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# U.S. CARRIERS \& INDEPENDENT MAILS GORDON STIMMELL, Editor 

## BOSTON TO SAINT JOHN STEAMBOAT MAIL ©2003 DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

(continued from Chronicle 202:116)


Figure 17. Boston U.S. Express Mail handstamp, on cover endorsed "per Adelaide"

## A. Express Mail Markings

The circular express mail markings were applied by the Steamboat Letter Carriers, and were normally used only on loose letters, therefore, these markings are quite scarce. Most of the markings have been reported both in red and black. Express mail markings are reported for Boston, Eastport and St. John. There are two varieties of the Boston express mail marking, three varieties of the Eastport express mail marking and four varieties of St. John express mail marking, including the "Colonial Express Mail" marking (Figures 1725). The Boston express mail markings are distinct from the far more common express mail markings applied on the Boston to New York City route. The Boston marking varieties are the 32 mm "EXPRESS MAIL BOSTON" and 34 mm "U.S. EXPRESS MAIL BOSTON" (Figures 17 and 18). Similarly there exist three varieties of the Express Mail marking for Eastport: the 32mm "EXPRESS MAIL EASTPORT," with "EASTPORT" above the date, and the same marking with "EASTPORT" below the date, and the 34 mm "U.S. EXPRESS MAIL EASTPORT." (Figures 19-21). St. John markings include the 32mm "EXPRESS MAIL ST. JOHN," 33mm "U.S. EXPRESS MAIL ST. JOHN," 34mm "U.S. EXPRESS MAIL ST. JOHN, N.B.," and 33 mm "COLONIAL EXPRESS MAIL ST.


Figure 18. Boston Express Mail handstamp (tracing)


Figure 19-20. Eastport Express Mail handstamps (tracings)


Figure 21. Eastport Express Mail handstamp on cover, Schuyler Rumsey Auction 13, lot \#169


Figure 22. "EXPRESS MAIL / ST JOHN" on cover with "PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK" marking


Figure 23-24. St. John Express Mail markings (tracings): 33mm "U.S. EXPRESS MAIL / ST. JOHN" and 34mm "U.S. EXPRESS MAIL / ST. JOHN, N.B."

JOHN, N.B." (Figures 22 to 25). Figure 22 shows a cover carried from St. John to Boston on the Admiral, departing St. John on Friday, May 12, 1854. The cover is struck with the "EXPRESS MAIL ST. JOHN" marking, as well as the "PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK" exchange office marking to be discussed in the next section. As previously discussed, loose letters could be sent unpaid or paid with stamps, but could not be paid in cash. Thus, the cover is rated 10 due, to be collected from the addressee in New York. Figure 25 shows a similar cover, but this one was struck with the "COLONIAL EXPRESS MAIL ST. JOHN, N.B." marking. It also was carried on the Admiral, departing St. John on Monday, June 1, 1857, and arriving in Boston the following day.


Figure 25."COLONIAL EXPRESS MAIL./ST. JOHN, N.B." marking on cover

It appears that the route agents had an express mail handstamp with interchangeable type for the different cities. There is an example of a single express mail marking with "ST. JOHN" struck over "BOSTON". Additionally, it appears that the different versions of the express mail markings were used during different time periods, and not at the same time by different route agents, or on board different steamboats. Thus, the "EXPRESS MAIL" markings appear to have been used between 1853 and 1855 or 1856, when they were replaced by the "U.S. EXPRESS MAIL" markings which appear to have been used in 1856 and 1857.


Figure 26. Robbinston Exchange Office marking


Figure 27. Calais Exchange Office marking


Figure 28. "U. States." arc marking of Boston Exchange Office


Figure 29. Large "UNITED STATES" exchange office marking, Matthew Bennett's Watt C. White auction, Sale 248, lot \#43

## B. United States Exchange Office Markings

## 1. Robbinston and Calais

At the start of the steamboat mail period, the primary exchange office for mail between the United States and the Maritime Provinces was Robbinston, Maine, which exchanged mail with St. Andrews, New Brunswick. The post offices are on opposite sides of St. Croix River at the point where it opens into Passamaquoddy Bay. Eastport Maine is approximately 12 miles east, as the crow flies. Prior to 1853 , when the steamboat letter carrier system was extended to St. John, steamboat letter carriers apparently carried mail to Eastport or Calais for exchange with New Brunswick. However, mail could also be carried overland to Robbinston, so the only clues as to whether the mail was sent by steamboat would be the transit time from the originating post office to Robbinston and whether any exchange office transit markings correspond with the steamboat schedule. Although dated transit markings are not common from U.S. post offices, the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia post offices almost always marked incoming and outgoing mail with dated transit markings at the exchange office, and often at several points within the Maritimes.

Calais, Maine, about 10 miles further upriver from Robbinston, was another exchange office. Prior to 1853 , some of the steamboats continued on to Calais after stopping in Eastport. At all other times, connecting service was available between Calais and Eastport. Calais exchanged mail with St. Stephen, New Brunswick. The post offices are on opposite sides of the St. Croix River, at the head of its tidal range. The cities were connected by at least two bridges as early as $1827 .{ }^{79}$ On September 1, 1857 Calais replaced Robbinston as the primary exchange office:

Shortly after my appointment to office, I learned that much delay occurred in the transmission of American Mails to and from Saint John by way of Saint Andrews and Robbinston, and on enquiring found that this could be obviated by changing the route and without increased expense to the Department. This change was effected on the 1st September, and the Mails are now transmitted from Calais to Saint Stephen, and thence by direct route to Saint John. By this arrangement, the distance travelled between Bangor and Saint John has been diminished, a very dangerous ferry from Robbinston to Saint Andews avoided, and 24 hours saved in the transmission of the Mails each way. J.M. Johnson, Jun. ${ }^{80}$

Like Robbinston, the only clues as to whether the mail was sent by steamboat, or by a land route, would be the transit time from the originating United States post office and Calais and whether the exchange marking corresponds with the steamboat schedule. Figures 26 and 27 are tracings of the Robbinston and Calais exchange office markings.

## 2. Boston

With the extension of the steamboat service to St. John in 1853, Boston became an exchange office for the mail to New Brunswick. ${ }^{81}$ Mail to the Maritime Provinces with a Boston cross-border exchange office marking must have traveled via the Boston to St. John steamboat line. Of course, Boston was also the exchange office for mail to the Maritime Provinces sent via the Cunard Line to Halifax; however, these letters used different exchange office markings. In addition, Boston exchanged mail with Montreal,

[^0]

Figure 30. Dover NY to NB, oval "UNITED STATES" exchange office marking (Blake \& Davis \#389)


Figure 31. \#35 on cover, dotted oval "UNITED STATES" exchange office marking (Blake \& Davis \#390)


Figure 32. "U. STATES / C" in arc exchange office marking (Blake \& Davis \#392)


Figure 33. Crescent City, California to NB cover, "U. STATES / C" in arc exchange office marking (Blake \& Davis \#392B)

Canada East, using some of the same markings. Figure 28 illustrates an unusual usage of the "U. STATES." arc exchange office marking on a cover to the Maritimes. Although it is not an excessively scarce marking, it is more frequently seen on mail exchanged with Montreal. The marking is reported as used between 1852 (before Boston began exchanging mail with St. John) and 1855. The cover was mailed in West Cambridge, Massachusetts, on Monday, June 26, 1854. It traveled to St. John via the Admiral, departing Boston on Tuesday, June 27, and arriving in St. John the following day. Figure 29 illustrates the rarest Boston exchange office marking, the 36 mm large circular "UNITED STATES." The marking is quite rare and may have been used solely on express mail from Boston in $1855 .{ }^{82}$

Between 1855 and 1860, the Boston exchange office used a 29 mm oval "UNITED STATES." exchange marking. Figure 30 is a cover from Dover, New York, to St. John, New Brunswick, carried by the Admiral, departing Boston on Thursday, August 13, 1857, and backstamped upon arrival in St. John the following day. The cover is interesting because the treaty between the United States and New Brunswick allowed for letters to be sent fully paid or fully unpaid, but partial payments were not accepted. Thus, even though the sender used a $3 \notin$ postal stationary envelope, it was treated as entirely unpaid in Boston and St. John, as evidenced by the " 10 " cents due U.S. rate marking and the " 6 " pence due New Brunswick marking. The Boston exchange office also used a slightly smaller 24 mm "UNITED STATES." marking in a dotted oval between 1859 and 1865. Figure 31 shows a cover from Boston to Annapolis, Nova Scotia with the dotted oval exchange office marking.

Two additional exchange office markings were used in Boston for mail on the Boston to St. John steamboat service. However, unlike the exchange office markings previously discussed, these markings were also used in Portland and Eastport. It has been suggested that these exchange markings were used on board the coastal steamers. Figure 32 shows a cover with the 34 mm "U. STATES / C" marking used between 1858 and 1861. The cover is from Boston to Kentsville, Nova Scotia, in January 1859. Figure 33 shows the much more common 30 mm "U. STATES / C" marking also reported used between 1858 and 1861. The cover illustrates the $15 \phi$ rate from Crescent City, California, to Springfield, New Brunswick. Envelopes with a preprinted "STEAMBOAT MAIL FROM BOSTON" directional endorsement (Figure 34) are known used from New York. ${ }^{83}$

## STEAMBOAT MALL FROM BOSTON. EI

Figure 34. "STEAMBOAT MAIL FROM BOSTON" marking (tracing) (Blake \& Davis \#393)

## 3. Portland

Like Boston, Portland became an exchange office for mails to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1853, when the Steamboat Letter Carriers began operating to St. John. One exchange office marking has been identified as having been used exclusively in Portland. However, Portland, like Boston, was an exchange office for Montreal due to its railroad links with the Canadian city. The exchange office marking, "U. STATES" in an arc, appears more frequently on mail to Canada East. The cover illustrated in Figure 35 from

[^1]

Figure 35. Portland ME to NB cover, Portland "U. STATES" exchange office marking

Portland to New Brunswick displays the Portland exchange office marking; however, the cover was exchanged with St. Andrews, New Brunswick and not with St. John. The cover likely was carried by steamer as far as Eastport and then placed on a connecting steamer to St. Andrews. Covers exchanged through the Portland exchange office also display the "U. STATES / C" markings illustrated at Figures 32 and 33 above, which are thought to have been used on the coastal steamers.

## 4. Eastport



Figure 36. Eastport to Parrsborough NS cover

Like Boston and Portland, Eastport became an exchange office for mails to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1853, when the Steamboat Letter Carriers began operating to St. John. No exchange office markings unique to Eastport have been identified. Figure 36 shows a cover from Eastport to Parrsborough, Nova Scotia. The cover is postmarked Eastport, Me., July 29, 1864, and backstamped St. John, New Brunswick, the same day. The cover was carried on either the New Brunswick or the New England. Covers also exist with an Eastport postmark, but with docketing indicating a Boston origin. Perhaps loose letters were occasionally postmarked in Eastport. Even after the steamboat letter carrier system was extended to St. John, letters were still exchanged via Robbinston, and later Calais. These covers remain a mystery. Perhaps the Post Office tried to steer letters through Robbinston to limit the letter carrier's fee ( $1 申$ vs. $3 \notin$ ). Or perhaps the letter agent was only authorized as far as Calais. In some cases it may be that the destination was closer to Robbinston than to St. John; however, some covers show a St. John transit marking dated after the St. Andrews marking, thus the covers were removed from a St. John bound steamship and exchanged with St. Andrews before being forwarded to St. John.

## C. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Markings

Mail from the Maritime Provinces to the United States via the Boston to St. John steamboats by necessity had to pass through New Brunswick. The New Brunswick exchange office markings were more standardized, and with the exception of the Express Mail markings, it is not clear which markings, if any, were used solely on Boston to St. John steamboat mail. Figure 37 shows the 39mm "PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK" marking found on New Brunswick to United States express mail. The marking is reported in 1851; however, this predates the steamboat letter agents' operation in New Brunswick. Perhaps there was an error in reporting the date. The 32 mm variety of this marking is shown in Figure 38. The cover was carried by the Admiral from Boston to St. John, and also bears the "EXPRESS MAIL ST. JOHN" marking. The marking is reported between 1853 and 1856.


Figures 37-38. "PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK" 39 mm marking (tracing) (Jephcott \#170) and "PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK" 32 mm marking (tracing) (Jephcott \#171)

The black "New Brunswick X" exchange office marking appears to have been used on St. John to Boston steamboat mail in 1851 and 1852, before the steamboats operated all the way to St. John. Nearly all covers bearing this marking do not display a St. Andrews transit marking, as would be expected if the cover had been exchanged at the Robbinston St. Andrews Exchange Office. Thus, it seems logical that the marking was used in St. John, as an exchange office marking on mail sent by steamboat to Eastport for transfer to the Eastport to Boston steamboat. Alternatively, the New Brunswick X marking may have been struck in St. Andrews in place of a town marking. Figure 39 illustrates a cover with the "New Brunswick X" marking carried from Halifax to Ravenna, Ohio in the summer of 1852.


