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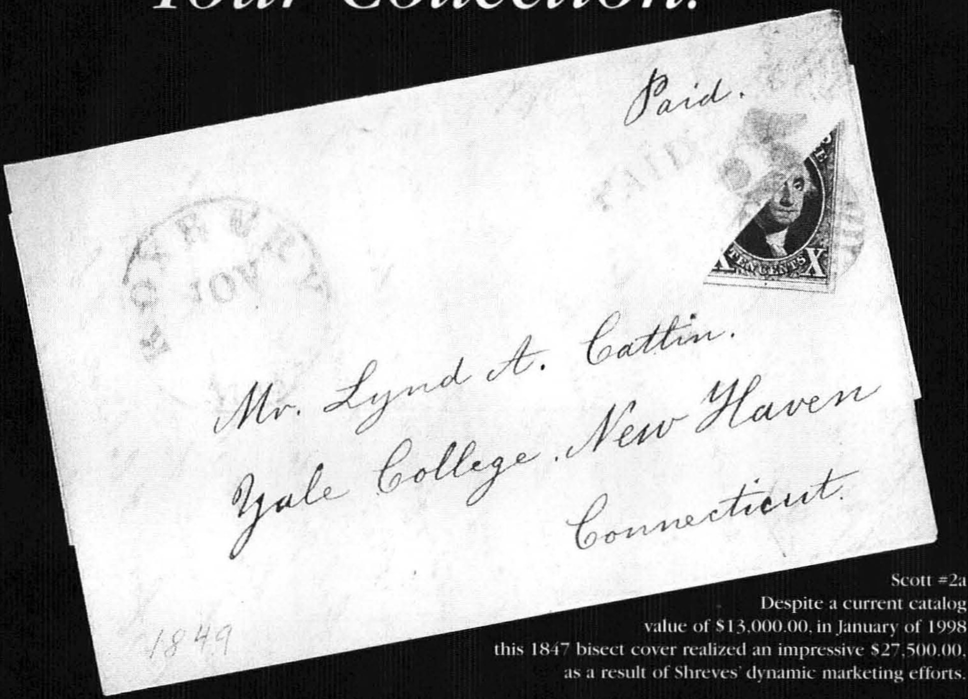
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IN THIS ISSUE

THE EXPRESS MAIL OF 1803-1804

VAN KOPPERSMITH

Literature Review

The best known express mail service in the United States is the famous Pony Express which carried letters from western Missouri to the gold fields of California in the early 1860s. Another, but earlier, express service from New Orleans and other southern cities to Washington, Philadelphia, and New York was established in 1836. The congressional act authorizing this express was signed by President Andrew Jackson on July 2, 1836[1]; it began on November 15, was discontinued in 1839, and was revived for only six weeks in early 1845. Starnes[2] states that the earliest U.S. express mail service was from Mobile (then in the Mississippi Territory) to Rhea Court House in Tennessee in 1814-1816. This express was established as a result of the War of 1812. Petri[3] reports another express service, also a result of this War, beginning a few years earlier, in 1812. Several northern routes were covered, including Buffalo-Cleveland, Buffalo-Washington, D.C., Utica-Buffalo, Detroit-Chillicothe, and Pittsburgh-Cleveland.

In another reference, Stets[4] reports the existence of express mail routes as early as 1807. Most of this information comes from the *Letters Sent by the Postmaster General, 1789-1836.*[5] These early routes include Washington, D.C.-New Orleans and Cleveland-Detroit. Letters were carried by express on the first route from April 1, 1807, until about 1810, but the second lasted only through the winter of 1807-1808.

An even earlier express mail service is the subject of this article. There are two brief references to this express mail route. The first is,

> In September, 1803, [William Charles Cole] Claiborne [Governor of Mississippi Territory] was directed to establish an express line from Natchez to New Orleans; this was to be the last link in the Natchez-Nashville-Knoxville-Washington route which was then already in operation.[6]

This first reference was not fully appreciated by this writer until he learned about the 1803-1804 express while reading the Letters of the Postmaster General [PMG] for another project. The letter books are journals containing copies of all letters written by the Postmaster General [available as fifty rolls of microfilm, see footnote 5]. There may be an even earlier express service remaining to be discovered in these letters as this writer was

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[1]James W. Milgram, M.D., *The Express Mail of 1836-1839* (Chicago, Illinois: Collectors Club of Chicago, 1977), p. 26.

[2]D. Edward Starnes, Jr., "The Express Mail of 1814-1816," *The American Philatelist*, September 1976, pp. 684-686.

[3]Pitt Petri, "Express Mails of the War of 1812; First 'Pony Expresses' in the U.S.A.," *Postal History Journal*, March 1959, pp. 63-67.

[4]Robert J. Stets, *Postmasters & Postoffices of the United States 1782-1811* (Lake Oswego, Oregon: LaPosta Publications, 1994), pp. 11-13.

[5]The letter books are journals containing copies of all of the letters written by the Postmaster General. These letter books are available for purchase on microfilm from the National Archives as Microcopy No. 601, Record Group 28. There are 50 rolls covering 1789-1836. The USPCS owns a set of the microfilm and will loan rolls to interested members. There may be an earlier express to be discovered in these letters as this writer was searching only for information on the Mississippi Territory.

[6]Leonard V. Huber and Clarence A. Wagner, *The Great Mail* (State College, Pennsylvania: The American Philatelic Society, Inc., 1949), p. 7.

searching only for information on the Mississippi Territory. Some of these letters have been published by the U.S. government[7] as well as by various archives. The other reference to this express is by Oakley in Volume 2 of *A Postal History of Mississippi.*[8] In this volume, many letters from the PMG are transcribed, generally without comment. The only letter referring to the express of 1803-1804 is one to Samuel H. Smith on October 24, 1803, which is quoted below.

Historical Background

In 1762, late in the French and Indian War (which ended disastrously for the French), the "Isle of Orleans" and the French colony of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi River were ceded to Spain by the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau (made public by Treaty of Paris, 1763). Much later, in 1795, the Spanish granted to the U.S. the right of deposit[9] at New Orleans by the Treaty of San Lorenzo, and New Orleans became an important outlet for U.S. products. This right was revoked for a short time in 1799-1800 and again in 1802-1803. These acts "of arbitrary power again roused the indignation of the western people . . .and losses of those engaged in the river trade were extensive, and spread consternation through the Western States."[10] By the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain retroceded the colony of Louisiana back to France on October 1, 1800.[11] Three years of delay in the formal transfer, the French refusing even to acknowledge the retrocession, the fear of losing New Orleans as a port, and uncertainty in the U.S. whether the cession included Spanish West Florida (extending from Pensacola to the Mississippi River) caused great alarm in the US.

The American minister to France, Robert R. Livingston, was instructed to negotiate in Paris to try to secure possession of either New Orleans or an area in West Florida. On October 16, 1802, the Spanish, still in control, again suspended the right of deposit at New Orleans. President Thomas Jefferson sent James Monroe as additional plenipotentiary to help insure progress in the negotiations and Congress authorized an expenditure of up to $10,000,000 for the purchase. At about this same time, Governor Claiborne was seeking permission to make a *coup de main* on New Orleans. He had about 2,000 men in his militia and felt he could easily capture New Orleans from the Spanish before the city was reinforced by French troops. Meanwhile, Livingston also was urging President Jefferson in this direction and "even insinuated, in his correspondence with the French authorities, that such a policy would be adopted."[12]

At this time, Napoleon had to contend with other problems of his own and, consequently, even before Monroe arrived in Paris, he offered to sell all of Louisiana. The U.S. diplomats exceeded their instructions both in dollar amount and in total area, paying

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[7]Clarence Edwin Carter [compiler and editor of 26 vols.]; and John Porter Bloom [compiler and editor of 2 vols.], *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1934-1962, 1969, 1975). These 28 volumes are a great source of information [and postmarks] for the postal historian. Unfortunately, the postmarks are not illustrated or described, but only noted.

[8]Bruce C. Oakley, Jr., *A Postal History of Mississippi,* Vol. II (Bruce, Mississippi: The Author, 1980), p. 86.

[9]The right of deposit allowed U.S. products to be landed and stored at New Orleans for transfer to other ships free from all duty or charge. Without the right of deposit, all goods had to be transferred from boat to ship while still on the Mississippi River.

[10]John W. Monette, M.D., *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi* (New York, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), two volumes, Vol. I, pp. 543-546.

[11]Major Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Matthew Carey, 1812), pp. 70-71 and 132-133. These boundaries were unclear for many years as a result of the language in both treaties.

[12]J.F.H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens* (Jackson, Mississippi: Power & Barksdale, 1880), p. 240.

$15,000,000 for the vast territory. On October 7, 1803, the Senate readily confirmed the purchase; on November 30, Spain formally transferred the province back to France; and, France transferred the enormous area to the U.S. on December 20, 1803.

History of the Post Road

Before the close of the eighteenth century, PMG Joseph Habersham had agreed to pay Abijah Hunt $2,400 per annum for carrying the mail from Nashville to Natchez and back once a month. This contract was to begin in January 1800.[13] As an actual fact, Matthew Lyon received the contract from Nashville to McIntoshes, Mississippi Territory and Hunt had the contract only from McIntoshes to Natchez.[14] Soon after the first post road was established, another "post road . . . [was] established from Natchez to Loftus Heights [Fort Adams] principally with a view of facilitating the correspondence between New Orleans & the United States."[15] In order to accomplish this, Habersham wrote to the Chevalier D'Irugo, Minister Plenipotentiary for Spain, on April 6, 1801:

> Your Excellency has probably observed that a considerable commercial intercourse subsists between Kentucky, Tennessee & New Orleans & that it would be considerably facilitated were there an interchange of letters through the public posts so as to insure regularity to the correspondence. As a step toward this object, a post road was established at the last session of Congress from Natchez to the boundary line on Loftus Heights & it is contemplated to convey the mail there every two weeks after the first of July next. Not being acquainted with the name of the proper officer in New Orleans to be addressed on the above occasion, I have taken the liberty to request your advice in that respect & also to be informed whether a public post is established from New Orleans to any place near Loftus Heights where an exchange of mails could take place.[16]

There is evidence that Loftus Heights was used to exchange mail between Spanish New Orleans and the United States as early as July 1, 1801.[17]

Mail service from Nashville to Natchez continued to run every two weeks until shortly after Spain revoked the right of deposit in New Orleans. As the result of that crisis, on January 1, 1803, PMG Gideon Granger "ordered a weekly mail to run between Nashville & Natchez at the rate of fifty miles a day . . ." At the same time, he "greatly accelerated the progress of the mail between Nashville and this place [Washington, D.C.] after the first day of April next so that we shall be able to hear from each other in a little more than half the time that was heretofore required."[18] On at least two occasions, the PMG sent an express from Washington, D.C., to overtake the regular mail carrier to Natchez. Both of these expresses carried dispatches which were "of first importance to the Union and particularly to the Western Country."[19] The second dispatch contained "among other things . . . the order of the King of Spain for opening the port of New Orleans."[20]

From Ordinary Post Road to Express Route

On September 27, 1803, PMG Granger wrote to Governor Claiborne, as follows:

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[13]Roll 9, Volume E, May 8, 1799-March 4, 1800, pp. 327, 347, 356-357 and 429.

[14]Roll 10, Volume EE, March 3, 1800-August 6, 1801, pp. 298-299, 311-312 and 468.

[15]*Ibid.*, pp. 312-313. PMG Habersham to John Steele, Esqr, Secretary of the Mississippi Territory, March 26, 1801. [As with all letters transcribed and quoted here, punctuation may have been added, as well as spelling errors/anachronisms corrected.]

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 323.

[17]Roll 11, Volume F, August 7, 1801-January 25, 1803, p. 231.

[18]Roll 12, Volume FF, January 24, 1803-March 16, 1804, p. 37. PMG Granger to W.C.C. Claiborne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 77. PMG Granger to PM Nashville, March 11, 1803, and the exact same wording on p. 137, PMG Granger to Robert Stothart [PM], Nashville, April 19, 1803.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 137.

The important arrangements which must soon be adopted by Congress in relation to New Orleans and Louisiana render essential to the public service a rapid and regular line of intelligence from this place to New Orleans. I have accordingly made arrangements for running an express mail to the Natchez for three months commencing on the 31st of Oct. next upon the plan herein enclosed. The President relies on you, sir, to make provision for a line of expresses for the same period to run between Natchez and New Orleans.[21]

That same day, he also wrote to the postmasters at Nashville, Wythe CH (VA), Charlottesville and Knoxville. Possibly anticipating complaints, the PMG told the postmasters how to achieve his goal:

The negotiations which we are now carrying on respecting New Orleans and Louisiana renders it necessary that the mail should be conveyed with all possible expedition between that and this city. Enclosed you have a copy of an arrangement which I have made for that purpose to commence on the 1st of November, by which you will observe that it is to be carried on this side Nashville at the rate of 100 miles in every 24 hours. This can doubtless be accomplished with regularity provided the mail does not stop at night and the contractor has a horse stationed at every thirty miles distance so that one horse need never travel farther than 30 miles at one time. I hope you will do what is necessary to facilitate the expedition and should any accident happen to the contractor or rider, provide expresses or otherwise as there may be occasion to prevent a failure."[22]

Finally, he also wrote the postmaster at Natchez the same day:

The public service requires the most prompt circulation of intelligence from hence to New Orleans. I enclosed copy of a new establishment to which you will attend and also to such instructions as you may receive from Governor Claiborne. I rely confidently on your most strenuous exertions to aid in effecting the proposed expedition and can only say a trip must not be lost.[23]

The schedule referenced in the above three letters shows mileage as follows:

Leave Washington		every Monday	7pm
Arrive at Charlottesville	121	every Tuesday	7pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Wythe CH	203	Thursday	6pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Knoxville	193	Saturday	6pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Nashville	195	Monday	6pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Natchez	550	Tuesday	6pm
Returning			
Leave Natchez		every Saturday	6pm
Arrive at Nashville	550	Sunday	6pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Knoxville	195	Tuesday	6pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Wythe CH	193	Thursday	6pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Charlottesville	203	Saturday	6pm
Leave same		same	8pm
Arrive at Washington	121	Sunday	6pm[24]

The PMG wrote Benjamin Joslin, the new contractor between Nashville and McIntoshes, the following day (September 28, 1803). Again, his letter includes instructions to accomplish his goal.

[21]*Ibid.,* p. 233-234.
[22]*Ibid.,* p. 231.
[23]*Ibid.,* p. 234.
[24]*Ibid.,* p. 234-235.

The important negotiations which are now carrying on respecting New Orleans render it indispensable that the mail should be carried between this city and that place with all possible expedition. If you have a horse and rider stationed half way between Nashville and Tennessee, another at Tennessee, another at McIntoshes, another at the frontier house near Grindstone Ford and a horse at Natchez, you can carry the mail regularly from Nashville to Natchez in eight days as follows

Leave Nashville every Monday at 8 o'clock afternoon
Deliver the mail at Natchez the next Tuesday week by
6 o'clock afternoon in 8 days.
Returning
Leave Natchez every Saturday at 8 o'clock afternoon &
Arrive at Nashville the next Sunday week by 6 o'clock
afternoon.

I hope you will not fail to provide the necessary horses and riders to carry the mail as above and to commence at Nashville on Monday the 7th of November and Natchez on Saturday the 29th of October & continue until the first of February next. As you may have occasion for money to procure horses, etc., I have enclosed my draft on Abijah Hunt, late postmaster at Natchez, for 400 ds. Be so good as to answer this by the next post.[25]

In a circular sent to all postmasters along the way from Washington, D.C., to Nashville, the PMG instructed "it will be essential . . . that your mails should be made up, ready to put in the portmanteau, as soon as the mail arrives, and that you should dispatch it as soon as possible, never detaining it longer than ten minutes."[26] Wythe CH in Virginia was a distributing post office and the postmaster had as many as 90 mails to make up in one evening. So that the express might not be delayed, the PMG wrote a lengthy letter to George Ouvy, postmaster, explaining in great detail the easiest and quickest way to distribute his mails.

. . . To save you trouble and the intermediate offices, we will have all the mails addressed to Natchez, Nashville and the Mississippi Territory enclosed in a separate bag. In respect to time, I do not see that we can extend it much . . . [You should have] three hours to make up the mail in, and it may be done by three persons, even if you should have 90 mails to make up the same evening . . . The postmaster at Stanford who distributes for Connecticut has but one hour to open and distribute the mails, and he has about 35 mails to make up at one time . . . this he does without any assistance & within the time. But he has everything prepared before the arrival of the mail in this manner. He first enters the names of all the offices to which he regularly sends mails in his account of letters sent. He then directs and dates a bill for every office placing them on a long table in the same order that they are entered in his book. His paper for wrappers is ready cut to the different sizes wanted and his twine wound on a roller. By this means the business is half done before the arrival of the mail . . . When your accounts arrive, I will examine them and, perhaps, we may see some way of shortening the labor at your office . . .[27]

The PMG considered the successful arrival of the express on time so important that he instructed the postmaster at Knoxville to

endeavor to deliver the mail at those offices [Gallatin, Cragfont & Blackburn Springs] unless an instance should occur in which it would make a break in the regular conveyance of the southern mail at Nashville. In which case you may pass those offices without calling.[28]

Just before the express began, PMG Granger must have received a letter of complaint from George H. Hynds of Knoxville. (Hynds had the contract for carrying the mail from Wythe CH to Knoxville.) On October 24, 1803, the PMG sent two short letters to Hynds:

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 233.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 264.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 267-268.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Yours of the 14th is received and you have now enclosed my check on the Bank of the United States for one hundred and fifty dollars as a further advance on account of the increased expedition of the mail.[29]

Yours of the 14th is received. I have this day sent you one hundred and fifty dollars more. You will not only make the attempt to carry through the express arrangement, but *that attempt must be crowned with success.*[30] [The emphasis is in the original letter.]

There appears to have been only one restriction and no additional charge for the express mail service. On October 24, 1803, PMG Granger wrote to Samuel H. Smith at Washington, D.C., to inform him of the service and of the restriction on newspapers. Note the postscript.

A line of express is established from this office to the Natchez, to commence on this day week [Monday] and to continue three months from that time, during which period that mail will close at 5 o'clock pm and newspapers cannot be admitted into it unless they are fully dried and closely packed.

NB It may be useful to give this a place in your paper.[31]

As Smith was the founder and editor of the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, D.C.,[32] Gideon Granger was making an attempt to get national publicity for this early express service, The Natchez Express Mail.

There is only one failure of the express mentioned in the letter books. It was the first arrival due in Washington, D.C., on November 6, 1803. The PMG dealt with it quickly and sternly. First, he wrote to several mail carriers on November 7:

The Natchez Express mail due yesterday at 7pm has not from some unaccountable cause arrived here this day at 1pm and I now dispatch the Natchez mail by an express from this city with a view of meeting the proper rider to save the trip. The business can and must be performed agreeable to your instructions - no common excuse can justify a delinquency. You must invariably leave the post office at the fixed hour of your instructions, whether the depending mail has arrived or not. The several postmasters on the route are expressly directed not to detain you more that five minutes.[33]

Then, on the same day, he sent a circular to the postmasters along the route in Tennessee and Virginia:

It is with much regret that I have to inform you that the Natchez express mail due yesterday at 7pm has not arrived this day at 1pm. This will be forwarded with the Natchez mail by an express from this city to meet the proper carrier. To prevent an evil of this magnitude again recurring, I must request that you will invariably dispatch the carrier from your office at the stipulated hour without waiting for the arrival of the depending mail; and at all times be prepared to forward by express such mail as fails in arriving at your office at the proper period to meet the proper carrier. The expense will be paid at this office as soon as the account is presented. The mail must in no instance be detained over five minutes at any post office except Wythe CH.[34]

The End of the Natchez Express and the Beginning of the Federal Road

The express route between Washington, D.C., and New Orleans was discontinued, as planned, on February 1, 1804. The federal New Orleans post office had been established by Governor Claiborne by that date. The first mail from the pre-territorial New Orleans post office was dispatched on February 14, 1804. Although expenses must have been high for the Natchez Express during its three months of existence, the only actual charges mentioned in the letters of the PMG are those of Ferdinand L. Claiborne (brother of Governor

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[29]*Ibid.*, p. 277.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 279.

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 278.

[32]James Grant Wilson and John Fiske [editors], *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1888), 6 volumes, Vol. 5, p. 574.

[33]Roll 12, Volume FF, January 24, 1803-March 16, 1804, pp. 287-288.

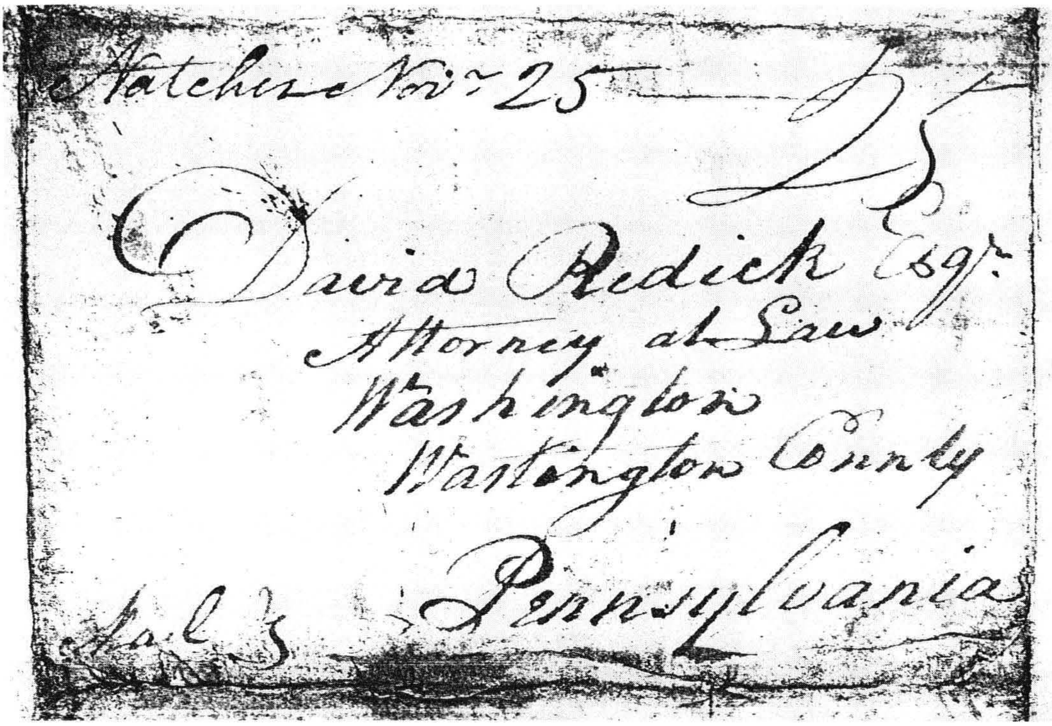

Figure 1. Earliest cover from the Natchez Express Mail of 1803-1804. The next earlier Bradford letter was carried outside the mails starting in late October 1803. The next following Bradford letter was written Jan 24, 1804, and was postmarked in Ft. Adams on Feb 1st. (Cover courtesy of James S. Leonardo.)

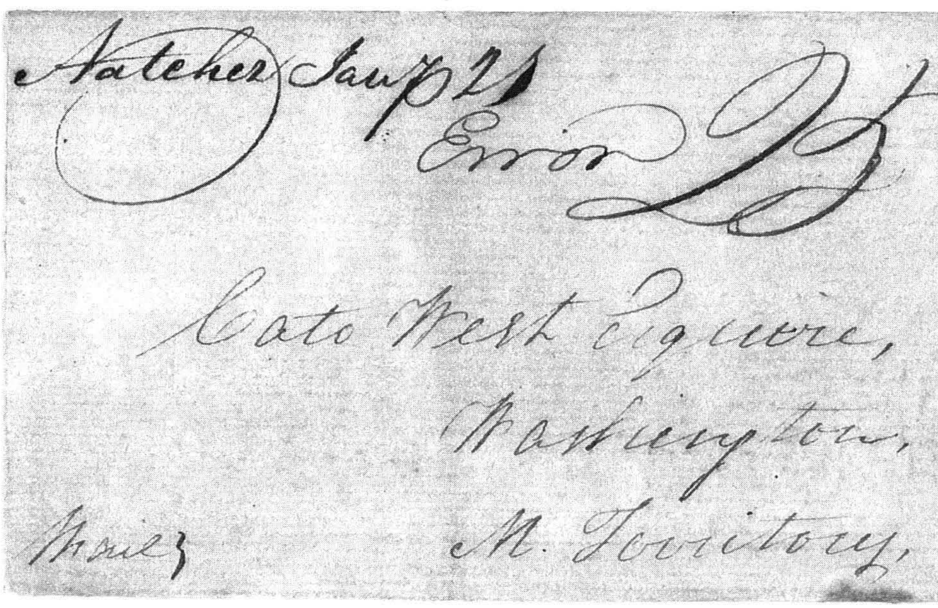

Figure 2. The second Natchez Express Mail cover. Cato West was the secretary of the Mississippi Territory.

