforated but it must be a simple one such as American ingenuity would easily continue if the English invention is unacceptable. I can hardly doubt that the introduction of the improvement would be generally acceptable and popular, and I should be very glad to see your name associated with it.

Very Truly
Your friend and Servt.
Horace Binney, Jr.
[Docketed]
Horace Binney Jr. regarding the English mode of Separating Stamps
[Docketed, in different handwriting]
March 16, 1855
Answd by P.M. Gnrl. informally
Horace Binney, Jr. and his father were prominent lawyers of their day. More important, they were fellow members of the Philadelphia bar with their friend, Postmaster General (PMG) James A. Campbell, who answered the letter personally (i.e., "informally").

Binney's letter hit its mark. Upon receipt of this letter the PMG (via his Third Assistant) directed Toppan, Carpenter to "look into this matter."

Post Office Department
Finance Office March 16, 1855.
Messrs. Toppan, Carpenter Casilear \& Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gentlemen:
We have frequently been urged of late to adopt the English plan of perforating their stamps so as to render them separable without cutting, and I send you four penny stamps, just received from Horace Binney, Jr. Esq. It is claimed for this plan that they can be separated with the fingers, and that the jagged edges render them more adhesive.

[^6]As prepayment of all inland letters after the 1st proximo, will bring our stamps much more into use, and as the Postmaster General desires as much as practicable to promote the public convenience, he wishes you to look into the matter with the view of adopting the plan of perforating at an early day. Do you know the English process and what it costs? Can we get the requisite machinery here, and what will the process cost us per thousand? You will see that it is done after the stamps are gummed.

> I am very respectfully,
> J. Marron,
> Third Asst. P.M. Genr'l.

## Significant Items from the Bemrose Correspondence

Within a week, Toppan, Carpenter wrote their counterparts (Perkins, Bacon) in Great Britain regarding the Archer machine. From a professional viewpoint, it is not too surprising that Toppan, Carpenter turned to Perkins, Bacon \& Co. In 1819, Jacob Perkins, an American, had gone from Philadelphia to London to bid on the contract for engraving British bank notes. Perkins did not get the contract, but he stayed and founded the engraving firm that became Perkins, Bacon. ${ }^{7}$ Since 1840, Perkins, Bacon had engraved and printed all stamps for Great Britain, and for many British colonies. Since 1851, Toppan, Carpenter had engraved and printed all U.S. stamps. Jacob Perkins invented many of the engraving and printing methods used by both companies.

However, it was on the basis of personal relationships that Toppan, Carpenter felt comfortable in asking advice. Charles Toppan was Perkins's nephew. ${ }^{8}$ He accompanied Jacob Perkins to London in 1819, ${ }^{9}$ and worked as an engraver at Perkins, Bacon until the mid-1820s. Toppan was a personal friend of many Perkins, Bacon employees including Joshua Bacon, Perkins's son-in-law and managing partner. Jacob Perkins died in 1849, but these relationships allowed both companies comfortably to share information on this issue in 1855.

Perkins, Bacon had additional motivation for being helpful. They needed a perforating machine for the British colonial stamps they produced, as the Archer machine could perforate only sheets identical in size and layout to the British stamps. Cost was important due to the comparatively low quantities of colonial stamps issued, and they anticipated they could get a better price if two machines were purchased at the same time.

It would have pained Perkins, Bacon to see Archer's machine adopted by United States' stamp contractor. While building his machine, Archer had tried unsuccessfully to annul Perkins, Bacon's contract for printing British postage stamps. ${ }^{10} \mathrm{He}$ accused Perkins, Bacon of sabotage and prevailed upon the British Post Office to locate his perforating machine at Somerset House, a government facility some distance from Perkins, Bacon. ${ }^{11}$

Toppan, Carpenter wrote to Perkins, Bacon regarding the Archer machine. Perkins, Bacon almost immediately steered Toppan, Carpenter to Bemrose and Sons. They convinced Toppan, Carpenter and themselves the Bemrose machine was significantly less ex-

[^7]pensive to purchase and operate, and it was more flexible in terms of the sheet size that it could accommodate.

The machine purchased by Toppan, Carpenter from Bemrose was a rouletter (i.e., a slitter), not a perforator. Perkins, Bacon purchased a similar machine at the same time in order to get a lower price. The machine ultimately proved to be unsatisfactory, due to mechanical problems and because the paper tended to fall apart after rouletting. Toppan, Carpenter successfully converted their machine to a perforator, but this was an expensive and time-consuming conversion, requiring design changes. Perkins, Bacon never got their machine to work.

Below is a summary of key dates of the correspondence relating to the purchase of the perforating machine by Toppan, Carpenter:

## Table I

| Date | Event |
| :--- | :--- |
| March 24, 1855 | First inquiry by Toppan, Carpenter to <br> Perkins Bacon. |
| September 24, 1855 | Decision by Toppan, Carpenter to purchase <br> rouletter from Bemrose and Sons. |
| October 12, 1855 | Order received by Bemrose. |
| March 22, 1856 | Toppan, Carpenter's machine arrives in <br> New York City. Subsequent testing shows <br> rouletting will not work. The machine is <br> eventually converted into a perforator. |
| February 24, 1857 | First perforated stamps ready for delivery. |
| February 28,1857 | Earliest known use of an officially <br> perforated stamp in U.S. |

## R.K. Swift Contacts the Post Office

With this background, we now return to the Chicago Perforations.
Richard Kellogg Swift was born in Auburn, New York on August 28, 1813. He moved to Chicago in 1839 and soon became a prominent citizen. ${ }^{12}$ His business during his first fifteen years in Chicago was located near Lake and Dearborn Streets (Figure 2). He was a pawnbroker and later a banker. In 1855, he moved to the northwest corner of LaSalle and Randolph (Figure 3), and was doing business as R.K. Swift, Brother, and Johnston. ${ }^{13}$ Swift introduced a system of foreign exchange in Chicago (Figure 4). He was an inventor, having experimented with electricity and sound, among other topics. ${ }^{14}$ At the

[^8]Location of Selected Businesses in Chicago Circa 1856


Figure 2. Business locations of R.K. Swift in Chicago. For the first fifteen years Swift was located near the intersection of Lake and Dearborn. In $\mathbf{1 8 5 5}$ he moved to the northwest corner of Randolph and LaSalle.


Figure 3. R.K. Swift, Bro. \& Johnston was located at the northwest corner of LaSalle and Randolph starting in early 1855. Of interest on the ground floor of the same building is E.S. Wells, another business known to use Chicago Perfs on its mail.

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time of our interest he was a Colonel in the Illinois State Militia, and was promoted to Brigadier-General in March 1857. ${ }^{15}$

Swift wrote his first letter (Figure 5) to the Postmaster General on November 7, 1854, about nine months after the official introduction of perforations in Great Britain:

## R.K. Swift's Foreign \& Domestic Exchange Office Chicago, Nov. 7th 1854

To the
Postmaster General
Washington, D.C.
Dear Sir
I beg to enclose herein as Samples Six Br P.O. Stamps.
You will see they are perforated so as to be easily separated. The perforation is made by machinery \& if the stamps issued by yr Dept. were arranged in the same way it would save much time in separating them.
Yrs tr
R.K. Swift

[Docketing on reverse side]<br>R.K. Swift<br>Sample of British perforated Stamps

Nov. 7, 1854
March 21, 1855
Answered.
Wagshal postulated that the "Br" in the first line was " 3 ct ," ${ }^{16}$ which would imply that Swift was including samples of $3 \not \subset U . S$. stamps. This is not true. Swift was sending samples of British stamps. The correct reading becomes obvious based on the docketing on the reverse side of the letter (Figure 6), which Wagshal didn't see or didn't appreciate.

Wagshal states there was no record of a POD response to this letter, but the docketing shows that to be incorrect. A reply was sent more than four months later, dated March $21,1855,{ }^{17}$ within five days of the PMG directing Toppan, Carpenter to investigate obtaining perforating equipment.

Wagshal's presumption, as reflected in his 1986 article, is that Hadley "probably constructed [his] machine sometime in 1854"; more specifically, Swift was in fact offering this machine for sale in his letter of November 1854. Not stated, but implicit, is that Swift enclosed samples of U.S. $3 \not \subset$ stamps which were perforated by Hadley's machine.

My revised interpretation is that Swift sent samples of British stamps in November 1854, just as Horace Binney, Jr. did with his March 15, 1855, letter. The Postmaster General's response to Swift on March 21, 1855 most likely indicated that he

[^9]

Figure 5. Swift's first letter to the post office dated November 7, 1854, about nine months after perforations were officially introduced in Great Britain.


