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# THE PRESTAMP \& STAMPLESS PERIOD FRANK MANDEL, Editor 

## INDIAN-RELATED POSTMARKS PRIOR TO "THE TRAIL OF TEARS" JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

(continued from Chronicle 190:90)

## The Cherokees

The tale of what became of the Cherokee people is perhaps the saddest story in the whole sorry history of American expansion at the expense of the Indians. The map in Figure 8 demonstrates the Cherokee lands at the time of the American Revolution (whole white area), the smaller territory of 1800 (dotted line), and the lands claimed in 1820 (solid black line). For these peoples were converted by Moravian (after 1801) and other missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (after 1817), became educated, and more than any other Indian group adopted the white ways in the manner in which they lived. A written alphabet was invented in 1820 by one of them which reduced the nation's spoken language to writing. By 1828 there was a printed newspaper, The Phoenix, which was bilingual. Its editor, Elias Boudinot, had attended a missionary school in Connecticut. They adopted a political system based on American government. John Ross was elected principal chief in the late 1820s and held the position until his death in 1866 . From 1830 to 1838 Ross repeatedly visited Washington in an unsuccessful campaign to prevent the exile of his nation from its ancestral homeland in the Southeast.


Figure 8. Map showing shrinkage of the Cherokee Nation at different periods.

But Americans had changed from the idealists who led the country at the time of the Revolution. George Washington wanted to civilize the Indians and make them like whites. But by the Nineteenth Century Americans had become much more nationalistic and racist in their attitudes towards others. Indians were still regarded as members of an inferior race, no longer feared but possessing what the whites wanted. Under the leadership of Andrew Jackson they accomplished what is known in the present day as ethnic cleansing.

The continous conflict with settlers caused small numbers of the Indians to move west voluntarily. This had been a policy advocated by Jefferson, but Madison was afraid that those Indians who moved west might become British allies. The hostilities of the War of 1812 caused the Indians to choose sides. The Shawnee chief Tecumseh called for Indians of all tribes to hear his message. The Cherokees contributed a large group of warriors. These were defeated, as were the Creeks, by Jackson's forces. However, the majority of the Cherokees became Jackson's allies and fought on the American side during the war. This did them little good with Andrew Jackson, who felt that Indians would never become civilized and stood in the way of the advancement of Tennessee. Thus the pressure for the Cherokees to cede land continued after the war.

In 1817 a sizable group of Cherokees migrated to northwestern Arkansas establishing a settlement there. In 1829 they numbered 3,000 individuals. One of them was the adopted Sam Houston, whose second wife was a full blooded Cherokee.

The discovery of gold on Cherokee lands in 1829 induced thousands of white people to stake claims on Indian land. Jackson as President allowed Georgia state officials to pass laws restricting Indian rights. The Cherokee National Council ordered the death penalty for anyone selling tribal lands. On May 28, 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act which directed the forced removal of the eastern tribes to the west.

With the removal of the Choctaws and Creeks accomplished, the government turned its attention to the more civilized Cherokees. John Ross led the attempt to forestall the removal of the nation from what remained of their tribal lands. This even included legal redress through the Supreme Court, but the court ruled it did not have jurisdiction to overule Georgia state laws designed to allow the seizure of Cherokee property. Chief Justice John Marshall wrote that Indian tribes should be considered to be dependent nations whose relationship to the "United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian." But Jackson ignored the opinion. In 1832, after another Supreme Court decision favorable to the Indians, Jackson is said to have responded with "John Marshall has rendered his decision, now let him enforce it." In the following year Georgia held a lottery of Cherokee land and property. The Indians split into two groups, one agreeing to removal and the other opposing it. An illegal treaty selling the tribal lands for five million dollars was signed by one group in New Echota. Despite Ross's protests, the U.S. Senate ratified the New Echota treaty which gave the Cherokees three years to give up their country and move west. While a few did emigrate, most stayed. But in 1838 General Winfield Scott moved them by force in the migration known as the Trail of Tears. About 18,000 Cherokees were moved, with 4,000 losing their lives at different stages of the journey. John Ross left with the last contingent; his first wife was among those who died.

## Postal Markings

The Cherokee Nation contained a number of towns with post offices that had names other than an Indian agency. The map in Figure 9 shows the principal towns. It can be seen that the Cherokee Nation includes portions of three states: Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee. Thus postmarks with the abbreviation "C.N." for Cherokee Nation could be from locations within three different states. Frank J. Crown, Jr., in Georgia Stampless Cover Catalog and Handbook, lists ten Cherokee Nation post offices operating in Georgia, but he includes Rossville in this list which I place in Tennessee. Cherokee Agency and Valley Town were also in Tennessee.


Figure 9. Map of the final shrunken Cherokee Nation after 1820 showing principal settlements and their relation to different states.

Carmel Cher Na Ms., Black, September 1824 to March 1826.
Carmel Cherokee Nation Ms., Black, 1827.
Carmel C.N. Ms., Black, December 1828 to 1-30-29. (Figure 10)
Cherokee Agency Ms., Black, 1826-1827.


Figure 10. "Carmel C.N. Jan. 30 ${ }^{\text {th" }}$ [1829] and " $25^{\prime \prime}$ to Kingsboro, New York with letter.

One would think that postmarks from Cherokee Agency would be more plentiful than they are. The writer has a very interesting letter from this place that bears on the removal of the Indians. Note that the writer, H. Montgomery, did not consider Cherokee Agency to be in Georgia:

Cherokee Agency
26 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ April 1828
Sir
I have this moment read your letter, and hasten to answer it by Mr. Thornton who sets out early in the morning for Georgia.

I have thought best to embrace that means of conveyance rather than trust the circutous \& uncertain means by mail.

My own opinion is that a purchase [of the Indian lands] cannot now be made by direct treaty but the course which appears to me most probably might succeed would be if the $\$ 50,000$ appropriation passes would be for the President [Jackson] to appoint some man of talents and weight of character to come to the nation [ Cherokee Nation] and invite \& urge them to send a Delegation to view a country for a permanent home. Let him convince them that here they can never be a sovereign people, not reside per-manently- and let him if this (does) not succeed visit every town \& settlement and Bid up for volunteers and I have no doubts if he was authorized to protect them \& their property against the Chiefs but that he would succeed \& if a permanent home was offered them where the Land was as good as this \& as healthy, but that such a drain would be effected of them as would eventually ( \& soon) incline the the whole of them to go. This is the course I have recommended to Mr. Cabe \& Lumpkin and I think ought by no means to be omitted in the first instance. Indeed it is unfortunate that never since Mr. Monroe's Recommendations to remove all the Indians west of the Mississippi that the Cherokees has not had the first hint officially that that is the policy which is or will be adopted by the Genl. Govt or that it is the wish of the Govt. in relation to them.

If this plan does not succeed (of which I have but little doubt) the next I am inclined to believe ought to be for the States concerned to extend Civil Jurisdiction if they have the power \& let the white men living in the nation feel its weight \& the weight of a tax law. This would drive them and many of their half-breed connections - and add to that a proposition to give each head of a family a state grant for a tract of land where he lives on his becoming a Citizen $\&$ relinguishing all his claim to the balance, the Genl. Govt. to pay for the land so granted. This I think many of them would do on being protected against the Chiefs. They would then soon sell to while men and go and I have no doubts but that if fifty white men were thus introduced into the heart of the nation but the matter would be effected at once.

If this fails the change of Tenure which you propose might succeed but I fear it would not just now as the half Breeds who have the sole Govt. would see the consequences and oppose it.

I have thus hastily sketched my Ideas on both the points without any time to reflect on them and indeed the latter idea is entirely new as I had not thought on it. One thing I am certain. They never can be a happy people where they are and the sooner they can be induced to remove to a permanent hom the better for them and the states concerned.

Will you do me the honor to write me the result of your correspondence with Mr. Adams [John Quincy Adams] on the subject.

With great respect
Your obt. Servt.
H. Montgomery

Honl. Wm H Crawford
Oglethorpe City, Ga.

This letter is postmarked with a manuscript "Alums[?] Hall Cty [County] Ga. May 3d." The addressee is a famous statesman who at the time of this letter had returned to Georgia as a circuit judge. This letter gives a good picture of the scheming being done by Georgia officials to get rid of the Indians.

Dwight, Cherokee Nation, Arks Tery Ms., Black, 11-25-23.
Dwight, Ark. Ter. Ms., Black, 11-24-25. (Figure 11)
Dwight, A.T. Ms., Black, 8-5-28.
Dwight A. Tery Ms., Black, 2-2-29.
Dwight Ark Ter Ms., Black, 2-15-29.
The Dwight Indian Mission was located in Arkansas Territory and was the only post office for the Cherokee Nation West for the period that the Indians were here. The mission was removed in 1829 to Indian Territory when the Cherokees ceded their Arkansas land. The cover in Figure 11 is franked by C. Washburn, who was the postmaster during this period of time. This is a previously unreported postmark. The addressee is the Corresponding Secretary of the American Sunday School Union. The letter is headed "Dwight Mission Cherokee Nation Arkansas Territory" and is a fascinating application for the school to join the Union, transcribing the Constitution of the Dwight Mission Sunday School and listing its officers. It was written by C. Washburn.

Head of Coosa Ch N Ms., Black, August 1829 to 1834.
Hightower Po Cn Ms., Black, November 1828 to October 1829.
New Echota CN Ms., Black, 10-15-1828 to January 1829. (Figure 12)
NEW-ECHOTA CHER. NA. Black straight line with date, 1829, separate FREE with postmaster's frank. (Figure 13)

The cover in Figure 12 contains a letter from a missionary:
Haweis Oct. 1st1828
My dear Brother in Christ
... Our sacramental occasions are generally very interesting, we have frequently two or three clergymen present, and from fifty to two hundred cherokees . . We have now 32 members, 27 are cherokees and ten or twelve more cherokees are proposed members . . . Our school, consisting of ten girls, is in a prosperous state . . . about other Indian schools . . . traveling . . . about box directed to Rev. Wm. Potter Cherokee Nation Care of J.C. Ellsworth Brainerd . . . Elizar Butler
The prior edition of The American Stampless Cover Catalog lists and depicts a drawing of a different marking with fancy lettering. However, the publisher was unable to furnish the writer with any documentation of a cover bearing this or similar markings. They appear to be in an institutional file. The newer edition of the catalog does not list these markings. New Echota was the capitol of the Cherokee Nation.

Rossville Cher Nation Ms., Black, November 1817.
Rossville Cherokee Ms., Brown, March 23, 1818. (Figure 14)
Rossville Cherokee Nation Ms., Black, July 1818 to July 1820.
Rossville Ch Nn Ms., Black, July 1818.
Rossville CN Ms., Black, June 1820 to January 1828.
The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided to send teachers to the Cherokees. Their missions were funded by the federal government. In 1816 this organization dispatched missionaries to the Cherokees. Their first school was the Brainerd Mission in eastern Tennessee, two miles north of the Georgia border, at Ross's Landing. It opened in May 1817. The letter in Figure 14 is headed "Chickamaugah, March 13, 1818" and is a long letter from a famous missionary, Cyrus Kingsbury, who describes the school in considerable detail. He mentions also that he is to be sent to the Choctaw Nation on the Yazoo River "about 450 miles South West of this place . . . for the purpose of commencing an establishment in that tribe . . .You had probably better direct your next letter to me to


Figure 11. "Dwight Ark. Ter. 24 Nov. 1825" and "Free C. Washburn P.M." all in manuscript with letter soliciting membership for the Indian School in a Sunday School Union.


Figure 12. "New Echota CN Octo $15^{\text {th" }}$ [1828] and " 25 " to New York, letter from missiontry.


Figure 13. "NEW-ECHOTA CHER. NA. July 1" and "FREE" with postmaster's frank in 1829 cover to Boston.


Figure 14. "Rossville Cherokee March 23 ${ }^{\text {rd" }}$ [1818] and " 25 " to Alstead, N.H. with letter from missionary to the Brainerd Mission.
the Choctaw Agency, care of Col. McKee." The writer has correspondence from a later relative of Cyrus Kingsbury that shows he did travel to a place called Eliot and established a very successful school which by 1821 had 80 pupils. Later he established the Mayhew Mission on the Tombigbee River, near the present day town of Mayhew. Kingsbury became a great friend to the Choctaws and followed them into Indian Territory, dying at Boggy Depot in 1870. His Indian name was "Walking Wolf."

Spring Place CN Ms., Black, 1820, November 1824 to February 1828.
Valley Town CN Ms., Black, 1822, 4-10-34 to 3-20-38. (Figure 15)
The cover in Figure 15 was addressed to John Ross, the Principal Chief of the Cherokees, who made many trips to Washington on behalf of the Indians.

Military usages concerning the Cherokees are more rare than those from the Seminole War to be discussed later. In Figure 16 is a cover sent by military express to Ross' Landing, Tennessee. This is Rossville, which was one of the principal Cherokee settlements. The letter is interesting because it concerns the removal of the Indians (The Trail of Tears):

Fort Lovell Ala.
June 6th1838

## Dear Brother

It was concluded last night to send an express to Ross Landing. I finished my Returns late last night, have only time to write a few lines before the express leaves. Our Co. commenced collecting Indians through yesterday. Have 24 in Fort order last night from Head Qrs to stop operations till the $12^{\text {th }}$. We are tolerably comfortably situated \& are quite easy about the progress of the collection - some wishing it may be delayed till fall, to which I have no particular objection, but am quite easy about it . . . .

The men were not well prepared for house keeping economically \& their provisions were scanty they took up the notion I was speculating on them, told most detestable tales about their starving \& even talked among themselves of linching me. The fact is a great many of them are not used to eating so good things as U.S. gave them \& took them some time to get completely situated.
. . . Express waiting
Most affectionately
Your Brother
W.A. Lenoir

## The Choctaws

This was another large Indian group with lands in Alabama and Mississippi. Their tribal lands were to the west of the Creek lands. Their story is similar to the other two groups that have already been discussed. Bruce Oakley, Jr.'s A Postal History of Mississippi shows an Indian Cession Map (page 9). Most of Mississippi was originally Choctaw territory. Lands were offered to the Choctaws in Arkansas, but these lands were also claimed by the Osage Nation so hostilities between such established tribes and the newcomers occurred. The Choctaws were the first to be moved under the Removal Act of 1830. A separate treaty was obtained from their chiefs in September 1830 in which they agreed to move. The first group boarded a steamboat, the Huran, in February 1832 to commence their migration. About 13,000 Choctaws moved to western Arkansas with almost a third dying along the journey. Another 7,000 Choctaws stayed in Mississippi and eventually assimilated with the white population there.