Claiborne) for $666.66.[35] Ferdinand Claiborne carried the mail on the last segment of the express from Natchez to New Orleans.

The post road between Natchez and Nashville was known as the Natchez Trace, but the greater part of the route, from Washington, D.C., to Nashville, was known as the Great Valley Road.[36] That these roads were neither the most direct route to New Orleans nor the easiest to traverse was known before the 1803 express began. Perhaps the following letter from PMG Granger to the Chairman of the Committee upon post roads, David Thomas, on November 30, 1803, was partly responsible for President Jefferson granting permission to study the establishment of a new post road from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans. This new route would become known as "The Federal Road."

> . . . I must through you communicate my ideas on the subject of establishing a direct post road from this place to New Orleans. As New Orleans will unquestionably be the place of deposit for the products of the western world, its connection with the Atlantic capitals must be incalculably great and important. The road to and from thence will become the great thoroughfare of the United States. It is certainly an object of prime importance to procure the nearest and most convenient route to that city. This can only be done by avoiding the present road through Tennessee which passes the Allegheny Mountains and establishing a route through Virginia, the back parts of North and South Carolina into Georgia at or about the place called Jackson court house, and from thence by a road to be in part purchased of the Indians, in a line as nearly direct as the nature of the ground will admit to New Orleans. In order to accommodate the Natchez, as well as the people living on the Tombigbee [River in present day Alabama] and in the interior, it will be necessary to establish a cross road some where near the latitude of the Natchez from the proposed road to that place. By making provision for these roads, when they are once prepared for the undersigned, the distance between this place and New Orleans will be lessened near five hundred miles, the delay and embarrassments that attend passing the mountains avoided, and the states of South Carolina and Georgia, whose means of correspondence to and from New Orleans are so embarrassed by the present establishment as to render them of little or no benefit, will be furnished with a regular line of intelligence . . .[37]

Express Mail Covers from the Route

At this time, there are only two covers known from the express mail period (October 31, 1803 - January 31, 1804). The first example, shown in Figure 1, entered the mail at Natchez and is from the David Bradford correspondence. Postmarked in manuscript at Natchez on Nov 25, it is datelined "Bayou Sarah [Spanish West Florida, present day St. Francisville, LA] Nov 12, 1803."

The second example is also postmarked in manuscript at Natchez on Jan^{y} 21 [1804]. Although it is rated "25," it traveled only seven miles to Washington, Mississippi Territory. The word "Error" is in manuscript to the left of the "25" cent rate marking, as the proper rate was eight cents. Strangely, this correct rate is not indicated on the cover and the "25" marking is not crossed out. See Figure 2.

Perhaps some day, covers from Natchez, or even New Orleans, to points north such as Philadelphia or Washington, D.C., will be discovered.[38] □

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 430.

[36] Henry deLeon Southerland, Jr., and Jerry Elijah Brown, *The Federal Road* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1989), p. 11.

[37] Roll 12, Volume FF, January 24, 1803-March 16, 1804, pp. 332-333.

[38] This writer acknowledges the contributions of several philatelists, including James S. Leonardo, Frank Mandel, Dr. James W. Milgram, B.C. Oakley, Jr. and particularly Hubert C. Skinner.

ARE THERE REALLY BOGUS LOCALS?

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A problem that has haunted collectors and students of locals, carriers, expresses, etc., is how to define or classify what they collect. The catalogs have for years mixed together the intra-city locals with the intercity independent mails and the express companies. More recently even forwarders have been included by some writers on the subject. A second definitional problem is between genuine items, counterfeits to deceive postal authorities, and forgeries to bilk collectors. In this latter class are items termed "fantasies" or "bogus posts," dreamed up by philatelic exploiters, as well as adhesives with a similar origin. There are also the "reprints" made from original plates or stones.

Back in the mid-1970s, the late Herbert Bloch, dean of the experts in this country, and I worked over a two week period to develop a series of definitions for the Scott catalog that would fit all the material they were listing in this area. Only part of these definitions survive in the edited catalog today.

One basic problem is the use of the word "bogus" in an excessive and undiscriminating fashion all the way from the 1860s to the present. For many the terms "fantasy" and "bogus" are the same, while the word "cinderella" is applied to stamp-like objects that have nothing to do with handling the mails as well as to allegedly imaginary labels of allegedly imaginary posts.

The problem of what is bogus goes back to three of the first students in the field. One of them is known as one of the first collectors in the field, S. Allen Taylor. Taylor began in 1857 to collect the field systematically and is also the father of locals and carriers scholarship, as Henry Abt told the Collectors Club of New York in a presentation in March 1953. Well known as one of the major villains in the field, Taylor is less well-known as its first investigative student. Taylor was apparently drawn to collect the field at the age of twenty by viewing the holding of John Appleton Nutter, the 10-year old scion of a Montreal banking family who had put together an early local collection. Both soon turned to forgery, and both usually if not always had a genuine local behind the adhesives they produced. Nutter soon quit but Taylor went on to generate a plethora of "just-as-good-as" items over the next decades. All have been denounced as "bogus" locals, an incorrect designation.

The second of the philatelic "patriarchs" of the locals and carriers was George Hussey. A respectable banker, Hussey formed a bank messenger and local delivery service in 1854 when he was 42. Around 1860 he, together with his carrier, James Brennan, developed a sideline of selling stamps. With the flowering of philately, Hussey began to make stamps of other locals in 1862, using plates and stones he had been able to acquire. He had lithographic copies made by Thomas Wood, his printer, of those locals he couldn't obtain either by buying remainders or acquiring the printing forms. Today, we don't know what items attributed to Hussey may be remainders he bought or reprints from stones he acquired. We have the Wood's memorandum book of what Wood printed, but even that has indications of genuine items reprinted by him from plates received from Westcott, an express company associated with Alvin Adams.

The third "patriarch" was another banker—J.P. Morgan's financial partner, Charles Coster. Coster began collecting stamps as a teenager in the mid-1860s and wrote the first major work on the field in 1877, still a basic guide today. It was Coster's holding and Coster's assistance that enabled the 23-year-old J. Walter Scott to author his 1868-70 articles identifying the characteristics of genuine locals. Coster was only fifteen at the time, but, unlike Scott, was well-situated financially to acquire a good holding in the field.

In August 1871, Coster authored a list of 220 locals and carriers, "omitting all bogus manufacturers and colors which are not authentic." This list included the C&W Bridge, International Letter Express, J.- H. Prince's steamboat local, Rodman's, Snow's, and Winans locals. At this point he also had a holding of 1,200 forgeries which he placed on exhibit at the office of William P. Brown.

In 1874, Coster began the serial publication of his history of U.S. locals. When this work, now expanded, was published in book form in 1877, Coster was only 25. A more complete, revised and updated version in French was published by J. B. Moens in 1882, for Scott had not given Coster the opportunity to edit and update the original English language book.

Coster had become part of the firm of Drexel, Morgan at the beginning of 1876 and was crucial to the financial success of that firm over the next two decades both by his "Costerization" or Morganization of railroad companies that put the firms on a sound basis and his approach to industrial reorganization as seen in the creation of General Electric. By 1878, Coster realized that his business career would prevent further philatelic work so he sold his fabled collection in Paris. It became the core of the Ferrari locals and carriers holding.

Coster did some minor philatelic writing in the locals area as late as 1881 and planned to do more, but never did. His personal copy of his *magnus opus* had bound into it correspondence about the work, including a letter from a deputy postmaster in 1891 suggesting an error in one of the entries. Bound with the letter is a refutation of the criticism by Coster and other extensive notes.

The additional notes were reported by George Wheeler in his 1973 Prentice Hall work, *Pierpont Morgan and Friends*. The corrections, emendations and additions do not appear to have been examined by anyone in philatelic circles subsequently, for they are not mentioned by his philatelic biographer, Dr. Herbert Trenchard, in his 1998 *Penny Post* article on Coster. Consequently, we don't know exactly the basis of Coster's conclusions on bogus posts in his book or the modifications he planned to make in them.

A basic problem with the Coster work is the belief it is complete and definitive. For the most part, subsequent students have blindly followed the 25-year old Coster's lead. If he condemned an item, it was banished from philatelic sight and frequently destroyed. His working research notes have never been examined and reviewed. His key sources were older dealers such as George Hussey, William P. Brown and S. Allen Taylor, most of whom were not active when the original locals operated. We already know that a number of Coster's judgments were wrong.

Reviews of over a dozen allegedly bogus locals show that *in every case* there was a real operation behind each. The most important early producer of "bogus" material was S. Allen Taylor. In *Byways of Philately*, an 1966 publication by Elliott Perry of H. Warren Hale's studies, several allegedly "bogus" Montreal locals are discussed. First taken up is Baldwin's locomotive express. This first surfaced in 1865 and was denounced by George Stewart, Jr. on March 1, 1866 in his *Monthly Gazette*. Ironically, it was Stewart who showed the local was *not* bogus. He found that an H. Baldwin ran an express office on the European and North American railway running out of St. John, New Brunswick. Although Stewart denounced the adhesives as fakes, we don't know if Baldwin ever did issue an express label or adhesive. If one did exist, it was probably destroyed at an early date.

A second Taylor-Nutter item discussed in *Byways* was Bancroft's City Express. Here, young Nutter had a local adhesive printed up for Edward Bancroft, who was a family friend and owner of a genuine local, the City Express, a package delivery company at 43 Great St. James Street. Supposedly, Bancroft agreed and some of the profile portrait adhesives produced by Nutter are initialed "E.D.B.," whether by Nutter or Bancroft himself has not been proven. Nutter also arranged that some stamps would be used on Bancroft's packages and at least one correspondent was able to obtain copies from Bancroft's office although he reported the stamp "had been gotten up by a boy on a lark." Taylor forged the Nutter essay.

Byways also refers to the "pseudo" labels of the Portland Express of Winslow & Co. Sterling Dow, in his 1943 *Maine Postal History*, reports that on August 8, 1853 ads of James N. Winslow's Original Portland Express had extended operations to Montreal over the Atlantic & St. Lawrence R.R. The operation, which had earlier absorbed Bigelow's Express, was merged along with Jerome & Co. into the Eastern Express Co. on May 1, 1857 while James Winslow became a U.S. steamboat letter carrier March 25, 1861. The allegedly "pseudo" labels are probably genuine express company labels reflecting Winslow's extension of operations into Montreal.

One of the more infamous of Taylor productions, termed "bogus" by everyone down through Elliott Perry, is the Ker local. It is known in three different forms—with feathers, arms and portrait. When researched it turns out that there was a genuine Ker's local located at 6 Old Slip, New York City. Further, this company existed under three different formats of ownership. First, it was operated by James Ker as Ker & Rowland Express, then it was Andrew Ker's Express, and finally, it was operated by Andrew and John Ker. All these from the same New York location. Is it not conceivable that one of the Ker family owners went to Montreal briefly to set up a branch operation on that city's waterfront?

The Ker adhesive portrait has been alleged to be that of S. Allen Taylor by most authorities. The grounds for attribution seem flimsy. The portrait seems to be of someone older than Taylor was at the time, someone with a different set of facial hair. Actually, the adhesive portrait is sufficiently vague it might just as easily have been attributed to Mr. Floyd of the Floyd Chicago local.

There definitely was a genuine Ker local operation in New York and possibly it had intercity connections. Was there possibly a rare genuine Ker adhesive that Taylor copied badly?

Another alleged "bogus" local is the International Express local whose stamps were reprinted by George Hussey. I have a broadside photocopy ad showing E.T. Hubbell as superintendent in 1854, as well as an International Express label on a Danville, Pa. cover. Further, the *Hollowbush Transcripts* report this company was merged into the well-known Howard & Co. express operation on May 31, 1856. This company was part of the Alvin Adams group of companies. Thus, there was a genuine operation.

Even more intriguing is the note regarding the International Express adhesive found in the Wood *Memorandum Book* of the work Wood did for Hussey. This notes that Westcott & Co. were paid $2.25 in connection with this adhesive. Westcott was another Adams company.

The original Westcott operation was a baggage express called the Manhattan Express, founded in 1851 by Robert F. Westcott. He later joined with A.S. Dodd. By 1858, the company operated the most extensive baggage delivery operation in America. By 1853, the activity operated out of the new Adams Express building, built exclusively for Adams' operations. Later it operated from the offices of the Adams agent, Edwards, Sanford & Co.

There is a Westcott adhesive label on a Brooklyn cover carried by the company. The Westcott operation was another of the numerous Alvin Adams fronts used to control the express and local delivery business. It is not unlikely that either Westcott or Dodd operated the City Express Post local for Adams as well. The 1856 merger of the Pennsylvania International Express into Howard & Co. suggests that operation was also part of the Adams family. In either case, there was a genuine operation, with genuine labels, behind this allegedly "bogus" local as I reported in my *Collectors Club Philatelist* series on "The Incunabula of Philatelic Literature on Locals and Carriers" (May 1993-April 1994). It is not unlikely that Hussey received the original International Express plate from Westcott and reprinted from it.

Another of Hussey's allegedly "bogus" locals is the Hourly Express. In his French edition of 1882, Coster reported,

> Tradition tells us that this post was formed in 1858, and existed for about three weeks, which latter circumstance may account for the fact that no authentic specimens are known. Reprints (or rather what are supposed to be reprints) are common. . . .

The Hussey reprints were produced June 22, 1866 when 1,000 were printed by Wood. They are among the last items in the *Memorandum Book*. By the time Coster was revising his 1877 work for the 1882 French edition, George Hussey, one of his sources, was no longer alive and could not be interviewed. However, it seems likely that Hussey obtained an original plate which he had Wood use to print from. A three week operation would leave few authentic adhesives on cover, but could well leave a plate for the subsequent Hussey reprints.

Another often condemned "bogus" post is that of Page & Keyes of Boston, whose adhesives are known to be an S. Allen Taylor production. Even Elliott Perry condemned this local in his April 1945 *Pat Paragraphs*. Perry had a change of mind, for when two stampless Page & Keyes handstamped covers came onto the market he split them with me. He had no question about their authenticity. With a genuine operation, did this company also issue adhesives that were mimicked by S. Allen Taylor? Again, we just don't know. The adhesives we do know are Taylor productions, but was there a genuine adhesive as well?

The allegedly "bogus" Turner local adhesive is another instance where there is a core of a genuine operation behind it. These adhesives have been attributed to Walter Ginitty and placed as a bogus Baltimore operation. However, they may have been based on one of the four genuine local operations with the Turner name. One of these used handstamps at both St. John, N.B. and Boston, Mass. in 1860, three had offices in New York, while one was known as part of the Adams operation in New London, Ct. As the possessor of several genuine Turner covers, I am somewhat aggrieved by the "bogus" attribution given everything with the Turner name.

While all the allegedly "bogus" locals have not been researched, the selection above indicates that real operations lie behind most of them. One that is more dubious is the 5¢ Utah Mormon local. It was first recorded in the English *Stamp Collectors Review* in May 1864. The story was picked up by the semi-official *U.S. Mail and Post Office Assistant* the following month. According to the story, the stamp was authorized by Brigham Young on April 4, 1852 for the purpose of prepaying letters within Utah Territory and was in use until May 1853. It was stopped when Young despatched bags of letters bearing the adhesive to England as part of the "call-in" of Mormons living abroad. Several thousand letters were bagged and got as far as Washington on their way to the British steamers in New York. The bags were stopped after being opened by postal employees and Young had to pay about $3,000 in postage.

The 5¢ stamp would have fit the U.S. portion of the British treaty rate as well as whatever internal Utah purpose was deemed appropriate by Utah authorities. It should be noted that U.S. troops had been stationed in Salt Lake City in the winter of 1854-55, again in 1857-58 and in 1862, so that there was hostility between the Mormon leaders and the government.

There are three allegedly "bogus" Mormon stamps. The most common is a product of S. Allen Taylor's manufacture and features a portrait inside an octagonal format. The face looks more like a young Prince Albert than Brigham Young. The other two items are rare. One is a Murr's Express, Utah adhesive with a 3¢ rate. This stamp was first chronicled after 1900 but is believed to have been produced prior to 1875. Richard Frajola, who has exhibited the Sloane "bogus" reference collection, reports that less than three copies have been recorded. It is possible that it represents a genuine express company operation in Utah. No work has been done to research this possibility to my knowledge.

The other rarity is known as a unique 5¢ black on yellow adhesive with an encircled portrait that is quite close to pictures of Brigham Young, the Mormon leader. If there is a genuine stamp behind the 1864 story this would be the adhesive of choice.

The 1864 story makes little sense, inasmuch as there were some twenty Federal postoffices operating in Utah between 1852 and 1853, so it would be unlikely for a non-Federal adhesive to be used during the period. Further, Salt Lake City had been making Federal postal returns since June of 1850 and earlier stampless covers are known from there. Conversely, Young might have created a 5¢ adhesive when he organized the State of Deseret in 1849 intending it to be independent. In the "Sloane's Column" of October 31, 1936, George P. Sloane reported that a collector contacted Young in 1864 about a Mormon stamp and that Young stated he had never issued nor ever thought of issuing a postage stamp.

The Young denial, if accurate, should have finished any speculation about a Mormon stamp. However, it must be remembered the time was one of very strong political feelings in the U.S. and the Mormons were seen as possible Confederate sympathizers. The date of inquiry was just about the time of General Early's raid on Washington, D.C. that panicked the North and resulted in the peak rate of "depreciated currency" covers. It would have been treason or near-treason for Young to have admitted setting up his own postal system. Too, he may well have forgotten a minor event of sixteen years before. Similar forgetfulness has been recorded in the case of postmaster provisionals and the Confederate postal officials.

Turning from "bogus" locals where the evidence seems to support the existence of a genuine operation behind most, to "bogus" stamps, it is valid and easy to conclude those traced to certain of the infamous producers of forgeries (Taylor, Scott, etc.) are fake. But what about reprints from genuine plates or stones by men such as Hussey?

Some of the allegedly "bogus" adhesives are sufficiently close to known genuine items that they might represent different positions on a stone or plate, particularly if they are rare. We don't yet know enough to conclusively condemn some items. It is necessary to plate the genuine items and show the fake doesn't plate or to establish that the fake comes from the place of a known forger and that the plate is not one used by the forger for reprints but one that was wholly made up. For some locals this has been done. For many others, where the allegedly "bogus" item is rare and the genuine is unplated, it seems necessary to suspend judgment until more research has been done. Unfortunately, this type of research is not a well-established tradition in the locals and carriers field, and there has been an all too prevelant historic tradition of destroying an item not endorsed by prevailing authorities such as Coster. □

S.C.R.A.P.
MICHAEL J. BROWN, Editor

United States Postmaster's Provisionals have long held a certain beguiling appeal for philatelists. All Scott-recognized U.S. Postmaster's Provisionals carry substantial premiums on cover. As interest in postal history rose, particularly in the last half of the twentieth century, fakers applied their art to this arena, also. Like that of most spurious efforts, the faker's temptation with provisional issues is nothing less than collector demand. Relatively low valued stampless covers provide the raw material. That some may be unlikely to stand up to anything but a cursory examination is probably beside the point. The faker creates them to fool the unwary and those eager to snap up a "great deal." We will see such an example in the following excerpt from a monograph written by **Patricia Stilwell Walker** and reviewed by **Van Koppersmith**.

10 CENT 1845 BALTIMORE POSTMASTER'S PROVISIONAL

(S.C.R.A.P. Number 81-022-00)

DESCRIPTION: A folded letter sheet franked by a handstamp similar in design to a single 1845 issue 10 cent black on bluish Baltimore Postmaster's Provisional, postmarked with a blue Baltimore cds and a blue PAID handstamp, also with a blue manuscript 10 marking, addressed to Hagerstown, MD.

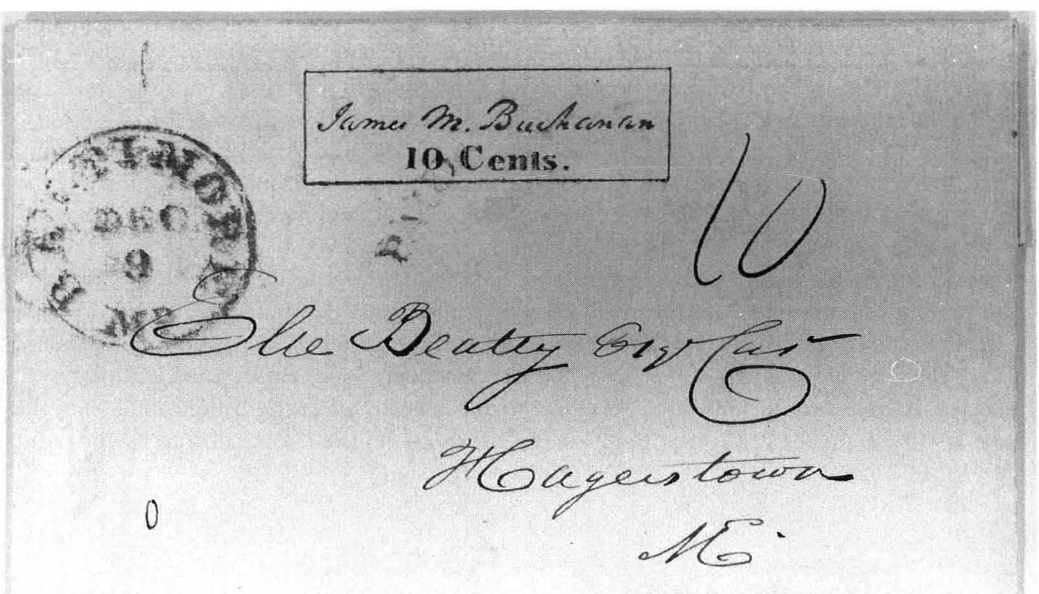

Figure 1. A faked *James M. Buchanan/10 cents* Postmaster's Provisional usage created from a genuine stampless cover. (S.C.R.A.P. Number 81-022-00)

APPARENT USAGE: Fully prepaid, double rate 5¢ per half ounce letter traveling less than 300 miles under domestic letter rates established July 1, 1845.

ANALYSIS: This folded letter sheet is addressed to Elie Beatty in Hagerstown, MD and is part of the Hagerstown Bank "find," a very prolific correspondence, readily available in the philatelic market. Inside the letter is a manuscript dateline: *Balte Dec*

8th 1841. The Baltimore Postmaster's Provisional adhesive stamps and handstamped postal stationery envelopes were not issued until July 1845, *more than three years after this folded letter was mailed.* Furthermore, James M. Buchanan did not become postmaster of Baltimore until April 17, 1845, and was *not* postmaster during 1841 or any time prior to 1845.

The cover is handstamped with the blue BALTIMORE Md/DEC 9 cds and blue PAID markings typical of an 1841 period letter from Baltimore; the markings are genuine. In addition, the blue manuscript 10 is the correct rate for a single letter traveling from 31 to 80 miles according to the official rate schedule established in 1816/1825 and valid until July 1, 1845.