Figure 6. Portion of docketing on the reverse side of Swift's first letter, showing this letter, dated November 7th, 1854, contained British perforated stamps A reply was sent nearly four months later, but within a few days of the PMG directing Toppan, Carpenter to investigate perforation of U.S. stamps.
had directed Toppan, Carpenter to investigate obtaining equipment. This letter sufficiently appealed to their entrepreneurial spirit to lead Swift and Hadley to build a machine and bid on the contract. As we will see, a prototype perforating machine was available in June 1855 and a full scale model was completed the following year.

The Post Office notified Toppan, Carpenter of Swift's interest, as seen in the following two letters, which were not available to Wagshal. It is clear that there was a preference for the proven Archer machine, if it could be obtained. The underlining of the word "model" in the second letter was done by S.H. Carpenter.

Post Office Department Finance Office, March 29,1855.
Gentlemen:
I enclose the answer of the Commissioner of Patents to my letter of the 20th inst. In relating to perforating machinery. It seems they have nothing for our purpose. I enclose, also a letter from a Mr. R.K. Swift of Chicago on that subject. We know nothing more of Mr. Swift than the accompanying handbill or advertisement indicates.

The Postmaster General does not wish you to commit yourself to any one for perforating the stamps without first communicating with the Department and receiving its sanction. All that is wanted at present is to ascertain if the thing can be well done and upon what terms.
J.F. Crowell, of New York, will probably address you himself, or refer to you a person who professes to have the English patent, and there will be other parties who may put themselves in communicating with you, but you will of course make no engagement with any of them until the Postmaster General shall direct it.

We sent yesterday a requisition for three and ten cent stamps. We do not suppose that the latter are yet ready, but if they are, so much the better.

Very respectfully, Your Obedient Servant,
J. Marron,

Third Asst P.M. Gen'l.
Messrs. Toppan, Carpenter Casilear \& Co. Philadelphia, Pa.
[Excerpt ${ }^{18}$ ]
Philadelphia, April 12, 1855.
J. Marron, Esqr.

Dear Sir:
I have had two communications from Mr. Crowell, but in consequence of the absence from the City of the gentleman who has the control of the machine, he is not prepared to make any proposition, but hopes to do so in about 10 days. I have also another communication from Mr. Swift (of Chicago) in which he promises to furnish a model of his machine "in a few weeks." I place more reliance however on my efforts "over the water" and where they have a machine actually in operation and can speak knowingly \& from actual experience. My son in law sailed for England in the Africa, ${ }^{19}$ and he has special instructions to make every necessary enquiry and obtain a clear knowledge of the whole subject and will devote all the time that may be necessary to the investigation, and unless the matter is a "Government secret", I have no doubt he will be able to furnish me with satisfactory information in regard to the whole matter. I presume therefore that in the course of a month I shall be able to communicate to you something definite in regard to the perforation of Postage stamps.

I am very Respectfully,<br>Your Obt Svt<br>S.H. Carpenter

[^10]
# DR. E. W. HADLEY, IDI卫IN"I["]E" 

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Figure 7. Advertisement for Dr. E.W. Hadley, Dentist, from an 1856 City Directory. Hadley's address at 88 Lake Street is less than one block from where Swift's business was located during his first fifteen years in Chicago.

## The Prototype Machine

Elijah Wells Hadley now enters the picture. Hadley was born in New Hampshire on April 25, 1814. In 1838, he became one of Chicago's early dentists. Hadley's business was located at the northeast corner of Lake and Dearborn, less than a block from where Swift's business was located for nearly fifteen years (Figures 2, 7). While looking for biographical material on Hadley, I spoke to several dentists who believe that many dentists are by their nature inventors. ${ }^{20}$ Perhaps this spirit matched up well with Swift who, as discussed, liked to "invent," and it helps to explain why a dentist would get involved. ${ }^{21}$

R. K. SWIFT.


The second Swift letter is the one which clearly provides the linkage of Hadley and Swift to the Chicago Perforations. Swift has developed a model, just as he told Toppan, Carpenter he would:

[^11]To the 3d Assistant
Postmaster
Washington D.C.
Dr Sir
I addressed you some months since in relation to the above matter.
I now enclose herewith Samples of perforated Stamps \& paper. Those marked A \& B were Done by E.W. Hadley of this city with very simple machines which he constructed himself. They are now fitted to be worked by hand but can be arranged to be worked either by hand or steam \& sold at a cost of about $\$ 500$. The machine which cut the Sample marked B is the second machine made by Mr. Hadley \& he says it works with much less power than the one which perforated the round holes in the sample marked "A". The cost of making either machine will be about the same to wit $\$ 500$.
Please return me the Samples or in lieu thereof a like number of other P.O. Stamps.
Mr. Archer of London the Patentee of the English P.O. Stamp perforator has written me that his charge for his machine delivered in London will be $£ 1250$. it is worked by steam \& requires a good Deal of power to work it.
I also enclose Sample "C" which I rec'd of Mr. Archer.
Yrs tr
R.K. Swift

Mr. Hadleys machine can be worked by a boy or by steam.
[Docketing]
June 19, 1855
E.W. Hadley pr R.K. Swift

Chicago, Ill.
[Additional docketing in different handwriting] Inventor of perforating machine Specimens Enclosed.
Price of Machine $\$ 500$. Mr. Archer London Patentee
Specimens Enclosed.
Price of Machine $\$ 1250[\mathrm{sic}]^{23}$
This letter is the key to tying it all together, as the contents are very explicit. Hadley had invented a machine. He lived in Chicago. Swift helped promote the machine and the concept with the Post Office.

In this note, Swift provides a cost estimate of the Hadley machine. He also does a valuable service of providing a cost estimate for the Archer machine. The price of $£ 1,250$ for the Archer machine is about $\$ 6,000 .{ }^{24}$ The Post Office in Great Britain previously paid $£ 4,000$ (more than $\$ 19,000$ ) to Archer for his invention, including patent rights and startup costs. ${ }^{25}$ Swift likely did not know about the Bemrose machine, patented on June 8, 1855.

Wagshal was able to connect this letter with the stamps that had been enclosed by Swift, even though the two had been apart for many years. "Sample A" is pictured in the Chase book, figure 98, but Chase did not recognize this block of 21 as a Chicago Perf. It is inscribed "Sample A" in the bottom margin, apparently in R.K. Swift's handwriting. This

[^12]inscription is faint and inverted relative to the stamps. The stamps are unused. The block is from the right pane of Plate 2 Late, positions $74-80 / 84-90 / 94-100$, in the 1855 orange red shade.

At the time Chase owned this block it contained 21 stamps, but the centering of the words "Sample A" in the margin just below position 95 indicates this might have been ten stamps across (such as a pane of 100 or a block of 30 ). Today this block has been separated into smaller multiples and singles. The largest remaining multiple is a block of nine (Figure 8), which shows the words "Sample A" at the bottom. A block of four (89-89/99100 R 2 L ) and four singles are known (Figure 9). The remaining four stamps are adjacent (77-78/87-88 R 2L), but I do not know if they are still intact as a block (Figure 10).


Plate R 2L

The Chase Block of 21

# "Sample A" 

Reconstruction

Figure 10. The Chase block of 21 was once part of "Sample A." Today this block of 21 has been broken into a block of nine, a block of four, and four singles, as indicated by the similarly shaded areas. The remaining four stamps are adjacent (positions 77, 78, 87, 88), but have not been recently seen. It is unknown if these four remain intact as a block.

Today they are listed in Scott's Specialized Catalogue under \#11 "Perf. 10 $0^{1 / 2}$, unofficial," but this is misleading as the gauge is irregular. One can get different results from within a joined block due to this irregularity. Care must be taken when checking with a perforation gauge. The items I have checked range from 10.9 to 11.1, with an average close to 11.0. I have found no item that measures $10^{\frac{1}{2}}$, despite the catalog listing. A more descriptive listing might be "Perforated about 11 , unofficial."

The machine that perforated these stamps was clearly a prototype model, which was radically redesigned between June 1855, when these samples were produced, and April 1856. As discussed, the perforations on this block of 21 are irregular, at a gauge of about 11. This was subsequently modified to $12^{\frac{1}{2}}$ gauge. When viewed from the back side, the lines are crooked and some holes doubled near the intersections (Figure 8). Chase thought

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Figure 8A. This block of nine, positions 74-76/84-86/94-96 R 2L, is the largest remaining multiple from "Sample A" enclosed with Swift's letter dated June 19, 1855. The words "Sample A," apparently in Swift's handwriting, can be faintly seen below position 95. The reverse side of this block clearly shows the irregular nature of the perforations, which Chase described as being made on a sewing machine with blunted pins.


Figure 8B. Reverse side of "Sample A" block of nine.


