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February 2003

Volume 55, No. 1

Whole No. 197

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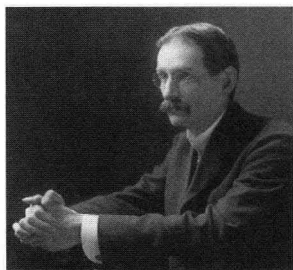


**THE GRINNELL HAWAIIAN MISSIONARY STAMPS:  
ADDRESSING THE CRITICS— RESULTS OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
AND DISCOVERIES IN PROVENANCE\***

VINCENT ARRIGO AND CAROL ARRIGO

The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps were found by George H. Grinnell (Figure 1) in Los Angeles in 1918. They were given to him by Charles B. Shattuck, who inherited the stamps from his mother, Hannah Child Shattuck. Hannah had corresponded with Hawaiian missionary Ursula Newell Emerson.<sup>1</sup>

Grinnell sold 43 of his stamps in 1920 and a lawsuit regarding their authenticity followed two years later.<sup>2</sup> At the trial several philatelists testified that the Grinnell stamps were made by photoengravage rather than by letterpress with moveable type, as the certified stamps had been made. Also, there was no known provenance for the Grinnell stamps at that time. The testimony, and the lack of provenance, undoubtedly influenced the judge in making his decision against George Grinnell.



**Figure 1. George H. Grinnell** (courtesy of *Linn's Stamp News*)

In 1927, George Grinnell gave approximately one-half of his Missionary stamps back to descendants of Charles B. Shattuck.

After the trial in Los Angeles, Grinnell continued to research his stamps. Progress was slow in those days as it was difficult to document a provenance, to prove that the stamps were typeset printed and that the paper and ink were of an early 19<sup>th</sup> century manufacture. It was also difficult to overcome rigid opposition to Grinnell stamps, as it has continued to be for the descendants of George Grinnell and Charles Shattuck. George Grinnell died in 1949.

As our research continued, opponents of the stamps published in philatelic books, magazines and other professional publications, steadfastly maintaining that the Grinnell stamps were not genuine, basically because they differ slightly, typographically, from the

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<sup>1</sup>"Grinnell's Story of His Find of Hawaiian Missionaries and the Famous Court Trial," Parts I-III, *Linn's Stamp News*, Vol. XXIV, No. 29, 30 and 31 (Whole No. 1195, 1196 and 1197)(October 1, 8 and 15, 1951). Part I includes reference to Affidavit, Lewis Perkins, September 13, 1923, State of New Hampshire, County of Rockingham.

Supporting documentation includes: Letter, certified by Oliver P. Emerson to be a letter from his mother, Ursula, to her parents, Sophia and the Rev. Gad Newell, datelined Waiialua, May 21, 1835. Provides evidence of baby clothes having been sent Ursula from Hannah Child Shattuck and that Hannah was a schoolmate of Ursula. Ursula asks parents to send the letter to Hannah "if you know where she is." George Grinnell retrieved a certified copy of this letter from Oliver Emerson in New England, July 28, 1924. Also, Letter to "Dear Distant Friend" [Ursula] from Hannah C. Shattuck, April 7, 1836, addressed to Mrs. John Emerson, Hawaii, Island of Oahu, received by Ursula December 1836. Hannah mentions visiting Ursula's parents and reading some letters from Ursula.

<sup>2</sup>Henry A. Meyer, *et al.*, *Hawaii, Its Stamps and Postal History* (New York: The Philatelic Foundation: 1948), p. 118.

<sup>3</sup>"Post Office in Paradise" web site, <http://www.Hawaiianstamps.com>, 2002 [current as of January 2003].

certified stamps. The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps have not been officially certified nor have they been officially declared forgeries.

The most active critic of the Grinnell stamps today devotes a section of his philatelic web site to the Grinnells. His arguments are predominantly an echo of those of 80 years past, in which characteristics of the Grinnell stamps and their accompanying postmarks, which are somewhat different from the officially certified stamps and postmarks, and the claim that the Grinnell Stamps were made by photoengraving, form the basis for his assertion that they are not genuine.<sup>3</sup>

We will address these characteristics, but first let us emphasize that we are studying stamps of typography, not engraved stamps. Stamps printed from moveable type and made from more than one printing, as the Grinnells were, do have typographical variations. Therefore, one might accurately say that typographical variations in typeset printed stamps are a hallmark of authenticity, not an indication of forgery.

In November 1924, John Klemann wrote an article in *The American Philatelist* asserting that the Grinnells were made by photoengraving, and that the paper of the stamps was not available until well after the Missionary stamps were printed. He wrote, "In conclusion I wish to say that there is absolutely no doubt regarding the falsity of these Grinnell stamps as the paper on which they were printed was made by a process not known or invented prior to 1870, many years after the Hawaiian Missionaries had been printed and used, and become obsolete." Later, Henry Meyer wrote a chapter in *Hawaii, Its Stamps and Postal History*, and Stanley Ashbrook wrote an article in the October 15, 1957 *Stamps Magazine*, both supporting Klemann's contention that the Grinnells were the product of photoengraving. This literature has resided in the philatelic archives for many years.<sup>4</sup>

On July 20, 1954, Henry Meyer wrote to a friend of Grinnell stating that he had examined the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps and had concluded, among other things: "1. The Grinnells are printed from a different typeface than the other [certified] copies. 2. The paper is very different. It is thin and soft, where it should be thin and brittle. 3. The paper responds very differently to ultra-violet light than the paper of the other Missionaries. 4. The ink is a different color entirely. 5. The ink gives an entirely different fluorescence than the other Missionaries."<sup>5</sup>

In recent years, modern laboratory equipment, sophisticated forensic techniques and the efforts of a master printer have enabled us to examine the stamps in ways previously not possible. We also researched the archives of the Bishop Museum and The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, both in Honolulu, and both of which provided a wealth of missionary correspondence and records pertinent to the provenance of the Grinnell stamps.

### **Research Results: Paper and Ink**

On November 18, 2000, 76 years after John Klemann wrote about the Grinnells, Dr. Gene Hall, Professor of Chemistry at Rutgers University and document examiner, studied seven Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps in his laboratory using two state-of-the-art, non-destructive analytical methods: energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence, and micro Raman spectroscopy. Dr. Hall determined the chemical and elemental composition of the

---

<sup>4</sup>John A. Klemann, *The American Philatelist*, "Res Adjudicata", November 1924. Meyer, *et al.*, Chapter 14, "The Grinnell Missionaries ...." Stanley Ashbrook, "The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps, America's Most Fantastic Philatelic Story," *Stamps Magazine*, October 5, 1957, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup>Henry A. Meyer, personal correspondence from Meyer to a friend of George Grinnell, in authors' files.

paper and ink of the stamps and the pieces to which some stamps are affixed. In addition, he analyzed two certified genuine Hawaiian postmarks on cover:

\* HONOLULU \* HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, known as Meyer/Harris (M/H) #236.11, and \* HONOLULU \* *U.S. Postage Paid*, M/H # 236.05.

The results of the analyses are as follows:

The blue ink on all of the stamps presented was made from the blue pigment, Prussian blue. In addition, the blue ink was mixed with lampblack to darken the color. This was a common practice of printers in the 1800's.

The red ink circular postmarks on Grinnell stamps and the certified genuine red ink circular postmarks on cover, although of different hues, were [both] made from the red pigment, vermilion (HgS).

The paper used for the stamps was sized with paper maker's alum (AlKSO<sub>4</sub>). This sizing was typical of papers manufactured and used in 1850. The brown paper envelopes to which [some of the] stamps were affixed, contained lead chromate. This chemical was commonly used in the 1800's as a coloring agent for brown paper.

In summary:

1. All of the inks on the stamps, cancellations and papers contained only pigments that were in use in the 1850's.
2. The ink of the certified genuine postmarks, M/H 236.11 and M/H 236.05 both on cover, has the same chemical composition as the ink in the circular cancels on the Grinnell Stamps.
3. No modern pigments such as aniline and coal tar dyes were detected in any of the stamps, cancellations, postmarks or paper.
4. No modern paper fillers, such as TiO<sub>2</sub> and CaCO<sub>3</sub> were detected in any of the stamps, cancellations, postmarks or paper.

Dr. Hall wrote,

Based on elemental and chemical analyses I conclude that there is a "match" between the genuine postmark on cover and the postmarks on the Grinnell Stamps. I also conclude that, based on elemental and chemical analyses, the stamps and their various cancellations contain no chemical or elemental properties which are inconsistent with the premise of manufacture in 1851.<sup>6</sup>

On July 3, 2001, the British Library in London, through the courtesy of David Beech, Curator and Head of Philatelic Collections, hosted a chemical analysis of its Hawaiian Missionary stamps of the Tapling Collection and concurrent analyses of Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps. The chemical analyses were performed by Dr. Tracy Chaplin and Dr. Greg Smith, Ingold Laboratories, University College London, to ascertain whether identical inks and paper were used in the manufacture of these stamps. The Tapling Collection stamps have been held by the British Library since 1892 and are known to be genuine Hawaiian Missionary stamps. Dr. Gene Hall attended this meeting and his analysis states,

Micro Raman Spectroscopy (MRS) was the method used for the analyses of the Grinnells and the Taplings. A Renishaw system 1000 with a He/Ne laser was the excitation source for the Raman spectra. The laser was focused onto the sample with the aid of an Olympus microscope with 50x objective. The laser power at the sample was approximately 7mW.



**Figure 2. Grinnell 13¢ Missionary (#G-67) canceled Feb 16**

<sup>6</sup>Gene S. Hall, Ph.D., "Elemental and Chemical Analyses of Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps" (Department of Chemistry, Wright-Rieman Laboratories, Rutgers University, Piscataway, NJ: January 7, 2001 and February 14, 2001). (From study begun November 2000.)

Photomicrographs of ultramarine blue particles were found to be embedded in the paper of both the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps. The manufacturer of the paper added these particles in order to brighten the apparent whiteness of the paper. The photomicrographs show marked similarity between the ultramarine blue particles in the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and those in the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps. The particle sizes, as well as the number of particles per unit area, in the paper of the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and in the paper of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps are consistent, suggesting that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps were printed on paper from the same manufacturer.

No coal tar (aniline dye) based inks were detected in any of the Tapling Missionaries or Grinnell Missionaries.

1. All of the chemical compounds identified in the ink, cancellations/postmarks and pigments in the paper are consistent with those used in the 1850's. 2. Prussian blue, one of the chemical components in the blue ink formulation, was identified and detected in both the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps. 3. Components in each of the red and black inks of the postmarks/cancellations were consistently found in all stamps analyzed, Grinnell Stamps and Tapling Stamps, wherein such postmarks/cancellations were present. 4. The ultramarine blue pigment detected in the paper of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps is the same compound that was detected in the paper of the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps tested.

Moreover, the commonality of a rare paper used in the stamps analyzed would not be anticipated if the stamps had been printed at a different time or place. Based on this comparison and the combination of the above similar features, we conclude that it is likely that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Hawaiian Missionary Stamps of the Tapling Collection came from a single manufacturing source.<sup>7</sup>

The use of modern, highly advanced analytical laboratory equipment has proved that some philatelists, during the last 80 years, made serious mistakes in their allegations about the paper and ink of the Grinnells. They published this erroneous information, which remains in philatelic archives today. One must ask how they arrived at such absolute conclusions without benefit of appropriately sophisticated analytical testing facilities.

### **Research Results: Typography**

In 1982 and 1983, the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps were studied by Keith Cordrey, Master Printer and student of 19<sup>th</sup> century printing technology. Mr. Cordrey produced two lengthy reports, comprising 64 pages of technically detailed data, after a full year of research. We believe it is important to quote excerpts from Mr. Cordrey's conclusions here, as we wish to leave no doubt that the Grinnell Stamps were typeset printed.

Mr. Cordrey wrote,

The quality of print in the 1850's left much to be desired. Available labor often might have been poorly skilled as compositors and pressmen, and sometimes one person served in both capacities. This resulted in lack of uniformity of typeset composition, irregular lockups, the use of damaged and worn type characters, face damaged brass rule and poor form justification. These factors make it possible for the knowledgeable printer to determine, by examining individual stamps, whether the stamps were printed at various times or all at one time. This is true for each denomination for each type.

All of the stamps of the Grinnell Collection were examined. They were printed by the letterpress process, using a platen type press. All stamps were printed from typeset forms as evidenced by slight impressions on the reverse side of unmounted stamps.

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<sup>7</sup>Gene S. Hall, Ph.D., "The Examination and Comparison of Chemical Components of Hawaiian Missionary Stamps of 1851-52 at the British Library, London. July 3, 2001."

It is important to note that a small proportion of the type characters in the Grinnell Stamps are damaged, and all are worn. Due to the inaccuracies in hand tooling of the type matrices [manufacturer's type face] in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, there is a variation in size, alignment and typeface character of many letters and numerals. Such variations can be spotted easily by a trained craftsman, much as a broken typewriter character can be identified.

The philatelist should know that in the type foundry business, since the invention of moveable type, duplication of popular type faces has occurred world-wide, especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when hundreds of designs of type were in use, manufactured by type foundries on five continents. Many of these designs were close to being like, but not identical to, the original design. When a new type design such as Corvinus by Bauer of Germany was made, the first prints were copyrighted and often trademarked in many countries. If the new type design became a "best seller" among advertisers, publishers, and printers, as did Corvinus, other type founders would duplicate the design almost immediately, incorporating sufficient variations to avoid court penalties for infringement of registered trademark law.

There were few printers who . . . had not purchased duplication fonts of type when the price was lower than the originally copyrighted type or to replace worn or broken type. If the alignment of the original fonts and the duplicate fonts were similar, printers placed these two fonts in the same type case. Thus, one saw a mix of typefaces, made by different manufacturers, in poor to average grade "hand set" [printed material]. It is little wonder, therefore, that there were mixed fonts of type in the type cases of several early Hawaiian print shops. This produced typographical variations in general printed matter of the day and in the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps.<sup>8</sup>

Examples of similar, but not identical, versions of specific type fonts from different type founders can be seen in the denomination numerals "2" and "5" and in the fancy filigree borders used on the Grinnell and certified stamps. These type impressions on the Grinnells are slightly different than those seen on the certified stamps. Examples of the numerals used on the Grinnell Missionaries can be seen in the 1837 catalog of type founder Thorowgood of London (Figure 3). Illustrations of the fancy filigree borders like those used in the Grinnell stamps can be seen in *Specimens of Printing Types Cast by George Bruce and Company*, New York, 1848.

Some of the numeral and fancy filigree print on the Grinnell stamps has slightly different characteristics than those seen on the certified stamps. However, some of the characters on Grinnells and on certified stamps appear to have been printed by the same piece of type.<sup>9</sup>

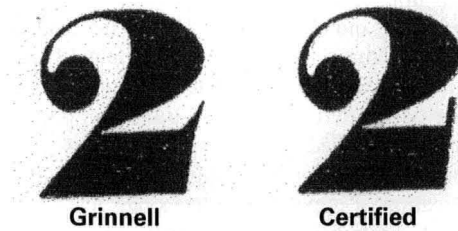
The letters and numerals which appear to have been made by the same pieces of type on some Grinnells and on some certified stamps are:

- Letter "C" in the word "Cents"
- Letter "g" in the word "Postage"
- Letter "P" in the word "Postage"
- Letter "t" in the word "Postage"
- Letter "w" in the word "Hawaiian"
- Numerals "1" and "3" in denomination number "13."

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<sup>8</sup>Keith F. Cordrey, "Analysis of the Type Composition, Lockup and Printing of Scott's Hawaii No. 1 (2¢), Type II Stamps of The Grinnell Collection with Code Addendum," Newport Beach, CA, 1982; Keith F. Cordrey, "Typographic and Printing Comparison of Five Scott's Hawaii No.1 (2¢), Type II Stamps of The Grinnell Collection with Code Addendum," Newport Beach, CA 1982.

<sup>9</sup>Large pictures of Grinnell Missionary stamps were compared, under magnification, to pictures of certified genuine Missionary stamps in the Siegel Catalog Part I for the Honolulu Advertiser Sale, pp. 46, 54 and 58.



**Figure 3. Examples of similar but not identical type fonts from different type founders' matrices. Both pieces of type are shown in the 1837 catalog of Thorowgood of London.**

It is well known that a number of certified stamps are to a small or larger extent repaired. In some cases this has caused them to be typographically different from Grinnell stamps. None of the Grinnell stamps have been repaired or altered for enhancement.

Because of several printings of Grinnell stamps, in which fonts made by different type founders were used, we see Missionary stamps with slightly different typographical impressions, as well as with some identical impressions.

Over the years, much criticism has been directed toward the fancy filigree border on the Grinnell Missionary stamps because the impressions are slightly different than those on the certified stamps. Mr. Cordrey continues,

An examination of ornament spacing on all three denominations of stamps indicated that the ornamental type characters were not butted in all cases. Some were letter spaced slightly, others were "shaved" in order to hold tightly the denomination type characters when the form was locked up. This spacing varied with some stamps. The "shaving" to improve the fit of type in the stamp form, and the use of worn type, produced typographical characteristics, which are different than the certified stamps. Further, a type form could require several lockup tries to be certain that the form would lift from the lockup stone, without type and spacing material falling out. These procedures could result in several variations in the fancy filigree border.

Prominent typographical flaws in the ornamental filigree border, [and on the upper left vertical hairline rule] appear on all denominations of the Type II Grinnell stamps, and similar flaws appear on all Type II certified stamps. We must assume then, that there is a typographical relationship of portions of the basic type forms, and that they were used to print all of the stamps, Grinnells and certified, with numerous changes in individual characters.<sup>10</sup>

In his conclusion Mr. Cordrey wrote,

I can state that these Grinnell Stamps were printed, in several lots and at different times, from one basic stamp form [pair of clichés] and that this form had several changes made to it in type characters and rule borders. All stamps [examined] were printed with different lockups. The variations in the stamp spacing of ornaments, type lines and border corner justification, leads me to think that three to five separate press runs were used to print the stamps.<sup>11</sup>

There are some interesting correlations between the printing of the Plain Border Numeral Issues of August 1, 1859 and the printing of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionaries. Dr. Herbert Munk wrote in the Meyer/Harris book,

The Numeral Issues were also of a primitive production in locally typeset form. The forms of 2 x 5 subjects were printed five times, side by side, on each sheet of paper, exactly as the early "Missionary" stamps were printed from the small form many times on a sheet. The change of denominations was also accomplished by simply changing the figures and inscription of value in the ten subjects . . . As a result of the long use of the type set forms, the thin inner frame lines did not hold up . . . A certain

<sup>10</sup>Cordrey, "Typographic and Printing Comparison . . .,"

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

large figure 2 which is easily recognized because of a queer flattening of the arch of its back, recurs in every 2 cent printing from 1859 through 1865. [Perhaps it was a numeral from a different type founder's font.]<sup>12</sup>

### Theory Based on Documented Evidence

We have long been interested in the fact that the type used to print the Grinnell and certified Hawaiian Missionary stamps in 1851 can be found only in *The Seaman's Friend*, printed by Reverend Damon, either at the *Polynesian* (location of the Government Printing Office) or at his press across the street from the *Polynesian*.

On page 106 in the Meyer/Harris book Doctor Gill wrote,

In 1843 a periodical appeared, the TEMPERENCE ADVOCATE AND SEAMAN'S FRIEND. In the second volume of this paper, in 1844, we found two pages of reports that used type of the same size and style as that used in the "Missionary" stamps. This was used as a special heading on two separate pages. During 1845, on the front page in the line that designated the place and date of publication the type was the same as the capital letters, H, P, and C of the stamps. From 1843 through 1845, the paper was produced at the Mission Press, then by the Hitchcock Company during 1846 and 1847, and then for several years by the Polynesian Press from 1848 on although the paper [*The Seaman's Friend*] was discontinued several months in 1851. Why this style [of type] should have been used by the Government Printing Office in 1851, [to print the Missionaries] and appear nowhere else in its own work, but appear among the publications of a neighbor press, we are at a loss to explain. Mr. Whitney might have borrowed some type of a different style than that used in his shop, for the particular purpose of making a distinctive appearance of the stamp.<sup>13</sup>

### Reverend Damon and Henry Whitney

In correspondence found in the archives at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library it appears that the Reverend Damon and Henry Whitney (postmaster, and operator of the *Polynesian*) were friends and fellow printers. Their wives were also friends and co-authored a treatise on women's rights, which was published in the *Polynesian*.<sup>14</sup>

Reverend Damon closed down *The Friend* in the summer of 1849 to write "a series of articles on Oregon and California that appeared in later editions and persuasively described the benefits to be found there."<sup>15</sup> Correspondence recently found in the archives of the Bishop Museum and the Mission Children's Library confirms that Rev. Damon again closed his print shop and temporarily discontinued *The Seaman's Friend* in February 1851, to sail with his family to California.<sup>16</sup> Further correspondence also confirms that during Rev. Damon's lengthy absence Henry Whitney resided at Reverend Damon's vacated home, another indication of their friendship.<sup>17</sup> Could Henry Whitney have also used Rev. Damon's print shop, which was idle, during his absence?

During a recent trip to Honolulu, we visited the site of the *Polynesian*, which was the government printing office. We also visited the site where Reverend Damon printed *The*

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<sup>12</sup>Dr. Herbert Munk, in Meyer *et al.*, Chapter 17, "The Numeral Issues," pp. 150, 155-57.

<sup>13</sup>Col. Charles C. Gill, M. C. (Ret'd), in Meyer *et al.*, Chapter 12, "The Type Used in Printing 'Missionaries'," p. 106.

<sup>14</sup>Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History, The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), pp. 35-38.

<sup>15</sup>Chapin, *Shaping History*, page 38.

<sup>16</sup>Letter from William Emerson to mother, Ursula Emerson, February 28, 1851: "[Rev.] Mr. Damon sailed for the coast [yesterday] February 27. Mr. Whitney has moved down to [Rev.] Mr. Damon's and is going to sell his lot, china [and] house together for 1,200 if he can." Archives, Hawaiian Missions Children's Society Library.

<sup>17</sup>Letters from William Emerson to father John Emerson, February 15, 1851: "Mr. Whitney is keeping house at Mr. Damon's . . ." Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.



Figure 4A. New building constructed in 1882 on the site of the Rev. Damon's print shop, *The Friend*. This building is across the street from where the *Polynesian* print shop was located.

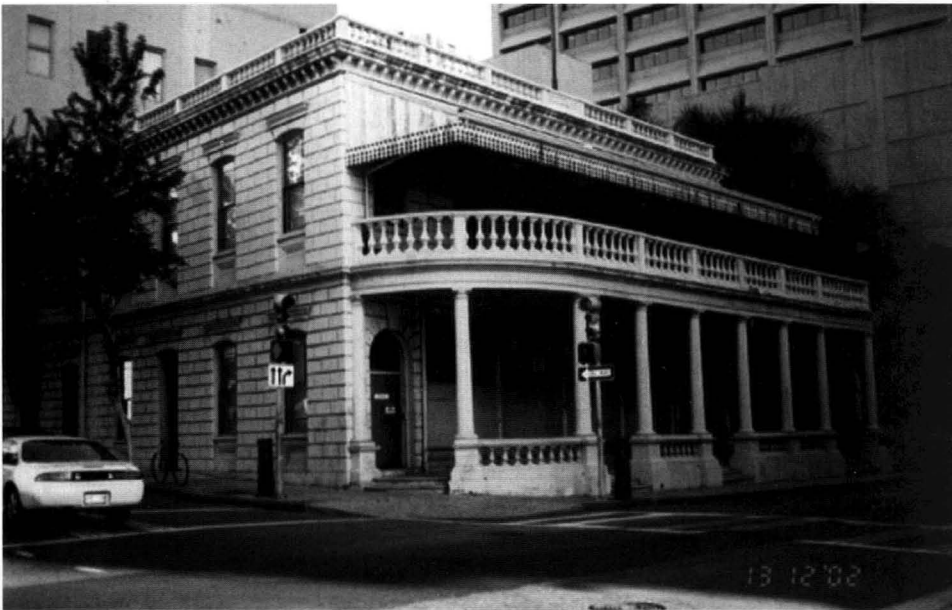


Figure 4B. Recent photograph of the old Honolulu Post Office on Merchant Street, site of the *Polynesian* print shop where the government newspaper and the Hawaiian Missionary stamps were printed by Postmaster Henry Whitney.



*Seaman's Friend*. We were surprised to see that the two buildings were across the street from one another, about thirty or forty steps apart (Figure 4).

Because the type used to print the Grinnells and the certified stamps is peculiar only to the *Seaman's Friend*, could the Grinnell and certified Missionary stamps have both been printed by Whitney at Reverend Damon's print shop, which was not being used in 1851, and because the *Polynesian* press was busy with government work?

Or, could both the Grinnell stamps and the certified stamps have been printed by Whitney at the *Polynesian*, at different times with different "pics" of borrowed type and with different lockups of type forms, using paper of the same manufacture and the same ink?

Under any circumstances, the proximity of the two presses made it convenient to print the work of the Government Printing Office and the stamps at the same time and to use the type from Reverend Damon's print shop. Such an arrangement of neighboring presses should also have made it convenient to make several press runs of Missionary stamps as needed. Further, the printing of *The Seaman's Friend*, during the period of 1843 to 1851, would result in the use of worn and broken type when the Missionary stamps were printed in 1851.