The stamp design of the 10 cent Buchanan adhesive stamps (Scott 3X2 and 3X4) has the "James M. Buchanan" signature in a rectangular box, the dimensions of which are approximately 52mm x 11mm. The stamps were printed from a plate of 12 (2 x 6) containing nine 5 cent stamps and three 10 cent stamps. The handstamped 10 cent postal stationery envelopes (Scott 3XU3 and 3XU4), also issued in 1845, consist of a design that includes a handstamped signature (but *not* in a box), a handstamped PAID, and a handstamped numeral in oval, all applied separately. The unboxed handstamped signature is only known on postal stationery envelopes.

The bogus handstamp on this folded letter is similar to the design of the stamps (3X2 and 3X4), *not* of the postal stationery envelope (3XU3). The dimensions of its rectangular box are approximately 51mm x 16mm. No generic Buchanan handstamp with the signature of James M. Buchanan and a postal value within a rectangular box (*i.e.*, similar to the adhesive stamp) is known.

In 1946 the Baltimore Philatelic Society produced souvenir sheets which included replicas of the Buchanan 5 cent and 10 cent adhesive stamps. These might be the source of the faked handstamp on this folded letter sheet. The frame lines of each stamp on the souvenir sheet were a rectangle; however, on the original Buchanan stamps, the frame lines were crossed lines. (Although unconfirmed, it is rumored that the plates to produce the souvenir sheets may still exist.) The handstamp on this cover is very similar to the design used for the 10 cent stamp in the souvenir sheet, except that the dimensions of the frame differ, the design of the souvenir sheet frame being 2mm shorter. It should be noted that the exact measurements of the original stamps are not consistent from stamp to stamp because of the different papers used. Even from the same plate position, the frame size of a genuine stamp can vary by as much as a millimeter in length.

CONCLUSION: This folded letter was originally a genuine 1841 stampless cover to which was added a bogus handstamp similar in design to the Baltimore Postmaster's Provisional adhesive stamps of 1845. □

THE UNITED STATES–BRITISH NORTH AMERICA CROSS-BORDER MAILS: THEIR UNIQUE ASPECTS, PECULIARITIES AND MARKINGS, INCLUDING CANCELS DESIGNED TO KILL POSTMARKS

HUBERT C. SKINNER

(Continued frrom *Chronicle* 179:191)

II. Obliterators Designed to Kill Postmarks

The earliest obliterating device intended to cancel adhesive postage stamps and to prevent their re-use, the red Maltese cross which was struck on the Penny Black, the world's first adhesive issue, was designed and used in Great Britain in 1840. In the United States, the earliest obliterators for adhesives date to 1842 *et seq.* (see *Chronicle* 167:171-178; 168:241-245; 169:27-28; and 170:85-88). These handstamped obliterators replaced penstrokes and handstamped townmarkings used initially to cancel early adhesives.

Very little has been written previously about cancelling devices designed and intended to obliterate postmarks such as handstamped paids and rates. Some of these consist of closely spaced diagonal bars or concentric circles which when carefully struck over the previous postmarks render them virtually unreadable, thus functioning as extremely effective "killers". Several such devices were used at United States and Canadian exchange offices to obliterate paid markings on "paid to the Lines" letters originating across the border and prepaid to the lines (see Figure 7).

Early on (largely before 1850), the manuscript or handstamped paids on many "paid to the Lines" letters were marked out with single penstrokes–straight, wavy or in the form of a series of loops (see Figure 8). The necessity of "converting" paid letters to unpaid letters at the exchange offices achieved added impetus after 16 November 1847 when Canadian postmasters could no longer collect the United States portion of the postage and, thus, all letters, incoming and outgoing, had to be prepaid to the lines. Handstamped obliterators used to cancel postmarks are noted on cross-border letters as early as mid-January 1849, several months before prepayment became optional once again (14 May 1849). The

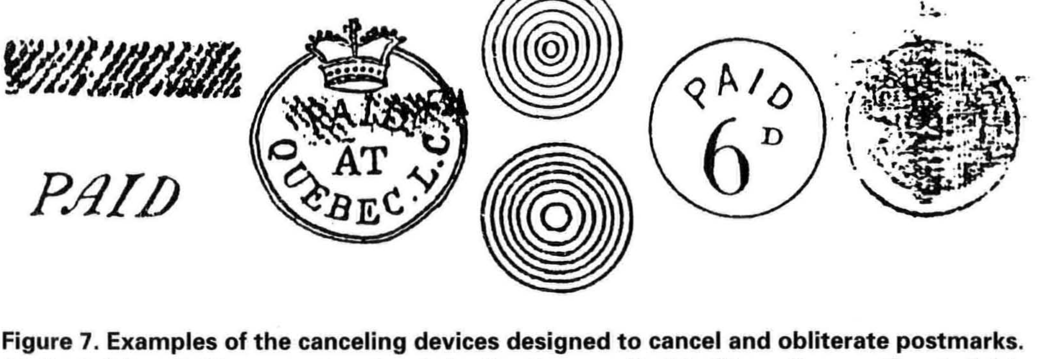

Figure 7. Examples of the canceling devices designed to cancel and obliterate postmarks. At the left is a 7x30 mm rectangle of slanting bars crafted to fit neatly over the straight-line PAIDs (Roman or Italic) commonly applied to covers of this period and beneath it is shown one of the Canadian Italic PAIDs; next, a similar but smaller bar grid used to cover and cancel the PAID in the upper part of a Canadian crown circle; next, two circular targets formed of closely spaced concentric circles and intended to obliterate circular rate marks such as the "PAID/6D" in circle shown at the right which is effectively obscured by an overstruck circular target.

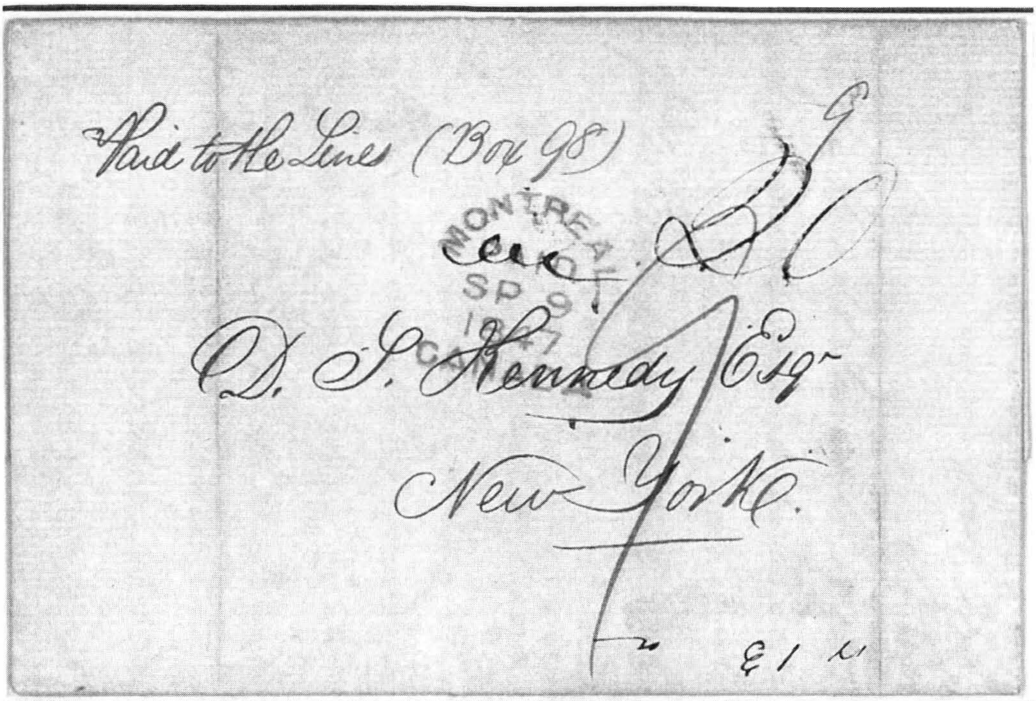

Figure 8. A double-weight folded letter from Montreal to NYC, endorsed "Paid to the Lines" and struck with the well-known Montreal "tombstone" postmark in red dated "SP 9/1847"; the "PAID" in the upper portion marked out with looped blue penstrokes matching the manuscript "20," indicating 20¢ U.S. postage due on a double rate letter. The manuscript "9" represents the Canadian portion of the postage for a double letter (which was charged to "Box 98"). Evidently, the letter was transported in a closed mail bag from Montreal to NYC as it was marked and rated at New York City.

Figure 9. A single-weight folded letter from Montreal to NYC, endorsed "Paid to Lines" and struck with the double-arc Montreal postmark in red dated "JA 18/1849"; the handstamped Italic "PAID" in red and the manuscript "Paid" in the endorsement are overstruck with the 7x30 mm slanting bar grid which fully obscures the handstamped marking. The boxed "10" in red represents the U.S. postage due on delivery and the manuscript "4½" represents the prepaid Canadian postage. The letter was exchanged at Highgate, Vermont, on "JAN 20" [1849].

Figure 10. A single-weight folded letter from Quebec City to "Cuttings Ville," Vermont. It bears the double-arc "QUEBEC/AP 18/1850/L.C." postmark and the "PAID/AT/QUEBEC.L.C." crown circle. The "PAID" in the upper part of the crown circle is obliterated with a slanting bar grid in black; all other markings are struck in red. The pre-paid Canadian postage was "11½" pence [Currency] for a distance between 200 and 300 miles; it has a "MONTREAL/AP 20/1850/L.C." transit marking in red on the reverse side. The letter was exchanged at "HIGHGATE/APR/23/Vt." and rated with a boxed "5" for the U.S. postage due.

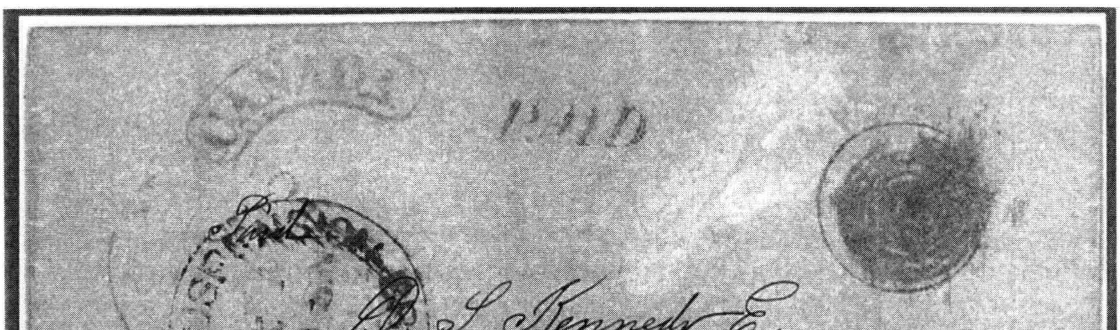

Figure 11. A double weight folded letter from St. Thomas, U.C., to NYC. It is postmarked "ST· THOMAS/FE 26/1853/U.C." and at first was rated incorrectly with the "PAID/6D" circular handstamp [= 10¢ U.S.] struck in red. This circular rate handstamp was obliterated with the closely spaced circular target killer overstruck in black, effectively obscuring the erroneous rate; all other Canadian markings are in red. It was then re-rated as a double-weight letter using the straight-line "CANADA/PAID 10 Cts" handstamp altered to "20 Cts" in red crayon, thereby correcting the rate. The letter was exchanged and post-marked in blue at "SUSPENSION BRIDGE/N.Y." on "1 MAR [1853]" and forwarded to D.S. Kennedy in New York.

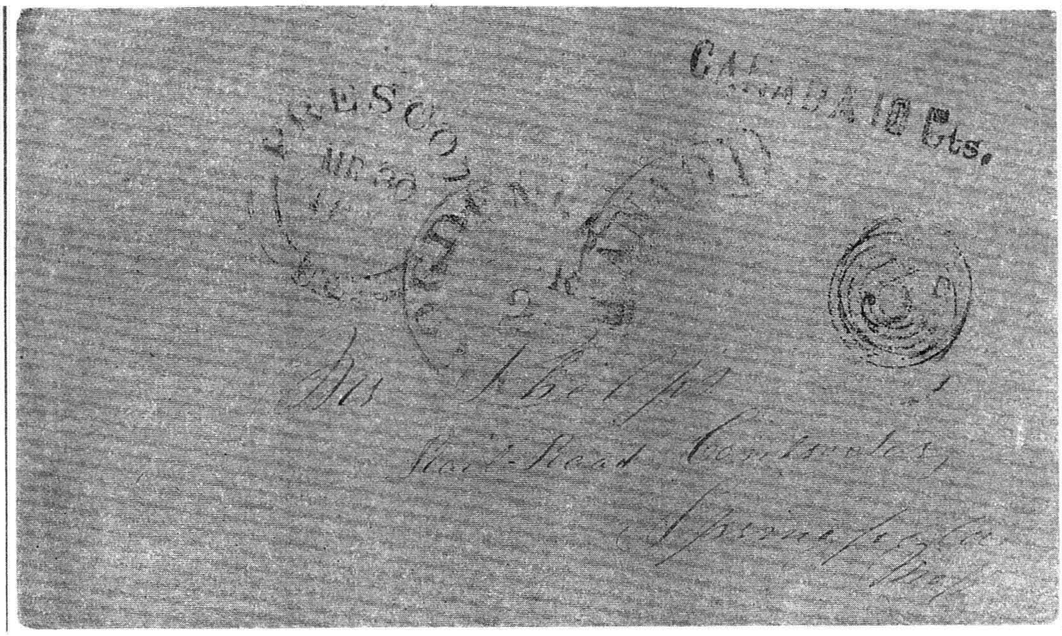

Figure 12. A cover enclosing a letter from Prescott, U.C., to the U.S.; all markings are struck in black. It is postmarked "PRESCOTT/MR 30/1853/U.C." and at first was rated incorrectly at three pence [due]. The error was corrected with a closely spaced target killer and re-rated correctly as "CANADA 10 Cts." It was exchanged at Ogdensburgh, N.Y., on "APR/2" and delivered to a railroad contractor in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Figure 13. A cover originally enclosing a letter from Huntington, Vt., to Canada East; all U.S. markings are struck in black. It was postmarked on "JUN/5 [1855]" at "HUNTINGTON/VT." and at first was rated in error at "PAID/3" with a circular handstamp which was canceled with a five-bar diagonal killer and replaced with "PAID" and "10" in circle handstamps representing the corrected rate. The cover was exchanged at St. John's, L.C., on "JU 6 [1855]" and backstamped with the transit markings of Dunham, C.E., on "JU 08/1855" and Frelighsburg, C.E., on its way to "St Aranond/Canady East" [pop. 50]. The ribbon-like country-of-origin marking struck in blood red at upper left center is one of the most attractive and sought after of the many varieties of "U. STATES" origin markings.

need for postmark killers diminished greatly on 6 April 1851 when the uniform combined rate (paid through) was adopted by the two countries. After this date, most examples noted of cross-border letters with obliterated rate markings or postmarks are incorrect rates or postmarks which are canceled and replaced with the proper rates or postmarks.

Other examples of obliterated postmarks

There are examples of postmarks which have been canceled or obliterated on letters from the domestic mails and the foreign mails, as well as those described here on cross-border covers. Many of these were done for the simple purpose of correcting an error made in rating or directing a letter. Others may result from curious circumstances, each of which represents an individual or even unique purpose. This writer intends to describe and illustrate such examples in a future article. If any reader has an interesting example to submit, we would very much welcome a photocopy of the item with any relevant description which can be provided.

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THE LITHOGRAPHED GENERAL ISSUES OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, STONE 2, FILL-UPS

Prologue

It is intended that this be the first of a series of articles on the Lithographed General Issue Stamps of the Confederate States of America, Scott Numbers 1-5, with emphasis on the plating. The plan is to have an article in every 2nd or 3rd issue of the *Chronicle*, as opposed to every issue, to permit your responses to be integrated into the next article. The series depends on you the reader: no comments, no response, no new information, no more articles! Ultimately I plan to publish a comprehensive book on these stamps with complete platings, but first there are many things to be resolved.

Many marvelous items are mentioned in the old literature which are unknown to the current generation or were not understood and appreciated. Others marvelous items are still being discovered. Of the large multiples which we need to consult, I fear many no longer exist; some are known to have been cut up but others may still survive. To cut up a large multiple of any rare to unique item must surely be a crime to philately!

Unfortunately erroneous identification of the Confederate Stones is a more common problem than one would like. Some descriptions have no basis in reality. For the 5¢ Blue, Stones 2 and 3 are often confused; the only way to distinguish them is to plate the stamp. The proper identification of Stone A or B is much more of a problem, since it is by elimination; *i.e.*, if a 5¢ Green doesn't plate as Stone 1 or 2 it must be A or B. Distinguishing a 10¢ Blue Paterson from Stone Y is also complex. Paterson is plated, however many characteristics are quite minor and Stone Y is not plated. Excluding Stone 2, the published platings are all inadequate, to say the least.

I have an excellent photograph dating from the 1950s, given to me by Van Dyk MacBride, of a block of 50 of the 5¢ Blue Lithograph, Stone 3. The largest currently surviving multiple that I know of is a block of 40, and it is definitely not from the block of 50. Many of the multiples have been broken up over the years but I suspect this block of 50 may still be intact, since I have not seen any pieces that I would attribute to having come from this multiple.

August Dietz mentioned copies of the Lithographs printed on both sides (image would be normal) in addition to copies having a strong reverse offset (image would be reversed) on the back. I have really not seen a truly strong offset and have never seen a Lithograph that was printed on both sides. We know of a waste printing of the 10¢ Paterson printed on the back of a CSA bill, which is the only example of printer's waste that I have seen. A 10¢ Hoyer & Ludwig printed on both sides and a double print are illustrated on pages 120 and 121 of Dietz's *The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America*; does anyone know where they are today?

This series of articles starts with Stone 2, which when printed in green is Scott No. 1 and in blue is Scott No. 4. This Stone is perhaps the more interesting because of the number of major plate varieties and the use of at least three printing stones. The basic Stone 2 in blue is the most common Confederate Lithographed stamp; a few large multiples still exist but there are also many rare and even some unique plating items.

Introduction to Confederate Stamp Lithography

The starting point of any plating or reconstruction study must be a basic understanding of the printing methods involved. For the Confederate Lithographs we can do no better than to use Dietz's classic *Postal Service of the Confederate States of America* for our text, pages 91-94. August Dietz was a printer of the old school. He know the old processes and studied them as they applied to the 1860s and especially the CSA stamps.

To create a Printing Stone with multiple images, the Confederate printers started with the master image, most likely a lithograph but perhaps an etching, engraving, etc. I stated master image: die proofs for the 5¢ and 10¢ Lithographs are cataloged in the 1986 edition of *The New Dietz Confederate States Catalog and Handbook*—wonderful, show me one! The basic lithograph process is surface printing. It involves the absorption and repulsion of a fat-based ink with water, on the surface of an extremely fine-pore type of limestone from Bavaria. Using a special greasy ink, a number of impressions are printed on the coated surface of small pieces of transfer paper. These impressions are then trimmed of excess marginal paper and most likely attached to a large sheet of paper to simplify the alignment and the transfer to an intermediate stone, *i.e.,* the Transfer Stone. They could also be applied directly to the final Printing Stone without a previous paper mounting. It is at this stage that the basic characteristics that permit plating originate.

We are dealing with small pieces of paper. There are often numerous deviations from the master image: small clips in the design, tears, edges of the small units getting a bit of ink, in addition to the various abnormalities in the original impressions. A lithograph plate will produce small deviations on every impression, but when these impressions are used to create a Transfer Stone they become a permanent portion of the design. These clips are usually around the outside margins of each stamp; the original individual impressions were hand trimmed quite close to the design. The Confederate 2¢ and 5¢ Lithographed stamps have irregular outer borders and the clips are quite common, versus the 10¢ that was enclosed in a rectangular border and thus much easier to trim. This Transfer Stone now gives impressions consisting of multiple images.

When impressions are pulled from the Transfer Stone to make up the Printing Stones, there is again the possibility for additional constant varieties from inking and from abnormalities in the stone. At this state in building up the printing surface a variety will only occur on the impression involved rather than becoming a part of each unit of every impression from this stone. However, this transient variety from the Transfer Stone may well become a permanent variety on the Printing Stone.

In designating a set of minor varieties for any given position as being constant varieties for plating, one must examine a number of examples to be certain the varieties are permanent.

Varieties occur much more infrequently after the Transfer Stone is laid down and etched; the transferer is working with a unit of convenient size which requires a nominal amount of trimming and handling. The only constant varieties known to the author which are not traceable to the Transfer Stones, excluding printing and paste-up varieties arising from the relative positioning of the Transfer impressions when making up the Printing Stone, are a few scratches on the Printing Stones and a few dots around the edges of the sheets. The laying down of the four units from the Transfer Stone to create a Printing Stone creates position combinations that permit the Printing Stones to be distinguished on multiples that straddle these joints.

If the surface of a stone, Transfer or Printing, is damaged, it may be repaired by erasing the damaged area and entering another impression. There are only a few re-entries known for the Printing Stones of Confederate stamps. A re-entry could also be made on the Transfer Stone; no examples of this variety are definitely known, but there are several positions which readily lend themselves to this explanation. Those positions on Stone 2 in which a few of the outer lines of the design are duplicated in the margin on one side of the normal design, usually to the left, are most likely attributable to re-entries on the Transfer Stone before the impressions were pulled for the Printing Stone. However, it is also possible that two impressions from the master unit may have stuck together when the Transfer

Stone was built up, thereby causing this variety.

Most printing varieties associated with the actual printing process and occuring during the production of the Printing Stones, such as a line not printing, a blob of ink, etc., also occur after the Printing Stone is in use. The clipped and torn transfers are exceptions; these are make-up varieties and not printing ones. It is often quite difficult to tell from appearance alone if a variety is constant or transient. For a definitive evaluation it is necessary to have several examples from the same position, preferably printed in differing shades, to determine that a variety is truly from the stone and not a transient. Clips around the individual unit and inked corners can be readily identified with reasonable certainty by appearance.

The Transfer Stone was intended to be used only for the master impressions to create the Printing Stones. After all, it contained a relatively small number of units, versus multiple impressions on the Printing Stones. It was desired to keep the Transfer Stone in perfect condition so additional Printing Stones could be made as needed. While it is possible to print issued stamps from it, we have no reason to believe this was done with the Confederate issues.

In "A New Look at Paterson's Confederate Printings," in the *Confederate Philatelist* of November-December 1982, Gordon McHenry and Douglas B. Ball note that the Bartels half sheet (*i.e.*, half pane) of the 10¢ Paterson has a 6mm top margin, and as there is an imprint on the bottom this indicates a Printing Stone different from what we now know—or perhaps, though not suggested, a printing from the Transfer Stone being issued as stamps. Their observation was apparently taken from printed images of the item, perhaps from the 1929 Dietz book, page 135. In reality, the top margin is extremely close to the stamps, and has every indication of normal spacing between the (no longer present) 5th row of stamps and the start of the block at the 6th row.

The Historic Platings

Bertram W. H. Poole authored an excellent pioneering series, "The Confederate States of America, A History of the General Issues," that appeared in 23 issues of *The Philatelic Gazette*, starting with Vol. V, No. 7 (July 1915) and continuing through Vol. VII, No. 6 (June 1917). The sections listed below contain plating descriptions of the Lithographs. However, there are no illustrations and the descriptions are mostly one or two lines per position and are not adequate for plating anything except a large multiple (and even that is questionable); however, for a re-plating study they are useful.

- 5¢ Stone 1: Vol. V, No. 10 (October 1915), pages 233-235
- 5¢ Stone 2: Vol. VI, No. 1 (January 1916), pages 14-15; Vol. VI, No. 2 (February 1916), page 37
- 10¢ Hoyer: Vol V, No. 11 (November 1915), pages 273-275; Vol. V, No. 12 (December 1915), page 289
- 2¢ Hoyer: Vol. V, No. 12 (December 1915), page 291
- 10¢ Paterson: Vol. VI, No. 4 (April 1916), pages 108-109; Vol. VI, No. 5 (May 1916), pages 154-6

For this Poole plating of Stone 2 there is an error in that everything is shifted. For positions 1-40, add ten, thus his No. 1 is actually No. 11; for his positions No. 41-50, subtract forty, thus position 41 is actually No. 1. This error is quite easy to understand and the problem can be a constant annoyance in working with Stone 2. In essence the first horizontal row, No. 1-10, is shifted up in the Transfer setting and overall is slightly narrower than the second row, No. 11-20, and subsequent ones. Thus in looking at a block, one can easily think this first row is a horizontal gutter between an upper and lower Transfer Unit. One can assume that they laid out the first row, thought the stamps a fraction too close together, and spaced the rest of them out a bit more.