## Postal Markings

Chacktaw Agency Ms., Black, 8-9-09 to 11-15-16. Also spelled Chaktaw.
Choctaw Agency Ms., Black, 1807 to 5-11-33. (Figure 17)
Choktaw Agency Ms., Black, April 5, 1815.
This post office was in Yazoo County, Mississippi in the center of the state. After the removal of the Indians it continued in existence under the same name for many years becoming Agency, Mississippi in 1892.


Figure 15. "Valley Towns CN Mar 20. 1838" and "Free E Jones P.M." to John Ross, the Principal Cherokee Chief, addressed Cherokee Delegation, Washington City.


Figure 16. "By Express" notation on cover to Major at Ross Landing, Tn., a military express to Cherokee town with contents concerning Indian removal.


Figure 17. "Choctaw Agency July $5^{\text {th }}$ 1822" $^{\text {" }}$ and "Free W.Ward P.M.", who was Indian Agent and who wrote the letter.

Choctaw Academy (various spellings) Ms., Black, 1826, 1830-1839.
These postmarks appear to be from an Indian school originally, but later it was not Indian-related.

## The Chickasaws

The original lands occupied by this group of Indians was above that of the Choctaws in western Kentucky, western Tennessee and northern Mississippi. The Chickasaws too were pushed into a much smaller region before their removal like the other Indian nations. The first cession occurred on September 20, 1816 when the Indians ceded 400,000 acres. The final cession of their eastern lands was made in 1832 by the Treaty of Pontitoch; this immense territory comprised the entire northern part of Mississippi. The Chickasaw removal began in 1837.

They went west peacefully, although it was against their will. In Indian Territory they settled in Choctaw country [Streeter Collection of Americana, 546] but retained their individuality, and later separated completely from the Choctaws.

## Postal Markings

Chickasaw Ms., Black, 7-11-05 to 8-21-09.
Chickasaw Agency Ms., Black, 3-19-13 to 8-25-17.
Chickasaw Nation Ms., Black, 11-14-03 to 1-20-11. (Figure 18)
Chickesaw Nation Ms., Black, 3-10-03 to 8-28-15. There are various other misspellings.

## The Seminoles

While the Indians of Florida are commonly described under this heading, research has shown that the early 18th Century Indians here spoke three different languages. Other northern groups, especially the Creeks, and individuals joined the resident Indians to create a rather mixed population of Indians. The word Seminole means runaway or broken off. Originally Florida was a Spanish settlement. The French and Indian War prior to the American Revolution led to the Treaty of Paris of 1763 , which placed Florida and the Seminole Indians in British hands. In 1779, after a declaration of war between Great


Figure 18. "Chickasaw Nation June 23 ${ }^{\text {rd }}$ Free Samuel Mitchell" to Washington, Mississippi Territory. The writer of this 1804 letter, Samuel Mitchell, was the Agent for the Chickasaws.

## Massacre of the. Whites hy the Indians and Blacks in Florida.



Figure 19. Illustration from book depicting 1835 and 1836 atrocities attributed to Indians and escaped Negro slaves.

Britain and Spain, the Spanish governor at New Orleans began a campaign to regain Florida. The British posts along the gulf in West Florida, including Pensacola, were captured in 1781. In 1783 the British left Florida to the native peoples with a nominal Spanish presence. For the most part the Indians were peaceful and had adopted many white ways, including farming and raising stock.

By the Treaty of San Lorenzo, the United States and Spain each was to appoint a commissioner and surveyor to run a line for an international boundary. An American, Stephen Minor, was selected by Spain for both positions. His name is familiar to collectors of steamboat covers as the recipient of the earliest known steamboat covers from New Orleans. Although a boundary was established during 1801 to 1812 , there was a steady encroachment onto Indian lands. The state of Georgia was a leader in fomenting hostile acts against the Creek and Seminole Indians, who held property directly in the path of expansion for settlers. Thus the Indians were receptive to British agents during the War of 1812. The military actions, including those of the Patriots in Florida, are extremely interesting although beyond the scope of the present article. Tecumseh also visited Florida, and his message, that North America belonged to all the Indians and no tribe had the right to cede a part of the land because all were injured by white settlements, was music to the ears of the Seminoles.

Jackson fought on in Florida after the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain. He took Pensacola in 1818. The pressure resulting from the presence of Americans in Florida caused Spain to cede the territory to the United States on February 22, 1819. This marked the beginning of a series of hostile acts, particularly from state officials of Georgia. Agitation for Indian removal continued in the period 1826-1834, when large numbers of white settlers passed from Georgia into Florida. An example of the type of propaganda against the Indians at the time is shown in Figure 19. When Andrew Jackson assumed the presidency, these settlers had a champion for their aspirations. The Removal Act of 1830 sealed the fate for all of the southern tribes. James Gadsden had been appointed by Jackson's Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, to negotiate with the Seminoles concerning their removal to the west. A group of Indians journeyed to Fort Gibson into Creek country to inspect it. The plan was for the Seminoles to join the Creeks, with whom an agreement to move had been reached in February 1833. But the Indians in Florida decided to stay put. One chief said later :"I never gave my consent to go west. The whites may say so, but I never gave my consent." The territorial governor counseled that the treaty that had been ratified by the Senate and signed by the President April 12, 1834 was improper because it was signed too late, and justice should be recognized. But General B.F. Butler overruled the governor and interpreted that the government had the right to remove the Indians. The Indians, although threatened by the Army, balked, and a number of the chiefs refused to move. The plan had been to assemble the Indians in 1835 at Seminole Agency and travel by water to Tampa, then New Orleans, and by river boat to White River. It was at this time that Osceola made his appearance, and although not a principal chief, he became the leader by force of his arguments. The Seminoles became determined to fight rather than to be dispossessed of their homeland. This led to the very destructive Seminole War which went on for the next three years.

Eventually the Indians that survived surrendered and a forcible removal took place in 1838. Other pockets of Indians fought on, with the last group being resettled in March 1843.

## Postal Markings

There is only one post office which can be related to the Indians: Seminole Agency, located in the center of the state, at present named Ocala, Alachua Country. The listings I have are taken from Florida Stampless Postal History 1763-1861. The post office may have been established in 1827 and it was discontinued February 25, 1837.


Figure 20. "SEM. AGENCY FLO." with fleurons, ms. dated 1832 letter to Philadelphia.


Figure 21. Military letter from Washington to army officer in Picolata, Florida, postmarked "St. AUGUSTINE FI. T. MAY 21" (1838) and forwarded to Ross Landing Tennessee, a town in Cherokee Nation.

Seminole Agency Flor. Ms., Black, 7-25-28 to 11-14-33.
Seminole Agency Ms., Black, 5-8-29.
Sem. Agy or Agcy Ms., Black, 6-6-28 to 8-30-28.
Sem Agency Ms., Black, 8-18-29 to 5-12-30.
Sem Agency Flo Ms., Black, 1-5-35.
SEM. AGENCY FLO. Black oval with fleurons, 2-2-31 to 8-13-35. (Figure 20)
Florida was the site of much military action during the second Seminole War period, 1835 to 1842. "Express Mail" usages are illustrated in the author's book, The Express Mail of 1836-1839. These are military expresses from one military facility to another. In addition, there are covers with ordinary town postal markings which contain soldiers' letters from various forts dealing with military actions. There is also a number of covers that demonstrate the addressee was engaged in Indian warfare. In Figure 21 is a cover from Washington, D.C. which is addressed to an Acting Assistant Quartermaster serving in the Army with the forces in Florida which were fighting the Seminoles (the Express Mail usages mentioned above are to the same individual), but who moved on to the troops which were removing the Cherokees from their homeland. There is a postmark from St. Augustine, and the address has been changed from Picolata, Florida to Ross Landing, Tennessee. As has already been mentioned, this was one of the principal towns of the Cherokees, the site of Chattanooga. A second cover (Figure 22) was sent to Lieutenant Morgan about a month later, and this cover was readdressed, evidently in Charleston, to: "With U.S. Troops Cherokee Country Georgia". It is interesting to note that both of these letters were intercepted short of Picolata and redirected.


Figure 22. A second letter to the same individual a month later but forwarded at Charleston "with U.S. Troops Cherokee Country Georgia."


Figure 23. "SAC \& FOX AGENCY." with manuscript "I.T. April 6 1844" on cover from the Badger correspondence.


Figure 24. "WHEELOCK. CH. NA." in black straight line, ms "Nov. 27" and "10" with 1845 letter enclosed, red forwarded "HARTFORD CT. DEC 24 " with " 5 " to total " 15 " due.


Figure 25. Pair of Confederate Sc Local Print with manuscript "Doaksville C.N. July 17 ${ }^{\text {tr }}$ 63 " from Fort Towson to Paris, Texas.


Figure 26. 3ç green with blue straight lines "P.T.Reep, P.M.," "Beaver, N.S. of I.T." and "Via Dodge City, Kan." and manuscript dating "6/28-83."

## Later Postal Markings Related to Indian Settlements

While many Indian tribes were being resettled to Indian Territory, other tribes at different places are associated with postmarks which denoted their Indian connection. The early ones were Indian agency postmarks similar to the ones shown for the five civilized nations. In Figure 23 is a lovely red straightline marking "SAC \& FOX AGENCY." ms. "I.T." with 1844 dating. Manuscript postmarks also exist for this tribe's agency.

Manuscript Indian agency markings are well-known from Indian Territory in the 1840s and 1850s, but there are also specific markings for different towns. Since there were several nations using the appreviation "C.N." in their postmarks, one has to identify the correct one by other means. In Figure 24 is a 1845 black straightline "WHEELOCK CH. NA." with manuscript dating and a forwarded usage at Hartford, Connecticut. This was a town in Choctaw Nation, and the letter is datelined from there.

Figure 25 is the only known example of an Indian Territory postmark on Confederate stamps. The letter is from a Choctaw Indian chief who sent the letter from the Doaksville, Choctaw Nation post office on July 17, 1863. A third unusual Indian Territorial cover is that shown in Figure 26. While this may appear to be a complex multi-lined postmark, there are actually three separate straightline postmarks. Only the middle one, "Beaver, N.S. of I.T.," is known on other covers; the Neutral Strip is part of the panhandle of Indian Territory (later Oklahoma).

Later covers are often associated with Department of the Interior usages. In Figure 27 is a penalty envelope from the Yakama Indian Agency in Washington Territory with official business usage. The two cent stamp in Figure 28 is on a legal sized Indian Affairs envelope with a bright magenta "CHEYENNE AGENCY SO. DAK. NOV 28" [1892] and star killer. Such a usage would be associated with an Indian reservation.

## Acknowledgments

Joseph Crosby, Frank Crown, Ruth Harris, R.P. Kingsbury, Van Koppersmith, Michael O'Reilly.


Figure 27. Penalty envelope Department of the Interior Yakama Indian Agency, Fort Simcoe, Wash. Terr. with octagonal postmark "FORT SIMCOE WASH. TER. AUG 11 1884."


Figure 28. 2c carmine tied magenta "CHEYENNE AGENCY SO. DAK. NOV 28" [1892] over penalty envelope logo.

## Erratum

The captions to the two maps at Figure 2 and Figure 3 (Chronicle 190, p. 86 and 87, respectively) were inadvertently transposed and should be switched.

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## U.S. CARRIERS \& INDEPENDENT MAILS STEVEN M. ROTH, Editor

## W. WYMAN'S EXPRESS MAIL GORDON STIMMELL

A long-unpublished manuscript by Arthur Hall and Elliott Perry on the Independent Mails (inter-city posts whose golden age spanned from January 1844 through June 1845) has languished unfinished since the 1950s. The late Richard Schwartz was custodian of the jumbled and much corrected manuscript for decades and released several chapters on the forgeries portion only in The Penny Post journal as previews or snapshots of the projected book. The manuscript now rests in the hands of the Classics Society. Individual chapters have been assigned to various experts of particular posts involved. ${ }^{1}$

In the William Wyman chapter (see Scott U.S. Specialized Catalogue \#149L1) I found a core of still valid directory information compiled some 50 years ago. But the chapter itself is based on recorded data from only 11 covers, eight of which bear adhesives. In actual fact, most of the authors' postal history information has been superceded by subsequent research and auction sales. Many of their notes on covers are well-intentioned conjecture subsequently proven wrong.

For instance, my personal archives show a total of 33 covers bearing Wyman stamps (see chart with this article), plus more than 20 stampless covers carrying the Wyman handstamp without any adhesive. The data these new discoveries yield eclipses that extant in Hall and Perry's day. Thus, this article incorporates their research but carries the field to another level, providing a more comprehensive glimpse at Wyman' brief Independent Mails operation.

## The Man

In Hall and Perry's researches of the Boston Directories, the following references were found to the Wyman family from May 1841 to May 1845:

William Wyman appears in the Boston Directory only for the years 1842, 1843 and 1844. His address was at Harnden's Express Package office at 8 Court St., which is also the Boston address on the Wyman handstamps and stamps. In 1841, he was in New York City as agent for William F. Harnden. A Harnden advertisement in the Boston Advertiser of March 16, 1841, lists him as Harnden agent in New York. In the New York papers he signed the advertisement of Harnden as agent in the period from January 28, 1841 through November 12, 1841. He returned to Boston sometime before May 1, 1842, in time to be listed in the 1842 Boston Directory as being at 8 Court St., the Harnden address. He remained in the Directory at that address for 1843 and 1844.

Another Wyman, Oliver C. Wyman, residence 17 William St., 1841-46, was a partner in 1843 with William F. Harnden and D. Brigham, Jr., in the firm of Harnden \& Co., express package carriers and foreign commissioners, at 8 Court St. The relation between William and Oliver is not known.