Oponents of the Grinnell stamps also made incorrect judgements about the process used to produce the Grinnells. John Klemann put forth great effort in his 1924 *American Philatelist* article in an attempt to prove that the Grinnells were made by photoengraving. Mr. Cordrey has proved beyond a doubt that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps were typeset printed.

### **Postmarks and Cancels**

In 1957, Stanley Ashbrook wrote an article about the Grinnell postmarks, published in the October 5 issue of *Stamps Magazine*. His article contained four large illustrations, showing three Grinnells and one certified postmark. He wrote that because of the typographical differences between the Grinnells and the certified postmark, and because of a reddish pink color of one Grinnell postmark, "I am positive [it] is a counterfeit, therefore there is no question but what the Grinnells [stamps] are counterfeit."

In 1954 Henry Meyer wrote about Grinnell postmarks, "The mark, HONOLULU U.S. Postage Paid is in a different typeface than the same mark on the other Missionaries. The red postmarks are a different red entirely. Under ultra-violet light, the red postmarks give an entirely different fluorescence, which can only come from aniline ink. So I am informed by my stamp friend, who is an industrial chemist with a Ph.D. in chemistry. I further find that aniline red was not known until 1874."<sup>18</sup>

In January 1985, Frederick A. Wheeler reported in *The American Philatelist* that, in May 1851, Postmaster Henry Whitney ordered eight circular post marking devices from the Gregory Company in San Francisco, for use on Hawaiian mail. Four of the devices had the words \* HONOLULU \*/ HAWAIIAN ISLANDS and the other four devices had the words \* HONOLULU \*/ U.S. Postage Paid.<sup>19</sup>

The \* HONOLULU \* U.S. Postage Paid postmark, known as Meyer/Harris 236.05, was used on mail for which Hawaiian and U.S. postage was paid.

The \* HONOLULU \* HAWAIIAN ISLANDS postmark, known as Meyer/Harris 236.11, was used on mail for which Hawaiian postage was paid but U.S. postage was unpaid.

### **Research Results: Postmarks**

Over the last twenty years, Jim Shaffer did an excellent study of the postmarks made

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<sup>18</sup>Correspondence from Henry Meyer to a friend of Grinnell, in authors' files.

<sup>19</sup>Frederic A. Wheeler, "The Honolulu Straightline and Its Historical Background," *The American Philatelist*, January 1985, p. 28.

by the postmarking devices which Mr. Whitney ordered, reporting some surprising results which were made available on the "Post Office in Paradise" web site.<sup>20</sup>

Mr. Shaffer's research proved that all M/H 236.05 and 236.11 Hawaiian postmarks have typographical differences and that none are identical. By analyzing these typographical differences in accepted Hawaiian postmarks, Mr. Shaffer was able to identify each unique postmark found, determining how many times it was used, and when it was used. He cataloged these postmarks as Type I through IV (236.11), identifying four of the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS postmarking devices ordered by Whitney, and I through III (236.05), finding only three of the four *U.S. Postage Paid* marks made by devices which Whitney had ordered. The fourth 236.05 postmark has not been found on certified cover.<sup>21</sup>

The typographical differences among the postmarks studied by Shaffer are varied, with no two postmarks proving to be identical. Some postmarks are very similar, and others have significant differences. Letter heights and letter spacing are different among the postmarks and some fonts are different.

In correspondence, Jim Shaffer wrote about the certified 236.05 and the 236.11 postmarks, "That's correct, all are different. It's a little surprising that apparently nobody noticed, or at least there were no reports of differences until the 1980's."<sup>22</sup>

In short, it was not until only recently, when Jim Shaffer concluded his studies of the early Hawaiian postmarks, that the philatelic world was informed of the typographical differences among these certified postmarks.

### **Grinnell Red Postmarks and Black Circular Grid Cancels**

Among the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps there is one type of M/H 236.05 postmark and one type of M/H 236.11 postmark. There is also one type of seven bar black circular grid similar to Meyer/Harris #7 on page 279 of the Meyer book, one type of 4x 6 black circular grid cancel similar to Meyer/Harris #6 and one unique 5 x 6 black circular grid cancel.

All of the red *U.S. Postage Paid* postmarks are found on 13¢ Grinnell Missionary stamps, as they should be. Some Grinnell 13¢ stamps have the appropriate black seven bar cancels.

The red Grinnell \* HAWAIIAN ISLANDS \* postmarks appear only on 2¢ and 5¢ stamps (Figure 5). Some 2¢ and 5¢ Grinnell stamps also bear seven bar cancels. These postmarks and cancels are also appropriate.

The two 4 x 6 black circular grid cancels appear appropriately only on 2¢ stamps and the single 5 x 6 black circular grid cancel appears on a 5¢ stamp.

These 236.05 and 236.11 postmarks and black seven bar cancels contain ink which is identical to ink in genuine postmarks and cancels on Hawaiian Missionary stamps in the Tapling Collection at the British Library in London. The Grinnell 4 x 6 and 5 x 6 black ink grid cancels have not been tested for chemical composition, but will be in the near future.

With the discovery of the Grinnell 236.11 postmark, there are five different \* HONOLULU \* HAWAIIAN ISLANDS postmarks known, four of which were used on certified covers, and one that was used on Grinnell stamps. The Grinnell postmark is very similar to three of the certified marks, having only slight letter height and font differences, but also having characteristics identical to certified marks. In correspondence with Jim Shaffer, we wrote, " In reading your description of Type I, 236.11 in 'Post Office in Paradise,' we note that our Grinnell postmark has the specifications which you mention: star midway

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<sup>20</sup>Jim Shaffer, in "Honolulu Foreign Mail Postmarks to 1886," Post Office in Paradise web site, <http://www.hawaiianstamps.com/honopost.html> (current as of January 2003).

<sup>21</sup>Shaffer, [hawaiianstamps.com/honopost.html](http://www.hawaiianstamps.com/honopost.html); authors' correspondence with Shaffer, February to September, 2001.

<sup>22</sup>Correspondence with Shaffer.



Figure 5. Grinnell 2¢ Missionary pair with M/H 236.11 postmark in red

between U and S, position of the first O between H and N, no period after ISLANDS, alignment of U and W. We do see some letter spacing variations which are different than Type I 236.11, and some letter height differences.<sup>23</sup>

One of the accepted 236.11 postmarks however, the strike with the latest date, which is September 26, 1864, is significantly different than the other three certified 236.11 postmarks, and is also significantly different than the Grinnell postmark. We wrote to Jim Shaffer, “The recently found fourth type 236.11 is different than ours in that the letters of the word, HAWAIIAN, the word ISLANDS and the word HONOLULU” are different heights.<sup>24</sup> This postmark has been seen only once and its use was seven years or so after the 236.11 postmarks became obsolete. This postmark was struck with black ink.

Only four \* HONOLULU \* HAWAIIAN ISLANDS postmarking devices were ordered by Whitney in his original order, so we conclude that the fifth device, perhaps the device used to make the September 1864 mark, was from an over-shipment; or that a 236.11 postmarking device was used for a short period of time, was broken or lost, and another was ordered from the manufacturer by Whitney; or that a postmarking device was taken to a remote village to be used and an additional one was ordered to replace it, arriving after an unforeseen obsolescence of the 236.11 postmark, making the total of five devices found. We believe such a hypothesis is logical because the September 1864 postmark has been seen only once, and was used many years after other 236.11 postmarks were in use.

With the discovery of the Grinnell 236.05 *U.S. Postage Paid* postmark, there are four different versions of this mark that have been identified, three of which were used on certified covers and stamps, and one which was used on Grinnell cover and stamps. Whitney ordered four of these devices, and now all are accounted for.

The 236.05 Grinnell postmark is very similar to the 236.05 certified marks, but it differs from them in some letter fonts and spacing (Figures 6 and 7). The letter “S” in “U.S.” is distinctly different than the “S” in the certified postmarks. Ironically, the Grinnell letter

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<sup>23</sup>Correspondence with Shaffer.

<sup>24</sup>Correspondence with Shaffer.

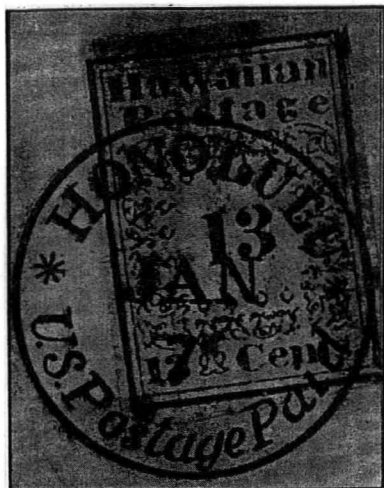


Figure 6. Grinnell 13¢ Missionary stamp with M/H 236.05 postmark



Figure 7. Grinnell M/H 236.05 Honolulu postmark at left, postmark from certified Missionary stamp at right

“S” is typographically appropriate, as it is printed with the identical font as the letter “s” in the word “Postage.” That is to say, the upper case “S” in “U.S.” and the lower case “s” in the word “Postage” are identical fonts. Conversely, in the certified marks the upper case “S” in “U.S.” has different serifs than the lower case “s” in its companion word “Postage.” Some of the other type fonts and spacings are different on the Grinnell *Postage Paid* postmark; however, we also see many typographical similarities.

It is important to note that the type and spacing on Grinnell postmarks varies from that on the certified marks in much the same way that type and spacing on certified marks vary from each other.

All nine postmarks have different characteristics, suggesting that they were made by the woodcut process. This manufacturing procedure would, undoubtedly, require that the postmarking devices be finished by hand, and would have been the product of the craftsman’s talent and imagination.

On April 9, 2001 forensic examiner James Blanco examined the Grinnell postmarks to determine how they were applied to the stamps. Mr. Blanco is an experienced examiner of questioned documents. Using fiber optic lighting, Blanco examined eleven Grinnell postmarks under stereo microscope. In his report, he wrote,

The red orange ink postmarks were examined, and the typical typographic effect was observed indicating the postmarks were applied with hand stamps and were not printed by the photoengraving method. The following indicia support this conclusion.

1. No screen patterns were observed microscopically in these printed areas.
2. Residual ink was observed in random locations, which is indicative of hand stamps.
3. Voids were observed both along the exterior arcs and in characters. Such voids are common in stamp impressions made by hand and are marks of authenticity.<sup>25</sup>

From this documented evidence, it appears that the Grinnell postmarks were applied with a strike by a postmarking device. This leaves perhaps only one way that a forger

<sup>25</sup>James A. Blanco, “Report of Findings Re: Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps” (Sacramento, CA: April 9, 2001).

could have made 236.05 and 236.11 marks: he would have had to fabricate two postmarking devices. And if a forger had the artistic talent to make the devices, why would he not copy a certified postmark more accurately, instead of producing marks with obvious typographical variations from the certified?

One critic of the Grinnell postmarks stated that they were made by a metal post marking device and that the accepted postmarks were made by a wooden device, implying that if the certified marks and the Grinnell marks were made by devices of different material [wood or metal], it would make the Grinnell postmarks not genuine.<sup>26</sup>

Although we found this contention unlikely, James Blanco again studied Grinnell postmarks, this time to determine what material was used in making the hand canceling devices. Mr. Blanco writes,

I have been asked to provide an opinion as to whether the strikes of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps were produced by devices that were hand-cut of wood or machine-tooled and comprised of some element of metal. This inquiry has resulted following the speculation that void areas evident on certain of the Grinnell stamp cancels indicate that the devices used to produce the postmarks were metal with letters that were machine-tooled. I have been informed of the belief [held] by some in the philatelic community that genuine strikes were made only from hand-cut wooden [boxwood] devices.

Result of Examinations:

The postmarks of Grinnell stamps, G-35 and G-39, display a “channel” effect on the arc of the postmark in certain sections. This effect is also noted on the accepted genuine strikes . . . .

Neither the presence of such channels nor their visual crispness is an indication that the impressions were made with metal devices. Further, the absence of such channels does not indicate a strike was made from a wooden device. Such voids [“channels”] may be the result of light inking or irregular pressure placed upon the canceling device.

. . . these voids may be due to excessive use of the [hand] stamp between applications of ink. That is, the operator using the stamps may simply have stamped too many envelopes between dabbing of the stamp on the inepad. Or, these voids may be the result of uneven pressure being applied to the stamp when striking the envelopes.

. . . the same defects are observed on all four of the images above, indicating a consistent method of manufacture of the hand stamps used as postal marking devices.

Further, the contention voiced by some that, the letters of the Grinnell postmarks are “too clean” relative to the accepted genuine stamps, is not a reasonable position upon which to dismiss the Grinnells as counterfeits. There is any number of reasons why characters on some postmarks might appear more crisp than the characters of other postmarks.

. . . some postmarking devices may have experienced constant wear while back-up [hand] stamps sat on a shelf relatively unused for a certain time. Finally, changes in pressure used to apply the [hand] stamps could also account for some characters appearing more “blotchy” while others appear crisp and clean. [See Figure 8]

On the basis of these examinations, I would conclude that there is no reason to contend that the accepted genuine strikes and those of the Grinnells were produced with devices of different materials.<sup>27</sup>

We agree that the certified postmarks and the Grinnell postmarks were most likely made by woodcut postmarking devices producing the typographical differences seen among the nine different marks (four 236.05s and five 236.11s).

Forensic analysis has provided evidence that the Grinnell postmarks are undoubtedly from the strike of a postmarking device; that the ink of the Grinnell postmarks is identical to the postmarks on Tapling Missionary stamps and to two certified postmarks on covers.

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<sup>26</sup>“Post Office in Paradise: Missionary Stamps–Grinnell,” *hawaiian stamps.com/mi\_grinnell.html*, p. 3, 2002 [current as of January 2003].

<sup>27</sup>Blanco, *op. cit.*

Research has substantiated that such strikes are unlikely to be the work of a forger, and logic suggests that, if the hand canceling devices were counterfeit, they would not have been used on only a few Missionary stamps.



Figure 8. Grinnell Missionary stamps showing blotchy postmarks, and unevenly struck postmarks from certified copies (the latter from the *Honolulu Advertiser* sale, courtesy of Robert A. Siegel's Auction Galleries, Inc.)

### Provenance: Documented Evidence Not Known at the 1922 Lawsuit

A chain of events leading to the find of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps began nearly 200 years ago, when Hannah Child<sup>28</sup> and Ursula Newell<sup>29</sup> were born in the small New England town of Nelson, New Hampshire, in 1806. The girls grew up together, and attended the same school.<sup>30</sup>

In their adult years, Hannah and Ursula lost touch when Ursula married John S. Emerson on October 26, 1831. Shortly thereafter, the Emersons volunteered to serve as missionaries in Hawaii, with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Thirty days after their marriage, John and Ursula, along with a company of 19 missionaries, set sail from New Bedford for Hawaii aboard the whaler *Averick*. They arrived in Honolulu nearly six months later, on May 17, 1832.<sup>31</sup>

After the Emerson's arrival in Hawaii, Ursula Emerson's friend, Hannah Child, was married in New England on September 6, 1832. Jesse Shattuck, her husband, was a resident of Pepperell, Massachusetts, which was not far from Nelson, New Hampshire, where Hannah and Ursula had grown up and where Ursula's parents continued to live. The newly married couple settled down and raised a family. Their third child was Charles B. Shattuck.<sup>32</sup>

In 1835, about three years after the Emersons were established in their new home in Waialua on the island of Oahu and a few months after their second son, William, was born in October 1834, Ursula received a small gift of children's clothing from New England.<sup>33</sup> Ursula's school friend, Hannah Child Shattuck, had sent the gift to Honolulu. Ursula wrote to her parents on May 21, 1835, telling them about the gift and saying she would write to her friend, in care of her parents, as she did not know exactly where Hannah lived.<sup>34</sup> Ursula's parents contacted Hannah in Pepperell and told her about Ursula's letter and her receipt of the clothing.<sup>35</sup>

The incident of Hannah's gift rekindled the friendship of the two women and they began a direct correspondence. It also established contact between Hannah and Ursula's parents as she visited the Newells in the town of Nelson, where she was invited to read letters which Ursula had sent to her family.<sup>36</sup>

Letters found in the archives of the Bishop Museum and the archives of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library have provided documented evidence that missionary Ursula Emerson corresponded with Hannah Child Shattuck, with Ursula's parents, and with several other family members: sons Samuel and Nathaniel at their uncle Samuel Emerson's in Moltonborough, New Hampshire, and her brother and sister, Oliver Pomeroy Newell and Sophie Newell, in Nelson, New Hampshire.

We believe that some of Ursula's letters emanating from Waialua and addressed to her family were given to Hannah Shattuck, who saved them, in addition to Ursula's letters sent directly to her, as she was fascinated by her school friend who was highly revered in

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<sup>28</sup>Shattuck Memorials No. II, Section 5, submitted by Beatrix Marie Larson (1977). "Jesse Shattuck and Abigail Boynton," Pepperell Library, History Room, Pepperell, Massachusetts. Hannah Child Shattuck. April 15, 2000.

<sup>29</sup>D.R. Proper, "Missionaries," *Keene Evening Sentinel*, September 20, 1966.

<sup>30</sup>Oliver P. Emerson, Ursula's Letter # 1-G.

<sup>31</sup>Oliver Pomeroy Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1928), p. 44.

<sup>32</sup>Shattuck Memorials.

<sup>33</sup>Oliver P. Emerson, Ursula's Letter #1-G.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>Letter, Hannah Child Shattuck to "Dear Distant Friend" [Ursula], in archives, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. (Hannah's letter to Ursula about her visit with Ursula's parents.)

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

Nelson because of her missionary work in a distant land. To support the probability of Hannah's fascination, and the likelihood that she would save stamps sent to Nelson as keepsakes, we quote Ursula's son, Oliver, in his book *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, pages 18 and 19: "The girl who left her home to minister to untutored islanders lived as a hero to their [the residents of Nelson] memory for many years and seven of her friends she left behind had each a little daughter named Ursula. . . . During the remaining years of my grandfather's ministry, my mother's letters telling of her experiences [in Waialua] were read aloud by him from his pulpit on Sunday."

Hannah was born and raised in Nelson, a town of about 700 people in those days, and undoubtedly knew Ursula's family as she was growing up.

In George Grinnell's report about the find of the stamps, he quoted Charles B. Shattuck as saying that when he was a young boy, he and his mother cut the stamps from folded letters and from envelopes to save them, discarding the personal letters. This implies that some of the letters were the personal correspondence of other people.

Hannah Child Shattuck died in Pepperell, Massachusetts on August 17, 1856. Her son, Charles B. Shattuck, later moved to Los Angeles, California, taking with him the stamps which he inherited. John and Ursula Emerson continued their missionary work in Waialua until their deaths, John in 1867 and Ursula in 1888.<sup>37</sup>

Our research in Honolulu in the archives of the Bishop Museum and the archives of the Hawaiian Missions Children's Society Library found numerous letters written between Honolulu and Waialua by missionaries John and Ursula Emerson and their second son, William.

The Emersons lived in the small and remote village of Waialua on the north shore of Oahu, about 38 miles north of Honolulu.<sup>38</sup> In his early school years, their second son, William, attended Punahou School in Honolulu. In his teens, William worked for family friend, postmaster and printer, Henry Whitney, in the post office and the print shop as an apprentice printer, while he continued to attend Punahou School. When William was not in school, he spent considerable time working at the post office and the *Polynesian* print shop, as much of his mail was addressed there.<sup>39</sup> In a letter (October 11, 1850) to William's brother, Samuel, who was attending school in New England, the Reverend Dole

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<sup>37</sup>Shattuck Memorials. "Grinnell's Story, Part I....", Affidavit, Lewis Perkins. Emerson, *Pioneer Days*, pp. 225, 230-231.

<sup>38</sup>Oliver P. Emerson, *Pioneer Days*, p. 55.

<sup>39</sup>Letters from archives: April 6, 1852, to Sam and Nat Emerson, who were in New England, from their father, John Emerson after William's death. John says, "Wm. left school and went to the Gov't. Printing Office and then to the Post Office Depository hoping a more active life would help him to recover from his illness." (Bishop Museum)

December 24, 1850, to William from his mother, Ursula, *addressed c/o "Polynesian."* Re wages earned from Postmaster Henry Whitney to pay for school. (Bishop Museum)

February 24, 1851, to William from his father, John Emerson. *Addressed to Gov't. Printing Office, Honolulu.* John inquires about William's life at Punahou and asks him to pay for a notice published in the *Polynesian*. (Bishop Museum)

April 17, 1851 to parents (John and Ursula Emerson) from William at Punahou School addressed to Waialua. Wm. mentions going home perhaps in Oct. of 1851 for vacation from Gov't Printing Office. (Also mentions Whitney's paying for 3 months of his schooling per year.) (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society)

November 15, 1850 to "Dear Absent Brother Samuel, I am working at the Government Printing Office as apprentice. Henry M. Whitney is foreman. The first work that I did was to set up 'pic'. I distribute and set up type, sometimes for the 'Polynesian'. There are 9 weeks more of this term, and than I will work all day, . . . and board at the Clark's. As it is now, I only work 4 hours every day, from 1 1/4 to 5 1/4 and board here. I go to school in the afternoon, and on Saturdays I work 8 hours, there being no school . . ." (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society)



at Punahou School wrote, “Your brother is thinking of becoming a printer. Mr. Whitney wants him in the Polynesian.”<sup>40</sup> In correspondence with his brother, Samuel, dated November 15, 1850 William wrote about his work as an apprentice printer, “...I am working at the Government Printing Office ...This is now the fourth week that I have been working [as an apprentice printer]. The first work that I did was to set up ‘pic’. I distribute and set up type sometimes for the Polynesian.”<sup>41</sup> William’s involvement at the post office and the print shop was in the years of 1850 and 1851, the time that the Hawaiian Missionary Stamps were conceived, printed and, on October 1, 1851, became the first issue of Hawaii.<sup>42</sup>



**Figure 9. Grinnell Missionary cover with 13¢ rate paid by 5-stamp franking on reverse, sealing the back flap**

On September 27, 1851, four days before the first typeset printed stamps of Hawaii were placed on sale, William wrote a letter to his mother in Waialua. “This is your birthday, I believe. You are 45 are you not? Please accept the ‘motto wafers’ from me, as a slight token of affection. . . . put some ‘motto wafers’ on your American letters. . . . there are not more ‘motto wafers’ to be had. I sent you part of mine, so be careful of them.”<sup>43</sup> These fascinating excerpts from William’s letter sent us scurrying to determine what “motto wafers” might be. One possibility is that William was referring to sealing devices for folded letters and flaps on covers. He was aware that his mother frequently corresponded with friends and family in New England; “Put some motto wafers on your American letters.”<sup>44</sup> In the Honolulu of the 1850s, few people would have had experience with

<sup>40</sup>Letter, October 11, 1850, to William Emerson’s brother, Samuel, in New England from Mr. Dole at Punahou School, in Bishop archives.

<sup>41</sup>Letter, November 15, 1850 to “Dear Absent Brother Samuel,” in Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library archives.

<sup>42</sup>Meyer, *et al.*, page 97.

<sup>43</sup>Letter, September 27, 1851, to Ursula Emerson in Waialua from son, William Schaffler Emerson in Honolulu, re motto wafers. He also mentions the possibility of leaving the Post Office Depository and going home as he is ill. In archives of Hawaiian Missions Children’s Society Library.

<sup>44</sup>Oliver P. Emerson, *Pioneer Days*. Letters, particularly those of his mother and also his father, quoted throughout most chapters. Evidence of letters written to family and friends in New England by Ursula Emerson. Supports William’s mention of Ursula using “motto wafers” on her “letters to America.” See also evidence of Emerson family letters from archives in Bishop and Mission Children’s Society Library, from Ursula to sons, sisters and brothers and friends in New England.

postage stamps and perhaps would be uncertain what to call them or how to use them. Could William have used the phrase “motto wafers,” referring to wafer-thin pieces of paper with words printed upon them, as postage stamps have, to be used to seal folded letters and the back flaps of covers? We are reminded of this possibility by a cover among the Grinnells, the back flap of which is sealed by five stamps, combined franking of which is the required rate of 13¢ (Figure 9). Could William have been referring to the use of postage stamps to seal overseas letters? Perhaps we will never know.

Further correspondence proves that sometime in November 1851, a few weeks after William’s letter to his mother, and the issue of the first stamps of Hawaii, William returned to Waialua to recuperate at home from a persistent illness. He stayed home until mid March 1852, at which time he traveled to Honolulu to sail aboard the whaler *Arctic*, in the hope that cooler weather at sea would help him recover from his illness. The *Arctic* departed from Honolulu on March 17, 1852. On April 24, 1852, William died at sea.<sup>45</sup>

All of the legible Grinnell postmarks are dated January, February and March, and since there are none of the later-issued 13¢ stamps (Scott #4) among the Grinnells we believe the year date is 1852. It is important to note that William resided in Waialua during this period of January through mid-March 1852.<sup>46</sup> Having had experience with both the post office and the print shop in Honolulu during the time that the Missionaries were printed, William would have been a good candidate to fulfill the duties of postmaster in his home village of Waialua.