Figure 9. Other known items from "Sample $A$ " include a single (top right of photo) (position 79 R 2L), another single ( position 80 R 2L), a pair (positions 97-98 R 2L) and a block of four (positions 89-90/99-100 R 2L). The pair has since been separated into singles, one of which is attributed to the Jerome S. Wagshal Collection.
these perforations were made on a sewing machine with blunted pins, which is probably correct. As we will see, the full scale machine operated on a totally different principle.

It is not entirely clear how this block of 21 made its way into the hands of collectors. Dr. Chase states it was through Madison Davis, Chief Clerk to the Third Assistant Postmaster General at Washington. Davis appears to have "unofficially appropriated" multiples from "Sample A" around the turn of the century. An article written in 1922, almost seven years before Chase's book, indicates that these were in Davis's estate when he died:

It is very evident that copies which were sent as samples to Washington got out, as copies unofficially perforated are known on cover as well as off cover. An irregular block of nine or ten of these unofficial perforations are known. They were secured by Mr. J. Murray Bartels some years ago from a daughter of Madison Davis. Mr. Davis was Chief Clerk under Postmaster General Merritt, and then afterwards Postmaster of Washington. The block came from the daughter's collection and was unused with gum. ${ }^{26}$

All "Sample A" items thus far examined are unused, but without gum. Thus this 1922 reference raises the possibility that after obtaining these items, Bartels removed the gum when using peroxide to clean up some staining on the stamps.

This reference also raises the possibility that other multiples, including a "block of nine or ten" ${ }^{27}$ existed at one time. With that possibility in mind, I began searching for other "Sample A" items.

The below auction lot added motivation to continue the search, as it suggested there may have been at least three multiples (i.e., Chase block of 21, the below mentioned block of six, and an item in another collection):

January 23-24, 1914, J.M. Bartels Co., Auction \#51, Lot \#150, (Seller: George F. Anderson).
Description: Block of 6 showing experimental perforation. This is a rare stamp represented in only two collections. The history of the perforation is unknown. All known copies came from the same official source.

Finally after some searching, I found photos of two additional items from "Sample A" in the files of The Philatelic Foundation. Each item is a block of six, unused (Figure 11). Each item has two Philatelic Foundation certificates.

The certificates for one of these blocks state:
PFC\# 22470: "...stamps are cleaned with unofficial perforations." ${ }^{\text {.28 }}$
PFC\#161485: "...it is genuine, lightly stained."
The certificates for the other block state:
PFC\# 49781: "...genuine, with experimental perforations. Some are rejoined, staining partially removed."
PFC\# 53673: "...genuine, with experimental perforations. Some are rejoined, staining partially removed \& a tiny tear at bottom right."

[^13]

Figure 11. Two newly identified blocks of six from "Sample A." The block at top (currently in the Jerome S. Wagshal Collection) is positions 54-56/64-66 R 2 L and the one at bottom is 57-59/67-69 R 2L.

No mention is made in the certificates of Chicago Perfs, and it is possible that a current owner may not fully recognize the significance of the item. When plated, these items are adjacent to the Chase block (Figure 12), and no doubt came from the same sheet.


Figure 12. Reconstruction of "Sample A" showing the two blocks of six and the Chase block of 21.

These two blocks of six bring the known total of items from "Sample A" to 33 stamps. These are the only $3 \phi$ Chicago Perfs of either gauge that have been found unused.

Samples " $B$ " and " $C$ " are no longer in the government archives, and apparently they have not surfaced in the hands of collectors. Clearly "Sample C" was British stamps, perforated on an Archer machine. It is possible that Sample B was rouletted, not perforated, based on the description: "The machine which cut the Sample marked B...works with much less power than the one which perforated the round holes in the sample marked ' A '." Rouletting required less power to operate, and made slits, not holes, in the paper.

## The Full Scale Perforating Machine

The final letter from the Post Office files was written more than a year later by Hadley, who apparently decided to try to interest the Post Office in buying his machine, after Swift had failed. Hadley states he had written a letter in April or May 1856, which is missing from the National Archives. This April or May time frame corresponds to the first appearance of the $12^{1 / 2}$ gauge Chicago Perfs in the mails, as will be seen from the census.

It is clear that Hadley has now constructed a full scale perforator, and has applied for a patent. What Hadley didn't realize is that, at this point in time, he was too late. In September 1855, Toppan, Carpenter purchased the Bemrose machine, which arrived in the U.S. in late March 1856. Toppan, Carpenter had not yet begun to issue perforated stamps (Table I).

The underlining in the following letter was done by Hadley, apparently for emphasis.
Chicago Oct, 20th 1856
Dear Sir
Some few months Since I think in April or May last, I took the liberty to trouble you with a note, marked "Private", Enclosing a sheet of three cent Postage Stamps, perforated like the Sample I now send you Showing that they could be readily separated without the use of knife or Scissors. I also informed you that I had invented machinery to do the work in the most perfect manner, and likewise referred you to the Patent Office where I had filed my caveat for the Security of letters patent for this invention. Mentioned also that the Postmaster and his assistants of this city had seen the application of this machine to divide Stamps and were ready to give the highest testimonial of the usefulness and convenience of this mode of preparing Stamps, for division. I mentioned that Col R.K. Swift, one of our most eminent private Bankers, had urged me to undertake this piece of machinery and that he will now use no Stamps except such as I prepare for him in this manner. From the letter, a Synopsis of which I have given above, I have recd no reply. I had hoped the matter would have interested you to endeavor to bring about its adoption by the department, and that our people might be furnished with as Convenient a Stamp as the English. Fearing my first, did not reach you I have determined to trespass on your time by this line of inquiry, to ascertain if my first letter with its enclosure reached you. And also if you can give it a moments thought, let me know if the department will be disposed to introduce this mode of preparing Stamps - If my letter of last spring did not reach you I can ascertain its date of mailing by reference to a copy which is not now at hand being deposited with other papers in the Bank vault.I am Very Respy Your Obt Servt
E.W. Hadley

88 Lake St
To John Marron
3d Asst Postmaster General
Washington D.C.

> [Docketing]
> Oct 20 '56
> E.W. Hadley
> Chicago, Ill.
> [Additional docketing in different handwriting] Inventor of a machine for perforated stamps. Specimens Enclosed Inquires if letter in April or May last was recd. relative to perforating machine

Hadley enclosed a pane, presumably of 100, of the $12^{\frac{1}{2} / 2}$ gauge Chicago Perforated stamps. He also sent a pane with the missing letter before this. Thus, as many as 200 unused Chicago Perfs were at one time in the government's possession. None of these has yet surfaced. As mentioned before, there are no unused $3 \notin 12^{1 / 2}$ gauge stamps known.

## How the Machine Worked

There have been many hours invested in identifying how the Hadley perforator worked. My initial plan was to locate a drawing, a model, or the machine itself. We know from Hadley's October letter that he applied for a patent, so I tried to find it. Unfortunately this patent was never granted, and the application is no longer in the Patent Office files. I checked with The Smithsonian Institution, The Chicago Historical Society, and other sources but to no avail. The area surrounding Swift's and Hadley's businesses was destroyed during the Chicago Fire in 1871. Perhaps descendants of Swift or Hadley have information that I have not been able to locate. ${ }^{29}$ I wish the best to anyone continuing this search. I believe it is possible that something will be found.

Despite the absence of this information, we now understand the basic operation of the machine. This understanding was developed from examining and plating all possible items in the census and identifying perforation patterns and spacing. I am in awe of the collectors who have plated these items given the precision required, in some cases having only poor quality photostats from which to work. They have preliminarily identified about $70 \%$ of the plate positions. I ask that any collector having a Chicago Perf make it available for plating or confirmation of plating.

# Typical Comb Perforator 

Basic Operation


First Stroke of Comb


Second Stroke of Comb


Figure 13. Basic operation of a typical comb perforator. The Archer machine from England is such an example.

I have provided an illustration showing a typical comb perforator, similar to that used by Archer (Figure 13). For ease of drawing I have illustrated the device on a block; however, the device would normally be long enough to reach across an entire sheet of stamps. For the imperforate U.S. panes Swift and Hadley used as raw stock this would be ten stamp widths across.

This typical comb consists of a series of perforating pins arranged in a series of three-sided rectangles. The dimensions of these three-sided rectangles are just slightly larger than the sides of the stamps being punched. On its first stroke the comb perforates three (top, right, and left) sides of each stamp in the top row. On its second stroke it perforates three sides of each stamp in the second row, one side of which was the remaining fourth (bottom) side of the top row stamp. This process would be repeated all the way down the pane or sheet being perforated, thus eleven strokes would be required to perforate a pane having ten rows of stamps.

[^14]
# Hadley H-Shaped Comb Perforator 

Basic Operation


Top View of Hadley Comb


Second Stroke of Comb


Figure 14. Basic operation of the Hadley " H -shaped" perforator. Note the difference with the typical comb shown in Figure 13. The device only perforates half the length of the stamp on each stroke.