Figure 39. Halifax cover with "New Brunswick X" marking (Jephcott \#406)

A number of New Brunswick rate markings have been identified with the St. John to Boston Steamboat service. It has also been suggested that the 21 mm " 10 CTS" marking used in St. John was limited to use on letters carried by the St. John to Boston steamboats. ${ }^{84}$ (Figure 40) Additionally, the 6 (pence) rate marking in Figure 40a and the 10 (cent) rate marking in Figure 40b have been linked to the steamboat route.

Other covers passing from New Brunswick to the United States bear a variety of exchange office markings; however, the markings were placed into general use in multiple post offices. Thus, the covers can only be identified by the transit markings, or endorsements. For example, Figure 41 is a cover from Cambridge, New Brunswick to New York City. Transit markings indicate that the cover was on the Eastern City when she departed St. John for Boston on Thursday, March 14, 1861. Figure 42 is an August 14, 1843 cover from St. John to New York, endorsed "p. Eastern City."

As a final note, covers between the Maritimes and Canada carried via the closed mail between Portland and St. John can often be identified by their transit markings. Figure 43 is an interprovincial cover carried from Quebec, Canada East, to Newcastle, New Brunswick via the closed mail. The cover was carried by either the New Brunswick or the New York. The cover is endorsed "via Portland and St. John" and displays a St. John, New Brunswick transit marking on the back.

## D. Markings Of Unknown Origin

An "EASTERN CITY" (Figure 44) marking has been reported used in $1855 .{ }^{85}$

[^2]

Figure 40. Cover with " 10 CTS" rate marking


Figure 40A-40C. Rate markings linked to the St. John - Boston steamboats: (A) the 21 mm " 10 CTS" marking; (B) " 6 " [pence]; (C) "10" [cents]


Figure 41. New Brunswick to NYC cover, "PAID 10" in circle marking


Figure 42. Cover endorsed "p Eastern City"


Figure 43. Interprovincial cover with "via Portland and St. John" endorsement


Figure 44. "EASTERN CITY" marking (tracing) (Jephcott \#174)


Figure 45. "United 6d States" exchange marking on Boston-New Brunswick cover


Figure 46. "U.S. 10 cts" marking on cover from Boston
There are two additional exchange office markings that were used on Boston to St. John steamboat mail, although these markings were previously attributed to other exchange offices. The rare "UNITED 6d STATES" marking in Figure 45 was previously attributed to New York. ${ }^{86}$ However, New York City was never an exchange office for mail to the Maritimes. The cover entered the mails at Boston. making it unlikely that the marking could have been applied in New York. Similarly, the "U.S. 10 cts" marking in Figure 46 was previously attributed to Buffalo and New York City, neither of which served as an exchange office with the Maritimes. ${ }^{87}$ This cover also entered the mail at Boston, and almost certainly originated there, as it has an embossed corner card for a Boston grocer.

## V. Steamboat Schedules

The table that follows contains steamboat schedule information for the Boston to St . John line between 1841 and the Canadian confederation in 1867. The information contained in Table 2 was derived from newspaper advertisements. Weather or mechanical delays may have prevented the steamers from following this exact schedule. Additionally, steamer service was seasonal prior to the early 1860s. Contemporary advertisements indicate that the sailing schedule began in early March and continued approximately until New Year's Day, although occasionally with reduced service at the start and end of the season.

## Corrigenda

Section III, Steamboat Letter Carriers, includes a discussion of a letter which went from Boston to Eastport on the Admiral, and then went by the Maid of Erin to St. John (pp. 112 and 114, and Figure 15). I had postulated that the cover had been outside the mails during the Eastport to St. John's leg, but a question from Harvey Mirsky has caused me to change that characterization. There appears to have been an arrangement, either formal or informal, for transmission on the Maid of Erin between Eastport and St. John, with the covers treated as ship letters upon arrival in either Eastport or St. John.

[^3]Table 2-Boston to St. John Steamboat Schedules

| Year/Ship | Boston | Portland | Eastport | St. John | St. John | Eastport | Portland | Boston |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1841 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| North America April | Sat. | -- | (Sun/ <br> Mon.) | (Sun/ <br> Mon.) | Thu. | Thu. | --- | (Fri/ <br> Sat) |
| North America July |  |  |  |  | Wed. | Wed. |  |  |
| 1842 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bangor | -- | Sun. | (Mon.) | -- | --- | Tue. | Wed. | --- |
| North <br> America <br> May | Sat. | - | (Sun/ <br> Mon.) | (Sun/ <br> Mon.) |  |  | --- |  |
| North America July | -- | Sun.* |  |  |  |  |  | --- |
| North America August | Sat. | -- | (Sun/ <br> Mon.) | (Sun/ <br> Mon.) |  |  | --- |  |
| Huntress | $\cdots$ | Fri.* | (Sat./ <br> Sun) | (Sat./ <br> Sun.) | Tue. | Tue | (Wed./ <br> Thu.) | --- |
| 1843 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Herald August | -- | -- | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | (Wed.) (Sat.) |  |  | --- | --- |
| Herald Oct. | --- | -- | (Wed.) | (Wed.) |  |  |  |  |
| North America May | Sat. | -- | (Sun./ Mon.) | (Sun./ <br> Mon.) |  |  | -- |  |
| North <br> America July | --- | -- | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | (Wed.) (Sat.) |  |  | --- | -- |
| Penobscot July | Tue. Fri. | -- | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | - | -- | Wed. | -- | Thu |
| Portland | Sat. | --- |  |  |  |  | --- |  |
| Telegraph September | Tue. <br> Fri. | - | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | - | - |  | --- |  |
| Telegraph October | Tue. | -- | (Wed.) |  |  |  |  |  |


| Year/Ship | Boston | Portland | Eastport | St. John | St. John | Eastport | Portland | Boston |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1844 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Portland March | Mon. | --- | Wed. |  |  | Wed | --- | Fri. |
| Portland May | Mon. <br> Thu | - |  |  |  | Tue | -- |  |
| Portland Sept. | Mon. | -- |  |  |  |  | --- |  |
| Herald | - | -- |  |  | Tue. | Tue. | --- | --- |
| 1845 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Portland April | Mon. | --- |  |  |  |  | --- |  |
| Portland June | Mon. $\qquad$ | Thu. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Portland Sept. | Tue. | -- |  |  |  |  | --- |  |
| 1846 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Charter Oak June | Mon. <br> Thu. | --- |  |  |  | Tue. Fri. | -- |  |
| Portland April | Thu. |  |  | --- | - |  |  |  |
| Portland May | Mon. | -- | (Tue.) |  |  | Tue. | -- |  |
| Portland July | Mon. <br> Thu. | --- |  |  |  | Tue. (Fri.) | --- |  |
| Portland Sept. | Mon. | - | (Tue.) |  |  | Tue. | --- |  |
| 1847 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral July | Mon. <br> Thu. | -- | (Tue.) (Fri.) |  |  | Tue. Fri. | --- | (Wed.) (Sat.) |
| Admiral Oct. | Mon. | --- |  |  |  |  | -- |  |
| Portland April | Thu. |  |  |  |  | Sat. |  |  |
| Portland May | Mon. | -- | (Tue.) |  |  | Tue. | --- | (Wed.) |
| Portland June | Mon. <br> Thu. | --- | (Tue.) <br> (Fri.) |  |  | Tue. Fri. | --- | (Wed.) (Sat.) |


| Year/Ship | Boston | Portland | Eastport | St. John | St. John | Eastport | Portland | Boston |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1848 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral Apr. | Mon. |  |  |  | Thu. | (Thu.) |  |  |
| Admiral / <br> Senator <br> July | Mon. <br> Wed. <br> Fri. | -- | (Tue.) <br> (Thu.) <br> (Sat.) | (Tue.) <br> (Thu.) <br> (Sat.) | Wed. Fri. Mon. | (Wed.) (Fri.) (Mon.) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Thu.) } \\ & \text { (Sat.) } \\ & \text { (Tue.) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Thu.) } \\ & \text { (Sat.) } \\ & \text { (Tue.) } \end{aligned}$ |
| Senator Sept. | Fri. | --- | (Sat.) | (Sat.) | Tue. | (Tue.) | (Wed.) | (Wed.) |
| 1849 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral | Tue. | Tue. | (Wed.) | - | -- | Wed. | (Thu.) | (Thu.) |
| Maid of <br> Erin | -- | --- |  |  |  |  | --- | --- |
| 1850 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral March | Tue. | (Tue.) | (Wed.) | - | - | Thu. |  |  |
| Admiral May | Mon. <br> Thu. | (Thu.) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \end{aligned}$ | - | - | Tue. Fri. | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) |
| Maid of Erin March | - | -- | (Wed.) | (Wed.) | (Thu.) | (Thu.) | --- | --- |
| Maid of <br> Erin May |  | I | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \end{aligned}$ | (Tue.) (Fri.) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| 1851 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral | Mon. Thu. | (Thu.) | Tue. Fri. | - | - | Tue. Fri. | (Wed.) | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) |
| Creole |  | - | Tue. Fri. | (Tue.) <br> (Fri.) | Tue. Fri. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \end{aligned}$ | - |  |
| 1852 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| AdmiralApr. | Tue. | Tue. | (Wed.) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral June | Mon. $\qquad$ | Thu. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \end{aligned}$ | Wed. Sat. | (Wed.) (Sat.) | (Thu.) | $\overline{(\text { Sun. })}$ |
| Admiral / <br> Eastern <br> City <br> July | Mon. <br> Wed. <br> Fri. | Mon. Wed. $\qquad$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Thu.) } \\ & \text { (Sat.) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Thu.) } \\ & \text { (Sat.) } \end{aligned}$ | Wed. Fri. Mon. | (Wed.) (Fri.) (Mon.) | $\begin{gathered} (\text { Thu.) } \\ \text { (Tue.) } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Thu.) } \\ & \text { (Sat.) } \\ & \text { (Tue.) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 1853 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral | Tue. | (Tue.) | (Wed.) | (Wed.) | (Fri.) | Fri. | (Sat.) | (Sat.) |


| Year/Ship | Boston | Portland | Eastport | St. John | St. John | Eastport | Portland | Boston |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1854 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral April | Tue. | (Tue.) | (Wed.) | (Wed.) | Fri. | Fri. | (Sat.) | (Sat.) |
| Eastern <br> City <br> August |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Governor August | -- | Tue. Fri. | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | (Wed.) (Sat.) | Thu. <br> Mon. | Thu. Mon. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Fri.) } \\ & \text { (Tue) } \end{aligned}$ | - |
| 1855 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  <br> Eastern <br> City | Mon. <br> Wed. | (Mon.) Thu. $\qquad$ | (Tue.) (Fri.) <br> (Thu.) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Tue.) } \\ & \text { (Fri.) } \\ & \text { (Thu.) } \end{aligned}$ | (Wed.) (Mon.) (Fri.) | Wed. <br> Mon. <br> Fri. | (Thu.) <br> (Tue.) $\qquad$ |  |
| Admiral | $-$ | Tue Fri. | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | Thu. <br> Mon. | Thu. <br> Mon. | (Fri.) <br> (Tue.) | - - |
| 1856 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Adelaide | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| Admiral | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |
| 1857 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Adelaide | Mon. | (Mon.) | (Tue.) | (Tue.) | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| Admiral | Thu. | (Thu.) | (Fri.) | (Fri.) | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |
| 1858 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral | Thu. | (Thu.) | (Fri.) | (Fri.) | Mon. | (Mon.) | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |
| Eastern <br> City | Mon. | (Mon.) | (Tue.) | (Tue.) | Thu. | (Thu.) | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| 1859 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral | Thu. | (Thu.) | (Fri.) | (Fri.) | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |
| Eastern <br> City | Mon. | (Mon.) | (Tue.) | (Tue.) | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| 1860 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Admiral | Thu. | Thu. | Fri. | (Fri.) | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |
| Eastern <br> City | Mon. | Mon. | Tue. | (Tue.) | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| 1861 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Eastern <br> City | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| New <br> Brunswick | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |


| Year/Ship | Boston | Portland | Eastport | St. John | St. John | Eastport | Portland | Boston |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{1 8 6 2}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Forest City | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |
| New <br> Brunswick | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| New <br> England <br> from <br> August* | - | - | Tue. <br> Fri. | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | (Wed.) <br> (Sat.) | (Thu.) <br> (Mon.) | Thu. <br> Mon. | (Fri.) <br> (Tue.) |
| $\mathbf{1 8 6 3}$ |  |  |  | - | - |  |  |  |
| New <br> Brunswick | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.*) | (Fri.) | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) |
| New <br> England | Mon. | Mon. | (Tue.) | (Tue.) | Thu. | Thu. | (Fri.) | (Fri.) |
| $\mathbf{1 8 6 4}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

*     - In 1842, some steamboats operated from Portsmouth, New Hampshire.
*     - In 1862, the New Brunswick was requisitioned by the government for Civil War troop transport. Effective August 6, the New England provided service from Portland
*     - In 1863, the International Line Steamers made an additional stop in Calais, Maine, between stops in Eastport, Maine and St. John, New Brunswick. The ships called in Calais on the trip "down" from Boston to St. John, and not on the return.
*     - In 1865, the steamboat Montreal operated in place of the New York for part of the season.