If William took an early printing (perhaps the first printing) of the Missionary stamps from the post office or the print shop to Waialua for sale or for use by his family, along with two or more postmarking devices, it could account for the specific use of the stamps by Ursula Emerson in her correspondence with Hannah Child Shattuck and family members; for the Emerson family appearing to be the only users of this early, perhaps limited printing of stamps; and why only the Emerson mail was postmarked by unique postmarking/canceling devices used in Waialua. This possibility would also account for the reason why the Grinnell postmarks are not seen on any other Hawaiian covers, as the postmarking devices might have been used only by William in Waialua and then set aside by his family after his death.

To demonstrate the possibility of William’s involvement while in Waialua with mail and with Hawaiian stamps of the first issue, we quote the following from *Hawaii, Its Stamps and Postal History*:<sup>47</sup>

Laurence G. Williams of Honolulu who drew his knowledge from records contained in the post office ledgers and journals, old newspaper files, Thrum’s Annual, etc., wrote:

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<sup>45</sup>Letter, October 18, 1852, to “Our Brother Samuel and ‘Nathe & Our Sisters all with their husbands, and Sam, & Emerson Beloved Brothers and Sisters,” from Ursula Emerson about son William Emerson’s death aboard the *Arctic*, April 24, 1852, saying that he left on the voyage on March 17<sup>th</sup> 1852, in archives of Bishop Museum. Letter, October 18, 1852, to “Br. And Sister B.” [Baldwin] from Ursula in Waialua, “Having many American letters to write . . .” [about William’s death], in archives of Hawaiian Mission Children’s Museum.

<sup>46</sup>Letter, April 6, 1852, to Sam and Nat Emerson from their father, John Emerson: “William left school and went to the Gov’t. Printing Office and then to the Post Office Depository hoping a more active life would help him to recover from his illness. . . . William was advised to go home for four months to recuperate, but became rather worse. . . . Wm. left on March 17, 1852 on whaler, *Arctic*, on a cruise for his health.” (Bishop Museum archives). Letter, November 13, 1852, to “My Dear son Samuel N.” from Rev. John Emerson about William’s stay at home for four months, then his ocean voyage and death. Letter, April 19, 1851, to “My dear sons, Wm. and S. [Samuel] & N. [Nathaniel]” [William’s brothers], written by Ursula at home in Waialua, about William’s illness and desire to come home. (all from Bishop Museum archives)

<sup>47</sup>Meyer, *et al.*, p. 277.

“In the early days, any person who could be prevailed upon to do so handled the mail, distributed letters, sold stamps and generally fulfilled the duties of post master of small towns and villages. Some of these bore the official designation of postmaster, while others did not. Only the postmaster of larger towns received any pay, and then only a very small sum. Just where the line of demarcation should be drawn between those towns having an official postmaster and those where the individual took it upon himself to perform the duties of postmaster, it is impossible to say. Under these conditions, any small village or locality could cancel letters before handing them over to the overland carrier (to Honolulu), if they so desired.”

When George Grinnell found the Missionary stamps in Los Angeles in 1918, the used stamps were in an old envelope, and the unused stamps were between the pages of an old book of sermons, which Mr. Shattuck gave to Grinnell.<sup>48</sup> The fact that unused Missionaries were among the lot is not surprising, as Missionary stamps have been found on westbound mail, apparently to prepay Hawaiian postage.<sup>49</sup> Two such examples are illustrated on page 57 of the Meyer book. Correspondents in the United States would have received their unused Missionary stamps from their correspondents in Hawaii. The book of sermons undoubtedly belonged to Shattuck’s mother, Hannah, and seems to be where she kept some of her Hawaiian Missionary stamps, inserted between the pages.

In George Grinnell’s report about the find of the stamps, he quoted Charles B. Shattuck as saying that when he was a young boy, he and his mother cut the stamps from folded letters and from envelopes to save them, discarding the personal letters.

### **Logic and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps**

During 2000 and 2001, we had the pleasure of corresponding with Varro Tyler, a leading expert in the field of philatelic forgeries. In our correspondence, we had the opportunity to inform Dr. Tyler about discoveries made with the use of modern laboratory equipment, the research of a master printer and discoveries in Honolulu concerning provenance.<sup>50</sup>

Dr. Tyler wrote an article entitled “Logic, New Evidence and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps” which was published shortly after his death. The following excerpts summarize his opinion about the Grinnell stamps:<sup>51</sup>

As a specialist in forged postage stamps, I have long been concerned about the negative judgment rendered against the Grinnell Missionary Stamps of Hawaii as a result of the trial in 1922. Consider the following facts.

The few known forgeries of these stamps [Missionaries] are extremely crude in comparison. No forger of the pre-1919 period was technically capable of preparing such excellent letterpress copies of the original, and none was financially able to acquire certified copies from which to prepare such reproductions. Finally, because forgers are in business to make money, the fact that only a few copies of each of the Grinnell types exist defies all logic. If these were forgeries, many thousands of copies, not just a few score, would eventually have been placed on the market.

My doubts about designating the Grinnell Missionary Stamps as forgeries have now been strengthened by information supplied me in correspondence with their present owners, one of whom is George Grinnell’s granddaughter. These persons are currently in the process of documenting all of the details of the stamps’ provenance, including the discovery of handwriting of a known contemporary Hawaiian resident on the envelope fragment to which one is attached.

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<sup>48</sup> “Grinnell’s Story,” Part I, *Linn’s Weekly*, October 1, 1951.

<sup>49</sup> Meyer, *et al.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>50</sup> Correspondence with Dr. Varro Tyler, 2000 and 2001.

<sup>51</sup> Dr. Varro Tyler, “Logic, New Evidence and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps,” *Linn’s Stamp News*, Vol. 75, Issue 3829 (March 18, 2002), page 38.

A master printer has confirmed that the Grinnells were produced by typography [letterpress] from moveable type readily available in Hawaii in the 1850's. Tests at Rutgers University have shown that the ink used for printing the stamps could also be attributed to the 1850's.

And more recently, tests conducted at the British Library in London using sophisticated electronic instruments have shown the ink [and the paper] of the stamps, and that of the cancels as well, to be identical in all respects to those inks on the genuine Missionary stamps in the famous Tapling Collection. It is my understanding that a detailed report on the methodology used and the results obtained will appear in print in the near future.

All of this detailed information, and much more, is presently being compiled and submitted to an expert committee, along with the stamps, for certification purposes. Naturally, it will be interesting to see the results of such examinations. But simple logic, supplemented now by a lot of hard evidence, would seem to support strongly the contention that the Grinnell Missionary Stamps of Hawaii are indeed genuine.

### Summary

1. Due to strenuous resistance from opponents of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps over the past 80 years, it was difficult to make progress with authentication. Few philatelists were willing to invest their time in the Grinnells and few experts seemed to have academic interest. Some of the opponents of the stamps did find time to publish (or re-publish) what turned out to be erroneous allegations. These various articles reside in the philatelic archives today and seem to be considered the authoritative source concerning the Grinnells, by those who remain uninformed of recent findings.

2. We now know that the paper, the ink of the stamps and the ink of the postmarks are identical to that of the Tapling Missionary stamps at the British Library in London. Grinnell postmark ink is also identical to postmark ink on two other certified genuine postmarks on cover. The identical paper characteristics suggest that the Grinnells and the Taplings were made from paper which came from a single manufacturing source.

3. Printing research by Keith Cordrey proves that the Grinnells were typeset printed, "in several lots and at different times, from one basic stamp form [pair of clichés] and that this form had several changes made to it in type characters and rule border; all stamps were printed with different lockups." It is very unlikely that the Grinnells would have been printed with multiple typographical changes, if they had been forged.

4. Research by Jim Shaffer has demonstrated that all certified Hawaiian Missionary postmarks M/H 236.05 and 236.11 have typographical variations, and that none are identical. Grinnell postmarks have similar typographical variations. Forensic research by James Blanco suggests that the postmarks on Grinnell Missionary stamps were made by the strike of a hand-canceling device. Logic suggests that a forger would not use bogus canceling devices on only a few Hawaiian Missionary stamps and never use them again.

5. All of this evidence is supported by documented correspondence between missionary Ursula Emerson in Hawaii and Hannah Shattuck and Ursula's family in New England, and by the key involvement of William Emerson in Honolulu and Waialua at the time the Missionary stamps were printed and used.

6. None of the above information was known at the time of the Grinnell/Klemann lawsuit in Los Angeles in 1922 and, had it been known, it is our belief that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps would have been considered genuine for the past 80 years.

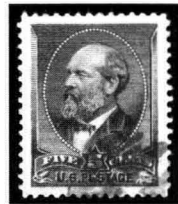
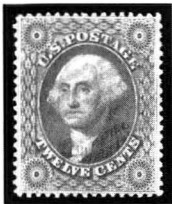
In March of 2002, the Grinnell Missionaries, owned by Grinnell descendants and the Shattuck family, were submitted to the expert committee at the Royal Philatelic Society London for certification. A decision about authenticity is forthcoming.

\*This article contains, in part, excerpts and documented evidence from an earlier article which appeared in the September 2002 issue of the *U.S. Specialist*. Carol Arrigo is the granddaughter of George H. Grinnell. Some source material for this article was provided by Patrick Culhane, descendent of Charles Shattuck. The authors may be contacted at 685 Spring Street #307, Friday Harbor WA 98250. □

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**POSTAL AND SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY OF PRE-STATEHOOD MAINE**  
**NANCY Z. CLARK**

Many articles on collections created on a postal history basis are structured on rate periods. Instead, the focus of this article is the social and political history of the area which became the State of Maine on March 15, 1820, as reflected in the postal history of the area. It is a political tale, full of greed as well as righteous hopes and plans.

**Overview**

From the point of view of American history, the phrase “permanent settlement” generally means Europeans settled there for more than ten years with no interruptions in resident status.

It is commonly held that the first permanent settlement of the area now comprising the State of Maine was in the Pemaquid area: the Popham colony, in 1607. This ignores fishermen’s homes and temporary residences in St. George, Saco and several other coastal settlements. It also ignores the Viking forays and the native Americans.

The victor gets to write the history, so we will continue with the French and British viewpoint.

In 1605, the French, under the leadership of Champlain, sent two boats with over 80 settlers and established a settlement on the island of St. Croix. Located three miles off shore from Red Beach, this island is still part of Maine. The few who survived the winter moved to Nova Scotia, to an area now called Port Royal.

Two years later, 1607, based on the same premise that “you live there, you own it,” the British attempted a settlement at Popham, under the aegis of the Plymouth Company. It was located at the mouth of what is now called the Kennebec River (but then called the Sagadahoc), in the area the French designated Sieur de Monts. William D. Williamson, in his 2-volume *History of the State of Maine*, says Stage Island was the chosen location. [The current Fort Popham reproduction is erected on a much larger island, connected to the mainland by a bridge. Once again tourist dollars outweigh historical accuracy.] The colonists returned to England the spring of 1608.

By 1631, there were two portions of Sagadahoc. The French held the lands from the Penobscot to the St. Croix River of Sagadahoc. The British held the lands from the Kennebec to the Sagadahoc River.

In 1637, Sir Fernando Georges was made governor of all New England. He held a grant with a partner for all the land between the Sagadahoc River, currently part of Maine, and the Merrimac River, now in Massachusetts, in 1622. Being a humble man (!), he established “Georgianna” (what is now York, Maine) as the capitol of New England. In 1639 the Province and County of Maine was created by England.

Up to this point, the area which was to become Maine underwent ownership squabbles similar to those of most of the colonies, namely, England and France contesting who got to use the resources and govern the land. (Figure 1)

But the Massachusetts Bay Colony also wanted a piece of the pie. They wanted to assume control of Maine. They wanted the natural resources; they wanted to win land from the French; but more importantly, they wanted to convert the settlers to Puritanism.

In 1680, 118 residents of York, Kittery and Wells petitioned Charles II, asking to be delivered from the domination of Massachusetts Bay. The separatists’ movement began.

The English authorities did not consider joining the areas of Maine and Massachusetts to be a permanent arrangement. It was rumored in 1748 that George II would reward William Pepperell for his victory over the French at Louisburg by making



Courtesy of Maine Historical Society, *Maine Bicentennial Atlas*, Plate 66

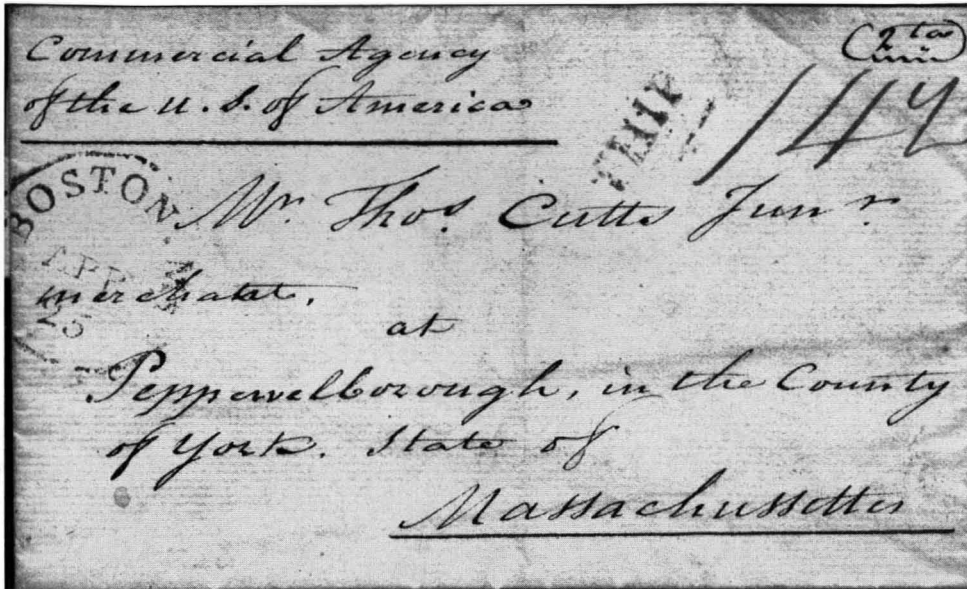
**Figure 1. Map, Province of Maine, 1735 (courtesy Maine Historical Society)**

him Royal Governor of the Province of Maine. Though there was never a post office named Pepperell or Pepperelborough, a community did call themselves by a version of this name in the early 1800s. (Figure 2)

In 1750 the population in what would be the District was 10,000 people.

Located between British controlled Canada and Boston, the area of Maine was in the middle of the Revolutionary War struggles for control. Benedict Arnold's trip in 1775 up the Kennebec, and then overland to Quebec, angered the British and incited the burning of Falmouth (to become Portland) by Capt. Mowatt. (Figure 3) That same year, an attempt by the British to take Machias was defeated by the colonists with help from the Wabanaki Indians. (Figure 4) In the last battle in Maine during the American Revolution (the Penobscot Expedition, 1779), the American Navy lost badly to the British Navy, attempting to drive them from Castine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In 1688, the French still held Castine, a major trading post. In a "might makes right" maneuver, England destroyed the trading post there. Castine proved to be a much desired location right up through the War of 1812.



**Figure 2. Letter written in Paris, Jan. 5, 1804 and addressed to Pepperellborough, York County, State of Massachusetts. Entered in Boston April 1804, 12 1/2¢ for 90-150 miles plus 2¢ ship fee. There was never a post office by the name of Pepperellborough; Thomas Cutts and his two brothers lived on a point in Kittery, close to the Piscataqua River crossing to Portsmouth.**

As a political maneuver during the Revolution, the British proposed to make the lands from Saco to the St. Croix River a colony for Loyalists escaping the rebellious colonies. (Figure 5 illustrates a cover from that section of the Province.) They planned to annex the land from Saco to the Piscataquis River to New Hampshire, to increase British access to the sea.

As if this weren't enough, there was also controversy over the northern and eastern borders of Maine. According to the provinces, prior to 1783 the Province went right up to the St. Lawrence River. British maps disagree. In 1783, the borders were expanded on the east and reduced on the north. The Canadian towns of St. Andrews, St. George and St. Johns were all made part of Maine. In 1798 the eastern line was brought back to where it currently rests, making those cities under British control once again. Border lines continued to be challenged in 1817, 1821, 1831 and the border was finalized in 1842. (Figure 6)

### **The District of Maine**

On May 1, 1790, the Constitution established the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and designated the District of Maine under its governance.

In 1790 there were 96,540 residents in the District.

In 1795, the post road went from Passamaquoddy to Portsmouth.

The post offices established include:

Passamaquoddy, est. Sept. 2, 1794. Changed to Eastport July 1, 1802. 1st PM Lewis Frederick. (Figure 7)

Machias, est. Oct. 1, 1794. 1st PM Ralph H. Bowles. Changed to West Machias 1826, back to Machias 1827.

Chandlers River, est. Apr 29, 1795. Changed to Chandlersville Oct. 1, 1800. Disc. Aug. 1, 1809. 1st PM William Tupper (cont. in Chandlersville). Town refused to use the name Chandlers



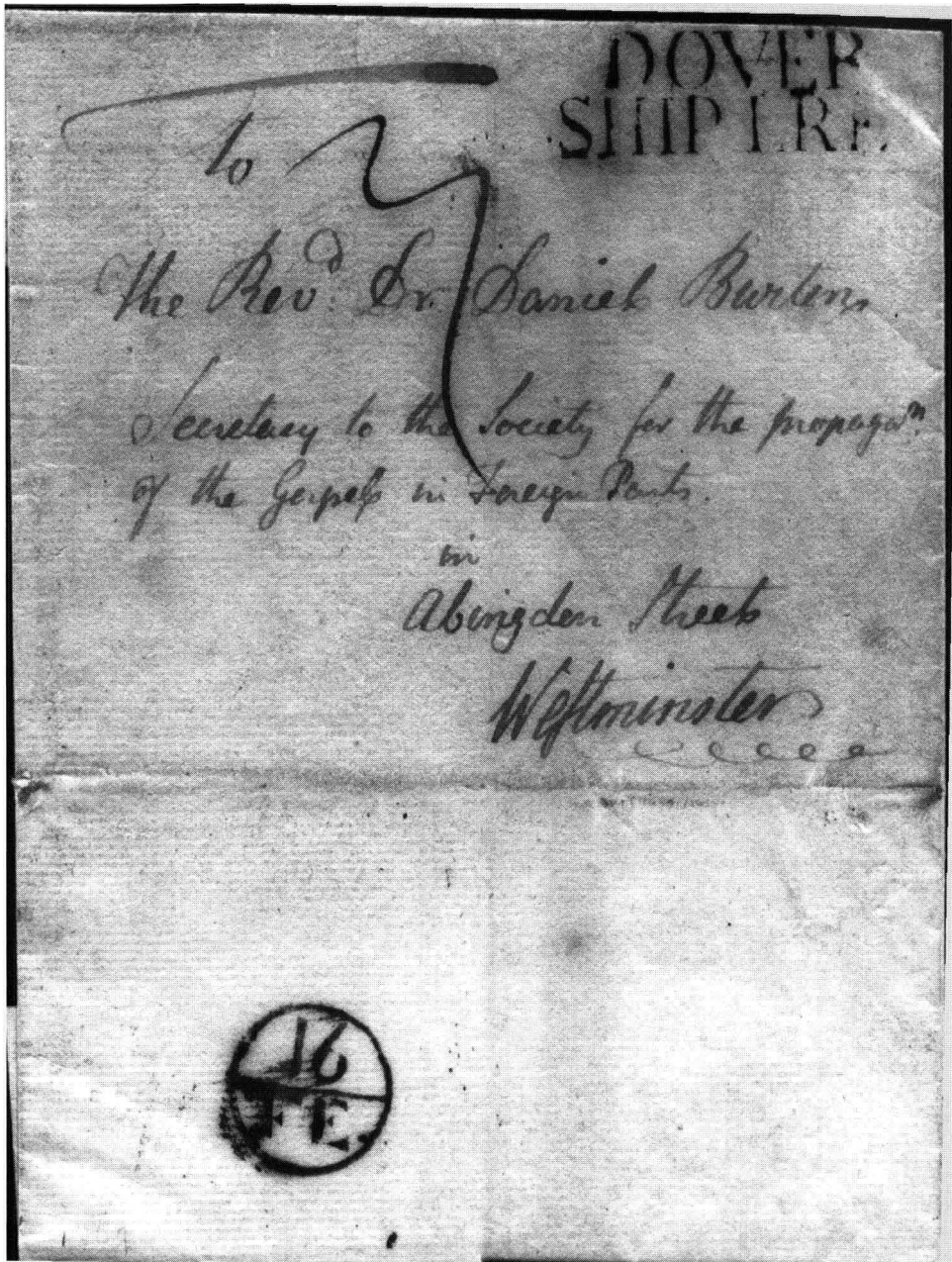


Figure 3. Falmouth, Dec. 28, 1769, to Westminister, straightline DOVER/SHIP LRE and Bishops Mark. Mail was military or missionary in nature for the most part in this frontier region. This mail has no local markings, but was taken to the harbor and entrusted to the Captain of the ship leaving harbor earliest for England. Arrival markings in Dover and 1 shilling packet rate.

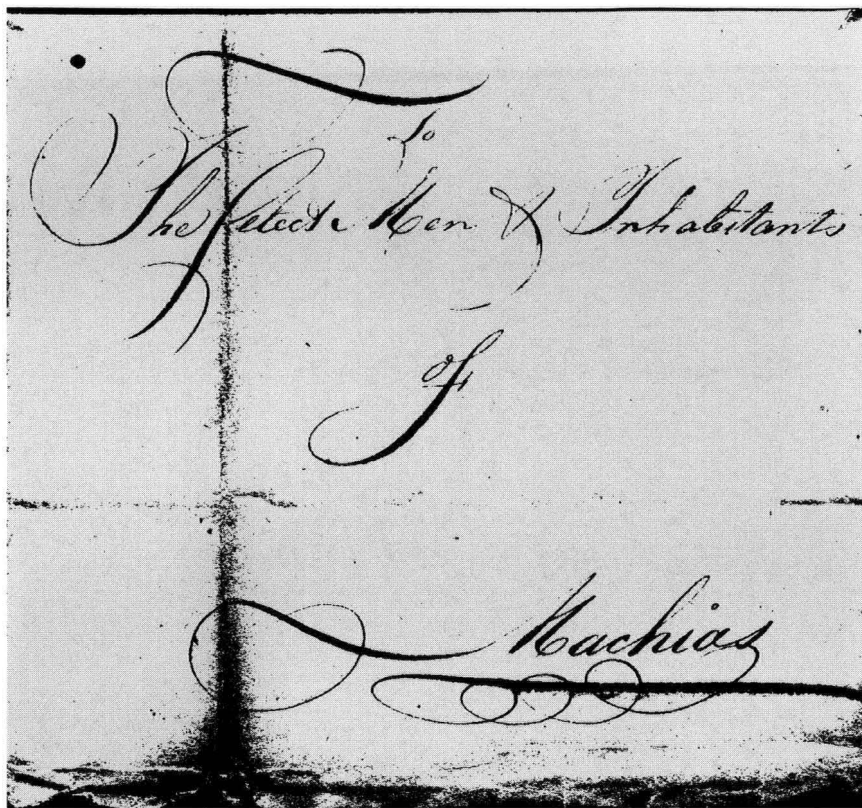


Figure 4. Machias to Machias, April 6, 1789; privately carried, no mail service until Fall of 1794