Hall and Perry point out that in their opinion William Wyman operated his Express Mail "as a private and personal venture; it was not connected with Harnden's Express nor with Wyman's work for Harnden, if he worked for Harnden at all (at the time of the mail

[^1]operation). He may have been working for himself or some other express which rented space from Harnden." Both writers disagree with a claim in the Scott catalogues before 1951 (since dropped) that letters Wyman carried were largely obtained through the agency of Harnden \& Co., and deny the inference that Wyman co-operated with that firm.

As well, Hall and Perry note one Wyman handstamped cover bearing the notation in the correspondent's handwriting "Harnden's Express" at the lower left. "There is no evidence on the cover that it was mailed at Harnden's counter and then turned over to Wyman at the same address, nor does it prove that Wyman received the majority of his mail from Harnden." I will discuss this in the conjunctive mails section.

This Independent Mail service was in operation less than five months, from late July 1844 until the middle of December 1844. Wyman's mail route evidently ceased operations because of his health, as his wife, "Mary, widow of William," was listed in the 1845 Boston Directory, indicating Wyman must have died some time before May 1, 1845, when the Directory went to press. The widow is listed at 537 Washington St., the same residential address as that of James Wyman in 1842 and 1845, connection unknown, but presumably family.

A thorough search this year in the Library of Congress by former Carriers and Locals Society President and Chronicle Section Editor Steven M. Roth failed to reveal the William Wyman obituary in either the New York or Boston newspapers of the day. He perused the Boston Notion, Boston Daily Mail, Boston Traveler, American Traveler and Boston Daily Times, and for New York, the Brooklyn Evening Star, Brooklyn Weekly Eagle, New York Commercial Advertiser, New York Advertiser and Express.

Roth did dig up the following notice in the Boston Traveler for April 26, 1847:
Petition of Abigail R. Wyman of Brooklyn in New York, guardian of William C.
Wyman, a minor son of William Wyman, formerly of Boston . . . but of late of New
York . . . Minor is seized of real estate $1 / 8$ of $1 / 2$ of a lot on Washington Street with a wooden building. $1 / 8$ of ${ }^{13 / 16}$ on Washington (formerly Newbury). A.R. Wyman, Witness Henry Russell

## The Post

The first advertisement for William Wyman's post appeared in the Boston Advertiser, headed "LETTERS FOR NEW YORK" and dated July 29, 1844 (Figure 1). This ad was

```
KETTERS FOR NEW YORK.
1 TIE underaigned takes this method to inform his triends and the public, that he has opened offices at Ne. 8 Odurt. street, Hoston, snil 8. Wall street; New York, through-whioh to. transmit letters between the two cities, ulso between Boaton
```



``` The bage for New York will close ait 4, P. M.
For the faithful performance of the business I am at liberty to refer to-
Messrs : Eben'r Francis, J. E. Thayer \& Bro. IIon. Ahbote Lawreace, H. B. Btone; Esq.,
Pres. Suffoik Bank:
july 29 istf
WM. WYMAN.
```

Figure 1. Wyman's first advertisement, in Boston Advertiser, July 29, 1844, announcing formation of the mail service
repeated until September 21, 1844. It mentions his opening offices at No. 8 Court St. in Boston and No. 3 Wall St., New York City, to transmit letters both ways between the two cities, "also between Boston and Lowell," Massachusetts. Whether the "Hon. Abbott Lawrence" mentioned in this ad was related to J.W. Lawrence, a former Harnden agent who ran a Letter Express out of Lowell in conjunction with Wyman (using similar serrated handstamps), is not known.

The echo of the first Boston ad came just over a week later in New York City. This is what the New York ad, printed in the Morning Courier and New York Enquirer on August 7, 1844, said:

Letters for Boston and the East. The undersigned takes this method to inform his friends and the public that he has opened offices at No. 3 Wall St. N.Y. and 8 Court St. Boston through which to transmit letters between the two cities; also between Boston and Lowell, at the low rate of postage of 20 stamps for $\$ 1$.

Please name the location of the correspondent. The bags will close for Boston at 4 3/4 P.M.
a5 1wis.
Wm. Wyman.
Perry and Hall found a later advertisement headed "W. WYMAN'S EXPRESS MAIL" (Figure 2) dated September 24 which appeared until as late as December 11, 1844.

```
W. WYMAN'S DXPRESS MAILL?

HVING increased my factilitien, I am now able to forward 1H Letters to nearly all the principal Cities and Villages in the United Stutes where any of the Independant Mails are seut, by the moat rapid conveyances.
For the better accommodation of my customers, I have a Box at the Exchange Offce of Mr. J. M. Dodd, 72 State atreet, opposite Kilby street, where Lettera for New York and the West -may be deposited until n quirter past 3, PM.
Postage 6 Cents, or 20 stampa for \(\$ 1\).
Principal Officen-8 Court atreet, Boston; 3, Wall street, New York.
```


## REFERENCES:

## Boston.

```
New York. Meagrs. Eben'r Francis, J. E. Thayer \& Bro. IInn: Ahbotc Liswrence, II. B. Stone, Eng.
Pres. Suffolk Bank. sept 24 3isceM W Fis8w
\[
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Messrs. John Ward \& Co. } \\
& \text { Jacob Litle \& Co. } \\
& \text { Samuel Ward, Esq. } \\
& \text { J. J. Fisk, Esq. Cashier } \\
& \text { WM. Amer. Ex. Bank. } \\
& \text { WMAN. }
\end{aligned}
\]
```

Figure 2. Wyman advertisement that ran from Sept. 24 to Dec. 11, 1844 during the heyday of the operation

It mentions the increased facilities by which letters could be forwarded to cities and villages in the United States which were then reached by any Independent Mail Company. Wyman's box at 72 State Street, opposite Kilby Street, was only a short distance from No. 8 Court Street, and little if any nearer to the depots of the Worcester or Providence railroads.

Two final advertisements were evidently Wyman's last. The first was printed in the Boston Advertiser of December 17, 1844:

## WYMAN'S EXPRESS MAIL.

I would inform my friends and patrons that I have discontinued the Letter Business, and take pleasure in recommending Messrs. Overton \& Co. 291/2 State St. (Brazer's Building) where my stamps will be received, or I will pay cash for them, at No. 8 Court St.

Wm. Wyman.

In New York, an announcement of the stopping of the mail by Wyman appeared in the Morning Courier and New York Enquirer three days earlier, on December 14, 1844:

## WYMAN'S LETTER EXPRESS.

The subscriber begs leave to give notice that he has discontinued the business of carrying letters from here to Boston. All persons holding his stamps can have them redeemed at Overton \& Co.'s Letter Express Office No. 3 Broad Street, where letters will be taken and forwarded as usual.

I take pleasure in recommending Messrs. Overton \& Co. to my late patrons.
New York, 14th Dec., 1844.
WM. WYMAN.
d17.
A letter survives dated two weeks later, Dec. 31, 1844, with both a Wyman stamp and Overton oval handstamp in which the writer says "I will use Wymans last stamp on hand today." And a letter with two Wyman stamps on it and also bearing the Overton oval handstamp was mailed on Jan. 26, 1845, more than a month after Wyman had officially ceased operation of his post.

The final New York advertisement noting the cessation of letters "from here to Boston" is important. Several postal historians have assumed that because the overwhelming surviving examples of Wyman letters were sent from Boston to New York, that Wyman operated a one-way mail service. Not true.

At least four examples survive of usage ( 3 stampless in mid-November and one with stamp on Sept 26) the reverse way, from New York to Boston. Why such letters are so rare is a subject for conjecture. It would appear that the New York operation relied on outside company city carriers, such as Overton, to courier letters from the 3 Wall Street receiving office to recipients. A small New York Wyman staff meant that office was a more limited operation facing many more competitors compared to the Wyman facility in Boston. Most surviving letters went to Wall Street, and financial missives concerning deeds and bonds formed the bulk of Wyman's business.

## The Rates

Wyman stamps actually carry the words " 20 For One Dollar," meaning customers could buy stamps for $5 \phi$ each in bulk to pay the $61 / 4 \phi$ rate between Boston and New York for single letters. Single collect letters were marked $6 \phi$ even though the official rate was $61 / 4 \phi$. Double letters were $12 \phi$, or two $5 \phi$ stamps. One double lettersheet survives with two Wyman stamps, one tiled over the other so a smaller X pen mark had to be used on the partially overlapped stamp. One other double stamp letter survives, but from the Overton takeover period. Both covers are shown later in this article.

While Wyman charged the usual Independent Mails rate of $61 / 44$ for delivery between cities, many surviving covers also bear penciled " 2 " rate marks, signifying the $2 \not \subset$ additional charged by a letter carrier taking the letter from the receiving Wyman office to the actual recipient's address, making for an $8 \not \subset$ total charge. Most (but not all) Wyman letters bearing " 2 " delivery charge handstamps are to addresses beyond Wall St. So while Wyman covered that street, his own delivery force obviously did not reach much beyond it.

It is suspected some " 2 " marks could have signified Overton may have been locally delivering Wyman letters in New York for some weeks before they absorbed Wyman's clientele and operation. But in the final days, letters were taken directly to the Overton 3 Broad St. office and then delivered locally by Overton (so no " 2 " is marked) as Wyman's final New York ad indicates.

The 4-line handstamp, always in red, with serrated box border, stated:
WM. WYMAN'S
LETTER OFFICES,
8 Court St., Boston
3 Wall St., N. York.
One mystery has plagued collectors of Wyman stamps for years. Some letters have a Wyman stamp on them alone, some have only Wyman handstamps alone, and some letters
have both the stamp and serrated handstamp. My best explanation is the Wyman stamps were regarded in those pioneer days as pre-paid "tickets," which is the term that was used when U.S. carrier stamps were first sold five years later in 1849 Boston.

If the Wyman office was closed when a customer went to mail his letter, he would drop it in the Wyman box outside with a pre-paid Wyman stamp on it. In the morning the Wyman clerk would collect the letters, penmarking the stamp. He could at his discretion add the Wyman handstamp. If a patron posted a letter when the Wyman office was open, he could either have a stamp already affixed, or pay cash and the clerk might then add the handstamp to the envelope and perhaps a tiny "PAID" marking. If a letter was dropped in the outside box without a stamp, the clerk would put a manuscript due " 6 " on the envelope, so the recipient would pay collect at the other end. A handstamp was usually applied as well to due " 6 " letters, indicating officially what carrier was to be paid. Any covers with " 6 " on them and a Wyman stamp must be regarded as suspect as that would indicate both paid and unpaid simultaneously, a contradiction. An unlikely exception would be if the letter was a double, and only one half of it had been paid, and one half was due; or conjunctive uses where multiple fees may have been involved. Again, both of these scenarios would be highly unusual and run contrary to normal practice.

Another mystery is why Wyman applied two handstamps on some of his stampless covers. No covers bearing adhesives had more than one handstamp. Some of the doublehandstamp stampless covers are double rate, carrying either cash or a bond, and contents as well as external markings often confirm this. One exists with two PAIDs, a ms " 12 " and two serrated box handstamps. However, other due " 6 " single rate stampless also exist with double-handstamps. One stampless cover, dated Nov. 12, has double handstamp, small red PAID and manuscript P 18, and contents allude to enclosed bonds, making it a unique surviving triple letter rate (see Figure 3). Another nicely shows in manuscript the $6 \phi$, plus $2 \phi$ delivery added vertically, with the total " 8 " cent rate shown below the addition.


Figure 3. Unique triple rate ("P 18") Wyman stampless cover of Nov. 12, 1844, with two serrated Wyman red boxes and small "PAID"

## The Stamp

The Wyman adhesive takes the honor as the world's first denominated stamp ("20 Stamps for One Dollar") to show a railroad train (see Figure 4). In 1844, Pomeroy's Express had a large no-value square railroad adhesive label, and Livingston/Wells \& Pomeroy's Express had a pink label showing a train and ship, but these served as advertising tags rather than pre-paid stamps.


Figure 4. Genuine Wyman stamp with traditional pen X marking, probably from a pane of ten

No multiples of the stamp survive, not even a pair, so the sheet size is unknown, but it was likely 20 or less. Panes of 10 are the most likely possibility, going by plating and a relatively large survival rate for wide-corner margin stamps.

With respect to how the stamp was printed, Hall and Perry said: "Whether the genuine stamp is typographed or lithographed may be a matter of opinion. It certainly is not engraved on copper as reported by Scott as late as the 1942 catalogues."

The Wyman stamp steam locomotive, with its gesturing engineer, coal tender and passenger coach, is from the pioneer rail period, dating from about 1836. Mail delivery by rail did not begin in Boston until June 23, 1835, when the Lowell Railroad brought letters to Boston in $1 \frac{1}{4}$ hours. The locomotive model is a subject of hot debate, and railroad topical philatelist William Senkus has created a special internet page (http://alphabetilately.com/wymans.html) compiling all sorts of conjecture from leading railroad historians on what model it was. The consensus is it was a composite of several pioneer trains. My feeling is the engraver allegorized the models he had encountered into one idealized subject. The stamp was recently featured on the cover of a railroad philately publication of the American Topical Association.

The genuine stamp can be recognized quite readily by the " 2 " of " 20 ." The base of the figure does not have a serif at the right where the end is bend slightly upward. The front of the base of the " 2 " touches the curved frame line below. The letters "tamp" of "Stamps" are joined. There are no periods after each "St" but there are periods after the initial "W" and after "Wyman." The current Scott illustration is of the genuine stamp, though it has lost a bit of its smoke.

