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Other Realizations Include:

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US no F1, n.h, Scott \$110 realized \$552

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HOW MUCH MAIL DID THE INDEPENDENT MAIL COMPANIES CARRY? INTRODUCTION TO ELLIOTT PERRY'S THOUGHTS STEVEN M. ROTH

When I wrote my summary of the history of the Perry/Hall manuscript for the *Chronicle*¹, I was aware that several different drafts and carbon copies and photocopies of drafts were extant, residing in the hands of several philatelists. Indeed, over the past twelve years I had seen several different incarnations of the manuscript, and I possess photocopies of parts of three similar, but significantly different, iterations. But I had never seen (nor was I aware of) the brief section inserted into the manuscript in which Elliott Perry set forth his theory in respect of the volume of mail carried by the leading independent mail companies.²

We (the Editor-in-Chief and this Section Editor) present the following Elliott Perry material not because we necessarily believe that it is sound and provable, but because Perry was a serious researcher and scholar whose writings in this field always deserve our attention and consideration.

THE NUMBER OF LETTERS CARRIED BY THE INDEPENDENT POSTS³ ELLIOTT PERRY AND ARTHUR HALL

In February 1845, in a Boston newspaper, Hale advertised the closing time for 69 places. He also stated that the average weight of all letters carried by Hale for one day was 1,068 pounds.

If this figure represents the truth, then this weight gives a good measure of the business done by Hale and by the other companies. It will be necessary to convert this weight into its equivalent of the number of letters [carried] per pound. If the average weight of a letter was 1/2 ounces, then there would be 32 letters to the pound. If the average weight of a letter was 0.4 ounces, then there would be 40 letters to the pound.

1,068 pounds of letters daily	Number of letters, at 32 letters per pound	Number of letters, at 40 letters per pound
Per day	34,176	42,720
Per year (52 weeks of 6 days)	10,662,912	13,328,640

It has been shown [elsewhere in this manuscript] that the relative amounts of business done [among] the independent posts could be represented fairly well by the following [percentages of business]: Hale & Co. [had] 60% of the total [business], American Letter Mail Co. [had] 20% of total, all other companies [had] 20% of the total [of the mails carried by the independent mail firms].

¹"Introduction to the Perry/Hall Independent Mail Companies Manuscript," *Chronicle* 186 (May 2000), p. 91.

²I do not believe that the pages containing this material were part of the Robert Kaufmann version of the manuscript now owned by the Carriers and Locals Society, although I am not positive. [Editor-in-Chief's Note: This section appears as pages 25a, 25b, 25c and 25d of a photocopy of the American Letter Mail Co. chapter of the Perry/Hall manuscript, and is believed to stem from a (carbon?) copy of the manuscript formerly in the possession of Richard Schwartz. The pages are annotated, presumably by Schwartz: "(This page not in original Kaufmann copy of ms.)."]

³Text in brackets [] has been inserted by the Section Editor to improve the flow of the rough draft text.

Company	Number of letters yearly, at 32 letters per pound	Number of letters yearly, at 40 letters per pound
Hale & Co.	10,663,000	13,329,000
American Letter Mail	3,554,000	4,443,000
All other [companies]	3,554,000	4,443,000
Total	17,771,000	22,215,000

Number of Letters Carried by the Independent Mails on a Yearly Basis

The annual gross income was next figured on the basis of 5ϕ per letter using the above table for the number of letters:

Company	at 32 letters per pound	at 40 letters per pound
Hale & Co.	\$533,150	\$666,450
American Letter Ma	il \$177,700	\$222,150
All others	\$177,700	\$222,150
Total	\$888,550	\$1,110,750

Annual Gross Income of the Independent Mail Companies

In the case of Hale &Co., he has written that he had had 1,100 employees when he was the busiest.⁴ In addition, he must pay transportation on the railroads or steamboats when he did his own transporting of the mail. If he sent the mail by express, he must pay those charges.

Comparing the above figures with the figures in the Annual Reports of the Postmaster General, the following facts or assumptions have been found in these reports or in the Proceedings of the House of Representatives in 1844 or 1845.

In 1836, 29,360,992 letters were carried by the Post Office. This number and the total revenue for 1836 were taken [by Perry] as bases for comparison with similar figures of later years. It was assumed that there should be an increase each year of 5%. It is assumed that the 5% also represented the average increase in population.

Expected Number of Letters to Be Carried by the Post Office for the Following Years Allowing a 5% Annual Increase

Year	Expected Number of Letters	Actual Number of Letters [when reported]		
1836	29,360,992	29,360,992		
1837	30,828,092			
1838	32,369,502			
1839	33,987,977			
1840	35,687,376	27,535,557		
1841	37,471,745			
1842	39,345,618			
1843	41,312,899	24,004,000		
1844	43,378,544	24,267,552		
1845	45,547,471			
1846	47,824,845			

The difference in 1844 between the expected number of letters carried by the Post Office and the actual number carried is of the order of 20,000,000 letters. It is assumed

⁴Section Editor: I was unable to find the source of this statement.

that this difference holds for 1845, from remarks made in the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for 1845. This difference of 20,000,000 letters is not an unreasonable measure of the business done by the independent posts as it agrees very well with the claim by Hale & Co. that they carried an average of 1,068 pounds of letters per day, shown above.

Perhaps the authors could be criticized for considering that the entire loss of mail in the United States at this time occurred in the area served by the independent posts. Perhaps not, but to offset this error there is perhaps the possibility that people wrote more letters for 5ϕ than they would for $18^{3}/_{4}\phi$. This may have made up for the loss in mail in other parts of the country which was first credited to the independent mails, and for which there is no adequate measure.

The authors rest their case that the independent mails carried about 20,000,000 letters in 1845, for want of any better measure of the business done by them.

(Editor-in-Chief's comments: Michael Gutman, currently the leading authority on Hale, reviewed the above manuscript and made helpful comments and suggestions. The following are among his salient observations:

I think Hale made a lot of claims which probably were exaggerated. He claimed to have 110 offices and 1,100 people working for him. I think he may have had 110 places where mail was accepted or delivered for him. But many of the people in these offices had other businesses they attended to, perhaps only working for Hale a few minutes in the day. If you divide 1,100 by 100, he is saying he had, on average, 11 people in each office. Can this be true? Let's say there was only 1 person working in 100 of the offices; then that would mean 1,000 people worked in the remaining 10 offices, or 100 per office . . . I don't think so! Where does this leave us? I think it certainly casts some doubt on the 1,068 pounds of mail. (Did he weigh the mail bags too?)

The major premise which is the basis for calculation in the article is the growth of mail volume by 5% per year. Where did that number come from? I checked the U.S. census for that period, and the U.S. grew from 12.785 million people in 1830 to 23.53 million in 1850, or exactly 3%. I have tried to get the GNP for that period, but that data was not reported. The best I can find is that the GNP grew 2.9% per year from 1929 to 1990....

It's understandable, in fact it should be expected, that an entrepeneur like Hale would exaggerate the success of his operation in the press. Further, until someone is able to provide credible figures on the growth of mail volume—whether directly, or in correlation with reliable economic statistics—it would seem that Perry's 5% rate needs to be discounted. But that still leaves a major decline in *reported* mail volume in the 1836-1844 period which seems completely contrary to the demographic and economic growth of the time.

Some students have opined that the independent mails actually had little impact on the U.S. Post Office, and that the punitive legislation which effectively ended the era of the independent mails was politically motivated, not economically. Perry's article certainly would suggest otherwise.)

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ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF "SCRATCH UNDER 'A' OF 'POSTAGE'" ON THE 24¢ ISSUE OF 1861-67 JOHN H. BARWIS

This article reports two additional examples of the "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE'" plate variety previously described in *The Chronicle*.¹

Figure 1 illustrates the same "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE'" shown by Jerry Wagshal to originate from the left plate margin. This example was actually discovered by Mr. Wagshal in one of my albums a couple of years after he had published his 1991 article. The stamp is a nearly black shade of Scott No. 78, and was thus submitted to the Philatelic Foundation for certification as a blackish violet, Scott No. 78c. Alas, the opinion rendered (PFC #224124) was "It is a genuine deep shade of Scott 78, lilac." As in the Wagshal example, the scratch continues across the upper forehead to a point just into the tessellation southwest of the letter 'A.'



Figure 1. Deep shade of Scott No. 78b, with "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE.'" New York Exchange Office date stamp in red, along with foreign mail cancel introduced 1867.

The example shown in Figures 2 and 3 is on Scott No. 78a, grayish lilac. Perhaps because the shade is relatively pale the scratch is more discernible against the busy line work of the tessellation field. It bends slightly to the right just above the zigzag border of the shading behind the bust, and ends in the center of the shading within the legs of the "A" of "POSTAGE." Total scratch length is 4.5 mm.

¹Jerome S. Wagshal, "Discovery of a New Plate Variety on the 1867 Grilled Issue: "Scratch Under 'A' of 'POSTAGE'" on the 24¢ "F" Grill, Scott No. 99," *Chronicle* 151 (August 1991), pp. 184-87.

Prof- William Can Bowles, Phillet & Rue de la Par Paris. France

Figure 2. Scott No. 78a, grayish lilac, with Scott No. 65 (x2) paying double 15¢ rate to France. Philadelphia Exchange Office date stamp, in red: 6 / PHIL^A"PK'/ APR 26. French receiving mark *ET. UNIS SERV AM D / HAVRE / 10 MAI 67*, in red. Havre Line *Mississippi*, New York 27 Apr., Havre 10 May.



Figure 3. Enlargement of the stamp shown in Figure 2, with "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE.'

Luff suggested that only one plate, Plate No. 6, produced more than 10 million 24¢ stamps of the 1861 issue, both ungrilled and grilled². Although Brookman reported having seen a Steel Blue example³, based on not having personally observed the scratch on early shades Mr. Wagshal suggested that the plate was scratched relatively late in its life. Such an hypothesis may be correct, but is difficult to prove. But let us assume that the hypothesis is correct, and that "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE'" were to reflect relatively late plate damage, having occurred in say, early 1867. How many of the variety would have been printed? Given how few of this variety have been recorded, what can be said about survival rates for this stamp, and how do such rates compare to other observed survival rates?

The two stamps illustrated here provide some insight to these two questions. The stamp in Figure 1 bears a faint, partial strike of a New York Exchange Office circular date stamp, in red (*N. YORK /JAN 3*). It also bears the crossroads killer used by New York, beginning in 1867, as a foreign-mail cancel.⁴ The example in Figures 2 and 3 is on a cover from Philadelphia to France mailed in April 1867.

Wagshal's hypothesis of relatively late damage to Plate No. 6 is thus supported by the fact that the only recorded examples are dated later than 1866. However, the observed survival rate of the post-1866 portion of the 24ϕ 1861 issue suggests that earlier damage cannot be ruled out. Luff reported the following numbers of 24ϕ stamps issued to Postmasters in 1867-1869.⁵

Quarter Ending	24¢ Stamps Issued		
31 Mar 67	550,250		
30 Jun 67	505,675		
30 Sep 67	476,225		
31 Dec 67	366,700		
31 Mar 68	110,425		
30 Jun 68	43,425		
30 Sep 68	54,850		
31 Dec 68	68,675		
31 Mar 69	93,225		
30 Jun 69	<u>77,650</u>		
Total	2,297,735		

Therefore, since the variety represents a single position on a sheet of 200, about 11,488 stamps from post-1866 printings would have contained the scratch in question $(2,297,735 \times 0.005)$. Since only three copies have been recorded, the observed survival rate is about 0.026 percent ([3 / 11,488] x 100).

If 0.026 percent is a representative survival rate for the entire $24 \notin 1861$ issue, how many of some early shades might we expect to find with "scratch under 'A' of POSTAGE'" if the plate had been damaged as early as 1861? By applying the representative survival rate to Brookman's estimates of the quantities of three early shades issued, we can estimate how many are likely to exist today.

⁵Luff, op. cit.

²John N. Luff, *The Postage Stamps of the United States* (New York: Scott Stamp & Coin Co., Ltd., 1902), pp. 73-81.

³Lester G. Brookman, *The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century* (New York: H.L. Lindquist Publications, Inc., 1966-1967), Vol. II, pp. 54-59.

⁴Hubert C. Skinner, "The Cancellations and Postmarks of New York City: 1845-1876, Their Usage and Postal History," in *U.S. Postmarks and Cancellations*, Textbook No. 3 in the Philatelic Foundation Seminar Series (New York: The Philatelic Foundation, 1992), pp. 79-107.

Shade	No. Issued (Estimate)	Scratch under "A" (No. Copies)	Survival Rate (Percent)	Statistical Survival (No. Copies)	Likely to Be Found (No. Copies)
Violet	40,000	200	0.026	0.052	0
Steel Blue	80,000	400	0.026	0.104	0
Red Lilac	400,000	2,000	0.026	0.520	<u>~0</u>
Total	520,000	2,600			~0

Based on the three documented examples of "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE," the above table suggests three conclusions:

1. We should expect to find no early examples of this plate variety, even if they had originally existed. We might therefore reasonably but incorrectly assume that the plate was scratched late in its life.

2. The actual survival rate of post-1866 scratched-plate stamps would have to be 10 to 20 times higher than the observed rate to support the probability of finding a single Steel Blue or Violet example, respectively, had scratched-plate varieties been printed in these shades.

3. The actual survival rate of post-1866 scratched-plate stamps would have to be twice as high as the observed rate to support the probability of finding a single Red Lilac example, had a scratched-plate variety been printed in this shade.

The flaw in this logic is that the *observed* survival rate of 0.026 percent is simply an artefact of low demand by collectors, and as such is a gross underestimate of the *actual* survival rate. As pointed out in Jerry Wagshal's article, far fewer plate varieties exist on National Bank Note Company issues than on the 1847-60 issues. Consequently, fewer philatelists are interested in them or bother to look for them, simply because there is less to look at. Indeed, Brookman dismissed the "scratch under 'A'of 'POSTAGE'" as being of little importance.⁶ Fewer collectors are engaged in the hunt for varieties such as "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE," so fewer will be found than would be the case were they more highly coveted.

The observed survival rate of any stamp is always less than the actual survival rate simply because the probability is low that all examples of that stamp will be found. The difference between observed and actual survival rates is inversely proportional to price of the stamp, a proxy for demand. An example of this point is provided by the 1¢ 1851 issue Type I (7R1E), with a 2000 Scott catalogue value of \$35,000 (used). A total of 7,260,000 1¢ 1851 stamps were delivered by Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Co. up to June 1852.⁷ Ashbrook suggested that since some of these stamps were probably from Plate One Late, no more than 36,300 Type I stamps were printed.⁸ At least 80 have survived.⁹ These figures yield a minimum observed survival rate of 0.22 percent, almost an order of magnitude higher than the observed survival rate of "scratch under 'A' of POSTAGE." Collector interest alone has driven up both the number found and the price of Type I 1851 1¢ stamp, a scarce but not exceptionally rare stamp.

If the 24¢ 1861 plate was scratched in late 1866, collectors should be able to find at least another 25-30 examples of "scratch under 'A' of 'POSTAGE'" on shades of Scott No. 78. If damaged occurred as early as 1861, collectors may find single examples of the scratch on Violet and Steel Blue stamps, and as many as 7 Red Lilac examples. \Box

⁹Scott R. Trepel (ed.), *United States Postage Stamps, The Robert Zoellner Collection*, Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Sale 804 (October 1998), pp. 23-24.

⁶Brookman, op. cit.

⁷Luff, op. cit., p. 56.

⁸S.B. Ashbrook, *The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857*, (New York: H.L. Lindquist Publications, 1938), Vol. I, pp. 118-119.