## Hadley H Shaped Comb Perforator

Figure 15. Because of the nature of the H -shaped perforating device, a potential discontinuity occurs at the middle of each stamp. This will occur to some degree on every stamp, unless the strikes of the perforating tool are exactly centered.


Figure 16. Examples of Chicago Perforations showing characteristics of the Hadley Hshaped comb device. The $3 ¢$ and $1 ¢$ stamps at top show vertical shifting of the perforations near the middle of the stamp, caused by misalignment on the second stroke of the device. The stamp at bottom shows the wide perforation tip on its right side. (The 19 stamp is currently in the Jerome S. Wagshal Collection.)

Perforations made with a typical comb perforator, such as the Archer machine, are normally quite uniform. The perforations on the vertical sides of the stamp are parallel, and the horizontal and vertical perforations intersect at right angles.

Based on analysis of the items in the census, we now know that the Hadley machine for the $12^{1 / 2}$ gauge stamps was a comb perforator, but it was different. The Hadley machine used what I will call an "H-shaped" comb. The perforating pins were not arranged in a series of three-side rectangles, but in a series of H -shaped patterns (Figure 14). I cannot explain why Hadley chose this layout. Perhaps this is the first design he could visualize that worked. Perhaps he wanted it to be different from Archer's machine, with which he was familiar. ${ }^{30}$

On its first stroke the Hadley H-shaped comb perforated each stamp in the top row on three sides, but only on the top half of the stamp. The second stroke perforated the bottom half of each stamp in the first row, and the top half of each stamp in the second row. This continued all the way down the pane, requiring a total of eleven strokes for a pane having ten rows of stamps.

The horizontal and vertical perforations produced on the Hadley machine intersect at right angles, just as they did with a typical comb. However, the perfs made by Hadley's machine on the vertical sides of the stamps are often not uniform and frequently not parallel. These variations are caused by this H-shaped pattern. Unless each successive stroke of the device was perfectly aligned, there was a discontinuity in the middle of the stamp, as illustrated in Figure 15.

This discontinuity shows clearly on more than $90 \%$ of the Chicago Perfs examined. It occurs between the seventh and eighth perforation holes from the top, not counting the horizontal row. (When counting in the opposite direction, this discontinuity occurs between the eighth and ninth holes from the bottom, not counting the horizontal row.) Occasionally this discontinuity is seen between the eighth and ninth holes from the top, apparently reflecting sheets that were inserted upside down relative to the norm. The discontinuity manifests itself as a "wider than normal" or "narrower than normal" perforation tip or as a "vertical shift" between the perforations on the top half of the stamp compared with the perforations on the bottom half. Examples are shown in Figure 16.

This discontinuity is an aid for identification of genuine Chicago Perfs, but it can also cause confusion. The gauge of Chicago Perfs if measured on the vertical side of the stamp is irregular due to the discontinuity. All Chicago perfs have fifteen holes on each vertical side, excluding the top and bottom horizontal rows. However, these fifteen holes are not uniform in spacing near the middle of the stamp. Care must be taken if attempting to use a perforation gauge, as the stamp will not measure $12 \frac{1}{2}$ on its vertical sides. Two or more Chicago Perfs can appear to have different gauges. To further add to confusion, many of these items are scissor separated. Thus, one side of the stamp can appear mismatched visually with the other vertical side.

Work is continuing to refine understanding of the machine and its operation, and I welcome any assistance offered.
(to be continued)

[^15]
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## FORWARDING THE ADVERTISING FEE MICHAEL C. McCLUNG

Advertising undeliverable letters had been a practice of the U.S. Post Office from the time of its beginning until late in the nineteenth century. The procedure consisted of placing an alphabetical list of addressees of undeliverable letters in the local newspaper of highest circulation; if a town had no newspaper, the list was placed in the post office as well as in public meeting places such as taverns, churches, etc. When the advertisement worked, and someone discovered that they had mail waiting at the post office, he or she could go in and claim that mail after paying any postage due and a fee (usually $1 \phi$ per letter) to cover the cost of the advertisement. After a period of time the unclaimed advertised letters were sent to the Dead Letter Office and processed there.

This procedure changed very little during the time of its existence except for a few adjustments along the way. Originally, the fee to be collected by the postmaster was "not to exceed two cents," and covers dating from the early part of the nineteenth century have been reported with advertising fees ranging from $1 / 2 \not \subset$ to $2 \not \subset$. By $1851,1 \phi$ had become the standard fee. The length of time a letter sat in the post office before being advertised varied over the years and from place to place during the general delivery period; usually a postmaster updated his list of undeliverable letters once or twice a month. After July 1, 1863, when free delivery became available in towns large enough to have carrier service, postmasters in these towns could update their lists more often because they could learn very quickly which letters were undeliverable.

The length of time a letter should be advertised varied somewhat also. The Postal Laws and Regulations of 1794 stated that the list of uncalled-for letters should be published for "three consecutive weeks" (probably assuming most local newspapers to be weekly publications). Later updates of the $P L \& R$ specified different advertising time intervals for different post offices based on gross revenue. The $P L \& R$ also gave instructions to postmasters on how to account for advertising expenses, revenue from fees and credits for advertised letters sent to the DLO. However, I have not seen a $P L \& R$ that gives instructions on how to account for the transference of the advertising fee from one post office to another as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1 is a cover that originated in Chicago on August 3, 1863. It arrived in Philadelphia, and an attempt was made to deliver it at the U.S. Navy Yard, but the addressee, Lieutenant Gillett, was not found there. The letter was taken back to the post office and was advertised on August 8. Apparently someone saw the advertisement and informed the post office of Gillett's new address, because the letter was forwarded to Indianapolis on August 21. The calculation on the left side of the cover indicates that when Gillett picked up this letter he had to pay the forwarding fee of $3 \notin$ as well as the advertising fee of $1 \not \subset$ to the Indianapolis post office. So the Philadelphia post office paid for the advertisement of this letter, but the Indianapolis post office was reimbursed for it.

Figure 2 is a cover that was mailed from Philadelphia on September 29, 1865 and was addressed to "Captain Adams / Smithfield Packet / Norfolk / Va." Since the letter carrier in Norfolk was unable to locate Captain Adams, the letter was returned to the post office and advertised on October 10. No one responded to the advertisement of this letter so it was returned to the writer because of the instructions in the upper left corner of the envelope which reads, "The Postmaster will confer a favor by / returning this letter to / POWERS \& WEIGHTMAN / PHILADELPHIA / if not called for within Ten days." The practice of returning undeliverable letters to their writers via return addresses had been in place


Figure 1. Cover from Chicago to Philadelphia, advertised in Philadelphia and forwarded to Indianapolis with a total of $4 ¢$ postage due.
for some time prior to 1865 , but few people took advantage of this service because standard postage was charged for the return. This became a free service in 1868. Obviously, Powers \& Weightman were willing to pay for the return postage on this letter as well as the advertising fee, both of which are indicated by the calculation next to the stamp. In this case the Norfolk post office paid for the advertisement, and the Philadelphia post office was reimbursed for it.

Was there a procedure for a postmaster to claim a credit when he forwarded an advertised letter to another post office? Or, did this process involve such a trivial amount of money (which probably evened itself out over time) that it was not dealt with directly? Do any of our readers know of contemporary Post Office documents or forms that relate to the forwarding of advertising fees?


Figure 2. Cover from Philadelphia to Norfolk, advertised in Norfolk and returned to Philadelphia (hand-drawn finger points to return address) with a total of $4 \boldsymbol{f}$ postage due.

## THE 1869 PERIOD SCOTT R. TREPEL, Editor

## 1869 PICTORIAL ISSUE AT ANPHILEX ‘96 JEFFREY M. FORSTER

On the occasion of The Collectors Club of New York's 100th anniversary, Norman Hubbard and Louis Grunin successfully brought together a group of exhibits that many say will never be duplicated again. These two gentlemen and the organizing committee of ANPHILEX ' 96 are to be congratulated for their efforts.

Upon entering the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, the viewer was treated to a magnificent panorama of philately, ranging from Argentina to Zululand. On display were some of the great classic exhibits of the world, including many of the rarest items of each country or issue. In quite a few cases the exhibits were displayed by collectors who never show in competitive exhibitions, but were encouraged by ANPHILEX organizers and sponsors to participate in this special event. The absence of FIP rules and regulations allowed exhibitors to arrange and mount their collections in a highly individual style, which added to the impact.

As a U.S. classics collector and a specialist in the 1869 Pictorial Issue, I was naturally drawn to the U.S. classic material on display. There were four categories of exhibits-CCNY One-Frame, Invited Exhibits, Alumni Exhibits and the Aristocrats of Philately-and each section contained a wealth of U.S. classics, including 1869s. What follows is an overview of the 1869 material at ANPHILEX, based on my observations.