For a discussion of the forgeries, I refer readers to the Richard Schwartz article in The Penny Post, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 26-27, or to Larry Lyons' Identifier for Carriers, Locals, Fakes, Forgeries and Bogus Posts of the United States, Vol. III, pp. 1235-39, which picked up most of the same illustrations. The genuine stamp exists mint. It is most often found canceled by a pen X, and eight examples are known tied by the X (Figure 5). More rarely, the stamp is marked by a pen backslash $\backslash \backslash$ and this is found on stamps on five surviving covers, only one of which is tied (Figure 6). One stamp exists partially tied by an Overton oval handstamp and one specimen shows a tiny "tied" bleed from the left edge of a


Figure 5. Huge margined stamp, one of eight known tied by pen X, on Nov. 1, 1844 cover from the Geo. S. Robbins correspondence


Figure 6. Religious tract society letter of Oct. 15, 1844, stamp uniquely tied by backslash, with " 2 " manuscript local delivery fee marking

Wyman serrated handstamp. No Wyman stamps exist on covers also bearing U.S. postal handstamps, unlike some Independent Mail operations such as Brainard and local carriers such as Boyds.

Two covers exist carrying two Wyman adhesives (the double letter rate); but most either carry the single stamp and/or the serrated box handstamp and sometimes a tiny PAID usually struck in red.

## The Postal History

No known covers, stamped or stampless, survive from the 3-day span of the post in July after its debut on July 29. Most of the known covers fall into the period of OctoberDecember, and the majority of surviving covers were addressed to Geo. S. Robbins, Esq. at 38 Wall Street. A stampless letter period of almost six weeks preceded use of the adhesive on letters.

The earliest known stampless cover reported by Hall and Perry was a New York to Boston folded letter dated Aug. 13. That date has been superceded. An August 8 stampless cover from Salem to New York exists with manuscript Hale \& Co. and serrated Wyman box. A cover dated August 9, conjunctive Wyman-American Letter Mail-Pomeroy, was in the Golden collection, showing a small Wyman PAID handstamp, large Pomeroy PAID and bearing an American Letter Mail stamp carried from Boston to Buffalo.


Figure 7. Earliest known usage of the Wyman stamp, dated Sept. 13, 1844, stamp with single backslash

It appears that for the first few weeks of Wyman's post, no stamps were issued, as the first recorded use of the Wyman adhesive is on a letter of September 13 to Mssrs. Garner and Co., of New York, the adhesive carrying a single backslash pen mark (Figure 7). A September 17 cover exists, stamp not tied by pen X, bearing a John A Newbould Forwarder oval on the back. The one and only New York to Boston usage bearing a stamp (ex Boker) is dated September 26, stamp not tied, pen X, to Amon Weld, at his stall at the Boston fruit market (Figure 8). A September 20 cover (ex Caspary) addressed to Currier, the famed lithographer, carries a stamp that does not belong (cover bears a ms. " 6 "), so only three reliable September usages of the stamp exist.


Figure 8. The only known usage from New York to Boston bearing the adhesive is this Sept. 26, 1844 cover, ex Boker

Other confirmed dates of Wyman stamp use on covers are October 15, 22 and 25; November 1-2, 7, 20, 21, 27 and 30; December 2, 10, 28 and 31; and January 26. The latter three dates were use of stamps after the post had closed, so effectively, Wyman's use of stamps lasted only three months, from mid-September to mid-December 1844.


Figure 9. Only known double stamp usage during Wyman's ownership, tiled stamps with second small $X$ pen mark tying the two stamps together, date unknown but known Robbins correspondence

The unique double usage of the stamp during Wyman's ownership is shown (Figure 9) on a letter of unknown date with the stamps tiled over one another. The last known use of the stamp is the unique double stamp Overton use six weeks after Wyman's ownership expired, on a letter dated Jan. 26, 1845 (Figure 10).


Figure 10. Last known usage of the stamp, on a double letter (contents mention enclosure of another piece) carried by Overton (bearing his red oval City Mail handstamp) dated Jan. 26, 1845

At least 16 additional covers bearing stamps have no recorded dates in the auction archives although many are addressed to the same recipients as the dated examples above. If anyone can add to the dates listed in the accompanying chart, the author would appreciate hearing from them.

## Conjunctive Uses

## Harnden Express

One stampless cover exists, a money letter marked " $\$ 262.10$ inside" with a manuscript "Harnden Express" notation at bottom, from Boston to N.Y (Figure 11). While Perry and Hall note "no evidence appears that Harnden handled it," in fact Wyman did not usually handle money letters, but Harnden often did. Wyman's handstamp on it, and two tiny PAID Wyman marks, mean the two somehow collaborated. The rate is marked in manuscript " 12 " which would apply to the outer letter sheet and money contents. Perry and Hall find the scrawled message on the cover "Please wait for an answer" incredulous, but I find it natural. If you were sending $\$ 262$ (an enormous sum for 1844), you'd want to confirm that it arrived safely too.

## Hale \& Co.

There may have been an attempt at collaboration between Hale \& Co. and Wyman in the first few days of the post. Hale had a lock on most New England centers, a business built up beginning in earnest in December of 1843, with agents scattered in most major cities. Hale was the major player in Boston at 13 Court Street as early as December 26, 1843 (the earliest Hale Boston to N.Y. letter I have seen) and during Wyman's period, when they had moved offices to 23 State Street. The earliest Wyman serrated box handstamp appears on a cover dated August 8 , with a Hale " 6 " due pen mark, a Wyman tiny PAID and serrated Wyman box, from Salem to Boston to New York. On the bottom left is


Figure 11. Harnden-Wyman conjunctive use, ms. "12," and double PAIDs on money letter carrying \$262 in cash
penned "Hale \& Co." One other Boston-N.Y. cover, shown in Perry-Hall, has a Wyman stamp and a black boxed "Collect 6 Cents for Boston Office" handstamp. The authors did not note that this is a Hale handstamp in their writeup of the cover. Hale expert Mike Gutman confirms EKU of the handstamp was $1 / 16 / 44$ and LKU 7/26/44. The latter was several days before the Wyman operation started, and many weeks before the stamp saw first use. The stamp, though genuine, simply does not belong to the cover in question. There is no reason why a Wyman stamp and a Hale collect cancel should be on the same cover.

## American Letter Mail Co. / Pomeroy

Five examples survive of Wyman cooperating with the American Letter Mail Co.: the very early August 9 triple conjunctive Wyman-American Letter Mail-Pomeroy cover already described with a large eagle American Letter Mail stamp; a double conjunctive Wyman-American Letter Mail use of September 22, from Boston to Troy New York, bearing small Wyman PAID and large eagle American Letter mail stamp; two stampless covers Boston to Philadelphia, dated August 13 and September 3, each with round American Mail Co. Philadelphia receiving mark, the first with serrated Wyman box (see Figure 12), both with "Wyman" manuscript notations; a folded letter with pen ms. Wyman and a small ornamental American Letter Mail collect box (Collect/ $61 / 4 \mathrm{cts} /$ Boston / Office) addressed to Waln \& Seaming of Philadelphia, dated Oct. 24, 1844 (see Maurice C. Blake, Boston Postal Markings, page 94). It should be remembered that American Letter Mail Co. had an office at 12 State Street in Boston in August and soon after, at 16 State Street, so it had developed into a serious competitor by the fall when Wyman's operation went into full swing.


Figure 12. Conjunctive Wyman's-American Letter Mail Co. cover of Aug. 13, 1844, with serrated Wyman box and ALM forwarded handstamp with Collect Boston box, ex Golden

## J.W. Lawrence

One cover survives of Wyman's conjunctive use with Lawrence's Letter Offices in Lowell, an October 25, 1844 cover with Lawrence's serrated box handstamp (1 John St. Lowell and 8 Court St. Boston) and also bearing Wyman's serrated box handstamp (8 Court St. Boston, 3 Wall St.), plus a pen mark X Wyman stamp (ex Waterhouse, Springer)(Figure 13). As both outfits had offices at 8 Court Street, and Wyman ads allude


Figure 13. Wyman-Lawrence conjunctive use, both companies' serrated box handstamps on Oct. 12, 1844 usage, Lowell to Boston to New York City
to the Lowell connection, this is not too surprising a cover which journeyed from Lowell to Boston to New York. Both Wyman and Lawrence were former express agents for Harnden back in 1841.

## Boyd's Brooklyn City Express Post

John Thomas Boyd, who was operating a N.Y. local post, opened a branch of his business called Boyd's Brooklyn City Express Post in September 1844. This branch, which utilized the ferries crossing the East River, could be categorized as an Independent Mail operation, since crossing the river put Boyd on the Post Route map, so this post was terminated when the other Independent Mail routes died due to the Act of Congress of July 1, 1845. About the time Wyman was considering selling out due to ill health, Boyd carried a Wyman letter to a Brooklyn address (Figure 14). The stampless December 7 cover from Boston to New York bears an oval Boyd's Brooklyn City Express handstamp, two manuscript " 6 " markings, and Wyman's serrated box handstamp. A manuscript notation "Hale's Express" has the "Hale's" crossed out and "Wyman's" penned in above. Boyd performed city delivery for Wyman instead of Overton, on this one occasion at least. Was Wyman trying Boyd out as a potential successor? If so it didn't happen. Overton got the job.


Figure 14. Wyman-Boyd's Brooklyn City Express Post conjunctive use from Boston to New York on Dec. 7, 1844, collect " 6 " rate, "Hale's" crossed out and manuscript "Wyman's" written in its place

## Overton

At least four covers exist. The most famous is the last known usage of Wyman stamps, on a January 26, 1844 double rate letter, with one stamp of the pair tied by pen X. An Overton oval handstamp is at upper left. This cover was the subject of a discerning article by Richard Schwartz in Opinions V in the Philatelic Foundation reference series. Two other covers exist with Wyman stamps and Overton marks. The first has a tied pen X Wyman stamp on cover of December 31 to Geo. S. Robbins, with the postscript in the letter "I will use Wymans last stamp on hand today." The second also has a Wyman stamp with pen X not tied and Overton oval. A stampless cover bearing a serrated box Wyman handstamp and Overton red oval City Mail marking with a due " 6 " marking (as is proper sans stamp) exists (ex Boker). This letter originally also had a pencil " 8 " on its upper left corner as recorded by Perry-Hall, but this was removed sometime after 1955. Though both the latter letters are undated, they most certainly fall into the post-Wyman period, after December 15 .

## Stimmell Chronological Census of 33 Known Wyman Covers Bearing Adhesives

| DATE | STAMP CANCEL | HANDSTAMP | ROUTING | ADDRESSEE AND FURTHER MS. MARKINGS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Unknown | Pen X not tied | Hale Collect 6 Cts | B-NY | Uhlhom No 78 Wall St. (stamp added to preAug Hale) |
| Sep 13/44 | Pen \ not tied | No | B-NY | Mssrs. Garner Co. NY |
| Sep 17/44 | Pen X not tied | Newbould oval | B-NY | William Jessop \& Long 91 John St NY |
| Sep 20/44 | Pen X not tied | Yes | B-NY | N. Currier 2 Spruce Street (Due " 6 " - stamp added) |
| Sep 26/44 | Pen X not tied | Yes | NY-B | Amon D. Weld (at his fruit market stall) Boston |
| Unknown | Pen \; crease ties | No | B-Phila | Waln \& Leaming Philadelphia "Ch'd 3" |
| Oct 15/44 | Tied pen X | Yes | B-NY | Rev. R.S. Cook 150 Nassau St. - pen "2" |
| Unknown | Pen \ not tied | No | B-NY | Mssrs. B.... (name partly eradicated) New York |
| Oct 22/44 | Pen X not tied | Yes + PAID | B-NY | John A. Helday Tract Society 150 Nassau pen " 2 " |
| Undated | Pen X not tied | No | B-NY | Joseph Hyde Amer. Bible Society 115 Nassau - front only |
| Oct 25/44 | Pen X not tied | Yes + Lawrence box Salem-Boston-NY to Smith \& Shaphen 68 Wall NY |  |  |
| Unknown | Pen I not tied | Yes + PAID | B-NY | not visible (Fox sale 4/8/58) - pen "2" |
| Nov 144 | Tied pen X | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Unknown | Tied smudge $X$ | Yes + PAID | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Nov 744 | Tied smudge X | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Nov 20/44 | Pen X not tied | HS ties stamp | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Unknown | Two tied stamps X | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Nov 21/44 | Tied smudge $X$ | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Nov $27 / 44$ | Pen $X$ not tied | Yes | B-NY | Babcock \& Co. Merchants 65 Water |
| Unknown | Pen X not tied | Yes | B-NY | Babcock \& Co. Merchants 65 Water (due " 6 " stamp added) |
| Nov 30/44 | Pen $X$ not tied | No | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Unknown | Pen $X$ not tied | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Unknown | Pen X not tied | Yes | B-NY | Howland \& Aspinwall 54 South St. |
| Unknown | Flat X not tied | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. - pencil "2" |
| Unknown | Tied 4-stroke X | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Dec 2/44 | Pen $X$ not tied | Yes | B-NY | Rosn. \& Schuchardt (ex Chapman) |
| Dec 10/44 | Tied pen X | Yes | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Unknown | Pen X not tied | No | B-NY | not visible (Siegel $2 / 16 / 73$ sale) |
| Unknown | Pen X not tied | Yes | B-NY | not visible (Fox 10/17/56 sale) |
| (Dec 44) | Pen X not tied | Overton oval | B-NY | Rosn. \& Schuchardt NY (see ex Chapman above) |
| Dec 28/44 | Pen X not tied | No | B-NY | Peck \& Co. NY (certainly carried by Overton) |
| Dec 31/44 | Tied pen X | Overton oval | B-NY | Geo S. Robbins Esq. 38 Wall St. |
| Jan 26/45 | 2 stamps, 1 tied $X$ | Overton oval | B-NY | Charles C. King Esq. NY |

Total: 33 covers with Wyman adhesives: eight tied by pen X; one tied by pen \; one, Nov. 20, tied (barely) by Wyman serrated box handstamp. Highly suspect stamped covers: "6" (due) markings. Two covers bear two adhesives, the double letter rate, one from Wyman, one from Overton. Pen or pencil " 2 " is additional local delivery charge. Undated and unknown date covers have been collated into chronology based on markings, addressees, functions (i.e., Wyman's religious tract contractees), and slightly changing styles of the pen $X$ and slash markings used to "kill" the stamp over the three Wyman months of usage. As well as the above stamped covers, upwards of 20 stampless Wyman covers exist, spanning the period from Aug. 8 to Dec. 14, 1844.