THE 1869 PERIOD SCOTT R. TREPEL, Editor

THE THREE 1869 ISSUE 15¢ FRAME TYPES: ARE THEY IN PROPER SEQUENCE? IRV HEIMBURGER

The three different frame types of the 1869 15¢ stamp have always been somewhat of an enigma. Why was a new frame die, the Type III, Scott #129, produced just for the 1875 Special Printings when one of the original dies, Type II, Scott #119, was still available? This fact was apparent when the Type II die was used in 1903 for the *Roosevelt Albums* and in 1915 for the *Panama-Pacific Exhibition*. Why didn't the Postmaster and National Bank Note Company use the Type II die for the Special Printing instead of producing the new Type III die?

The answer would seem to be that the Type III die was already in their vault and actually was probably the first die to be produced. The following will show how this conclusion was reached, and the safety paper essay seems to be the needed link in time. All three frame dies, shown in Figure 1, must have been produced during 1868 before any stamps were issued, as has been suggested by Busch in 1987¹ and Stendel in 1999.²



TYPE I, SCOTT # 118

TYPE II, SCOTT # 119

TYPE III, SCOTT # 129

Figure 1. The 3 types: #118, unframed, 2mm horizontal shading lines (arrow); #119, heavy line with diamond-shape inside top of frame, 1mm diagonal shading lines; #129, unframed, faint line (arrow), no shading lines.

Type III would have been produced first because it is the simplest design. There is no attempt to compensate for any shifting in the vignette. The early essays and proofs seem to bear this out; none of these have any form of inside shading. Three of these, all produced in 1868, are shown in Figure 2, and appear to have this same Type III frame design seen in the 1875 Special Printings and later proofs produced from the same plate. Earliest is the *Small Numeral Essay* #118-E1 that corresponds to similar early essays seen for the other 1869 values. The other two, the *Trial Color Proof* #118TC and the *Safety Paper Essay* #129-E4, were printed later when the numeral had been enlarged, but before the stamp itself was issued, probably in October 1868 or before.

¹Edward Busch, "A New Look at the 1869 15¢ Types: It May Not Be a Question of Chickens and Eggs," *1869 Times*, Vol. 10, No. 4 / Vol. 11, No. 1 (Whole No. 38-39)(Nov. 1986-Feb. 1987), pp. 19-21.

²Robert C. Stendel, "The Interface of the 15-Cent 1869s and the Bureau Records of 1903," *Collectors Club Philatelist*, Vol. 78, No. 6 (Nov-Dec 1999), pp. 343-53.



Figure 2. Early essays: No shading lines inside the frame, a characteristic of Type III and not Type I.

Details of the production of the safety paper essays are not known. It is known that Edward Jones submitted his essays in July 1868, and that the other examples with a safety paper feature must have also been submitted *before* the grill-technique was designated the preferred design. All the other 1869 safety paper essays have the very early, unaccepted designs of that value. This also shows that the safety papers were the very earliest of the designs. The frame design used in all these corresponds to the Type III. This must then have been the original engraved design, although it wasn't used in actual stamp production until 1875.

The Type I frame seen in Scott #118 would have been the first modification. Fine horizontal lines just inside the frame were added to the design in an attempt to fill any space that might be left when the frames were superimposed over the vignettes (Fig. 1, arrow). Although an estimated 200,000 Type I stamps were issued, this modification was already known to be inadequate before any of the stamps were sold. For unknown reasons no essays or proofs with the #118 Type I frame design have survived. It is assumed that all the plates, dies and transfer rolls with this design were destroyed when it was replaced with the Type II design.

The Type II frame modification seen in Scott #119 was also thought to have been made before any stamps were issued. This had three additional lines added just inside the frame, one a heavy line that produced *a diamond-shaped ornament at top center*, directly above the vignette (Fig. 1). Shading lines around the inside of the frame were also added, but these were *diagonal* and are much finer than the horizontal lines easily seen in a Type I frame. Most 15¢ stamps are Type II with a total of over 1,238,000 issued.

Both the Type I and Type II dies were probably made using the Type III transfer roll. This would have been easier than removing the shading lines from a Type I die that was already hardened, adding new metal and then engraving the Type II modification. If this sequence of events is correct, the Type III design was actually the first one made (and last used for an issued stamp). Both of the 1868 essays and the trial color proof shown in Fig. 2 have no shading lines extending into the inside of the frame, and this is consistent with a Type III designation. These should all have the same Scott identifying number, #129!

In Fig.3, three of the later proofs are shown, all having the Scott #129 designation. However the two die proofs issued after the turn of the century, the 1903 Roosevelt and 1914-15 Panama-Pacific proofs, no longer have the fine line seen just above the center of the vignette in the 1875 printing (Fig. 1). This could be considered a variation of the Type III die, which could be shown by a Scott #129a designation.



SCOTT #129TC

SCOTT #129-P2

SCOTT #129-P2a

Figure 3. Later proofs (left to right): 1881 Atlanta TC proof, 1903 Roosevelt small die proof (arrow shows absence of the fine line present In the earlier #129 frames) and the 1914-15 Panama-Pacific small die proof.

Confusion about the 15¢ frame ypes has existed since Luff first described them in 1902,³ as pointed out by Cryer in 1977⁴ and again by Stendel in 1999.⁵ But are the three frame types listed in the *Scott Catalogue* in their proper sequence? The Scott numbers for the three stamps are in correct sequence and correspond to when the stamps were issued. However, it would seem to be much less confusing if the Scott listings for the essays were changed to correspond to the stamp frame designs regardless of when the die was actually produced.

The proofs in Fig. 3 have in general the Type III frame design and have been given Scott #129, which is correct. The Roosevelt and Panama-Pacific proofs are the same except for the absence of the fine line as shown, and could be designated Scott #129a to indicate this variation. The 1868 small numeral essay and trial color proof in Fig. 2 don't have the Scott #118 frame and should have their number changed to Scott #129— the same as the safety paper essay.

It certainly would have been a lot easier if the Bureau had just used the Type II modification again in 1875 and for all subsequent proofs, and left the #129 frame die in storage in their archives! Oh well, maybe the #119 frame die was simply misplaced when the formal request for the 1875 Centennial issue was made and the #129 was readily available. \Box

³John Luff, *Postage Stamps of the United States* (New York: Scott Stamp & Coin Co., Ltd., 1902).

⁴J.C.M. Cryer, "The Landing of Columbus - The Three Types," *The 1977 Register* (McLean, Va.: The United States 1869 Pictorial Research Associates, 1977), pp. 61-78.

⁵Stendel, op. cit.

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THE PEMBINA POST OFFICE - RED RIVER B.N.A. MAIL SERVICE JEFFREY M. FORSTER

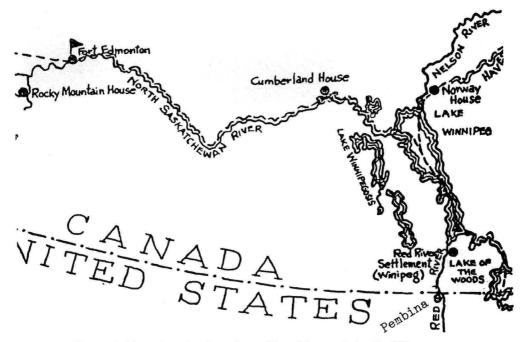


Figure 1. Map showing location of Pembina and the Red River area

In the *Chronicle* for November 1998 (Whole No. 180) and as reflected in an update (in Whole No. 185),¹ I described the 2ϕ line office rate during the 1869 time period. This was a rate that existed between certain post offices in Maine and New Brunswick. The discussion centered around the ten covers that exist with 1869 stamps (all 2ϕ , Scott No. 113) paying this 2ϕ rate between Houlton, Maine and Woodstock, New Brunswick. The discussion below also describes a curious Canadian-U.S. mail circumstance.

Recently, I acquired a cover with three 2¢ 1869 stamps (Scott No. 113). The cover has a Montreal, Canada, back stamp of July 13th, 1869, and on the front there is a marking for Pembina, Dakota Territory. On the back flap of the cover is an embossed company name, "Royal Insurance Company," in blue. I was at a loss as to where this cover originated and how it came to Pembina on its way to Montreal, Canada.

The Red River Settlement/Fort Garry was in Rupert's Land, which was all the land drained by rivers flowing to Hudson Bay, and which was owned by the Hudson's Bay Company with full sovereign rights until it sold them to the Dominion of Canada in 1869.

The United States Post Office at Pembina was established on May 18, 1850, in what was then Pembina County, Minnesota Territory. When the State of Minnesota was formed on March 3, 1858, all of the territory between the Red and Missouri Rivers reverted to a residual or unorganized status until Dakota Territory was formed on March 2, 1861. Sometime after Minnesota became a state, the Pembina Postmaster used a circular date stamp which read "PEMBINA, MIN./[date]." After March 2, 1861, the date stamp was changed to "PEMBINA, DAK."²

²Floyd E. Risvold, *The Minnesota Territory in Postmarks, Letters and History* (Chicago: The Collectors' Club of Chicago, 1985), p. 243. See also *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, 4th ed., Vol. I (North Miami, Fl.: David G. Phillips Publishing Co., Inc., 1985), 59.

¹Jeffrey M. Forster, "The Two Cent Line Office Rate Between U.S. and Canada," *Chronicle*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Whole No. 180)(November 1998), pp. 282-85, and Vol. 52, No. 1 (Whole No. 185)(February 2000), p. 38.

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Figure 2. Cover from Red River Settlement, Canada via Pembina, Dakota Territory to Montreal, Canada, franked by three 2¢ Scott No. 113.

Juncan hac arthur Andron's Bay House 17 Common Street Montrea P.M.f.

Figure 3. Cover from Red River Settlement, Canada via Pembina, Dakota Territory to Montreal; franked by a pair of 3¢ Scott No. 114.

Thereafter, the designation for Dakota Territory for the Pembina Post Office marking was spelled out as "DAKOTA."

Apparently, a private courier service existed from Red River Settlement which allowed mail coming from the Red River Settlement to be delivered to other parts of Canada through the United States mails. This special situation of mail which originated in Canada and came to the United States by private courier down the Red River into Pembina, Dakota Territory, allowed those letters from Red River Settlement to be sent through the United States mails on to other parts of Canada including Vancouver and eastern Canada. The problem with the inability to use the Canadian mails from Red River to other portions of Canada appeared to be the geographical location of Red River and its weather.

Figure 1 shows a map locating the Red River Settlement (now Winnipeg) and the Pembina Post Office (Pembina continues as an operating Post Office in the State of North Dakota), both on the Red River.

As stated above, a courier took mail from Fort Garry/Red River Settlement down into Dakota Territory to Pembina, a distance of 65 miles. The Canadian territorial government placed a courier on this route because the Canadian territories had no means of connection whatever with Canada or any other British possession, and they became virtually dependent on the United States Post Office to send mail to other parts of Canada.

Figure 2 shows a cover with a black Pembina, Dakota, July 13, cds with a single and a pair of 2ϕ 1869 stamps (Scott No. 113), with black target cancellations applied in Pembina, paying the postage from Pembina, Dakota Territory to Montreal, Canada. It is addressed to D. McArthur at the Hudson Bay Company. The rate if fully prepaid from the United States to Canada in 1869 was 6ϕ , 10ϕ if unpaid.³ The cover has a July 30, 1869 arrival backstamp indicating the total time between Pembina and Montreal was 17 days.

Interestingly, it appears that the opposite mail stream also existed as there are covers posted in Montreal and Toronto, Canada, sent to Red River Settlement via the Pembina Post Office. Letters fully prepaid in Canada were delivered to Red River Settlement without any other charge except for one pence, which paid the local postage.

In *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Canada*, Appendix K, Winthrop S. Boggs confirms that correspondence between the Canadian Post Office Department and the Postmaster at Pembina agreed that letters prepaid with the United States postage stamps received at Pembina from Canada would not be charged any other postage and that the Pembina Postmaster indicated that he was disposed to treat such letters as fully prepaid and put them into the mail stream as such.⁴

Given that the territory and the Red River Settlement area had no means of communication or connection whatsoever with Canada, or any other British possession, it became virtually a dependency of the United States Post Office. Mail was sent via this southern route through the United States and on to other cities in eastern or western Canada. Nevertheless, the Hudson's Bay ships still came and went twice a year, so much mail still went by this route, as it was cheaper, though slower. (See notes of Charles P. DeVolpi in his collection which sold in the R. Maresh & Son auction sale #140, May 26, 1982, showing letters relating to the fur trade.)

The only other cover that I have been able to determine bearing 1869 stamps which went via the Pembina, Dakota post office is a letter with a pair of 3¢ 1869 stamps (Scott No. 114) mailed at Fort Garry and sent via Pembina, Dakota, showing a September 30,

³The 6¢ rate per ¹/₂ ounce to Canada was in effect from April 1, 1868, until February 1875.

⁴Winthrop S. Boggs, *Postage Stamps and Postal History of Canada* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Chambers Publishing Co., 1945). Apparently, a surplus of U.S. stamps existed at the Red River Settlement which was used to send mail to other Canadian cities.

1870, postmark (Figure 3). It also was addressed to Duncan McArthur, Esq. at the Hudson Bay House, Montreal, where it received an October 15, 1870, backstamp.

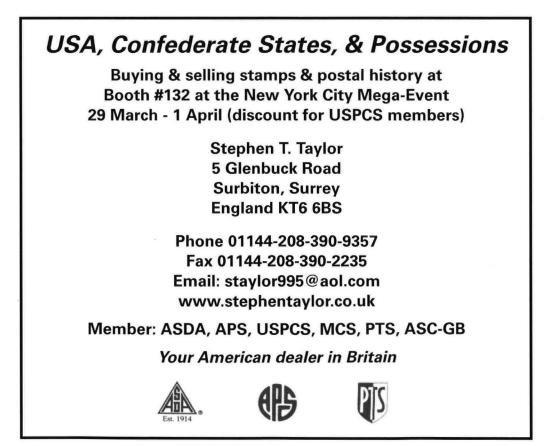
Other covers showing this mail route exist in the 1861 period, including one cover with a pair of 3¢ 1861 and another with a pair of Black Jacks and a pair of 3¢ 1861, both from Red River Settlement via Pembina to eastern Canada. However, Figures 2 and 3 are the only 1869 covers that I have been able to find which originated in Canada, came to the United States and then were sent via the United States back to Canada, a rather unusual circuitous route.

I should add that another cover was listed as lot 399 in the Henry C. Gibson sale held by Philip H. Ward, Jr., on June 14-15, 1944. That description states the cover had a strip of three 2ϕ stamps (Scott No. 113), but there is no photograph in the auction catalog to allow determination whether or not it is the same cover as shown in Figure 2.

Both of the usages illustrated here demonstrate use of the U.S. mail service by areas in western Canada at the time when Canadian transportation was not developed to a point where mail service could be provided to areas and cities isolated from the rest of Canada.