Sources: Various issues of the Boston Post, Calais Advertiser, and Eastport Sentinel.

## PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 26, 1847 HARVEY MIRSKY

An interesting pair of 1847 covers is shown in Figure 1. Both were mailed in Philadelphia on the same day, August 26, 1847, but their circular date stamps are clearly different from each other (note the complete spelling of "PHILADELPHIA" on the $10 \phi$ cover, while the CDS on the $5 \notin$ cover shows the often-used "PHILAD." abbreviation). Furthermore, both covers show different markings used to cancel their stamps.

The $5 \notin$ Franklin stamp (orange brown shade), paid the $1 / 2$ ounce, single-rate postage for a folded letter that traveled less than 300 miles to New York. The postmark is Clark $71 \mathrm{a}^{1}$ (LKU 7/19/48), and the stamp was canceled using the government-provided, 7-bar round grid applied in blue, the only ink color used in Philadelphia during the 1847-1851 period.

The $10 \notin$ Washington stamp is on a buff envelope addressed to Hopkinsville, Kentucky. This paid the single-rate postage for a letter carried more than 300 miles, and the circular date stamp is Clarke $60 \mathrm{a}^{2}$ (LKU 7/27/48). The adhesive stamp was canceled by the well-known Philadelphia "PAID" in double-line octagon (often referred to as the Philadelphia "PAID" in oval).

These covers show fairly early uses of the 1847 issue from Philadelphia and, in addition to the fortunate coincidence that they were both mailed on the same day, each shows an interesting aspect of the transition from the "stampless" age to the new era of adhesive stamp usage. The Franklin cover, for example, has an "integral rate" date stamp. This type of date stamp was commonly used by cities during the stampless era to show the amount of postage (i.e., in this case, it would have been 5 cts ), due from the recipient of an unpaid letter. Its use on a prepaid letter such as this one, however, was inappropriate.

The cancel on the Franklin letter, however, is quite correct. The government had supplied 7 -bar, round grid handstamps to their largest local post offices and only these, or a manuscript " X " applied in black ink, were approved for canceling the 1847 issue.

The mail clerks in Philadelphia did use the new grid handstamps on most of the letters mailed during the first month of the new issue (the stamps on 14 out of 16 letters mailed in July were canceled that way) ${ }^{3}$. After that point, however, the majority of stamps (like the $10 \phi$ adhesive on the cover in Figure 1), were canceled by the "PAID" marking4, or by a variety of stampless era rate marks (both straight-line and in double-line circles and double-line octagons), or even by the city's town mark (circular date stamp). The government-supplied round grid (the only "killer" actually authorized to cancel the new stamps), was hardly seen again until late in the period.

It should, of course, be noted that (like the integral rate date stamp discussed above), the Philadelphia "PAID" marking was also a stampless era marking. Its purpose, however, was just the opposite of the integral rate date stamp; it was designed to show the receiving postmaster that, in fact, the required postage (as would be shown on the cover by an

[^4]

Figure 1. Both covers were mailed from Philadelphia on the same day, but they have different markings.
accompanying rate mark), had already been paid in cash by the sender. Clearly, however, this marking was not authorized for canceling purposes, and even the word "PAID" was an obvious redundancy; the 1847 Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America specifically noted that the presence of an adhesive stamp "shall be evidence of the payment of the postage chargeable."

Apparently, Philadelphia mail clerks adapted their existing "tools" for use in ways that suited their purposes. The two Philadelphia 1847 covers illustrated here show several differences and contrasts in their markings; these differences are all the more interesting for the fact that both letters were mailed at the Post Office on the very same day.


Figure 1. Both covers bear manuscript "PAID" markings and both stamps are canceled by the Philadelphia "PAID" in double-line octagon handstamp (the integral rate date stamps were inappropriate, but the correct rate was shown).

## THE PHILADELPHIA "PAID" IN DOUBLE-LINE OCTAGON HANDSTAMP HARVEY MIRSKY

As a follow up to the first article in this section, Figure 1 shows a set of $5 \phi$ and $10 \phi$ 1847 covers, with both stamps canceled by the Philadelphia "PAID" in double-line octagon.

These letters were mailed in the early months of 1847 usage (September 4th for the $5 \phi$ cover to Trenton; October 12th for the $10 \phi$ letter to Kentucky). As noted in the previous article, the "PAID" in double-line octagon handstamp had, by this time, become the main marking used to cancel the new adhesive postage stamps in Philadelphia and it maintained that status for about six months.

This handstamp was, of course, meant for use on stampless mail to indicate that the sender had prepaid postage in cash. It was never authorized as a canceling device under the applicable Postal Regulations. Nonetheless, it is clear that the Philadelphia postal clerks had their own way of doing things.


Figure 2. The Philadelphia "PAID" in double-octagon marking is, after the New York City square grid, the most frequently seen city-specific cancel on the 1847 issue.

Because it was so extensively used, the Philadelphia "PAID" marking is, after the New York square grid, the most frequently seen city-specific cancel on the 1847 issue; a well-matched off-cover set is shown in Figure 2 (note the clear double-lines on the $5 \phi$ cancel).

## THE 1851-61 PERIOD <br> HUBERT C. SKINNER, Editor

## NEW EDU FOR THE 1¢ 1857 PLATE 11 (SCOTT NO. 22) JAY KUNSTREICH

I became more aware of looking at postal markings on stamps and covers after reading a 1957 article by Morris Fortgang on "Earliest Known Uses from the 1 Cent Perforated Plates," in the National Postal Museum's Perforation Centennial Book.

The article illustrated stamps and covers showing the EKUs (earliest known usenow termed EDU, for earliest documented use). The compilation was the frist to update Stanley Ashbrook's study of EDUs in 1938.

The article indicated that only three EKUs remained the same as shown in Ashbrook's compilation; only those from Plate 7, Plate 11 and Plate 12 were unchanged. The article went on to say that earlier uses from several of the $1 \not \subset$ plates may be found.

This is where my story begins. While perusing an old time collection I had recently purchased at auction, I stumbled upon a damaged and off-centered $1 \varnothing$ Franklin in a small cellophane envelope lying loose among album pages. It was so sorry looking from the outside of the envelope that my initial reaction was to not even examine it-to just leave it as is. However, being a $1 ¢$ aficionado, I took it out of its long time hiding place and started to examine it in more detail. My expectations were quite low, seeing that the top left corner of the stamp was missing, and quite frankly I was looking forward to see what the balance of the collection held.


Figure 1. 1c 1857, Plate 11, with New Haven December ?1, 1860 cancel

Well, to my surprise, what I had in front of me was a Plate 11, Type IIIa stamp with a red New Haven town cancel and what appeared to be a December 1860 year date (Figure 1). The handstamp showed a clear ED (indicating December), a number 1 for the day (the 1 was the second number, indicating either an 11, 21 or 31 day usage) and a clear 60 (indicating an 1860 use).

What came immediately to mind after my initial adrenaline rush was the footnote in Mort Neinken's book, page 466 , that "search for a Plate 11 used in 1860 could be very rewarding." Well let me tell you that it was. And to think that I had found a revision to an EDU that had not been bested since 1938, when Ashbrook's original compilation came out.
The stamp has since received a Philatelic Foundation certificate, verifying that it indeed is a December 1860 usage. The Foundation declined to indicate the actual day of usage, but it is one of the three days noted above.

As to value, I'm sure that it is minimal, given its condition, but its importance is considerable for the information that it provides to the hobby and to $1 \varnothing$ specialists in particular.

The moral of this story to anyone with a passion for stamps and covers is never to take anything for granted, and maybe a pleasant surprise discovery may come your way. $\square$

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## THE 1851-61 PERIOD HUBERT C. SKINNER, Editor

## THE PLATES OF THE 1851-57 3c STAMPS OF THE UNITED STATES ©2003 GARY W. GRANZOW

## Part II: Meeting Initial Demand: The First Four 3c Plates Background

Following on the success of the first postage stamp in 1840, several attempts were made on the local level in the United States to produce stamps, starting in $1842 .{ }^{32}$ Because of the high cost of government mail, many independent mail carriers were competing with the U.S. Post Office. ${ }^{33}$ In 1845, primarily to discourage these private companies, rates were lowered to $5 \phi$ for destinations up to 300 miles and $10 \notin$ for over 300 miles. And, most importantly, the rate basis was changed to the weight of the letter (each half-once) instead of the number of sheets of paper, which further lowered the cost. In 1847, Congress authorized the printing of postage stamps at the national level and additionally established a rate to the Pacific coast of $40 \phi .{ }^{34}$

However, postage rates were still too high to discourage independent mail carriers from competing and a comprehensive national mail system, continental in scope, did not emerge as hoped. While a census taken after the first two years of the lower 1845 rates showed that Post Office mail volume had doubled, the quantity of this mail was still small and expensive. ${ }^{35}$

Though the number of stamps sold increased each year, the post office sold only a total of $3,700,000^{36} 5 \phi$ stamps and $865,00010 \phi$ stamps during the whole of the four years the 1847 issue was on sale. The Act of 1847 did not require the use of stamps and there was no pricing incentive to encourage using them. Thus most mail continued to be sent collect. The resulting small number of stamps sold and the overall low level of mainly local mail ( $81 \%$ of the mail traveled less than 300 miles) was viewed by many as a serious problem retarding the growth of the nation. In every major city, cheap postage associations continued to agitate for lower rates and mandatory stamp usage.

In 1851, Congress responded to this pressure from businesses and politicians by making an additional significant reduction in postal rates. If prepaid, $3 \phi$ would carry a half-ounce letter up to 3,000 miles, and $6 \notin$ would pay for distances beyond. If not prepaid, the rates over the same distances were $5 \not \subset$ and $10 ¢$, respectively. Thus the rate to California dropped from $40 \phi$ to $6 \phi$, nearly a seven-fold decrease. The cost of a letter from New York to Chicago, for example, was cut by more than a factor of three ( $10 \phi$ to $3 \notin$ ) And compared to the rates of only seven years earlier, the rate reduction over this distance was eight-fold. The result was an immediate surge in communication across the nation.

[^5]Because of the new incentive to pre-pay and the overall lower rates, the number of stamps which would be required to meet demand was difficult to predict and caused complications for both the Post Office Department and the firm chosen to print the 1851 Issue.

## The 1851 Printing Contract

TCC was awarded a six-year contract for the printing of the new $1 \phi, 3 \phi$ and $12 \phi$ stamps. This occurred some time in late April though final details were not completed and signed until June 10, 1851. On May 24, S.H. Carpenter wrote to Postmaster General Hall enclosing proofs of the $3 ¢$ and the Franklin carrier stamps. He indicated that they had finished the plates of the $1 \phi$ and $12 \phi$ stamps and asked approval of the $3 \phi$ proof so that TCC could immediately proceed with making the $3 ¢$ plates. The Post Office Department's contract for the $5 \notin$ and $10 \notin$ stamps and its fiscal year both ended June 30 and therefore, TCC faced a deadline of July 1, 1851 for the first sale of the new stamps. With printing starting June 10,1851 , very little time was available to make the printing plates and to print and deliver the initial supplies of stamps needed to provide the Post Office Department and local post offices with starting inventories.

## The 1851 3c Plates

The philatelic literature has generally assumed that the plate making procedure employed by TCC was the same as that used by Perkins, Bacon in England. While there were several factors which linked TCC to Jacob Perkins and his engraving developments, ${ }^{37}$ the printing process TCC used in fact depended upon a number of improvements in plate making. And, it also differed in several important respects from the process and presses used to print stamps in England by the Perkins firm. For a summary of these differences, see Appendix A.

TCC began by engraving the design in reverse on a soft steel die which was then casehardened. The die was placed in a transfer press where the engraved image was pressed into a transfer roll. For the $3 \notin$ plates made prior to 1857 , three images were pressed into the circumference of the roll end to end, closely spaced. The transfer roll was then casehardened and mounted in a transfer press where the three reliefs were "rocked" into a soft steel printing plate vertically. ${ }^{38}$ Thus the spacing on the transfer roll of these three reliefs determined the spacing between the corresponding stamp images on the plate. TCC was the first to use a transfer roll to enter with one setting more than one entry on a stamp plate. Each printing plate made by TCC consisted of a right and left pane of 100 stamp images, for a total of 200 per plate.