Figure 15. Chart of Stimmell census of 33 known Wyman covers bearing adhesives arranged chronologically

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## THE BANK NOTE PERIOD JOE H. CROSBY, Editor

## THE MOVABLE CENTER GRID CANCELS OF OSWEGO AND SKANEATELES, NEW YORK JOE H. CROSBY

The cities of Oswego (Oswego County) and Skaneateles (Onondaga County), New York are only 43 miles apart, yet their post offices used cancellations 30 years apart that are so similar in concept as to make one wonder if one copied the idea from the other.


SD-G 24
Oswego.
New York
Figure 1. Oswego, N.Y. circular grid cancellation (courtesy Skinner \& Eno, United States Cancellations 1845-1869)

Oswego, New York used a fancy circular grid cancellation in 1862-1863 which had a permanent 27.5 mm outer 14-bar circular grid and a 7 mm center 4-bar circular grid which moved or at least did not remain fixed in the same relationship to the outer grid. An examination of this marking (Figure 1), listed as SD-G 24 in United States Cancellations 1845$1869^{\prime}$ shows the center grid at a $288^{\circ}$ angle to the orientation of the outer grid bars. I own


Figure 2. Oswego circular grid cancellation, center grid at $\mathbf{2 7 9}{ }^{\circ}$ angle

[^2]two covers from the same correspondence-one canceled Nov. 19, 1862 that has the center grid at an $279^{\circ}$ angle (Figure 2), and the second canceled Feb. 2, 1863 with the center grid at a $40^{\circ}$ angle (Figure 3). James C. Cate has a third cover (Figure 4) from Oswego canceled on Jan. 21, 1863 which has a center grid at a $275^{\circ}$ angle.


Figure 3. Oswego circular grid cancellation, center grid at $40^{\circ}$ angle

From these three covers it is obvious that the center grid was not permanent or stationary.


Figure 4. Oswego circular grid cancellation, center grid at $\mathbf{2 7 5}{ }^{\circ}$ angle


Figure 5. Skaneateles, N.W. examples of rectangular 8-bar grid cancellation, with inner grid at $88^{\circ}$ angle (top), $42^{\circ}$ angle (center) and $46^{\circ}$ angle (bottom)

At Skaneateles, N.Y., only 43 miles to the south of Oswego and exactly 30 years later, a $26 \times 17 \mathrm{~mm}$ rectangular 8-bar outer grid was used in 1892-1893 to cancel postal cards which had an $11 \times 8 \mathrm{~mm}$ oval 4-bar inner grid which also moved. On the Mar. 15, 1892 cancel (Figure 5a) the inner grid is $88^{\circ}$ in relation to the outer grid; the Mar. 30, 1893 cancel (Figure 5b) is $42^{\circ}$ and the Jul. 22, 1893 cancel (Figure 5c) is $46^{\circ}$.

From these three postal cards it is obvious that the center grid was not permanent or stationary.

This points up the value of having multiple copies of the same cancellation. Only through careful comparison can discoveries like this be made. It is more than a little surprising that we have gone over 100 years without anyone documenting this phenomenon on these two distinctive markings. Now the question is posed, what other 19th Century killers featured movable parts? Hopefully other members can add to this growing list and make this a real movable feast of cancellations!!

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# PLATE AND DIE FLAWS OF THE 1¢ CLARET LARGE NUMERAL POSTAGE DUE-REVISED JOHN D. IRWIN, JR. 

Editor-in-Chief's Introduction: The course of philatelic research, like that of true love, never seems to run in a smooth and predictable fashion. When, after exhaustive study and analysis, Mr. Irwin submitted his article on the $1 \phi$ claret postage dues for publication in the May 2001 issue of the Chronicle (No. 190, pp.118-121), he had every right to expect that it was a finished work which would stand the test of time. Instead, as a result of further discoveries, he found it warranted a complete revision, which is presented below. At that, the gods of Serendip seem to have smiled on him-in my own experience, it's always been someone else who points out the holes in my work immediately after it appears in print, but in this instance both the initial and the follow-on honors go to Mr. Irwin.

## Introduction

One of the most satisfying aspects of philately, particularly among the classic issues, is the search for plate and die varieties that may fill in some blanks concerning the printing history of these stamps. Among the issues where there are still unanswered questions are the large numeral postage dues, produced from 1879 through the mid-1890s. The most comprehensive work to date on this issue is George Arfkens' Postage Due. ${ }^{1}$ This work provides a wealth of information, particularly on proofs, essays, plate scratches and varieties of usage. The comprehensive nature of this book, combined with the monotonous design of the stamps and the scarcity of plate position pieces, may have precluded further study of the stamps themselves.

The Scott Specialized ${ }^{2}$ lists the large numeral dues in three colors: the browns of 1879 , the red browns of 1884 and the clarets of 1891 , subdividing them into shades such as bright claret, light claret and dark claret. John Luff on page 331 in his 1902 major study ${ }^{3}$ supplies additional shades, and informs us that the $1 \notin$ values were produced by plates 313 and 314. One problem is that neither Luff nor the Scott Specialized discuss the important fluorescent claret. It is a shade that glows orange under ultraviolet light. Mr. Arfken goes into some detail about this color in his book, explaining how the glow was caused by the new aniline dye used in the claret ink. He states that the definitive test for J22 through J28 is that the stamps must fluoresce. Nevertheless, many collectors have nonfluorescent shades certified as "clarets" in their collections.

I have found a flaw on the $1 \phi$ fluorescent claret (J22) printed on plates 313 and 314, and which I have been unable to locate on non-claret items. Its existence raises the question of previously unknown re-entries, and what plates were used for all the printings of

[^3]

Figure 1. Block of four from the J1TCP4 black trial color plate proof, which exhibits flaw A above the " 1 "; enlargement of area with flaw superimposed at lower left.
the $1 \varnothing$ stamp. The identifying flaw, which I call flaw "A," is a speck in the lathe work directly above the " 1 ." It is well illustrated on page 16 of the Arfken book on an example of the black trial color plate proof J1TCP4. (See Figure 1) This proof sheet was pulled to examine one of the plates of the $1 \varnothing$ value. On page 15 of their book, Messrs. Arfken and Kaufman state,

This black speck was not present on any $1 \varnothing$ die proof or any other $1 \varnothing$ plate proof. Nor was the flaw present in the essay die proofs . . . . It entered as a flaw on the transfer roll and was transferred to the plate. The plate was corrected and the speck removed from each position. Perhaps a new plate was laid down? The speck does not appear on the actual $1 \phi$ stamp.
Arfken and Kaufman are correct that this flaw does not exist on the die proofs or plate proofs of the brown or the red-brown shades. Nor has it appeared on stamps of the brown and red-brown shades. It does, however, exist on the fluorescent claret J22 stamps and plate proofs, and, to date, on one known example of non-fluorescent claret, a cover from the Warren Bower collection dated February 27, 1891. Flaw A is present on all fluorescent $1 \phi$ stamps from plate \#313 and \#314, both of which were originally prepared in 1879. It is visible to the naked eye as a small void above the " 1 ." On many examples the slightly thicker lathe work directly to the left of the void appears as a tiny white line. This is most obvious when comparing a fluorescent claret next to a brown or red-brown.

To further define the location of the flaw, it exists above the first curved line above the " 1 " and extends to the next highest curved line. This area is composed of a row of small diamonds on the bottom, interlocking a row of large diamonds, which in turn interlock a second row of large diamonds and a top row of small diamonds just below the top line. The flaw can be seen as damage to the borders of these four large diamonds. An enhanced enlargement of the flaw can be seen in Figure 2. When examining blocks of J22, one can see slight variations in the bottom left line of the top right diamond, in the top left line of the lower right diamond, and in the surface of the void. I found these variations readily apparent when examining a block of 18 of the stamp, a plate strip of five, a cover from Chile bearing 18 J 22 s , a block and singles of J1TCP4, large proof multiples, as well as numerous single stamps on and off cover. A very early shade of bright claret sometimes obscures the nature of these lines.

## Causes of the Flaw

To understand what might have caused the flaw, and the variations in it, it is necessary to know the process used to make the dies and transfers for the stamp. There was an extra step in making the large numeral dies. According to Baxter, ${ }^{4}$ the lathe work was inscribed by a machine on a flat preliminary die, which was then hardened (Die A). A small piece of soft steel was then fitted to a transfer roll, and under great pressure was rolled back and forth, transferring the lathe work lines. This is Die B. This die was then straightened, further engraved, and then transferred to the transfer roll, which was then hardened. This extra step was needed to reverse the lathe work lines, and have them appear white on the stamp. Die B was used to print the die impressions of the stamp.

One can imagine a few possibilities that might have caused a flaw of this kind. The first is damage to Die B. We do not know any die impressions that show this flaw, or any evidence of repair to the die. Another possibility is damage to the transfer roll. It must be remembered that damage, such as a ding to the transfer roll, would exhibit itself in relief on the plate as a light area, not the dark void of the flaw. However, if the lathe work lines of the transfer roll acquired some particles in their recesses, these areas would be transferred to the plate as depressions or voids.

[^4]

Figure 2. Enhanced enlargement of flaw $A$ showing its basic structure. On some examples, lines A and B are more complete. Area C always shows broken lines of the diamonds. Line $D$ is often thick on later printings, and appears as a white line to the naked eye.

This is the most likely cause of the flaw. The variations in the small lines of the diamonds of J1TCP4, which are consistent with those of the stamp and proof, could be the result of two things. A slight amount of the debris could have started to work its way out, or more likely, become more compressed during the series of transfers to the plate. ${ }^{5}$ Variations could also be the result of the plates being re-entered. We will establish with further analysis that both of these things probably occurred. The variations may have been compounded as a result of the inking and wiping process over tiny lines that obviously did not have the uniform depth of the machine applied lathe work.

This brings us to the black trial color plate proof on card J1TCP4, and the question of why its flaw has remained unnoticed in the claret shades of the issued stamp for so many years. It is because, as I stated earlier, our eyes often see what they expect will be there, an illusion of a complete design. It is only after knowing the location of the flaw that it will always be apparent when examining the fluorescent claret stamps. The opaque ink on the J1TCP4 was "hiding" the surface features of the flaw, the same way they are often hidden on the early claret shades. In fact, close examination reveals that flaw A was never repaired at all. It is just more obvious on the black J1TCP4. All examples of J1TCP4 that I

[^5]

Figure 3. Large die proof showing location of flaw B and absence of flaw A. (Flaw B is located just to the left of the " 1 " and outer lathe work circle and above the bottom left ball of the " 1. ")
have examined exhibit the same basic flaw structures as examples of the fluorescent claret $1 \not \subset$ stamp.

When studying stamps and multiples of the $1 \notin$ stamp for plate varieties, I found one other flaw that may deserve some attention. There is a small flaw in the lathe work above and to the left of the lower left ball of the " 1 ," and just to the left of the lathe work oval. This flaw (B) completely breaks the second line above the " 1 ," and partially breaks the intersecting line. This flaw is present on the essay, trial color, and large die proofs printed before the manufacturing of plates 313 and 314, and on Roosevelt die proofs, Atlanta printings, plate proofs and stamps printed after the manufacturing of the plates. The break in this flaw is most boldly apparent on die proofs and J1TCP4, as illustrated in Figure 3. It helps to confirm (as the Roosevelt die proofs were produced in 1903, after the printing of the J22s ) that damage (flaw A) was not a die flaw, but was a flaw which occurred between the transfer roll and the plate.

## Re-entries

According to L.N. Williams, ${ }^{6}$ in the vast majority of cases when a re-entry is made, it is made perfectly, with no trace on the plate that it has been carried out. On the postage due stamps the re-entry would have been made as follows: The transfer roll would first be perfectly lined up with the position dots on the plate. The siderographist would then "feel" the relief into place, gradually increasing pressure to effect a perfect transfer.

Proving that re-entries were made on both the $1 \notin$ postage due plates, which don't seem to show double transfers, requires that examples of stamps be shown to have come from both plates 313 and 314 both in fluorescent claret shades with flaw A, and in non-fluorescent shades without the flaw. Demonstrating this has presented more of a challenge than one might expect. The two largest sales of postage due multiples in the last ten years where shades are documented have been the sales of the Arfken and Wampler collections. ${ }^{7}$ Neither of these collections contained examples of all four plate position pieces needed. Together though, and with examples in the author's collection, ${ }^{8}$ we now have examples of both fluorescent and non-fluorescent shades used on both plates 313 and 314, which show the flaw only on the fluorescent examples. No records indicate that new plates were ever ordered, and this is confirmed by no new plate numbers existing for the $1 \phi$ value. Probably both plates were re-entered in early 1891, when the new fluorescent ink was introduced. The enigmatic Bower cover, dated February 1891, helps establish a date for the earliest reentry, but as this stamp has yet to appear on a known multiple, reader input is needed to shed light on this mystery. Again, it is through the existence of these re-entered plates with flaw A that we can explain why the fine lines are occasionally seen in the void, and explain the variations in the flaw often seen between stamps in multiples.