If any readers have additional covers featuring this rather unusual usage of the United States mails taking letters from Canada through the United States and back into Canada, I would be most happy to update this listing in a future issue of the *Chronicle*.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Charles Firby and Robert Frajola in supplying information used in this article. $\hfill \Box$



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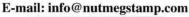
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OFFICIALS ET AL. ALAN C. CAMPBELL, Editor

THE KILLERS OF FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS ALAN C. CAMPBELL

Introduction

One of the most romantic and historically fascinating aspects of United States official stamps is the usage of War Department stamps at forts established to protect the Western settlement routes from Indian depredations. The most obvious challenge is to collect used off-cover official stamps with legible postmarks from as many different forts as possible.¹ Many of the forts were located on remote frontiers, sparsely populated and with even fewer inhabitants literate enough to utilize the mails. Postal regulations in this country had long required that a separate obliterator and not the postmark be used to cancel postage stamps, so finding a legible townmark on stamps of the Bank Note era presupposes either a fortuitous accident or ignorance of proper postmarking technique. Unlike most other departments that converted quickly to the use of penalty envelopes, the War Department continued using large quantities of official stamps and stamped envelopes through 1884, and from 1878 on, most fort postmasters would have been using the duplex vulcanized rubber handstamps available from commercial vendors. Now on an envelope franked with several stamps, considerable care had to be taken in order not to hit the stamps with the postmark portion of a duplex device. Out West, few postmasters took the trouble, so as a consequence we have something to collect.²

Intact official covers with Fort postmarks are another kettle of fish entirely, a watery gruel with not much in it. Only a few official covers survive from most of the major forts, and for many of the lesser forts, no official covers have ever been reported. The assistant editor of this section, Lester C. Lanphear III, has long maintained a census of official Fort covers, and we intend one day to publish his data here. The David T. Beals III collection of United States military posts, consisting of 846 covers from all over the country, contained only two covers franked with official stamps, and neither of these had a Fort postmark.³ But the scarcity of official Fort covers can be misleading, and my impression is that a very

²The Scott specialized catalogue lists premiums for town, fort, railroad and express company cancellations, but does not define what degree of legibility is expected. In the marketplace, these premiums apply only if a specific town or fort can be identified. Although relatively complete strikes are preferred, specialists by a process of elimination can identify many fort postmarks with only a letter or two from the fort name and the state or territory. The catalogue premiums are generic, and cannot account for the relative scarcity and desirability of postmarks from different forts. The listings by Mr. Huggins cited above do include relative rarity factors. The catalogue premiums do *not* apply to the killers associated with the Fort postmarks for two reasons: firstly, since a socked-on-the-nose postmark represents a violation of Post Office procedures, they are always much scarcer than the killers, and secondly, the standard rubber killers duplexed with them are not intrinsic to a specific fort. For example, an Indian head on a War Department stamp probably derives from Fort Keough, Montana Territory, but not necessarily. The only killers that absolutely derive from a specific fort— the Fort Leavenworth "honeycomb" and "E-in-wreath"—command a premium exceeding their value as fort cancellations, even though they are far more common than legible strikes of a Fort Leavenworth postmark.

³Daniel F. Kelleher Co., Inc., 578th Sale, June 20, 1988.

^{&#}x27;In the September, 1983 issue of his house organ *Official Chatter*, Rollin C. Huggins Jr. was able to list about fifty different fort cancellations on official stamps. In a February 1993 update, this listing had expanded to about sixty different forts. See also by the same author "U.S. War Department Official Stamps and the Army Forts," *The Heliograph*, #15 (Summer 1990), p. 2-9.

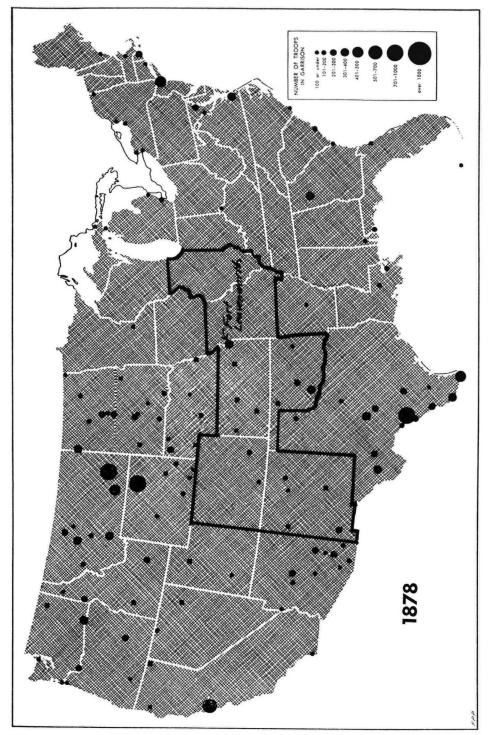


Figure 1. Distribution of Regular Army troops in 1878, with the extent of the Department of the Missouri outlined

large proportion of the mail posted at Fort post offices was official business. Unfortunately, the killers duplexed into commercial rubber handstamps—stars, Maltese crosses, targets, shields, the entwined initials "POD" or "US"—were stock designs, too generic to allow us to pinpoint the originating post office for most used War Department stamps.

But at the post office at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, certain unusual killers were utilized that hint at the very heavy volume of official business mail which some fort headquarters generated. The so-called Fort Leavenworth "honeycomb" is a very distinctive cancellation that commands a nice premium, but it is by no means rare. This summer, a veteran collector of fancy cancellations on official stamps casually made the claim that he had glassines full of them. In fact, based on the large quantities that have survived, it looks as if more War Department official business mail may have been sent out from the Fort Leavenworth post office than from anywhere else in the country, with the exception of the nation's capital, Washington, D.C. Also, according to Mr. Lanphear's census, eleven covers franked with official stamps have survived from Fort Leavenworth, far exceeding the total known from any other fort post office (*e.g.*, Fort Snelling, 4; Fort Omaha, 3).

Historical Background

Founded as Cantonment Leavenworth in 1827 to protect the Santa Fe Trail, Fort Leavenworth is located on the bank of the Missouri River, 25 miles northwest of what is now Kansas City. In 1854, it served as the seat of the first territorial government. The famed 10th U. S. Cavalry, an all-black regiment called the "Buffalo Soldiers," was organized here in 1867 and saw extensive duty on the frontier.⁴ After the Civil War, the Army instituted a new organization of territorial commands. The vast Military Division of the Missouri stretched from Canada to the North, Mexico to the South, east to the Mississippi River and west to the Rocky Mountains. The Division of the Missouri consisted of five departments: Dakota (headquartered at Saint Paul, Minnesota); the Platte (Omaha, Nebraska); Texas (San Antonio); the Gulf (New Orleans); and the Missouri (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas). The Department of the Missouri embraced the States of Illinois, Missouri and Kansas, the territories of Colorado, New Mexico and Indian Territory, and the post Fort Elliot, Texas, thus preserving under one command the forts along the old Santa Fe Trail. The map in Figure 1, on which the limits of the Department of the Missouri has been outlined, shows the extreme concentration of Army troops on the Western frontier in 1878.⁵ In the 1870s, Fort Leavenworth was critical in the overall system of frontier defense, serving as a supply depot for the westernmost forts. Fort Leavenworth Military Prison (later a federal penitentiary) was opened in 1875, and the School of Application for Infantry and Cavalry (forerunner of the Command and General Staff College) was created in 1881. The Fort is still operational, the oldest post established west of the Mississippi still in existence. In Figure 2 we reproduce a plan of the fort, circa 1876.⁶ Unfortunately, the location of the post office is not specified.

Carved Killers

In 1873, when the official stamps were placed into service, the killer portion of most cancelers was a removable slug of carved cork or wood. The most distinctive killer of this type used at Fort Leavenworth was a crude rosette with six irregular prongs and a small

⁴D. Ray Wilson, *Kansas Historical Tour Guide*, 2nd ed. (Carpentersville, IL: Crossroads Communications, 1990), page 50.

⁵Francis Paul Prucha, A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895 (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), page 31.

⁶United States, Army, Military Division of the Missouri, *Outline Descriptions of the Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri, Commanded by Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan* (Chicago: Military Division of the Missouri, 1876), page 118.

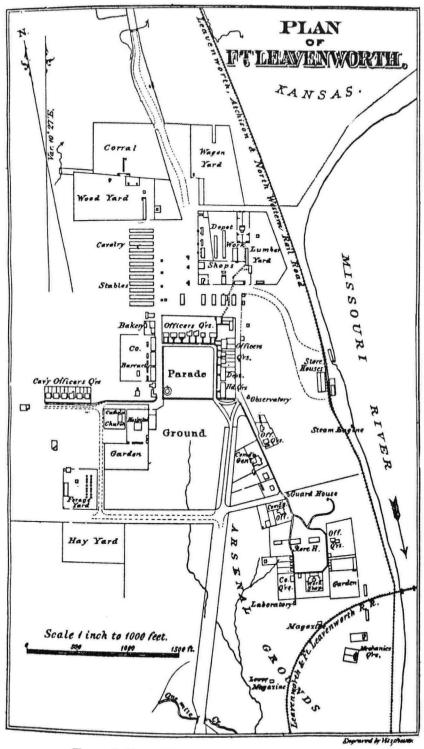


Figure 2. Plan of Fort Leavenworth, circa 1876.



Figure 3. "Cogwheel"-to-"rose" killer transformation

negative space at the center. Three examples are illustrated in Figure 3. Presumably these indicate different degrees of wear, with the prongs or lobes becoming softer and blunter. This erosion of the cork was first noticed by Russ Fritz and written up in the March-April 1985 issue of *Official Chatter*, where the earlier state was called the "cogwheel" and the later state the Fort Leavenworth "rose." This killer can be attributed to Fort Leavenworth on the basis of partial postmarks evident on some strikes. In Figure 4, courtesy of Robert L. Markovits, we illustrate a 12¢ War cover from the Chief Quartermaster's Office,

OFFICIAL BUSINESS. adquarters Department of the Missouri, CHIEF QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, ort Leavenworth, Kansas

Figure 4. 12¢ War quadruple domestic rate cover, courtesy of Robert L. Markovits



Figure 5. Script straightline postmarks

Headquarters Department of the Missouri, to West Las Animas, Colorado. The killer in the duplex canceler is an irregular circle of wedges, a common enough design not immediately attributable to Fort Leavenworth without the accompanying postmark. Note that two strikes were required to cancel the stamp thoroughly to the clerk's satisfaction. In Figure 5, we illustrate two stamps with partial strikes of a script straightline postmark "Fort Leavenworth, Kansas." These are both struck in the violet ink often provided by the vendors of commercial rubber handstamps, so this is probably a later rubber device used on

third class or registered mail. None of the Fort Leavenworth postmarks on covers or offcovers stamps include a year date, so it is difficult to establish the exact sequence of use for these different killers. Despite the lack of hard evidence, I suspect that by 1880, at the latest, the Fort Leavenworth post office must have converted over to using some more progressive type of canceler than carved corks.

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Figure 6. 3¢ Interior forwarded cover with bottle stopper transit marking, courtesy of Rollin C. Huggins, Jr.

Bottle Stoppers

Several types of the rubber bottle stoppers expediently used as cancelers in many places were also adapted for this purpose at Fort Leavenworth. In Figure 6, courtesy of Rollin C. Huggins Jr., we illustrate a cover with the ornate corner card of the U.S. Geologic & Geographic Survey of the Territories, posted in Washington, D.C. and franked with a 3¢ Interior stamp on soft paper (generally attributed to the American Bank Note Company, which consolidated with Continental on February 4, 1879). The Washington, D.C. main post office had reverted to non-year-dated postmarks for a few months early in 1879, so this cover has to date from that period. Addressed to Fort Leavenworth, it was forwarded to Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming Territory with a strike of a duplex canceler incorporating a No. 3 size bottle stopper killer. This is the most common size and type of bottle stopper adapted for use as a canceler. The numbers indicating the size of the medicine bottle usually read in reverse, but in this case the stopper was inverted or rotated relative to the postmark so as to be right-reading. In Figure 7 we show strikes of this bottle stopper killer on various War, Treasury and Interior official stamps, some or all of which could have originated at Fort Leavenworth. In Figure 8 we illustrate two examples of a hexagonal bottle stopper killer which was also used at Fort Leavenworth. On this type, the hexagonal shape would have been the seal overlapping the rim of the medicine bottle, while the solid circle at the circle at the center would have plugged the neck (subsequently cut flush when adapted for use as a canceler).

Honeycombs

Certainly the most famous and easily recognizable of all the killers used at Fort Leavenworth is the so-called "honeycomb." In Figure 9, we illustrate various strikes on all



Figure 7. Number 3 bottle stopper killers



Figure 8. Hexagonal bottle stopper killers



Figure 9. "Honeycomb" killers

denominations of War Department stamps except for the 7¢. In Figure 10, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III, we illustrate a small domestic rate cover with a hand-written corner card, "Headquarters Department of Missouri, Office Chief Engineer." In Figure 11 we illustrate an unsealed circular envelope from the Medical Director's Office, Headquarters Department of the Missouri, mailed to the Post Surgeon at Fort Riley, Kansas. These two covers are the only ones recorded with the "honeycomb" cancellation. Note the extreme variation in size of these killers, and the irregular shapes, often more elliptical than round.

At the core of each device is a circular arrangement of six seeded negative triangles, an organic pattern resembling a cross section through some sort of woody fruit. The triangular vessels appear to multiply in an overlapping hexagonal pattern too intricate and disorderly to have been carved. I have long agreed with Rollin C. Huggins Jr.'s theory that this pattern was not man-made but derived from an organic source such as the handle of a gourd (the mature fruit of a cucumber vine), even though the growth pattern suggests something cancerous like a tree burl. Some years back, I resolved to try an experiment and bought a selection of likely looking gourds at a farmer's market, but when I left them to dry in a cupboard they rotted out instead. Then I tried some small ripe squashes and zucchinis from the produce section at Ralph's which proved too juicy to accept ink from my inkpad. In Figure 12 we illustrate "cancellations" produced by slicing at different points through an okra pod. Admitting defeat, I decided to consult an expert and sent photocopies of the Fort Leavenworth "honeycomb" cancellations to Dr. Caleb Morse, a plant taxonomist at the University of Kansas in Lawrence (about forty miles from Fort Leavenworth) and a specialist in the plants of the Great Plains. Dr. Morse's careful analysis determined that this was not likely a cross-section through the stem of a plant's vascular system because the cells were too large. Some aquatic plants have large air vessels, but such a stem would likely be too mushy to be used as a canceler. The basic pattern of six triangles in a ring might be the cross section of a fruit showing lockules and the developing seeds within them, but the linked ring growth pattern would be exceptionally rare or non-existent for plants indigenous to Kansas. In Dr. Morse's opinion, the Fort Leavenworth "honeycomb" pattern might be the result of rolling an inked spherical object across the stamp. He experimented with a bald-cypress cone and considered plants ranging from blackberries to the fruit of the buttonbush infloresence, but could not find a fruit displaying a pattern of linked rings of triangles. His conclusion agreed with that of Dr. Michael Simpson from the herbarium at San Diego State University, that the pattern of these cancellations looked unnatural.

I confess that in the beginning it had been my dream to come up with a simple and elegant explanation for these unusual cancellations, something along the lines of Scott Trepel's work on the sugar cane canceler used on Hawaiian Missionary stamps in February 1852.⁷ Although a conclusive attribution has eluded me, I still believe that this honeycomb pattern must have an organic source. As a meat-and-potatoes man myself, I will leave it someone more conversant with vegetables to deliver the final word on this subject.

"E" in Wreath

We turn finally to the so-called "E in wreath" cancellation, several examples of which are illustrated in Figure 13. The term "E in wreath" was first used to describe a finely detailed rubber handstamp used in Ellenville, N.Y. during the Bank Note period, with a large serif letter encircle by two overlapping laurel branches of the type that might have crowned one of the first Olympians.⁸ No strike of this beautiful cancellation has ever been

⁷Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc., "The Honolulu Advertiser Collection, Part I," lot #14, page 53.

⁸Herst-Zareski, Fancy Cancellations on Nineteenth Century United States Postage Stamps, Billig's Philatelic Handbook No. 33, 1972, Figure No. 1959, page 274.

In Sept. Messouri the

Figure 10. 3¢ War cover with "honeycomb" killer, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear, III

Headquarters Department of the Missouri, MEDICAL DIRECTOR'S OFFICE. OFFICIAL BUSINESS. POST SURGEON, Part

Figure 11. 1¢ War cover with "honeycomb" killer

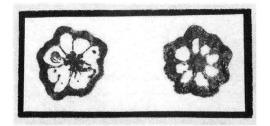


Figure 12. Okra pod "killers"



Figure 13. "E-in-wreath" killers



Figure 14. "E-in-wreath" killers with partial postmarks

reported on an official stamp. The cancellation under discussion here is quite dissimilar, with a smaller serif "E" wrapped by a thick textured band which more accurately resembles a Christmas wreath of plaited yew bows. Calling this design an "E in wreath" is not an inaccurate description, but it has led some to erroneously attribute this cancellation to Ellenville, N.Y. All the strikes I have seen have been on off-cover official stamps. One enterprising collector, rightly presuming that it must have been created by a Fort postmaster, scanned down the list of forts, found that no postmarks were known from the garrison at Fort Elliot, Texas (1875-1890), and so settled upon Fort Ellis, Montana Territory (1867-86), located within the boundaries of what later became Yellowstone National Park. In the 1868-79 period, mail was posted at Bozeman, but a post office existed at the fort from 1880-83. This attribution was eagerly seized upon by others, even though no proving cover had come to light, because it seemed logical that the "E" should stand for the name of the post office.