The number of stamps needed to meet initial demand was not known. It soon became clear that TCC was neither prepared for the demand nor for the production problems they were to encounter. They began with only one plate for the $3 \not \subset$ stamps. Shipping deadlines

[^6]were missed and the Post Office was receiving much criticism. ${ }^{39}$ On July 11, 1851 TCC wrote the following letter ${ }^{40}$ to Postmaster General N.K. Hall offering reassurances:

Dear Sir:
Philad. July 11, 1851
Your favor of $10^{\circ}$ inst. is just received. Anticipating a large demand for 3 Cent Stamps, we Engraved 2 plates of that denomination, and as the demand increased, we worked each of these plates double handed, (giving us a quantity equal to the yield of 4 plates printed in the ordinary way). This being still unequal to the demand, we will at once Engrave another 3 cent plate and make such arrangements as will enable us in the course of a few days to furnish an ample supply - of this be assured. You shall be relieved from all embarrassment or inconvenience on this score, and from the moment that we can accomplish our arrangements, now in progress, you may rely upon 3
Million per week - more if absolutely necessary.
Very Respectfully, Your Obt Svts
Toppan Carpenter Casilear \& Co.
The earliest known use (EKU) of the second plate (5E) is July 19th in Mansfield, Ohio. At that time, shipments were taking five or six days to reach postmasters in Ohio. Even allowing two to four days drying time for ink and gum, the second plate probably was not in use for very much of the second week of July.

By way of further assurance, TCC wrote John Marron, Third Assistant Post Master General on July 24, 1851, "We have found it necessary to engrave a fourth plate of three cent stamps in order to prevent delay when any one of the three plates now in press shall require retouching."41 Thus, by July 24, 1851 four plates had been made.

The first four of the $3 \phi$ plates printed stamps using orange brown ink and will be referred to as the "orange brown plates." As will be shown, the orange brown plates were not hardened. Dr. Chase states that none of these plates experienced wear. For example, with respect to the first plate used he writes: "The plate of course showed no wear while in this state. ${ }^{3}{ }^{42}$ However, this plate (Plate 1E) did wear in a matter of weeks and had to be pulled from service and reentered. In fact, Plate 1 wore more rapidly than the other orange brown plates and had to be reentered twice. After the second reentry it was hardened. Yet it became extremely worn by 1855 , and had to be retired, while other plates, after hardening, lasted much longer-right through and into the printing of the perforated stamps beginning in 1857. A likely explanation for this rapid wear is that the steel from which it was made was of poorer quality than the subsequent plates. And, as will be described in more detail below, there is strong evidence that this first plate received many more impressions than previously reported. Figure 4 illustrates fresh and worn stamps from Plate 1E.

In determining extent of wear, the area around the center of the upper rosettes and the horizontal lines to the left of the right rosette circle are compared to the same areas of stamps from early, fresh impressions. The following Figure 5 is an enlargement of these areas.

[^7]

Plate 1E Fresh Impression


Plate 1E Worn Impression

Figure 4. Wear on Plate 1E


Left Rosette Center Worn


Right Horizontal Lines and Rosette Worn

Figure 5. Comparison of Fresh and Worn Areas


Figure 6. Position 70R1E with No Imprint and 50R1i with Imprint
This first plate went to press bearing no imprint of the firm name, and having no plate number. When it was pulled from service in early July 1851 because of wear and reentered, an imprint of the firm name was added to the right and left side of the 200image plate. It was added in the margins next to positions 40R to 70R on the right pane and 41 L to 71 L on the left pane. These two states of the plate are known to us today as Plate 1 Early and Plate 1 Intermediate though at the time no plate number was used. Figure 6 shows a stamp from the early state of the plate, Position 7OR1E, which demonstrates the lack of an imprint, and a stamp from the reentered intermediate state, Position 50R1i, which shows the imprint but lack of a plate number.

It was not until the end of the summer of 1851, when this plate was reentered for the second time, that "No. 1" was added next to the imprint. Figure 7 is a reconstruction of the late state of this plate showing full imprint and plate number.


Figure 7. Reconstruction of Plate 1L Imprint and Plate Number

About the time the first plate was reentered, a second plate was made. It received an imprint but no plate number. This plate is part of our enigma. Though it was only the second plate to be used it is known today as Plate 5 Early. Figure 8 shows a stamp from Position 41L5(E) with imprint and no plate number.

With demand for stamps not being met and inventory building still underway, much press criticism was being leveled at the Post Office Department. Thus a third of the original four plates was made and went to press. Bearing an imprint but no plate number, this plate is now called Plate 2 Early.


Figure 8. Position 41L5(E) Imprint but No Plate Number

By August, the demand for initial inventory building had been met and the Post Office sent the following letter ${ }^{43}$ to TCC:

Post Office Department
August 5, 1851
Messrs. Toppan Carpenter \& Co.
Engravers. Philadelphia, Pa
Gentlemen - The post offices throughout the country having now been generally furnished with postage stamps, it will not be necessary for you hereafter to forward supplies to the Department to the same extent as heretofore. It will be sufficient, until otherwise directed, if you forward weekly, to be delivered on every Monday evening, one million and a half stamps, of which one hundred thousand to be one cent, and the residue three cent stamps.

> Respectfully
> J. Marron, Third Asst. P.M.G.

Since this weekly demand could be met by three plates, stamps from the fourth plate were not needed until early September 1851. If this fourth plate was being held "in reserve," as suggested in the TCC letter of July 24, 1851, it probably entered service when Plate 1 i was pulled for reentry. The fourth plate bore an imprint but was not assigned a plate number. Wear on this plate also occurred, but it was never reentered. Instead it disappeared from use after only about 26,000 impressions. Philatelists now refer to it as "Plate 0 " though it was never assigned a plate number by TCC. Naming it " 0 " posthumously leads to some confusion as it was the last of the Orange Brown Plates to be made (but the first to disappear from use). The fate of this plate has been the subject of much speculation.

All of the printings from these four plates experienced wear in approximate relationship to the estimated number of impressions printed (each impression of the plate yielded one sheet of 200 stamps ). The following Table I summarizes this printed record and adds the current earliest known use dates of each plate, along with a rough approximation of wear in comparison to the most worn copies of Plate 1 Late of 1855 which on this scale are "extremely worn." ${ }^{44}$ Impression estimates in this study have been rounded to the nearest thousand.

[^8]TABLE I

| Plate No. | Chase Estimate <br> of Impressions | Revised Estimate <br> of Impressions | Earliest <br> Known Use | Wear* |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 E | 11,339 | $21,000^{* *}$ | July 1,1851 | Very Worn |
| 1 i | 20,251 | 24,000 | July 12,1851 | Very Worn |
| 5 E | 25,468 | 30,000 | July 19,1851 | Worn |
| 2 E | 20,849 | 25,000 | July 23,1851 | Worn |
| $0^{* * *}$ | 21,809 | 26,000 | Sept. 6,1851 | Worn |

*Compared to Plate 1 Late of 1855 which is ranked as extremely worn.
**Includes estimated spoilage of 6,000 impressions.
***Never in fact bore a plate number whereas the others eventually did.

## Basis for Revised Estimates Plates 1i, 5E, 2E and 0

The number of impressions from each plate as estimated by Dr. Chase from his census data are shown in the second column. He calculated his estimates based on his assessment of the percentage of his census which came from each plate and he then multiplied that percentage times his estimate of the total imperforate stamps delivered. He estimated that $60 \%$ of the stamps delivered in calendar year 1857 were perforated and subtracted them from the 1857 calendar year total. ${ }^{45}$ However, in doing so, he treated the total for the fiscal year ending June 30,1857 as if it were the total for the calendar year ending December 31,1857 , thereby missing six months of deliveries.

Instead, the correct total imperforate stamps is the sum of all stamps delivered from July 1,1851 to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1857 (only a very few stamps in the first half of 1857 were perforated). This total is $433,318,283$ stamps or $2,167,000$ impressions. Using the correct basis, Dr. Chase's estimates are all $19.6 \%$ too low. Therefore an adjustment was made to all of Dr. Chase's imperforate stamp estimates (except Plate 1E) by multiplying each by 1.196 . See Appendix B for a detailed explanation of this correction. The numbers of stamps issued in each of the fiscal years from July 1, 1851 to June 30, 1861 are listed in Appendix C.

## Plate 1

Since Plate 1 E was the only plate in use until the second week of July 1851, the actual shipment records of the Post Office should provide the best basis for estimating its number of impressions. The data used to arrive at this new estimate are based on shipments listed in the Post Office ledger Postage Stamps Issued to Postmasters July 1, 1847 to June 30, 1853, ${ }^{46}$ (referred to as "the Shipments Book"). This book, titled "Report No. 2," kept records of shipments to postmasters who had already received initial stocking shipments (referred to as replenishment shipments). This report lists these shipments on a day-by-day basis. Recently found slipped inside the Shipments Book were two pages entitled "Report No 1." This report kept separate records of initial stocking shipments (referred to as "load-in" shipments). Unfortunately, Report No. 1 is not complete as the two pages only provide a summary of load-in shipments. ${ }^{47}$

[^9]As of June 30, 1851, the Post Office had received deliveries from TCC totaling $1,710,000$ or 8,550 sheets of $3 \phi$ stamps. It is assumed that stamps printed starting from June 10, and received and shipped by the Post Office up to and including July 10, 1851, all came from Plate 1E. ${ }^{48}$ The following Table II lists replenishment shipments for the period July 1 through July 18. This shipping pattern from the Post Office to postmasters in July gives some interesting insights into TCC's problems. Since they were shipping as soon as they received deliveries from TCC, the shortage of stamps is apparent.

TABLE II
Replenishment Shipments of 3¢ Stamps to Postmasters from July 1 to 18, 1851

| Date | Sheets of <br> Stamps Shipped |
| :--- | :---: |
| July 1 | 720 |
| July 2 | 175 |
| July 3 | 900 |
| July 4 | 0 |
| July 5 | 710 |
| July 6 | 0 |
| July 7 | 5 |
| July 8 | 162.5 |
| July 9 | 115 |


| Date | Sheets of <br> Stamps Shipped |
| :---: | :---: |
| July 10 | 1,910 |
| July 11 | 0 |
| July 12 | 685 |
| July 13 | 0 |
| July 14 | 0 |
| July 15 | 2,475 |
| July 16 | 0 |
| July 17 | 0 |
| July 18 | 5,600 |

The replenishment sheets shipped July 1 through July 10 total 4,698. In addition, it is estimated that 1,480 sheets of load-in stamps were also sent during this period. Adding the 8,550 sheets received by the Post Office and presumed shipped before July 1, the total shipments of Plate 1E stamps amounted to 14,728 sheets, or $2,945,600 \mathrm{stamps}$. See Appendix B for details of the above analysis.

From the amount of wear shown by Plate 1E stamps by the first week of July and from the higher number of impressions from Plates 1i, 5E, 2E and 0 one would expect Plate 1E to have yielded more than 15,000 impressions. It is believed that part of the explanation for this anomaly lies in the fact that many sheets of stamps from Plate 1E were spoiled during early printing due to numerous problems with ink and gum. Initially the ink was a pale (and a rather unsightly) yellowish orange brown and it was not until the first week of July that stamps in the orange brown ink were delivered. Much difficulty was also encountered finding and applying suitable gum. Many sheets printed from Plate 1E were faulty and had to be destroyed. Therefore, estimates based on delivered stamps alone are too low. Recently found correspondence offers some clues to the magnitude of TCC's problem. On June 16, 1851, TCC wrote to $3^{\text {rd }}$ Assistant Post Master Marron: ${ }^{49}$

Sir:
Philad. June 16, 1851
Your favor of $13^{\text {th }}$ is recd - We have printed (in all) $1,500,000$ Stamps and shall continue to print with all expedition until the whole number ordered shall be completed. We shall commence the gumming tomorrow, and as this branch of business

[^10]is new to us we shall not at first get on as rapidly as we could wish, however, we think you may rely upon our having ready for delivery on this day week (23rd) about the following - Viz -

200,000 stamps of 12 Cents
800,000 do " 3 do
600,000 do " 1 do
If it would be any accommodation to you to have a part of the above delivered on Saturday next, they shall be ready on that day.
Very Respectfully,
Your Obt Svts
Toppan Carpenter Casilear \& Co.
However, by June 21, 1851, TCC was only able to deliver $300,0003 \notin$ cent stamps (1,500 impressions) of which many were not useable. They offered the following explanation Assistant Post Master Marron: ${ }^{50}$

Philad. June 21, 1851
Sir:
We have this day delivered . . . 10 Packages each containing 30,000 3 Cents stamps.
We regret to say that a large number of the above stamps show too evidently the marks
of haste incident to getting them off in time, and if you can (consistently with the wants
of the public service) withhold a portion . . . from circulation until Wednesday we will
have ready for delivery on that day 500,000 of the 3 s in much better shape. - The
process of gumming being entirely new to us, we were obliged to call to our aid such
persons as we presumed undertook the business, but unfortunately they not only failed
to do the work well, but they utterly spoiled 80,000 stamps. We have now got this department better organized and hope hereafter to get along smoothly - We therefore ask your kind indulgence for the past \& think we can venture to promise better results for the future.
Very Respectfully, etc.
[NB: portions dealing with $1 \not \subset$ and $12 ¢$ deliveries excerpted]
As mentioned above, Post Office records show that by June 30, TCC had delivered $1,710,000$ Plate 1E stamps ( 8,550 impressions). It is generally accepted that TCC began printing once the contract was signed on June 10, 1851. If TCC printed at the same rate from June 16 to June 30 as they had from June 10 to June 16 (during which they printed at least $800,0003 \notin$ stamps ) they should have been able to deliver at least $2,700,000(13,500$ impressions) $3 \not \subset$ stamps by June 30 . The difference of 5,000 impressions ( $13,500-8,550$ ) offers a rough estimate of spoilage as of June 30, 1851.