A better plating of Stone 2 was published by Gerald S. Curtis in the *Philatelic*

Gazette, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (February 1918), pages 38-42. This plating is accurate, though a few characteristics that are listed as being constant are not completely constant. The double page illustration is lacking in detail and the description too incomplete to permit the plating of anything but large multiples and a few singles having major varieties.

Your author published a plating in the *Confederate Philatelist* with detailed text and large photographs, starting in November 1966, Whole Number 112, continuing with Whole Numbers 114, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121 and concluding with the March-April, 1968 issue, Whole Number 123. The illustrations are sufficient to permit any single stamp to be identified with respect to the basic 50 positions on the Transfer Stone; this applies to both the Blue and the Green Stone 2 stamps.

The conventional scheme used to designate Confederate Transfer Stone positions consists of numbering the stamp in the upper left corner as position number 1, the stamp to its right is number 2, the stamp under position 2 as position 12 (*i.e.,* 2 + 10), and thus to the lower right corner which is position number 50.

The numbering scheme needs to be expanded. I propose an identification system made up of the following elements: Basic, Color, Transfer Position, Quadrant [UL-LL-UR-LR], Printing Stone. For example: Stone 2, Blue, 30, LL, 1. The Basic is the Transfer Stone identification, such as 10¢ Hoyer or (as in our example) Stone 2; the color is Blue or Green for Stone 2; Transfer Position is the position in the unit of 50, with position 30 in our example at the right end of the third row of 10; LL designating the lower left quadrant of the printing stone; and the final designator (1) identifying the printing plate. If something is unknown it is simply omitted from the description.

The purpose of the Transfer Stone is to expedite the production of larger and multiple Printing Stones and to be a depository for the image should the larger Printing Stone become worn and or be needed for other work, in which case it would be ground off and another image applied. To the best of our knowledge, the Printing Stones for the CSA Lithographs were all arranged as sheets of 200, consisting of two panes of 100. Each pane was made up of two units from the Transfer Stone, resulting in four Transfer Stone subjects on each Printing Stone.

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50

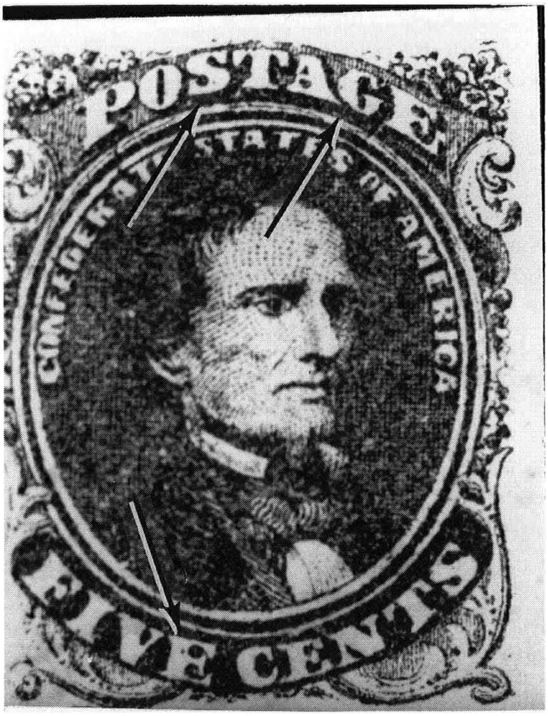
General Arrangement of Transfer Stone, 50 Subject

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50

Left Pane......................|.....................Right Pane

General Arrangement of Printing Stone, 200 Subject

We thus have both horizontal and vertical jumps in the plating. A pair straddling the left and right pane could be position 10 on the left and position 1 on the right. The spacing between these two stamps is often not great and may or may not be an evident gutter. The

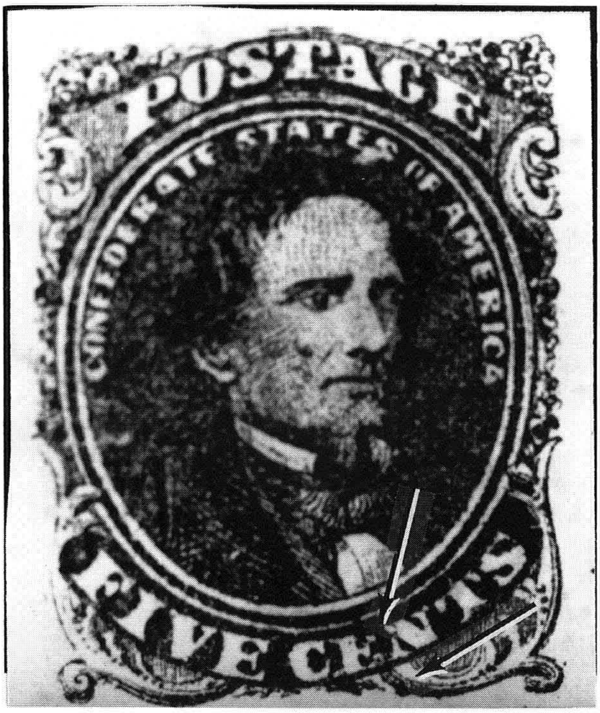


Stone 2, Position 46

Immediately above the T and between the TA of POSTAGE there are two small colorless areas. There is a small oval dot of color in the vertical stroke of the E of FIVE and a smaller one in the S of POSTAGE. The shading toward the back of Jefferson Davis' collar appears to be a continuation of the neck shading at one place; this shading variety is only apparent on finely printed specimens. The Green printings, one Lower Setting, show a Fill-Up in FIVE CENTS, 2nd most pronounced example of this type.

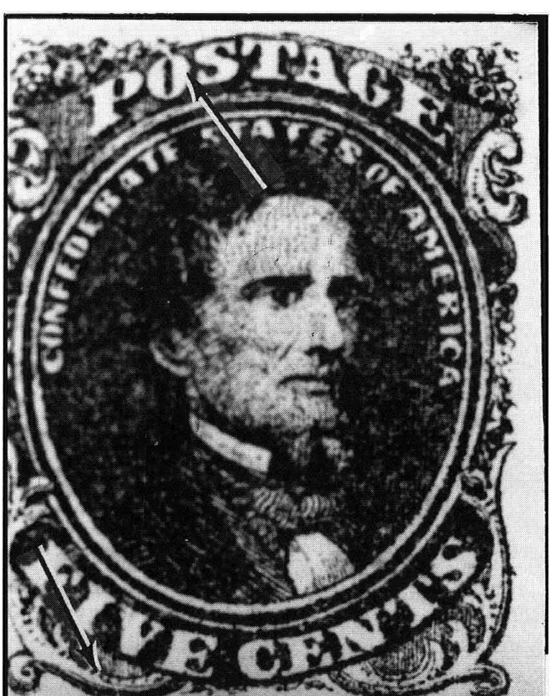
Stone 2, Position 47

There is a large triangular area of color in the lower right scroll. The I of FIVE contains a large colored rhombus and the C of CENTS has a small colored dash.



Stone 2, Position 48

The outermost portion of the design is repeated to the immediate left of the normal design. This is probably caused by two transfers sticking together, for no portion of the interior of the design is deformed. This doubling of the design is perhaps the most pronounced example of several similar varieties on this stone. The protruding portion of the upper right scroll is missing; however, this clip is not filled in with color as is usually the case. There is a dash of color in the upper and lower horizontal stroke of the E of CENTS and the flourish below this letter is slightly larger than normal. The Green printings, one Lower Setting, show a Fill-Up in FIVE CENTS, the most pronounced variety of this type.



Stone 2, Position 49

The O of POSTAGE resembles an inverted Q for there is a colored line and a colorless contrasting stroke running from the top of the letter on a 45° angle from the horizontal. There is a line under the lower left scroll which appears to be a partial clip or the clipped portion was replaced. The Green printings, one Lower Setting, show a Fill-Up in FIVE CENTS, 3rd most pronounced example of this type.

upper and lower transfer units in a given pane can yield pairs with the upper from position 41 and the lower from position 1. A cross gutter block of four would be positions 50-41-10-1.

It is possible that a Transfer and/or Printing Stone could have been laid down in another manner, as was implied for the unplated 5¢ Green Stone A/B in a most interesting article on "The Lithographs of the Confederate States of America," by G. S. Curtis, E. S. Knapp and T. H. Pratt, that appeared in the November 1929 issue of *Scott's Monthly Journal*. (The author has no other references to this study and would welcome any help, old notes, etc. I am also having problems in plating the Paterson and/or Stone Y.)

The early concept was that only one Printing Stone was produced from each Transfer Stone. However, by the 1960s it became evident from various gutter multiples that some Transfer Stones have more than one Printing Stone, as is implied in the 1929 *Scott's Monthly Journal* article cited above. For Transfer Stone 2, I am convinced that there are at least three Printing Stones, one unique stone for the Green printing and two for the Blue printings.

Most work on the lithographs has been devoted to plating the Transfer Stones, though in 1915 Bertram W. H. Poole recognized the importance of additional varieties on the Printing Stones. There is still much to be discovered and explained from the Printing Stones. In addition to the challenge of new discoveries, some of the most interesting major varieties originated with the Printing Stones and are independent of the Transfer Stone (that is, unless there are more transfer stones than we now recognize).

There is varying spacing between the 4 units of 50 of a Printing Stone, permitting identification; there are also some nice clipped transfers where there just wasn't quite enough room for complete entry.

Stone 2, Fill-Ups

For our first article, I would like to cover the "Fill-Ups," as Dietz called them. These are several Green Stone 2 positions with the FIVE CENTS significantly filled in with color, which one might assume is a transient printing freak.

Our major Fill-Up, Green 5¢ Stone 2 variety (position No. 48), was reported and well illustrated by August Dietz in the October 1925 issue of *The Southern Philatelist* (Vol. 1, No. 12, pages 223-224). The identical illustration and text was repeated in his 1929 book, *The Postal Service of The Confederate States of America*, pages 106-108:

> Fill-Ups and Fill-Ins.–Under this heading we may class nearly every other oddity of lithographic prints-spots of color foreign to the original design, broken or jagged lines, quadrille-ruled backgrounds converted to a solid mass of color, ornamentsblurred, or colorless lettering marred by splotches of color–countless in number, these freaks are attributed to carelessness, in letting the stone "go dry," and the consequent "filling-in" or "filling-up" of these dry spaces with ink, when the roller next passed over them. Thousands of these transient freaks may be found; many of them–too insignificant to illustrate, however–became permanent on every stone of every denomination, forming well-known road-signs for the student and plater.

The most pronounced example of this variety, Stone 2, Position 48, Green, Lower Setting is illustrated in both of the above references. However, there is one discrepancy. I have seen three examples of this variety, each in a slightly different shade of green, each show the filling in of the FIVE CENTS identical to each other and to the Dietz illustrations, with one exception. The three stamps at hand all show a distinct and identical blob of color on Jefferson Davis's shirt; this is not show in the Dietz illustration. (Figures 1, 2, 3)

Examining the numerous minor plating markings on the three Fill-Up stamps from Position 48 confirm they are identical and are from the same basic Stone 2, Position 48 which exists in both Green and Blue stamps without the blob. The extremely clear Dietz illustration does not show these minor markings. This suggest that Dietz may have used

Figure 1. Stone 2, 5¢ Green Position 48, Fill-Up, Used on Cover from Gordonsville, Va, April 20, 1862

Figure 2. Stone 2, 5¢ Green, Position 47 - 48, Fill-Up, Used on Cover from Lexington, Va, November 7, 1862

Figure 3. Stone 2, 5¢ Green, Positions 48 - 49, Fill Up, L, probably LR

Figure 4. Stone 2, 5¢ Green, Position 46, Fill-Up, L, probably LR

drawings made from a master photograph of the stamp and in this case did not illustrate actual stamps, no doubt to obtain clearer illustrations. The "softer" images created by lithography are much more difficult to reproduce by photography and other printing means than the clear sharp lines of engraved or typographed stamps.

The multiple examples of these Fill-Ups, especially in different shades, prove they are constant varieties on the Printing Plate and thus they should be classified as constant varieties and not as transients or "freaks." Stone 2 in Green is typical of the known general issue lithographs, thus there are four units on the printing stone. I have not kept records of all copies of these positions that I have seen, but it is most likely that only one of the four Transfer Units showed the filled in impressions. Thus taking at random four copies of any of these positions, we should have one with the fill-in, which is in agreement with my recollection.

While Fill-Up varieties no doubt originated from printings freak, such as temperature, moisture, pressure or ink aberrations, they occurred on single prints from the Transfer Stone. When laid down upon a Printing Stone, a Fill-Up became a permanent variety, distinct from the normal Transfer Stone varieties. As it is extremely noticeable, it becomes significant. In fact it is so evident that the Printing Stone should have been repaired—and perhaps it was, so that the Fill-Ups actually form less than 25% of all the prints from these positions.

If anyone has a Position 48 with the Fill-Ups that does not show the glob of ink on the shirt it would be most interesting and should be reported. An example printed in Blue would be even more interesting, as I am convinced the Stone 2 printing plate that was used for the Green stamps was not used to print the stamps in Blue. I doubt they exist in either Green or Blue, but there is no reason that they could not.

Positions Stone 2, Green, 46, 47 and 49, L also show this Fill-Up variety to varying degrees but it is most pronounced in Position 48. The attribution to the Lower settings of the printing stone is firm. The irregular block of 7 suggests that it is from the Right side; however, this is not 100% proven although it is most likely.

I have never seen Positions 46, 47, 48 or 49 Fill-Ups on a Blue Printing of Stone 2. In fact, I have never seen this type of Fill-Up on any other stamps. This is added proof that the Printing Stones used to print Stone 2 in Green and Blue are not the same.

It is most unfortunate that the multiples of classic stamps continue to be cut up to supply the demand for singles and blocks of four. They often still have secrets and should have a special rarity and desirability over the smaller units even though they often have some defects and can create mounting problems. The pair of stamps illustrated in this article showing the Fill-Ups from Positions 48 and 49 (Figure 3) was cut from an irregular block of 7 no earlier than April 15, 1980, when it was sold intact in an Edgar Mohrmann & Co. sale in Hamburg, lot 212. The block then contained positions Stone 2, Green, 36, 37, 46, 47, 48, 49 and 50, L. The single showing the Fill-Up from Position No. 46 (Figure 4) was also cut from this block.

The Stone 2 plating illustrations with arrows provided with this article are all taken from Blue printings. However, the indicated characteristics are generic for this Transfer Stone. □

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THE TWO CENT LINE OFFICE RATE BETWEEN U.S. AND CANADA

JEFFREY N. FORSTER

This article is being written to update and clarify information regarding the two cent rate between the United States and Canada as well as to shed further light on the use of the cross-border rate between Canada and the United States in the 1869 time period.

As has been pointed out by Susan McDonald[1] and most recently by Richard Graham in his *Linn's* column,[2] it is inappropriate to call this two cent rate a "ferriage rate." The covers between the United States and Canada using this two cent rate pass between a pair of exchange offices for cross border mail as established on April 6, 1851 under an agreement between the United States and Canada. During the period when the treaty was in effect (1851-1875), Graham writes that nearly 50 U.S. and about the same number of Canadian post offices were paired up with one another as exchange offices.[3] My research discloses that during the 1863-1869 time period there were only approximately 15 such pairings between exchange offices.

Let me digress and describe what actually is a ferriage rate. Mail between American and Canadian post offices separated by the Niagara or St. Lawrence Rivers had to be ferried across as no bridges existed. It became the custom of the Canadian postmasters to levy a ferriage charge for this service, which was retained by the postmasters. Prior to January 12, 1829, the ferriage charges were collected for the sole benefit of the Canadian border post offices; from the above date until their termination on March 6, 1837 for the benefit of the Deputy Postmaster General. This fee was 2d (2 pence) for a letter entering or leaving Canada except via Kingston which was charged a 3d fee.

The two cent rate discussed here is a two cent line office rate which is an overland *rate* not a ferriage rate. It is a special cross-border rate and line office is the best description or terminology for characterizing this rate.

Historically, this line office rate is not well known. *The United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* of August 1863 states:

> It is not generally known that two cents covers the entire postage on a letter, without regard to weight, passing in the mail between certain offices in Canada and others in the United States, located at short distances from each other. These exceptions to the usual letter rates between the two governments are embraced in the postal treaty of 1851. And yet many correspondents most interested in this fact seem entirely ignorant of it, and have been in the habit of affixing ten cent stamps to this class of letters [the rate in 1863 was ten cents between the United States and Canada and in 1869, the rate was six cents prepaid, but ten cents for unpaid letters].[4]

The following is a partial list of the paired line offices which existed during the treaty period:

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[1]Susan M. McDonald, "A Dual Purpose Cross Border Marking," *Chronicle* Vol. 43, No. 2 (Whole No. 150)(May 1991), pp. 79-80.

[2]Richard B. Graham, *Linn's Stamp News*, columns of November 24, 1997 and February 24, 1986.

[3]For an excellent summary of the development of the exchange offices and a listing of the initial (1851-52) office pairs, see Hubert C. Skinner, "The United States-British North America Cross-Border Mails: Their Unique Aspects, Peculiarities and Markings, Including Cancels Designed to Kill Postmarks," Part 1, *Chronicle* 179:190-91.

[4]*The United States Mail and Post Office Assistant,* Collectors Club of Chicago reprint, August 1863 [*U.S. Mail*].

Sault Ste. Marie Michigan	Sault Ste. Marie Canada
Port Huron, Michigan	Port Sarnia, Canada
Detroit, Michigan	Windsor, Canada
Black Rock, New York	Fort Erie, Canada
Lewiston, New York	Queenstown, Canada
Youngstown, New York	Niagara, Canada
Cape Vincent, New York	Kingston, Canada
Morristown, New York	Brockville, Canada
Ogdensburgh, New York	Prescott, Canada
Fort Covington, New York	Dundee, Canada
Derby Line, Vermont	Stanstead, Canada
Swanton, Vermont	Phillipsburgh, Canada
Newport, Vermont	Mansonville, Canada
Robbinston, Maine	St. Andrews, New Brunswick
Calais, Maine	St. Stephens, New Brunswick
Houlton, Maine	Woodstock, New Brunswick

At first, the exchange offices were all on opposite sides of a river, where connection was made by ferry. Because of this, the rate was known as a "ferriage rate." Later other exchange offices were established separated by only a short land distance, with the invisible but surveyed international border between them. Thus, the same rate was termed the "border exchange-office rate." Nonetheless, when the rate was over land, ferriage was inappropriate and remains inappropriate to describe this two cent rate between the two countries and between the two paired line offices.

As mentioned above, the rate was by letter, not by weight. Inhabitants of the above-named towns could exchange letters for two cents each up to a weight of 4 oz., above which they would be considered packets and charged the regular rate of postage. (Hence, there was some weight limitation.)

The rate continued until February 1875 when the new postal convention between the United States and Canada became effective,[5] and thereafter the domestic rate of three cents per half ounce applied while the special two cent line office rate was abolished.

In sum, when the Postmasters Generals of the two countries agreed, they created line office pairings so that correspondence between adjacent post offices in the two countries could be carried out at a much lower rate. However, the lower rate did not work between two towns which were *not* paired together.

The two cent line office rate commenced at different times in the different line offices in the 1850s, but by 1869, New Brunswick was no longer a separate country, and had become part of Canada.

Although there were three line office pairings to New Brunswick (Calais, Maine to St. Stephen, N.B., Robbinstown, Maine to St. Andrews, N.B., and Houlton, Maine to Woodstock, N.B.), most of the 1869 usages exist between Houlton and Woodstock.

The following is a list of the various covers between the United States and Canada/New Brunswick showing the two cent cross-border line office rate with 1869 stamps. Where other data is known, I have included that in the far right column.

Date	From	To	Franking	Other Data
10/25/1869	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (Coll. Club. Phil. November 1958)
01/28/1870	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (Wunsch Coll.)

[5] *U.S. Mail,* February 1875.

02/11/1870	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB pair	1¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (E. Coulter Coll.) (Lot 95 Juhring Sale, Germany, October 25, 1978)
03/15/1870	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (Mack Coll.)
04/19/1870	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (Leggett Coll. at Interphil) Greene Sale Lot 372, Feb. 1975
04/29/1870	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (Brookman,, Vol. II, Pg. 159)
05/16/1870	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (J. Forster Coll.) (Figure 1)
09/17/1869	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (Lot 116 Juhring Sale Germany, October 25, 1978)
Date Unknown	Houlton, ME	Woodstock, NB	2¢ 1869	"Paid 2" (Vic Russ Auctions, lot 1091, November 27-29, 1987)

As one can see, the 1869 usages are dominated by a single two cent stamp (113) on the letter from Houlton, Maine to Woodstock, New Brunswick. All of the letters are addressed to the same lady at Woodstock, Miss Alice Belyea, and many of them use a very decorative lady's type of envelope. All of them have a black "Paid 2" marking on the front, and each of the covers that this author has personally viewed has on its reverse a "Woodstock, N.B." receiving mark in black with the date within the circle of the receiving postmark.

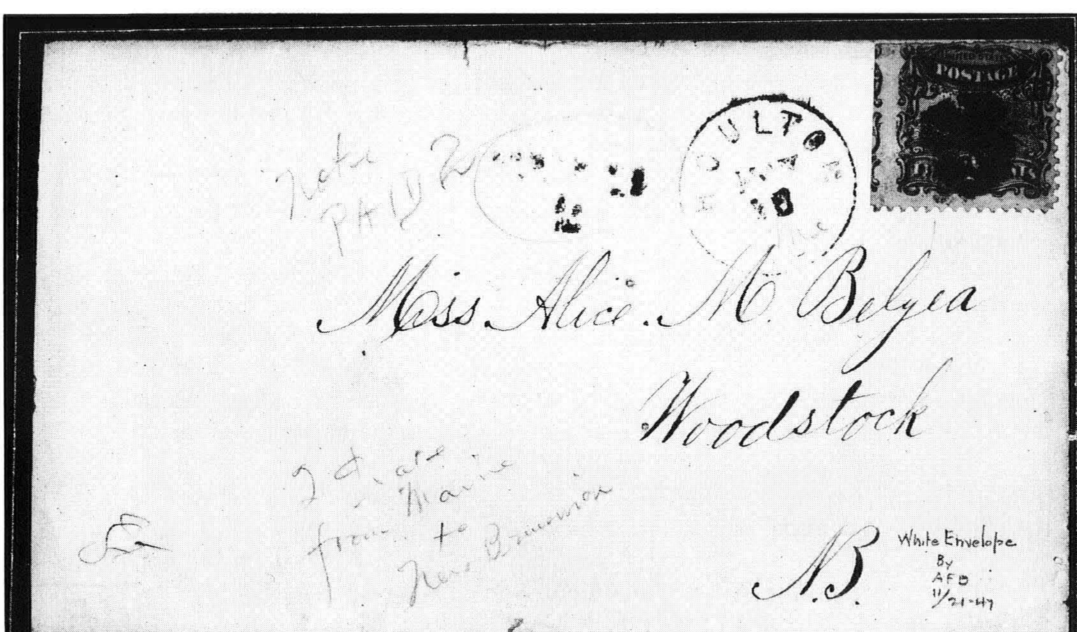

Figure 1. Two cent line office rate on May 16, 1870 cover from Houlton, Me. to Woodstock, N.B.

The distance between Woodstock and Houlton is approximately ten miles or so[6] and this short distance between these pair of line offices is typical of the other line offices and points out the reason for the lower rate between correspondents of the paired post offices. The normal rate for cross border covers until 1868 was ten cents, either prepaid or unpaid. In 1868 the rate was reduced to six cents when prepaid, but was still ten cents for unpaid letters. Therefore, the savings would be significant to correspondents between these matched paired line offices.