Now in studying this cancellation, it seemed clear to me that the irregular pattern of triangles in the wreath band was so unusual that it had to come from the same organic substrate (whatever that was) as the Fort Leavenworth "honeycomb" cancellations. I was then able to find an example with a partial postmark showing the letters "FORTLE..." and another faintly showing "...WORTH" as illustrated in Figure 14 . The word "FORT" was almost never abbreviated "FT." in postmarks, so spelling out "FORTLEAVENWORTH" took up over ³/₄ of the diameter of the postmark, leaving no room for a space between the two words. So the "E in wreath" cancellation found on War Department stamps also comes from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and was probably used to mark letters for railway mail cars eastbound to Chicago. This was also a duplex canceler, based on the evidence of incidental partial strikes of the postmark on some copies. The letter "E" must have been from a molded vulcanized rubber plug that was somehow inserted into the hollowed out flange of the "honeycomb."

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, because none of the surviving Fort Leavenworth postmarks incorporate a year date, it is difficult to place these cancelers in a precise evolutionary sequence. Still, the anonymous postmaster at Fort Leavenworth must have been a resourceful fellow, not content to patiently whittle new cancelers one after another but determined to come up with something durable and distinctive. My sense is that the cut corks came first, were followed by the bottle stopper cancelers, which were succeeded in turn by the "honeycomb" killers. Mr. Lanphear has a penalty cover with a killer resembling the honeycomb, with the corner card of the U.S. Infantry and Cavalry School (not so named until 1886) and with an indistinct backstamp from Fortress Monroe that must read 1893. This suggests that the "honeycomb" cancellations might have been developed later, and stayed in use for a long time, although Mr. Lanphear also has penalty envelopes from Fort Leavenworth with old-fashioned cut cork killers and backstamps dating into the 1890s. Logic dictates that the "E in wreath" killer was in use simultaneously with the "honeycomb" killer. I regret not having been able to identify the raw material from which the "honeycomb" cancelers were made, and I am unable to even hazard a guess on how the socalled "E in wreath" canceler was produced. Still, given the arcana which fills the little gray cells of so many philatelists, I remain confident that some route agent who reads this will come forward to solve the mystery.

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PENALTY LABEL USAGE OVER OFFICIAL ENVELOPES JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Three envelopes were discovered recently which demonstrate a very rare usage of Official stamped envelopes. All three envelopes are the 15ϕ dark red legal-sized entires, Scott UO27, with printed address to the Chief Signal Officer of the Army. One of the envelopes was used from Deadwood, Dakota Territory and the other two from Bismarck, Dakota Territory; all bear appropriate postmarks and are backstamped at Washington, D.C. An example of one from Bismarck is shown in Figure 1. It is postmarked on August 3, 1884 (year date from the backstamp).

Official envelopes were valid for postage until July 5, 1884. They had been supplanted by penalty envelopes which were first devised five years earlier. Therefore, this envelope was used less than a month after the official stamps and envelopes were demonetized. The postal charges were waived because of the small rectangular label that appears in the upper right corner of the entire, over the printed and embossed picture of Webster (Figure 2). This penalty label has "Bismarck D.T." written on the blank line. I have not seen the other Bismarck cover, but I have been told it is identical except for the date of usage. The Deadwood cover bears the same label, but "Deadwood D.T." is written in the blank, and the usage is later. No doubt someone locally wanted to use up a quantity of already addressed envelopes on hand.

(Editor's Note: Prior to this Chicago find, Dr. Dennis Schmidt had recorded six examples of these demonetized 15ϕ War legal reply stamped envelopes used with penalty labels from Deadwood and Bismarck, North Dakota, between May 1884 and 1886. His collection contains one from each town, and there is a third in the Lester C. Lanphear III exhibit collection of early penalty mail. Dr. Schmidt has also seen a partial sheet of unused labels, presumably printed at the direction of the Chief Signal Officer in Washington, D.C. and distributed as needed. A similar conversion of obsolete high value postal stationery was accomplished in Prescott, Arizona Territory for use by the California-Arizona Division of the U.S. Military Telegraph Line by the use of a violet penalty handstamp over the indicia—examples have been found on legal-sized 12ϕ , 15ϕ , 24ϕ and 30ϕ envelopes. As scarce as these demonetized envelopes are (they were printed in quantities ranging from 200-300), those used in-period without penalty labels or handstamps (where the indicia actually paid the correct postage on a heavy letter) are much rarer.)

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CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.

Figure 1. 15¢ War Department entire postmarked "BISMARCK DAK. AUG 3" with small white label folded back from in front of envelope stamp

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER. OFFICIAL BUSINESS Office at 1. A. M. M. T. T. Any person using this envelope, to avoid the payment of postage on private matter of any kind, will be subject to a fine of *Three Hundred Dollars*.

Figure 2. Detail of penalty label showing "Bismarck D.T." in manuscript

The Long-Anticipated Comprehensive Study of 1847 Issue Postal History

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THE FOREIGN MAILS RICHARD F. WINTER, Editor

Section Editor's Note: In May 1999, when the USPCS met at NOJEX in northern New Jersey, I was asked by John Dubois if I would consider preparing a paper on a Scandinavian transatlantic subject. The paper was requested for a postal history symposium to be presented by NORDIA 2001 at Tucson, Arizona in January 2001. NORDIA 2001 was an international Scandinavian exhibition to be held for the first time in the United States. There was very little published information on the subject of transatlantic mails with any of the Scandinavian countries, so I was quite interested in the idea. I decided to concentrate on mails to and from Sweden, but I did not know if I could gather sufficient information to prepare a paper. I spent the next six months searching for material in many different collections before committing to writing the paper and to giving a talk at the symposium. Along the way, I had the very good fortune to begin a very long and successful communication with Bertil Larsson of V\'e4ster\'e5s, Sweden. He not only helped me gain access to some of the finest Swedish transatlantic material in collections of his countrymen, but also provide me with all the transatlantic postal rate information available in the Swedish postal archives. During London 2000 we met in London and spent many hours carefully going through my manuscript and trying to fully understand the many covers that had been brought together in this study. I believe the final paper, although not the final word on this subject, significantly furthers the available knowledge on mails between the United States and Sweden. With the concurrence of John Dubois of the NORDIA 2001 organization, through whom the paper was published first in the proceedings of their postal history symposium, this paper is being republished in the Chronicle. This is done to reach many more collectors and students than those who were able to attend the symposium.

UNITED STATES – SWEDEN: LETTER MAIL PRIOR TO THE BILATERAL POSTAL CONVENTION OF 1873 RICHARD F. WINTER

Swedish emigration to the United States began as early as 1638, eighteen years after the landing of the pilgrims from the *Mayflower*, when a small colony of Swedes, sent out by the government in Stockholm, established a crown colony in Delaware.¹ In 1655 the colony was lost to the Dutch, but the original settlers remained. Their descendants became distinguished citizens who fought against England in the American Revolutionary War and helped establish the first United States government.

The first organized groups of immigrants started to arrive in New York in the mid-1840s. This was the start of a significant Swedish emigration, which by 1930 brought almost 1.3 million Swedes to this country. Most of them were farmers on their way to Iowa and Illinois. In Sweden, by the middle of the nineteenth century, generations of large families and divided inheritances had fragmented the country into many small land holdings. Poor soil, which continued to be farmed, produced a land that was full of poverty, want and social frustration. Since the Elementary School Act of 1842 almost erased illiteracy among the young in Sweden, the ones who read about America in the newspapers and from letters sent home by the pioneers were the young people. Many saw no future in Sweden and left for America. Beyond the Atlantic Ocean, a new chance awaited those who could save up or borrow money for a ticket.

¹An excellent web site, http://www.americanwest.com/swedemigr/pages/emigra.htm, provides not only background information on Swedish emigration to the United States, but also over 50 links to other useful web sites. These sites, in English and in Swedish, are the locations of many detailed sources of information about Sweden including sites related to genealogical data.

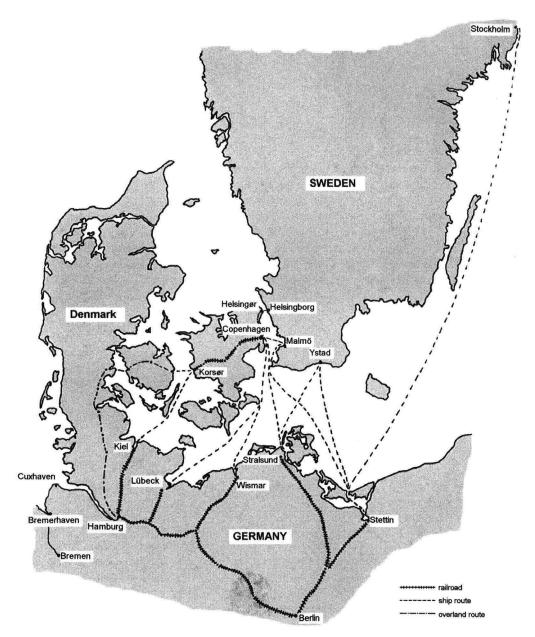


Figure 1. Principal mail routes between Germany, Denmark and Sweden

The major portion of the emigration occurred after the American Civil War. At the end of the 1860s, Sweden was struck by the last of a series of severe hunger catastrophes. Agriculture, which was only partially modernized and had been struggling, now suffered a series of crop failures. Wet years of rotting grain were followed by dry years in which the crops burned, followed by epidemics and starvation. Sixty thousand Swedes immigrated to America during the last three years of the 1860s. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided the generous offer of land to people willing to farm. The majority of the Swedes went to the state of Minnesota, which became the Swede State in America. By World War I, roughly one fifth of all Swedes worldwide lived in the United States.

I have had rather few covers to study during the Swedish pioneer years up to the 1860s. This is not surprising because there were relatively few Swedish immigrants to exchange letters with families back home. With the flood of immigrants in the late 1860s and later, more letters were sent home, a few of which have survived to be studied and collected today. This paper will examine mail between the United States and Sweden before the postal convention between the Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway and the United States, which became effective on 1 July 1873. Before this postal convention, mails to Sweden were transported under a number of different postal conventions between the United States and other European governments. Each convention had different rates and usually different routes over which the mails traveled. Consequently, the markings on letters sent under the provisions of the various conventions are quite different and usually distinctive. In 1857, for example, a letter writer in the United States could choose one of four different ways to send a letter to Sweden with prepayments varying between 5¢ and 42¢.² With the exception of the 1857 convention with France the prepayment in the United States did not cover the total rate and additional postage was due at the letter's destination. The conveyance of letters to and from Sweden generally went via Hamburg and either Denmark or Prussia along existing mail routes. Figure 1 illustrates the principal mail routes between Germany, Denmark and Sweden and the principal cities involved. The first convention between the United States and Sweden/Norway in 1873 allowed letters to be fully paid to destinations, traveling in closed mail bags through the intermediate countries. This convention, however, will not be covered in this paper. Instead, I will address mails between the United States and Sweden from 1840 to 1873 under the United States postal conventions with the United Kingdom, France, Bremen, Hamburg, Prussia and North German Union.

It is important to emphasize that I have not been able to work from a very large database of covers. I have examined only 185 covers, either from photocopies or the covers themselves. A break down of that number shows that the following mail systems were used: United Kingdom mails - 22; French mails - 8; Bremen mails - 16; Hamburg mails -7; Prussian mails – 53; and North German Union mails – 79. From 1 January 1868, the three German mail conventions (Bremen, Hamburg, and Prussian) were replaced with one convention between the United States and the North German Union. During the next $5^{1/2}$ years before the United States-Sweden/Norway postal convention, all mails from the United States were sent under the North German Union postal convention. They traveled by steamer either directly to Hamburg or Bremen or in closed mail bags through England and Belgium to Prussia. Although the United States-French postal convention was still in effect until the end of 1869, the Foreign Rate tables published in the United States no longer showed a rate by French mail after December 1867. While I am certain that there are many more covers in existence than I have had the opportunity to examine, I suspect the relative numbers by the various postal conventions will remain about the same. Mails from Sweden also could be sent to the United States via Denmark (United States-Denmark

²Charles J. Starnes, *United States Letter Rates to Foreign Destinations, 1847 to GPU-UPU*, second edition (Louisville, Kentucky: Leonard H. Hartmann, 1989), p. 40.

postal convention of 1871) and the United Kingdom in the open mails. These routes will not be discussed in this paper.

United States–United Kingdom Mail Agreements

Mail that passed through the United Kingdom's postal system may be divided into three categories: (a) mail privately brought to the United Kingdom and posted there; (b) mail sent to an agent in the United Kingdom and re-mailed there; and (c) mail in open transit through the United Kingdom. The first category will not be discussed in this paper, but the next two will. Mail transiting the United Kingdom in closed mail bags will be covered later.

Before the postal convention of 1848 between the United States and the United Kingdom, there was no accounting between the countries. Therefore, postage had to be paid separately in each country for transit to the limits of that country's postal system. The postage in the receiving country was collected at destination. The United Kingdom would not forward any transit letters that were not fully paid to the limits of the United Kingdom's mail system. Since there was no way to accomplish this with prepayment in the United States before the 1848 convention, agents had to be used to prepay transit fees to foreign destinations. If not, the London post office held the letters until the sender was notified and paid the deficient postage. Figure 2 illustrates a 16 December 1843 folded letter from Boston to Stockholm. As with many letters sent through forwarding agents, it had two addresses written on it, one the Stockholm destination and the other, the Swedish Consul General in London, the London agent.³ This letter, a forerunner to the convention mail, never entered the United States mail system. Instead the sender entrusted it first to the forwarding agent, T.A. Ward of Boston, who took it to the steamship's letter bag in Boston. Ward struck the forwarder's red oval marking in the lower left corner of the letter along with the red handstamp **PR. ACADIA**, one of a series of handstamp markings used by Ward to indicate the desired steamship that was to carry the letter across the Atlantic. The manuscript "25" in the upper right may have been the fee paid in Boston for Ward's service to forward the letter to England. The letter left Boston on the 16 December 1843 sailing of the Cunard steamer Acadia and arrived at Liverpool on 30 December 1843.4 A red backstamp shows the letter arrived at the London post office on 1 January 1844, where a second agent, the Swedish General Consul in London, paid one shilling postage due, the incoming packet letter rate. This agent re-mailed the letter to Stockholm the next day, 2 January 1844. The letter was endorsed with the routing instruction "via Hamburg" and prepaid 1s8d, the United Kingdom packet rate to Cuxhaven.⁵ This was as far as the letter could be paid in the United Kingdom. On 5 January 1844, the Hamburg stadtpost received the United Kingdom mail bags, opened them, stamped the letters to Sweden (oval backstamp), and turned them over to the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg.⁶ Hamburg

^oFor accounting purposes between Sweden and Germany, one Hamburg schilling was equivalent to 2.5 sk.bco. and one Prussian silbergroschen was equivalent to 3 sk.bco.

³A common practice of the time was to place two addresses on a letter, one the forwarding agent's address and the other, the final destination address. When the agent received and re-mailed the letter, he crossed through his address leaving only the final destination address on the letter. On this cover, the agent's address was written in the lower left corner.

⁴Great Britain fees such as this one, one shilling 8 pence, will be shown in the abbreviated form, 1s8d.