## Invited Exhibits

Two Invited Exhibits were devoted exclusively to the 1869 s. One was my own exhibit in an abridged presentation, and the other was shown by an anonymous collector whose holding was mounted and presented through Andrew Levitt, a professional dealer.

Given only two frames, my exhibit had to be distilled to a cross-section of 1869 usages. I chose to show a minimal representation of domestic covers, including a bisect, fancy cancels, Valentine, campaign and illustrated covers. This led to the foreign usages, which are my main area of concentration and enjoyment. Included among the 1869 covers to exotic destinations were covers to the Philippines (Figure 1), St. Helena, Syria, Natal, Tasmania, Australia and Greece. Mixed-franking covers are among my favorites, and I showed covers with 1869s and stamps of British Columbia (Figure 2), Hawaii, Wurttemberg, France, Great Britain, Italy and India.

The other 1869 collection showed five frames of proofs and essays, off-cover stamps, blocks and covers. Arranged by denomination, the collection contained many rarities, including the famous $90 \phi$ re-issue margin block of twelve (Figure 3), a set of used 1869 inverts, and several lovely covers. Two items were especially appealing to me. One was a May 1870 folded letter from Belgium to the U.S. with 80 centimes Belgian postage and a U.S. $3 \notin 1869$ for forwarding (Figure 4). The other unusual cover was a $15 \notin 1869$ Type II used to Frankfurt by closed mail, then forwarded to Würzburg with additional postage paid by a North German Confederation 3 kreuzer stamp.

One of the major attractions of the Invited Exhibits was the complete collection of U.S. stamps shown by a collector under the pseudonym "V.E.," who exhibited for the first time through the auspices of Scott Trepel and his firm, Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries. To my knowledge, this was the first time a complete U.S. collection has ever been exhibited. Using Scott Platinum album pages-for blocks and covers, matching computer-made pages were used-this exhibit showed every 1869 stamp in used condition, including the re-issue set.


Figure 1. 1869 cover, Boston to the Philippines.


Figure 2. Mixed franking, British Columbia and U.S. 1869, on cover from Victoria to Edinburgh, Scotland.


Figure 3. 1869 90ç reissue, margin block of 12.


Figure 4. May 1870 mixed franking cover, Ghent, Belgium to New York, with 80 centimes Belgian postage and U.S. 3¢ 1869 for forwarding.

The inverts in the V.E. collection comprised a $15 \phi$ with star cancel, a pair of the $24 \phi$, and a sound and centered example of the $30 \notin$. The re-issues included a used pair of the 904 , of which there are two recorded (the other was also on display in the One-Frame section). V.E. also showed unused blocks acquired from the Bechtel and Ishikawa collections. There was the ex-Ishikawa mint block of sixteen $6 \phi$, the ex-Caspary/Bechtel block of six of the $15 \phi$ Type I with original gum and very well centered (Figure 5), and the ex-Bechtel block of six of the $90 \phi$. The $1 \phi, 2 \phi, 6 \phi, 10 \phi, 12 \phi$ and $15 \phi$ re-issues in unused blocks were featured, these having been acquired from the Bechtel collection. Missing from V.E.'s collection, but on display in the anonymous 1869 exhibit noted previously, was the $90 \notin$ re-issue block of twelve, the only known block of this stamp.


Figure 5. Block of six of 15¢ 1869 Type I, ex Caspary/Bechtel.

Although no covers were shown among V.E.'s 1869 s, the completeness and condition of the single stamps and the showing of rare blocks was astounding.

Elsewhere on the exhibition floor were many of the greatest 1869 Issue fancy cancellation items extant, assembled into an astonishing ten-frame Waterbury exhibit and another frame of Union Mills cancellations, both shown by John R. Boker, Jr., who was honored by the Collectors Club as the Outstanding Philatelist of the Second Half-Century (his counterpart from the first half being Alfred F. Lichtenstein). The famous Running Chicken three-strike cover was the highlight of the Boker collection, but the depth of material (earliest strike, latest strike, etc.) was even more remarkable. The 1869 cancellations included the Waterbury Woman in Bonnet, Waterbury Shoe, and Union Mills "KKK" with Skull and Crossbones (several strikes, including a cover). A larger or more significant fancy cancellation collection has never existed.

## CCNY Members' One-Frame Exhibits

Three members of the Collectors Club entered 1869s into the One-Frame exhibit section. These were Michael Laurence, editor and publisher of Linn's Stamp News, Eliot Landau and Richard Ellis.

In his sixteen pages, Richard Ellis focused on proofs and essays, mint and used singles and some multiples of 1869 s . This exhibit was an overview of the issue and was highlighted by an unused block of 36 of the $2 \phi$, and unused block of twelve of the $6 \not \subset$, an unused block of nine of the $12 \phi$, and a block of six of the $15 \notin$ Type II. This exhibit also showed a set of Invert plate proofs and blocks of some of the India plate proofs.

Eliot Landau showed a frame of the $90 \notin$ Lincoln stamp and focused on colored cancellations (ultramarine, red, red orange, blue and a magenta cancel from McKeesport, Pennsylvania). Landau also showed various proofs and essays of the $90 \notin$ stamp, as well as an unused single, two used singles (one with an unusual New York registry oval), and one of two recorded used pairs of the $90 \notin$ Re-issue - the other pair was exhibited in the V.E. collection.

Michael Laurence focused on another value of the issue, the $10 ¢$ Eagle and Shield. His exhibit was a study of the design origins of the stamp, including the unique $10 \notin$ essay illustrated in the Scott Catalogue with the center of the " 0 " of " 10 " not filled in. He also showed a full pane of 150 of the plate proof, as well as a beautiful large die proof signed by the engraver, D. S. Ronaldson, which could be unique. Another unusual item was a registered cover with the $10 \propto$ proof used and accepted as postage.


Figure 6. Unique 24c 1869 invert block of four.

## Other 1869 Rarities on Display

The only 1869 item in the Aristocrats of Philately section was the unique $24 \varnothing$ invert block of four (Figure 6). This famous block has been the subject of at least two articles in The Chronicle, and it was described in the ANPHILEX catalogue as "one of the first items ever depicted in color in an auction catalogue, and also the subject of the first transatlantic telephone bidding arrangement" when it was sold in the 1938 Crocker auction in England. In 1993, this block was acquired by Scott R. Trepel and the Siegel firm for $\$ 497,500$ at the sale of the Ishikawa collection. In the months following ANPHILEX, Trepel is reported to have sold the block to a collector for an amount substantially in excess of the Ishikawa sale price.

Shown as part of collection exhibited under the pseudonym "Monte Carlo," facilitated by Shreves Philatelic Galleries, were three outstanding 1869 pieces. The first was the largest recorded $30 \notin$ block, this being a plate block of fifteen without grill, ex Hind, Moody, Wunderlich and Ishikawa. On the same page was an unused $30 \notin$ invert, ex Ishikawa. Finally, the Monte Carlo collection featured the unused block of four of the $90 \phi$ 1869, also ex Caspary, Green, Lilly, Wunderlich and Ishikawa (Figure 7).


Figure 7. Unused block of four of 90¢ 1869, ex Caspary/Green/Lilly/Wunderlich/Ishikawa.


Figure 8. Unused 1869 15¢ invert, original gum, ex Lichtenstein.

As part of Harry (Sonny) Hagendorf's display of material belonging to a client of Columbian Stamp Company, there was an unused set of 1869 inverts, including the exLichtenstein $15 \notin$ with original gum (Figure 8), the best of the $24 \phi$ inverts unused, and the ex-Worthington $30 \phi$ with small part of original gum. This set is the finest that can exist and also changed hands after ANPHILEX, according to Scott Trepel.

## Alumni Exhibits

Finally, there were 1869 items to be found in the Alumni Exhibits, a special feature of the Invited Exhibits, comprising collections that were shown at ANPHILEX '71 and still exist. Raymond Vogel showed among his $12 \phi$ and $15 \phi$ 1861-66 Issues several beautiful 1869 frankings, including a cover with a $2 \not \subset 1869$ pair, $12 \not \subset 1866$ single and a Hawaiian $5 \notin$ stamp, used from Honolulu to London with $16 \not \subset$ U.S. postage paying the transpacific plus the treaty rate to England in 1870 (Figure 9). Also included in the Vogel display was another U.S-Hawaiian mixed franking with the $15 ¢ 1866,2 \not \subset$ and $3 \notin 1869$ and a pair of $5 \phi$ Hawaii. Other than the mixed frankings, there was a cover to Greece with the $15 \notin 1866$ and two $2 \phi 1869$ s, paying the $19 \not \subset$ rate. It is one of approximately six known 1869 covers to Greece.


Figure 9. 1870 mixed franking cover, with $2 ¢ 1869$ pair, $12 ¢ 1866$ single and Hawaiian 5¢, Honolulu to London.