Letters between these offices, neither originating nor addressed beyond, had this special line office rate of just two cents. Thus, to refer to these covers as "ferriage rate" covers is not appropriate. (Except where a ferry made the connection between post offices prior to 1837).

In conclusion, I hope that this article has clarified how this rate came to be and how it was used, in addition to providing a complete listing of those covers with 1869 usages. If any readers have additional covers featuring this same line office rate with 1869 stamps affixed to them, I would be most happy to include them in a follow-up listing.[7] □

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[6]Referring to my map of Maine, I determined that Houlton is located in the eastern part of Maine, about five miles west of the line separating the U.S. from New Brunswick, and that the town of Woodstock is directly to the east, about 10 miles distant on the left bank of the St. John River.

[7]The author is indebted to Richard Frajola for his assistance in providing further understanding of this two cent rate, as well as for his comments and other input used in this article.

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THE RELIEF BREAKS OF THE TWO CENT WASHINGTONS: THE AMERICAN BANK NOTE COMPANY ISSUE OF 1890, SCOTT #219D AND 220

RICHARD M. MORRIS

In 1935 F.E. Stanton, Jr. began his booklet *Relief Breaks on the 2¢ Stamp of 1890* with these words: "No other United States stamp produces the array of plate varieties that is found on the 2¢ 1890, and nothing is more interesting than the many series of broken reliefs in which this stamp abounds."[1]

They are indeed easy to find, as he goes on to suggest, and out of 1,500 random copies purchased in bulk to begin my own search, I found all but about 5% of the relief breaks Stanton recorded. I have found the rest, and new ones, since.

But my philatelic mind is plagued with the question: *Why this Issue?*

Three and one half billion 2¢ green Washingtons of the 1882-88 Issue (Scott #213) were printed from no less than 130 plates, yet no such abundant relief breaks exist in this issue by the American Bank Note Company (ABN). What happened in that company's production of the 1890 Issue?

The 2¢ Lake of 1890 (Scott #219D) was issued in a quantity of 100 million from 18 plates which have been identified (and certainly others were used), and no relief breaks had been reported at the time of Stanton's article. I have a copy on cover of a Lake Red, dated July 23, 1890 which has a relief break L described by Stanton as "a.k.a. Davis's Delight." I also have five singles in the Lake shade and one in Carmine Lake. No other breaks have been recorded on the 219D, though many double transfers and shifted transfers exist. It is not until the carmine and scarlet shades appear in the reds that the relief breaks seem to explode. (Scott #220). Six and one quarter billion of these stamps were printed, from 270 plates reported by the *Durland Standard Plate Number Catalog*.[2]

Using the same basic design, with triangles added to the upper left and right corners and with minor changes, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (BEP) printed nearly 22 billion 2¢ reds in triangle Types I, II, III on unwatermarked and watermarked paper.[3] Yet this First Bureau Issue, using basically the same die design, displays no such preponderance of relief breaks.

Why then, in this Issue of 1890 by a company of good reputation?

In current literature I have found nothing which even hints at an answer to this perplexing question. Let me therefore suggest a possible answer, or perhaps an opinion, which may or may not be an answer, and may or may not be original.

First, what is a relief break? The making of a plate, with its process of die, transfer roll (or relief) and plate, is well known, and is thoroughly described in the introduction to the Scott catalog. One of the persons who first began to categorize the relief breaks was C.W. Bedford. He said,

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[1]F.E. Stanton, Jr., *Relief Breaks on the 2¢ Stamp of 1890* (Hollis, N.Y.: Arnold F. Auerbach, 1935).

[2]*Durland Standard Plate Number Catalog* (Reston, Va.: Bureau Issues Association, Inc., 1997).

[3]In the 1999 Scott catalog editions, the 1898 Type IV red Washington (Scott #279B) has become a part of the newly-designated 1897-1903 issue. Concurrently, triangle Types I, II and III have been redesignated as Types A, B and C.

On the transfer roll which transfers the stamp design from the die to the plate, the design stands out in relief. Every little fine line which was cut into the die in recess stands out on the transfer roll as a little thin ridge of metal. It is these little ridges of metal on the roll that press into the blank plate and leave the design in true duplicate of the lines on the die. Four hundred times on one plate, for many plates these little reliefs or ridges are repeatedly forced into the plate metal at high pressure. It is surprising that more of the little ridges do not break off.

As is to be expected, reliefs wear out or break and must be discarded for new reliefs made from the same die. Also there were probably several transfer rolls made with from one to five reliefs on each roll. Several of these reliefs crumbled or broke, possibly from being over-tempered, during the entering of no one knows how many plates.[4]

It is perhaps not helpful to become more technical than this for the purpose of this article. Suffice it to say, in the intaglio process of printing, the transfer relief step is critical, as is quality control or inspection of plates readied for printing.

Production problems plagued this 1890 Issue from the beginning. The original color chosen for Scott #219D was labeled LAKE. Hitherto, this was simply a term signifying a step in the production of a type of pigment. The color of the dye used in this process and the amount of whitener, or lack of it, which was used produced a shade which was very deep and proved, in this instance, to be relatively unstable. It was given the name LAKE by the philatelic community. The color also proved unacceptable to the general public and articles in the press appeared in criticism of it. Thus, as the Post Office Department stated, an "improved quality of color for the 2-cent stamp was adopted on May 12, 1890," the carmines of Scott #220.[5]

With the Issue of 1890, the engravers with the ABN Co. moved from the production of a large stamp 20x25½ mm to one which measures approximately 19x22 mm. I say approximately because the dimensions of the Scott #220 stamp vary greatly depending upon how the grain of the paper lay in the printing. 116 plates were 200 subjects and the grain of the paper was horizontal. The remaining 156 plates were 400 subject plates and the grain of the paper was vertical. Added to this, some of the stamps were printed on porous paper using brown gum, and for a short time some were printed on crisp white paper using white gum. Factoring in the amount of moisture present in the printing process, the result is a stamp whose dimensions vary from 19x22½ mm to 19½x22 mm, with combinations in between. Size is very inconsistent in this issue.

But be that as it may, a smaller stamp was the challenge, and the design in general was not modified greatly from the preceding larger 2¢ Washingtons in brown or green. This did not appear to be a problem , because transfers from original ABN dies were used for the First Bureau Issue (with triangles added to signify a design change.) We know this because die flaws are present in the 1894 Triangle Type I unwatermarked 2¢ Washington with the dot in the middle of the "S" of "cents" as it also appeared randomly in the 1890 issue. This is not a position dot as has been suggested by some, but one of four die flaws present on the 1890 plates. The flaw was removed on Triangle Type II stamps of the First Bureau Issue to reappear , strangely, in a few plates in 1895-97 Triangle Type III stamps which have come to be labeled by specialists as Type IIIa. So, the basic design remained stable and free of relief breaks while under production by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, but not so with the American Bank Note Co.

The contract with the ABN was due to terminate soon after the end of 1893. It became obvious that the contract was not going to be renewed because advertisements were

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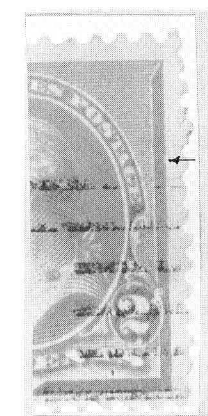
[4]C.W. Bedford, as quoted in Stanton, *op cit.*

[5]United States Postal Service, Stamps Division, *United States Postage Stamps* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 21.

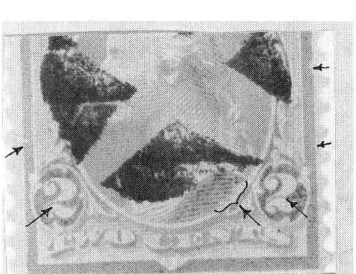
everywhere in October 1893 for engravers and other technical persons to work for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. When new contract proposals were solicited, ABN was second lowest bidder to Charles Steele of Philadelphia. When the amount of the bids became known, ABN protested the awarding of a contract to Steele, who in turn entered a protest. The dispute was settled by BEP entering a lower bid and being awarded the "contract." (Since two government agencies cannot enter into contracts, the arrangement was called an "agreement" between the Postmaster General and the BEP to produce the new stamps.) A more complete description of all this can be found in the first of a series of articles by Kenneth Diehl in *The U.S. Specialist*.[6] Suffice it to say, I believe the ABN Co. had little invested interest in the production of the 2¢ Washington at this mid-point between the beginning of the process of producing #220 and turning over its dies and stock in June 1894 to the BEP and the Post Office Department. It is interesting to note that stamps on cover dated 1892 and the two years following begin to show multiple relief breaks. None before that date, in my own study, show such breaks, with the exception already noted: the small relief break in the #219D lake.

At this point in time it would appear that transfer reliefs were beginning to show considerable wear. Key personnel had left for other jobs. I believe that what probably happened was that second-level personnel were brought up to manage and supervise production. Furthermore, there was not strong incentive to monitor quality, with politics being what it was, and the production of #220 began to deteriorate.



The delicate frame line of the design on the right of the stamp began to break up at line (from top right) 7 and 8, 29 thru 33, 36,40 thru 44, 65, 67, 69, 77 and 78. All these have ends broken off and are thereby shortened. These are to be found in Reliefs C and D as illustrated by Stanton. The same kind of breaks begin to appear in the left frame line as well, but are fewer in number.

A second vulnerable position in the transfer relief are the 11 lines of color which make up the shoulder of the portrait. They are listed 1 thru 11 from top to bottom. The principal break is found in the end of the 5th shoulder line which progressively disintegrates and is cataloged in 14 different combinations of breaks coupled with changes in other parts of Relief E. All 11 shoulder lines break up in various places in Relief C and K.



In the recording of Relief C the breaks are so numerous that as many as 33 breaks on one transfer relief are noted and can be found on a single stamp. I have a single copy, postmarked 1892, with only the 42nd right frame line broken, This break begins the breakdown which is Relief C.

"Cap on left 2" is perhaps the most commonly known relief break, and has been noted in stamp catalogues for years. Its development was also progressive and I have illustrated it through 15 stages from its beginnings as a halo over the "2" to a full sharply pointed rectangular cap in its final stage. This probably began as a cracking under the surface of the transfer relief which slowly erupted, causing the break as we know it to occur.

[6]Kenneth Diehl, "The 2¢ Stamps of the First Bureau Issue," *The U.S. Specialist*, Vol. 65, No. 12 (December 1994), pp. 532-41.

I recently obtained 50 copies of #220c (known as "cap on both 2s"). This was the first time I was able to look at a significantly large quantity to make any observations. I checked the cap on the left "2" and found that it followed the same progressive break as I found in the stamps with only the cap on the left "2" (#220a). Putting them in that progressive order I then looked at the cap on the right "2," expecting to see that break to be progressive also. To my surprise, the cap on the right "2" remained constant in width and height with rounded corners (unlike the cap on the left "2" which in its final stages had pointed corners and had widened.) This suggests to me that a clean break occurred on the transfer relief at the right "2." In fact on a few copies a faint red line can be detected between the cap and the top of the right "2" which is probably the remnants of metal left as the break occurred.

Since the left cap *never gets any higher* than the right cap it probably means that the left "2" continued to deteriorate until it reached an equal depth with the clean break on the right but continued to disintegrate from within as it broadened. Because so little has been written about the breaks since Stanton's work, it is hard to know whether this is new information. If others have additional information on the breaks it would be helpful to hear about their findings.

In and out of the catalogues during the years has been mention of the controversial "cap on right 2." Does it exist or doesn't it? There are two positions of "cap on right 2" which exist and I have both of them. However it is doubtful that this is a relief break, but rather from the diffuse profile it would appear to be a printing flaw similar to that which appears on the 1¢ (#219) of this same issue (the "candle flame" variety, with elongated areas without ink on both the right and left serifs on one or both of the "1s"). This was caused by careless wiping of the plates.

C.W. Bedford, who predated Stanton in the study of the small 2¢ Bank Note Issue of 1890, wrote an article in 1932 which summed up the findings of a group with whom he worked known as the Shift Hunters. "Thanks to the cooperative endeavors of over 100 Shift Hunters, who have worked together for nearly three years, so many similar shifts have been found on the 2¢, the 15¢ and the 30¢ stamps of 1890 that we can now say with surety that most of these varieties and very probably all of them are due to careless or inaccurate applications of the transfer roll to the plate."[7]

Bedford's remark bears out my own conclusion. Transfer reliefs were breaking down from 1892 on. Repairs were not being made. Quality control was lax. Someone at the top didn't seem to care. And today we have this super-abundance of transfer relief breaks (as well as a multitude of double transfers, shifted transfers, etc.) which excite the specialist and amuse the collector, but the reasons still confound us all. □

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[7]C.W. Bedford, "Notes on Shifted Transfers - 2¢ 1890," *The American Philatelist*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (October 1932), p. 5.

THE ULTIMATE DESTINATION

Collectors of 19th century U.S. postal history often seek the most remote and uncommon destinations for the stamp, issue or type of mail service they collect. Many destinations which are "scarce" in the 20th century on non-philatelic covers, *e.g.*, Liechtenstein (especially outside of Vaduz), Sarawak, Turks & Caicos Islands, Bahrain, and St. Pierre & Miquelon Islands (all especially before World War II), are "very rare" to find in the 19th century.

Even many European destinations which are only "uncommon" in the pre-World War II portion of the 20th century can be "very scarce" to "rare" at different times in the 19th century. This was because commercial relations were not open between U.S. businesses and those towns and/or because there had been few immigrants to the United States who would be writing back to relatives in their homelands. This is especially true in Eastern Europe, where mass migration to the U.S. did not start until the last quarter of the 19th century. The same is true today for many small towns and villages in the interiors of India, China and South America whose immigrants have only recently arrived due to the new immigration policies of the last 35 years.

I have always searched hard for and specially prized such destinations in my collections of Lincoln 19th century issues and U.S. registry material. After all, how many 6¢ large Bank Notes can there be to Madeira and St. Helena? Do you know of many 4¢ small Bank Notes to Turks & Caicos Islands or Karlshamm, Finland and Roratonga, Cook Islands? How about a nice New Haven negative Star of David cancellation on 15¢ and 30¢ 1861-66 issues to Bangkok, Siam? Will we ever see another 6¢ with late large Bank Note issues paying triple U.P.U. rates to El Biar, Algeria?

All of these destinations are extremely rare and some are unique for the stamp and period. But they all have something in common that my most recent discovery does not: *the destination had a population!* ***Somebody was there to receive the mail!***

Anyone who collects covers from the last two decades of the 19th century knows the name of San Francisco stamp dealer George Carion. He had a large clientele and conducted world-wide correspondence. During the period 1892-94 (it may have been longer, but those three years are all I can document) Carion wrote to many exotic places seeking to buy stamps of outlying colonies, territories and dependencies of the major powers. He also tried to have covers addressed back to him by the local postmasters of those distant places. He would then sell those covers to his clients who were seeking unusual origins for their collections. He would also ask the postmaster to return his original request covers. This is why Carion registered covers in 1880-1900 are not too scarce.

The cover illustrated here (Figure 1) is one of those original requests to a postmaster. However, this one was returned because it was undeliverable.

The Kerguelen Islands were discovered in 1772 by French Navigator Yves Joseph de Kerguelen-Tremarec and are now part of the French Southern & Antarctic Territories. They are the virtually desolate remains of a large multi-caldera and ash field volcanic system, mostly barren but with some scrub vegetation. Indeed, the British explorer Captain James Cook visited it in 1776 and named it "Desolation Island."[1] In 1894, the Kerguelen Islands were , and until 1949 they remained, COMPLETELY UNINHABITED![2] Carion was unaware that the islands did not have a postal agent, much less anybody else.

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[1]"Kerguelen Islands", *Encarta 97 Encyclopedia*, copyright 1993-1996, Microsoft Corporation.

[2]France established a scientific mission to study meteorology and geophysics on Kerguelen Island in 1949; Marcelin Chappe, "Geography and Posts of the French Southern and Antarctic Territories," *The American Philatelist*, Vol. 80, No. 11 (August 1967), pp. 811-816.

Figure 1. 1894 Cover with 1893 Columbian Issues addressed to the "presumed" postmaster of the Kerguelen Islands.

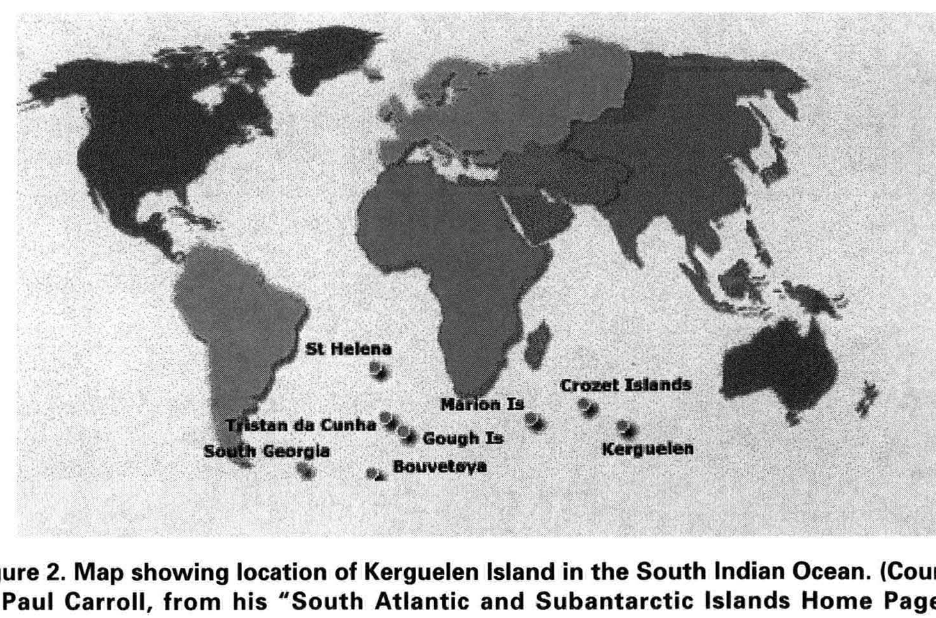

Figure 2. Map showing location of Kerguelen Island in the South Indian Ocean. (Courtesy of Paul Carroll, from his "South Atlantic and Subantarctic Islands Home Page" at http://www.wndrland.demon.co.uk/)

The main island is located at 70 degrees longitude east of Greenwich (almost due south of Bombay, India) and 49.5 degrees south latitude and is part of an undersea plateau stretching southeasterly to the Antarctic Circle. (Figure 2). In the 19th century, there were a few shacks for the use of whaling ships to put in during an emergency. According to one source, there were enough rations to support 30 sailors for up to four months as well as medical supplies.

Mail, especially from France, was deposited in a box. Letters addressed to sailors on the whaling ships could be picked up by them if they chanced to put in to Kerguelen. Apparently, enough ships did so that this was not an unexpected practice for European whalers working the far south Indian or north Antarctic Oceans. While French covers to Kerguelen in this period are quite scarce, they are known.

On the other hand, this cover (Figure 1) , franked with 2¢ and 10¢ 1893 Columbians on 1¢ Columbian postal stationery, paying the 8¢ registry and 5¢ U.P.U. rate, is the only 19th century cover yet recorded from America. Mailed from San Francisco on June 22, 1894, its other date stamps are New York City 6/28/94, Paris 7/9/94, Marseille 7/10/94 and Washington, D.C. Dead Letter Office, Registry Branch 11/20/94. These mailings show its trip to Kerguelen and its ultimate return as an undeliverable dead letter. There is no Kerguelen marking because there was no one there to postmark it, even if a date stamp had been available.

It is hard to imagine a more desolate, godforsaken and out-of-the-way address. For me, this cover has become the ultimate destination. □

COLOR CANCELLATION ON U. S. OFFICIAL STAMPS, 1873-1874

ALAN C. CAMPBELL

Introduction

Since the second edition of 1924, the *Scott Specialized Catalogue of U. S. Stamps* has listed premiums for color cancellations on the departmental stamps Ol-O120 (originally #1500-1634). In the beginning, there were 224 listings, and by the twelfth edition of 1937, there were 334, but since then, only four items have been added, making a grand total of 338 entries in the 1998 edition. Over the years, the pace of new discoveries was bound to slow down, but the dearth of new listings in the past sixty years is truly pathetic, symptomatic of the disfavor and apathy which has plagued these issues. Some years back, I set myself the daunting task of assembling complete sets of each department in all the listed colors. I then found that other advanced collectors, including those who specialize in single departments, had independently accepted the same challenge. By now, we have all come to the same bittersweet conclusion, that in this pursuit completion is only a relative term. Unless we resort to cheating (unused stamps, whittled corks, bottles of multi-hued inks) to furtively fill in the missing values, we will all still be hunting patiently until the day our albums are finally closed. Given the state of friendly cooperation that now exists in our speciality, I decided to conduct a census to establish how far we as a group had gotten in our quest. In reporting the results of this survey, my intention is not just to expand and clarify the catalogue listings, but also to explain whenever possible why we find what we do. In collecting color cancellations, it is the aesthetic impulse which first attracts us: who can resist a boldly struck red cancel on a deep green Department of State adhesive? In an era when the postal regulations repeatedly insisted that only black printer's ink should be used to obliterate stamps, we are indebted to all the defiant postmasters who proudly and happily poured colored ink on their stamp pads. But as we shall see, in many cases the use of colored inks was not just a matter of caprice or whimsy, but depended on the evolving technology of postmarking devices, or perhaps on a system for coding mail requiring special handling.

Since official mail bearing departmental stamps was handled by the post offices in exactly the same manner as private mail, the same postmarks and obliterators struck in the same inks will be found on the official stamps as on the large Bank Note regular issues. Two factors, though, severely restrict the range of cancellations to be found on official stamps: narrow distribution, and the introduction of stampless penalty envelopes in 1877. Some departments used their stamps almost exclusively in Washington, D.C. Outside of the nation's capital, Executive stamps were affixed only at President Grant's summer home in Long Branch, New Jersey, and Department of State stamps were added only by the dispatch agent in New York, N. Y. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Post Office Department official stamps were furnished in the fiscal year 1874 (July l, 1873 to June 30, 1874) to 33,780 postmasters across the country. Penalty envelopes were immediately popular, and when their authorized usage was extended to the field offices outside of Washington, D.C. in 1879, it had a chilling effect on the use of official stamps, with rapidly dwindling requisitions for all departments except War, which stubbornly persisted in using official adhesives and stamped envelopes until they were declared obsolete in 1884. But limitations on the use of penalty envelopes—not accepted by foreign governments, invalid for field office correspondence with private citizens, supplemental postage required for registry—meant that for all departments except the Executive Office itself (which ordered no stamps after fiscal year 1877), official stamps to a lesser extent were still in use until 1884. Thus many of them can be found with the different colors of canceling inks utilized with the commercial duplex rubber handstamps which came into widespread use in 1877. Due to the lack of available covers, all marcophily studies on the official stamps must be extrapolated from research on the concurrent large Bank Note regular issues. Therefore, a brief summary of the evolution of canceling devices during this period is in order.[1]

Evolution of Canceling Devices during the Bank Note Era

From 1851 on, the postal guidelines stipulated the use of black printer's ink for handstamps and black writing ink for pen cancellations. The purpose was twofold: to obliterate the stamp indelibly so as to prevent its reuse, and to produce a clear, legible postmark. "Legible postmarking is of the greatest importance to the public as evidence before the courts, in business transactions conducted through the mails, and in fixing the responsibility where mail has been improperly handled by postal officials."[2] Fortunately, this requirement was widely ignored. Long before 1883, when the Post Office Department officially prohibited vulcanized rubber handstamps because they could not be used with black printer's ink, some of the largest post offices in the country had routinely been using colored canceling ink.