⁵The "stadtpost" was the Hamburg State Post Office. A partial strike of the **K.S.&N.P.C/HAMBURG** datestamp appears on the reverse, the marking of the Königlich Schwedisches & Norwegisches Post Comptoire. See Gordon A. Hughmark and Don Halpern, *Stampless Mail to and from Scandinavia to 1868* (New Providence, New Jersey: Rosetta Stone Press, 1999) for an excellent compendium in English of the various rates and markings used on mails to Scandinavia.

noten

Figure 2. 16 December 1843, Boston to Stockholm, sent to London via forwarding agent T.W. Ward of Boston. London agent paid 1s for transatlantic packet rate and reposted to Stockholm with 1s8d payment. Hamburg marked 4 schillinge debit to Swedish post office. Postage due at destination 1 Riksdaler 2 sk.bco.



Figure 2a. Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg restatement of Hamburg debit, 4 schillinge.



Figure 2b. Postage due marked in upper left by Sweden, 1 Riksdaler 2 sk.bco.

debited the Royal Swedish post office four schillinge (red crayon "4" in lower right) for handling the letter from Cuxhaven to Hamburg. This amount was restated by the Swedish post office in the upper left corner as "4S" (see Figure 2a). The Swedish restatement of the German debit in schillinge currency is seen typically in the upper left corner of letters handled by the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg during the 1840s and 1850s. This debit was equivalent to 10 skilling banco (sk.bco.) in Swedish currency.⁷ To this was added 32 sk.bco. transit from Hamburg via Denmark to Helsingborg and 8 sk.bco. Swedish inland fee from Helsingborg to Stockholm. The total postage due in Sweden was 50 sk.bco. or 1 Riksdaler 2 sk.bco., marked as "1R2S" in the upper left corner (see Figure 2b).⁸

The United States-United Kingdom postal convention of 1848 (effective from 15 February 1849) established an international rate of 24¢ or 12 pence (one shilling) per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. that could be prepaid or left to be paid by the addressee in the United Kingdom.⁹ This rate consisted of 5¢ to the United States, 3¢ to the United Kingdom, and 16¢ to the country whose contract steamship carried the letter across the Atlantic. In addition, there was an open mail provision in the convention for transit letters. This allowed letters fully paid to the United Kingdom's mail system to travel beyond the United Kingdom at the same rate that citizens in the United Kingdom would pay had the letter originated in the United Kingdom. Thus a letter paid 5ϕ or 21ϕ in the United States, the open mail rates to the United Kingdom mail system, could continue beyond in the United Kingdom mails. The 5ϕ prepayment was required if the letter was to be carried across the Atlantic on a British contract mail steamer. If the letter was to be carried across the Atlantic on an American contract mail steamship, a prepayment of 21¢ was required. Thus, in both cases, the letter entered the United Kingdom mail system free of expenses. The one carried by British steamer actually entered the United Kingdom mail system in the American port. The transatlantic portion, which was 16¢, was added to the other unpaid transit charges. The letter sent by the American contract service arrived at England free of charges since the transatlantic fee was prepaid in the 21¢ rate. A few examples of these open mail covers will be examined.

Figure 3 illustrates a 20 March 1849 letter from Louisville, Kentucky, to Carlshamn, Sweden, sent in the open mail via the United Kingdom. The letter was prepaid 10¢ in Louisville, shown in the circular datestamp, a fee that was twice the open mail rate by British packet. Since the new postal convention with the United Kingdom had recently gone into effect, it is quite possible that the Louisville postmaster was still using the preconvention rates. Thus, the letter was overpaid 5¢. Many inland postmasters knew that if the United States internal fee was paid to the coastal city, the postmaster at that location was required to forward the letter on the next available vessel to Europe. Since, under those circumstances, no fees had been paid for the ocean transit, these letters were not placed on the contract mail steamers but generally on sailing ships heading to a port near the letter's destination. At New York, sailing packets were used regularly by the postmaster to carry unpaid overseas letters to France. Postal regulations allowed the seaport postmaster a 1ϕ per letter allowance for these letters. The port postmasters may have paid this to the ship's master to take the letters. Since at least the 5ϕ open mail rate had been paid in Louisville, the New York postmaster placed this letter in the mail bag made up for the 4 April departure of the Cunard steamer Canada from New York. The steamer arrived at Liverpool on 19 April 1850. The letter was sent to London where it arrived on 20 April.

⁷1 Riksdaler = 48 sk.bco.

⁸United States-United Kingdom postal convention of 1848, U.S. 16 *Statutes at Large* 783-806; also published in *Report of the Postmaster General, 1849*, pp. 803-35.

⁹Postal conventions designated exchange offices in each country. These were the only offices that were permitted to process mails under the convention. Closed mail bags traveled through intermediary countries and were opened at the exchange offices where each letter was marked according to the accounting instructions of the convention.

The circl inch

Figure 3. 20 March 1849, Louisville, Ky. to Carlshamn, Sweden, paid 10¢ for U.S. transit to New York but sent in open mail to U.K. by British packet at 5¢ rate. London debited Prussia 1s4d and Prussia debited Sweden 22 sgr. for routing via Stralsund. Postage due marked in red crayon, lower left, 1 Riksdaler 42 sk.bco.

London debited Prussia 1s4d in the lower right corner (8d sea transit from the United States, 6d United Kingdom transit to Prussia and 2d Belgium transit for a letter under 1/4 oz., under the Anglo-Prussian convention of 1846). Upon arrival at Aachen, which was the Prussian exchange office for the mails from London via Belgium, the letter was marked with a red boxed AMERICA per ENGLAND handstamp to show its origin.¹⁰ The United Kingdom debit of 1s4d was equivalent to $13^{1/3}$ sgr., which was marked in blue ink on the reverse at Aachen. Although Prussia had reduced the transatlantic portion of the transit from 10 sgr. (12d) to 6³/₄ sgr. (8d) as a consequence of the new United States-United Kingdom convention, the old established rate of 10 sgr, was mistakenly used in the debit to Sweden. Additional Articles of 1847 to the 1840 convention between Prussia and Sweden specified an "average foreign postage" for a letter from the United Kingdom to be 8 sgr. for a ³/₄ loth letter to cover the British and Belgium transit fees. In addition to that, 4 sgr. for the Prussian transit to Stralsund of a $\frac{3}{4}$ loth letter was applied. The total debit to Sweden of 22 schillinge was marked in the upper left corner in blue ink. This was equivalent to 66 sk.bco. Transit from Stralsund to Sweden required an additional 24 sk.bco. for a total postage due in Carlshamn of 90 sk.bco. or 1 Riksdaler 42 sk.bco., which was marked in red crayon in the lower left.

Figure 4 illustrates a cover sent in the open mails by American packet. The letter originated with the Swedish Consul in New York on 12 June 1852, and was addressed to Stockholm. It was prepaid 21¢ for the open mail rate by American packet, marked in pencil above the red crayon "17" in the center of the cover. New York often marked just pencil numbers on the letter face to show prepayment without any other indication that the letter was prepaid. The letter was placed in the mail bags for England carried by the American Collins Line steamship *Arctic*, which departed New York on 12 June and arrived at

¹⁰Personal communication with Bertil Larsson.

Liverpool on 23 June 1852. London marked the black $U.S.P^{KT}$ handstamp to show no transatlantic fees were due since an American packet carried the letter to England. London also debited Prussia 10d (manuscript, upper right) for the 6d United Kingdom portion under the Anglo-Prussian convention of 1846 plus 2x2d for transit through Belgium for a 1/4-¹/₂ ounce letter. Prussia delivered the letter to the Hamburg stadtpost on 25 June 1852 (oval backstamp), which in turn marked a debit of 17 schillinge to the Royal Swedish post office of Hamburg, the red crayon "17" previously mentioned. This debit consisted of 10d owed the United Kingdom plus the Prussian transit, which together Hamburg rounded to 17 schillinge. The Royal Swedish post office restated the debit in the upper left corner. Instead of sending the letter via Denmark, the letter was sent to the Prussian office at Stralsund for transit to Ystad, Sweden, probably because this was the fastest route to Stockholm. The Prussians crossed through the 17 schillinge debit in the upper left corner and marked in blue pen 18 sgr. due to Prussia, which was equivalent to 54 sk.bco. This debit consisted of 1.5x the normal Prussian charge of 12 sgr. for a ³/₄ loth letter. Since the letter was addressed to a Royal institution in Stockholm that did not have to pay Swedish fees, no postage due was marked. The Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg kept records of the "foreign" postage due on each letter sent to an addressee allowed free Swedish postage and periodically reported that postage to the General Post Office in Stockholm.¹¹

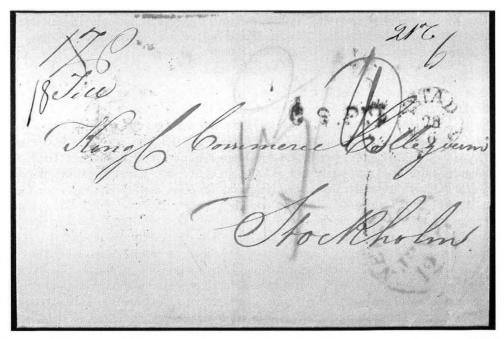


Figure 4. 12 June 1852, New York to Stockholm, paid 21¢ for open mail rate to U.K. by American packet. London marked "U.S.P.^{K.T.}" handstamp to show transatlantic fees paid and debited Prussia 10d for U.K. fees to Germany. Hamburg marked 17 schillinge debit to Prussia, who then debited Sweden 18 sgr. No postage due marked as letter sent to addressee that had free Swedish postage.

¹¹In personal correspondence with Bertil Larsson, 7 April 2000, I learned that many of these records still exist in the National Archives in Sweden. Quarterly account records show each letter and provide the date the letter was recorded in Hamburg, the name of the institute or person allowed free Swedish postage, the weight of the letter, and the "foreign" charge.

The 18 sgr. (equivalent to 54 sk.bco.) due on this letter would have been on the quarterly account between the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg and the General Post Office in Stockholm.

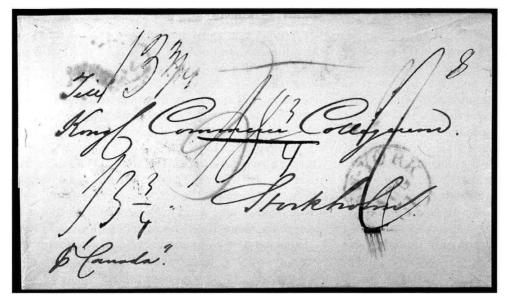


Figure 5. 31 August 1852, New York to Stockholm, prepaid 5¢ for open mail rate to U.K. by British packet. London debited Prussia 1s, who debited $18^{3}/_{4}$ sgr. to Sweden, the normal charge to Swedish destination. This was crossed through and replaced with $13^{3}/_{4}$ sgr., the fees owed for transit to Germany since letter addressed to agency with free Swedish postage.

A new postal convention between the United Kingdom and Prussia went into effect on 1 August 1852, lowering the fees in general and thus also the transit fees on open mails from the United States to Prussia and beyond. Figure 5 shows a 31 August 1852 cover from New York to the same addressee in Stockholm as the cover in Figure 4. This letter was prepaid 5¢ for the open mail rate by British packet and endorsed in the lower left "p Canada." Again, we see that New York showed no indication of prepayment other than a large pencil "5" in the center of the cover. The letter was included in the mails made up for the next day sailing of the Cunard steamer from Boston. On 1 September 1852, the Cunard steamship Canada departed Boston and arrived at Liverpool on 11 September 1852. A circular datestamp on the reverse of the letter shows the letter arrived in London on 12 September. Here it was marked for a 1s debit to Prussia (8d transatlantic fee plus 4d United Kingdom and Belgian transit fees).¹² The Prussian office at Aachen marked 13³/₄ sgr. Prussian debit to Hamburg in blue pen, which incorporated all transit fees to Hamburg. Backstamps on the letter show that it was handled in the Hamburg stadtpost and the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg on 15 September 1852. The Sweden-Prussia postal convention effective 1 July 1852 set the transit fee between the two countries, whether from Stralsund or from Stettin, at 5 sgr., 2¹/₂ sgr. for Swedish internal postage and $2^{1/2}$ sgr. sea postage to be shared equally between the two countries. Normally the 5 sgr. transit fee from Prussia to Sweden would have been added to the Hamburg debit for a total debit to Sweden of 18³/₄ sgr. Since this letter was addressed to an official institution of

¹²The manuscript notation of the one shilling debit appears on the right side of the letter face and looks like the letter "n."

Sweden, however, the 5 sgr. fee was not marked on the letter. The $13^{3}/_{4}$ sgr. was included in the quarterly accounting sent to the General Post Office in Stockholm and was not debited to the recipient of the letter. How the General Post Office in Stockholm debited official recipients is unknown to postal historians. It is likely, although not confirmed, that the Prussian part of the Prussia-Sweden sea transit, or $1^{1}/_{4}$ sgr., was added, probably by the General Post Office before the recipient was charged. In this case the total postage due would have been $13^{3}/_{4}$ sgr. plus $1^{1}/_{4}$ sgr. or 15 sgr., equal to 45 sk.bco. The small "8" in the upper right corner refers to the letter bill number of this letter and is not a rate marking.

Figure 6 illustrates a handsome cover that was prepaid 21ϕ with adhesives for the open mail rate by American packet. The letter was posted in Maquon, Illinois on 17 September 1857, addressed to Stockholm. All three adhesives were canceled with one strike of the large circular datestamp of Maquon. On 26 September the letter left New York on the Collins Line steamship *Baltic* and arrived at Liverpool on 6 October 1857. A back-stamp shows arrival at London the next day, 7 October. Here it was marked **U.S.P**^{K.T}. to show transatlantic service by an American contract steamer. The debit to Prussia for transit from the United Kingdom to Prussia was $3\frac{1}{2}$ sgr., but London failed to mark this debit even though there was a handstamp for that purpose. The letter was sent to Prussia where the debit to Hamburg of 7 sgr. was marked in blue pen for the accumulated transit fees. Backstamps show arrival of the letter at the Hamburg stadtpost and the Prussian office in Hamburg on 9 October 1857. The letter was sent to Stralsund (circular datestamp on the reverse of 11 October) for conveyance to Sweden. The postage due at destination was 36 sk.bco., 21 sk.bco. for the Prussian debit of 7 sgr. plus 15 sk.bco. for the 5 sgr. fee from Stralsund to Swedish destination. This was marked in the upper left corner.

Letters sent to a forwarding agent in England and re-posted to Sweden look similar to open mail letters by American packet, but they are quite different. I can illustrate this with Figure 7, a most interesting cover from Havana, Cuba sent via the United States under the United States-United Kingdom postal convention. The letter, datelined Havana, 2 June 1853, was addressed to the London forwarding agent, Rowe Prescott & Company. The steamship Isabel, which regularly carried mails between Charleston, South Carolina and Havana, carried the letter to Charleston. On this voyage Isabel departed Havana on 8 June and arrived at Charleston on 10 June 1853.13 The next day the Charleston postmaster struck a large 35mm circular datestamp in red with a 24¢ rate included in the marking. Undoubtedly the Charleston postmaster created this marking to show prepayment of the 24¢ treaty rate to England; however, it was inappropriate for this use since the letter was unpaid and the rate was not 24¢. Except to show the date that the letter was forwarded to New York from Charleston, this marking served no purpose. When the letter got to New York for conveyance overseas, the New York exchange office carefully placed the black circle 10 debit marking to the United Kingdom over the "24" of the Charleston marking. As an unpaid letter from Cuba under the postal convention with the United Kingdom, the United States was entitled to 10¢ on this letter for transit fees from Cuba to the United States plus internal postage. This amount was substituted for the normal 5¢ United States portion under the convention. The letter was placed in the mails carried by the Cunard steamer Arabia, which left New York on 15 June and arrived at Liverpool on 25 June 1853. The letter went to London where it was marked for postage due of $1s2^{1/2}d$, which was equivalent to 29ϕ (10¢ transit fee from Cuba plus 16¢ sea postage to the United Kingdom and 3¢ United Kingdom inland fee). This postage was paid by the forwarding agent in London. On 27 June 1853 the letter was placed back in the mails unpaid to Gefle, Sweden. London marked the black 31/2/GROSCHEN handstamp to show the United Kingdom debit to Prussia under the Anglo-Prussian convention of 1852. The Prussians marked 7 sgr. debit to the Hamburg office, equivalent to 21 sk.bco. Backstamps show the

¹³Charleston Courier, 11 June 1853.