During the transitional period of the red-brown to the claret shade, 1890-1891, it is evident that several types of ink were tried with poor results. The dark claret, proven from existing covers to have been used in early 1891, gives poor detail on plate printings. In Figures 4 and 5 we illustrate the earliest and second earliest known usage of J22. ${ }^{9}$ By this time in 1891, more than 260,000 impressions had been made from the $1 \not \subset$ plates, according to tabulations on page 47 of the Arfken book. The brown component of the printing ink used had an abrasive component, gilsonite, which was also used to print the Garfield issue of the 1880s, and caused problems there. ${ }^{10}$ It may be that the new claret was tried on the worn plates 313 and 314 with poor results, and imperfect re-entered plates were found to
${ }^{6}$ L. N. Williams, Fundamentals of Philately, Revised Edition (State College, Pa.: American Philatelic Society, 1990), pp. 221-22.
${ }^{7}$ Shreves Philatelic Galleries, Inc., Dr. J. Paul Wampler Collection, April, 1998, Lots 413 and $414,1 \not \subset$ brown, plate 314 ; Lot 421 , $1 \not \subset$ claret with flaw A, plate 313 . Christie's East, George Arfken Collection, Postage Dues, Oct. 28th, 29th, 1993, Lot 418, claret, pane of 100 (plate 314). Many of the large multiples are being broken up at an alarming rate, before much of the information they could provide can be documented.
${ }^{8}$ Author's collection, Block of 18 claret with flaw, ex-Arfken, and identified by plate scratches as being from plate 314 . One example of brown and two examples of red-brown single stamps with plate numbers 313 in margins.
${ }^{9}$ Warren Bower and George B. Arfken, "The Search Goes On," The American Philatelist, Vol. 101, No. 1 (Jan. 1987), pp. 53-56. The previously earliest recorded use of the $1 \notin$ claret was Dec. 11th, 1891.
${ }^{10}$ Thomas F. Morris, The Life and Work of Thomas F. Morris, 1852-1898, notes the Garfield issue was produced with the "brown inks whose color base was derived from gilsonite, a natural asphalt mixed in the Uinte mountains of northeastern Utah. Faulty knowledge of ink chemistry yielded a brown with asphalt base, which both 'filled' and corroded printing plates, accounting for the array of browns found in the stamps, embossed envelopes, and surface printed postal cards of this era."


Figure 4. Earliest recorded use of $1 ¢$ fluorescent claret, on cover dated June 2, 1891. The postage due stamp was probably applied June 12th. Although not discernable from the photograph, the shade is a deep reddish claret.


Figure 5. Second earliest recorded use of ic fluorescent claret, on cover, postage due stamp probably applied July 14, 1881. This is a dark "muddy" shade, showing very little detail to the flaw.
be suitable, rather than new plates being made. Luff documented that not only the $1 \phi$, but also the $2 \phi$ and $3 \not \subset$ postage dues were printed in huge numbers, also from two plates. We can be fairly sure that re-entries were made on these plates also. A plate gash on the $2 \phi$ red-brown will show that at least one position on one of these plates was re-entered. This gash, the position of which was previously unknown, I was able to locate on plate 315, positions R14 and 15, thanks to a photograph in the Wampler sale. (See Figure 6.) This gash is not known on any of the claret $2 \phi$ stamps, although it has been actively looked for. Therefore, the plate must have been repaired. Since the gash extends across the margin of one stamp (position R14) into the field of the adjacent stamp (position R15), at least one or both of these entries must have been burnished out and re-entered.

## Aniline Inks

The use of aniline ink, a subject covered extensively by Mr. R.H. White, seems to have been greatly ignored by the mainstream. It was used in printing not only the claret postage dues, but also other U.S. stamps of the era. In fact I have found that the $2 \phi$ value of the 1890 small Bank Note series closely parallels the postage due stamps with their fluorescent and non-fluorescent variations.

For example, when examining the early dark lake shades of the 2ф 219D, issued Feb. 22, 1890, I found that they did not fluoresce under ultraviolet light. The carmine shade, Scott \#220, earliest use, April 29, 1890, did fluoresce the bright orange of the claret dues. To confuse things a little, an 1894 cover bearing what Mr. White lists as \#219De carminelake (toned paper) ${ }^{11}$ also fluoresces. Mr. White, a pioneer in the study of color and shades, provides some important information on these $2 \phi$ stamps. In his book he quotes an excerpt from the contract of November 7, 1889, with the American Bank Note Co. concerning color:

The inks used in printing the stamps must be of the colors shown on the samples
for the corresponding kinds and denominations, and must fully equal in quality thereto.
The use of aniline inks will not be allowed. [Italics added by White]
Mr. White goes on to explain how the "sense of the contract was violated" and continues with this brief excerpt from the Third Assistant Postmaster General, dated Oct. 30, 1890: ". . . and moreover, that by the new contract the two-cent stamps, constituting by far the greater portion of all issues, are printed in much more expensive color than formerly." You can see immediately how this information relates to the transition of postage dues from the non-fluorescent claret shades of the late 1890s to the fluorescent shades, which we have tentatively dated through existing covers as being Sept. 1890 and June 1891, respectively. ${ }^{12}$ It would seem logical that with the success of the new aniline ink on the \#220, it was then ordered for the postage dues. This information is included, not only to shed a little more light on the dues, but to illustrate again how vital it is to mention fluorescence in the Scott Specialized. In fact the only stamp description I have been able to find that mentions the aniline shade, is the $\$ 4$ Columbian of 1893 , although White says this descriptive word "aniline" is somewhat misleading, as the ink on this stamp did not contain aniline dye.

## Conclusion

We have established useful pieces of information with the discovery of flaw A. We know now that re-entries have been made on at least three plates of the postage due series, plates 313, 314 and 315. This may further suggest that the plates were soft steel, rather

[^6]

Figure 6. Example of plate gash on the $2 ¢$ red brown postage due. This gash extends into the field of position R15, damaging both the frame and the "T" of "TWO," then breaks the inner white oval.
than case hardened. ${ }^{13}$ We know now that proof J1TCP4 was used to check the re-entered plates for the claret J22. It should then be re-assigned the number J22TCP4. We also have established that fluorescent clarets can be identified by flaw A. This new information presents the challenge of finding a fluorescent $1 \varnothing$ without flaw A, which seems unlikely. ${ }^{14}$

It is evident by the Bower cover, ${ }^{15}$ that the flaw originated at a time when perhaps one or a few individual re-entries with flaw A were made before the introduction of the fluorescent claret ink. Establishing what positions, and from what plates, can only be done by studying existing multiples, and by examining every questionable shade under ultraviolet light.

Editorial Postscript: Ralph Ebner of Germany has discovered that plates \#140 and \#141 of the $3 \not \subset$ Post Office official stamp were reentered at all positions, using a different transfer relief from the original die. Since we now have confirmation that it was technically possible to renew a worn plate in this way, one would think that in the interest of economy such a method would often have been used before going to the expense of preparing a new plate from scratch. The specialized catalogue has long listed a worn plate variety of the $6 \notin$ Treasury stamp, which many of us regarded instead as printings from a plate occluded by dried ink residue, subsequently cleaned to yield sharp impressions for the card proof presentation sets. Perhaps, though, this plate was reentered too. We tend to assume, after seeing a few bad toupees, that all hairpieces are phony-looking, failing to take into account that the good ones are undetectable. Perhaps any number of the well-used Bank Note plates were reentered so expertly that collectors have yet to discover them. Of course, the ultimate proof that a plate has been reentered requires comparing before-and-after pieces. Sadly, to satisfy the insatiable demand for never-hinged singles, plate blocks and imprint strips are being torn apart so voraciously now that this avenue of research may soon be closed off to us.

[^7]Our auctions always include better postal history, especially British North America and the United States


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# THE CENTS ACCOUNTANCY MARKINGS OF THE ANGLO-U.S. CONVENTIONS, 1849-1875 COLIN TABEART 

Summary

The 1848 Anglo-U.S. Convention, effective 24 February 1849 to 31 December 1867, established a paid-to-destination rate of $1 /-$ or $24 \not \subset$ for a single rate letter, which could be either fully prepaid or totally unpaid, partial payments being ignored. ${ }^{1}$ The dispatching country accounted to the receiving country in red ink for postage due to the latter on prepaid letters, and in black ink for sums due from the receiving country on unpaid letters, all such accountancy being denoted in U.S. cents at the rate of $2 \phi$ U.S. to one penny sterling (1d). The single $24 \varnothing$ rate was divided into elements: $3 \varnothing$ for U.K. inland, $5 \phi$ U.S. inland, and $16 \phi$ sea postage to the country contracting the packet. So on a single prepaid letter from U.K. by British packet, the U.K. retained $3 \phi+16 \phi=19 \phi$, accounting $5 \phi$ due to the U.S. by means of a red accountancy marking. The same letter unpaid would show a British debit of $3 \not \subset+16 \not \subset=19 \not \subset$, struck in black as due from the U.S. By U.S. packet a prepaid letter from U.K. would be marked due $21 \phi$ to the U.S., being $16 \phi$ sea $+5 \phi$ inland, while an unpaid letter would have a $3 \varnothing$ accountancy marking to reclaim the U.K. inland postage. Letters in the opposite direction had the reverse logic applied, but are outside the scope of this article. The British used accountancy markings incorporating a figure and the word CENTS underneath in a curved format; the United States generally used just a figure. This article covers only the British markings. The first steamship to leave the U.K. carrying mail under the new convention was the Cunard steamship America departing Liverpool on 24 February 1849. Accountancy markings were relevant, however they were applied in manuscript; the first accountancy handstamps were not sent to Liverpool until 19 March 1849. (Figure 1)


Figure 1. Typical accountancy markings established by the 1848 Anglo-U.S. Convention.

[^8]The rate progression was one rate up to $1 / 2$ ounce, 2 rates up to one ounce, and then 2 rates for every additional ounce or part of an ounce. There was no triple rate until its introduction under an amendment to the convention, effective from 1 April 1866. Thus double and quadruple rate markings are found throughout the period. After April 1866, triple rate markings were issued but so far only one has been seen used.

Liverpool and London were the only British post offices issued with CENTS accountancy handstamps, although some of the basic ones were issued to onboard sorting teams when these were established on the mail ships from 1859 . With the exception of a 16/CENTS handstamp, Liverpool was issued with markings concerned only with mail directly between the two countries, whereas London had many additional markings for the more complex accounting required on letters from a third country, via England, to America. Interestingly Southampton, a major packet port for transatlantic mails, never had any accountancy markings, all such work being handled by London, where the mails routed via Southampton were made up.

The second Anglo-U.S. Convention, effective from 1 January 1868, halved the basic rate to 6 d , or $12 \phi$, which was broken down into $8 \notin$ for sea postage, plus a sum to each country for inland fees. Initially this was set at $3 \phi$ to the U.S. and $2 \phi$ to the U.K. This imbalance led to some confusion, which was resolved on 1 January 1869 when a new Article XV came into effect allocating $2 \phi$ to each country for the inland portion. For details see Hargest. ${ }^{2}$ All westbound packets were regarded as British, and eastbound as U.S. packets, regardless of the actual contracting party. Accountancy for direct mails was abolished, each country keeping what it collected. There was still a need for accountancy on mails from a third country to the U.S. via England, which had been either paid to destination or sent unpaid. This led to an interesting set of accountancy markings, albeit difficult to find, since they were only in force for two years. No markings were assigned for use at Liverpool in the proof books after 31 December 1867, so it would seem that all through mail from a third country to the U.S. was accounted for at London after this date, regardless of where it was landed in England. Cover evidence supports this: indeed, it seems that mail through England to the United States was almost always accounted for at London even prior to 1868 . This makes sense-almost all of such mail would have entered the UK at Southampton or London. The only mail likely to have passed via Liverpool rather than London would have been that from Northern Europe to an east coast port of England, probably Hull, that would have crossed the country direct to Liverpool.

On 1 January 1870 the final Anglo-U.S. Convention became effective with rates halved again to 3 d or $6 \phi$. The inland fee of $2 \phi$ to each country was unchanged, but the sea postage was slashed dramatically to $2 \phi$. A further set of accountancy markings thus came into being, valid until GPU on 1 July 1875.

This article enlarges on the author's previous studies in Robertson Revisited. ${ }^{3}$ It shows all the known markings issued by the British Post Office, or presently known on cover, and seeks to explain why they were needed. Many of the issued markings have never been seen on cover. Suggested reasons for their usage have been deduced where possible, but many defy explanation at present. Some day, proving covers will be found to confirm or refute such theoretical usage, or shed light on those that so far elude explanation.
${ }^{2}$ George E. Hargest, History of Letter Post Communication Between the United States and Europe 1845-1875, $2^{\text {nd }}$ ed. (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman Publications, Inc., 1975), p. 149.
${ }^{3}$ Colin Tabeart, Robertson Revisited: A study of the Maritime Postal Markings of the British Isles based on the work of Alan W Robertson (Limassol, Cyprus: James Bendon Ltd., 1997).

Table 1 - Liverpool Handstamps

| $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{M} \\ \text { Code } \end{gathered}$ | Description | Size | Issue date(s) | Dates seen on cover | Remarks |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M30 | 3/CENTS small | 12x14 | 16 May 1850 | 1850-67 |  |
| M31 | 3/CENTS large | $22 \times 20$ | 27 February 1857 | 1854-56 | Earlier issue not found in Post 55 |
| M32 | 3/CENTS medium | 19x17 | not found | 1856-66 | The "peculiar 3" marking |
| M33 | 5/CENTS large | 21×20 | 19 March 1849 | 1849-59 | many handstamps issued |
| M34 | 5/CENTS small | 12x14 | 4 December 1858 | 1859-67 | amends RR |
| M35 | 6/ENTS | 12x14 | 16 May 1850 | 1852-67 |  |
| M36 | 9/CENTS | $12 \times 14$ | 7 June 1866 | not seen | for treble rate |
| M37 | 10/CENTS large | 22x20 | 12 July 1849 | 1849-58 |  |
| M38 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 10/CENTS } \\ & \text { small } \end{aligned}$ | 11x14 | 4 December 1858 | 1859-67 |  |
| M39 | 12/CENTS | 11x14 | not found | 1854-63 |  |
| M40 | 15/CENTS | $11 \times 14$ | 7 June 1866 | not seen | for treble rate |
| M41 | 16/CENTS | 21x21 | 11 September 1850 | 1851 |  |
| M42 | 19/CENTS large | 21×20 | 19 March 1849 | 1849-58 |  |
| M43 | 19/CENTS <br> small | 12x15 | 4 December 1858 | 1859-67 |  |
| M44 | 20/CENTS large | 21x19 | 12 July 1849 | 1849-57 |  |
| M45 | $\begin{array}{\|l} \hline \begin{array}{l} \text { 20/CENTS } \\ \text { small } \end{array} \\ \hline \end{array}$ | 11x15 | 4 December 1858 | not seen |  |
| M46 | 21/CENTS | 11x14 | 16 May 1850 | 1850-67 |  |
| M47 | 38/CENTS large | 21×20 | 12 July 1849 | 1849-58 |  |
| M48 | 38/CENTS small | 12x15 | 4 December 1858 | 1859-63 |  |
| M49 | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { 42/CENTS } \\ & \text { small } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 12x14 | 16 May 1850 | 1852-67 |  |
| M50 | 42/CENTS medium | 19x17 | 7 September 1855 | 1856 |  |
| M51 | 57/CENTS |  |  |  | See note 1 below |
| M52 | 63/CENTS | 11x14 | 7 June 1866 | 1867 | sole example |
| M53 | 76/CENTS large | 20x19 | 12 July 1849 | 1851-65 | quadruple rate |
| M54 | 76/CENTS small | 12x15 | 4 December 1858 | 1859 | sole example |
| M54a | 84/CENTS | 11X13 | 16 May 1850 | 1855-60 | quadruple rate |

Note 1. Although not found in the proof books with the other treble rate markings issued to Liverpool, it would be strange if the 57/CENT marking did not exist, as all the other standard treble rate markings for both British and U.S. packets were issued, i.e. 9/CENTS, 15/CENTS, and 63/CENTS.