Another estimate of spoilage may be gleaned from the TCC letter of July 11, 1851 quoted above. After stating they worked the first two plates "double handed," TCC promised 3 million stamps per week from three plates printing double handed. This equates to 5,000 impressions per plate, per week. If Plate 1 E had been worked double handed from June 10 to June 30, 1851, TCC would have printed 3 million stamps ( 15,000 impressions) which would indicate a spoilage of 6,500 impressions.

And these problems still existed for some time after the first stamps were issued, judging from low shipments and the many published complaints that the stamps did not stick. ${ }^{51}$ From July 1 to July 10, when Plate 1E was withdrawn, TCC should have been able to deliver at least $1,400,000$ stamps ( 7,000 impressions). Instead they managed load-in and replenishment shipments of $1,200,000(6,000$ sheets), suggesting another 1,000 spoiled sheets. Total spoilage of Plate 1E stamps could therefore have been in the range of 6,000

[^11]to 8,000 impressions. Taking the low end of this range, spoilage when added to the other adjustment described above supports a revised estimate of impressions for Plate 1E of about 21,000. Figure 9 shows a first day cover (with contents dated July 1,1851) bearing a Baltimore postmark, with a stamp in this yellowish orange brown shade affixed by sealing wax because of faulty gum.


Figure 9. First Day Cover, Stamp Affixed with Sealing Wax
The very large shipment of $1,135,000$ replenishment stamps sent on July 18 indicates that Plate 5E had come into service. This was followed on July 21 with a shipment of 440,000 , and on July 22 with 691,000 when 2E came into use. In summary, from July 1 to 15, the Post Office shipped 939,500 replenishment stamps. When Plates SE and then 2E came into use they were able to ship $1,135,000$ replenishments in a single day and another $1,131,000$ over two days. For the entire month of July, $6,249,000$ replenishments were shipped, along with approximately 800,000 load-in shipments.

## Orange Brown Plates Not Hardened

From the amount of wear of the orange brown plates after so few impressions, and the fact that they were reentered, it is clear that all were in the softened state and had not been hardened. The average number of impressions per plate in Table I, 25,000, is consistent with those from soft steel bank note plates of the time. For example, bank note contracts contained warranties to give 30,000 impressions and with retouching another $25,000^{52}$. These would not have been hardened. ${ }^{53}$

[^12]That the four initial plates were not hardened is further supported by the reference in TCC's letter of June 24, 1851 to P.M. Marron stating that the fourth plate was made to "avoid delay when any one of the three plates . . . require retouching" ${ }^{54}$. Retouching would only have been possible if the plates were not hardened. The numbers of impressions are also consistent with the $18475 \phi$ stamps which showed considerable wear after 20,000 impressions. The 1847 plates were not hardened. ${ }^{55}$

TCC had very little time to meet the initial supply demands of their contract which also included printing the $1 \notin$ and $12 \phi$ stamps. And as mentioned above, TCC had numerous difficulties providing suitable ink, gum and paper (all of which were changed in the first few months of production). Furthermore, hardening presented considerable risks of plate failure. Therefore, it is not surprising that TCC decided to begin with plates which had not been hardened.

## Reworking and Hardening of the Orange Brown Plates

Due to rapid development of wear, Plate 1 Intermediate was pulled from service sometime in September of 1851. The plate was reentered for the second time and all positions were extensively recut. A "No. 1" was added to the margin beside the imprints, and Plate 1 Late as we call it today came into existence. Reentry onto hardened surfaces is not possible, thus all work on the plate had to have been done prior to hardening. Plate 1 Late was casehardened immediately afterwards as evidenced by the fact that it produced ten times the number of impressions as Plate 1E and 1 i .

Another important change was made at this time. The orange brown ink was replaced and never used again, perhaps because of the high cost of the key component, vermilion. Around September of 1851, TCC began a period of experimentation to change the color of the ink. The plate they used for these trials was Plate 1 Late. Many of these printings are in varying shades of a quite distinctive, different color ink known today as "Experimental Orange Brown". ${ }^{56}$ With an earliest known year-dated use of October 6, 1851, the printing of Plate 1 Late ushered in the stamps of Scott No. 11, all of which were printed from plates which had plate numbers (here referred to as the "No. 11 plates").

After the printing of Plate 1 Late stamps began, the rest of the orange brown plates were withdrawn as stamp demand allowed. This took place in the last three months of 1851. One of them, Plate 0, would never be used again. Another was set aside and would not be put back into use for four years. In the late spring of 1855 it was taken from storage, reentered, recut, a plate number 5 added and the plate was hardened. This is known as Plate 5 Late today, even though it was the second plate made.

It is safe to conclude that the reworking of Plate 5 did not take place in the last quarter of 1851 after Plates 1 and 2 were assigned numbers, because if it had it would have been given the plate number 3, not 5 . That is, the plate number " 5 " was put on the plate after Plate 4 was made and numbered in the first quarter of 1855 . Herein lies the Plate 5 conundrum. Since TCC reentered and hardened Plates 1 and 2 successfully around this time, and they needed a third plate, why didn't they reenter and harden Plate 5 E? Stamps from it show no flaws. Yet they set it aside and made a new Plate 3. It is proposed that the answer to this question is linked to the failure of Plate 0.

With demand being met, time was available in late 1851 to reenter what was to become Plate 2 Late. An interesting feature of this re-working is that before the plate number was added, it was necessary to erase the right side imprint and reenter it a little

[^13]closer to the stamp images. presumably so that more space was created for "No. 2." Figure 10 shows a copy of position 50R2 Late which shows the new imprint and plate number " 2 ." For comparison, position 50L2 E is included which shows the imprint farther from the stamp images, but with no plate number. There is no question that this rework had to be done before plate hardening. Because of the long life of Plate 2 Late, there is equally no question it was hardened before it entered service in early January 1852.


Position 50R2L: Shifted Imprint and Plate Number


Position 51L2E: Original Imprint, No Plate Number

Figure 10. Plate 2 Shifted Imprint
By early January of 1852 , Plate 0 was gone and the decision had been made to set Plate 5 Early aside. With demand requiring three plates, Plate 3 was now made. There are many fascinating aspects of Plate 3, not the least of which is the question of why time and expense were incurred for this new plate when the early state of Plate 5 was at hand. The well known very poor spacing of the entry of the right three rows of the left pane required multiple recutting lines to be added to disguise it. While TCC had been successful in hardening two plates, two others were out of service. The production pressure causing the need for a third plate plus the risks of hardening could have contributed to a rush to complete the engraving of Plate 3 which led to accepting this very bad bit of transfer rather than starting over. ${ }^{57}$ Or perhaps the high cost of making another new plate was the deciding factor. In any event, this plate was hardened successfully and was in use by midJanuary 1852. Production now became more settled with demand being met by the three hardened plates. During this first year of production approximately $48,410,0003 \phi$ stamps had been delivered-some forty times the number of stamps printed in the last year of the 1847 Issue.

## The Act of 1855: Demand Surges

The introduction of the $3 \not \subset$ and $6 \not \subset$ embossed envelopes in 1853 temporarily helped to fill the demand for the $3 \phi$ adhesive stamp. However, a substantial increase in demand occurred due to changes in U.S postal regulations. By the Act of March 3, 1855, Congress required the pre-payment of postage as of April 1, 1855, and made the use of postage stamps mandatory starting January 1, 1856. The predicted need to print more stamps, plus the extreme wear on Plate 1L led TCC to make two new plates. One was completed early in 1855, assigned "No 4" and hardened. Soon after that the unnumbered plate in storage

[^14]since 1851 was reentered and assigned "No. 5." The number of impressions printed by this plate indicates it was also hardened.

The expected surge in demand materialized and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1856 brought sales of over 100 million $3 \not \subset$ stamps-a $70 \%$ increase. Three additional plates, numbered 6,7 and 8 , were made in early 1856 to meet this surge. All carried plate numbers and imprints and all were hardened. Table III summarizes the stamp record of the eight No. 11 plates, with the correction factor of 1.196 used.

TABLE III

| Plate No. | Chase Estimate <br> of Impressions | Revised Estimate <br> $(\mathbf{1 . 1 9 6}$ Factor) | Earliest Known Use |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| 1 L | 308,475 | 369,000 | October 6, 1851 |
| 2 L | 426,231 | 510,000 | January 7, 1852 |
| 3 | 389,388 | 466,000 | January 15, 1852 |
| 4 | 187,983 | 225,000 | March 31, 1855 |
| 5 L | 102,849 | 123,000 | July 13, 1855 |
| 6 | 106,055 | 127,000 | February 18, 1856 |
| 7 | 106,055 | 127,000 | February 13, 1856 |
| 8 | 84,609 | 101,000 | April 14, 1856 |

The above numbers of impressions reflect the adjustment to Dr. Chase's estimates summarized above and detailed in Appendix B. They do not include the period of use of these plates to produce perforated stamps commencing in 1857. Perforated stamps printed from the No. 11 plates are reviewed in Part III. The stamps from Plates $2 \mathrm{~L}, 3,4$, 5L and 68 show very little plate wear when the plates were finally withdrawn to be replaced by new plates with stamp spacing designed to better accommodate perforation. Though Plate IL was badly worn when it was withdrawn in 1855, it nevertheless provided over 12 times the number of impressions from Plate 1E. Clearly the No. 11 plates were all hardened or they would not have been capable of producing these high numbers of impressions.

The above printed record provides a mosaic which when viewed in its entirety gives a clearer picture of the development of stamp production at TCC as the impact of cheap postage rates was being felt at the U.S. Post Office. It also demonstrates the role of plate hardening in meeting this demand. By June of 1853, about 21,000 impressions per month were being required-approaching the life of an unhardened plate. And by early1857, the number of impressions of $3 \varnothing$ stamps had reached 49,000 per month.

## Plate 0 and 5 Mysteries Revisited

The 1851 contract between TCC and the Post Office Department (which was extended for four more years in 1857) required that all dies, transfer rolls and stamp plates be turned over to the Department at the end of the contract. In July of 1861, this was done and a receipt was given to TCC. This receipt lists the return of $293 \notin$ plates. ${ }^{58}$

In 1876, all of the TCC dies, transfer rolls and plates (intact and broken) were given by the government to the National Bank Note Company for use in printing the 1876 Centennial Re-Issues. After printing the Re-Issues, the dies, rolls and plates were returned in 1877 and a receipt from the government was given to the National Bank Note Company. If one examines the language of this receipt, ${ }^{59}$ several conclusions can be drawn. Page 2

[^15]begins with a listing of plates returned and after setting out the number of $1 \varnothing$ plates in the first line, a list of the $3 \phi$ plates bearing plate numbers appears in the second line: "Three (3) [Cent Plate Nos] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, ..[to] 28." Missing from this listing are Plates 11 and 19 . The total numbered plates in this line thus equals 26. Skipping five lines down, there is this entry: " $3 \phi, 1 / 2$ plain, $1 / 2$ rusted . . 1 plate." And then two lines later: " $3 \varnothing$, broken warped and rusted . . . 2 plates." All other references in the list are to the other denominations made by TCC. ${ }^{60}$

If we add these three plates (one partly rusted, the other two broken) to the 26 numbered plates in line two, we have the 29 plates which are the total known to have been made by TCC. It is suggested that the three missing from the 26 numbered plates listed are: Plate 11, Plate 19 and Plate 0 (which never in fact had a number and hence would not have appeared in the list of numbered plates). Therefore, Plate 0 is logically accounted for in this receipt as one of two plates being returned "damaged and broken."

It follows that the unnumbered plate we call " 0 " must have failed in the autumn of 1851 in the soft state. This is suggested because the life history for all the orange brown plates except Plate 0 was:
a) receive images from transfer roll in soft state,
b) receive imprint in soft state,*
c) print the orange brown stamps in the soft state,
d) receive re-entries on transfer press in the soft state,
e) receive plate number in the soft state
f) caseharden, and
g) return to presses to print the Scott No. 11 shades.
*Plate 1E was reentered twice in the soft state, receiving an imprint after the first and a plate number after the second.