## Conclusion

Considering the number of major 1869 items under one roof, ANPHILEX '96 was undoubtedly one of the greatest showings of 1869 Pictorials ever made. Scattered throughout different exhibits was a stellar display of essay and proof material, allowing the viewer to see the design development of the issue. Among the 1869 inverts was the finest set, the unique $24 \varnothing$ block and one of two known $24 \not \subset$ pairs. The $90 \not \subset$ blocks included unused blocks of four and six of the regular issue and the unique block of twelve of the re-issue. Many of the largest blocks of the other values were there, and most of the outstanding fancy cancellation items of the 1869 Issue were shown.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, for this material to be brought together again. The Collectors Club deserves our gratitude for putting on this wonderful exhibition.

## OFFICIALS ET AL. ALAN CAMPBELL, Editor

## AN UNUSUAL PLATE MARK ON THE 3¢ WAR DEPARTMENT STAMP DAVID H. LOBDELL

Very few plate varieties have been reported on the stamps printed during the period 1873-1884 for use by the War Department, even by philatelists of an earlier generation who studied each emission with an intensity which has led to their being labelled with the disparaging and unfair sobriquet of "flyspeck philatelists." One of these pioneers, Harry M. Konwiser, ${ }^{1}$ reported several plate varieties on the $1 \phi$ stamp: a broken scroll above the "NE" of "ONE," a dot in the lower right of "O" in "ONE," and a dot in the oval at the left opposite the lip and touching the inner line of the oval. He also recorded the well-known plate scratch at position 2 of the left pane of the $3 \phi$ stamp, and the less well-known red curve in the oval frame above the head at the left on the $7 \phi$ value, a reddish spot in the white oval frame above the top of the head in the same value, and a dot outside of and to the left of the oval opposite the mouth on the $90 \notin$ War Department stamp. Another prominent early collector of U. S. departmental stamps, Charles J. Phillips, reported a broad thick crack extending from the lefthand margin to the bust on the $10 \phi$ value, quite distinct from the cracked die artifact at its left bottom margin which is present on every $10 \notin$ War Department stamp. ${ }^{2}$

There are four examples in my collection of a plate variety on the $3 \notin$ War (O85, O116) which is so much larger than the average dot, crack or flyspeck that it is surprising that it has remained unrecorded. The mark, in the form of a hexagon 2.2 mm . in greatest dimension, is located in the left upper corner, where it straddles the frame of the stamp to touch the "U." This hexagon is complete on the position 11 stamp of a right-hand pane of 100 printed on soft paper (Figure 1). On a postally used example printed on so-called "intermediate paper" and on a second right-hand pane of 100 on soft paper, it has been partly amputated by the knife cut which separated the original sheet of 200 into two separate panes (Figure 2), suggesting that there should be some examples with a partial mark in the upper right corner of position 20 of the left-hand pane. The clearest impression of the mark, albeit incomplete, is on a brown Atlanta trial color proof (Figure 3). Here, the top of the hexagon is seen to be more heavily shaded than the bottom; inside the hexagonal border there is a double oval containing what appears to be a lazy 8 , or infinity sign, or two links in a chain, apparently attached to the innermost oval (Figure 4).

A fifth example of this plate variety has been found by Lester C. Lanphear in a photograph of the cardboard proof sheet of $3 \phi$ War Department stamps once owned by the Earl of Crawford, Congressman Ackerman, and Josiah K. Lilly.

What does this elaborate and intriguing hexagon represent? Was it a personal "chop" entered by the siderographer? If so, he is not known to have entered it on any other plate in the inventory of the Continental Banknote Company and its successor, the American Banknote Company. Was it caused by the accidental impact of some tool or protruding portion of machinery (such as a bolt end or nut) with the plate? An accidental entry is more probable than a deliberate one, but the nature of the object which collided with the plate remains unknown.

And when in the history of Continental plate \#32 did this occur? The Earl of Crawford cardboard plate proof is of no value in dating the entry, since the proof sheet was
${ }^{1}$ Harry M. Konwiser, "Varieties of U.S. Departmental Stamps," The American Philatelist,Vol. 38, No. 9 (June 1925), p. 582; Konwiser, "U.S. Department 'Specimen' Stamps," The American Philatelist, Vol. 39, No. 9 (June 1926), pp. 604-605.
${ }^{2}$ Charles J. Phillips, "U.S. Department Stamps—Plate Varieties," Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. 10, No. 3 (July 1931), p. 246.


Figure 1. The hexagon plate variety in the upper left-hand corner of position 11, right pane of plate \#32.


Figure 2. The variety on a postally used example which was printed on "intermediate paper."
pulled in 1894, a decade after production of the stamps had ceased. ${ }^{3}$ The Atlanta trial color proof was pulled in 1881. The right pane of 100 showing the plate variety is on the soft paper assigned by Scott's Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps solely to 18791884 American Bank Note Company printings, but which Luff and other authorities on the Bank Note issues have determined was used by the Continental Bank Note Company for a number of months before its consolidation with the American Bank Note Company. ${ }^{4}$ The postally used copy showing the hexagonal mark is on "intermediate paper." This paper, a distinct variety often found on War Department stamps, possesses much of the thinness and snap of the hard papers used earlier by the Continental Bank Note Company, but has the porous quality of soft paper. Although Brookman wrote that (for the sake of avoiding confusion) stamps on intermediate paper were best classified as products of the American Bank Note Company, ${ }^{5}$ there is no evidence that intermediate paper was ever employed by American. A modern student of Bank Note issue papers has concluded that intermediate paper probably came into use in early 1877 and was discontinued by Fall 1878, when the Continental Bank Note Company changed over to soft paper. ${ }^{6}$

The available evidence, therefore, suggests that the hexagonal mark was present on plate \#32 for at least six of the eleven years the plate was used to print O85 and O116. It could well have been present $a b$ initio, but confirmation of this would require finding the variety on position 11R of the India paper proof sheets pulled in the print shop of the Continental Bank Note Company in 1873 when the newly-manufactured plate was being examined for flaws-or, improbably, on an 1873 cover.

How many stamps bearing the hexagon mark were printed? Unfortunately "statistics of manufacture" are available only through the end of $1876,{ }^{7}$ but there exists a record of the delivery of official stamps by the Stamp Agent to the various Departments for all years. ${ }^{8}$ If one accepts the premise that stamps which were printed on intermediate paper during the first part of 1878 had passed through the pipeline to the War Department by the beginning of the 1880 fiscal year, then over 14,000 position 11R stamps bearing the hexagon reached the War Department before deliveries ceased in fiscal year 1884. Unlike some of the other departments which made extensive use of penalty envelopes after 1877, the War Department employed predominantly stamps and postal stationery to frank its mail until they became invalid in mid-1884. Moreover, the Department did not return its remaining stock of stamps for destruction, but handed them out in a profligate fashion for many years thereafter; much of this material eventually reached the philatelic market. In addition to a substantial number of adhesives with the hexagon which should still exist, there also should be examples of this plate variety in the five series of cardboard proofs distributed between 1879 and 1894, and one example each in the other four colors of the 1881 Atlanta trial color plate proofs. Where are they?

[^16]

Figure 3. Details of the mark show best on a brown Atlanta trial color plate proof.


Figure 4. A close-up view of the upper left-hand corner of the Atlanta trial color plate proof. Regardless of whether the mark was already present on the plate when position 11R was rocked in from the transfer roll or was introduced at a later date, there does not appear to be any obvious distortion of the stamp's vertical frame lines, although the third line from the edge is somewhat thickened where it coincides with the mark.

## ANSWERS TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUE 173

The cover in Figure 1 had a fantastic journey from Papeete, Tahiti, to Cognac, France, in 1855. We are reminded that it also appeared as a problem cover in Chronicle 144, November 1989. It is being presented again in honor of PACIFIC 97 and to include new data just reported by new member Fred Gregory identifying the ship that carried the letter from Tahiti to Hawaii.

Fred states he has been active for 15 years in researching Hawaiian postal history and compiling lists of vessel arrivals and departures from 1836 to 1886, as well as every Hawaiian outbound cover to 1882 , plus developing a library of rates and routes. A composite of his new data with that previously reported follows:

26 Jan - Letter written at Papeete. "1855 / 1" shows year of posting and single weight of $7 \frac{1}{2}$ grams or less.

27 Jan - Mailed at Papeete, Tahiti. Sender paid 5 centimes Tahiti postage under the Tahiti-Hawaiian Postal Convention of November 24, 1853, plus 33\& credited to the Hawaiian post office for onward transmission.

28 Jan - Departed Tahiti on steamer City of Norfolk which left Melbourne on December 15, 1854 bound for San Francisco via Tasmania, Tahiti and Honolulu.