The 1860 prohibition against using the postmark to cancel the stamp was soon followed by the introduction of "duplex" handstamps, with the town datestamp and obliterator combined in one device. According to its 1866 regulations, the Post Office Department furnished cancelers to all the larger post offices: Class I (annual revenue exceeding $1,000) received steel duplex devices, Class II (annual revenue between $500 and $1,000) received iron postmarks, and Class III (annual revenue between $100 and $500) received wooden postmarks. The postmasters at the small fourth class post offices were left to their own own devices, so to speak, and had to purchase their datestamps and cancelers out of pocket. E.S. Zevely, the brother of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, capitalized on this connection and became the leading supplier of boxwood cancelers, furnishing them under government contract to third class post offices and selling them to fourth class post offices. In 1877, vulcanized rubber duplex handstamps became widely popular among small town postmasters, and several suppliers continued to advertise them in the *U. S. Postal Guide* even after 1883, when the regulations first expressly forbade their use. In 1882, the F.P. Hammond Company of Chicago and Aurora, Illinois was offering steel, brass, ribbon, and vulcanized rubber handstamps.

The ribbon daters, incorporating a dry carbon ribbon like a typewriter instead of a wet ink pad, are seldom found struck on official stamps. Mandel states: "Close examination of such markings reveals that they are composed of numerous small dots, reflecting the texture of carbonized ribbon. This is usually not a feature of normal handstamps, except that one may occasionally notice some texture from the grain of wooden handstamps."[3] Strikes of the commercially made cancelers—be they cast metal, molded rubber,

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[1]Much of the information in the following section is derived from the following sources: Arthur H. Bond, "19th Century Development of Postal Markings," in J. David Baker, *The Postal History of Indiana* (Louisville, Kentucky: Leonard H. Hartmann, 1976), pp. 361-90; Richard B. Graham, "Postmarks and Postmarking Devices of the Bank Note Era," in James M. Cole, *Cancellations and Killers of the Bank Note Era, 1870-1894* (Columbus, OH: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 1995), pp. 1-17; Frank Mandel, "The Development of Handstamped Markings in the United States to 1900," in *U.S. Postmarks and Cancellations* (New York: The Philatelic Foundation, 1992), pp. 11-44.

[2]1897 *Report of the Postmaster General*, cited by Stephen J. Shebetich, "Inks Used for Cancellation and Postmarks at the Turn of the Century," *The United States Specialist*, November 1989, p. 599.

or machine-engraved wood—are readily distinguished from hand-carved devices strictly on a stylistic basis, the former being more regular, sharper, and better detailed. The steel devices especially were more durable and could last for years, whereas the soft corks began wearing down after a few days, with the struck image gradually degrading. As for identifying on canceled stamps the exact substrate material used in a given device, it is often impossible to confidently distinguish cork from hardwood or softwood, and vulcanized rubber from steel, iron or copper.

After the grilling of stamps was discontinued, concerns over the reuse of lightly canceled stamps persisted, and many experimental canceling devices were patented that scraped or punctured the stamp. Strikes of these are seldom encountered on official stamps, the patent cancelers used in Louisville, Kentucky being the most commonly found. Machine cancels have been reported as early as 1871, and may go back at least to 1863. A Palmer and Clark device was utilized in Washington, D.C. in 1876, but has never been recorded on an official stamp. The more popular Leavitt canceling machines did not adjust well to the varying thickness of letters, so their use was primarily restricted to postal cards. None of the early precancels have been found on official stamps. About 95% of the 33,780 post offices across the country did too little business to entitle them to receive government-issue cancelers, and it has been estimated that 20% of these handled so little mail that they were still using manuscript postmarks in 1870. Since mail franked with official stamps was seldom posted at the tiniest post offices, pen cancellations are not common, and as one would expect, are most often found on the 3¢ Post Office stamp.

For the large post offices, the term "government-issue canceler" implies a degree of standardization and uniformity which does not really obtain. The steel circular datestamps vary widely from city to city in their diameter, font and typeface, and the interchangeable type for the hour and year date was incorporated at different times in different places. Not all postmarks were duplexed with the obliterator, the most notable example being the famous foreign mail cancellations of New York City. In Chicago and Washington, D.C., duplex devices were utilized, but when multiple frankings required more than one strike of the obliterator, the postmark portion was carefully masked off on the second strike. This meticulous concern to comply with postal regulations is confirmed by the occasional cover showing a trace of the rim of a second circular datestamp (CDS) adjacent to the second strike of the obliterator. However, the postal clerks in Cincinnati were less meticulous and more expedient, wielding steel duplex devices with blue ink so as to cancel two adjoining stamps in a single stroke whenever possible, judging from the large number of socked-on-the-nose postmarks which have survived. These are most commonly found on Justice and Treasury stamps.

Cincinnati's characteristic steel obliterators, descended from the typical targets and circular barred grids of the previous decade, were an exception. On most of the government-issue cancelers, the obliterator was not a permanent fixed casting but a slug of some carvable material, held in a socket by a set screw and easily replaced. It had been found in the 1860s that softer materials like cork, even though they wore out much more quickly, did a far better job of obliterating the stamp, absorbing and delivering the ink best when scored in relief. Since most cancellation collectors prefer the variety and artistry of the carved obliterators, it is a blessing that the monotonous barred ellipse steel cancelers did not become popular in the larger cities until the late 1870s. The system of assigning a specific numeral to a postal clerk, first developed in New York in 1874 and adapted by Boston with letters in 1878, was initially accomplished using carved devices. The second series in Boston, with large negative serif letters and numerals, was made of machined wood. When this system was adopted in Cincinnati in 1877, Philadelphia in 1879, Washington, D.C. in 1880, and Louisville, Kentucky in 1882, crisp numerals in circular targets were achieved by ordering matching sets of steel cast cancelers.[4] Legibility was critical for the obliterator too, now that it carried important information like the postmark. John Goldsborough's barred ellipse steel duplex cancelers were first utilized in New York in 1876, with a letter in the ellipse identifying a clerk at the main post office, or a numeral identifying one of the branch stations. At their height, the barred ellipse cancelers were used in all large cities and many smaller cities and towns as well.

The first practical mold and vulcanizing equipment for making rubber handstamps was developed by J.F.W. Dorman of Baltimore in 1870, but their use was not widespread until 1877. Ordered from the advertisements of various manufacturers and distributors in the *U.S. Postal Guide,* these duplex devices had a customized postmark and a choice of standard obliterators. The more popular designs were sold to small town postmasters all across the country, who utilized them with a variety of colored inks. Strikes of the same obliterator can be found in black, blue, purple, violet, magenta and rarely in red. Rubber handstamps of the smaller manufacturers might have a limited regional distribution and be utilized with only a single color of ink—*e.g.*, black for in-period strikes of C.A. Klinker's famous "Kicking Mule." Out in the hinterlands, far from the watchful eye of the main Post Office Department in Washington, D.C., small town postmasters did not take such scrupulous care to avoid canceling stamps with the duplexed postmark. This resulted in the surprising circumstance that on official stamps, socked-on-the-nose postmarks from tiny territorial and fort post offices are often easier to find than those from much larger eastern cities.

Canceling Inks

The Post Office Department paid for the canceling ink used at first and second class post offices but did not provide it. Since they were being reimbursed for it, it was assumed that responsible postmasters would procure a good quality of ink from local suppliers. But at the smaller post offices, ink of various colors and grades was purchased at the postmaster's own expense, often from the commercial handstamp vendors.

Those postmasters who deviated from the use of black printer's ink must have done so for a variety of reasons. They might have wanted their postmarks to assert a distinctive identity for their town; black printer's may not have been available locally, or a supplier might have had a more workable product to offer; cancelers made of new materials might have required experimentation; or there could have been a perceived need to code different types of outgoing mail, in the way registry markings were typically struck in blue, and prepaid letters were once struck in red to distinguish them from unpaid letters struck in black. Evidence to document a specific reason for using colored canceling ink is hard to come by, though, and the authors of several recent definitive monographs have been loathe to speculate. In *The New York Foreign Mail Cancellation of 1870-1878*, William R. Weiss Jr. records the relative scarcity of strikes in red and claret, but does not advance a theory on why different colors of canceling ink were used simultaneously. He is skeptical of so-called "brown" NYFM cancellations, and believes that claret is not a true ink color, but a combination of red and black.[5] These large geometric obliterators, non-duplexed, were carved from boxwood.

In *Chicago Blue Cancellations, 1870-1877*, Berg is silent on why this distinctive canceling ink was used exclusively during 1873-1877, before the steel barred ellipse cancelers were adopted. Barbara Wallace implies that the artistry of these carved corks

[3]Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[4]Roger D. Curran, "Circular Killers with a Number or Letter," *USCC News*, Winter 1991, pp. 79-82.

[5]William R. Weiss, Jr., *The Foreign Mail Cancellation of New York 1870-1878* (Bethlehem, Pa.: The Author, 1990), pp. 28, 56.

reflected a new civic pride, the city just having been rebuilt after the disastrous fire of 1871.[6] The notion that an emblematic color of canceling ink might have been introduced just as a point of distinction, does not seem totally implausible. It also seems reasonable that postmasters in other growing Midwestern cities, after seeing and admiring this blue ink, might have decided to copy it, purchasing it from the same supplier perhaps, to bolster a distinctive Midwestern style of postmarking. The blue ink worked equally well with steel cancelers (Cincinnati) and cut corks (Chicago), the clarity of the strikes one finds approaching the sharpness of the New Orleans geometric corks, carved on an almost daily basis and usually struck in black (sometimes in blue). Judging from the consistently bold strikes we find, the postal clerks in New Orleans must have been especially conscientious about keeping their pads well-primed and their ink well-mixed, never allowing the pigment to settle into a murky sediment at the bottom of the pot. Compared to black printer's ink, virtually opaque on good strikes of the New Orleans geometrics, even the boldest strikes of the Chicago blues are more transparent, suggesting that the ink was a more dilute, less viscous emulsion. Perhaps postmasters in the Midwest had through trial and error come to find that blue ink was simply easier to work with, less prone to thicken and gum up the inking pads and cancelers.

What is certain, though, is that black printer's ink did not work well with the vulcanized rubber mold-cast cancelers which became so popular with small town postmasters in 1877. The Post Office Department's eventual prohibition of these devices in 1883, based on their incompatibility with black printer's ink, had less to do with the ink's color than its permanence. The Post Office Department (POD) had discovered that some of the inks developed and sold by the rubber handstamp manufacturers were fugitive by conducting tests involving solvents such as oxalic acid, ammonia soaps, chloroform and various oils. In 1877, at the request of Madison Davis, the Chief of the Stamp Division at the Post Office Department, a chemist in the Surgeon General's Office conducted tests on stamps treated with a colorless liquid that would supposedly become visible when the stamps were immersed in any of these solvents. He reported that the latent lines did become visible when treated with water soluble agents, but not when subjected to the oil-based "better solvents for the canceling inks now used by the Post Office Department."[7] Certainly examples of handstamps struck with soluble canceling inks—soaked off covers but never subjected to the harsher chemicals used to wash canceled stamps for reuse—must reside in our collections, but have not been recognized as such. Arthur Bond stated that the distinctive purple canceling ink used in Washington, D.C. in 1878, and the indigo canceling ink used in 1879-1880 represent experimental trials by the POD to develop an indelible ink that would work with rubber handstamps. Heartened by the success of these trials, the *U.S. Postal Guide* for July 1878 lifted the restriction against colored canceling ink for the first time: ". . . colors other than black may be used, but the quality therefore must not be inferior to that mentioned in the regulations."[8] Yet Bond also cited evidence in the POD library in Washington, D.C. that a satisfactory formulation for indelible colored inks for rubber handstamps was not perfected until 1883, after which the POD issued many rubber stamps for special service markings.[9] In that same year, the POD prohibited the use of rubber handstamps by small town postmasters, presumably because it was not yet in a position to regulate and prevent the use of fugitive canceling inks obtained from rogue sources.

A thorough scientific study of these canceling inks is beyond the scope of this article. However, my guess is that the new inks formulated to work with rubber handstamps

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[6]Paul K. Berg, *Chicago Blue Postal Markings* (Newport Beach, Ca.: P.K. Berg, 1992), p. vii.

[7]Letter from E. Ward of the Surgeon General's Office dated July 30, 1877, archival research courtesy of Dr. Dennis Schmidt.

[8]Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 376.

were of a smoother consistency, with the coloring agent being a dye or lake dissolved into the oil medium instead of the iron oxide pigment dispersed through typical printer's inks. In the 1882 *U.S. Postal Guide*, two companies—T. H. Woodward of Cincinnati and H.W. Hubbard of New York—boasted that there was no aniline in their black canceling ink. Clearly, aniline dyes had been a problematic component of earlier experimental inks. As a collector of antique Oriental carpets, I am quite familiar with this first generation of synthetic dyes—noxiously bright in color relative to vegetal dyes, and notoriously fugitive. Some of the first dyes developed to pigment inks were discovered in experiments to develop deliberately fugitive printing inks that would dissolve and alter the stamp color if an attempt was made to wash off the cancellation.[10] Synthetic dyes come in a range of colors, including aniline blues (developed in 1861) and black. Philatelists tend to associate aniline dyes with unnaturally bright colors that fluoresce under black light and bleed through to the back of the stamp. Since some canceling inks of the late nineteenth century did contain aniline dyes, legitimate period strikes in these inks may have been unjustly condemned as the work of fakers. Specialists familiar with the distinctive Washington, D.C. purple cancels of 1878 will have noticed that unusually juicy strikes in this ink do sometimes bleed through to the back of the stamp.

Through the mid-1880s, appropriations were sought so that a government-issue standard black printer's ink could be furnished to all the fourth class post offices. By the time this was finally accomplished in the 1890s, the results were about what one would expect from high-handed bureaucratic meddling: very disappointing. The First Assistant Postmaster General did not mince words:

> The canceling ink furnished by the Department was generally reprobated by postmasters as being gummy and unfit for use, making it difficult to keep stamps and pads in proper order. An examination of the ink itself convinced me that it was of inferior quality, the coloring matter being so badly mixed with oil that they would separate when allowed to stand. It could not be used without a thorough stirring, and when not so handled by postmasters the oily portion was soon used off from the tops of the cans, leaving the balance unfit for use.[11]

It sounds as if this government-issue ink had the consistency and workability of old-fashioned peanut butter. Despite the drawbacks in working with this oil-based product, during the period of usage for the official stamps, 1873-1884, most postmasters *did* utilize it in compliance with postal regulations. Years ago, an unpicked mixed lot of 10,000 National and Continental 3¢ green large Bank Notes yielded the following percentages of color cancellations: blue 8%, purple .04%, red .08% and pen 2%, with all the rest being conventional black printer's ink.[12]

Canceling Inks Utilized in Washington, D.C.

For official stamps, any marcophily study must begin with the nation's capital, Washington, D.C., for it was here that a majority of mail bearing official stamps was posted, emanating from the mail rooms of the great departmental headquarters. By the census of 1880, the twenty largest cities in the country according to population were:

1. New York, New York	1,206,299
2. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	847,170
3. Brooklyn, New York	566,663
4. Chicago, Illinois	503,185

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[10]R.H. White, *Color in Philately* (New York: The Philatelic Foundation, 1979), p. 14.

[11]1897 *Report of the Postmaster General*, cited by Stephen J. Shebetich, "Inks Used for Cancellation and Postmarks at the Turn of the Century," *The United States Specialist*, November 1989, p. 601.

[12]H.L. Wiley, *U. S. 3¢ Green, 1870-1887*, reprint ed. (Weston, Mass.: Triad Publications, 1979), p. 3.

5. Boston, Massachusetts	362,839
6. St. Louis, Missouri	350,518
7. Baltimore, Maryland	332,313
8. Cincinnati, Ohio	255,139
9. San Francisco, California	233,959
10. New Orleans, Louisiana	216,090
11. Washington, D.C.	177,624
12. Cleveland, Ohio	160,146
13. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	156,389
14. Buffalo, New York	155,134
15. Newark, New Jersey	136,508
16. Louisville, Kentucky	123,758
17. Jersey City, New Jersey	120,722
18. Detroit, Michigan	116,340
19. Milwaukee, Wisconsin	115,587
20. Providence, Rhode Island	104,857

Although Washington, D.C. was at the time only the eleventh largest city in the country, it can be stated with some certainty that well over half the official mail originated there. In a survey of the four omnibus collections of official stamps currently being exhibited, 270 of 463 covers, or 58%, originated in Washington, D. C., whereas New York, by far the largest city, accounted for only 19 of 463, or 4%. If anything, this survey understates the importance of Washington, D.C., since collectors actively seek out and prefer covers from other towns.

When the official stamps were first introduced in 1873, Washington, D.C. like most other first class post offices was using government-issue steel duplex cancelers, with the obliterators being replaceable carved devices (cork or wood) held in the steel socket by a set screw. Black printer's ink worked well with these type of cancelers. And yet, between 1873 and 1875, a red canceling ink was also used. I know of eight official covers from Washington, D.C. with red cancellations and all of these are local delivery usages except for a 3¢ Treasury to Baltimore which was missorted and received a red "Washington, D.C. Local" postmark. Extrapolating from this admittedly small survey, I would argue that red canceling ink was used there exclusively on local delivery mail, both official business and regular mail. On off-cover used official stamps, for all departments the value most commonly found with a Washington, D.C. red cancellation is the 2¢, the correct postage for a single weight "drop letter," which was mailed and delivered within Washington, D.C. without being transmitted to another post office. Yet many other values up to the 90¢ can be found with red cancellations, so these probably originated on Washington, D.C. local delivery heavy letters or parcels.

Since most of the surviving local rate covers with red cancellations also have carrier backstamps struck in red, this correlation suggests that a special ink was reserved to indicate mail handled by the carrier department. When free carrier service by the Post Office Department was instituted on July 1, 1863, the nation's capital was naturally included among the 49 cities where this service was provided. By 1874, 84 cities had carrier service, and by 1880, 101, with 48 carriers working out of the main Washington, D.C. post office and the Georgetown Station.[13] Prior to 1879, when the Post Office Department began requiring receiving backstamps on all out-of-town mail, most cities with carrier service employed carrier backstamps which indicated the hour of the day and in some cases even the number of the delivery, since the largest cities then had up to seven deliveries a day in the business district and three in residential areas. The purpose of such markings

[13] *U.S. Official Postal Guide*, January 1880, p. 623.

was presumably to indicate that the mail was being handled expeditiously under the new free delivery system.[14]

Now at this time, it was possible for a letter to be handled only by the carrier department and not pass through the post office, if it were picked up by the carrier from a collection box and delivered further along his route, in much the same way RFD mail was later picked up at a private mail box, canceled by an indelible pencil, and delivered on down the line. But in Washington, D.C., with many carrier routes and a huge volume of official business mail, only the tiniest fraction of it (if any at all) could have been delivered in this way. Certainly the neat red postmarks and backstamps encountered do not look like the handiwork of a carrier who has just fumbled through the letters posted in a lamppost box.

In the 1873-75 time period, most but by no means all Washington, D.C . local letters were postmarked in red, and not all bear carrier backstamps. The carrier backstamps would not have been useful in documenting speedy delivery, since the postmarks used there prior to 1875 did not contain the hour of the day. Red carrier backstamps were used on out-of-town incoming mail, and also on local letters that had been postmarked in black, so the appearance of red postmarks and carrier backstamps on the same cover is largely coincidence. In trying to justify the use of red canceling ink, Roger Curran speculated that this might have been a trial of an experimental ink which by being confined to Washington, D.C. on local letters would not confuse other postmasters about the postal regulation requiring the use of black printer's ink.[15] Clearly, the Post Office Department did use the Washington, D.C. post office as a test site for experimenting with cancelers and inks, yet I believe the use of red canceling ink also had a practical purpose. I have not been able to find any detailed contemporary accounts of how outgoing mail was collected, sorted, and postmarked at the main Washington, D.C. post office, or what postal markings were routinely applied in the carrier department there. But surely there must have been a mail slot in the lobby designated for local delivery letters and parcels. If all the mail deposited there were postmarked in red to distinguish it from out-of-town mail postmarked in black, then at any point further along in the sorting process, the color of the postmark would serve as a visual clue to prevent misroutings. Such a system must have been reasonably effective, for before the color-coding of local mail was phased out in 1875, special postmarks incorporating the word "Local" had been introduced.

In a large post office such as the main one in Washington, D.C ., it was clearly quite inefficient to have fresh cork obliterators being repeatedly carved for or by the postal clerks. So early in 1878, a new type of canceling device was introduced there with a more durable obliterator. Rollin C. Huggins, Jr. and Dr. Dennis Schmidt have done extensive research on these distinctive cancelers, which for most of the year were utilized with a special purple canceling ink. They were kind enough to make their census of covers available to me, and I understand that it has also been provided to the Washington Philatelic Society, which is in the process of preparing a book on the postal history of the District of Columbia based on a vast study collection assembled by the late George Turner.[16] The first model (Type I), consisting of a 28mm diameter postmark with all serif letters duplexed to a quartered circle killer with a negative circle at the junction, was used from January 7 to September 14 . The second model (Type II), consisting of a 27mm diameter postmark with the date plugs sans serif and a quartered circle killer, was used from September 20 to December 5. See Figure 1. After this date, the devices continued in use for a short time,

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[14]Roger R. Rhoads, "Free Delivery Carrier Markings," *U. S. Cancellation Club News,* Vol. 21, No. 4 (Whole No. 214)(Fall 1993), p. 3.

[15]Roger D. Curran, "Washington Colors," *U. S. Cancellation Club News*, Vol . 23, No. 2 (Whole No. 217)(Fall 1997), p. 22.

[16]William A. Sandrik, "Independent Post Offices in the District of Columbia," *La Posta*, January 1994, p. 31.

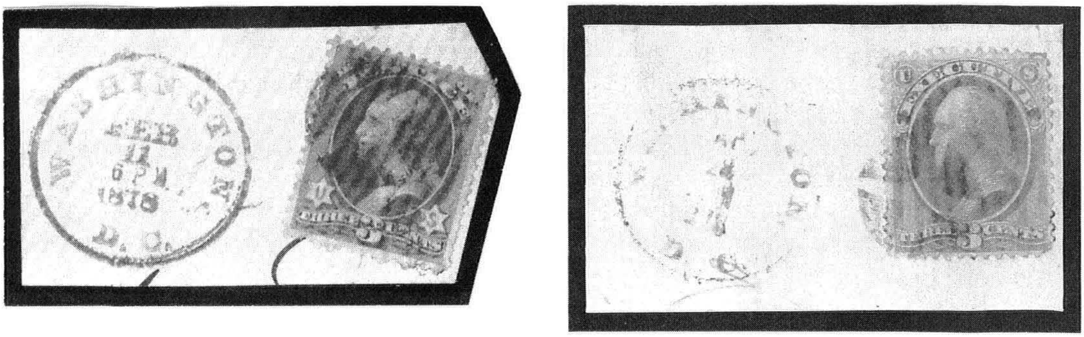

Figure 1. Washington, D.C. 1878 duplex cancelers struck in purple.

Figure 2. Washington, D.C. 1878 duplex cancelers struck in black and indigo.

but the purple canceling ink was replaced by black and later by indigo. In Figure 2 we illustrate four examples of these rare late uses of the Type I model, the 1¢ Executive being struck in black, the 1¢ Navy, 10¢ Post Office, and 30¢ State struck in indigo.

There are two schools of thought on these cancelers. Rollin Huggins believes that the durability of these devices indicates that they were cast from steel, while Roger Curran follows Bond in arguing that the unusual purple canceling ink would have been formulated and utilized only with experimental rubber handstamps. Curran also believes that the form of the serif lettering in the postmarks is characteristic of rubber.[17] It has also been noted that the orientation of the crossroads cuts in the obliterator varies from one strike to another. Now, if a set of identical duplex devices were ordered for the clerks and either cast from steel or molded from rubber, the orientation of these cuts would remain constant. Therefore, I believe that these were actually steel duplex devices, not dissimilar from what had been used previously, except that the removable obliterator plugs were molded in rubber, not carved from cork. Rubber postmarks do not seem practical for the heavy usage they would receive at the main D.C. post office, but the radical introduction of purple canceling ink clearly points to rubber elsewhere in the device. Also, the form of the killer—basically solid except for the incisions—is not typical at all of steel devices, which from the 1860s on had essentially been open designs—targets or barred circles, since ink cannot be carried over a large non-absorbent surface (*cf.* all the different techniques of cross-hatching used to engrave the large numerals on the Post Office stamps). The hollow circle at the center of the Type 1 device could indicate a recessed screw used to hold the rubber plug in place, while its absence on the Type II device might show a return to the more conventional lateral set screw.