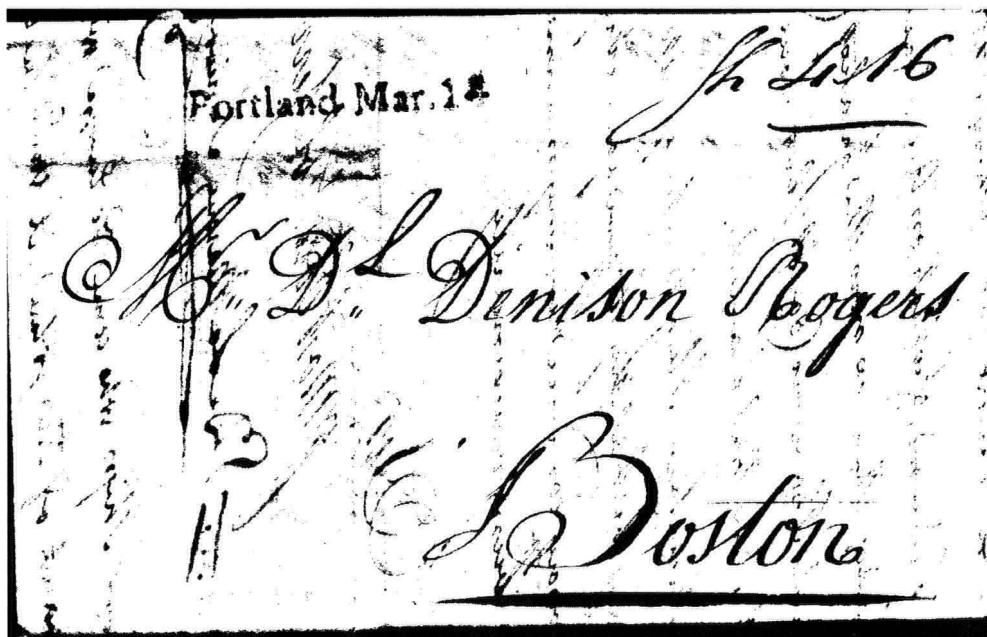
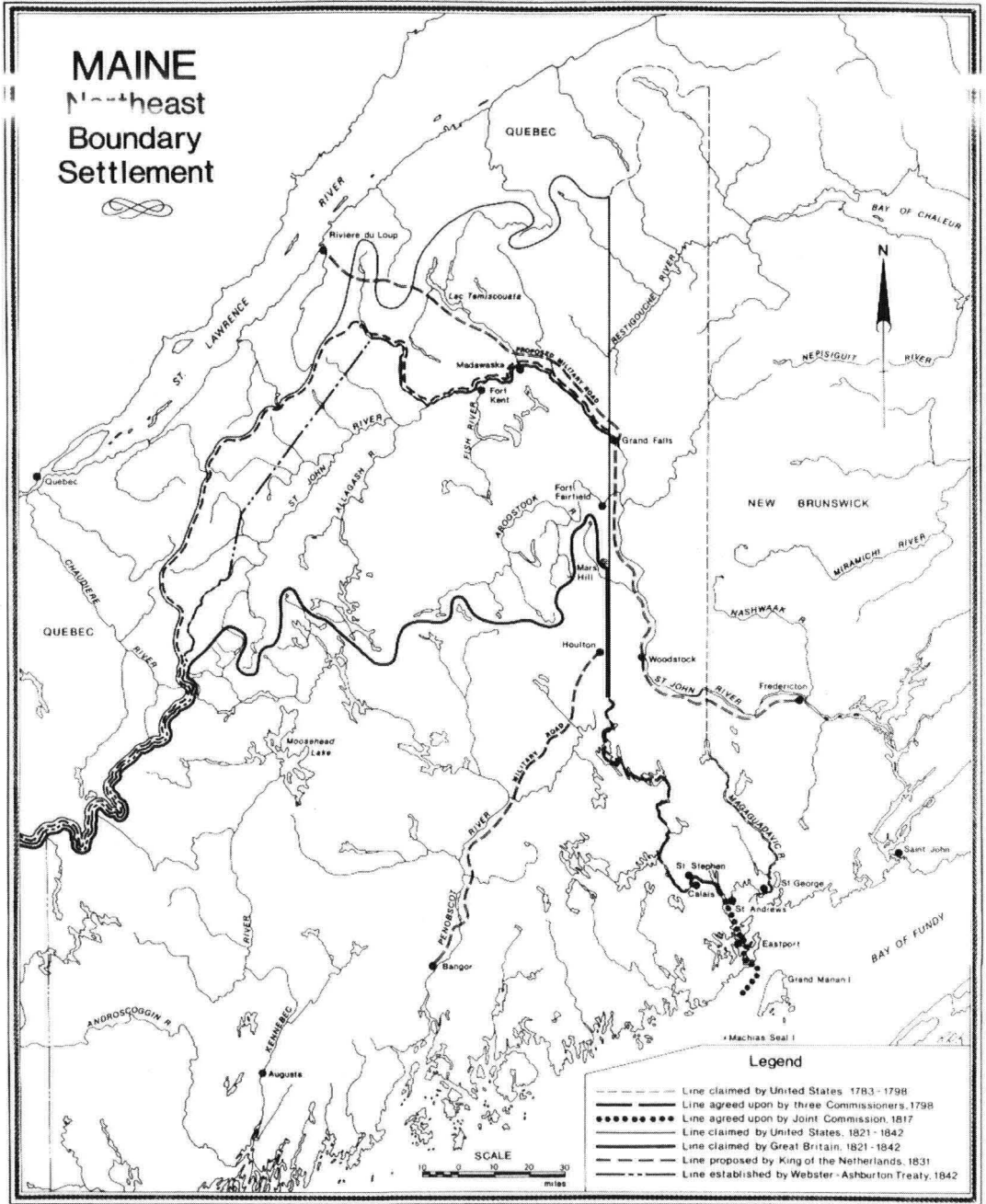


Figure 5. Portland incoming port for FLS Nov. 1, 1788, datelined Mont De le Masque, Croisic [France], rated 2 x 1788 rate: Ship 4 [pennyweights] (dwt) (100-200 miles), 16 grains [silver] (16 grains paid ship fee)



Courtesy of Maine Historical Society, *Maine Bicentennial Atlas*, Plate 18

**Figure 6. Map of Northeast Boundary Settlement (courtesy Maine Historical Society)**

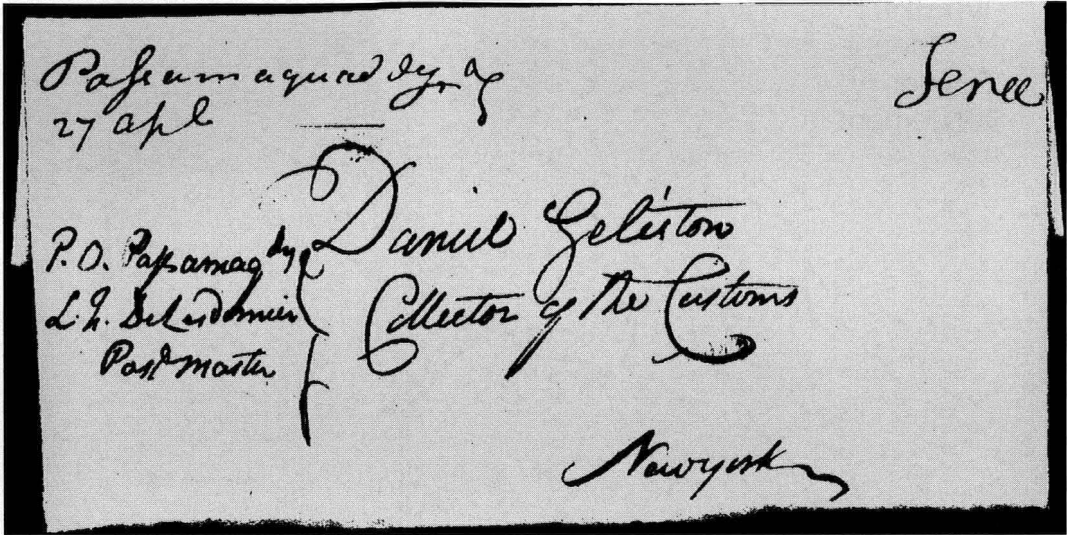


Figure 7. Passamaquoddy, April 27, 1809 (2 known), PM M. Delerdmier's free frank to New York

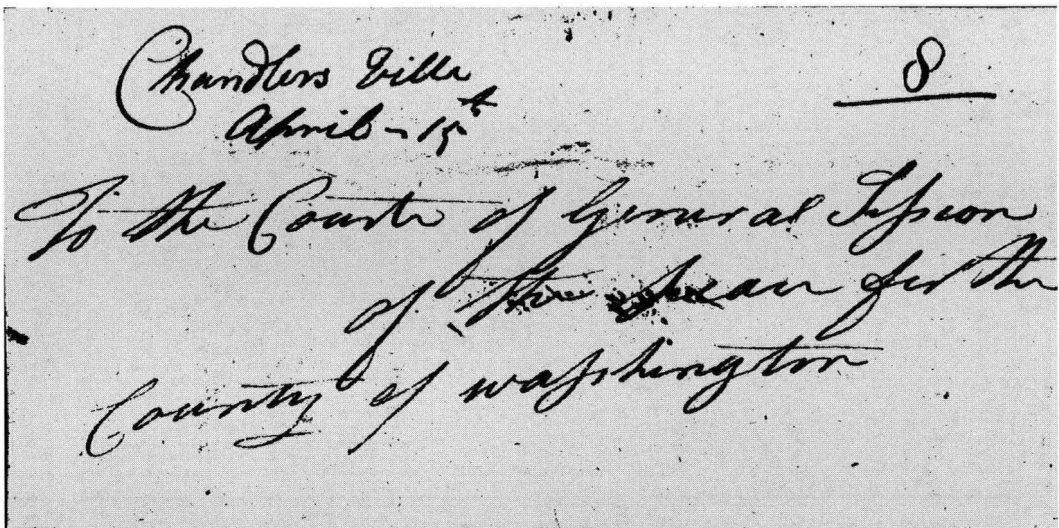


Figure 8. Chandlersville (Jonesborough area), April 15, 1806, 8¢ (not over 40 miles) to Court of General Tyson, Washington County (probably Machias, about 5 miles away)

River. Post office acceded to their wishes and name of the PO was officially changed to Chandlersville. (Figure 8)

Pleasant River, est. Oct. 1, 1791. Disc. Apr. 1, 1796. Became Columbia (1) Apr. 4, 1796. Became Columbia Falls 1876 May 11, 1876. 1st PM Joseph Patton (or Tappan).

Narragaugus, est. Oct. 1, 1794. Chg. to Cherryfield Dec. 8, 1870. 1st PM Thomas Archibald. Gouldsborough (1), est. Oct. 8, 1794. Disc. 28 May 1971. 1st PM Thomas Hill.

Sullivan est. 1794. Disc. June 15, 1920. Re-est. Apr. 28, 1922. Disc. Aug. 18, 1972. 1st PM Paul D. Sargent.

Trenton (1), est. 1795. Changed to Ellsworth 1803. Listed as Trenton to Ellsworth 1803-1811, Ellsworth alone Mar. 15, 1815. 1st PM Donald Ross.

Bluehill, est. 1794. 1st PM Andrew Witham.

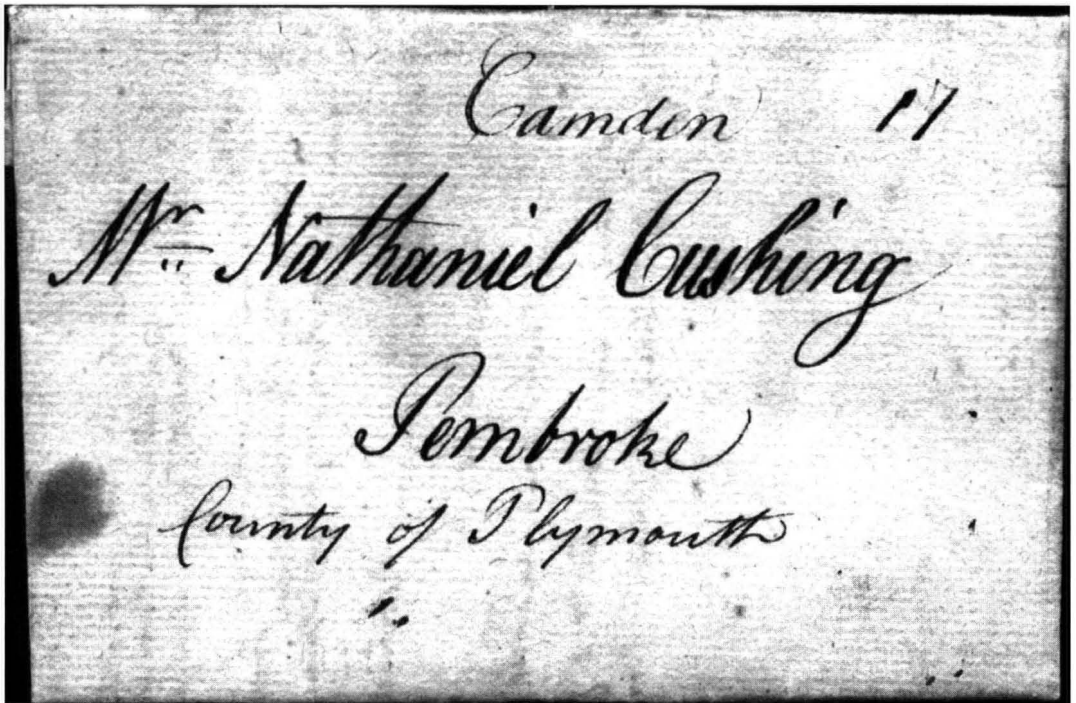
Penobscot, est. 1794. Changed to Castine 1796. Listed "or Castine" through 1796. 1st PM David Howe.

Frankfort (1), est. Sept. 8, 1800 in Winterport. Changed to Winterport Mar. 17, 1860. 1st PM Henry Sampson (not a PO when route established).

Belfast, est. 1794. 1st PM James Nesmith.

Duck Trapp, est. Oct. 1, 1794. Disc. 1797 Became Lincolnville Jan. 1, 1798.

Camden, est. 1794. 1st PM Joseph Eaton. (Figure 9)



**Figure 9. Earliest known Camden cover, August 26, 1795**

Thomaston, est. Oct. 7, 1777. Disc. Fall 1778. Re-est. 1794. 1st PM Mason Wheaton.

Warren, est. 1794. Disc. 1819. Re-est. 1824. 1st PM Rufus Crane.

Waldoborough, est. 1794. 1st PM John Head.

Bristol (1), est. 1801. Disc. Aug. 26, 1843. 1st PM Thomas McClure (not a PO when route established).

Nobleboro, est. Sept 24, 1821 (as Noblesborough). 1st PM S. Merrill (not a PO when route established).

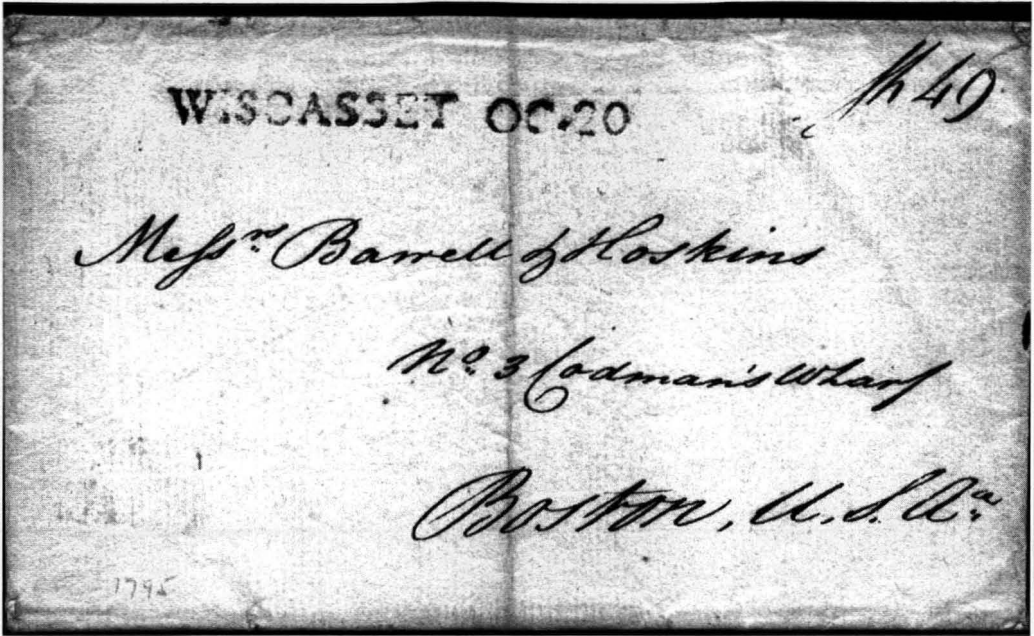


Figure 10. Earliest known ship cover from Wiscasset, postmark Oct. 20, [1795]

Newcastle, est. Oct. 1, 1794. 1st PM Joseph Farley.

Wiscasset est. Oct. 5, 1789. Prev. Pownalborough, Apr. 15, 1787- Apr. 5, 1789. 1st PM Ebenezer Whittier. (Figure 10)

Bath, est. Dec. 21, 1790. 1st PM Dummer Sewall.

Brunswick est. June 30, 1792. 1st PM Andrew Dunning.

North Yarmouth (1), est. June 1792. 1st PM Paine Elwell. Changed to Yarmouth Jan. 22, 1852.

Portland, est. July 4, 1786. previously Falmouth (1) (1764-1786). 1st PM Thomas Child. 1st PM Portland, Samuel Freeman.

Biddeford (1), est. 1789. Discontinued 1807. Changed to Saco Nov. 5, 1810.

Wells (1), est. Dec. 20, 1791. Changed to Kennebunk Jan. 21, 1799. 1st PM Joseph Storer.

York (1), est. Mar. 20, 1793. 1st PM Daniel Sewall. Changed to York Harbor Oct. 6, 1908.

And thus out of the District of Maine to Portsmouth.

The named post riders covered the following routes: Passamaquoddy to the Penobscot River, John Fullerton, contract for \$290 per year, then John Grindle; Penobscot River to Warren, Samuel Russell, \$300 per year; Warren to Wiscasset may have been carried by private post riders as no contracts this early; Wiscasset to Portland carried by Caleb Graffam, \$64 per year; Portland to Portsmouth carried twice a week by Josiah Paine for \$450 per year, then Samuel Gragg for \$272 per year.

Private post riders were employed, paid by the patrons, for crossroads and some basic service on main roads.

Other post offices in existence in the District of Maine in 1795, but not on the post road, were:

Gray, est. Mar. 9, 1795. 1st PM Joseph McLellan.

Hallowell Court House, est. Aug. 12, 1794. Changed to Augusta, 1797. 1st PM James Burton.

Hallowell Hook, est. Sept. 3, 1794. Discontinued ca. Oct. 1797. Became Hallowell 1797. 1st PM Nathaniel Dummer.

Newcastle, est. Oct. 1, 1794. 1st PM John Farley.

New Gloucester est. 1794. 1st PM Nathaniel Coit Allen.

Pittstown (1), est. 1794. Changed to Gardiner, Summer 1803. 1st PM Barzillie Gannet.

Prospect (1) (Sandy Point) est. 1794. Disc. July 23-Oct. 21, 1824. Changed to Sandy Point Mar. 23, 1857. 1st PM Benjamin Shute.

Winthrop est. 1794. 1st PM Benjamin Allen.

(to be continued)

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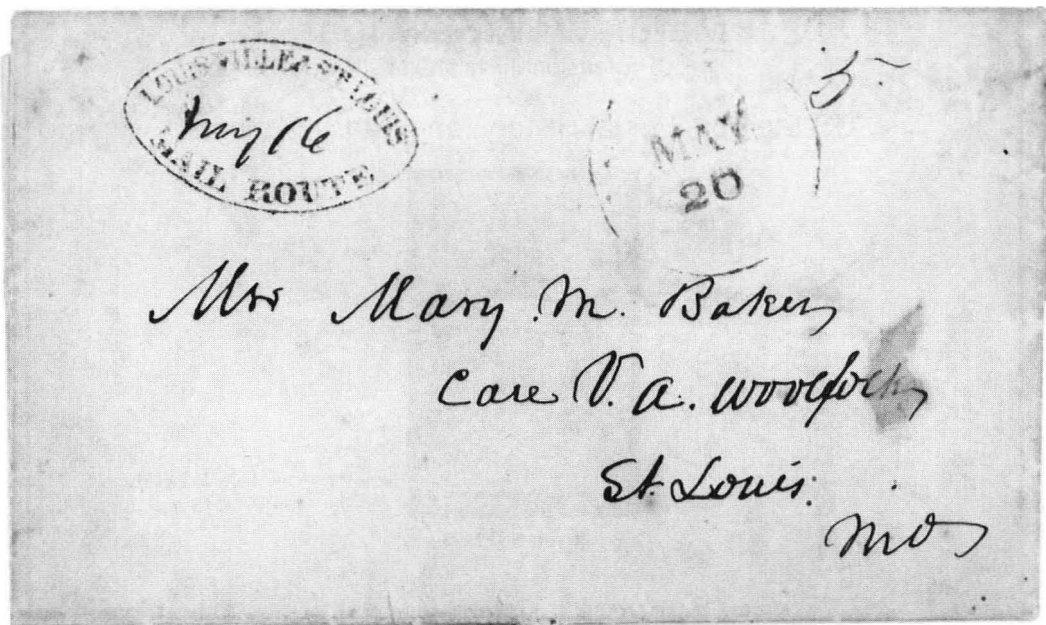
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**TWO DIFFERENT "LOUISVILLE & ST. LOUIS MAIL ROUTE"  
OVAL MARKINGS  
JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.**

All of the catalogs that list steamboat route agents (*American Stampless Cover Catalog*, Vol. 2; *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings*; *Postal Markings of U.S. Waterway Routes 1839-1997*) illustrated (incorrectly) the same example of the 38 x 22.5mm egg-shaped oval "LOUISVILLE & ST. LOUIS MAIL ROUTE" marking. I say incorrectly because the manuscript date has been reproduced as July, but it is actually "My 16" [1853] (Figure 1). The letter is from Paducah, Kentucky, May 15, 1853 and was handed to the steamboat route agent on an unknown contract vessel going south, who stamped it and rated it "5" due at St. Louis. There is also a 30mm circular "MAY 20" handstamp which is smaller than St. Louis postmarks in 1853.

However, in Figure 2 is another cover showing a more oval postmark, 38 x 23mm, with larger lettering dated "Jan 21" [1852] tying a 3¢ 1815 to another cover addressed at St. Louis. This also is a folded letter with origin "Smithland, Ky Jan 20/52" from a husband sending a hasty note to "My Dear Love" (because his longer letter got stuck behind a wall board in the steamboat) ". . . while the boat is landing" and who will write again from Cincinnati. Smithland, Kentucky is only 10 miles east of Paducah and is also on the Ohio River. The writer was thus traveling eastwards, but the letter went on a different steamboat going in the opposite direction. It is possible that the same route agent used the two different oval markings. A shield design also exists for this route. □



**Figure 1. Egg-shaped oval "LOUISVILLE & ST. LOUIS MAIL ROUTE July 16" [1853], "5," and indistinct circle "May 20" to St. Louis with origin Paducah, Kentucky**



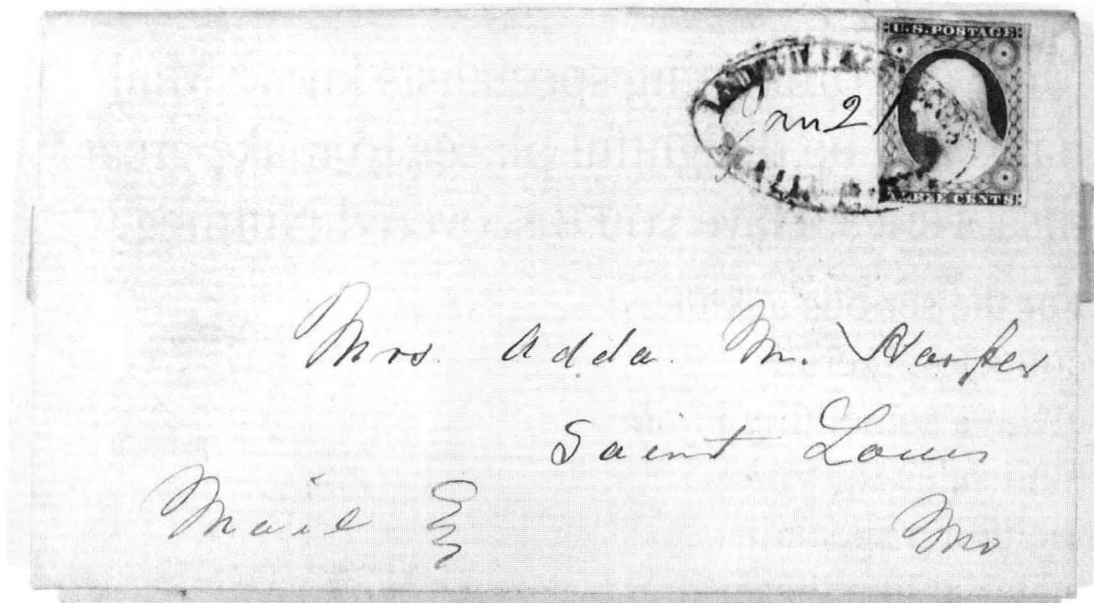


Figure 2. Oval "LOUISVILLE & ST. LOUIS MAIL ROUTE Jan 21" [1852] on 3¢ 1851 to St. Louis with origin Smithland, Kentucky

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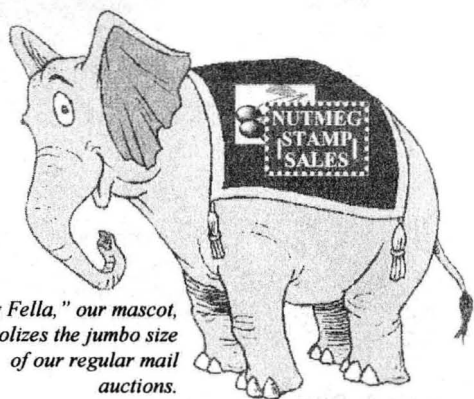
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**THE TRANSPOSITION AND JUXTAPOSITION OF POSITIONS  
1L & 1R OF THE 5¢ 1847  
WADE E. SAADI**

Jerome S. Wagshal's article in *Chronicle* #164 (November 1994) on "The Plating of the Eight Corner Positions of the Five Cent 1847 Stamp" claims to illustrate and describe the eight corner positions of the two panes of the 5¢ 1847. It does.