Figure 6. 17 September 1857, Maquon, Illinois to Stockholm, prepaid 21¢ open mail rate with adhesives. London marked "U.S.P.^{K.T.}", but failed to show 3¹/₂ groschen debit to Prussia. Prussia marked 7 sgr. debit to Sweden for transit fees from London, equivalent to 21 sk.bco., to which was added the 5 sgr. or 15 sk.bco transit fee from Prussia to Sweden. Postage due of 36 sk.bco. marked upper left.

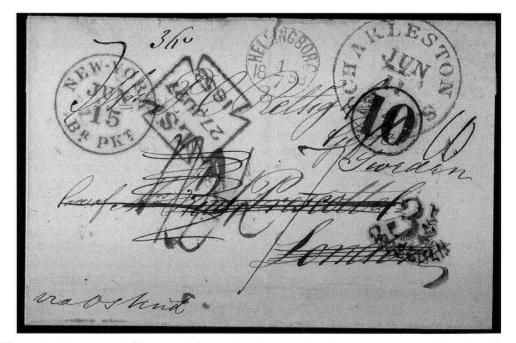


Figure 7. 2 June 1853, Havana, Cuba to London, readdressed by agent to Gefle, Sweden, carried by steamship *Isabel* to Charleston, S.C. New York debited U.K. 10¢ and London marked 1s2¹/₂d postage due for letter from Cuba via the U.S. London agent paid postage due and reposted letter to Sweden. London marked "3¹/₂/GROSCHEN" debit to Prussia, who marked 7 sgr. debit to Sweden. Postage due at destination 36 sk.bco., marked upper left.

letter arrived at Hamburg on 29 June 1853 and was transferred to the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg on the same day. Since the transit fee from Hamburg to Sweden was 15 sk.bco. Sweden marked the total postage due of 36 sk.bco. in the top left corner of the letter face. This was the same amount as we saw in Figure 6, but this letter was sent to a London forwarding agent to be re-mailed and was not in the open mails from the United States. The Helsingborg circular datestamp of 1 July 1853 shows that the letter traveled from Hamburg through Denmark and entered Sweden at Helsingborg.

One last example of a letter sent under the United Kingdom open mails illustrates another route to Sweden. The letter in Figure 8 also was directed to the same forwarding agent in London as was the letter in Figure 7. This letter originated in New Orleans on 19 July 1852. Addressed to Gefle, Sweden, it was prepaid 24¢, the United States-United Kingdom convention rate to London. New Orleans struck a red PAID/24 handstamp to show full payment. Upon arrival in New York, the exchange office struck the red 19 handstamp as required by the postal convention to show the credit to the United Kingdom. Because the letter was to be carried across the Atlantic on a British contract mail steamer, the United Kingdom was entitled to 16¢ sea transit and 3¢ internal fees under the convention. The letter was placed in the mails carried from New York on 30 June 1852 by the Cunard steamship Europa, which arrived at Liverpool on 11 July 1852. A London circular datestamp showed arrival there the next day and that the letter was prepaid. Under a postal convention between Great Britain and Sweden, from 1 January 1851 to the termination of the Hamburg packet service in December 1853, it was possible to send letters in closed mails to Sweden. The mail traveled by the Thames packet to Hamburg and then through Denmark to Sweden at the rate of 1s3d per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Because the letters were in closed bags through Germany and Denmark they show only United Kingdom and Swedish markings. Rowe Prescott & Company, the forwarding agent in London, elected to pay this rate and send the letter by this route. London credited 5d to Sweden in red manuscript on the right side of the letter. Since the letter was paid to its Swedish destination, no postage due was necessary. The Helsingborg circular datestamp of 18 July 1852 shows entry into the Swedish mail system.

United States–France Mail Agreements

As previously described with the United Kingdom mails, postal fees were paid separately in each country before the first United States-France postal convention of 1857. Mails between the United States and Sweden by way of France are quite uncommon at any period and those sent under the postal convention of 1857 are quite scarce. It is not clear to me why these covers are so difficult to find, but I have seen very few examples to study and can only report a few examples here. The first two cover examples will be letters sent before the 1857 convention and the next two covers will be ones sent after the start of that convention.

Figure 9 illustrates a 15 October 1842 folded letter from New York to Gefle, Sweden. The New York sender did not take the letter to the post office, as there is no datestamp of the New York office on the letter. Instead, the letter was endorsed in the lower left corner, "p Sully/via Havre," and was taken directly to the ship's letter bag in New York. The letter bag may have been located on the ship or in a convenient shore location such as a coffee house, newspaper reading room or agent's office. The notation on the letter indicated that the letter was intended to be conveyed overseas on the Union Line sailing vessel, *Sully*, a 447-ton vessel that regularly sailed between New York and Havre. Since the letter did not enter the United States mails, no internal fees were paid. Sully arrived in Havre on 14 November 1842, where the letter received the red circular French entry marking **OUTRE-MER LE HAVRE**. The letter was carried from Havre to Hamburg under the French-Thurn & Taxis postal convention, where it was marked on the reverse with an eight-sided datestamp, **T.T./HAMBURG**, a marking of the Thurn & Taxis Hamburg office. The com-

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Figure 8. 19 July 1852, New Orleans to London, readdressed by agent to Gefle, Sweden, prepaid 24¢ treaty rate to U.K. New York credited 19¢ to U.K. London agent paid 1s3d for closed mail rate to Sweden by Thames packet to Hamburg. London credited 5d to Sweden.

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Figure 9. 15 October 1842, New York to Gefle, Sweden, carried by sailing ship *Sully* to Havre and then by French and Thurn & Taxis post through to Germany. Hamburg debited Sweden 35 schillinge in red crayon for double rate transit fees from France. Postage due in Sweden was 3 Riksdaler 16 sk.bco. 6 runstycken, marked in pen just above the addressee's name.

bined French and Thurn & Taxis debit to Hamburg for transit from Havre was $2x17^{1/2}$ or 35 schillinge, the amount for a quadruple rate letter in France and double rate in the Thurn & Taxis system. This was marked in red crayon on the letter above the ship endorsement. At Hamburg, the letter was turned over to the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg and the debit was restated in the upper left corner of the letter. This was equivalent to $87^{1/2}$ sk.bco. The transit fee via Denmark to Sweden was 32 sk.bco. per half lod or 64 sk.bco. for this letter weighing 1 lod. Another 9 sk.bco., or 3 Riksdaler 16 sk.bco. 6 runstycken, which was marked above the address in the top center of the letter face.

The second example of mail via Havre before the 1857 convention was carried across the Atlantic by steamship to France. Shown in Figure 10 is a 23 October 1852 letter from New York to Stockholm. The letter was prepaid 20¢ for the American packet rate directly to France. As we saw earlier in the paper, the indication of prepayment in New York amounted to a hastily-marked pencil "20" in the center of the letter face, over which the boxed Aus Schweden marking later was applied.¹⁴ This was the required prepayment in the United States to send the letter by American steamship to France. On 23 October 1852, the New York & Havre Line steamship *Franklin* departed New York with mails for France. A NEW.YORK A^M PACKET circular datestamp in red shows the date the mails were forwarded from New York on the steamer. En route to Southampton Franklin broke a shaft and completed the last 1,800 miles under canvas and the starboard paddle wheel only, arriving on 8 November 1852. The mails for France were conveyed by auxiliary steamer from Southampton to Havre on 9 November 1852, the date in the French entry marking, **OUTRE-MER LE HAVRE.** Again, the letter was conveyed through France to Hamburg, arriving there on 12 November 1852. Circular datestamps of the Thurn & Taxis post office of Hamburg, the Hamburg stadtpost and the Royal Swedish post office of Hamburg appear on the reverse of the cover. The combined French and Thurn & Taxis transit fee of 171/2 schillinge for a double rate letter in France and single rate in the Thurn & Taxis system (rounded to 18 schillinge) was marked in red crayon on the letter face. This was the debit to the Royal Swedish post office and was restated in the upper left by that office in black pen. This amount was equivalent to $13^{1/2}$ sgr., later marked in blue ink by the Prussians as the sender had selected the transit route to Sweden to be via Prussia and Stralsund to Ystad. The routing directions "via Stralsund &/Ystad" were penned on the letter, upper right. Of the 5 sgr. transit fee from Stralsund to the destination in Sweden, only 11/4 sgr. belonged to Prussia, half the sea postage. This amount, unlike the example shown in Figure 5, was added to the $13^{1/2}$ sgr. for a total debit to the official addressee of $14^{3/4}$ sgr., marked in the upper left in blue ink. This is the only cover seen where the Prussian part of the sea postage was added. The 14³/₄ sgr. was probably marked on the cover when the General Post Office in Stockholm debited the official receiver. As in Figures 4 and 5, the addressee of this letter was entitled to free Swedish charges. The letter arrived at Ystad on 15 November 1852.

I have recorded information on only two covers sent and none received from Sweden under the United States-French postal convention of 1857, which became effective on 1 April 1857.¹⁵ The first cover, a color photograph of the front is all that I have seen, is a magnificent example of a double rate letter ($\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) sent from New York in 1866 to Göteborg, Sweden. This cover is illustrated in Figure 11. The letter was prepaid 2x33¢=66¢ with a pair of 24¢ lilac, a pair and a single 5¢ brown, and a single 3¢ rose ad-

¹⁴Since this letter was addressed to Sweden and was not from Sweden, the use of the **Aus** Schweden marking was incorrect.

¹⁵United States-France postal convention of 1857, U.S. 16 *Statutes at Large* 871-81; also published in *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1857, pp. 1022-46.

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Figure 10. 23 October 1852, New York to Stockholm, prepaid 20¢ American packet rate directly to France. Hamburg marked 18 schillinge for French and Thurn & Taxis transit fees. Letter sent via Stralsund and Ystad route with Prussia debiting Sweden 14³/₄ sgr. No Swedish postage due marked as in Figures 4 and 5.

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Figure 11. 27 June 1866, New York to Göteborg, Sweden, prepaid double 33¢ French mail rate to Sweden with adhesives of 1861 issue. Apparently, New York did not mark 60¢ credit to France. Scarce French treaty rate cover.

hesive of the 1861 issue. The letter was included in the mails that departed New York 27 June 1866 on the Cunard steamship *Scotia* and arrived at Queenstown on 5 July 1866. The letter reached Paris on 8 July, where it received the French entry marking, **ETATS-UNIS 3 SERV.BRIT.CALAIS 3**. This marking confirmed transit across the Atlantic on a British contract steamship and French entry from England at Calais. The letter was marked **P.D.** in a red box at Paris. From the illustration, I can see no New York credit to France marked on the cover; however, the correct credit to France would have been $2x30\phi=60\phi$ since the United States was entitled to only $2x3\phi=6\phi$ on this letter.

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Figure 12. 10 April 1858, New York to Stockholm, prepaid 33¢ French mail rate to Sweden in cash. New York marked 24¢ credit to France in red crayon, retaining 9¢ for transit on contract American steamer to U.K.

The second cover sent to Sweden under the United States-France convention is shown in Figure 12. This letter originated in New York in April 1858 and was addressed to Stockholm. It was endorsed "Str/City of Baltimore" in the lower left corner. The letter was prepaid 33¢, the single rate to Sweden by French mail. New York did not show the amount prepaid, but did show in red crayon the credit to France of 24¢. This was the correct credit to France for conveyance across the Atlantic by American contract steamship to the United Kingdom, a route by which the United States was allowed by the convention to retain 9¢. On 10 April 1858, the Inman Line steamship, City of Baltimore, under contract to carry American mails, departed New York for Liverpool carrying also the French mails. Because these mails were in closed bags through the United Kingdom and were not opened until arrival in France, the letters show no United Kingdom markings. The red circular French entry marking with octagonal shaped inner border tells us quite a bit about the cover. The inscription, ET.UNIS.SERV.AM.A.C. (Etats-Unis Service Americain Ambulant Calais), indicates that the letter was from the United States, was conveyed by American packet service to Great Britain, and that French entry processing was on the railroad post office from Calais to Paris. French entry markings always provide detailed information about how a letter entered the French mail system. The French red boxed P.D. of Paris also showed the letter was fully prepaid. The letter was conveyed to Sweden in a closed mail bag and shows only the **FRANCO** marking applied in Sweden to indicate that the letter was fully paid.

United States–Bremen Mail Agreements

From June 1847 until January 1868, the United States had postal arrangements with Bremen.¹⁶ This permitted the direct conveyance of mails between New York and Bremen via Bremerhaven. United States rate tables listed this route for mail to Sweden from the start; however, the route was not listed in Swedish tables until 1852. The first United States-Bremen postal arrangement established a 24ϕ per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. international fee between New York and Bremen. This was an American packet fee. Bremen steamships did not operate on the route at this time. To this amount was added United States internal fees of either 5ϕ or 10ϕ depending on whether the distance to New York was less than or greater than 300 miles. Also added were the transit fees from Bremen to Sweden. On 1 July 1851, all internal rates in the United States were reduced. The international fee between any location in the United States and Bremen was reduced to 20¢. Transit fees beyond Bremen were also added to this amount. The transit fee listed in the United States for mail to Sweden was 39° per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; however, the public was advised to pay the rate to Bremen only. In Sweden, published rate tables said that this route was at the sender's request only. There were few voyages by this route to Bremen and, apparently, the Swedes did not considered this a reliable connection. Under the Bremen postal arrangement mails for Hamburg were to be sent directly there and show no Bremen arrival or accounting markings. From the letters that I have seen I have concluded that mail to Sweden was also included in the Hamburg bag.

Figure 13 illustrates a cover from Philadelphia on 3 March 1850 addressed to Stockholm and sent under the first Bremen arrangement. The letter was prepaid 5ϕ in Philadelphia for the United States internal fee to New York, shown by the octagonal red handstamp, PHIL */5Cts./PAID. While prepayment of only the American inland postage to New York was not one of the options prescribed by the post office notices at the time, the New York office accepted these prepayments. New York struck the black 24 handstamp to show the debit to Bremen of 24¢. Bremen restated this debit as 24 grote in red crayon. The letter was placed in the mail bags carried by the Ocean Line steamship *Washington*, departing New York on 20 March 1850 and arriving at Bremerhaven on 8 April 1850. Upon arrival in Hamburg on 9 April 1850, a 4 schilling transit fee from Bremen to Hamburg was added, making the total debit to the Royal Swedish post office 19 schillinge, also marked in red crayon on the cover. The Royal Swedish post office received the letter the same day and restated the debit in the upper left corner. Circular datestamps of the Hamburg stadtpost, the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg, and the Royal Danish post office in Hamburg appear on the reverse of the cover. The debit of 19 schillinge was equivalent to $47^{1/2}$ sk.bco. To this amount was added the transit fee to Sweden via Denmark of 24 sk.bco. for a total postage due of 711/2 sk.bco. This amount was marked in the upper left corner as 1 Riksdaler 23 sk.bco. 6 runstycken, marked "1.23.6" in the upper left corner.