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[17]Curran, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Postmarking at the main Washington, D.C. post office during the early months of 1879 was fairly chaotic. As mentioned above, the experimental 1878 devices were utilized with black and then indigo canceling inks. Cooper patent cancels were given a brief trial during February, utilizing the 1878 purple canceling ink.[18] The obsolete steel and cork devices, with the sans serif postmark lacking a year date, were also revived. In May, a new series of duplex devices was introduced, struck always with the same indigo canceling ink first used in December 1878. The obliterator on these devices always consists of a large horizontally barred ellipse. Variations include a narrow ellipse line drawn around the basic figure, or a circle in the center with the numerals 1 or 2 or "L" for local delivery. The basic types are shown in Figure 3. Again, Huggins believes these to be steel devices, while Curran opts for rubber.[19] Personally, I incline towards steel, and consider these cancelers to be a first cousin to the Goldsborough patented ellipses. The use of a colored canceling ink

Figure 3. Washington, D.C. 1879-80 duplex cancelers struck in indigo.

is a bit puzzling if not mandated by rubber, but due to the relaxed regulations at this time, not illegal. Some collectors have dismissed this indigo canceling ink as nothing more than an accidental polluted mixture of blue and black inks, but this is definitely not the case. It is a discrete but subtle color, and in the case of the official stamps, worthy of separate catalogue listings, if for no other reason than it is as close as you can come to blue cancellations on the Executive and State stamps. When a new series of steel duplex cancelers with numeral-in-target killers was introduced in mid-1880, the Washington, D.C. post office went back to using black canceling ink exclusively.

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[18]Alfred E. Staubus, "Stamps for Use on Official Correspondence to Foreign Destinations under GPU and UPU Treaties," *Chronicle*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Whole No. 147)(August 1990), p. 189.

[19]Curran, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

During the period 1873-1884, true blue canceling ink was never used at the main Washington, D.C. post office. The independent Georgetown post office, prior to becoming Station A of the main PO in 1877, did occasionally use blue canceling ink, but little if any official mail was posted there. I have never heard of an official cover postmarked there, and the only off-cover stamp 1 own has a red CDS. The only official cover out of Washington, D.C. I have ever seen with a blue cancellation was a fluke registered Treasury cover, in which the blue ink pad for the registry numbers was accidentally used to cancel the stamps. Some official mail was posted at a tiny post office in the basement of the Capitol, but black canceling ink was used there exclusively. This post office was closed when the new East Capitol Station (or Station B of the main PO) was established in September 1881.[20] The catalogue listings for blue cancellations and blue town cancellations on Executive and State official stamps are extremely misleading. These entries must refer to the lovely double circle received markings which were sometimes used to favor cancel presentation copies. They are also occasionally seen on Justice stamps, but rarely on stamps from the more common departments, probably because these were sufficiently available through normal channels (chiefly mailroom clerks at the great departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C.) that stamp-gatherers did not need to write and petition the departments directly. These markings are aesthetically far superior to the ruled pen lines or tiny "X's" which were also used to demonetize official stamps before they were handed over to private individuals, but they have no greater postal validity. Blue handstamped favor cancellations, as handsome as they are, do command a premium in the marketplace, but the catalogue should at least identify them for what they are. As it now stands, we have fakers creating blue "cancellations" to the specification of the catalogue on stamps that shouldn't come that way, and presumably a gullible buyer or two has been taken already, because the catalogue lends credence to these spurious products.

Red Cancellations

The vast majority of red cancellations found on official stamps derive from the Washington, D.C. main post office's use of red canceling ink on local mail from 1873 to 1875. The corks used with this ink were never very imaginatively carved—a circle of wedges is about as "fancy" as they come—and many strikes are just shapeless blobs. Also, the ink employed was more dilute than the arresting red paint cancellations found on earlier issues. Some strikes have remained quite vivid, while others have faded or oxidized to a washed-out claret shade. In theory, red cancellations could have occurred on all values of the Continental printing except for the State dollar values, which were meant to be used on overseas parcels. In actuality, they are quite seldom found on values above the 6¢. Based on what has been recorded to date, completion is possible for only two departments: Navy and Treasury. The significant premiums the catalogue assigns for red cancellations reflects both their rarity and their intrinsic beauty.

Red canceling ink was also used in New York City during this period, most notably on foreign mail. Yet as plentiful as strikes of the large NYFM geometric cancellations are on the Bank Note regular issues, they are astonishingly rare on official stamps. Approximately thirty off-cover stamps are known (and one cover), but only a few of these are struck in red. More commonly found are stamps canceled in black at Washington, D.C. bearing a partial strike of an orange-red "New York Paid All" transit marking. A 3¢ State is recorded with a red socked-on-the-nose "San Francisco Paid All" transit mark. Red canceling ink was also used sporadically in a number of small towns, although so far, Hartland, N. Y. is the only town which has been confirmed by an official cover.

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[20]Rollin C. Huggins, Jr., "Congress Postmarks", *U.S. Cancellation Club News*, Spring 1990, p. 19-27.

Blue Cancellations

In the period of usage of the official stamps, 1873-1884, the principal alternative to black printer's ink was various shades of blue. Blue canceling inks were used with government-issue duplexed steel devices in large cities, and with rubber handstamps in small towns. These inks, dark enough to obliterate the stamps well, were equally effective with metal, wood, cork, and rubber handstamps, and even the ribbon daters. The most important cities to use them exclusively for a period of years were Chicago and Cincinnati, while in other towns they were used intermittently as a temporary or experimental substitute for black printer's ink. Blue ink was extensively used for the numbers on registered mail, and sometimes for the accompanying postmarks. Just on the evidence from official mail (covers, off-cover socked on the nose postmarks, and attributable obliterators), we know that blue canceling inks were used all across the country: in the east, at Providence, R. I., Rochester, N. Y., Concord, N. H., Frankfort and Covington, Ky. and Pittsburgh, Pa.; in the south, at Montgomery and Abbeville, Al., Savannah, Ga. and New Orleans, La.; in the Midwest, at Evansville, In., Milo, Iowa, Wichita, Ka., Chicago, Parland, and Streator, Ill., Kalamazoo, Mi., St. Joseph, Mo., Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Elyria, Ohio; and in the far west, at Denver, Co. and numerous small fort and territorial post offices. Of course, if evidence from the large Bank Note regular issues were also considered, this list could be greatly expanded.

By far the easiest sets of color cancellations to complete on the departmentals would be blue on either Treasury (7¢ and 24¢ being the key values) or Post Office (10¢ key value), and they are sometimes offered by dealers preassembled. Completion is also possible for Interior, Justice, and War, although certain humble stamps like the 30¢ Interior are surprisingly tough. The 90¢ Navy is not recorded with a blue cancellation, but all other values have been found. I have not been able to pinpoint the town of origin for these from a proving cover, but since these stamps were mostly used by paymasters at naval stations along the Eastern seaboard (Washington, D.C., Annapolis, Portsmouth, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, League Island, Mound City, New London, New Orleans, San Francisco) the possibilities are limited.[21] Archival research uncovering the original requisitions could help us narrow down the possible towns of origin for the cancellations we find on official stamps, especially for departments with a narrow distribution such as Justice. Blue cancellations are very scarce on the high value Agriculture stamps, which saw little usage outside of Washington, D.C. Genuine blue cancellations, as opposed to favor handstamps, are not to be found on any stamps of the Executive and State stamps, since blue canceling ink was never used in Washington, D.C., New York, or Long Branch, N. J.

Ultramarine and Indigo

There are many shades of blue canceling ink, which vary in hue (greenish blue, violet blue), value (light blue, dark blue), and chroma (gray blue, bright blue). There have never been separate catalogue listings for these shades, with the exception of ultramarine. Technically, ultramarine is a pigment derived from powdered lapis lazuli, but in philately this term is commonly used to describe a deeper, more cobalt shade of blue. Ultramarine cancellations on official stamps are quite rare, but no great premium attaches to them, due to the difficulty in reaching a consensus on what specifically constitutes this shade. To a trained eye, though, the indigo or blue-black cancellations of Washington, D.C., 1879-1880 are quite distinctive and easily recognized. Especially on the departmental stamps, where usages out of Washington, D.C. predominate, this color of canceling ink, utilized

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[21]Rae D. Ehrenberg, "Authorized Use of the U. S. Official Stamps by the Various Departments," *33rd American Philatelic Congress Book*, p. 46.

with a limited number of devices, warrants special catalog listings. Relative to the Washington, D.C. purples of 1878, the indigo cancellations are a good deal scarcer and are recorded on far fewer departmental values. There are two explanations for this: the old style of metal handstamps, lacking year dates, were also revived during 1879, and the increasing popularity of the newly authorized penalty envelopes was causing a severe drop-off in the use of official stamps by the main departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C.

(to be continued)

THE CHICAGO EXCHANGE OFFICE AND PRE-U.P.U. MAIL TO CANADA

LEONARD PISZKIEWICZ

In the last issue of the *Chronicle*, I discussed the Chicago exchange office handling of pre-U.P.U. transatlantic mail and presented the known markings found on such mail, both outgoing and incoming.[1] The present article will discuss what little is known about mail directly exchanged with Canada by the Chicago exchange office.

The first mention in official U.S. Post Office Department documents of Chicago being an exchange office for Canadian mail seems to be in the 1866 *Postal Laws & Regulations*, where Chicago was listed as exchanging with "Railway post office, Great Western railroad."[2] At that time, the Great Western railroad ran west from Toronto through London to Windsor, opposite Detroit. A reference to the direct exchange of mails between Canada and Chicago, however, appeared five years earlier in the *Chicago Tribune*:[3]

> CANADA EXCHANGE MAILS.
>
> Through mails for the British Provinces close daily at 4:45 P.M. (See Supplementary Mails.)
>
> SUPPLEMENTARY MAILS.
>
> For eastern cities (except Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington City) and Canada, close daily (except Saturdays and Sundays) at 5:15 P.M. Letters (and letters only) for these mails must be deposited in the chief clerk's room (up stairs) after 4:45 P.M.

A similar reference can be found in *Appleton's United States Postal Guide* of 1863 (p. 83), indicating daily exchange mails (including Supplementary Mails) for Canada. Mails from Chicago were transported on the Michigan Central railroad to Detroit, where they were exchanged at Windsor and placed on the Great Western railroad.[4] A sketch of the route is shown in Figure 1.

The Reports of the Postmaster General of Canada shed little light on the matter, other than in a negative sense. The 1860 report (for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, 1860) stated, "Mails are exchanged daily with the United States Post Office at all the principal Frontier points; and closed mails are forwarded daily between the principal Cities of Canada and the Cities of New York and Boston."[5] Apparently, Chicago was not an exchange office as of Sept. 30, 1860. This is consistent with cover evidence (see below). The

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[1]Leonard Piszkiewicz, "The Chicago Exchange Office and Pre-U.P.U. Trans-Atlantic Mail," *Chronicle* 179:220-33.

[2]*Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America 1866*, Wierenga Reprint, p.36 of the *Regulations of the Post Office Department.*

[3]*Chicago Tribune*, November 4, 1861, p. 4; the same notice also appeared in the November 6, 1861 issue. Chicago Supplementary Mail markings are known on a few covers to Canada during the period 1861-63.

[4]See *Appleton's Railway Map of the United States and Canada*, published 1869 by D. Appleton & Co. of New York, reprinted by the United States 1869 Pictorial Research Associates, 1977.

[5]A pertinent excerpt of the 1860 report appears in Winthrop S. Boggs, *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Canada* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Chambers Publishing Company, 1945), p. 20-M.

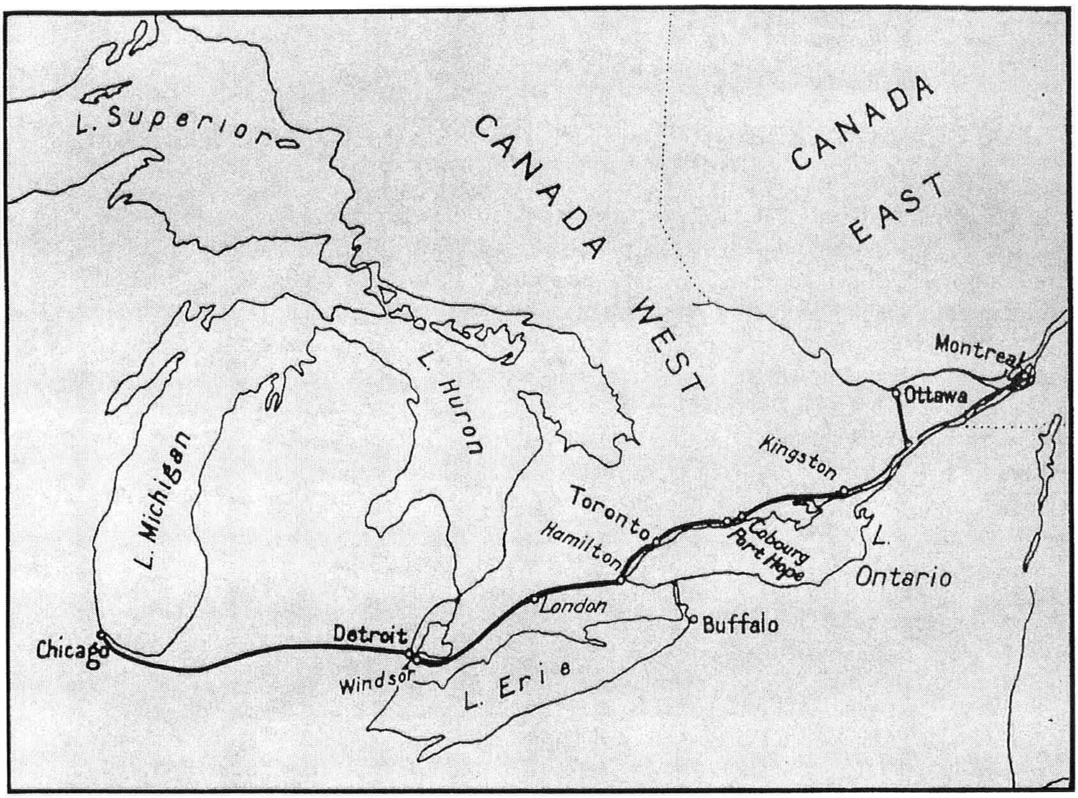

Figure 1. Sketch of 1860s railway links between Chicago, Detroit, and the Canadian Great Western Railway.

Figure 2. Red CHICAGO ILL./PAID 15, black SACRAMENTO/CAL. APR 20 1862 with black grids canceling 10¢ 1861 and strip of five 1¢ 1861 on single rate cover to Euphemia, Canada West. Backstamped G.W.R [EAS]T JU 26 62 (black), NEWBURY U.C. JU 26 62 (red), and FLORENCE U.C. JU 27 1862 (black). (Cover courtesy of James E. Lee)

reports of the PMG of Canada for the years 1861-65 do not contain any reference to specific U.S. cities.[6]

About a dozen recorded covers to Canada are readily identifiable as being handled by the Chicago exchange office (see Figure 2). These covers bear the CHICAGO ILL./PAID 15 marking illustrated in the previous article as marking No. 320. Observed dates of use range from July 16, 1861 to May 25, 1863. These covers all originated on the West Coast (California, Oregon and British Columbia) and were sent prepaid 15¢, the rate in effect April 6, 1851 to February 17, 1864 for single weight (1/2 ounce) letters from the West Coast to Canada. The several covers from British Columbia are prepaid appropriately for transport to California and also bear 15¢ in U.S. postage stamps postmarked at San Francisco. All these covers traveled the overland route to the Midwest and were addressed to Canada West. This route was shorter (in both time and distance) than the sea route via Panama or Nicaragua, but it was also less reliable than the sea route in the early 1860s. This problem has been written about, including originally in the 1861 Report of the Postmaster General.[7] From the lack of covers addressed to Canada East and the Maritime provinces, one could easily conclude that all West Coast mail to these destinations was sent by the sea route and never got near Chicago. There are no covers known to Canada from the Midwest through Chicago that show a corresponding marking reflecting the 10¢ rate from east of the Rockies, *i.e.*, a marking reading CHICAGO ILL. PAID 10.

Except as previously discussed, essentially all the United States markings on mail to Canada read "United States" or "U.States," in conformity with the agreement between the U.S. and Canada that mail be marked with the name of the country of origin.[8] None of these markings have been attributed to Chicago by the *American Stampless Cover Catalog* or *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings 1851-61*. There is one marking, however, that appears from cover evidence to have been used by the Chicago exchange office in the same period that the CHICAGO ILL./PAID 15 was used on West Coast mail. Figure 3 shows a cover with this marking and a tracing is shown in Figure 4. The tracing has a complete rim while all recorded examples show breaks in the rim of the marking device. I have recorded the marking used on 13 covers, seven originating in Chicago, five in other Illinois towns (Byron, Florid, Morrison, Ottawa, Polo) and one from Decorah, Iowa. Observed dates of use range from September 12, 1861 to June 23, 1864. Before this time, mail from Chicago to Canada usually received exchange office markings at Detroit, as shown in Figure 5, postmarked JAN 29 (1861), or Buffalo, depending on the destination.

The reporting of the Figure 4 marking in the philatelic literature is varied and interesting. The marking was first illustrated by Boggs more than 50 years ago, and he attributed it to Port Huron, Michigan in 1853.[9] From cover evidence it appears that the year was a typographical error and 1863 was probably intended. Susan McDonald, writing in *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings 1851-61* stated, "Past attribution to Port Huron is wrong."[10] McDonald assigned the marking to Detroit during the period 1861-64. In the *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, however, she was less confident, listing the marking as "Detroit, Mich?" The introduction to the B.N.A. section, which contains her listings, stated, "Tentative identification is shown by a question mark."[11] Thus, the Detroit attribution appears questionable at best.

[6]Reports for 1861-65 are available at the Library of Congress.

[7]*Report of the Postmaster General 1861*, Weirenga Reprint, pp. 560-61.

[8]A compendium of such markings can be found in Thomas J. Alexander, *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings 1851-61* (Columbus, Ohio: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 1979), pp. 316-19.

[9]Winthrop S. Boggs, *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Canada*, Volume I (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Chambers Publishing Company, 1945), p. 50.

[10]Thomas J. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[11]David G. Philips, Editor-in-Chief, *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, 4th Edition, Volume II (North Miami, Florida: David G. Phillips Publishing Co., Inc., 1987), p. 283.

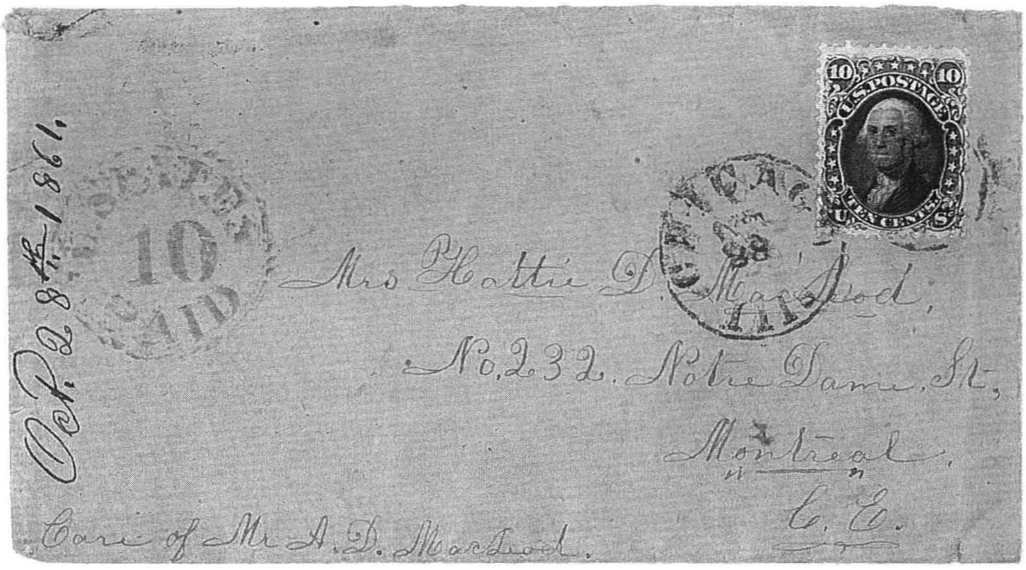

Figure 3. Red U.STATES/10/PAID, blue CHICAGO/Ills OCT 28 (1861) with grid canceling 10¢c 1861 on single rate cover to Montreal, C. E. Backstamped MONTREAL C.E. AM OC 30 61.

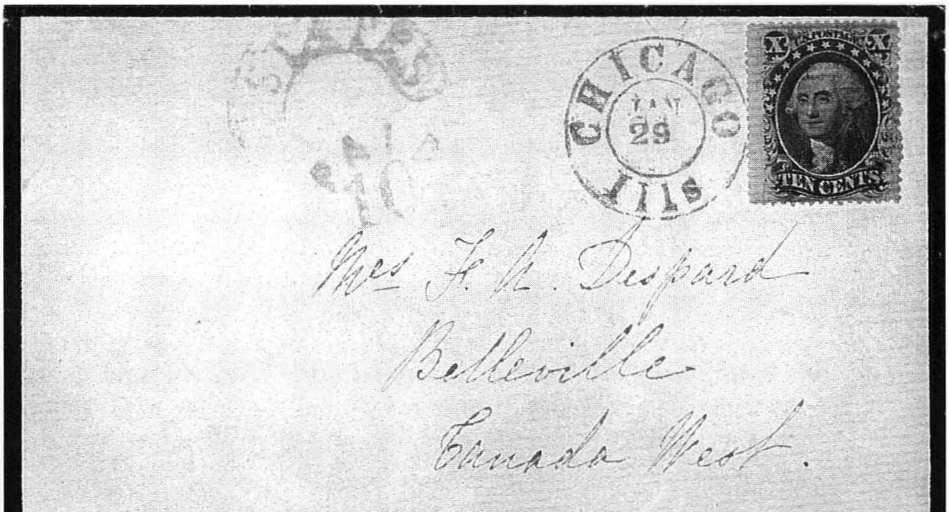

Figure 5. Red U.STATES in arc and red PAID/10 of Detroit, blue CHICAGO/Ills/JAN 29 (1861) with grid canceling 10¢ 1857 on single rate mourning cover to Belleville, Canada West. Backstamped WINDSOR C.W. JAN 30 1861 and BELLEVILLE U.C. JA 31 1861.

Figure 4. Idealized tracing of marking used by Chicago exchange office on paid mail from Illinois and Iowa to Canada, 1861-64.

Figure 6. Backstamp of the Great Western Railway RPO often found on mail received from the Chicago exchange office.

Today available information seems to point to Chicago as the origin of the U.STATES 10 PAID marking (Figure 4). McDonald noted that the post office of origin for this marking "Exchanged with G.W.R. EAST." This is consistent with the 1866 PL&R indication that Chicago exchanged Canadian mails with "Railway post office, Great Western railroad," as noted above. Indeed, some covers bearing the U.STATES 10 PAID marking also are backstamped with the G.W.R. EAST marking shown as a tracing in Figure 6.[12] These covers are addressed to various towns in Canada West. The Figure 3 cover, however, addressed to Montreal, C. E. (Canada East), is only backstamped Montreal. The lack of a G.W.R. EAST backstamp probably indicates that the cover traveled in a closed bag between Chicago and Montreal. The Figure 6 backstamp was used on the line running east from Windsor, opposite Detroit. The branch from Sarnia used a similar backstamp with the words SARNIA BRANCH in the marking. Further evidence in support of this interpretation is the fact that the Figure 2 cover from the West Coast also bears a G.W.R. EAST backstamp.

In summary, several factors point to the U.STATES 10 PAID marking as having been applied by the Chicago post office:

(1) The covers originated in Chicago and points west and south.

(2) The reference in the *Chicago Tribune* that Chicago was an exchange office for mails to Canada by late1861.

(3) The 1866 *PL&R* reference to the Great Western Railroad and the presence of G.W.R. EAST backstamps on covers with the U.STATES 10 PAID and CHICAGO ILL./PAID 15 markings.