However, the identifications of positions 1L and 1R are transposed, that is, what is shown as position 1 of the left pane is actually position 1 of the right pane, and vice versa. The discovery of these "switched" descriptions is to the credit of Richard Celler. We thank his keen eye and his desire to share information for this article's being. His discovery came about while studying photographs of the proof sheet of the right pane of the 5¢ stamp<sup>1</sup>. He noticed a tick mark on the left frame line of position 1 (the upper left corner position of the pane), the famous "tick" mark that until then had been attributed to 1L. He then compared the position 1R from the proof pane photo with the 1R plating mat shown in the *Chronicle* article, and could not find any of the plating marks that were supposed to



**Figure 1L**



**Figure 1R**

---

<sup>1</sup>The proof pane belongs to Arthur Morowitz, who was kind enough to allow it to be photographed. Photographs of that pane belong to the National Postal Museum. It is the right pane of 100 and shows the well-known double transfer positions 80R and 90R. Actually, Mr. Morowitz permitted Frank Mandel to examine the sheet soon after it was purchased in 1997, and Mr. Mandel was kind enough to ask me to accompany him (see "The Proof Panes of 100 of the 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 — First Impressions," by Wade E. Saadi, *Chronicle* #177). However, the transposition of position 1L/1R went unnoticed by me and unmentioned by Mr. Mandel. [Editor's note: All of the photographs of stamps used to illustrate this article belong to the author.]

exist on position 1R. (The only plating mark shown in the 1L plating mat was the tick.) After confirming with others familiar with the plating of the 5¢ stamp that the proof sheet was indeed from the right pane, it was concluded that what was up until then believed to be the description of 1L was actually 1R. Since there are only two different upper left corner positions possible (one plate containing two side-by-side panes of 100 was used to print the 5¢ 1847 stamps), it is logical to conclude that the illustration previously believed to be 1R is actually 1L.

The correct plating mats are juxtaposed below. They are different than the ones attributed to Ashbrook in *Chronicle* #164. Mr. Wagshal said the written descriptions in that article were his own, while the plating diagrams originated from Stanley Ashbrook. Mr. Wagshal went on to say, "I have examined only photographs and not the original stamps from all eight positions." Let us say it is more judicious to examine the actual stamps and then make the descriptions firsthand. When faced with the responsibility of reporting the 1L/1R transposition, I compared several copies of 1L and 1R stamps to Ashbrook's mats. It became clear to me that there were inconsistencies between the stamps and the mats; some supposed marks were absent from all the copies I examined, and some attributes which were not recorded by Ashbrook seemed to be consistent plating marks. The new mats reflect these changes (Figures 1L and 1R).

### Position 1L

Upper-Left Corner – A faint, gently curved, vertical line about 6mm total, starting over 0.75mm outside the stamp design and passing through the corner, continuing downward through the colorless area between the left frame line and the design, ending where it retouches the left frame line, just to the left of the "P" in "POST." This is a defining mark for the position. (Figure 1L-A)

Lower-Left Corner – A faint, hazy, vertical line, about 3.5mm long, just outside the left frame line, beginning adjacent to the top of the ball of the left "5" and ending just below the bottom frame line. It resembles a plate bruise and becomes very faint on later printings. (Figure 1L-B)

Lower Right Corner – There seems to be one anomaly above the bottom frame line at the extreme right side, 0.2mm from the lower right corner, where sits a tiny dot/dash atop the frame line. (Figure 1L-C)

Frame Lines – In Perry's plating of the 10¢ 1847 stamp, he used frame line descriptions in most of the 200 plate position descriptions. Recutting or strengthening of these lines caused many of the variations. With the 5¢ stamp, these differences are minor and the frame lines are very similar amongst the positions, albeit not exclusively. Hence, I will recite the "standard condition" of the four frame lines for most of the 200 positions of the 5¢ stamp, so that anomalies will be more conspicuous.

"Standard condition" of the frame lines: The top and bottom frame lines are usually full and even. The left frame line is typically lighter in one place for about 3mm equidistant between the center of the trifoliolate<sup>2</sup> and the bottom of the "P" in "POST." Moving downward, the frame line gets heavier at the top of the left trifoliolate and continues that way to around the middle of the "5" where it becomes normal. The right frame line seems to be slightly heavy in two places, first between the "S" of "US" and the "E" of "OFFICE" and second, opposite the right trifoliolate.

The frame lines for position 1L vary from the "standard condition" as follows: The bottom frame line appears heavier than the top frame line. The left frame line is heavy from the top of the left trifoliolate and continues that way down to the bottom frame line.

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<sup>2</sup>The trifoliolate is a small three leaf ornamental design found on each side of the stamp, equidistant from the top and bottom of the stamp. See Figure G1.

Guide Dot in the Left Trifoliate – There are no trifoliate guide dots on any of the stamps in the first vertical row of either pane. (Figures G1 & G2)

Below Bottom Frame Line – not applicable (N/A) – A short 0.5mm, vertical tick mark, just beneath the bottom frame line under the left part of the “W” in “R W H & E.” This famous tick mark has long been associated with the 5¢ stamp and is on Ashbrook’s plating mats. However, this tick is a flaw on the transfer roll, and occurs, to some degree, on most or all positions. I examined several hundred copies of the stamp, focusing on early printing examples, and found traces of the tick on the vast majority. While the tick may be more prominent on the 1L than other positions, I cannot say that it is consistent enough and is certainly not unique enough to be listed as a characteristic to define this position.

Dot Under “P” in “POST” N/A – see *Chronicle* #164 for details. I found absolutely no evidence of this marking on the copies of 1L, which I examined; hence, I will not include it here. If anyone has a 1L stamp showing such a mark, please contact me.

Dot in Second “F” of “OFFICE” – N/A – see *Chronicle* #164 for details. Again, I found absolutely no evidence of this marking on the copies of 1L which I examined; hence, I will not include it here. If anyone has a 1L stamp showing such a mark, please contact me.

### Position 1R

Upper-Left Corner – On the left frame line, 2.5mm below the upper left corner, there is a tiny tick mark (a scant 0.2mm) extending from inside the left frame into the colorless border. It does not appear horizontal, but rather heading slightly downward and to the right. This is a defining mark for the position. (Figure 1R-A & 1R-B)

Upper-Left Corner II – On the left frame line, 0.1mm below the upper left corner, there is a very tiny dot of ink. Just 0.1mm below that dot is another dot, barely larger than the top dot. These dots are not conspicuous without magnification. (Figure 1R-A & 1R-B)

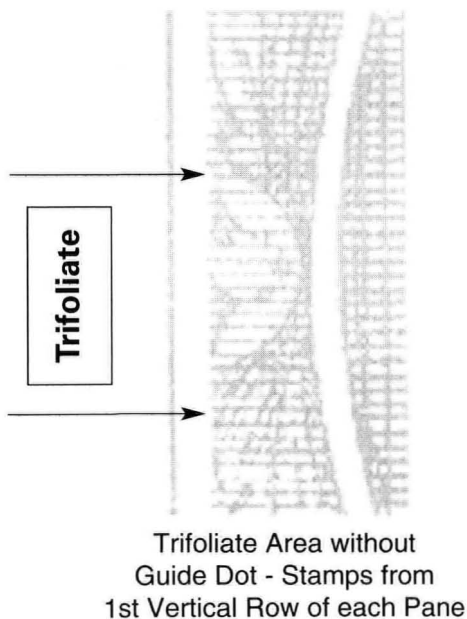


Figure G1

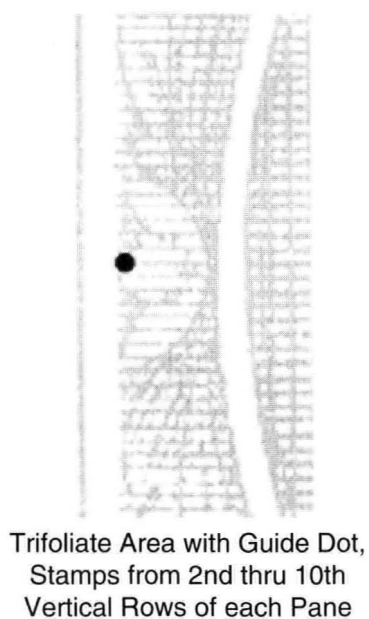
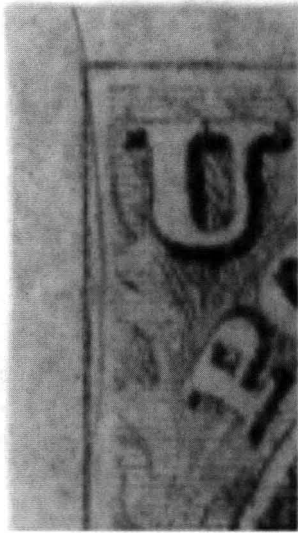


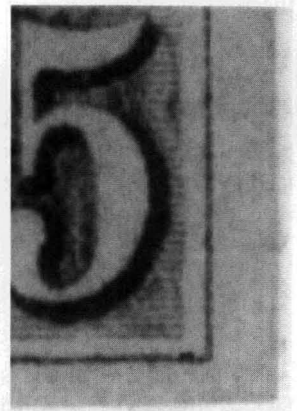
Figure G2



1L-A



1L-B



1L-C



1R-A & 1R-b



1R-C

In the Left Margin – A mere 0.5mm outside left frame line and 8.5mm below the upper left corner, there is an oval dot of color (0.2mm wide x 0.1mm tall). (Figure 1R-C)

Frame Lines – The frame lines of this position are basically “standard condition,” as described above.

Guide Dot in the Left Trifoliate – There are no guide dots on any of the stamps in the first vertical row of either pane as described above. (Figures G1 & G2)

### Conclusion

The re-assignment of positions 1L/1R and their new descriptions has prompted me to research the other six corner positions, 10L, 91L, 100L, 10R, 91R and 100R, and compare the results of same with the plating diagrams and descriptions given in *Chronicle* #164. The results of the other six corner positions will appear in this Section as the research is completed. □

## STEEL USED TO PRINT THE FIRST TWO ISSUES OF U.S. STAMPS

© GERALD L. MOSS

The nature of the steel used for the plates that printed the first- and second-issue U.S. stamps is to be considered with the intent of identifying, as nearly as possible, specific features that might lead to better interpretations of plate behavior. One might wonder why the nature of the steel is an issue since it was, as is well known, specified that these plates be made of steel. The information we have about the steel specifications for the first two issues is reproduced in Figs. 1 and 2 to reveal why clarification might be helpful.

The document shown in Figure 1 is a letter which was discovered in the 1960s by Catherine Manning in the holdings of the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>1</sup> The letter is a proposal from Rawdon, Wright, Hatch, and Edson in which they clearly specify, “. . . Steel plates for Five and Ten cent Stamps for the U.S. Post Office Department . . . .” It has been assumed since Mrs. Manning’s discovery that the first issue U.S. stamps were printed from steel plates.

Figure 2 is a portion of the contract between the United States (Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster General) and Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Co. for the second-issue U.S. stamps. It clearly specifies, “. . . they will engrave steel dies and provide steel plates for printing postage stamps . . . .”<sup>2</sup>

While the letter of Rawdon *et al.* was sufficient to convince Brookman that the 1847 plates were steel rather than copper (the metal he and Ashbrook originally believed was used), neither the letter nor the specifications for the 1851 issue described anything whatsoever about the steel—only that the plates be steel. All details about the steel were left to the discretion of the engraving companies. Now, we know steels include materials with a wide variety of properties. Some are soft; some hard. Others are corrosion resistant, while still others perform at high temperatures. The varieties of steel seem endless. Currently, C.W. Wegst<sup>3</sup> lists over 45,000 brands and specifications, but what types of steel were available in the 1847-1861 period?

We know that steels with a variety of properties are possible, but would the differences in one steel from another make a significant difference in the performance of a printing plate? Fortified with the lore of steel development over the past 125 years, it would not be difficult to imagine that there are some steels that would make better printing

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<sup>1</sup>Lester G. Brookman, *The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century*, Vol. 1 (New York: H. L. Lindquist Publications, Inc., 1966), pp. 20 and 21.

<sup>2</sup>Stanley B. Ashbrook, *The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857*, Vol. 1 (New York: H.L. Lindquist, 1938), pp. 48 and 49.

<sup>3</sup>C.W. Wegst, *Stahlschlüssel*, 18th ed. (Marbach, Germany: Verlag Stahlschlüssel, 1998).



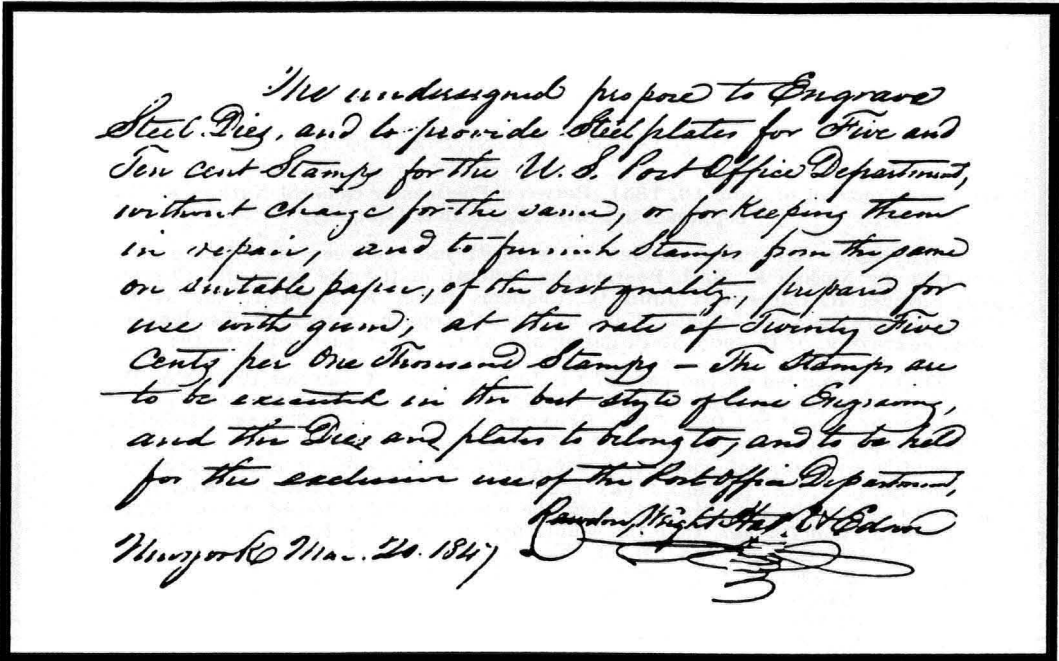


Figure 1. Portion of letter proposal to the Post Office Department for production of the first-issue U.S. stamps with steel dies and steel plates.

plates than others. A few comments about features we see on stamps reflective of plate performance are, perhaps, worthwhile, to suggest the importance of knowing something about the nature of the steel from which they were made.

Plate wear is one of the most common measures of plate performance observed on stamps. It was plate wear that led Jacob Perkins to believe it would be economically advantageous to use hardened steel rather than copper engraving plates whenever high-production printing should occur. It is known that wear during sliding with moderate pressure is a function of plate hardness and microstructure as well as the nature of the wearing grit.<sup>4</sup> This behavior is demonstrated in Figure 3, where wear resistance is shown for a wide range of annealed, pure metals as a function of Vickers hardness. A similar curve is shown for hardened and tempered steels. The slopes of the two curves are different because the microstructure and strengthening mechanism is different for steel than for annealed metals. Figure 3 depicts wear from a molybdenum ore, and analogous behavior is suggested for the abrasive grits in printing inks. Evidently, the wear of the steel used for a printing plate is significantly dependent on the character steel used. Conversely, knowledge about the nature of the steel used for a printing plate should be an aid in understanding the rate of plate wear during printing. Such knowledge is sometimes used in those expertizations that can be critical to the value of our stamps and covers.

<sup>4</sup>*Metals Handbook*, Vol. 1, 9th ed. (Metals Park, Ohio: American Society for Metals, 1978), p. 597.

THE UNITED STATES ONE CENT STAMP OF 1851-1857

**Six Year Contract of June 10, 1851, Between Postmaster General Nathan K. Hall and Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Company.**

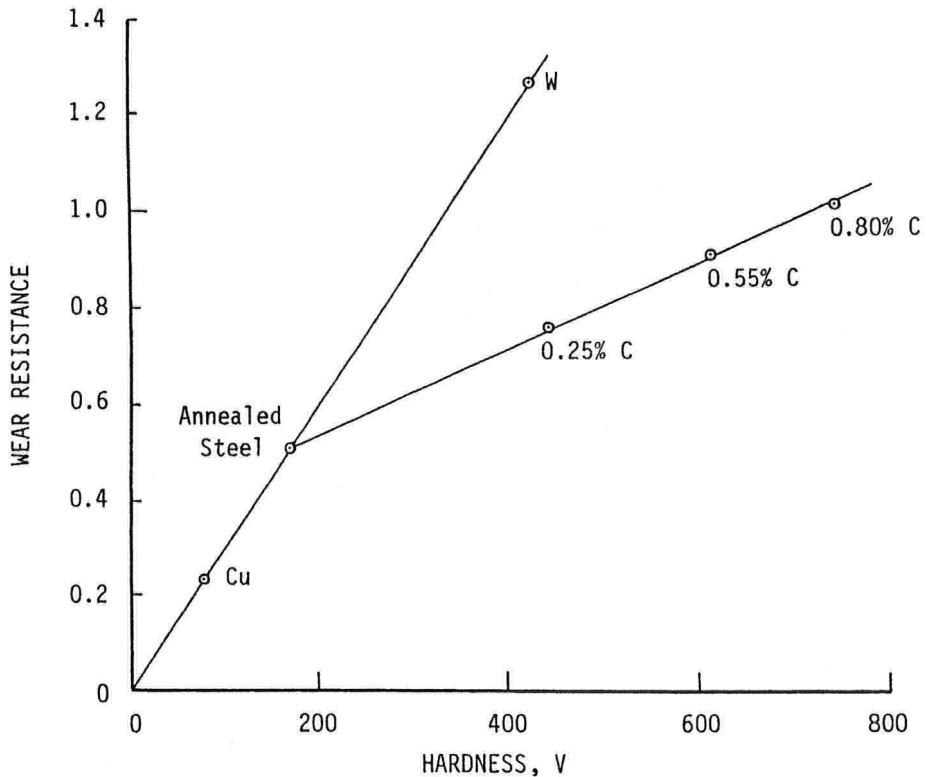
Articles of agreement made and entered into between the United States of America, by **Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster General**, of the one part, and **Charles Toppan, Samuel H. Carpenter, John W. Casilear, Henry E. Saulnier, and William C. Smillie**, known as, and constituting the firm of **Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Company**, engravers, of the city of Philadelphia, of the other part, witnesseth:

That it is agreed on the part of the United States of America to employ the said firm of **Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Company**, of Philadelphia, to engrave and print for the use of the Post Office Department of the United States, all the postage stamps which may be required by the Postmaster General, under the "Act to reduce and modify the rates of postage in the United States, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1851, and to pay them therefor at the rate of **fifteen cents per thousand stamps** as soon as they shall be executed and received by the Post Office Department; and further, that the whole printing and furnishing of postage stamps of every description for the use of the Post Office Department, including carrier's stamps, when these shall be furnished by the department, shall be given to them, the said **Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Company**, exclusively, for the full term of six years from the date of this agreement; and it is agreed on the part of the said **Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Company**, that they will engrave steel dies and provide steel plates for printing postage stamps, for the United States Post Office Department, of the denominations of **one, three and twelve cents**; without charge for said dies and plates, or for keeping them in repair; and that they will engrave and furnish, without charge, any additional steel dies and plates for such postage stamps of other denominations as the public service may require, to be likewise kept in continual repair without charge, and that they will in like manner engrave and furnish and keep in continual repair, without charge to the Post Office Department, such steel dies and steel plates as may be ordered for printing **carrier's stamps**; and that if any of the dies and plates so engraved and furnished by them shall be counterfeited, they will furnish, of new designs, and keep them in repair, without charge; and that they will furnish stamps from all or any of the plates and dies, herein stipulated by them to be engraved and furnished, printed on suitable paper of the best quality well and fully prepared for use with gum, at the rate of **fifteen cents for every thousand stamps**. The stamps are to be executed in the best style of line engraving, and all the dies and plates engraved and provided under this agreement are to belong to and be the exclusive property of the United States of America, for the use of the Post Office Department; and the said **Toppan, Carpenter,**

**Figure 2. Excerpt from contract for the production of the second-issue U.S. stamps with steel dies and steel plates.**

Other plate features reproduced on stamps stem from plate corrosion and oxidation. Both of these processes have been with us since antiquity and are well known to depend on the composition and microstructure of steel.

Another plate fault reproduced on stamps, perhaps more dramatically than any other, is the plate crack. This fault, *i.e.*, the cracking of steel, is dependent on many features of steel. Initiation of cracks is a function of the strength, or in materials terms, the strengthening mechanism, of the steel. Crack growth depends on numerous features of steel, *i.e.*, crystal structure, preferred orientation, inclusions, ductility, and the size of the cracking unit. Essentially, all types of cracking are possible, depending on the nature of the steel (see Figure 4).

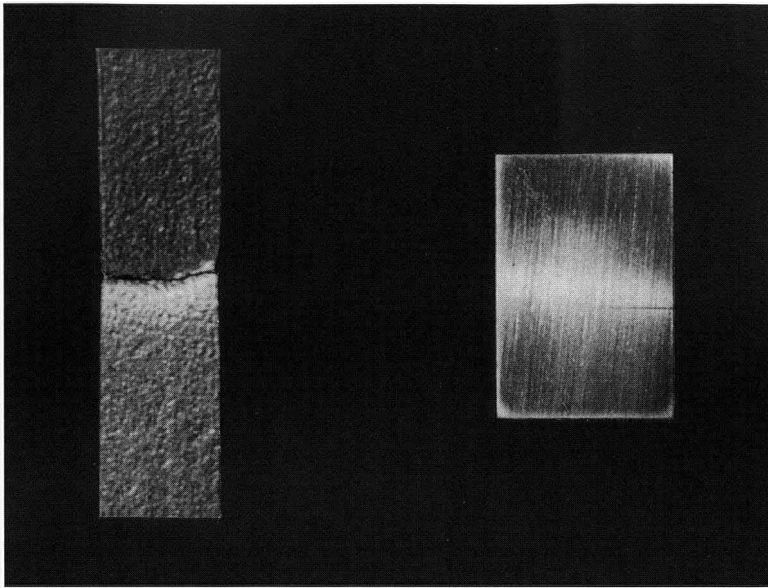


**Figure 3. Wear-resistance dependence on Vickers hardness for annealed, pure metals and hardened, plain carbon steels (Wear Resistance=1/(Wear Rate, lbs./ton of ore)). Data for 20 annealed, pure metals determined the line located with the information for copper and tungsten. The intersection of the two lines corresponds to the behavior of annealed iron (*Metals Handbook*, 9th ed., Vol. 1, pp. 604 and 609).**

The intention here is to furnish a broader perspective on the nature of the steel used for the first two issues of U.S. stamps with the hope that it will lead to more detailed studies of plate faults that are observable on stamps.

Routes to a reliable determination of the type of steel used would be (1) a written record by either the post office department or the manufacturers, or (2) a direct analysis of a surviving plate. Neither route appears viable. Steel was specified for both of the first two stamp issues, but in both cases, the manufacture and care of the plates was made the responsibility of the engraving and printing companies. This might account for the lack of details about the steel in the records of the post office department. On the other hand, it might be expected that descriptions of the steel would be included in the records of Rawdon *et al.* and Toppan *et al.* (TCC & Co.); however, these are apparently lost. Ashbrook suggested the records of TCC & Co. burned in the fire at Carpenter & Co. in 1872.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Ashbrook, pp. 32-33.



**Figure 4. Two fractures suggest the wide range of behavior possible with steels: (Left) An irregular fracture accompanied with extensive plastic deformation in a high-manganese steel. The mottled reflectivity of the surface shown is due to the plastic deformation. (Right) An essentially straight-line fracture with only limited plastic deformation except in the immediate vicinity of the crack in a water-quenched 4140 steel. A microscopic view would reveal an irregular fracture path on the scale of the microstructure. The fracture developed sometime within a 16 hr. interval after the sample had completely cooled.**

A materials scientist can only dream of viewing the emission spectra, microstructure and texture of the original plates to reveal their chemistry and to mirror the processing of their creators. However, Hahn<sup>6</sup> and Brookman<sup>7</sup> advise convincingly that the plates are, in all likelihood, no longer available for direct observation and analysis.

The destruction of the first-issue dies and plates is documented in a Dec. 12, 1851 letter reproduced by Brookman. New York postmaster William Brady witnessed the destruction, and this would normally convince us the plates no longer exist. However, the plates were identified as “100 on.” Brookman assumed this meant 100 impressions, but this is inconsistent with later discoveries. These include (1) straddle-margin copies of the 5¢ and 10¢ stamps discovered by Emerson and Perry, respectively and (2) 200 plate positions on the 10¢ plate according to plating studies of Perry. These discoveries suggest there could have been 200 impressions on both plates. Conceivably, the destruction record is incorrect, *i.e.*, all the impressions (more than 100) were destroyed, and no one noticed the error on the record. Alternatively, the record could be correct, meaning that parts of the plates might not have been destroyed. In spite of this possibility, no part of either plate has ever been found.

<sup>6</sup>Calvet M. Hahn, significant private commentary with quotes from *1898 Plate Destruction Records*. Also, Calvet M. Hahn, “The 1861 Special Printings: A Philatelic Key,” *Chronicle*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Whole No. 181)(February 1999), pp. 7-12.