All stamps from Plate 0 are in the orange brown shade. Therefore Plate 0 must have failed sometime during either step c) or d). Plate 0 is not likely to have failed during either step e) or f) because plate numbers 1 and 2 were assigned and used in the expected date order. If Plate 0 had failed during step e) or $f$ ) it would have had a plate number as the others did, and it would have been listed in the inventory with a number, as the failed Plate 6 of the $1 \phi$ stamp was.

The Plate 5 mystery presents a somewhat more intractable problem. The stamps printed from the early state of the plate show no flaws yet the plate was set aside. This occurredat a crucial time for TCC. Plate 0 was gone and Plates 1 and 2 were being reentered and hardened. Yet stamp demand was such that three plates were needed and Plate 3 was made. To put this decision into perspective, TCC stated that its cost of making a plate was $\$ 500 .{ }^{61}$ TCC was being paid $15 \notin$ per thousand stamps during the first six years of their contract, which provided them with a revenue of only $\$ 7,200$ for the 48 million $3 \notin$ stamps delivered in the first year. Thus $\$ 500$ for a new plate was a considerable investment.

In 1855 this plate was reentered, "No. 5" was added and it was hardened. Stamps from a number of positions on this plate show evidence the plate had rusted during the four years of storage. This rust is present from the earliest impressions of 5L, to the last

[^16]printings from this plate. Figure 11 shows an early impression from Position 23R5L with rust apparent across the bottom label.


Figure 11. Rust Spots on Position 23R5L
Yet reentry apparently occurred over the rust. It is highly unlikely that rust would have developed during printing because plates were frequently cleaned with oil-based solvent soaked rags (the ink was oil based). And no other plates show evidence of rust. Thus the reentry over rust on a plate which had been stored for so long suggests that the pressures on TCC in late 1854 and early 1855 were even greater than when the decision to take the plate out of service was made in 1851. As previously noted these pressures included severe wear on Plate 1L and a forecasted jump in demand due to changes in postal regulations.

The orange brown stamps of Plate 5E show do flaws. And the first printings of 5 Late also show no cracks (except a minor recutting tool "slip" on 51L). But they do show evidence of rust as noted above. However, a major crack slowly developed shortly into the life of the late state of the plate. This crack propagates from the bottom row and affects positions 74L, 84L and 94L5L. In addition, Plate 5L was used more sparingly, judging from the lower impressions from this plate. Figure 12 shows a reconstruction of the Plate 5 Late major crack.


Figure 12. Plate 5 Late Major Crack
It is this author's opinion that the early development of cracks in the late state Plate 5 supports the theory that flaws in the early state of the plate were observed somewhere other than on the printing surface (such as the back or sides of the plate) which raised warning flags in 1851. For example, the back of the plate may have had uneven spots and cavities. As Mr. Baxter states:
. . . non-uniformity in thickness and warping . . . are frequently associated with cracks that develop during printing. Since the underside of such irregular plates are uneven and more or less marked with concavities, a crack will sometimes develop in the plate as a result of the impression cylinder on the printing press forcing these concave spots down even with the press bed. . . . Occasionally, such a crack will cause a plate to break in several fragments. . . An infallible indication of a crack of this category is the fact that the fissure generally develops very gradually and continues to become greater in extent in successive impressions. ${ }^{62}$
Similar irregularities may have been noted on Plate 0 which had just failed in the softened state. Therefore, rather than risking destruction of Plate 5E during reentry, it was set aside and the new Plate 3 was made. In early 1855, however, the demand factors

[^17]mentioned above, coupled with the fact that more experience had been gained in hardening, led TCC to risk reentering and hardening Plate 5L. The risk proved worth taking as Plate 5L survived 123,000 imperforate impressions and 3,000 perforated stamp period impressions.

## Summary

Thus the most likely sequence of events in plate making is:
a) First ten days of June 1851, Plate 1E made - no imprint or plate number.
b) Second week of July 1851, Plate 5E made - imprint added, no plate number.
c) July 8 to 10,1851 , Plate 1E reentered - imprint added, no plate number.
d) July 14 to 20, 1851 Plate 2E made-imprint added, no plate number.
e) July 18 to July 23, Plate 0 made - imprint added, no plate number.
f) First two weeks of September 1851, Plate li reentered and No. 1 added, then hardened.
g) Last two weeks of December 1851, Plate 2E reentered and No. 2 added, then hardened.
h) November/December 1851, Plate 0 -failed in soft state.
i) December 1851, Plate 5E inspected, flaw suspected - then set aside.
j) End of December 1851 or first week of January 1852, Plate 3 made with imprint and No. 3 added, then hardened.
k) First half of March 1855, Plate 4 made with imprint and No. 4 added, then hardened.

1) First week of July 1855, Plate 5E reentered successfully, No. 5 added, then hardened, then developed cracks on the presses.

## Part II Conclusions

Plates $1 \mathrm{E}, 1 \mathrm{i}, 2 \mathrm{E}, 5 \mathrm{E}$ and 0 were never hardened. They experienced considerable wear consistent with that of unhardened bank note plates of the time-in the range of 20,000 to 30,000 impressions. In September of 1851, Plate 1i was reentered and the resulting Plate 1 L was hardened. Late in 1851, Plate 2E was also reentered and hardened.

Evidence strongly suggests that Plate 0 catastrophically failed in the autumn of 1851 while in the softened state due to a flaw in the steel from which it was made.

Plate 5 was set aside in late 1851, at that time bearing no plate number, and a new plate bearing "No. 3" was made and hardened. Four years later Plate 5 was reentered even though having rust spots, a "No. 5" was added, and it was hardened. A major crack developed shortly into the life of Plate 5L. The foregoing suggests that flaws may have been visible in the early state of the plate somewhere other than on the printing surface. Therefore, it was deemed too risky to reenter and hardened at that time (1851). Since the demand for stamps in late 1851 required three plates and only Plates 1 and 2 were considered serviceable, a new plate (Plate 3) was made.

The demand surge in 1855 caused by new postal regulations prompted TCC to take Plate 5E out of storage (after Plate 4 was made), reenter it, add "No. 5" to it and harden it. Thus all the No. 11 plates were hardened.

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## CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

## THE 5¢ DE LA RUE BERMUDA SHIPMENT: ANOTHER MYSTERY LEONARD H. HARTMANN © 2004

To date this is my most difficult study. The facts appear evident but I find them too outrageous to be believed. Since the early 1960s my specialty has been the CSA lithographs, but I have always had an interest in the typographs. They were neglected; plating data by Charles J. Phillips, indicating two plates used in London, was published in the 1929 Dietz book, but did not fit the information as then interpreted. This article will present a truly perplexing subject and still another London plate. Please see my article in Chronicle No. 194, May 2002, for details on the lost De La Rue shipment on the Bermuda. It must be kept in mind that these stamps were printed from electrotyped plates and were most likely made from the same matrix. We know some plates were made as a single unit of 4 panes but some may have consisted of 4 individual panes mounted together to make the plate.

Regency Stamp Co. (St. Louis) had an item of much interest in its Feb 21-22 sale this year. The catalog description for its lot 753 read in part:
(6) 1862 DAVIS $5 \notin$ LIGHT BLUE, LARGE BLOCK. Block of 70 glued to cardboard with text below. Stamps printed by De La Rue \& sent to CSA aboard British steamer Bermuda. Text tells what happened after Steamer ". . .captured by U.S.S. "Mercedes" and brought-by her prize crew into the Port of Philada., labeled as prize . . . ."
The description was certainly plausible, but my bid was based on more than a grain of salt as to what was what! There are many fraudulent CSA items with most glowing vintage descriptions and in some cases with authentic signatures of importance where the material presented does not substantiate the description. An excellent example is the fraudulent Lynchburg provisional die sold in 1895 by R.H. Glass, the CSA postmaster who issued the provisional. Glass sold it as authentic; the documentation still survives, see the Confederate Philatelist, Vol. 15, No. 3 (May-June 1970). The bottom line is the die was fraudulent, a J.W. Scott catalog illustration.

The importance of the Regency lot is the connection with the De La Rue shipment of stamps and plates that was lost when the Bermuda was captured trying to run the blockade, as the basic stamp is common. There was previously only one documented single stamp from this shipment; see Chronicle No. 194 and Dietz's 1929 book, The Postal Service of The Confederate States of America, pages 162-71. My interest was also sparked by the long-standing difficulty in distinguishing some London and Richmond printings and the fact that the London printings are surprisingly common considering the circumstances of their issue and the age. The CSA was short of stamps in 1862, based on all records. The last engraved stamps that were still in use at the end of the war are common, but unused lithographs are scarce as they were long used up. We would expect the typographed stamps should also have been used up. I had long suspected that a good quantity of the Bermuda stamps escaped the court-ordered destruction and are in the philatelic market today, or perhaps there was another shipment of stamps. Additional shipments could have been in conjunction with the shipment of the two Altered Plates. This question was discussed in the Chronicle based on the single record copy and an attempt to interpret the significance of the authentic De La Rue plate of the $5 ¢$ owned by the Franklin Institute. Guidelines on identification of the London and Richmond printings were presented but they are not conclusive. One cannot make a definitive designation on fine printing differences based on one copy of a stamp.

The initial investigations, before I had seen the lot, were directed to the judge in the Bermuda Prize Court case, Judge John W. Cadwalader, as the document was initialed


Figure 1. The Bermuda block of 70, sold at the Regency Stamp Co. sale of Feb. 21-22, 2004
"JWC." I quickly learned the judge died in 1879. I soon learned that many male Cadwaladers, even to this day, have John in their family names. Further research into the family, the court employees and the penmanship would certainly be possible but quite difficult. We hope a reader of this article will take up the challenge. In all, the document reads quite logically and accurately, with no indications it is not legitimate. Two long CSA articles that appeared in The American Philatelist, Vol. 3, during 1888-89, by Major Edw. B. Evans and C.B. Corwin, discussed these stamps but no actual reference to the Bermuda shipment is made and other details are quite sketchy, relying on old articles and Col. Offutt's memory. Evidently details of the court activities with respect to the Bermuda shipment were not common philatelic knowledge at that time.

There is one interesting spelling point to give a bit more credence to this documentation on the block of 70 . The name of the Captain of the Mercidita is spelled Stelwagen as it is on the 1866 Navy document, however the court transcript has it as Stella. The text of the document to which the stamps are affixed (Figure 1) reads:

These stamps were captured with the British steamer stermer "Bermuda" by the U.S.S.
"Mercedes" Capt Stelwagen while attempting to run the Blockade of Charleston Harbor.
The "Bermuda" was brought by her prize crew into the port of Philada., labeled as prize \& finally condemned as such.
The Cargo of the "Bermuda" was a very valuable one, consisting of dry goods, stationary, cutlery etc.
The records of the U.S.D. Court at Philada shows an inventory \& appraisement of the Cargo including a large number of cases of Confederate stamps. The prize commissioners were directed by Judge Cadwalader to destroy the stamps.
This order was obeyed with the exception of a few that were distributed among the U.S. Dist Atty \& other officers of the Court. The Bermuda was captured about 1863. The records of the Court will give the date acurately $[s i c]$.

> J.W.C.

Oct. 25th, 1899
When the lot arrived, I verified the initial evaluation and transcribed the inscription. The stamps are authentic; on London paper and consistent in print quality with the previous known copy from the Bermuda shipment and other De La Rue printings. All is quite plausible with respect to what we now know and I cannot fault it. As to chances of the item being fraudulent, the 1899 date is strange, as one from the 1860 s would be expected, but it could easily be valid.

Thinking the stamps should be removed from the backing for proper preservation, I scanned the item before sending it off. While scanning I was shocked, the stamps were not well aligned vertically. The stamps were noticeably askew; starting at the upper right corner and going down, each stamp is slightly moved left from the one above it. I then checked the actual stamps with a glass and found the same was again quite evident. If you look at any two stamps the alignment is quite noticeably askew.

It has been long recognized that the De La Rue plates were well made and the individual subjects are all in excellent alignment. I checked several panes of 100 of the London and Richmond printing, also all known CSA De La Rue items such as the $10 \Varangle$ and $2 \notin$ Altered Plate printings, and found all in excellent-with most in nearly perfectalignment. There were a few adjoining stamps that were not exactly perfectly aligned but only a few and they are only off a fraction. De La Rue did good work!

Figure 2 shows a typical block from the London printing, original gum, upper right pane, with positions 58 the UL corner and 90 the LR. Figure 3 shows a block from the Bermuda document, positions counting from the block and not necessarily the pane, with position 28 the UL corner and 60 the LR. The lower horizontal row in Figure 1 shows a slight trace of a stamp below, thus we know it cannot be positions 91-100 but we do not know otherwise.