In Figure 14, we see an example of the lowered international rate resulting from the 1 July 1851 American postal reductions. This letter, endorsed "by the Bremen Steamer" in the lower left and addressed to Stockholm, departed New York on 9 January 1852 in the Bremen mails. During this winter, the Ocean Line steamers did not operate from New York after the 1 November 1851 sailing until 31 January 1852. Consequently, the New York postmaster made up special closed mails for Bremen, which he sent to England and

¹⁶1847 United States postal arrangement with Bremen, U.S., Congress, Senate, *Senate Executive Document 25*, 30th Congress, 2d session, serial 531, pp.7-19; Additional Articles to the 1847 Postal Arrangement with Bremen (1853), U.S. 16 *Statutes at Large*, 953-55. The later was also published in *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1853, pp. 756-58.

Figure 13. 3 March 1850, Philadelphia to Stockholm, prepaid 5¢ to New York, then sent unpaid under first Bremen agreement. New York debited Bremen 24¢ and Bremen restated as 24 grote. Hamburg debited Sweden 19 schillinge. Postage due marked in upper left corner was 1 Riksdaler 23 sk.bco. 6 runstycken.

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Figure 14. 9 January 1852, New York to Stockholm, unpaid letter also sent under first Bremen agreement. New York debited Bremen 20¢, which Bremen restated as 20 grote. Hamburg debited Sweden 16 schillinge, equivalent to 40 sk.bco. Transit to Sweden added 24 sk.bco. for postage due of 64 sk.bco or 1 Riksdaler 16 sk.bco. marked in upper center. Letter in Bremen closed mail through England and Belgium to Bremen.

then through Belgium to Bremen.¹⁷ Because these mails were closed through England and Belgium, there were no United Kingdom or Belgian markings. This letter was placed on the Collins Line steamer *Pacific*, departing New York on 10 January and arriving at Liverpool on 21 January 1852. The closed mails reached Bremen on 27 January 1852. New York marked the black **20** handstamp to show the debit to Bremen for the international fee. Since this letter went to Bremen from New York via England and Belgium and not directly to Hamburg, it shows Bremen accounting. Bremen restated the debit as 20 grote in red crayon. This was equivalent to 9 sgr., to which 3 sgr. transit to Hamburg was added, making a debit of 12 sgr. or 16 schillinge to the Royal Swedish post office. This office restated this amount in the upper left corner, an amount equivalent to 40 sk.bco. To this was added 24 sk.bco. for transit from Hamburg via Denmark to Sweden, making the total postage due 64 sk.bco. In Sweden, the postage due was equivalent to 1 Riksdaler 16 sk.bco., which amount appears on the cover as "1.16."

The United States-Bremen postal arrangement allowed letters to be prepaid to Bremen without the "foreign" postage for transit beyond Bremen being paid. When just the international fee was paid, the New York exchange office was required to mark in black, PAID PART. Figure 15 shows an example of this treatment. Originating in Woods Diggings, California on 25 February 1852, this folded letter was addressed to Wenersborg, Sweden. Woods Diggings was a small post office in Tuolumne County, in the northern gold fields of California. The post office had no datestamp; therefore, the postmaster wrote in manuscript in the upper left corner the name of his post office and the date he forwarded the letter to New York, "Woods Diggings Cal/Feby25/52." In the upper right he wrote that 26¢ had been paid with the notation "Paid 26." This amount was the open mail rate to the United Kingdom by American packet (across the Atlantic) from California. Although the 20¢ Bremen rate was an allowed rate from anywhere in the United States, for reasons unknown to me California postal officials did not tell the public about the 20¢ rate until later. The letter traveled by Pacific Mail Steamship Company steamer Northerner, which departed San Francisco on 2 March and arrived at Panama City on 18 March 1852. It was conveyed across the Isthmus and put on the United States Mail Steamship Company steamer Crescent City, departing Aspinwall on 21 March and arriving at New York on 30 March 1852.18 Although prepaid 26¢, the New York exchange office decided to send the letter in the Bremen mails, a 20¢ rate to Bremen. The letter was marked PAID PART in black to show that only the fee to Bremen had been paid. The letter was included in the Bremen closed mail dispatched from New York on board the Collins Line steamship Pacific on 3 April and reached Bremen via the United Kingdom on 19 April 1852. Backstamps show arrival at the Hamburg stadtpost and the Royal Swedish and Danish post offices in Hamburg on 20 April. The Hamburg stadtpost underlined the "Paid 26" and marked the

¹⁷The United States-United Kingdom convention of 1848 provided for closed mail transiting the United Kingdom. Because the Ocean Line steamers did not operate monthly during the winter months, the New York postmaster used this provision to send a closed mail to Bremen via England and Belgium. Hubbard & Winter, *op. cit.*, in Appendix IV, provides a complete listing of all the Bremen closed mails dispatched from New York until the late winter of 1853 when New York stopped sending these special mails. The markings on these covers are identical to those on letters carried directly to Bremerhaven by the Ocean Line steamers. Only by consulting this Appendix is it possible to identify covers to Bremen actually included in closed mail bags through England and Belgium. This mail was called Bremen Closed Mail.

¹⁸Sailing data for the major steamship lines carrying mails to and from California via Panama are contained in the appendices of Theron J. Wierenga, *United States Incoming Steamship Mail*, *1847-1875*, Second Edition (Austin, Texas: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 2000).

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Figure 15. 25 February 1852, Woods Diggings, Ca. to Wenersborg, Sweden, prepaid 26¢ open mail rate from California. New York marked letter "PAID PART" and sent it in the Bremen closed mail, a 20¢ rate to Bremen. Hamburg debited Sweden 3 schillinge. Postage due marked "Lösen 33 sk.bco" at lower left.

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Figure 16. 22 January 1852, Dukedom, Ky. to Carlshamn, Sweden, prepaid 20¢ to Bremen only. New York marked "PAID PART" and sent letter to Bremen, again in a closed mail through England and Belgium. Hamburg debited Sweden 3 schillinge. Postage due marked in red crayon, lower left, 44 sk.bco.

letter for 7 sgr. due, the transit fee from London, which would have been normal for a letter paid to England and sent in the open mail to Prussia. Realizing this was in error because the letter came from Bremen, this value was crossed through and 2 sgr. was marked on the letter for the transit fee from Bremen to Hamburg. This was equivalent to 3 schillinge which was also marked in red crayon. The Royal Swedish post office restated the 3 schillinge due Hamburg in the upper left under the manuscript marking of the Woods Diggings post office. This was equivalent to 7¹/₂ sk.bco., rounded to 8 sk.bco. To this was added the transit fee to Sweden of 24 sk.bco. for a total postage due of 32 sk.bco. The Helsingborg post office received the letter on 22 April 1852 and marked alongside the address "Lösen 33sk.bco.," the postage due on this letter. I do not know why one sk.bco. was added to the accumulated fees to make the postage due 33 sk.bco. Perhaps the Swedish postal clerk thought the "3" debit was in silbergroschen and considered this 9 sk.bco., to which he added 24 sk.bco. for a total of 33 sk.bco.

A second example of the part paid treatment is shown in Figure 16. Originating in Dukedom, Kentucky on 22 January 1852, this folded letter was addressed to Carlshamn. Sweden, and was paid 20¢. Dukedom was a small post office that had no datestamp; therefore, the postmaster wrote in manuscript in the upper left corner the name of his post office and the date he forwarded the letter to New York, "Dukedom Ky/Jan 22." In the upper right corner he wrote the amount prepaid, "Paid 20." This prepayment covered all transit expenses from Dukedom to Bremen; so, New York marked on the reverse the date the letter arrived in New York, 11 February 1852, and struck the PAID PART handstamp on the front. The letter was included in closed mail bags sent to England on the Collins Line steamer Pacific departing New York on 21 February and arriving at Liverpool on 3 March 1852. The closed mail arrived in Bremen on 8 March 1852. The transit debit to Hamburg was marked as 2 sgr. in blue ink, equivalent to 3 schillinge. Hamburg marked the 3 schillinge debit to the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg in red crayon on the right side of the letter face. Backstamps on the letter show arrival at the Hamburg stadtpost and at the Royal Swedish post office on 9 March 1852. The 3 schillinge debit was restated in the upper left corner by the Royal Swedish post office just under the Dukedom manuscript postmark. This was equivalent to $7\frac{1}{2}$ sk.bco., which was rounded up to 8 sk.bco. To this was added the transit fee from Hamburg via Denmark to Sweden of 36 sk.bco. $(1^{1/2} \times 24)$ sk.bco. for the letter weight of $\frac{3}{4-1}$ lod) The letter arrived at Helsingborg on 12 March 1852. The total postage due was marked in red crayon in the lower left corner, 44 sk.bco. The numeral "10" in the upper right corner is believed to be a letter list number and is not a part of the rate calculation.

Additional articles to the United States-Bremen postal arrangement of 1847 became effective on 15 August 1853. These articles established a new postal agreement with Bremen with significantly reduced rates and provisions for transport between New York and Bremerhaven by steamships of both the United States and Bremen. The international rate between any location in the United States and Bremen was either 10¢ or 15¢ per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. For destinations in the German States that reduced their transit fee to Bremen to 5ϕ or less. the international rate was 10¢. For those states that did not, as well as for all foreign destinations, the international fee was 15¢. To the international fee was added the transit fee to the German State or the foreign destination. Under the additional articles of 1853 the United States was entitled to 5¢ of the 10¢ or 15¢ international fee when letters were carried by Bremen packets. But when the steamer was an American one, only 1¢ was credited to Bremen and the United States kept 9ϕ or 14ϕ respectively. When the German steamship line, North German Lloyd, began operations in 1858, the United States portion was reduced to 3ϕ , which more closely matched the internal fees in the United States. The international rate continued to be either 10¢ or 15¢. As will be explained later in this paper, once the Prussian mail convention went into effect in late 1852, most mail to and from Sweden was sent under the Prussian convention and not under the Bremen convention.

Although the rates were higher under the Prussian convention, the service was much more frequent. For a list of the published rates by the Bremen convention refer to Table 1 at the end of this paper.

While I have examined very few covers carried under the 1853 Bremen convention, I can show two examples here. Figure 17 illustrates a most unusual cover, which originated in Havana, Cuba in May 1862, and was addressed to Gefle, Sweden. The letter was carried to New York on the American steamship Roanoke, departing Havana on 17 May and arriving at New York on 23 May 1862.19 Under the 1853 Bremen postal convention, there were provisions for mails transiting through the United States to and from locations beyond. For this unpaid letter from Cuba, the United States was entitled to 5¢ transit postage for the conveyance from Cuba plus its internal postage under the Bremen postal convention, now 3ϕ . The New York exchange office debited Bremen 8ϕ with a large black handstamp 8. A circular datestamp on the reverse of the letter, NEW.YORK/date/BREMEN PK., shows the date the letter left New York and that it was on a German steamship. On 24 May the North German Lloyd steamship Hansa departed New York with Bremen mails and arrived at Bremerhaven on 6 June 1862. The letter was sent to Hamburg, where it arrived on 8 June 1862 and received the oval datestamp of the Hamburg stadtpost on the reverse. The next day the letter was turned over to the Royal Swedish post office and was marked on the reverse with the boxed HAMBURG./K.S.P.A. (D) datestamp. Bremen marked 8³/₄ sgr. debit to Hamburg for all transit fees from Cuba. It appears that this was derived from $6^{3}/4$ sgr., the normal transit fee from New York to Bremen corresponding to the 15¢ international fee plus 2 sgr. for transit from Cuba to New York.²⁰ Since, in this accounting 2¹/₄ sgr. was equivalent to 5ϕ , the 20 ϕ equivalent for mail from Cuba to Bremen properly would have been 9 sgr. not $8^{3}/_{4}$ sgr. To the $8^{3}/_{4}$ sgr. amount, Hamburg added 2 sgr. German transit fee and debited the Royal Swedish post office $10^{3}/_{4}$ sgr., which was restated in the upper left in blue ink. This was equivalent to 97 öre, the Swedish currency having changed on 1 July 1858 from skilling banco to öre.²¹ The letter was sent via Denmark to Stockholm for an additional 5 sgr. or 45 öre transit fee. The postage due was marked in the upper left corner as a small numerical notation, 142 öre. An example of what seems to be a more correct accounting on a similar cover from Cuba will be described later in the paper under the Hamburg convention mails.

From July 1857, foreign rate tables published in the United States showed no separate Bremen rates, only combined Bremen and Hamburg rates. This was because now a new agreement with Hamburg also had gone into effect and the rates were the same by either agreement. The basic rate from the United States to Sweden by both the Bremen and Hamburg mails was 33ϕ per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. until February 1867, when it was reduced to 21ϕ per $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The equivalent rate from Sweden started at 41 sk.bco., or 123 öre with the currency change in 1858. From January 1863 to the end of the convention in December 1867, there was a series of different rates from Sweden because of changes in the transit fees between Sweden and Hamburg. Most of these changes, however, were not reflected in similar rate changes in the United States. In Sweden, the prepaid rates were also different from the unpaid rates. A summary of all the different rates will appear at the end of the paper.

¹⁹New York Times, 24 May 1862.

²⁰In the international accounting between the German States and the United States 5¢ represented 2¹/₄ sgr. and 6¹/₂ sgr. represented the 15¢ rate (10¢ international fee or 4¹/₂ sgr. plus 2 sgr. transit within the German Austrian Postal Union); however, in the accounting between Prussia and Sweden, the amount charged to Sweden for this same service was $15¢ = 6^{3}/_{4}$ sgr. plus 2 sgr. Prussian = 8³/₄ sgr.

²¹1 sk.bco. converted to 3 öre. Since 1 sgr. had been equivalent to 3 sk.bco., 1 sgr. now was equivalent to 9 öre.

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Figure 17. May 1862, Havana, Cuba to Gefle, Sweden, sent unpaid via New York, where 8¢ debit to Bremen marked under 1853 Bremen convention. Letter carried by North German Lloyd steamship to Bremerhaven. Hamburg debited Sweden 10³/₄ sgr., adding 2 sgr. German transit to Bremen debit of 8³/₄ sgr, for accumulated transit fees. Postage due of 142 öre marked in pen upper left, 97 öre to Germany and 45 öre transit to Sweden.

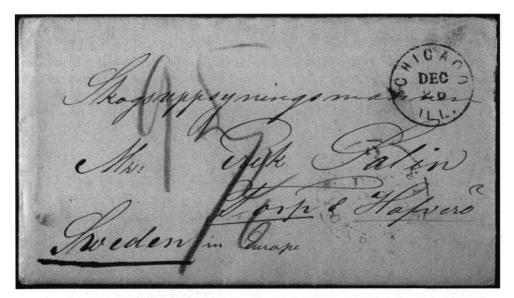


Figure 18. 26 December 1866, Chicago to Torp Hafverö, Sweden, sent unpaid under Bremen convention by North German Lloyd steamship. New York debited Bremen 3¢ and German debit to Sweden was 7 ¹/₆ sgr. Unpaid letter rate in Sweden from July 1866 reduced to 95 öre. Note on reverse of letter showed 98 öre postage due, 3 öre added for postmaster's notification to addressee to pick up letter. Only recorded letter with 95 öre unpaid rate.