24 Feb - City of Norfolk mail processed into the regular Hawaii mail bound for the United States and beyond under the 1850 Hawaii-U.S. Friendship Treaty at domestic U.S. rates plus $2 \not \subset$ ship fee. Hawaii kept $5 \notin$ cents postage for itself and marked the cover with a manuscript " 28 " (cents) credited to the San Francisco P.O. ( $2 \phi$ ship fee plus $26 ¢$ British Open Mail by American Packet rate from west coast of U.S.).

26 Feb - Left Hawaii on sailing schooner E. L. Frost bound for San Francisco. (The City of Norfolk left on the same day but arrived in S.F. 2 days after the E. L. Frost).

15 Mar - Arrived on E. L. Frost at San Francisco where black "PAID" handstamp applied.

31 Mar - Departed San Francisco on Pacific Mail Steam Ship Co. steamer John L. Stephens for Panama City.
? Apr - Arrived at Panama City on same ship and traversed Panamanian Isthmus.

15 Apr - Left Aspinwall on steamer George Law for New York.
24 Apr - Arrived at New York City on same ship.
2 May - Left New York on Collins Line steamer Pacific bound for England.
13 May - Arrived at Paris, having entered France at Calais, Rated "8" (decimes)
due.
? May - Arrived at Cognac. 8 decimes collected from recipient.
The following three covers: Figure 2, Figures $3 \& 4$, and Figure 5, received no responses from our Route Agents by the time this issue went to press. We will carry them over to the next issue and publish information received in Chronicle 175.

The Noisy Carriers in San Francisco processed the cover in Figure 2, submitted by Al Valente, which apparently went via Nicaragua and New York to Baltimore. But both Ashbrook and Wiltsee claim that this type of Noisy Carriers handstamp has never before been seen on Nicaragua mail. The only handstamps found on mail traveling this route are those which bear the prominent "Via Nicaragua" advertising as part of the design. What happened?

Figures 3 and 4 show an 1876 unclaimed cover from Mexico via Tucson to Los Angeles franked with Mexican and U.S. stamps. Please explain the $6 \notin$ U.S. rate, where the U.S. stamps were canceled, and the meaning of the " 321 " stamped on the cover front.

A $5 \notin$ U.S. stamp and a "CLIPPERTON ISLAND / 1895 / POSTAGE" stamp are canceled at San Francisco on the Figure 5 cover to Berlin. Was this cover ever at Clipperton Island?


Figure 1. Tahiti cover to France via Honolulu, San Francisco, New York and England.


Figure 2. Noisy Carriers Cover via Nicaragua to New York.


Figure 3. Obverse of $\mathbf{1 8 7 6}$ Cover from Mexico to Los Angeles via Tucson.


Figure 4. Reverse of 1876 Cover from Mexico to Los Angeles.
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Figure 5. 1895 Clipperton Island Cover to Berlin.


Figure 6. Wells, Fargo \& Co. cover via Nashville to Atlanta in 1861.

Figure 6 has a Wells, Fargo \& Co. indicia on a U.S. 10ф stamped envelope addressed to Atlanta, Ga. It has a blue "NASHVILLE / Ten. / AUG / 25 / 1861" cds, an oval "PAID" (in black), a straight line "PAID" (in blue), a handstamp " 5 " (in blue), and an endorsement "Thro' Adams Express" (in pencil). Where did this cover originate, how did it get to Nashville and then to Atlanta, and what is the meaning of the two "PAID" markings?

This cover is one of four known such usages from San Francisco into the Confederacy, and was lot \#229 in Christie's auction of Tennessee postal history 25 March 1987. The owner once was Dr. Charles Rosen of Louisville, Ky.; the name of the present owner is not known. It is a great problem cover not from what we see on the face (nothing on the back), but what markings are not on the cover.

Comments, not all the same, came from Scott Gallagher, George Kramer, Roger Schnell and Henry Spelman. This quartet agrees that the cover originated in San Francisco during July 1861. The oval "PAID" in black was applied at San Francisco, although it does not fit the listing and drawings in Leutzinger.

One other responder, not of the quartet, opined that the cover could have gone overland, somehow reaching Nashville. One letter is known, hand carried privately from Fort Yuma, Cal. in May 1861 to St. Louis, where it was given to Adams Express who got it to Nashville in June. The difficulty with our problem cover is that the southern overland route of Butterfield had been disrupted by the Civil War. The central overland route from San Francisco to St. Louis ran until the fall of 1861, but our problem cover did not go to St. Louis because there are no receipt or transit markings.

Our answer is that Wells, Fargo \& Co. and Adams Express Co. had figured out how to get mail into the Confederacy. This was via Panama and New York. The sender paid to Wells, Fargo \& Co. a total of sixty cents in cash. Ten cents was for the U15 entire, for over 3,000 miles, and twenty-five cents fee to New York. The letter was in a closed bag so no Panama RR charge was collected. Henry Spelman writes "If Wells, Fargo forwarded the cover by steamers from San Francisco to New York City, their practice at that time was not to cancel the cover" (other than "PAID"). In New York the cover was given to the Adams Express Co. and twenty-five cents paid. From there it was carried in a closed bag by an Adams Co. employee, traveling by rail to Louisville and via the L\&N RR to Nashville, Tenn. It entered the P.O. there and five cents was paid by the Adams agent, which covered C.S.A. postage for the letter to Atlanta, under 300 miles. The Nashville cds and PAID 5, all in blue, are well known. The date of 25 Aug. 1861 attracts attention because express companies were forbidden to carry mail into the C.S.A. after 26 Aug. 1861.

## PROBLEM COVERS FOR THIS ISSUE

Figure 7 is a registered cover from Chatham, England to Belleville, New Jersey. It is franked with a one shilling and a six pence stamp canceled in black by a duplex "A / CHATHAM / JU 29 / 59" with a " 173 " obliterator. There are six markings in red on the obverse, three indicating "Registered": one in manuscript (underlined), the second a "Crown / REGISTERED" rocking handstamp, and the third an oval "REGISTERED / E / 29 JU 59 / LONDON". A large red " 24 " is overstruck on the stamps, there is a red circle "BOSTON / B. PKT. / 14 / JUL / PAID", and a red manuscript " 11 " (or $1 /-$ ?) is next to the London oval. Also a pencil " 25 " (or 29 ?) is below the Chatham cds. The reverse has a red circle "LONDON-S.E. / A5 / JU 25 / 59" and a black circle "P A / LIVERPOOL / (JL)30 / 59". Please explain the one shilling six pence franking and the amount credited to the U.S.

The cover in Figure 8 addressed to "Pomona, Los Angeles / California / EE. LL. LL de N.A." has but one postal marking, a black cds "* NEW YORK * / JAN / 1 / PAID ALL". A black double circle seal, Figure 9 (double size), of the "CONSULAT DE FRANCE. / GUAYAQUIL." is handstamped across the flap. The letter enclosed was written at Guayaquil, December 5th 1876, apparently at a time of great political turmoil, e.g.,


Figure 7. Registered cover from Chatham, England to Belleville, New Jersey in 1859.
". . . received on the 5th of November one thousand Remingtons from the States." and "The Chilean Steamers have stopped coming to this port."

How and why did this cover go to New York, and what postage, if any, was paid? (There is no evidence of a stamp removed nor a marking erased). Also, please translate "EE. LL. LL de N.A."

Please send your answers to these problem covers, and any further discussion of previous answers to other problem covers, within two weeks of receiving your Chronicle. We can receive mail at P.O. Box 42253, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45242, as well as by Fax at (513) 563-6287.

It's time once again to request new examples of problem covers for The Cover Corner. Please submit a glossy black and white photograph of each cover, including the reverse if it has significant markings. It is also important to identify the color of markings on covers submitted. Thanks.

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Figure 8. Cover from Guayaquil, Ecuador to Pomona, California via New York.


Figure 9. Backstamp of "CONSULAT DE FRANCE." on cover from Guayaquil.


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[^0]:    Address changes should be sent to Secretary, back issue orders to Publication Sales Chairman, other correspondence to Editor-in-Chief. Reports of new items or articles should be submitted to appropriate Section Editor or Editor-in-Chief. Do not send stamps or covers unless requested. Any items sent will be carefully guarded but no liability attaches to an editor or the Society.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ The eight diagrams first appeared in the second edition of the catalogue issued in 1936, the so-called TIPEX Exhibition edition.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Ashbrook's article entitled, "Some Notes on The United States Five Cent Stamp of 1847," in the first Stamp Specialist (New York: H.L. Lindquist, 1939), at p. 40: "Illustrations are given of these four [double transfer] stamps [in Scott's U.S. Specialized] and I believe they are quite correct as they are from my pen."