The proof books do not survive intact, so other markings may have been issued, or earlier examples of the markings quoted. ${ }^{4}$ It should also be noted that on many occasions both Liverpool, and more particularly London, applied the accountancy markings in manuscript, especially for the multiple rates. Perhaps the less frequently used markings were difficult to find in the box of handstamps, or the need to clean them after each use was more trouble than marking a few letters in manuscript!

## Markings used at Liverpool

Table 1 shows the markings known to have been issued to Liverpool arranged in ascending order of value. The M code numbers are those used in Robertson Revisited. Sizes are in millimeters for an imaginary rectangle just touching the extremities of the marking, vertical dimension first. The issue date is that appearing in the proof impression books at Post Office Archives. Colors have been omitted: sums credited to the U.S. were always struck in red, those due from the U.S. were normally in black but, as ever with Liverpool, frequently in green during 1853-55. Minor variations in size are ignored-often multiple copies of the same marking were issued on the same day to allow several clerks to be employed simultaneously. As I noted above, Liverpool markings apparently ceased to be used after 31 December 1867, all accountancy thereafter being undertaken at London.

Table 2 - Onboard Sorters' Handstamps

| M <br> Code | Description | Size | Issue date(s) | Dates seen <br> on cover | Remarks |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| M81 | 3/CENTS | $11 \times 14$ | December 1859 | $1864-7$ |  |
| M82 | 5/CENTS | $11.5 \times 14$ | 7 June 1859 | $1861-64$ |  |
| M83 | 6/CENTS | $12 \times 15$ | 1859 | 1864 | Proof book entry date is <br> not specific |
| M83a | 10/CENTS | $12 \times 15$ |  | $1865-67$ | not found in proof books <br> for on board sorters |
| M84 | 19/CENTS | $12 \times 16$ | 7 June 1859 | $1860-67$ |  |
| M85 | 21/CENTS | $11.5 \times 15$ | December 1859 | $1863-67$ |  |

## Markings used by sorters onboard the Cunard and Allan Line Packets

Although these are not strictly Liverpool markings, they were included in Robertson Revisited under that port because the packets sailed from there. Since that book was published, a 10/CENTS marking used onboard has been found on covers, which has been added to the table below as M83a. The markings were issued from June 1859 onwards, and are generally very similar to the equivalent Liverpool small types, so are difficult to identify positively as used on board at sea rather than in port. However, it is considered that mail directed via the Irish ports at which the packets called outbound from Liverpool, sent from offices that forwarded their mails via Liverpool, would have been marked onboard. ${ }^{5}$ The reasoning for this conclusion is that only Liverpool and London had the necessary handstamps (apart from the packets), so other than London the originating office

[^9]Table 3 - London Handstamps

| $\begin{array}{\|c} \mathrm{M} \\ \text { Code } \end{array}$ | Description | Size | Issue date(s) | Dates seen on cover | Remarks |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M5 | 2/CENTS small | 11x15 | 7 April 1863 | 1869-75 |  |
| M6 | 2/CENTS <br> medium | 14x16 | 24 December $1874$ | 1875 | 6 identical stamps issued same date |
| M7 | 2 (no "CENTS") | $8 \times 6$ | not found | 1870-74 |  |
| M8 | 3/CENTS large | 23x21 | undated page | 1849-51 | see note 1 |
| M9 | 3/CENTS small | 12x15 | 22 March 1860 | 1860-68 | in red from 1868. See text |
| M10 | 4/CENTS | 12x15 | 7 April 1863 | 1870-75 |  |
| M11 | 4 (no "CENTS") | 8x7 | not found | 1870-73 |  |
| M12 | 5/CENTS large | 22x21 | undated page | 1849-57 | see note 1 |
| M13 | 5/CENTS small | 12x14 | first seen 22 <br> February 1866 | 1860-67 |  |
| M14 | 6/CENTS | $11.5 \times 14$ | 27 March 1860 | 1860-67 |  |
| M15 | 9/CENTS | $11 \times 14$ | 7 June 1866 | not seen | triple rate |
| M16 | 10/CENTS large | 23x21 | undated page | 1849 | see note 1 |
| M17 | 10/CENTS small | 12x15 | 24 December $1858$ | 1859-67 |  |
| M18 | 12/CENTS | $11.5 \times 15$ | 11 December 1861 | 1863 |  |
| M19 | 15/CENTS | 11x14 | 7 June 1866 | not seen | triple rate |
| M20 | 16/CENTS | 11x15 | 20 November $1860$ | 1860-67 |  |
| M21 | 18/CENTS | 11x14.5 | November 1860 | 1868 |  |
| M22 | 19/CENTS large | $22 \times 20$ | undated page | 1849-58 | see note 1 |
| M23 | 19/CENTS small | 12x15 | first seen 22 <br> February 1866 | 1859-67 |  |
| M24 | 20/CENTS | 12x15 |  | not seen |  |
| M25 | 21/CENTS large | 22x20 | undated page | 1849-57 | see note 1 |
| M26 | 21/CENTS small | 11x14 | first seen 27 <br> March 1860 | 1858-67 |  |
| M27 | 22/CENTS | 11x15 | 1 October 1866 | 1867 | one only seen |
| M28 | 24/CENTS | 12x14 | November 1860 | 1862-67 |  |
| M29 | 26/CENTS sans serif | $11.5 \times 13$ | 18 October 1872 | 1872-74 |  |
| M30 | 26/CENTS serif figures | $12 \times 14$ | 31 August 1874 | 1874-75 |  |
| M31 | 28/CENTS | 11x13 | 18 October 1872 | not seen |  |
| M32 | 30/CENTS | 12x15 | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M33 | 32/CENTS | 12x14 | November 1860 | 1863,1868 |  |

Table 3 - London Handstamps (cont.)

| $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{M} \\ \text { Code } \end{gathered}$ | Description | Size | Issue date(s) | Dates seen on cover | Remarks |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M34 | 34/CENTS | 12x15 | 31 August 1874 | not seen |  |
| M35 | 36/CENTS | 11x15 | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M36 | 38/CENTS large | 22x21 | undated page | 1852-53 | see note 1 below |
| M37 | 38/CENTS <br> small | 12x14 | 16 January 1861 | 1864-67 |  |
| M38 | 40/CENTS | 12x15 | November 1860 | 1861-67 |  |
| M39 | 42/CENTS | 12x15 | 27 March 1860 | not seen |  |
| M40 | 44/CENTS | 12x15 | 1 October 1866 | not seen |  |
| M41 | 46/CENTS | $12 \times 15$ | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M42 | 48/CENTS | 12x15 | November 1860 | 1863-67 |  |
| M43 | 52/CENTS | 12x15 | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M44 | 57/CENTS | 11x14 | 7 June 1866 | not seen |  |
| M45 | 63/CENTS | 11x14 | 7 June 1866 | not seen |  |
| M46 | 64/CENTS | 12x15 | July 1864 | not seen |  |
| M47 | 66/CENTS | 12x15 | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M48 | 72/CENTS | $12 \times 15$ | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M49 | 74/CENTS | 11x14 | November 1860 | not seen |  |
| M50 | 76/CENTS | 11x14 | 16 January 1861 | not seen |  |
| M51 | 78/CENTS | 11x15 | November 1860 | not seen |  |
| M52 | 80/CENTS | 11x14 | November 1860 | 1864-67 |  |
| M53 | 84/CENTS | 11x13 | not found | 1855-60 |  |
| M54 | 98/CENTS | $12 \times 15$ | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M55 | 104/CENTS | 11.5x15 | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M56 | 126/CENTS | $12 \times 15$ | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |
| M57 | 190/CENTS | $11.5 \times 15$ | 11 December 1861 | not seen |  |

Note 1. The allocation of M8, M12, M16, M22, M25 and M36 to London is indefinite: they were all found on an undated collage page in the proof books, and are allocated to London because they differ markedly from the known Liverpool markings of similar size. Cover evidence supports this allocation.
could not have marked the letters. Liverpool would not have had time to open the mail bags and mark each individual letter, since the whole point of this facility was to allow last-minute letters to catch the ship. Similarly, letters from Irish offices directed via Londonderry, Cork or Queenstown must have received their accountancy markings on board, as no Irish office had these markings so far as can be ascertained.

## Markings used at London

London had all the rate steps used at Liverpool, and many more besides to cope with the added complications of mails to the U.S. from a third country transiting England. The larger markings, i.e., 3/CENTS, 5/CENTS, 10/CENTS, 19/CENTS and 21/CENTS, differ quite significantly from those of Liverpool, and are relatively easy to allocate. The small markings with the same denominations as Liverpool are often difficult to distinguish, but the place of origin generally indicates where the marking was applied.

From 1 January 1868 onwards, the only office applying any of the CENTS markings was London, at which date a number of new values were required to cope with the changed transatlantic rates under the new Anglo-U.S. treaty. These values changed again on 1 January 1870, so those valid only for the 1868 treaty had a short life. All the 18681870 markings are scarce, some are very rare, and many have yet to be found on cover. The 1870-75 markings are hardly less so.

## Discussion of Each Marking

The 2/CENTS, 2, 4/CENTS and 4 markings, London M5, M6, M7, M10 and M11. (Figure 2)

M5 was first proofed in April 1863, but has not been seen on cover until early 1869. No reason can be suggested for usage prior to 1 January 1868.


Figure 2. 1873 letter prepaid 120 centimes from Lyon to New York by British open mail. No U.S. French treaty, but mail could be sent via England paid to destination under prevailing British treaties. London credited 2/CENTS to U.S. for inland fees.

Article XV of the 1868 Anglo-U.S. Convention, effective from 1 January 1869, required the British credit $2 \phi$ per $1 / 2$ ounce to the United States for inland postage on letters from third countries via the U.K., fully prepaid to destination. ${ }^{6}$ Thenceforward M5 was struck in red to denote the $2 \phi$ credit. As the inland share due to the U.S. did not change with the new Anglo-U.S. Convention on 1 January 1870, M5 continued in use until 1875. It is usually seen on letters from France, the Mediterranean or India, fully paid to destination. M6 and M7 are similarly used. M10 and M11 are the double rate equivalents.
The 3/CENTS, 6/CENTS, 9/CENTS, and 12/CENTS markings, Liverpool M30, 31, 32, M35, M36, M39, M81 and 83; London M8, M9, M14, M15 and M18. (Figures 3, 4, 5)

Three cents was the sum due from the U.S. on letters from the U.K. sent unpaid by U.S. packet to reimburse the U.K. for inland postage under the 1848 Anglo-U.S. Convention. London needed such a marking from the inception of the convention for mail sent via the U.S. packets calling at Southampton. Liverpool did not need one until the advent of the Collins Line, whose first mail sailing from Liverpool was not until 29 May 1850.7 It is gratifying to note that the Post Office anticipated this by despatching M30 on 16 May 1850. The 6/CENTS and 12/CENTS markings were for double and quadruple rate letters. From 1 April 1866 an additional article to the 1848 convention allowed triple rate letters for the first time, so 9/CENTS markings were supplied, but neither Liverpool's M36 nor London's M15 have yet been seen used on cover.

On 1 January 1868 the new Anglo-U.S. Convention reduced the rate between the signatories to $6 d$ or $12 \phi$ for a single letter, and abolished accountancy on direct mails.


Figure 3. 25 September 1868, Le Havre, France to New York, prepaid 80c and endorsed for non-contract Cunard steamship Samaria from Liverpool to Boston. Letter sent in open mail via London where red 3/CENTS handstamp credited inland to the U.S. under 1868 Anglo-U.S. convention. This 3c credit existed in 1868 only on mail transiting U.K. to U.S.

[^10]

Figure 4. 19 September 1866 unpaid letter written on board the North German Lloyd steamer America en route from New York to Bremen while off Cowes and landed at Southampton as ship letter. London forwarded by Inman liner City of Paris, with 12/CENTS claim on U.S. to recover the 6d ship letter fee. New York added 21c for passage by U.S. packet for 33c collect, or 47 c in Notes, in crayon center bottom. Backstamps: Southampton 19 September, London Ship Letter for same date. A rare usage of a rare accountancy marking.


Figure 5. 16 November 1855, Liverpool to New York, unpaid quadruple rate letter carried by Collins Line steamer Atlantic to New York. Liverpool debited U.S. 4x3c with black $12 / C E N T S$ marking. New York showed $4 \times 24 ¢=96 ¢$ postage due with black handstamp.

However, for letters from a third country transiting the U.K., accountancy continued. On letters fully paid to U.S. destination, the British credited the U.S. with $3 \notin$ single, so these markings continued in use until the end of 1868 , after which the credit to the United States was reduced to $2 \not \subset$ single, as discussed above.


Figure 6. 1863 folded letter prepaid 1/- from Glasgow to New York "per RMS Persia via Cork." The onboard sorting team accounted this letter as owing the United States 5/CENTS for U.S. inland fee. Liverpool type M82.