The letter illustrated in Figure 18 provides some very fine postal history. It is an unpaid letter, which originated in Chicago on 26 December 1866 and was addressed to Torp Hafverö, Sweden. The letter was sent to New York for conveyance to Bremerhaven in the Bremen/Hamburg mails. New York showed a 3¢ debit to Bremen in the circular datestamp of the exchange office, 3/date/N.YORK BREM. PK. The letter departed New York on 29 December 1866 on the North German Lloyd steamer Deutschland and arrived in Bremerhaven on 12 January 1867. From 17 July 1866, a Swedish circular announced that unpaid letters to Sweden would be charged 95 öre, a reduction from the previous 115 öre rate. This reduction was a result of an agreement between the United States and Bremen/Hamburg to reduce the transit fee to Sweden and a number of European countries on letters from the United States from $8^{3}/_{4}$ sgr. to $4^{1}/_{2}$ sgr. or from 15¢ to 10¢. The Prussia to Sweden transit fees from 1 October 1865 by all routes was 4¹/₂ sgr. for paid letters and 6 sgr. for unpaid letters. The split of the fees was different for the route via Denmark than that directly from Germany. On unpaid letters from Prussia via Denmark to Sweden the fees were $2^2/_3$ sgr. to Prussia, $1^1/_3$ sgr. to Denmark and 2 sgr. to Sweden. The Prussian portion was included in the 7 1/6 sgr. debit to Sweden marked on this letter. The total postage due in Sweden on this letter was 7 1/6 sgr. plus 11/3 sgr. plus 2 sgr. or 101/2 sgr. (equivalent to 95 öre, which was marked on the letter in blue crayon). The reverse of the letter shows circular datestamps for Malmö (15 January 1876) and Torp (26 January 1867). Also on the reverse is a manuscript marking, showing that 98 öre postage was due for this letter. The extra 3 öre was for a postmaster's notification fee that the addressee had a letter to be picked up. This letter, with the postmaster's notation on the reverse, is together in the same collection with the separate hand-written notification form, which is quite a rare occurrence.

Figure 19 provides an example of a scarce prepaid letter sent in the Bremen mails to Sweden. I can describe only that information which appears on the letter face since I have not seen the reverse of the cover. This letter originated in Galesburg, Illinois on 18 October 1867 and was addressed to Näsum, Sweden. The letter was prepaid 21¢ with a block of four of the 5¢ and a 1¢ adhesive of the 1861 issue. This paid a short-lived 21¢ rate to Sweden by Bremen/Hamburg mail, a rate which existed for only eleven months. The letter was sent to New York where it was placed in the mails departing 24 October 1867 on the North German Lloyd steamship *New York*. The steamer arrived at Bremerhaven on 7 November 1876. New York applied a red handstamp **18** to credit 18¢ of the prepayment to Bremen, retaining only 3¢, the United States portion of the rate. The small handstamp **FRANCO** appears to be a marking of the Hamburg office to show that the letter was fully paid.

United States–Hamburg Mail Agreements

Examples of mail to and from Sweden carried directly to Germany under the conditions of the Hamburg postal convention are just as elusive as those by the Bremen postal arrangements. The postal convention with Hamburg did not go into effect until 1 July 1857.²² The rates of postage under this convention were, as said before, identical to those of the 1853 postal arrangement with Bremen. The convention was in effect to the end of 1867. The basic rate from the United States to Sweden under this convention was 33¢ per ¹/₂ oz. until February 1867 when it was reduced to 21¢ per ¹/₂ oz., just as with the Bremen arrangement. The rates from Sweden were also as described above for Bremen, starting at 41 sk.bco. or 123 öre with the currency change. As with Bremen, from January 1863 to the end of the convention in December 1867 there was a series of different rates from Sweden because of changes in the transit fees between Sweden and Hamburg. Most of these

²²United States-Hamburg postal convention of 1857, U.S. 16 *Statutes at Large* 958-60. This convention also was published in *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1857, pp. 1047-50.

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Figure 19. 18 October 1867, Galesburg, II. to Näsum, Sweden, prepaid short-lived 21¢ rate by Bremen mail with 1861 adhesives. New York credited 18¢ to Bremen.

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Figure 20. 15 November 1860, New York to Cimbrishamn, Sweden, sent unpaid under Hamburg convention. New York debited Hamburg 5¢ and Hamburg debited Sweden 8³/₄ sgr., equivalent to 79 öre. Transit fee to Swedish destination of 45 öre added for postage due of 124 öre or 1 Riksdaler 24 öre, written in lower left.

changes, however, were not reflected in similar changes in the United States rates. As with Bremen, the prepaid rates in Sweden were also different from the unpaid rates. For a list of the published rates by the Hamburg convention refer to Table 1 at the end of this paper.

Figure 20 illustrates an unpaid cover from New York on 15 November 1860 to Cimbrishamn, Sweden, transported in the Hamburg mails. New York debited Hamburg 5¢, the United States portion of the convention rate in 1860, and placed the letter in the mails bags carried out on the HAPAG steamship Hammonia on 15 November 1860.²³ The letter reached Hamburg on 30 November, where it received an oval datestamp of the Hamburg stadtpost on the reverse. The letter was handed over to the Royal Swedish post office the same day, indicated by a boxed HAMBURG./K.S.P.A.(D)/ datestamp on the reverse. Hamburg struck the blue 8³/₄ handstamp to show the debit to the Royal Swedish post office of $8^{3}/4$ sgr., $6^{3}/4$ sgr. international portion and 2 sgr. German transit fee. This was restated in blue pen in the upper left by the Royal Swedish post office and was equivalent to 79 öre. To this was added the 45 öre transit fee from Hamburg to Sweden via Denmark resulting in a total postage due of 124 öre, written in the lower left corner, 1 Riksdaler 24 öre. On the reverse is a Ystad circular datestamp of 3 December 1860. Normally a letter sent via Denmark would not show a Ystad postmark since that marking usually indicated the direct sea route from Stralsund, Prussia. The last steamship for the season from Stralsund to Ystad left on 30 November and could not have carried this letter. Instead, the Ystad postmark on this letter is an indication that the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg sent this letter on a letter bill to Ystad, which was close to Cimbrishamn.



Figure 21. 24 May 1861, Stockholm to Cincinnati, Oh., sent unpaid in Hamburg mail. Hamburg marked "18/15" in blue crayon, upper left, to show 18¢ transit fee to Sweden and 15¢ international rate unpaid. Denmark debited Prussia 4¹/₂ sgr. and Prussia debited Hamburg 6¹/₂ sgr. New York marked 33¢ postage due.

Figure 21 shows a cover which traveled in the opposite direction, from Sweden to the United States. This letter originated in Stockholm on 24 May 1861, and was addressed to Cincinnati, Ohio. It was sent unpaid in the Hamburg mails via Denmark and Lübeck.

²³The split of the 10¢ international rate to Hamburg started as 5¢ to the United States and 5¢ to Hamburg just as with the Bremen convention. Unlike the Bremen convention, where the United States portion was reduced to 3¢ in 1858, under the Hamburg convention the reduction of the United States portion to 3¢ did not occur until late in 1863. See Richard F. Winter, "Hamburg Treaty Accounting Change," *Chronicle* No. 144 (November 1989), pp. 276-77.

By this route Sweden was entitled to $2^{1/2}$ sgr. internal fee and Denmark received 2 sgr. Denmark debited the total of $4^{1/2}$ sgr. to Prussia in red crayon alongside the Stockholm circular datestamp (under the handstamp 33, which was later applied). Prussia added 2 sgr. more for a debit to Hamburg of $6^{1/2}$ sgr., marked in blue crayon. Backstamps indicate that the letter went through the Lübeck railway post office, the Prussian post office in Hamburg and the Royal Swedish post office in Hamburg on 27 May 1861. When the letter was processed at the Hamburg stadtpost on 1 June 1861 prior to going on board the steamer for New York, it was marked in blue crayon, upper left, "18/15" (under the New York exchange office datestamp). The dual number marking was a statement of the unpaid "foreign" postage written above the international postage, 18¢ over 15¢ in United States currency, for a total rate of 33¢. The letter was placed in the mails carried from Hamburg on 2 June 1861 by the HAPAG steamer *Bavaria* and arrived at New York on 18 June 1861. A docketing notation on the reverse shows the letter reached the addressee in Cincinnati two days later. New York marked the postage due of 33¢, the Hamburg convention rate from Sweden, with the black handstamp **33**.

(to be continued)



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THE COVER CORNER RAYMOND W. CARLIN, Editor

ANSWERS TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUE 187

The November *Chronicle* had just gone to press when a response arrived from Route Agent Colin Tabeart in England about the 1857 Boston to Paris problem cover, Figure 1. His analysis corresponds with the answer published. And he provides a new insight as follows:

The three-month period, 1 January to March 31, 1857, is the only time until 1870 (when the 1857 U.S.-French Treaty was abrogated) that British accountancy markings of the type 1F60c seen on this cover can be found on U.S.-French mail.

(Editors' note: This demonstrates again the value of having multiple Route Agents responding to problem covers – as above. Each one provides a different perspective, with new information being shared, as well as corroborating the general solution to the problem cover. Responses from our overseas Route Agents are always welcome, but the information may be delayed because the *Chronicle* is sent via sea mail. Sometimes an e-mail response helps.

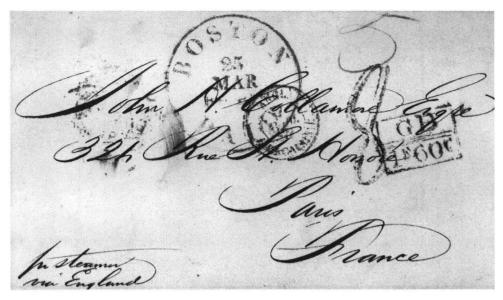


Figure 1. March 25, 1857 Boston to Paris

Route Agent #3169 reports that the address on the Figure 2 wrapper is to Buckingham, Quebec, C[anada] E[ast], a small city in Papineau County, southwestern Quebec. In the period the 2¢ Black Jack was in use, the postage for inter-country second class mail (defined in the Act of March 1863 for newspapers, periodicals, etc.,) could only be paid to the border with the receiving country's postage being paid on delivery. Therefore, the 2¢ Black Jack paid the U.S. postage to the Canadian border, and the "2 cts" in black manuscript is the postage to be collected in Canada.

NO ANSWERS TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUE 188

The 1875 Postal Card from New York to Germany in Figure 3 is a real puzzle. The message on the reverse is dated 8 März 1875, two months before the UPU. The added 1¢

ull . Les ecking han

Figure 2. Wrapper with 2¢ Black Jack

POSTAL C WRITE THE ADDRESS ONLY ON THIS SIDEa Herry A. & Nost Barmen, Unterbarm German Itanda 1244

Figure 3. 1875 Postal Card with "New York / DUE 10" CDS

stamp to the 1¢ value of the postal card equals the 2¢ fully prepaid rate effective from 1873 for postal cards carried in direct mail to Germany.¹ Below the stamps is a red CDS "New York / MAR / 11 / DUE 10 / [illegible – but may be U.S. CURRENCY]". Why was the "DUE 10" CDS applied?

No responses have come in from our Route Agents. Perhaps it is a post office error. Does anyone have a similar example? If nothing turns up, we shall have to assign it to the unsolved mystery covers.

Figure 4. 1848 Cover from Manchester to Boston

The cover in Figure 4 received a red CDS "MANCHESTER / JU 30 / J" on the obverse and a Liverpool "L / JY 1 / A" on the reverse. Addressed to Boston, U.S., there is no receiver marking. What is the meaning of the three sets of numbers: "4/-" and "B63" in red on the left front, "72" in black at upper right, and all in manuscript?

Again, no response from our Route Agents. Everyone must consider this cover's analysis to be too simple or is still recovering from the holiday season. We'll carry it over to the May *Chronicle*, expecting to hear from someone by then.

PROBLEM COVERS FOR THIS ISSUE

Figure 5A is the obverse of an envelope from England to Pennsylvania in 1845 with the following:

- Across the top - "Per Steamer" and "52" in black manuscript

- Manuscript "Paid" at upper right, and "1/-" at left, both in pale red
- Black DC "BATH / MR 3 / 1845" below "Paid"
- Black oval handstamp "L / MR 4 / ?" on the reverse
- A note written inside the envelope see Figure 5B
- Only marking on reverse a black oval "L / MR 4?"

¹Anthony S. Wawrukiewicz and Henry W. Beecher, U.S. International Postal Rates, 1872-1996 (Portland, Oregon: CAMA Publishing Co., 1996), p. 70.

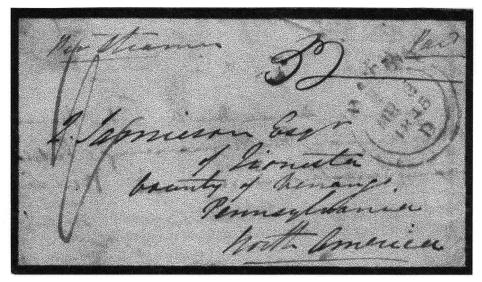


Figure 5A. 1845 stampless envelope England to Pennsylvania

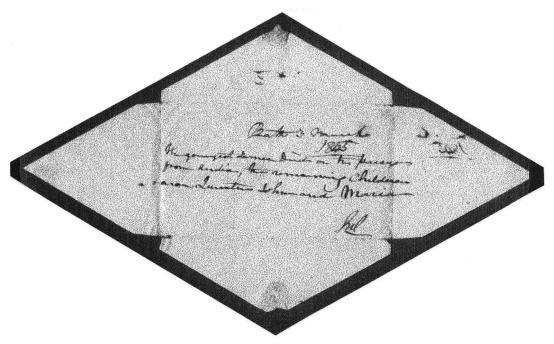


Figure 5B. Note written inside 1845 envelope

B. Coffin, Lock Box 702, Cucininati, United States of

Figure 6. 1860s cover from ?? to Cincinnati via Detroit

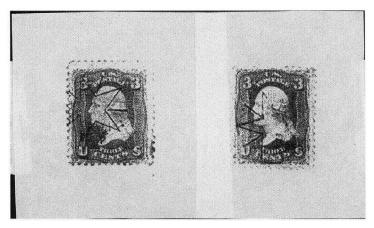


Figure 7. A five-point "patent" cancel

Apparently this cover was rated as single in England with one shilling paid. However, it was rated in the U.S. as double with "52" [cents] due. Was this cover correctly rated at both England and the U.S.? Why?

The well-worn cover in Figure 6 is a front only submitted by Route Agent Jim Blandford. It is addressed to Cincinnati and has the following markings:

- Originating black CDS "CORREIO ??? / 18 = 5 / 6 / BRE ?"

- A red boxed "Br. Service" at upper left
- An indecipherable French transit CDS in red at lower right
- A black CDS "DETROIT, MICH / AUG / 8 / ? PKT"
- Blue numerals a French style "54," and a "60 / 83"

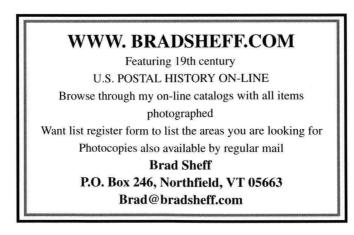
The questions are where and when did this cover originate, meaning of the rate markings, and clarification of the Detroit exchange office marking (AM or BR PKT)?

Route Agent Jim Cate sent in Figure 7, a five-point star "patent" cancel that could be a newly recognized item. While not a cover, it is certainly a part of postal history, and therefore has been included in the Cover Corner.

Jim has two copies of this patent cancel, both on U.S. # 65. The cancel is an outline of a five-pointed star with a line bisecting the angle between each pair of points. The cancel achieves its function by cutting into the stamp while also canceling it. Jim would like to know the city of use and whether other copies have been recorded.

Please send to The Cover Corner Editor your answers to the problem covers for this issue, and any further discussion of previous answers to other problem covers, as soon as possible, preferably within two weeks of receiving your *Chronicle*. The "go to press" deadline for the May 2001 Cover Corner is April 10, 2001. I can receive mail at 9068 Fontainebleau Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45231-4808, and via an e-mail address: <u>RWCarlin@aol.com</u>.

New examples of problem covers are needed for The Cover Corner. We have successfully experimented with 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.



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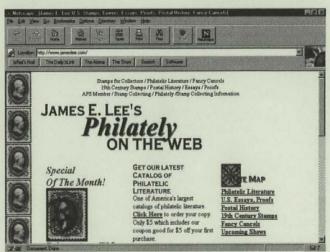
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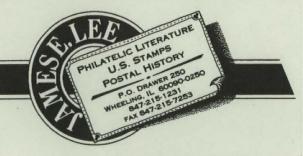
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