<sup>7</sup>Brookman, pp. 91-92.

The history of the 1851-61 plates after their use is, by any measure, skimpy. One document, Order No. 391 of June 25, 1897, while brief, is clear in stating that all transfer rolls and plates no longer needed should be sent to the U.S. Navy Yard for smelting. There, they were destroyed between July 30 and August 5, 1897.

Specifically listed for destruction in Box H were 10 plates for 1¢, 3¢, 5¢, 10¢, 12¢, 24¢, 30¢ and 90¢ postage stamps and two 1¢ carrier stamps. The denominations of the regular issue plates and the inclusion of two 1¢ carrier plates reveal these were plates for the production of second-issue stamps. While only 10 plates were slated for destruction by this order, C. Hahn points out that plates had been destroyed previously. The procedure at each destruction was to destroy all but the last used transfer rolls and plates. The implication is that the 1897 melting destroyed the last of the second-issue transfer rolls and plates.

### **Type of Steel**

Faced with no written documentation descriptive of the nature of the steel or any part of a plate to investigate directly, another approach must be used to characterize the steel. A consideration of the history of the manufacture of steel has been fruitful in furnishing insight, and the results will be related here along with a consideration of where the steel might have been obtained.

What we want from the history of metals is an indication of the types of steel that would have been available for the manufacture of the plates for the first two issues of U.S. stamps, *i.e.*, during the 1847-61 time interval. It is reasonably certain that steel has been used since 900 B.C.,<sup>8</sup> but amazingly, it was not until a short period extending from approximately 1773 to 1786 that it was demonstrated by the “new” analytical chemists that (1) it is, for the most part, the effects of carbon on iron that impart the behavior of steel, and (2) the phlogiston and calorific concepts were undefendable nonsense.<sup>9</sup> Still, steel manufacturing continued in its art-like way, and during the 1847-1861 time interval absolutely no alloy steel had ever become commercially available. J. Baur’s chromium steel, the first alloy steel to ever become commercially available, was first sold in 1865. Successive steels marketed were (1) “R. Mushet’s Special” air-hardenable tungsten alloy tool steel, 1865; (2) Marbeau’s hardenable, low-alloy, nickel steel, 1885; and (3) Sir R. Hadfield’s high-manganese steel, 1892. In retrospect, alloy steels were unavailable as plate materials for the first- and second-issue U.S. stamps. Only plain carbon steels with their minor amounts of manganese, silicon, sulfur and phosphorus were available in the 1847-1861 time frame.

### **Possible Processing & Consequences**

The plain carbon steel of the time was manufactured by a variety of methods, each of which left its own signature on the product. It is proposed here that the steel selected for these early plates depended on a single processing condition, the importance of which will be explained and illustrated in the following.<sup>10</sup> The critically important processing condition was melting of the steel during the manufacturing process.

Steel was manufactured without complete melting by several methods throughout the 1840s and ‘50s. These are listed in Figure 5 where routes in multi-step processing are also shown. There was melting of the cast iron during the early stages of the puddling process, but the product (iron or steel, depending on how the process was controlled) nucleated and grew from the liquid as a solid. The solid bars of iron that were carburized in the cementation process were never melted. Alternatively, the steel in the crucible steel process was

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<sup>8</sup>Leslie Aitchison, *A History of Metals* (New York: Interscience Publishers, Inc., 1960), p. 112.

<sup>9</sup>Cyril Stanley Smith, *Sources for the History of the Science of Steel, 1532-1786* (Cambridge, Mass.: Society for the History of Technology, 1968).

<sup>10</sup>This report was first presented at a meeting of the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, New York Chapter, Sept. 14, 1999.

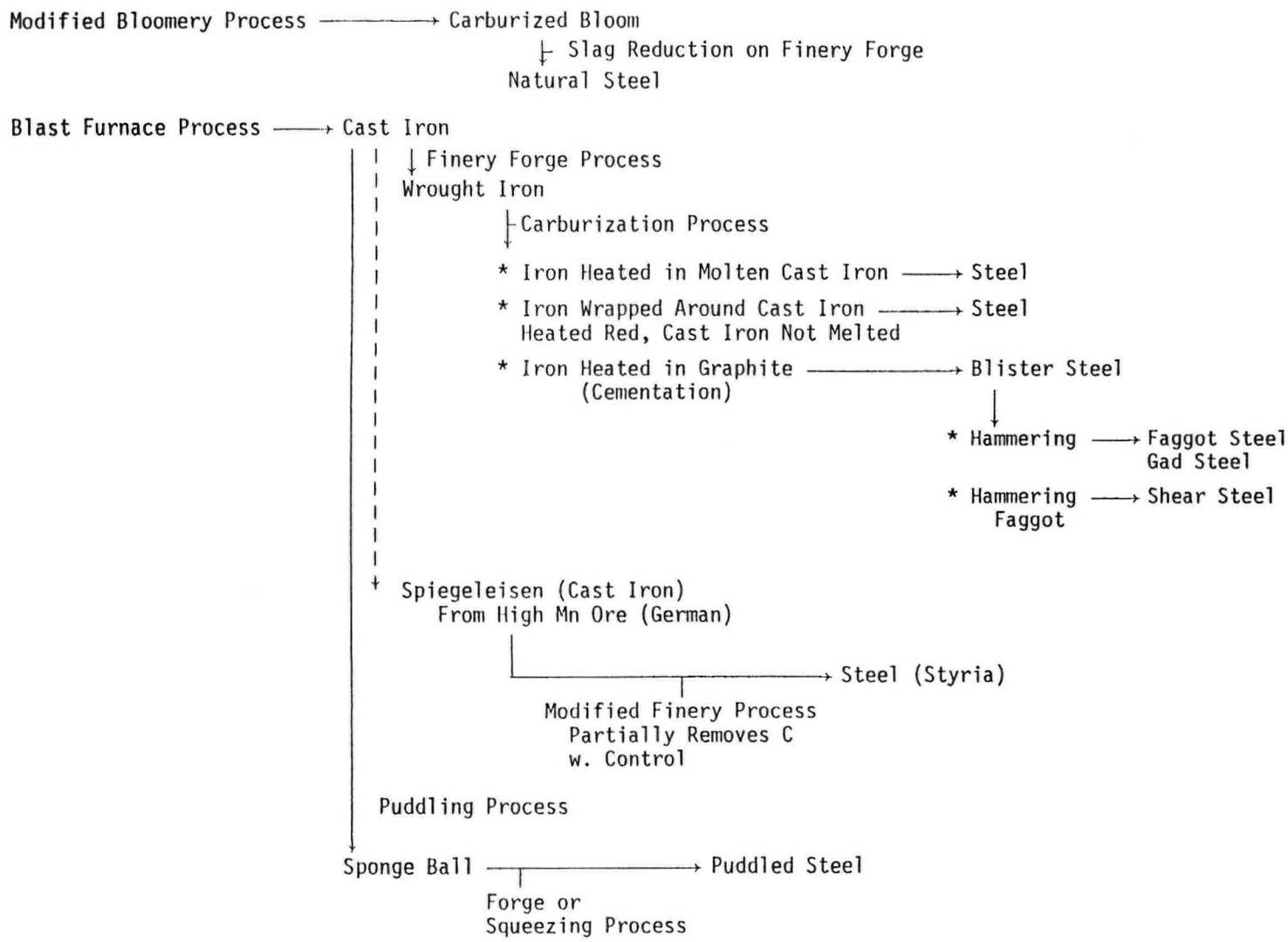


Figure 5. Steel manufacturing methods (I)

## Crucible Process

- \* Melt Blister Steel in Closed Crucible → Crucible Steel (Cast Steel)
- \* Melt Wrought & Cast Iron in Closed Crucible → " "
- \* Melt Wrought Iron & Charcoal in Closed Crucible → " " (Wootz)

**Figure 6. Steel manufacturing methods (II)**

always melted. The product was often called cast steel because the liquid was cast into molds to solidify. Several variants of this process are identified schematically in Figure 6. The Bessemer and open hearth steel processes were unavailable in the 1840s and '50s; it was 1867 before they became reliable commercial processes for the production of steel.

Attention must be focused on the physical and chemical features of processes for product development and production, but the nature of the product is the issue in applications. Emphasis will therefore be on the latter. Production with limited or no melting always resulted in steel with (1) carbon inhomogeneities and (2) inclusions, whereas these features were avoided with the cast steel process.



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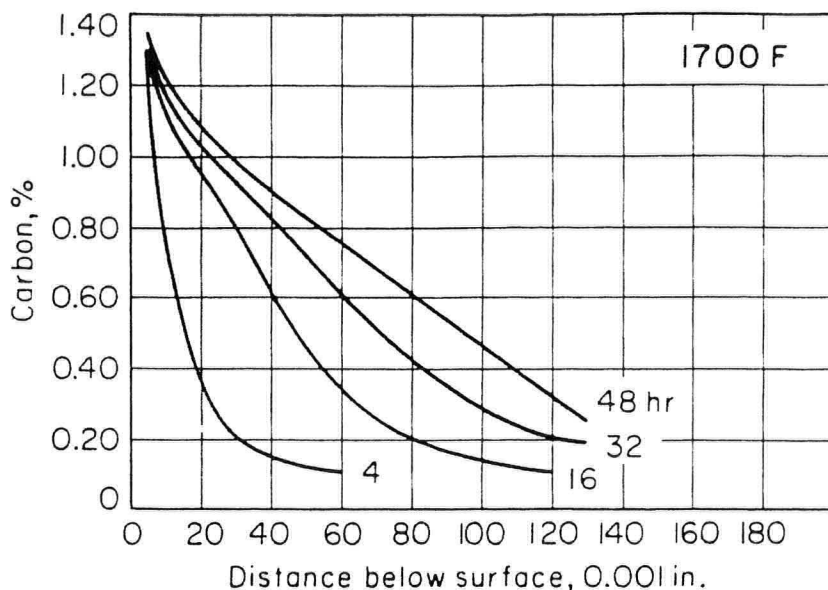
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**Figure 7. Carbon distributions from pack-carburization after heating for 4, 16, 32 and 48 hrs. at 927°C (1700°F).**

The degree of inhomogeneity possible in steels created with limited or no melting is suggested in Figure 7,<sup>11</sup> where carbon distributions created by diffusion are shown. Carbon distributions in finery forge and puddle steel undoubtedly would be drastically less uniform than those created by one-dimensional diffusion characteristic of the cementation process. The randomness of the distributions created in finery forge and puddle products entered by virtue of the chemical reactions, and the gravitational and manual mixing inherently associated with each of these processes.<sup>12</sup> In practice, the carbon inhomogeneities in steel manufactured by all the processes with limited or no melting were smoothed out by (1) squeezing<sup>13</sup> and rolling or forging, followed by (2) faggotting, forge welding, and forging (hammering) or rolling reductions. The latter series of processes was repeated again if it was necessary to create an even more homogeneous product. The products of these refinings were called “shear steel” and “double shear steel” respectively. While these procedures depended on crude mechanical mixing, they were coupled with heating and diffusion that did furnish homogenization. Still, inhomogeneities persisted and were never completely destroyed.

(to be continued)

<sup>11</sup>T. Lyman, ed., *Metals Handbook*, Vol. 2, 8th edition (Metals Park, Ohio: American Society for Metals), p. 116.

<sup>12</sup>*The Making, Shaping and Treating of Steel* ([Pittsburgh]: United States Steel Corp., 1957), pp. 207-213.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.* A rotary squeezer, a major technological advance for the removal of slag, was invented by H. Burden in 1840.



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**A REVISED, EARLIEST DOCUMENTED USE  
OF THE 3¢ 1851 ISSUE FROM PLATE 0**  
DAVID S. WATT AND ROBERT R. HEGLAND

Plate 0 was the fourth plate<sup>1</sup> chronologically that was used by Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear, and Company for the production of stamps now commonly identified as Scott #10, the 3¢ orange brown stamp of the 1851 issue. Its predecessors (*i.e.*, plates 1, 2 and 5) produced stamps that were in use in July 1851, but stamps from plate 0 did not appear until early September. The “orange brown” plates, as Chase<sup>1</sup> has noted, were not engraved with plate numbers until late in their lifetimes. Plate 0 was never inscribed with a number and consequently bears the curious designation of “plate 0.”

Chase records the earliest documented use (or the earliest known use, EKU) as September 8, 1851, and Hulme, *et al.*<sup>2</sup> reproduced this date in a recent compilation of earliest uses in the 1851-1857 era. We report a cover from Burlington, Vermont, and a stamp used in New York City that revise the earliest documented use to September 6, 1851.

The folded letter sheet (FLS) in Figure 1 bears a copy of position 81L0. The FLS to Mr. Dervey in Quechee Village, Vermont, is dated September 5, 1851 and docketed 1851. The FLS bears a distinct September 6 circular date stamp from Burlington, Vermont.

The stamp in Figure 2 is position 31L0 and has a September 6 four-bar New York City integral cancel. According to Keiji Taira, an experienced collector who has compiled a record of these New York cancellations, this four-bar cancellation was in use between September 3, 1851 and November 29, 1851.<sup>3</sup> A complete representation of this cancellation appears in Skinner’s article on the “Early Cancellations of New York City: Part I”<sup>4</sup> and with the permission of that author is reproduced in Figure 3. Skinner also notes that this cancellation was “recorded on domestic mail between early September and late November 1851.”<sup>5</sup> The stamp in Figure 2 shows the four bars, the “K” of the NEW YORK portion of the CDS, and the correct position of the month and date above and below the four bars, respectively. No other city is known to have used a similar four-bar cancellation.

Both the cover in Figure 1 and the stamp in Figure 2 received certificates from the American Philatelic Society as genuine, earliest documented uses. The certificate for the cover (#143966; dated October 21, 2002) reads: “United States, Scott No. 10, Pos. 81L0, used on earliest documented cover for Plate 0 (as of date of certificate), 9/6/1851, Burlington VT, genuine in all respects.” The certificate for the stamp (#143967; dated October 21, 2002) reads: “United States, Scott No. 10, Pos. 31L0, used with earliest documented cancel for Plate 0 (as of date of certificate), 9/6/1851, genuine, horizontal bend, corner crease.” Scott Publishing Company now requires such certificates before updating new earliest documented uses:

For stamps that do not have a designated first day of issue, the earliest documented use is the date when a stamp was first used in the U.S. mails. These dates are listed in the U.S. Specialized catalog, and new dates must be documented with recognized certificates from leading expertizing committees.<sup>6</sup>

The use of a plate 0 stamp from the large New York City post office and a relatively small Burlington, Vermont, post office suggests that stamps from this plate were rather widely distributed as of September 6, 1851. It seems likely that stamps from plate 0 were available in large post offices prior to this date and that other, earlier uses of this stamp than September 6 may come to light. Two articles mention that “A.S. Wardwell has two off-cover copies (very early impressions) dated September 4th and 6th, so possibly 1851”<sup>7</sup> and “A.S. Wardwell reports a single from plate 0 bearing a New York townmark with date September 2. This could be 1852, but also it could be 1851; if the latter, it is the earliest



Figure 1. A folded letter sheet dated September 5, 1851, and bearing a copy of position 81L0 tied by a September 6 CDS from Burlington, Vermont.

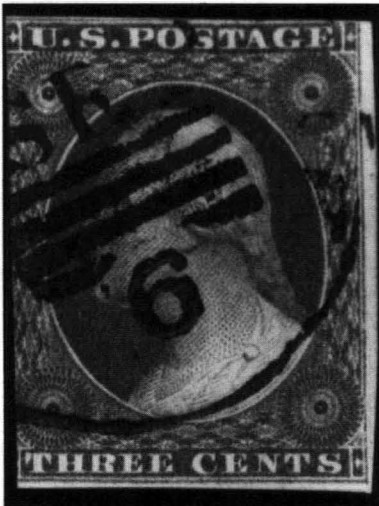


Figure 2. A stamp (position 31L0) bearing a September 6 four-bar New York city integral cancel in use between September 3, 1851, and November 29, 1851.

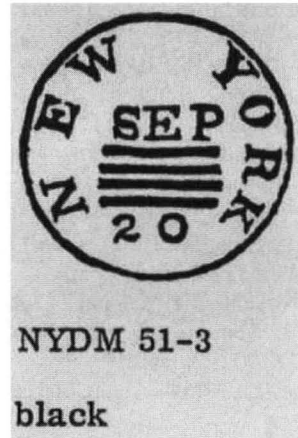


Figure 3. Complete representation of the four-bar New York city integral cancel.<sup>4</sup> (Reduced 12%)

use so far noted.”<sup>8</sup> Finally, Dr. Wilbur Amonette possesses a copy of position 60R0 with a September 2 CDS from New York City but of a different type than the integral four-bar cancellation shown in Figure 3.<sup>9</sup> These September 2 and 4 dates were probably used in 1851 because people generally did not maintain a supply of stamps on hand but purchased stamps as needed at the post office. It seems unlikely that individuals would have purchased stamps in late 1851 and not used them until September of 1852. However, covers or folded letter sheets with Scott #10 used well into 1852 are known, and documenting an 1851 usage requires dated contents, docketing, or stamps with specific cancellations, such as those described in this article. Chase<sup>1</sup> noted that only 1.2% of all imperforate 3¢ 1851 stamps (Scott #10 and #11) came from this plate. The relative scarcity of on-cover plate 0 stamps with 1851 documentation or of off-cover plate 0 stamps with cancellations known to be used only in 1851 will make the discovery of a documented date earlier than September 6 a significant challenge. The authors would welcome hearing from other collectors with such material: David Watt ([d505w@mindspring.com](mailto:d505w@mindspring.com)) or Robert Hegland ([hegland-r@starpower.net](mailto:hegland-r@starpower.net)).

### Acknowledgments

We acknowledge the assistance of Richard Celler and Dr. Wilbur Amonette who confirmed the plate assignments of the stamps in this article and Wilson Hulme for encouraging us to obtain certificates and report these findings. We are grateful to Hubert Skinner for permission to reproduce the New York City four-bar cancellation that appeared in reference 4.

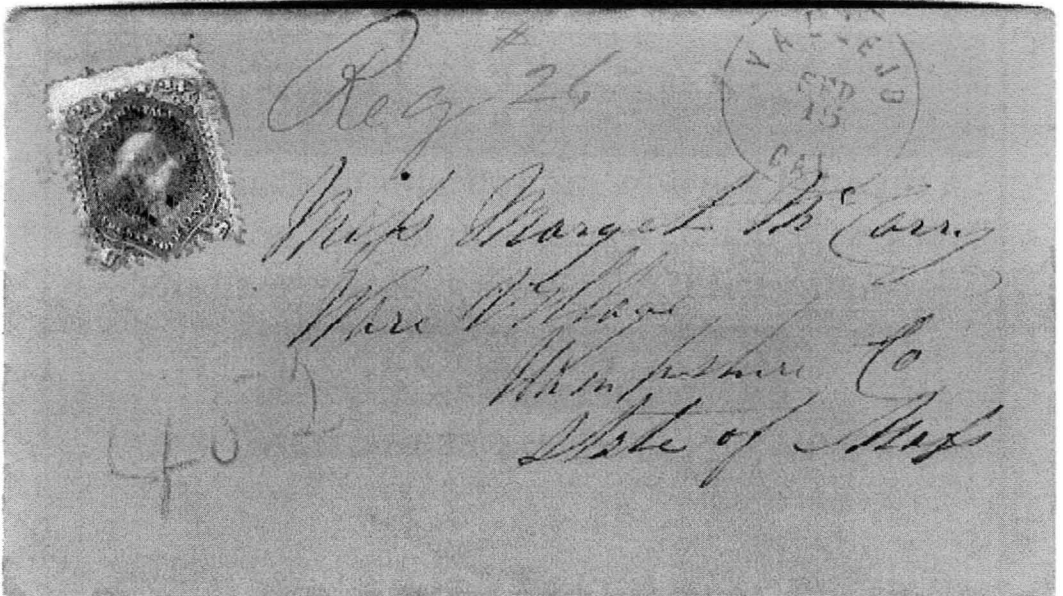
### References

- <sup>1</sup>Carroll Chase, *The 3c Stamp of the United States 1851-1857 Issue* (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman Publications, Inc., 1975).
- <sup>2</sup>Wilson Hulme, Keiji Taira, Richard Celler, Elliot Omiya, and Mark Rogers, “Early Known Uses in the 1851-57 Era,” *The Chronicle*, Whole No. 171 (August 1996), pp. 160-65.
- <sup>3</sup>Keiji Taira, private communication.
- <sup>4</sup>Hubert C. Skinner, “Early Cancellations of New York City: Part I,” *The Chronicle*, Whole No. 167 (August 1995), pp. 171-78, was used by the authors as reference, but original place of publication of his information on the NYC four-bar cancellation and its illustration are at Skinner, “The Cancellations and Postmarks of New York City: 1845-1876,” in *U.S. Postmarks and Cancellations*, edited by Scott R. Trepel, Textbook No. 3 in the Philatelic Foundation Series (New York: The Philatelic Foundation, 1992), p. 96.
- <sup>5</sup>Hubert C. Skinner, “Early Cancellations of New York City: Part I,” *The Chronicle*, Whole No. 168 (November 1995), pp. 241-45.
- <sup>6</sup>*2003 Specialized Catalogue of U.S. Stamps & Covers* (Sidney OH: Scott Publishing Company, c2002), p. 36A.
- <sup>7</sup>“Earliest Known Dates of Use of 3ct.,” *The Chronicle*, Whole No. 13 (March 15, 1952), p. 13.
- <sup>8</sup>“First-Week Covers—and Other Early Uses,” *The Chronicle*, Whole No. 16 (February 21, 1953), p. 5.
- <sup>9</sup>Wilbur Amonette, private communication. □

Early registered covers provide a fascinating area of study for postal historians and often command significant premiums by collectors when they are found with high value frankings. As such, they also provide fertile ground for the philatelic faker who preys on the unwary collector. The subject of this S.C.R.A.P. Corner was donated in 2001 after it was analyzed by the well-known postal historian and dealer, **Richard C. Frajola**, and found to be faked. The following monograph was produced based on his written analysis.

**24¢ ISSUE ON REGISTERED COVER**  
**(S.C.R.A.P. Number 21-120-01)**

DESCRIPTION: An orange registered cover franked with a single 24¢ grayish lilac shade 1861 issue, perforated 12, postmarked with a blue VALLEJO / SEP 15 / CAL cds, and canceled by a blue circular grid handstamp, with also a dark brown manuscript *Reg #26* and blue crayon 452, addressed to a Miss Margret McCarry, Ware Village, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. (Figure 1)



**Figure 1. An altered registered letter usage created by replacing the original stamp (possibly a 3¢ 1861 issue) with the 24¢ 1861 issue shown. (S.C.R.A.P. Number 21-120-01).**

APPARENT USAGE: Fully prepaid 3¢ per ½ ounce domestic postage rate plus 20¢ registry fee, the latter being in effect between June 30, 1863 and December 31, 1868, with the letter overpaid by 1¢.

ANALYSIS: The franking on the letter appears to be a genuine 24¢ 1861 issue, Scott Number 78, with some perforation staining as well as several short perforations and three missing perforations on the lower right edge.

The cover is a genuine registered usage. However, the 24¢ stamp did not originate on this cover and is a replacement stamp for the original. The significant points of the analysis are: (a) the rim of the blue handstamp cancellation extends under a perforation near the top right side; (b) under black light there is a perforation shadow well above the top of the 24¢ stamp that does not conform with the shape of the top perforation tips; there is also a similar shadowing well to the left of the stamp; and (c) the blue ink of the handstamp cancellation appearing on the envelope does not match the blue ink appearing on the stamp, nor does the blue ink on the stamp match the blue ink of the cds.

**CONCLUSION:** Originally, this registered letter was likely franked with a common 3¢ of the same 1861 issue, and the 20¢ registry fee was probably paid with cash. The original stamp was removed and replaced with a 24¢, probably in an attempt to greatly increase the value of this registered usage. □

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**A NEW DOUBLE IMPRESSION OF THE 3¢ TREASURY**  
ALAN C. CAMPBELL

Five years ago in this journal, I proudly reported the discovery copy of a double impression on the 3¢ Treasury official stamp.<sup>1</sup> The certificate of authenticity for this copy (PFC #0267798, 12/31/92, "O74 VAR, used double impression") was the basis for a new major variety listing in the *Scott Specialized Catalogue*, O74a. Because the entire image of the stamp was doubled, it seemed likely that a complete sheet of double impressions had been printed. Since the 3¢ Treasury was printed from a 200-subject plate (left and right panes of 100), at least 200 copies of this variety would have existed at one time (assuming the printing error occurred only once). My discovery copy was postally used, and the survival rate for used stamps is lower than for unused stamps. I held my breath for several years, and after no reports of confirming copies were filed, I recklessly described this stamp in my exhibition collection as "unique." So I was filled with conflicted emotions when my friend Robert L. Markovits called to say that he had recently acquired a certified copy of the O74a double impression. A confirmation copy would validate my original discovery, but at the same time it would devalue it, because it would no longer enjoy the "unique" status now applicable only to the O22a and O45a singular examples.