Figure 2. A $4 \times 3$ block of the 5¢ CSA London print


Figure 3. A $4 \times 3$ block of the Bermuda block of 70

The question of authenticity and origin of the manuscript is now of lesser importance. There is no question, if the previous observations are substantiated, that the stamps differ from what we now know the CSA received and issued, and which now exist as printed stamps or metal plates. I decided to try to verify the observations and to quantify them. If one measures the diagonal of our subject Bermuda block, stamp outside corners, from upper left to lower right, you get 25.85 cm and from upper right to lower left you get 26.00 cm , indicating the block is not exactly a rectangle. This is the old carpenter's way to verify a rectangle. I then did the same measurements on the lower blocks of 70 from a number of other CSA De La Rue stamps. In all cases the left and right diagonals are the same length, i.e, the block is a rectangle. The measurements are not truly scientific; however they should be relatively consistent and reasonably accurate. I made the measurements over a one hour period, from original stamps and impressions, with the same Dietzgen Excello rule.
$5 \nmid \mathrm{De}$ La Rue, London print, with gum, 25.95 cm
$5 \notin \mathrm{De}$ La Rue, London print, no gum now present, 26.05 cm
$5 \not \subset$ De La Rue, Richmond print on London paper, gum, 25.90 cm
$5 \notin$ De La Rue, Richmond print on London paper, late printing, gum, 25.65 cm
$5 \not \subset \mathrm{De}$ La Rue, printings from Franklin Institute plate, never gummed, 26.10 cm
$2 \not \subset$ De La Rue, 1926 and 1954 printings, never gummed, 26.10 cm
$10 \notin$ Altered Place, normal impression, never gummed, 26.10 cm
$10 \notin$ Altered Plate, Sitter impression on enameled card, never gummed 26.15 cm
The above measurements are consistent with expected paper shrinkage, and all establish a rectangular printing plate. The Sitter impression is on a glazed card and would have minimal shrinkage. De La Rue was expert in printing, thus less shrinkage is expected compared with Richmond printings. As all adjoining Bermuda stamps show such a large abrupt shift, and not just an overall shift, there is no question that paper shrinkage is not a factor in this phenomena.

A friend has examined the problem initially by taking another pane of the $5 ¢$ London print that came from the hoard found in the De La Rue archives in the 1950s or 60s. He measured the diagonals of the lower block of 70 using callipers at the university that are accurate to $\pm 0.002 \mathrm{~cm}$. He commented that human error in judging the exact corners is much greater than this. His result was 25.870 cm each way. This confirms his block is also square. I think this is in good agreement with my above 25.95 measurement.

He also looked at the block of 70 with respect to paper shrinkage, and has come up with another analysis that I can not fault:

If the stamp paper had been shrunk or warped by the drying of the paper and or the glue, then the stamps might be out of vertical alignment. But a ruler held against the side of a stamp in the top row would still align, more or less, with the sides of the stamps in the column under it. The shrinkage or warpage would only mean that the angle between the ruler and the bottom row of the sheet would not be 90 ? But in this case, a ruler held against the side of a stamp in the top row cuts off more and more of each stamp in the column under it as you move down the column. The stamps themselves are aligned perfectly. Each individual row has been shifted its own individual amount to the right. This had to have been caused by the stamps being improperly locked in the frame.
The above suggests that the plate used by De La Rue in London to print at least some of the stamps lost on the Bermuda shipment was poorly made, and is distinct from all others. We know the basic methods that De La Rue used to make their printing plates, but I do not know the exact fabrication details. One can assume the 100 impressions from the original die were locked together in a frame to make up a pane. It would be difficult to secure each subject individually and such locking was a common printing practice. A misalignment could easily shift the original subjects all in one direction so the pane is not
an exact rectangle. The electrotype was then made from this matrix. The electrotype could be used to print stamps. The shifting in the original subject lock-up could be easily fixed, with plates made before or after being perfect. The printing plate of 4 panes could be made consisting of 4 individual electrotypes fixed to a backing plate or a matrix of 4 panes used to produce a single metal plate.

We know there were several printing plates made for the $5 \not \subset$ over a period of time. The unused one now in the Franklin Institute has the 4 panes made as a single unit; it was probably the one shipped on the Bermuda, but this is not proven. We would assume the same plate arrangement for the others but we do not know. The $2 \phi$ Altered Plate also consist of 4 panes arranged in a plate as a single unit. However, the $10 \varnothing$ Altered Plate appears to have been made as four individual panes based on the excellent alignment of the screw holes in the two surviving intact panes. (This point on the $10 \phi$ as to a unit of one or four is of no real consequence.)

The first shipment of stamps from London, the 5ф, arrived in Richmond. The second shipment on the Bermuda, consisting of a $5 \notin$ plate or plates and printed stamps never reached the Confederate States and ended up in the Philadelphia Prize Court. At least one and probably two $5 \phi$ plates reached the Confederacy and were used to print stamps. At least two plates were used in London to print issued stamps, with our tilted plate being distinctive.

De La Rue was a major printer of adhesive stamps for the British Empire. I have asked several British specialists in the stamps if they have ever seen such a shift on De La Rue work and all reported that they had not. It is thus quite fortuitous that our lost Bermuda shipment would have this characteristic. I have checked the block of 70 in every way that I can think of and I keep getting the same answer. It is what it appears to be, the plate was skewed when made and differs from all others that we know. Please note, though all CSA De La Rue plates and stamps have excellent alignment, there are a few isolated pairs that show mis-alignment but nothing approaching our Bermuda block of 70 with all stamps showing this characteristic. Assuming this block is typical of the stamps in the Bermuda shipment, evidently most stamps were destroyed per Judge Cadwalader's order.

Comments and assistance on this study are most desired. There is still much to learn about the CSA stamps from De La Rue. A detailed examination and plating of the existing panes would do much to establish a framework for further study. The stamps in full panes of 100 are still common enough to permit a serious study! Comments to: Leonard H. Hartmann, PO Box 36006, Louisville, Ky 40233.

A special thanks to Selden Trimble for his invaluable help and also to Michael O'Reilly.

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

Civil War prison covers are interesting to many collectors because of their ties to the stamp issue used, postal history and other philatelic matters related to the CSA, war cover studies and usages in general, and many similar categories. S.C.R.A.P. recently received a donation from a USPCS member of a faked military prison usage Civil War cover similar to one already in the reference collection. The fakery used was the subject of original analysis and identification work published by Galen Harrison, who, although not a member of USPCS, is a respected member of the Confederate Stamp Alliance known for his extensive research on prisoner's mail in the Civil War. He wrote an authoritative article on this particular fakery for the September-October 2001 issue of The Confederate Philatelist, the official publication of the Confederate Stamp Alliance. The Alliance generously gave its permission to use the information contained therein for this monograph, and I gratefully acknowledge their cooperation. The following monograph was produced based upon Galen Harrison's published work and was kindly reviewed by him.

## 3c 1861 ISSUE ON OLD CAPITOL PRISON COVERS

(S.C.R.A.P. Numbers 24-124-01 \& 96-108-28)

DESCRIPTION: S.C.R.A.P. Number 24-124-01 is an orange cover franked with a single U.S. $3 \phi$ rose 1861 issue, perforated 12 , postmarked with a black, double circle WASHINGTON/MAY 4 1863/D.C. cds which is used as the cancellation, with also a black PASSED/W.P. WOOD SUPt/MILITARY PRISON circular handstamp, and addressed to a Miss Esther A. Stone, Edinburg(h), Portage County, Ohio. S.C.R.A.P. Number 96-108-28 is similar in many respects, except that it is a yellow cover, the Washington, D.C. cds is incomplete, and it is addressed to a Mrs. Geo(rge) L. Prescott, Concord, Massachusetts.
APPARENT USAGE: Fully prepaid $3 \notin$ per half ounce domestic postage rate for a letter being sent from the Old Capitol Prison (being used as a military prison during the Civil War) in Washington, D.C. to Ohio or Massachusetts.
ANALYSIS: The franking on each envelope is a genuine $3 \Varangle 1861$ issue, Scott \#65. The stamp on the cover to Ohio has a perforation stain at the lower left corner and both have several short perforations.

According to the research of Galen Harrison, the PASSED/W.P. WOOD SUPt/MILITARY PRISON circular handstamp has a number of distinguishing characteristics shown on these and similar known fake covers:

- The fake handstamp has a distinctive break in the outer frame above the " A " in "PASSED" at the ten o'clock position. This is constant in all fakes, and is not present in genuine handstamps.
- A short horizontal bar just in front of the " S " in " SUPt " is constant in all fakes and not present on the genuine handstamp.
- There are distinct differences between the lettering of the fake and that of the genuine handstamp, particular noticeable in the "LITA" in "MILITARY PRISON."
- The circular handstamp on the fake covers is well struck and upright, whereas on genuine covers it is often found partially stuck and/or at various angles including upside down.
- Most fake covers bear U.S. \#65 franking with a Washington D.C. postmark and are addressed to northern addresses, although a few are known with CSA stamps and Richmond postmarks to simulate through-the-lines covers.

Although it cannot be conclusively proven, these covers may be the fakery of John Fox, a now deceased postal history dealer and auctioneer. The cover in figure 2 was part of


Figure 1. A faked military prison usage from the Old Capitol Prison of Washington, D.C. on an otherwise genuine 3¢ 1861 issue cover (S.C.R.A.P. No. 24-124-01)


Figure 2. Another example of a purported Old Capitol Prison usage cover showing the faked PASSED/W.P. WOOD SUPt/MILITARY PRISON circular handstamp (S.C.R.A.P. No. 96-108-28)


Figure 3. An enlarged view of the handstamp showing several of the described characteristics that indicate it as a fake; note particularly the break in the outer frame above the " $A$ " and the short horizontal bar in front of the "SUPt"
a large group of postal history covers donated to S.C.R.A.P. in 1996 which were reported to have been obtained from John Fox and believed by the donor to all be his fakes. Whether or not these two covers are his work, they clearly are dangerous fakes. Other examples may be still in the marketplace, and collectors who have one or more covers with this handstamp should check them for the characteristics noted above.
CONCLUSION: The faker took otherwise genuine $3 \not \subset 1861$ issue covers from Washington, D.C. to Ohio and Massachusetts and applied a fake PASSED/W.P. WOOD SUPt/MILITARY PRISON circular handstamp to each to create the appearance of Civil War prison mail.

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## NEW YORK FOREIGN MAIL CANCELLATIONS ON OFFICIAL STAMPS, 1873-1884

## ALAN C. CAMPBELL

Introduction
For the most part, official mail during the 1873-1884 period was handled by the post office in exactly the same fashion as regular mail, and since Post Office Department stamps were distributed to every postmaster in the country, every postmark and killer encountered on regular issue large Bank Note stamps could theoretically also be found on official stamps. But most specialists quickly discover that strikes of the truly fancy killers of this era are extremely difficult to find on official stamps. We react with amazement and gratitude upon learning of the existence of such an item as the $3 \phi$ Justice pair with a complete strike of the Chicago blue pool table (formerly in the collection of Clyde Jennings). In the early 1980s, rumors of a used block of the $90 \propto$ Interior with multiple strikes of a commercial rubber skull-and-crossbones killer left some of us skeptical that such a spectacular item could even exist. When stamps like this come to market in a wellpublicized public auction, the realizations can be staggering. In 2002, Lester C. Lanphear III had to pay over $\$ 1000$ for a Wells Fargo express company postmark on a $3 \notin$ Agriculture. ${ }^{1}$ In the recent Markovits sale, a Chicago blue gin barrel on a $12 \phi$ Justice, a Los Angeles tarbaby on a $15 \notin$ Interior and a red NYFM on a $\$ 2$ State all soared off the charts. ${ }^{2}$ Why these cancellations are so much scarcer on official stamps is quite easily explained. Between 1873 and 1877, official stamps accounted for only $4.3 \%$ of the postage sold in this country. Over $50 \%$ of them were used by the great departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C., and usages from other major cities and smaller towns varied widely according to department, depending on the distribution of field offices and the use of prestamped reply envelopes. Moreover, the mortality rate for used official stamps and most especially official covers was much higher than for regular issue large Bank Note stamps. In this article, we will try to explain why strikes of the distinctive and widely-collected killers used by the foreign department of the main New York City Post Office are so hard to find on official stamps.

## The Classic Geometric NYFM Killers, 1873-1878

These beautiful and deservedly popular cancellations have been exhaustively studied and classified, so there is no point in rehearsing their history here. Because the nation's largest city and commercial center generated such a great volume of foreign mail, strikes of many designs are relatively common, to the point where in auction catalogues of XF used Bank Note stamps the cancellations often receive only passing mention and are clearly not a significant factor in enhancing value. Collectors of NYFM cancellations can reserve their funds for bold, virtually complete strikes of the rarer types on higher values, or for covers to exotic destinations. Meanwhile, the official specialist must content himself with a partial strike of any device, most likely in black, on a lower value defective stamp. The great students of these cancellations have pointed out how scarce strikes are on official stamps. Waud and Van Vlissingen listed 12 different designs seen on 18 official stamps from seven departments. ${ }^{3}$ Weiss wrote, "Any NYFM on a departmental stamp is

[^18]very rare and should be highly prized by the owner. Probably fewer than 15 such examples exist." ${ }^{" 4}$ Actually, these comments slightly overstate the rarity factor. An accurate census is not possible, when any number of isolated examples may languish underappreciated in anonymous collections. Still, a start can be made, based on the published work of NYFM researchers, auction catalogues, and the cooperation of other official specialists. The new Weiss type grouping and numbering system has been used.