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Lester G. Brookman, The Nineteenth Century Postage Stamps of the United States (New York: H.L. Lindquist, 1947), Vol. 1, pp. 39, 40.
    ${ }^{4}$ Prior to 1956 , positions 1R and 2R were both classified as double transfer "B," because of their similarity. I hold Ashbrook drawings for both positions in the same style as the Brookman Mat of the "POST OFFICE" shift. Both of those mats, 1R and 2R, are labeled "Scott's 'B'," and this is an additional piece of evidence, if more is needed, that the Scott catalogue diagrams originated with Ashbrook's drawings.

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ One wonders why Ashbrook apparently made the Brookman Mat available to Brookman for his 1947 first edition when a more accurate depiction had been used for each edition of the Scott Specialized for over a decade, starting in 1936.
    ${ }^{6} \mathrm{Mr}$. Kloetzel's helpful review of this article before submission for publication is acknowledged with appreciation.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ E.D. Bacon and F.H. Napier, Grenada, to Which is Prefixed an Account of the Perforations of the Perkins Bacon Printed Stamps of the British Colonies (London, England: Stanley Gibbons, Inc., 1898).
    ${ }^{2}$ Carroll Chase, The 3c Stamp of the United States 1851-1857 Issue (Hammondsport, New York: J.O. Moore, Inc., 1929).
    ${ }^{3}$ Winthrop S. Boggs, Early American Perforating Machines 1851-1857 (New York, New York: Collectors Club of New York, 1954).
    ${ }^{4}$ Jerome S. Wagshal, "The Origin of the 'Chicago Perfs': A Great Mystery Solved," The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues, Vol. 38, No. 2 (May 1986), pp. 100-109.

[^5]:    ${ }^{5}$ The originals of the letters reproduced by Wagshal are located in the National Archives today.

[^6]:    ${ }^{6}$ Henry Archer's design was officially put into operation in late January 1854. This proved to be enormously popular, but it cost the British Post Office dearly. They ultimately paid $£ 4,000$ for the patent and prototype machine. Building this machine was far more difficult than we might expect today.

[^7]:    ${ }^{7}$ The following is the approximate chronology: Perkins, Fairman, \& Health (1819); Perkins, Bacon, \& Petch (1834); Perkins, Bacon, \& Co. (1852); Perkins, Bacon, Ltd. (1887).
    ${ }^{8}$ G. Bathe and D. Bathe, Jacob Perkins, His Inventions, His Times, \& His Contemporaries (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1943), page 71.
    ${ }^{9}$ Toppan was 23 years old at this time.
    ${ }^{10}$ House of Commons, Report of the Select Committee on Postage Stamp Labels (London, England: House of Commons, 1852). Archer proposed that he would print and perforate all stamps supplied to the Post Office.
    ""Memorial" from Mr. Archer to the Treasury, dated May 1850. The originals of most of the Archer correspondence can be found today in the British Postal Archives in London. See also House of Commons, Report of the Select Committee on Postage Stamp Labels (London, England: House of Commons, 1852), page 142.

[^8]:    ${ }^{12}$ One reference states that R.K. Swift was Mayor of Chicago in about 1845. This however is not in agreement with official records maintained by the Chicago Historical Society. See C. Kirkland, Chicago Yesterdays, A Sheaf of Reminiscences (Chicago, Illinois: Daughaday and Company, 1919), Chapter IV.
    ${ }^{13}$ Swift's brother was Lyman P. Swift. Johnston was Jas. S. Johnston.
    ${ }^{14}$ Harpel Scrapbook. This is a compilation of newspaper clippings held at the Chicago Historical Society. Dates of publication, writers, and other details are generally unknown.

[^9]:    ${ }^{15}$ Swift later fell on hard times. He went bankrupt in 1858. This followed a Chicago-area financial crisis in 1857, in which real estate purchased with bank deposits could not be sold at a sufficient price to stay solvent. Any of several bankers could have bailed him out, but Swift had made too many enemies over the years. Swift stayed in Chicago in the years following, engaged principally in buying tax titles. Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, Brigadier-General Swift commanded one of the first contingents of the Illinois State Militia that responded to the call for volunteers by Governor Richard Yates. In 1871, following the Chicago Fire, he moved to Colorado, and later to Missouri. He died September 18, 1883, following six years of paralysis.
    ${ }^{16}$ Wagshal indicated his uncertainty by use of brackets and a question mark: "[3 ct?]." R.K. Swift had absolutely terrible handwriting, which at times is almost unreadable.
    ${ }^{17}$ I was unable to locate a copy of this March 21 response, and likely it no longer exists.

[^10]:    ${ }^{18}$ The first part of this letter (not reproduced) deals with gum and paper problems.
    ${ }^{19}$ The Africa sailed March 28, 1855 and arrived April 7.

[^11]:    ${ }^{20}$ Dr. Ben Swanson, Director of the National Museum of Dentistry in Baltimore, is one such believer. He periodically gives presentations on "Dentists as Inventors." Dr. Swanson is also a philatelist.
    ${ }^{2}$ Hadley became the first President of the Chicago Dental Society in 1864. Today, the Chicago Dental Society remains one of the largest affiliates of the American Dental Association, which is also headquartered in Chicago. At the time of his death on March 4, 1865, Hadley was the oldest practicing dentist in Chicago.

[^12]:    ${ }^{22}$ I have not been able to ascertain what "C.\&D.S." means. Swift used abbreviations frequently in his letters. Best guess is "Copied and Duplicate Sent." The practice of sending duplicate letters of important correspondence was common in these days, due to losses in the mail. I would welcome an explanation from anyone knowing differently.
    ${ }^{23}$ Whoever docketed the letter did so in error. This should actually be $£ 1250$, not $\$ 1250$, per the contents of the letter itself.
    ${ }^{24}$ Based on exchange rate of $\$ 4.80$ per $£ 1$.
    ${ }^{25}$ W.R.D Wiggins, The Postage Stamps of Great Britain, Part Two: Revised Edition The Perforated Line-Engraved Issues (London, England: The Royal Philatelic Society London, 1962), page 11.

[^13]:    ${ }^{26} \mathrm{H}$. Toaspern, "The Mounting of a Collection of Three Cents, 1851," Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 1922), pp. 129-37; Vol. 2, No. 1 (Jan. 1923), pp. 6-9, and No. 2 (April 1923), pp. 43-49
    ${ }^{27}$ This is not the block of nine described in the prior paragraphs, which was still intact as part of a larger multiple at the time. It may be positions 71-73/81-83/91-93 R 2L, but this is speculation.
    ${ }^{28}$ The certificate for this item incorrectly states the gauge is $12 \frac{1}{2}$.

[^14]:    ${ }^{29}$ Just prior to Swift's death, he lived with his wife in Lawrence County, Missouri. Swift had three daughters: Mrs. W. H. Christian lived in Chicago; Mrs. George Wheeler lived in Rosita, Colorado; the third daughter was not married. Hadley's son, E. W. Hadley, lived in Santa Barbara, California. His step-daughter, Mrs. Margaret S. Eddy, lived in Evanston, Illinois. Hadley's wife died in Chicago in 1908. Hadley had a sister in Chicago, Mrs. Reynolds, mother-in-law of Chief Justice Fuller.

[^15]:    ${ }^{30} \mathrm{~A}$ perforating machine of similar design was used some 90 years later (in the late 1940s) to perforate stamps from East Germany. See Mishima Yoshitsugu, "Elimination of Off-centered Perforations - Still a Challenging Problem in Stamp Production," Fiftieth American Philatelic Congress Book (The American Philatelic Congress, Inc., 1984), page 252. Dr. Yoshitsugu refers to this device as a "fence" perforator. A similar design was used in the 1970s in Canada.

[^16]:    ${ }^{3}$ Howard S. Friedman, "United States Plate Proofs on Cardboard," The Essay-Proof Journal, No. 120 (Fall 1973), pp. 160-161. Dr. Friedman makes a good case for the fifth and last proof emission to have occurred in 1893, not the generally accepted 1894.
    ${ }^{4}$ John N. Luff, The Postage Stamps of the United States (New York: The Scott Stamp and Coin Co., 1902), p. 101.
    ${ }^{5}$ Lester G. Brookman, The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century (New York: H. L. Lindquist Publications, 1966), Vol. II, p. 193.
    ${ }^{6}$ Andrew Higgins, personal communication. This is a good example of how the Internet is beginning to affect philatelic research. While preparing to write this paper, I entered "Continental Banknote" into DejaNews, a search engine which can locate newsgroup posts about any and every topic under the sun. Somewhat to my surprise, DejaNews located three posts by Mr. Higgins to the newsgroup rec.collecting.stamps containing these words. There ensued a lively e-mail correspondence concerning the various papers used by Continental, a particular interest of Mr. Higgins.
    ${ }^{7}$ Luff, pp. 212-213.
    ${ }^{8}$ Ibid., p. 219.