When Mr. Markovits kindly sent his copy out for my examination, imagine my surprise upon seeing a double impression that was totally different from my own and that could not possibly have come from the same sheet. In Figure 1, courtesy of Mr. Markovits, we illustrate a partial double impression of the 3¢ Treasury stamp. As befitting the most spectacular printing errors, this stamp at first glance looks very peculiar indeed, with the imprint of the Continental Bank Note Company, New York sitting directly above the stamp with no intervening clear space. Given the haste with which the plates for the official stamps were produced, it is not surprising that there is wide variation (2.5-5.5 mm) from plate to plate (and value to value) in the distance between this standard inscription and the top or bottom row of subjects. In perforating Bank Note stamps, the pins for the top and bottom rows were often set farther apart, producing unusually tall stamps that, depending on their positions, often will capture part of the imprint. In Figure 2, again courtesy of Robert L. Markovits, we illustrate a top unused strip of four of the 30¢ Treasury, showing the most spectacular example of an imprint capture ever found on official stamps. Whereas the normal height of a well-centered official stamp should be 28 mm out to out, these stamps are 31.5 mm tall, and with the stamps centered south, the inscription has been captured in its entirety. In Figure 3, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III, we illustrate a plate number and imprint block of O74, where the distance between the inscription and the stamps is 2.5 mm.

The newly discovered O74a double impression is either position 6L or 6R. The two impressions are offset vertically 2.5 mm. The upper second impression is complete and strong, while the lower first impression is incomplete (only about 20% of the stamp itself is doubled) and while strong in the imprint, notably weaker in the stamp itself. In my previous articles, I came up with an explanation for how the double impressions O22a and

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<sup>1</sup>Alan C. Campbell, "Varieties of United States Official Stamps: 90¢ Navy Short Transfer and 3¢ Treasury Double Impression," *Chronicle*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Whole No. 171)(August 1996) , pp. 183-89.

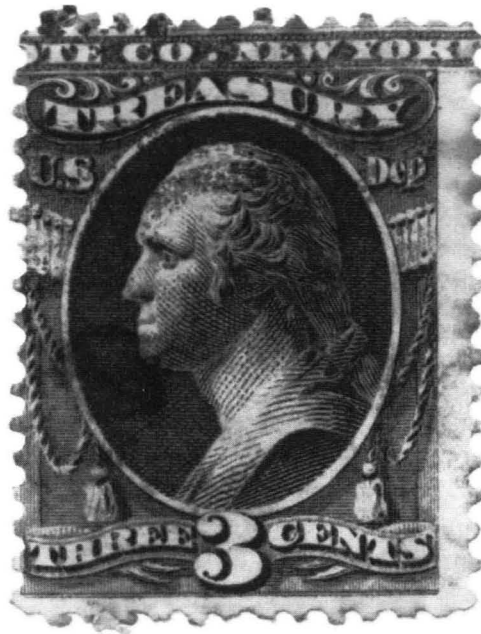


Figure 1. Double impression of the 3¢ Treasury, O74a, APS Certificate #113777 (July 1998), courtesy of Robert L. Markovits

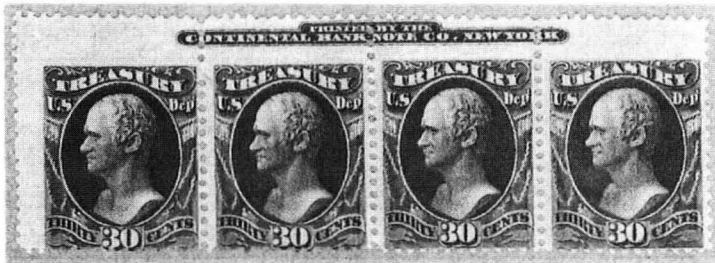


Figure 2. Strip of four of the 30¢ Treasury with complete imprint capture, courtesy of Robert L. Markovits





**Figure 3. Plate number and imprint block of the 3¢ Treasury, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III**

O45a were produced.<sup>2</sup> Both examples are from the extreme right row of the plate. On the O45a, the first partial impression (50%) is shifted 3.5 mm east. On the O22a, the first partial impression (20%) is shifted 0.5 mm south, 2.0 mm east, and is slightly skewed. These were both 100-subject plates, and I believe the plates were fed sideways under the impression cylinder, with the right row of stamps being printed first. I argued that the printing errors were produced in the same basic way: the paper was initially misaligned on the inked plate, and after a partial impression was made on the first row of stamps, the plate was backed out, the stamp paper lifted and repositioned, the plate reinked, and a second complete impression made. On my discovery copy of O74a and for the well-known double impression O116a, both impressions are complete and offset vertically. As these were both 200-subject plates, for the offsets to occur vertically, these double-sized plates would have to be fed top-to-bottom under the impression cylinder, with the top or bottom rows being printed first. Presumably the press was not deep enough front-to-back to allow these double-sized plates to be fed through sideways. Therefore, when a first partial impression is aborted on a 200-subject plate, this impression will be offset vertically from the second complete impression, in contrast to the horizontal offset observed on O22a and O45a, which were printed from 100-subject plates. And this is precisely what we observe in Mr. Markovits' new type of O74a.

The only recorded examples of double impressions on the 24¢ Interior (O22a) and the 90¢ Navy (O45a) are both postally used stamps, and in both cases only ten misprinted stamps (the right hand row) would have been produced. In the case of this discovery, the partial double impression of the 3¢ Treasury (O74a), the discovery copy is also postally used. Twenty misprinted stamps in all would have been produced (the top row of both panes). Four out of these twenty would have shown the spectacular captured contiguous imprint. So while I welcome reports of confirmation copies from fellow route agents, I am

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 189. Alan C. Campbell, "24¢ Interior Double Impression," *Chronicle*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Whole No. 176)(November 1997), pp. 275-76.

not holding my breath. So now there are two certified copies of O74a, but they are radically different, and each deserves (for the time being at least) to be considered “unique.”

### **The Lone Star Collection of United States Officials**

On May 22, 2002, a specialized collection consigned by a Texan was auctioned by Superior Stamps and Collectibles in Beverly Hills, California. Collections like this are typically sold on the East coast, so for the assistant editor and myself this was an unusual opportunity to view the lots and bid in person. This consignment consisted of 206 lots of unused stamps and multiples, plate varieties and fancy cancellations. No used blocks, covers or postal stationery were offered, and the conspicuous absence of War Department material in the cancellation lots suggests the consignor may still be collecting this field with a narrower focus.

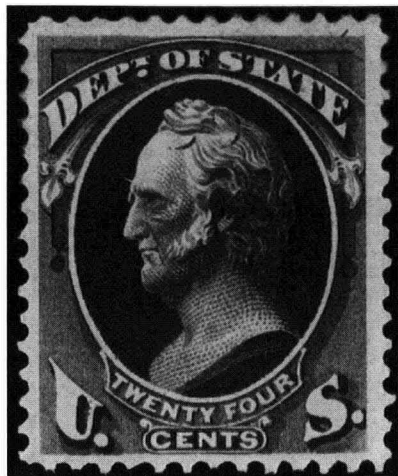
The most notable realizations were to be found among the plate varieties. For those of us with deteriorating vision, most of these scratches and double transfers are not visible to the naked eye, so the large-scale color scans provided at the auctioneer’s web site were an immense help. Some of us down-loaded or printed the scans for future reference. To our considerable surprise, all of the varieties had been accurately plated, suggesting the collector had access to the Elliott Perry photographs of the Earl of Crawford plate proof sheets on card.<sup>3</sup> Lot 952, an unused top plate number single of the 6¢ Executive with a double transfer in the numeral “6,” Position 6, sold after spirited bidding to Robert L. Markovits for \$1207.50 against a catalogue value of \$725.00. (All realizations include the 15% buyer’s commission.) This is the confirmation copy of a variety first discovered by Lester C. Lanphear III on a 6¢ Executive special printing. Lot 960, a used example of the 90¢ Interior major double transfer, Position 17, sold for \$264.50 against a catalogue value of \$67.50. This well-known variety, unlike most of the others described here, is actually listed and priced in the specialized catalogue.<sup>4</sup> Lot 988, a mint 3¢ Navy with a large scratch and a gash in the shoulder, Position 7, sold for \$488.75 to Lester C. Lanphear III, who owns a confirming copy and believes that this damage was progressive. Lot 993, a used copy of the 7¢ Navy with a double transfer in the top left star, sold for \$345.00 against a catalogue value of \$175.00. Neither myself nor Mr. Lanphear, the acknowledged top expert on official plate varieties, could detect the alleged doubling. Lot 1010, a 6¢ State foreign entry of the 6¢ Executive with a beautiful red favor cancellation, sold for \$264.50 to Theodore Lockyear.<sup>5</sup> Incredibly, two different previously unreported varieties of the 24¢ State were offered. Lot 1019, an unused 24¢ State with a gash in the “R” of “FOUR,” Position 66, sold for \$776.25. Lot 1020, a 24¢ State with a scratch in the upper margin and two curling gashes in Winfield Scott’s forehead, Position 76, sold for \$805, while Lot 1021, a confirming used copy of the same variety, sold for \$241.50. Courtesy of Mr. Lanphear, we illustrate in Figure 4 the unused copy of Position 76. Mr. Lanphear believes these adjacent varieties, Positions 66 and 76, are not double transfers, but evi-

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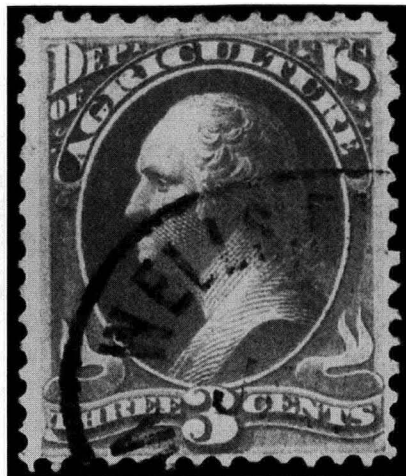
<sup>3</sup>Alan C. Campbell, “Plating the Official Stamps,” *Chronicle*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Whole No. 175)(August 1997), p. 199. Rollin C. Huggins, Jr. was able to confirm that the consignor did, in fact, have access to the Perry photographs.

<sup>4</sup>Alfred E. Staubus, “Double Transfer on the 90 Cent Interior Department Stamp,” *Chronicle*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Whole No. 151)(August 1991), pp. 200-204.

<sup>5</sup>Ralph Ebner, “The 6¢ State Foreign Entry Variety,” *Chronicle*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Whole No. 178)(May 1998), pp. 138-49.



**Figure 4. 24¢ State, Position 76 with curled gashes in Scott's forehead, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III**



**Figure 5. 3¢ Agriculture with Wells Fargo, Virginia City, Nevada express company postmark, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III**

dence of plate damage caused by a dropped tool. Such damage would most likely have occurred when the plate was originally prepared, so these should be constant varieties, especially since there was only one printing of these stamps by Continental in 1873.

Although many of these varieties were previously unreported and are clearly quite rare, still, this observer considered the prices realized high, especially considering the less than stellar condition. For once a variety has been described and clearly illustrated, specialists know what to look for and can patiently search dealers' stocks in the hope of finding an undetected example without having to pay a stiff premium. Over the years, Mr. Lanphear has grown frustrated with my inability to recognize even the most obvious plate flaws, and has often expressed disbelief that I could have discovered the 24¢ Interior double impression and recognized it for what it was.<sup>6</sup> But after illustrating in this column an example of the 2¢ Executive foreign entry,<sup>7</sup> I was subsequently able to find two copies, one in a dealer's stock and the other on eBay, and purchase them for \$160.00 apiece. In contrast, a similar copy offered in a recent auction sold for \$2300.00.<sup>8</sup> This confirms the adage that every once in a while, even a blind chicken pecks a kernel of corn.

For the 63 lots of fancy cancellations on official stamps, prices were more reasonable. One noteworthy exception, illustrated in Figure 5, was Lot 1080, a 3¢ Agriculture stamp with an oval Wells, Fargo datestamp from Virginia City, Nevada, hammered down to Mr. Lanphear for \$920.00 against an estimate of \$200-\$300. The specialized catalogue has long listed express company cancellations on the 6¢ Agriculture and the 3¢ and 6¢ Interior, but previously none of us had ever seen an example. Lot 1111, a corner piece of an Interior Pension Office penalty envelope with boxed penalty clause and a supplemental 6¢ State tied by a New York numeral "1" in vertical barred ellipse, sold for \$690.00 against an estimated value of \$100-\$150. Cancellations of this type, intended for use on

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<sup>6</sup>Campbell, "24¢ Interior Double Impression", pp. 275-76.

<sup>7</sup>Campbell, "Plating the Official Stamps," Figure 1, p. 202.

<sup>8</sup>The Ivy & Mader June 2002 Sale, Lot 2199.

supplementary mail, foreign mail or mail of foreign origin, are rarely seen on official covers. This was a fascinating bit of postal history: a penalty envelope posted in Washington, D.C. without the necessary foreign postage, rectified by the dispatch agent at the main New York Post Office, who affixed a 6¢ State to pay the postage because he had never been supplied Interior stamps for this purpose. Of course, by 1883, official stamps were no longer valid on UPU mail, but the dispatch agent was either unaware of the 1879 change in regulations or chose to ignore it. This item was bought by Lester C. Lanphear for his definitive exhibit collection of early penalty mail.

### Postscript on Usages of Navy Department Stamps

In an earlier article,<sup>9</sup> I compiled a census of the recorded covers franked with all values of Navy Department stamps except for the relatively common 3¢. At that time, I was not aware of two 6¢ covers in the possession of the renowned Lincoln collector Eliot A. Landau. Robert L. Markovits brought to my attention another 6¢ Navy cover, a legal-size envelope from the Nautical Almanac Office, posted in August 1878.<sup>10</sup> Yet another 6¢ Navy cover turned up in a May auction, a small cover from the Nautical Almanac Office with an indistinct route agent's or RPO postmark.<sup>11</sup> And finally, a fascinating 6¢ Navy came up for auction in October and after spirited bidding was captured by Lester C. Lanphear III for a hammer price of \$2400.00.<sup>12</sup> This legal-size cover, to a paymaster with a manuscript "Official Business" endorsement, was carried outside the mails to the Navy Department in Washington, D.C. where the stamp and address to the U.S. *Wachusett* were added. Bearing the handstamp of the London dispatch agent B.F. Stevens dated November 2, 1874, this is the first Navy cover reported that was clearly carried by diplomatic pouch, a communication method that must have been fairly standard for Naval officers at sea. This brings to 21 the total number of 6¢ Navy covers recorded. In the meantime, two other previously unreported Navy covers have come into my possession.

The first, illustrated in Figure 6, is a 1¢, 2¢ combination—the sixth recorded—paying a straightforward 3¢ domestic rate. This is an example of the Navy Department's custom of adding official postage stamps to forward a letter to a sailor when his ship had set sail or had been relocated. In my previous article, I had decided that this group of covers deserves to be analyzed in a dedicated separate article. However, the cover shown here is slightly different and in some respects enigmatic, so I will briefly discuss it as a "problem cover."

I have had the benefit of an exhaustive analysis by our dean of postal historians, Richard B. Graham. Midshipman William Shepherd Benson, a graduate of the Naval Academy, eventually became the Navy's Chief of Naval Operations and served as such until he retired in 1919 as an admiral. There exist a number of covers, all addressed in the same hand, to Benson aboard the U.S. Flagship *Hartford*, the U.S. Ship *Constitution* and the U.S.S. *Yantic*, sent either care of the U.S. Consul in a foreign port with proper UPU postage, or care of the Navy Department in Washington, D.C., with supplemental Navy

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<sup>9</sup>Alan C. Campbell, "Usages of Navy Department Official Stamps," *Chronicle*, Vol. 54, No. 1, (Whole No. 193)(February 2002), pp. 44-58.

<sup>10</sup>This is one of 51 mostly legal-size official covers in the George Turner collection of the postal history of the District of Columbia, donated to the Washington Philatelic Society in 1979. This holding, consisting of covers from all departments, has a number of significant higher-value frankings but no earthshaking rarities.

<sup>11</sup>Robert A. Siegel Sale 845, May 15, 2002, lot #674, realized \$650 plus 10%.

<sup>12</sup>Nutmeg Sale #55, October 17, 2002, Lot #1370.

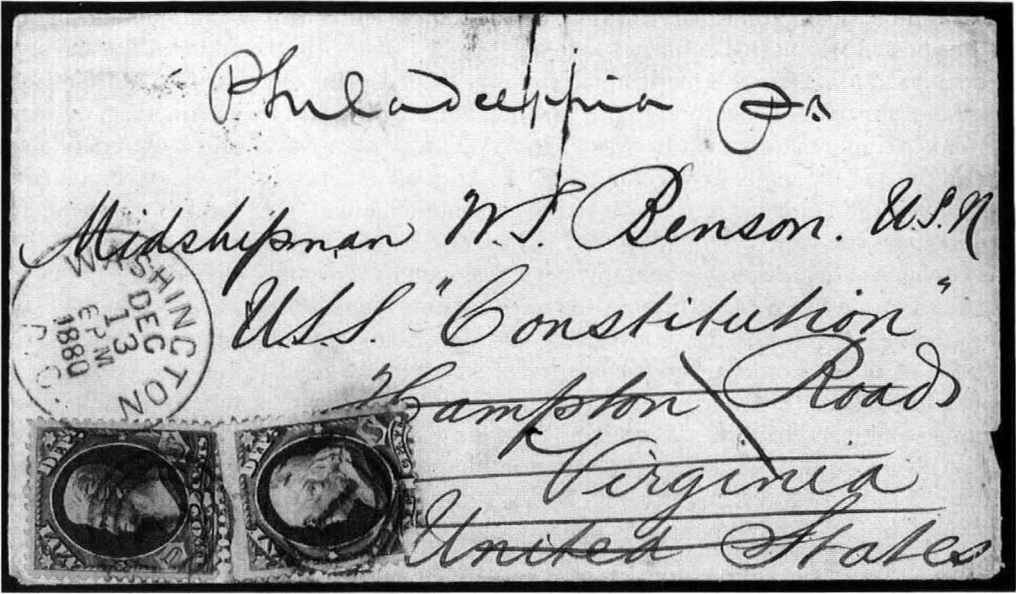


Figure 6. 1¢, 2¢ Navy combination cover, 1880, with postage and forwarding address supplied by the Navy Department in Washington, D.C.

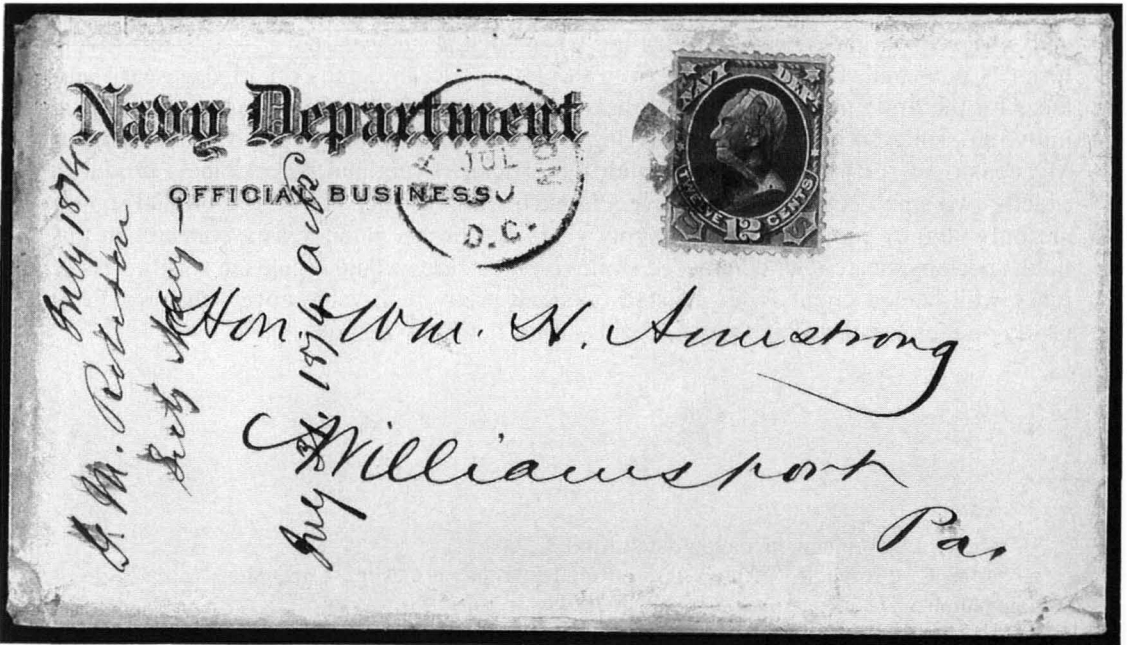


Figure 7. 12¢ Navy cover, July 1874, from Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson in Washington, D.C. to Congressman William H. Armstrong in Williamsport, Pennsylvania

official franking added there. This cover was addressed by a different hand to “U.S.S. ‘Constitution,’ Hampton Road, Virginia, United States.” Of course, it is highly unusual for a letter posted within this country to include “United States” in the address. But the style of penmanship is clearly American, so my first theory (prior to contacting Mr. Graham) was that if this letter had a foreign origin, it might have been sent by an American overseas (carried by diplomatic pouch to Washington, D.C.), or by a Naval officer on board ship, carried outside the mails to Washington, D.C. After all, another 1¢, 2¢ Navy combination usage from 1882 on what appears to be private, unofficial mail (*i. e.*, lacking a corner card) also includes the words “United States” in the address (No. 8 in my previous survey). But Mr. Graham’s conclusion was that this cover was sent by a member of Benson’s family — uncertain of the U.S.S. *Constitution*’s precise location—under separate cover to the Navy Department. “There, possibly considering that since Benson and the ship were transferred because of official orders, Navy Department stamps were used to forward the cover to Philadelphia.”<sup>13</sup> In 1878, the U.S.S. *Constitution*, “*Old Ironsides*,” had been retrofitted as a training vessel, and in 1880 was cruising from the Caribbean up to Nova Scotia and back.

My second new discovery, illustrated in Figure 7, is a small 12¢ quadruple domestic rate cover with a “Navy Department” corner card in a shaded Gothic typeface, sent from Washington, D.C. to Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Docketing indicates that the cover was sent from Secretary of the Navy George Robeson to the Hon. William H. Armstrong and answered by him a day later on July 31, 1874. Armstrong, previously a Congressman from the 18th District of Pennsylvania (1869-1871), had declined an invitation from President Grant to serve as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but later served as Commissioner of Railroads, 1882-1885. This size of postmark without a year date and with the fancy cross-roads killer was known to have been used at the main Washington, D.C. post office in late July 1874. The killer ties the stamp to the cover, there is a pencil notation rate marking “12” under the stamp applied by a mailroom clerk, and the cover is distended around the edges, indicating heavy contents. Previously, there were two 12¢ Navy covers recorded (Nos. 51 and 56 in my census), one of which was stolen in 1983 and has been presumed lost to philately. The dealer who sold me this cover had read my previous article and was well aware of its rarity, yet it is thrilling when such an unusual cover— like the “living fossil” Coelocanth fish brought up from the Indian Ocean depths off Madagascar—surfaces for the first time. Small covers franked with higher value official stamps are surpassingly rare, since so few of those surviving were franked to pay high pre-UPU treaty rates. My census of forty-five 24¢, 30¢, and 90¢ official covers and parcel labels produced exactly two small covers.<sup>14</sup> Small covers franked with 7¢, 10¢, 12¢ or 15¢ official stamps are only slightly more common. Twenty years ago, in my infancy as a collector in this field, specialist dealers with bemused smiles on their faces would regale me with stories of fussy well-heeled clients who insisted on small pretty high-value covers that would fit neatly on their regular album pages. Finally, now, I own my first one. □

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<sup>13</sup>Richard B. Graham, in a letter dated April 3, 2002.

<sup>14</sup>Alan C. Campbell, “High Value Official Stamps on Cover,” *Chronicle*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Whole Number 188)(November 2000), p. 297-298.