(4) Contemporaneous usage with the CHICAGO ILL./PAID 15 marking on West Coast mail to Canada West.

During the time these markings were used on outgoing mail to Canada (1861-64), no covers from Canada to the United States have been observed with any marking indicating handling by the Chicago exchange office. After 1864 and during the remainder of the pre-U.P.U. period, no other markings have been observed from the Chicago exchange office on mail to or from Canada.

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[12]This marking is very well known to Canadian postal historians and is illustrated in Boggs, *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 651 (from which the figure is taken), and Gillam, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

Figure 7. Blue CHICAGO/Ill. SEP 27 1862 with target canceling 1¢ Star Die stamped envelope and black 1 CT due marking of Toronto, Canada West, on circular rate cover to Port Hope, Canada West. Backstamped PORT HOPE C.W. SP 30 62.

With regard to mails exchanged between Chicago and Canada, one additional cover is instructive in how printed circular mail was handled by the Chicago exchange office in the 1860s. Figure 7 illustrates a seldom seen printed circular usage originating in Chicago SEP 27 1862. By agreement between the United States and Canada, printed circulars were to be paid to the border and then rated due by the receiving country.[13] This cover was most likely sent in a closed bag from the Chicago exchange office to Toronto, rated due "1 CT" at that point, and then forwarded to Port Hope, Canada West, on the north shore of Lake Ontario (backstamped, PORT HOPE, C.W., SP 30 1862). The black "1 CT" marking is a good match for a marking recorded by Boggs as type H109c (Late), used by Toronto in the early 1860s.[14] Since the Chicago Post Office made up mails daily for Canada and the cover went as far as Toronto before being rated for collection from the addressee, closed bag handling between the two cities can be inferred. Also, since the postal agreement between the U.S. and Canada did not require rating circular mail as paid or unpaid to destination, as it did with letter mail, the absence of a separate exchange office marking by the despatching office is to be expected.

Thanks to Richard Graham, James E. Lee and Richard Winter for assistance in compiling data for this article. □

[13]Don L. Evans, *The United States 1¢ Franklin 1861-1867* (Sidney, Ohio: *Linn's Stamp News*, 1997), pp. 222- 23.

[14]Boggs, *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 38.

THE COVER CORNER
RAYMOND W. CARLIN, Editor

ADDITIONAL ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN ISSUE 177

A problem cover in *Chronicle* 177, Figure 1, also attracted the attention of Frank Newton of the Western Cover Society, who writes that he has some half-dozen Hale covers. These came from a find of a trunk of Hale material, including covers, journals, receipts, ledgers, pictures, etc., which was subsequently purchased by the prestigious Huntington Library for over $50,000! He spends a day per week there and eventually hopes to find other Hale covers which will provide an answer to the origination and postal rates on the problem cover.

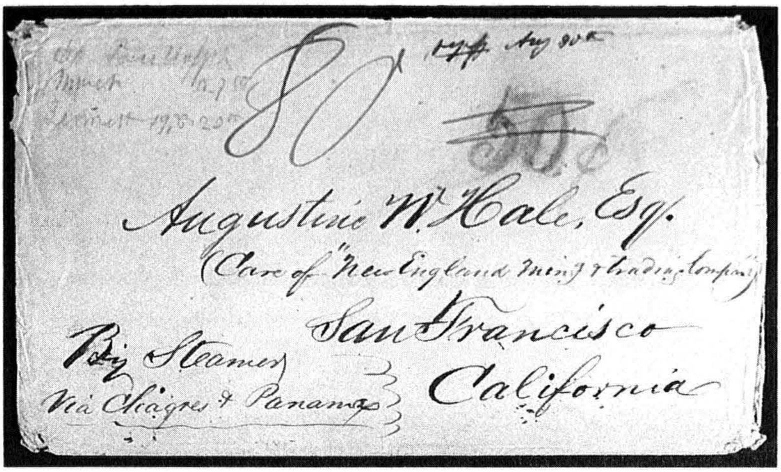

Figure 1. Cover to San Francisco endorsed "Via Chagres & Panama"

ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN ISSUE 178

Figures 2 and 3 show the obverse and reverse of a 1870 cover to St. Petersburg, Russia, with a missing stamp. A number of questions were posed regarding the correct rate, the missing stamp, the postal markings, and the Russian dates and forwarding manuscript. Our Editor-in-Chief, Charlie Peterson, came through with a comprehensive response as follows:

> The letter cleared the NY exchange office on 24 September [1873], and arrived in St. Petersburg where it received the backstamp of the main post office dated 27 September 1873 at 7:00 o'clock. Since Russia was using the Gregorian calendar, with a 12-day differential during the 19th century, that would mean a New Style/Julian calendar date of 9 October. The cancel on the front is obscured, but seems to show that on the same date it was sent out for delivery by the St. Petersburg "VN EKSP" ("Vnutrenniya Ekspeditsiya," *i.e.*, the dispatching office of the St. Petersburg PO responsible for incoming mail). There is no street address; although I can't decipher the handwritten Russian text on the backflap, I suspect that it might be the address of record for Dr. Linn at the foreigners' registration office. The same office was responsible for the second backstamp, this time with a date of 30 November 1873. I don't know what happened to the cover in the meantime, and have no idea where the letter went after 30 November. There are no markings suggesting it was returned, or sent to a newly discovered forwarding address, so it is possible that the good doctor eventually showed up at the post office to claim his mail (other possibilities include return in a separate envelope, or consignment to wherever Russian dead letters go).

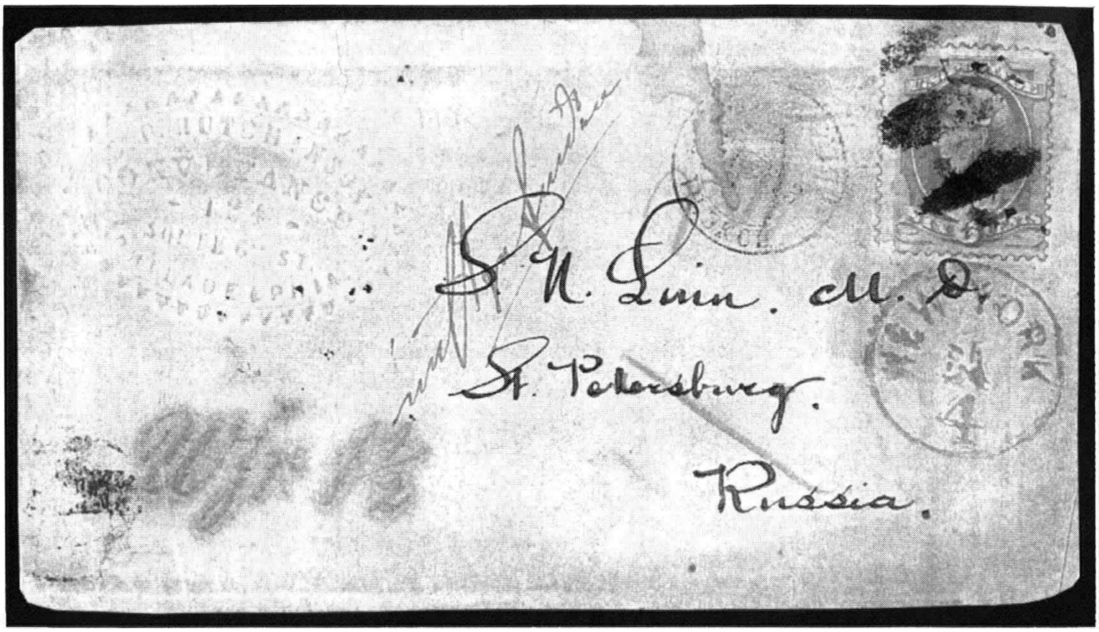

Figure 2. Obverse of 1873 cover to St. Petersburg, Russia, with stamp missing

Figure 3. Reverse of St. Petersburg cover showing forwarding

Other markings: the diagonal manuscript on the front reads "nicht gefunden" (German for "not found"), the red "Wfr 1½" is a German language transit marking abbreviation for "Weiter franco 1½" (meaning "Paid beyond 1½ groschen"); the blue crayon on the front is presumably the St. Petersburg "VN EKSP" negating of the address as well as the 27 September CDS where the stamp was removed. The dark blob on the lower right of the reverse is illegible but closely resembles the 1860s period "Paid" marking found on foreign mail – in which case the center line would read in Cyrillic capital letters "NAPLACHENO" (*i.e.*, PAID). I suspect that it might have been used to acknowledge that the letter had been fully franked, but had lost a stamp in its travels. The weak marking on the front lower left could have been transferred when the back marking was struck.

The most confusing marking turned out to be the simplest. When the manuscript "2 HHW..." on the reverse is rotated 180 degrees, it becomes the Cyrillic transliteration of "C.N. LINN". For the Russian postman to find Dr. Linn, he had to know how to pronounce his name!

Now it remains for someone to identify the postage rate and the value of the stamp removed.

ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN ISSUE 179

The 2 cts. "PAID" cover in Figure 4 , complete with an enclosed circular, posted in Boston in 1851, brought a response from Greg Sutherland who originally submitted the cover! He writes:

> According to *The U.S. One Cent Stamp 1851-1857* by Stanley Ashbrook, the nine sub post offices in Boston in 1851 were authorized to receive mail and letters posted there required prepayment of one cent, besides the regular U.S. postage. These stations were referred to as "Penny Post-Receiving Stations."

Therefore, the one cent Post-Receiving Station fee plus the one cent circular rate for not over 500 miles added to the paid 2 cts. Boston CDS. Does anyone have a different explanation?

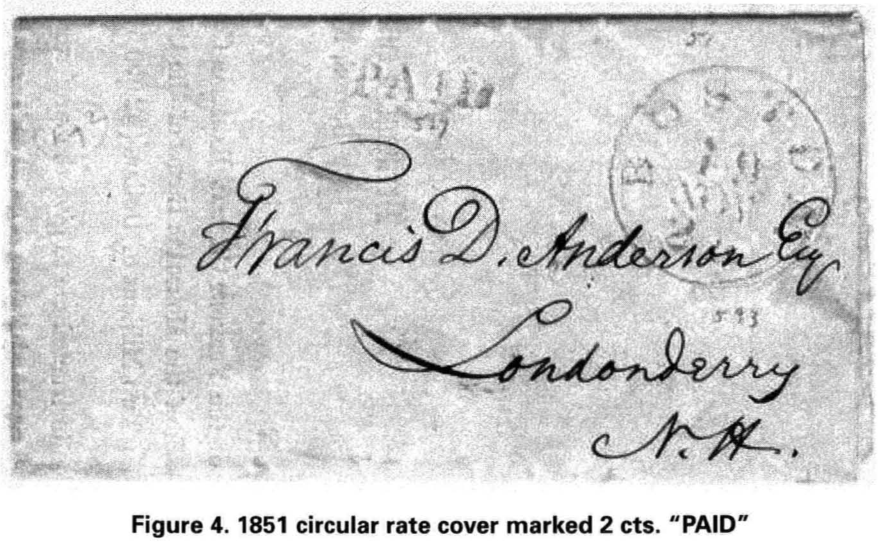

Figure 4. 1851 circular rate cover marked 2 cts. "PAID"

Figure 5. February 1868 cover to Panama paid 10¢

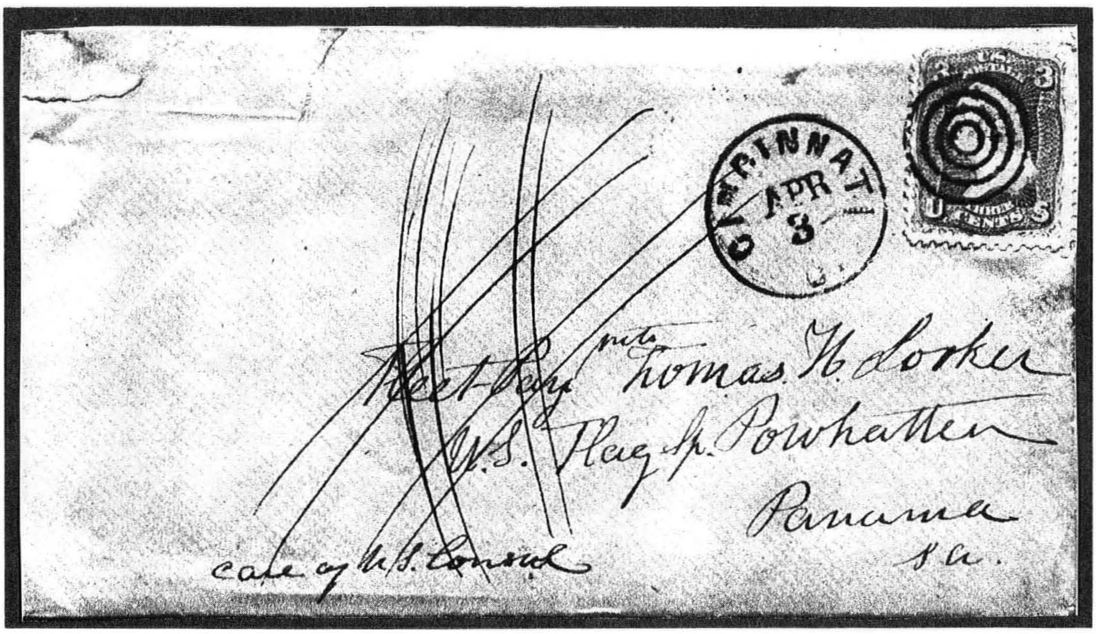

Figure 6. April 1868 cover to Panama paid 3¢

PROBLEM COVERS FOR ISSUE 180

Allen Schefer submits the covers in Figures 5 and 6 from Cincinnati, Ohio to "Fleet Paymaster Thomas H. Looker / U.S.Flag Ship Powhatten / Care of U.S. Consul / Panama / S.A." There are no markings on the backs of these covers, but letters therein indicate that both were dated in 1868. The February cover was paid 10¢, the correct rate to Panama, but the April cover was paid only 3¢, the domestic rate.

Why was the second letter apparently accepted as fully paid by both the Cincinnati and the New York post offices with no indication of any postage due?

The cover in Figure 7 was submitted by Howard Ness. It appears to be a straightforward usage from "VANCOUVER / JUN / 18 / W.T." to Sacramento, Cal. where its receipt was docketed on "June 21 / 65." Postage was paid as indicated by the manuscript "Chg box 61 / W.W.K." The questions are why no amount of postage was marked, and where the "Chg box 61" was applied – at Vancouver or at Sacramento?

Figures 8 and 9 show the obverse and reverse of a 1874 cover to Paris from "POUGHKEEPSIE / APR / 20 / 6 PM / N.Y." Postage of 10¢ was paid by stamps, which was sufficient for the cover to receive a "NEW YORK / APR / 21 / PAID TO ENGLAND" CDS in red. A "15" in black indicates 15 decimes due in France and is overstruck on a weak "GB // 40C" accountancy marking, also in black. Routing is shown by a black "ANGL. / 4 / MAI / 74 / AMB. CAL." (on face), and by a red "LONDON / ? 4 / 74" CDS and a black "? ? PARIS / 5 / MAI / 74 / RESTANTE 1" (on back). Additionally, there are two handstamps "SHORT PAID" in black on the back, and a red crayon "2" crossed out by a blue crayon plus a blue crayon "3" on the front.

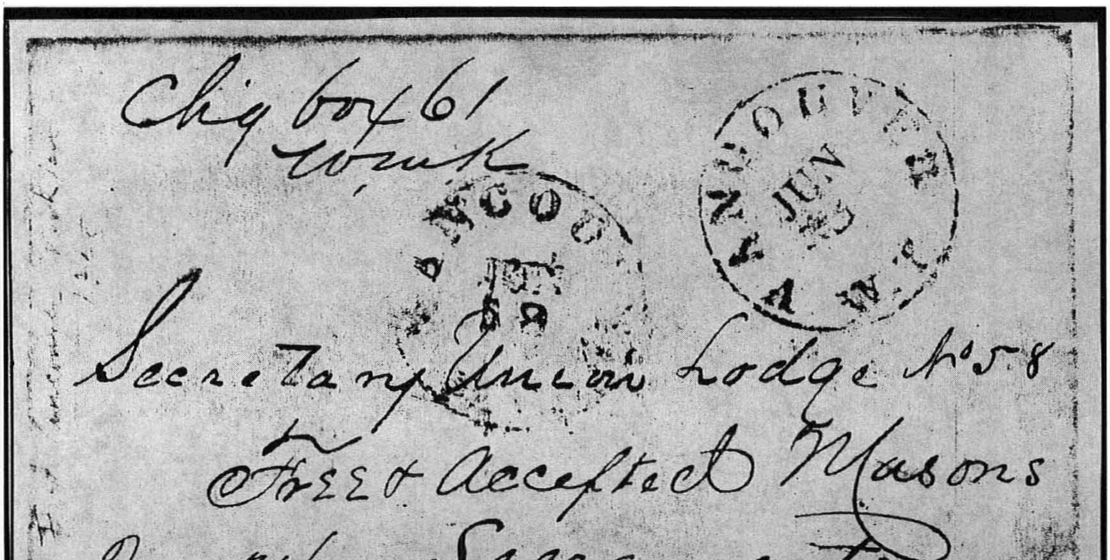

Figure 7. Vancouver, W.T. cover to Sacramento in 1865

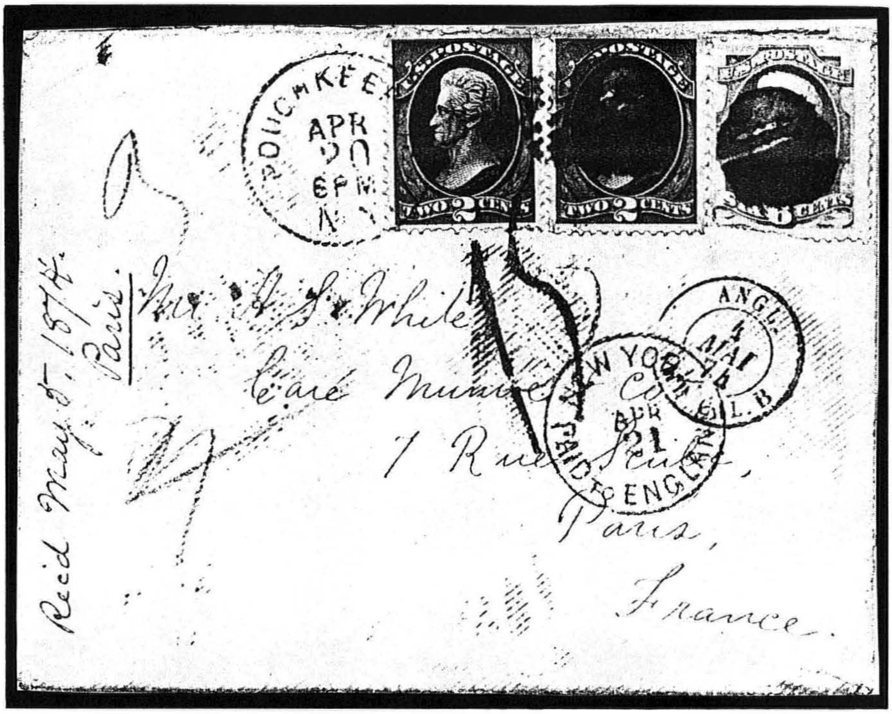

Figure 8. Face of 1874 cover to France with "PAID TO ENGLAND" CDS

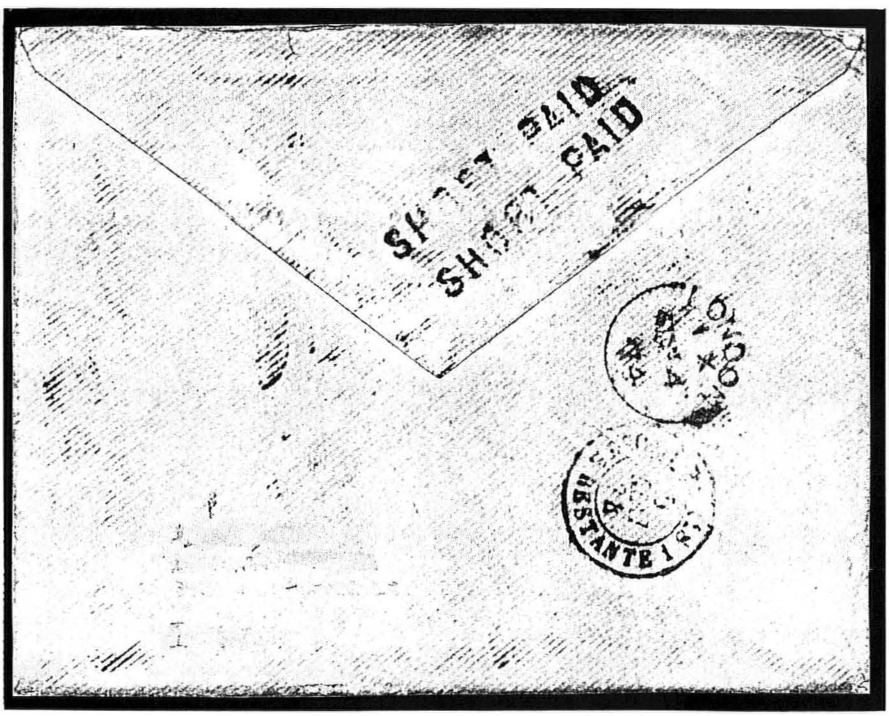

Figure 9. Back of cover to France showing "SHORT PAID" handstamp

Please explain:

- Why the 10¢ prepaid postage did not carry the cover to France by direct rate or by the "phantom" rate via England.
- The significance of the blue and red crayon markings.
- The meaning of the "SHORT PAID" handstamps and where applied.Please send your answers to the problem covers for this issue, and any further discussion of previous answers to other problem covers, within two weeks of receiving your *Chronicle*. The "go to press" deadline for the February Cover Corner is January 10, 1999. I can receive mail at 9068 Fontainebleau Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45231-4808, as well as by Fax at (513) 965-4474 (Note this is a new FAX number).

We need some new examples of problem covers for The Cover Corner. We have successfully experimented with using copies of covers produced by high resolution copiers, either in black and white or in color, instead of requiring black and white photographs. This should make it easier to submit covers. Please send two copies of each cover, including the reverse if it has significant markings. It is also important to identify the color of markings on covers submitted in black and white. Thanks. □

FROM THE EDITOR

POSTSCRIPT TO VOLUME 50

1998 has been a growth year for the *Chronicle*. The 96-page February issue (Whole No. 177) is the largest single number published, and the 320-page total [not counting the 4-page annual index] makes Volume 50 the largest annual volume ever. The issue you're now reading is the first "regular" issue to weigh in at 80 pages, in contrast to the 72 pages which has been the norm for some 30 years.

There are two major reasons for this increase: (1) The USPCS Board considers the Society's publications as a primary benefit of membership, and has therefore formally authorized and instructed the Editor-in-Chief to increase *Chronicle* size to 80 pages to the extent that available material permits; in any case, minimum size will be 72 pages; (2) authors and Section Editors/Assistant Editors have responded with a sufficient supply of new articles to at least initially meet the demand for 11.1% more copy. [Anyone who suggests the increase was the initiative of the Editor-in-Chief obviously hasn't discussed the matter with either the E-I-C or the E-I-C's wife!]

Part of that new supply comes from Leonard Hartmann, whose concentrated focus on Confederate adhesives and their plating commences in this issue. As I did in the past when the *Chronicle* featured a long- term subject that didn't fit within the walls of the established Sections, I'm giving Hartmann's articles an "unofficial" section heading. (Our earlier "unofficial" section author, Bill Mooz, will be back next issue with an article on special printings of Post Office Seals.)

Still, the increased journal size provides plenty of space for new authors and new subjects/new looks at old subjects. My experience with the *Chronicle* has shown that we've had outstanding contributions from members who were initially reluctant to write anything for publication. If you might fall into that category, I encourage you to contact me or the appropriate Section Editor with your thoughts on what you'd like to see in print . . . and with your help, we'll undoubtedly end up with one or more articles on the subject. □

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