The 5/CENTS, 10/CENTS, 15/CENTS, and 20/CENTS markings, Liverpool M33, M34, M37, M38, M40, M44, M45, M82 and M83a; London M12, M13, M16, M17, M19 and M24. (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9)

Five cents was the sum due to the U.S. for inland postage on letters fully prepaid in the U.K., sent by British packet, the U.K. retaining $3 \phi$ inland and $16 \not \subset$ ocean carriage on such letters. The 10/CENTS and 20/CENTS markings were for double and quadruple rate letters of this class and, from 1 April 1866, the triple rate became necessary as described with the $3 \notin$ marking. Single and double rate markings are common, except M83a, which is rare. The quadruple rate is scarce, and the triple rate markings have not been seen for either port other than in the proof books, the very few examples seen of this rate being accounted for in manuscript.

## The Long-Anticipated Comprehensive Study of 1847 Issue Postal History

## The United States 1847 Issue:

 A Cover CensusBy Thomas J. Alexander

After years of detailed compilation from a huge range of sources-and following on the heels of the early census studies conducted by Creighton Hart and Susan McDonald-Tom Alexander has assembled this monumental study of the known covers of America's first issue of postage stamps. To be published in a large single volume by the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, The U.S. 1847 Issue: A Cover Census is the first work of its kind ever assembled. No more important book on the 1847 issue has ever been compiled.

The work contains a detailed listing of nearly 13,000 covers bearing 1847 stamps, arranged by place of entry into the mail system. These places include 31 states, two territories, the District of Columbia, Choctaw Nation,
 railroad route agents, waterway route agents, Canada and Panama. Supplementary listings cover all recorded 10 -cent bisects, 5 -cent plus 10-cent combination covers, post-demonetization covers and covers to foreign destinations. A separate section discusses fake covers.

Commentary includes discussions of some of the problems faced by postmasters in dealing with the first issue of stamps. Characteristics of mail from each state and territory as well as those of many towns and cities are covered; mail to and from famous persons are noted as are large correspondences, both commercial and those sent to wives and girlfriends .

## Fill in and mail this coupon



## THE COVER CORNER

 RAYMOND W. CARLIN, Editor
## ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN ISSUE 189

Figure 1 is a cover front addressed to Cincinnati, Ohio with the following markings:

- Originating black CDS "CORREIO ??? / $18=5 / 6$ BRE ?"
- Red boxed "Br. Service" at upper left $\} \backslash p a r d ~ \ f s 22$
- French transit CDS in red at lower right
- Black CDS "DETROIT, MICH / AUG / 8 / ? PKT" $\}$ \pard \fs22
- Blue manuscript numerals - a French style " 54 " crossed through (upper right) and " $\underline{60} / 83$ " at left


Figure 1. 1860s cover front from ?? to Cincinnati via Detroit

This cover was nearly consigned to the unsolved mystery cover file, when our encyclopedic Dick Winter sent the following comprehensive and erudite analysis:

The origin marking which is unclear reads "CORREIO DA BAHIA*BRAZIL*." A similar style circular datestamp was used in Rio de Janeiro reading "CORREIO GERAL DA CORTE BRAZIL." Since the name is longer, the asterisks are not used. The marking on the problem cover is not fully struck, but the asterisks can be seen.

The letter was sent unpaid in the French mail to the U.S. The exact date of the letter cannot be determined since the day of the month is missing from the marking. Typically the dates in these markings show the day numeral over the month numeral separated by the year written " $18=65$." I believe the year is 1865 on this cover since the " 5 " of the year shows. If this was in fact a June 1865 letter, then the transit can be determined by the standard sources of sailing data. According to La Poste Maritime Française, by Raymond Salles, Volume III, the French steamship Guienne departed Rio on 24 June 1865 and arrived at Bordeaux on 18 July 1865. The call at Bahia would have been 3-4 days after departing from Rio. North Atlantic Mail Sailings, 1840-75, by Walter Hubbard and Richard Winter, shows the Allan Line steamship Hibernian departed Londonderry on 21 July 1865 and arrived at Quebec on 1 August. The letter reached the Detroit exchange office two days later on 3 August.

For reasons unknown the French always debited the U.S. based on a $30 \phi$ single rate from Brazil. The rate to Brazil by French mail published in the U.S. was $33 \not \subset$. I have never seen an unpaid letter from Brazil by this route that did not have rates based on a $30 \phi$ single rate. In the case of this letter, Paris debited the U.S. $2 \times 27 \phi=54 \phi$. Since the Allen Line steamships were considered to be British steamships under the French convention, despite the fact they were actually under contract to the U.S., the French debited the U.S. for service across the Atlantic by British steamship, or $27 \notin$ per single rate. Detroit had to rate the letter as having arrived on a British packet and used the boxed "Br. Service" marking. Of the $30 \notin$ single rate, the U.S. was entitled to only $3 \phi$. Detroit marked " $60 / 83$ " to show the postage due in Cincinnati of $60 \notin$ in coin or $83 \phi$ in depreciated greenback currency.
An amazing list of information gleaned from only a cover front!


Figure 2. Five-point star "patent" cancel

The five-point star "patent" cancel on U.S. \#65 in Figure 2 also was nearly filed as an unsolved mystery. Between the outline of each pair of points is a line which bisects the angle. The cancel achieves its function by cutting into the stamp while canceling it. Do other copies of this cancel exist and where was it used?

Route Agent Dick Nunge came to the rescue and reports an off-cover $3 \notin \mathrm{~F}$ Grill struck with the star patent cancel. However, because this would be a late use of a patent cancel ( F Grill), and his stamp is canceled with an unframed grid in addition to the star, Dick is concerned that his example may be a fake. Does anyone have an example on cover?

## ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUE 190

The covers in Figures 3 and 4 are a pair. Both originated in Nantucket, Mass., charged to "Box 149," initialed, and addressed to the same Capt. Joseph Marshall. The problem is to explain the meaning of the various accountancy markings and the prepaid and the unpaid postage charged on these covers.

We are fortunate that Route Agent Doug Clark has three covers from this correspondence in his collection "Postal History of the Massachusetts Island Counties." He submits a full explanation:

The two lovely Nantucket covers were sent to the Bark Aurora (not Aurpa), which according to Alexander Starbuck's History of the American Whale Fishery was built at Dartmouth, MA in 1856. It sailed from Westport Point, MA November 10, 1856 on a whaling voyage to the Pacific Ocean, returning July 12, 1861. Joseph Marshall was Captain.


Figure 3. "PAID 22" cover from Nantucket to Paita, S.A.


Figure 4. "PAID 34" cover from Nantucket to Valparaiso

The postage on both letters was charged to the sender's "Box 149 " account. Differences between the two covers stem from the fact that the Figure 3 cover was sent to Peru (Paita) and the Figure 4 cover was sent to Chile (Valparaiso). The handstamped rates are straight out of United States Letter Rates to Foreign Destinations 1847 to GPU-UPU by Charles J. Starnes. The "PAID"" 22 "(cents) handstamp on the cover to Peru is the rate of December 1856 via American packet, then British packet via Panama with " 12 " (cents) the British share. The "PAID" " 34 "(cents) handstamp on the cover to Chile is the rate of December 1856 via American packet, then British packet via Panama with " 24 " (cents) the British share.

The " 25 " markings, in manuscript on the cover to Peru and handstamped on the other to Chile, refer to internal postal charges, in centavos, of those countries.

Finally, the manuscript " $50 \varnothing \mathrm{AB}$ " on the cover to Peru evidently refers to the manuscript notation "Care Alex Bathurst, esq." at lower left. Presumably, Bathurst charged 25 (centavos?) per letter to receive and hold mail for Captain Marshall.

PROBLEM COVERS FOR THIS ISSUE


Figure 5. 1873 unpaid letter, Norway to Michigan

Figure 5 is an unpaid 1873 letter from Aasnaes, a small town in Norway, to Manistee, Michigan, one of a trio of covers to the same address. The cover received an "AASNAES / 6 / 1" CDS and was routed by a black rectangular h/s "via England." In reaching the U.S., it was charged "U.S.CURRENCY / 17" [cents] in blue by the postal clerk.

Figure 6 shows a second unpaid letter from "AASNAES / 23/1/1874" to Manistee, which was directed by a black rectangular box "via Tydskland" [Germany]. It was charged "U.S.CURRENCY / 16" [cents] in blue.

Figure 7 illustrates the third unpaid letter from "AASNAES / 1/11/1875," which transited Chicago on Nov. 29. It has a large black "T" denoting postage due of "U.S.CURRENCY / 10" [cents]. Note: the blue " 10 " is struck over the black "T" making it appear that the postage due is " 16 " [cents].


Figure 6. 1874 unpaid letter, Norway to Michigan


Figure 7. 1875 unpaid letter, Norway to Michigan


Figure 8. Reverse of the trio of Norway to Michigan covers shown earlier (Figures 5, 6 and 7, respectively

The combined cover backs in Figure 8 show the transit routes taken \'96 note that all three are different.

The questions asked are:

1) What was the routing of each cover?
2) How were the rates calculated, viz., 17 cents, 16 cents, and 10 cents?

*     *         *             *                 *                     * 

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 November 2001 Cover Corner is October 10, 2001. I can receive mail at 9068 Fontainebleau Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio, 45231-4808, and via an e-mail address: RWCarlin@aol.com

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

[^1]:    'See Steven M. Roth, "Introduction to the Perry/Hall Independent Mail Companies Manuscript," Chronicle 186 (May 2000), pp. 91-93; Elliott Perry and Arthur Hall, as edited and updated by Richard Schwartz, "Brainard \& Co." and "Brainard's Express (Boston - New York)," Chronicle 186 (May 2000), pp. 95-105 and 107-112, respectively; and Perry and Hall, "The Number of Letters Carried by the Independent Posts," Chronicle 189 (February 2001), pp. 7-9, with introduction by Roth, "How Much Mail Did the Independent Mail Companies Carry? Introduction to Elliot Perry's Thoughts," Chronicle 189, p.7.

[^2]:    'Hubert C. Skinner and Amos Eno, United States cancellations, 1845-1869:unusual and representative markings (State College, PA : American Philatelic Society; [New Orleans]: Louisiana Heritage Press of New Orleans, 1980).

[^3]:    'George B. Arfken and Lewis Kaufman, Postage Due: The United States Large Numeral Postage Due Stamps 1879-1894 (Chicago: Collectors Club of Chicago, 1991).
    ${ }^{2}$ Scott 2000 Specialized Catalogue of U.S. Stamps \& Covers (Sidney, Ohio: Scott Publishing Co., 1999).
    ${ }^{3}$ John Luff, Postage Stamps of the United States (New York: Scott Stamp \& Coin Co., Ltd., 1902).

[^4]:    ${ }^{4}$ James H. Baxter, Printing Postage Stamps by Line Engraving (Federalsburg, Md.: American Philatelic Society, 1939).

[^5]:    ${ }^{5}$ Gerald Moss, Personal communications. Metals flow with constant plasticity at constant volume. A particle of even rag or paper, when compressed under a laterally confined space, can leave an impression in metal.

[^6]:    "R.H. White, Encyclopedia of the Colors of United States Postage Stamps, Vol. 3 (Germantown, MD: Philatelic Research Ltd., 1986), pg. 5 and plate 3-3. White's source for both quotations is Luff, p. 121.

[^7]:    ${ }^{12}$ Cover in the author's collection. 1 $\not \subset$ non-fluorescent claret shade, dated Sept. 1890.
    ${ }^{13}$ Warren R. Bower, private communications. George B. Arfken, op. cit., pgs. 48, 49: "Warren R. Bower and George Brett have suggested four possible explanations for the absence of double transfers despite such extended use of the plates: 1. Really expert re-entering of the soft steel plate. (While theoretically possible, this seems improbable). 2. Use of better grade steel that did not wear as rapidly. 3. Relatively little abrasion from the particular inks used. 4. Case hardening of the plates. (The apparent erasure of a plate gash is an argument against such hardening)."
    ${ }^{14}$ While researching this article, I had the privilege of examining all photographs of certified J22s in the Philatelic Foundation records. One example (ref. \#308074), which was certified as a J22, did not show flaw A. I think this certification may be questionable for the following reasons: First, the color shade, though not exact in the photograph, matched closely the "transitional" shade. It is evident that the shade was questionable enough for the submitter to require a certificate. Secondly, and most importantly, I have in my collection what is described by the Philatelic Foundation as an imprint and plate \#318 strip of five J25 "Bright Claret Shade" (\#0140517). The strip, which matches other transitional shades in my collection, as well as seeming to match the photograph of the $\mathbf{J} 22$ at the foundation, does not fluoresce, and was submitted in 1984 as being a red-brown. These transitional shades are deceptive. I have personally examined them on the $1 \phi$ through $5 \phi$ values. Bower's research indicates a close shade, described as brown-red, may exist on all values. It is easy to see how this strip could have slipped by as a claret J25. (I believe it rightfully is a "claret," as is the J22 in question, though technically neither is a J25 or a J22.) The fact that this strip did slip by makes the J22 suspect until it can be re-examined under long wave ultraviolet light. Note: One of the criteria used by the Philatelic Foundation to establish that stamps are J22-J28 is that they must fluoresce.
    ${ }^{15}$ R.H. White and W.R. Bower, Encyclopedia of Colors of United States Postage Stamps, Vol. 5 (Germantown, MD: Philatelic Research Ltd., 1986), Plate 7.

[^8]:    'I have chosen 24 February 1849 as the effective date of the convention in Great Britain since this was the date that the first mail under the convention departed England on board the Cunard steamship America. See Richard F. Winter, "The Start of the U.S.-British Postal Convention," Chronicle 154:133-44, for a discussion about the confusion associated with the start of this convention, the Americans putting it into effect on 15 February 1849.

[^9]:    ${ }^{4}$ Post Office Archives, London, POST 55, contains many volumes, approximately in date order, of surviving proof impressions of date stamps.
    ${ }^{5}$ In broad terms places to the north and east of Liverpool.

[^10]:    ${ }^{6}$ Hargest, op. cit.
    ${ }^{7}$ Walter Hubbard and Richard F. Winter, North Atlantic Mail Sailings, 1840-75 (Canton, Ohio: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 1988), p. 98.

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