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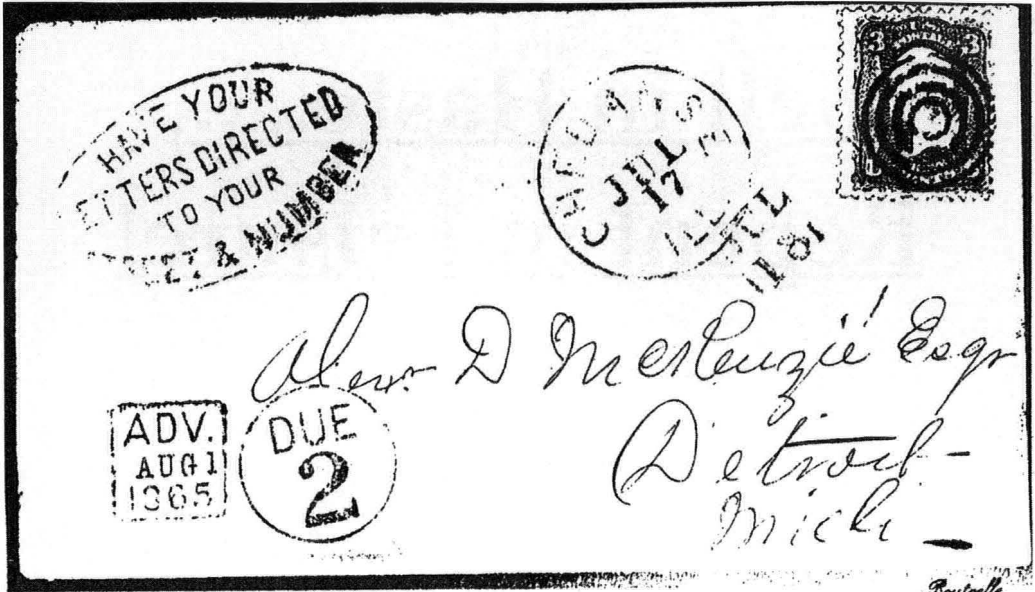


Figure 1. Chebanse, Ill. [1865] cover to Detroit, Mich., "Due 2"

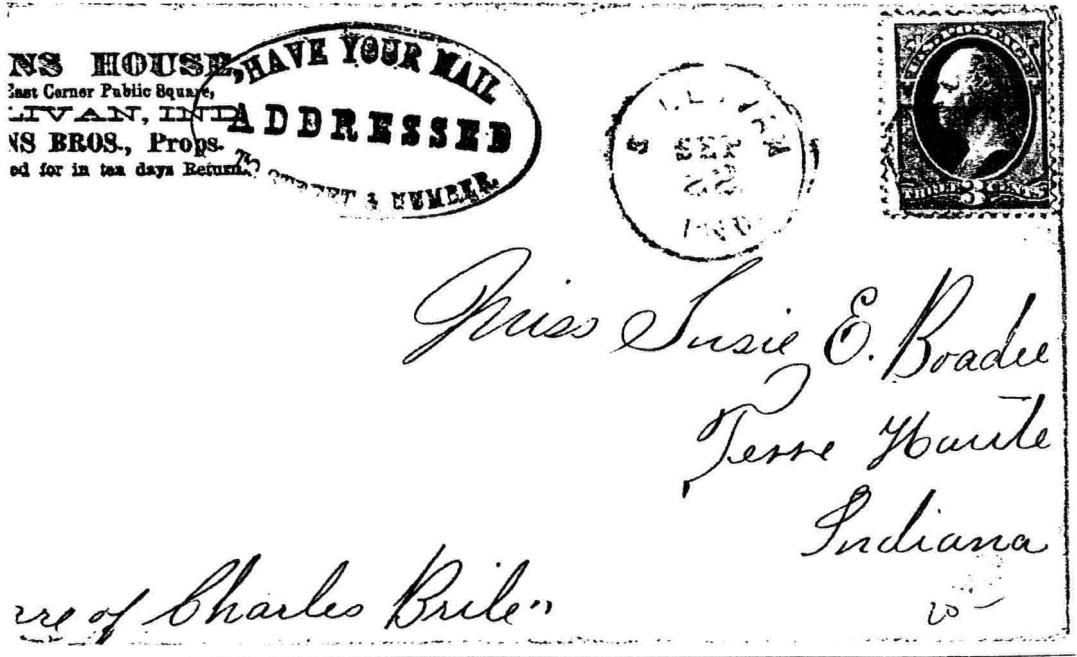


Figure 2. Sullivan, IN cover to Terre Haute, IN, oval "... MAIL ADDRESSED"



### **ADDITIONAL ANSWERS TO PROBLEM COVERS IN ISSUE 192 - 196**

Figure 1 appeared as a cover in Issue #194 and was followed in Issues #195 and #196 by two other covers having the same cachet in oval reading HAVE YOUR / LETTERS DIRECTED / TO YOUR STREET AND NUMBER. The question was asked in Issue #196 whether the subject cachet only received the instructional marking at the Detroit Post Office to which all three letters were addressed, although each had a different postage rate collected in Detroit.

Three new covers were received from Route Agent Jim Kesterson who notes that each cover had a different cachet design supplied and none repeated the cachet of the original, Figure 1: Figure 2 has an oval reading in part MAIL/ADDRESSED, Figure 3 is also an oval, LETTERS DIRECTED, while Figure 4 is a circle, MAIL/DIRECTED, Figure 2 went from Sullivan, IND to Terre Haute, IND; Figure 3 shows the reverse only, with no indication of origin or destination; while Figure 4, canceled with a barely legible Leavenworth, IND, was addressed to New Orleans, LA. These addresses and destinations differ from those reported earlier. This indicates that each cachet was locally applied. Thus, we conclude that each postmaster was free to acquire his own cachet to be applied on either the front or the back of each cover.

Further evidence that the covers originated in different cities has been provided by Route Agent Jim Cate who scanned the original cover with the other five. He concludes that the Nashville cover compares with other examples of his own. Jim also was able to identify the year date of the OLD POINT COMFORT cover (Figure #3, Issue #196) as 1865. Is there any interest in developing a period of use for this cachet?

Next is a cover from England to Kansas via Chicago Am. Pkt. in 1864 (Figure #5A & 5B). It began a double journey across the Atlantic starting from Bewdley (England), postage unpaid. It received five transit markings on the face and another on the back. Apparently the addressee could not be located or refused delivery (thereby avoiding payment of the postage due). The cover was returned to England with U.S. accountancy markings in blue "U.S. Notes / 29" [or "39"]. We surmise the Post Office wrote "unclaimed" and the sender wrote "returned to me June 16 1864. I posted it again the same day unpaid." Route Agents Julian Jones and Jim Blandford submitted complete analyses regarding the postal markings on this cover. Agent Jones' discussion is very complete and will be used here:

The British postmark is most likely Bewdley, not Bedoley (the latter did/does not exist). Bewdley is south west of Birmingham.

"3 CENTS" was applied at the Liverpool Exchange Office and is the debit from the US exchange account of 3 cents for postage within GB according to the 1849-1867 treaty. The letter is sent unpaid, so the US will collect the 24 cents total treaty rate (single) due. Mail for Kansas was bagged for shipment directly to the Chicago exchange office and scheduled for a ship under contract to the US Post Office (*i.e.*, not Cunard or Galway Line). The possibilities seem to be 1) Inman Line's *City of London* departing Liverpool on 19 August arriving New York 31 August, or 2) Allan Line's *Jura* departing 20 Aug and arriving Quebec 2 September. The Allan Line regularly carried mails to be exchanged with Chicago and Detroit (Winter and Hubbard, *North Atlantic Mail Sailings*). So more likely the *Jura*.

"CHICAGO AM. PKT. / SEP 4 / 24" was applied in the Chicago exchange office upon opening the bags for further distribution. The "24" indicates the postage due from

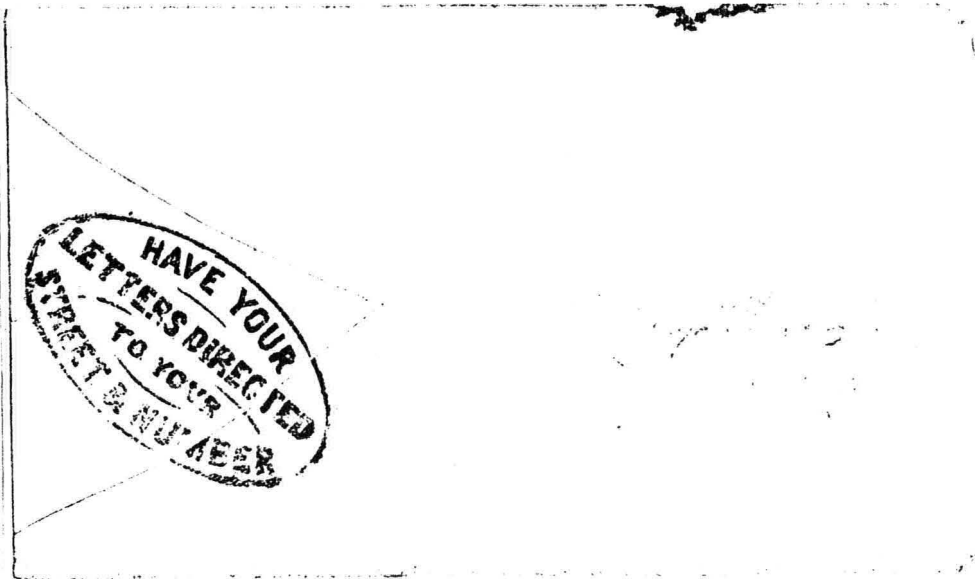


Figure 3. Reverse only, oval "... LETTERS DIRECTED"

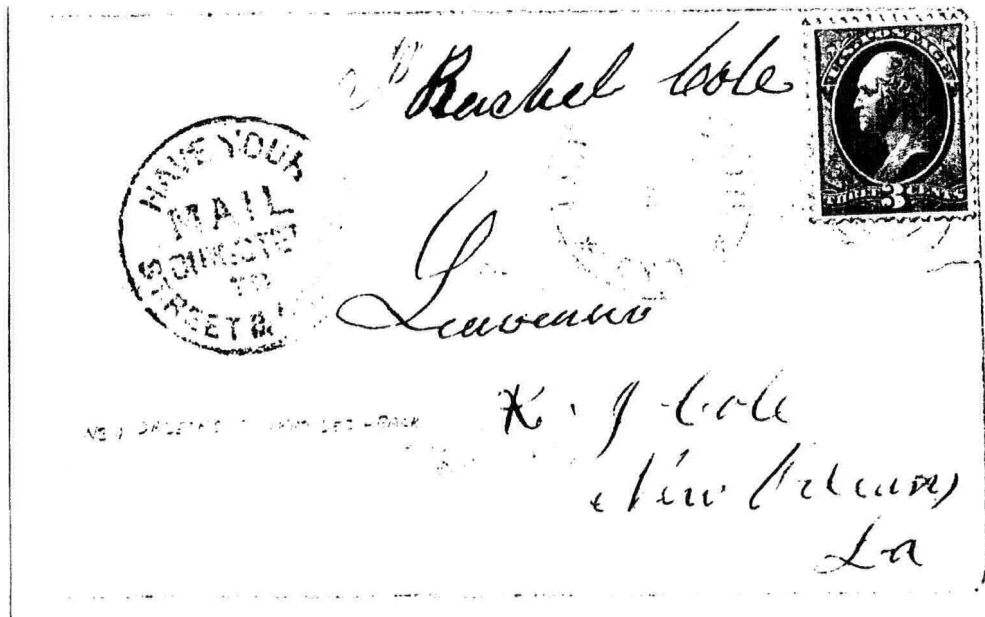


Figure 4. Leavenworth, IND, to New Orleans, LA, circle with "... MAIL/DIRECTED"

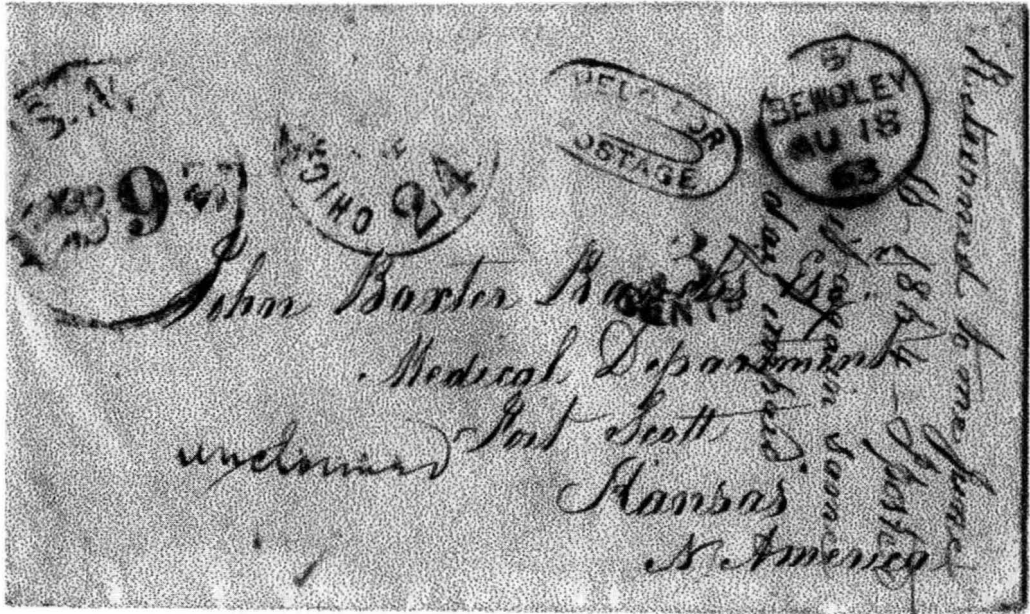


Figure 5A. England to Fort Scott, Kansas, via Chicago Am. Pkt.

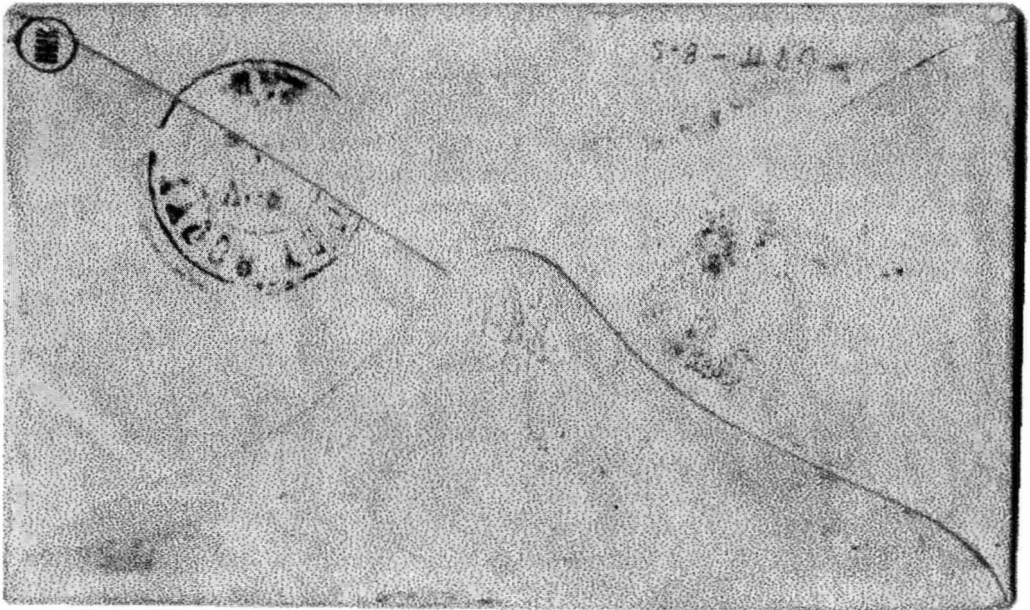


Figure 5B. Reverse of Figure 5A, England to Fort Scott cover

the recipient, but . . .

“IN U.S. NOTES 39” was also applied in Chicago as paper money was depreciating against silver currency because of Civil War conditions. The Treaty required Britain be paid in silver so the US Post Office required the recipient to pay 24 cents in silver (or gold?) Treasury Paper –*U.S. Postmarks and Cancellations*, by K. Gilman (June 1989), indicates that this type of mark was in use in Chicago in 1863 (and in Detroit 1864-68, Portland 1865, Philadelphia 1867).

The same Guide also lists a double oval “HELD FOR / POSTAGE” as being in use “in various cities” in the 1860s. It also lists a single oval for Chicago from the 1850s (page 161, item 1220). I can’t find a similar instructional hand stamp listed in the GB postmark books in my possession.

The rate progression is provided as follows:

BEWDLEY	August 18, 1863
3 CENTS	August 19 or 20 in Liverpool
CHICAGO AM. PKT.	September 4, 1863
IN US NOTES 39	September 4, 1863
FORT SCOTT / unclaimed	Nov. ?, 1863
HELD FOR POSTAGE - CHICAGO	First crossing? Waiting for someone to figure out what to do and who should pay.
Returned to sender	June 16, 1864

One variation is that the “HELD FOR POSTAGE” was applied on the 2nd Atlantic crossing, but then there should have been more Liverpool and Chicago postmarks.

Jim Blandford opines that the “HELD FOR POSTAGE” was applied at Fort Scott as was the m/s “unclaimed.” The sender received the cover back on June 16, 1864 and “posted it again the same day.”

Jim adds other details: “The letter traveled from Riviere du Loup, Quebec, to Chicago via the Grand Trunk RR.” And “The absence of additional markings on the cover after being received by the sender would indicate it went under separate cover.”

### PROBLEM COVERS FOR THIS ISSUE

Route Agent Julian Jones writes from Romsey, United Kingdom with a trio of entire covers seemingly sent from London to Philadelphia by Falmouth Packet between 3rd Jan. 1787 and 5th Jan. 1791. This is a real treat for *Chronicle* Agents to peruse since we rarely see any problem covers of this vintage.

The covers appear to be examples of 1, 2 and 6 British rates. The Falmouth Packet rate of June 1711 still applied, *viz.*, 1/- the single rate from London to New York. The problem is the apparently differing rates charged in the U.S.A., *i.e.*, 2dwt, 2dwt -16 grains and 8dwt.

The first entire, Figure 6, is dated 3 Jan. 1787 and sent from London to Philadelphia. Red “Pd 1/-” in manuscript and circular black “3/IA” London Bishop mark and circle “POST PAID” black manuscript “2” (presumably 2dwt US Troy rate).

The second entire, Figure 7, is dated 6th Jan 1790, sent from London to Philadelphia, also with red “Pd 2/-” in manuscript. A black circular “JA / 6 / 90” London postmark and circle “POST PAID” plus a black manuscript “2.16” (presumably 2dwt 16gr US Troy rate). Faint manuscript “1/4.”

The third entire, Figure 8, is dated 5th Jan. 1791, sent from London to Philadelphia with a red “1 1/2/P 6/-” in manuscript with circular black “JA / 5// 91” London postmark and circle “POST PAID,” plus black manuscript “8” (presumably 8dwt US Troy rate). Manuscript “3/6.”

Agent Jones’ understanding is that Philadelphia is less than 100 miles from New York and that the applicable internal U.S. postal rate applied from Oct. 1782 of 2dwt 0grs for 61 to 100 miles. The inbound U.S. ship charge beyond the port in this period is 16



Figure 6. London to Philadelphia cover, 3 Jan. 1787, POST PAID "2"

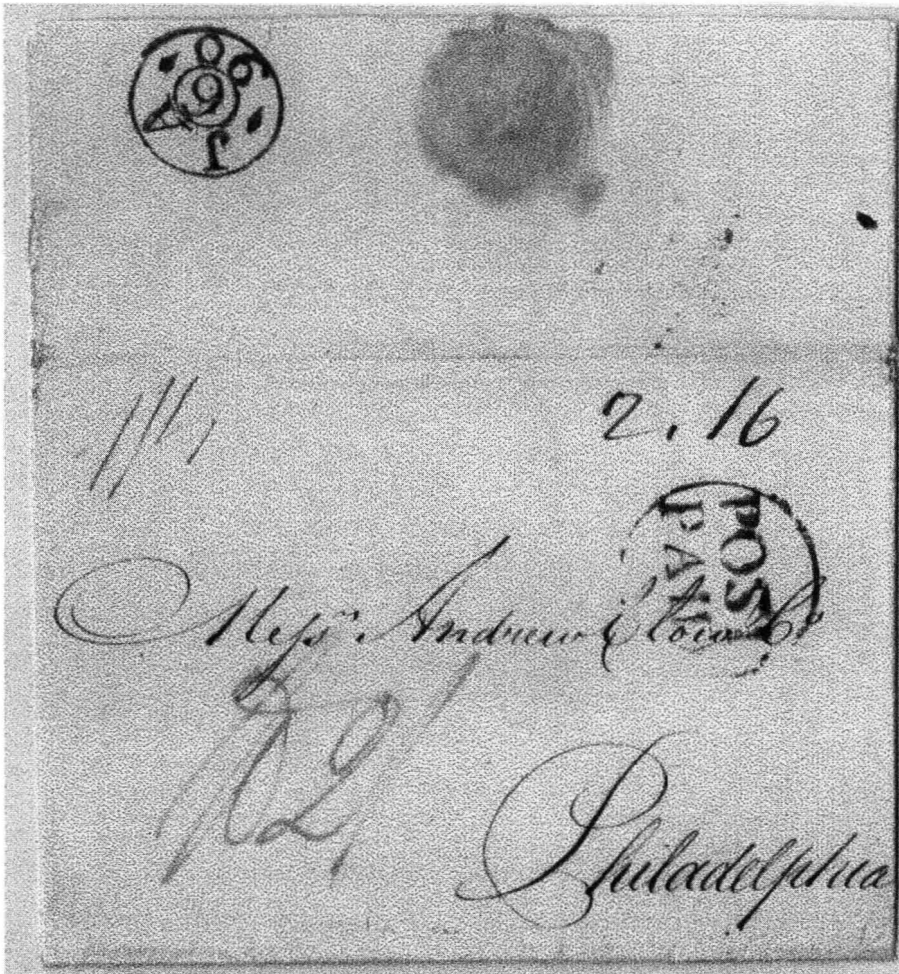
grains. Also at this time local currency was 1 dwt = 24 grains = 3 d Stg. [sterling].

The entires seem to have been charged respectively: 1 rate: 1 rate plus ship fee; 4 rates. Entires 2 and 3 appear to also be endorsed in local currency: 1/4 and 3/6, but these do not match the Troy rates on the entires.

Help would be welcome in explaining the U.S. rates which were applied to these letters.

\*\*\*\*\*

Please send to The Cover Corner Editor your answers to the problem covers for this issue, and any further discussion of previous answers to other problem covers, as soon as possible, preferably within two weeks of receiving your *Chronicle*. The "go to press" deadline for the May 2003 Cover Corner is April 10, 2003. I can receive mail at 9068 Fontainebleau Terrace, Cincinnati, OH 45231-4808 and via an e-mail address: RWCARLIN@aol.com.



**Figure 7. London to Philadelphia cover, 6 Jan. 1790, POST PAID "2.16"**

New examples of problem covers are always needed for The Cover Corner. High resolution copiers, either black and white or colored images, have proven to be quite successful in reproducing 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.

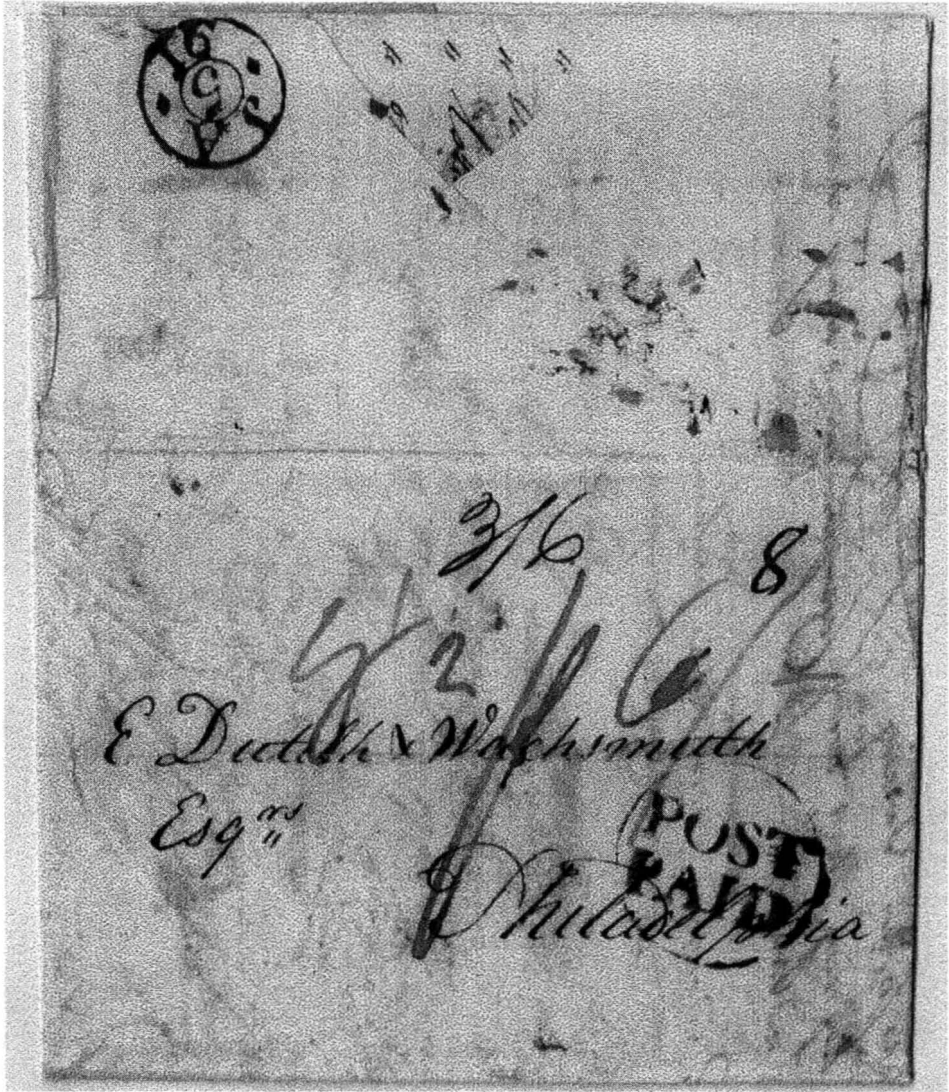


Figure 8. London to Philadelphia cover, 5 Jan. 1791, POST PAID "8"

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