Census of NYFM Cancellations on Off-Cover Official Stamps ( 41 here recorded)

Stamp
$6 \not \subset$ Executive
3¢ State
$7 \phi$ State
10¢ State
$90 ¢$ State (red)
\$2 State (red)
\$2 State (red)
$1 \notin$ Treasury
$1 \not \subset$ Treasury
$2 \notin$ Treasury
$2 \not \subset$ Treasury
$2 \not \subset$ Treasury
$2 \not \subset$ Treasury
$2 \notin$ Treasury
$2 \notin$ Treasury
$3 \phi$ Treasury
$3 \notin$ Treasury
$3 \notin$ Treasury
$6 \notin$ Treasury
$6 \not \subset$ Treasury
$7 \phi$ Treasury
14 War
6¢ War
$1 \not \subset$ Navy
$6 \not \subset$ Navy
$10 ¢$ Navy
12ф Navy
24¢ Navy
30¢ Navy
$30 ¢$ Navy
$3 \not \subset$ Interior
$10 \phi$ Interior
1\& Agriculture
2ф Agriculture
$2 \nless$ Post Office
$2 \not \subset$ Post Office (red)
$2 \notin$ Post Office
$6 \not \subset$ Post Office
$12 \not \subset$ Post Office
$15 \not \subset$ Post Office
$15 \not \subset$ Post Office

Weiss No. Owner and Provenance
ST-8P11 ACC, illustrated in Figure 1.
GE-EP4 ACC, illustrated in Figure 2.
TR-G10 RE
GE-EP3 (ex-RLM, ex-KT) illustrated in auction catalogues.
GE-EP6 ACC, illustrated in Figure 2.
ST-8P4 ACC (ex V-W) illustrated in V-W and Figure 2.
ST-8P3 (ex-RLM, ex-Stone) illustrated in auction catalogues.
GE-C6 (ex-WRW) illustrated in Weiss p. 57.
GE-EN5 LCL
ST-8P11 (ex-RLM, ex-T) illustrated in auction catalogues.
ST-8P11 RCH (ex-V-W) illustrated in V-W p. 77.
ST-8P1 (ex-WRW) illustrated in Weiss p. 156.
GE-EN1 RCH (ex V-W)
ST-8P11 ACC, illustrated in Figure 4.
ST-MP4 ACC, illustrated in Figure 4.
ST-8P11 (ex-V-W), not illustrated in catalogue, lot \#1258?
TR-W8 (ex V-W C), not illustrated in book.
TR-W8 (ex V-W C), not illustrated in book.
GE-S3 RCH (ex V-W) illustrated in V-W p. 77.
TR-W4 (ex V-W), not illustrated in catalogue, lot \#1258
GE-C5 (ex V-W), not illustrated in catalogue, lot \#1258?
ST-8P12 ACC
TR-W15 (ex V-W), not illustrated in catalogue, lot \#1258?
GE-EN3 ACC, illustrated in Figure 4.
GE-C4 ACC, illustrated in Figure 4.
GE-EN3 (ex V-W), not illustrated in catalogue, Lot \#341.
GE-EP3 ACC (ex-RLM, ex-KT) illustrated in Figure 4.
GE-EP3 RE
ST-8P10 LCL (ex-KT) illustrated in auction catalogue.
ST-8P10 TOL
GE-EP9 (ex V-W C), not illustrated in book.
GE-EP3 LCL (ex-RLM, ex-KT) illustrated in auction catalogues.
TR-W13a (ex V-W C), not illustrated in book.
TR-W4d (ex V-W), not illustrated in catalogue, lot \#1258?
ST-8P11 (ex-KT)
ST-MP3 TOL
GE-EP3 TOL
TR-W6 (ex V-W C), not illustrated in book.
TR-W8 (ex V-W), not illustrated in catalogue, lot \#1258?
GE-EP4 ACC, illustrated in Figure 4.
GE-EP3 TOL (ex-WRW) illustrated in Weiss, p. 109.
${ }^{4}$ William R. Weiss, Jr., The Foreign Mail Cancellations of New York City 1870-1878 ([Bethlehem?], PA: The Author, 1990), p. 57.

Initials: ACC (Alan C. Campbell), RE (Ralph Ebner), RCH (Rollin C. Huggins, Jr.), LCL (Lester C. Lanphear III), TOL (Theodore O. Lockyear), ex-RLM (Robert L. Markovits, Bennett Auction 2/7/2004), ex-KT (Dr. Kazuyuki Takahashi, Weiss Auction 7/10/93), ex V-W (Arthur Van Vlissingen and Morrison Waud, Siegel Auction, 406th Sale, 1972), V-W C (Van Vlissingen and Waud census, p. 78), ex-WRW (William R. Weiss Jr.)

The four strikes in red presumably derive from supplementary mail covers, since research by experts John Donnes and Ardy Callender indicates that while not all supplementary covers were canceled with red ink, red ink was used only on supplementary foreign mail and not on regular foreign mail. I had a report of strikes of TR-W8 on four Treasury and War stamps, but did not include these because the relatively common eightpointed rosette killers from New Orleans are too deceptively similar. Nor did I include strikes of the negative and positive numerals because the same killers were used on domestic mail. Of the 41 total entries, nine are traditional designs-circle of wedges, circle of V's and the like-unillustrated in the original Van Vlissingen Census. Since similar devices were carved and used elsewhere in the country, all of these listings should be taken with a grain of salt. Note also that nine of the strikes listed occur on $2 \not \subset$ Treasury and $2 \notin$ Post Office stamps. These are not the deceptively similar but slightly smaller devices used on city delivery mail (termed "look-alikes" by Weiss). However, the circular division did have a series of cancelers for use on third class domestic mail which very closely resemble the classic NYFM geometrics. ${ }^{5}$ Low value official stamps bearing strikes of these may derive not from foreign mail but from domestic unsealed circulars.

NYFM cancellations on official stamps are rare simply because only a tiny fraction of official foreign mail was posted from field offices outside of the departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C. Disregarding for the moment those rare instances where supplemental forwarding postage was added by the governmental dispatch agency in New York, of the 93 foreign destination official covers recorded by Lester C. Lanphear III, only ten originated outside of the nation's capital: War covers from Cheyenne, Wyoming to London and from New Orleans to Ireland, three War covers from St. Louis to London and Rome, a Post Office cover from Boston to Paris, Treasury covers from New York to Liverpool and from Grove City, Ohio to Germany, an Interior cover from St. Louis to Paris, and a Navy cover from Annapolis to London, forwarded to Constantinople. Official mail from Washington, D.C. destined for Europe was typically postmarked at the main Washington, D.C. post office and routed to New York, where a red transit marking was applied. I have 12 off-cover stamps from six departments that are struck with a D.C. cut cork killer and also bear a portion of the red New York transit marking. Weiss noted covers from Canada and Cuba where the stamps were not canceled at the point of origin and subsequently received NYFM killers, but I would use such an explanation for off-cover stamps only as a last resort. Still, although we report in this census strikes of NYFM killers on the official stamps of all departments except Justice, it is quite difficult to justify why any at all should exist on Executive, State or Agriculture stamps.

With respect to the lone reported strike on an Executive stamp, shown in Figure 1, all the surviving Executive covers were posted in Washington, D.C. or from Long Branch, New Jersey, where President Grant's summer home was located. There is no evidence that the dispatch agency in New York was ever furnished Executive stamps. Therefore, this stamp most logically originated on an envelope that was posted directly at the main New York City post office, perhaps by one of his secretaries while President Grant was in town.

Strikes on State official stamps as shown in Figure 2 are also perplexing. Morrison Waud, who built astonishing collections of both NYFM cancellations and official covers, had this to say about the strike in red of ST-8P4 on the $\$ 2$ State illustrated on page 77 of his book:
${ }^{\text {sersenal communication with John Donnes. }}$


It is difficult to conjecture why State Department stamps would be used on mail originating in New York City. Perhaps the mail was delivered by messenger or in diplomatic pouch to the Foreign Mail Division of the New York City Post Office for sending abroad.
Obviously, the Department of State must have generated more foreign mail than all the other departments combined, but the vast majority was transported not through the regular mailstream but went by diplomatic pouch for security reasons. Of the four State covers recorded posted in Washington, D.C. to foreign destinations, three-the two $90 \phi$ parcel fronts to Mexico and the $\$ 2$ front to Germany-probably contained publications that were not deemed too sensitive to risk sending by ordinary mail. This leaves an 1881 $10 \notin$ mourning cover to London, ex-Ehrenberg, as the only recorded example of first class foreign destination Department of State mail sent through ordinary mail channels. ${ }^{6}$

The government dispatch agent in New York was a Department of State employee; at this time, his office was in the main NYPO. ${ }^{7}$ Unlike the London dispatch agent B.F. Stevens, only a handful of covers bear handstamps from the N.Y. dispatch agent, so the extent of his activities remains obscure. Presumably he was involved in expediting all incoming and outgoing diplomatic pouch mail, and providing supplemental foreign postage for official mail. He had been furnished with the official stamps of several departments-State, Navy, and Post Office for sure-for this purpose. In the execution of his other duties, the New York dispatch agent may have generated official mail of his own. ${ }^{8}$ Therefore, whenever we encounter State official stamps canceled by recognizable

[^19]New York killers, they may derived from mail that originated elsewhere-in most instances from Washington, D.C.-that had supplemental postage added by the dispatch agent, or else from the official correspondence of the dispatch agent himself.


Figure 3. Diplomatic pouch mail from Paris, with $6 \mathbf{6}$ State supplied by the dispatch agent to pay the treaty rate to Hawaii, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III

Grant's Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, kept a home in Garrisons, New York, and a single cover exists posted there, but that was up the Hudson River in Putnam County, reasonably distant from New York City. ${ }^{9}$ In Figure 3, courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III, we illustrate the only recorded State cover posted in the city prior to the introduction of penalty franks in 1877, a diplomatic pouch cover from the Paris Legation that had a $6 \varnothing$ State stamp added by the dispatch agent to pay the $6 \not \subset$ treaty to Hawaii. ${ }^{10}$ There is no handstamp of the dispatch agent and no San Francisco transit marking. John Donnes has an 1876 cover from the same legation addressed to Philadelphia, where the dispatch agent added a regular $3 \not \subset$ Bank Note stamp. All other State diplomatic pouch covers-and a fair number survive, typically private correspondence between the consul and his familywere sent directly to Washington, D.C., where the postage necessary to enter the regular mailstream was added in the State mailroom. The Hawaii cover must have arrived in a different pouch in order to receive the attention of the dispatch agent in New York. NYFM cancellations were applied to all foreign mail departing on ships from the port of New York. Covers to the Orient, including Japan and China, bearing these cancels would have been routed across the isthmus of Panama rather than overland via San Francisco. The killer on the Hawaii cover is a positive " 7 " in circle, closely duplexed to the postmark. Hand-carved positive and negative numerals were used by the main NYPO on domestic mail going out of the city. They were also used on foreign mail when the final port of departure was another city, typically New Orleans or San Francisco. Weiss in his taxonomy included them as foreign mail cancellations, but four of the five covers he illustrates are addressed to Mexico, all of which probably traveled via New Orleans. ${ }^{11}$

[^20]Strikes of these killers are occasionally found on off-cover State stamps, and perhaps they derive from similarly exotic foreign destination covers. But can we safely assume that all NYFM strikes on off-cover State stamps originated as supplemental foreign postage on quasi-official mail-a private letter, say, addressed care of the U. S. Consul overseashelpfully supplied by the dispatch agent? To my mind, such an explanation is adequate for the lower value stamps, but breaks down completely for the red supplementary mail strikes reported on the $90 \notin$ and $\$ 2$ State stamps.

As we shall see, after the Department of State began using penalty handstamps, the dispatch agent in New York routinely added the supplemental foreign postage required by UPU regulations which did not recognize the adequacy of penalty franks. (Never mind that by this time, official stamps were technically no longer valid either on foreign mail). Perhaps before this, when the pre-GPU foreign treaty rates were high and complex, the Department of State decided to delegate the onerous task of franking all their heavy mails to the government dispatch agency in New York (which already specialized in precisely this kind of mail) and accordingly provided a diverse supply of official stamps for that purpose? So coming full circle, the hypothesis originally put forth by Van Vlissingen and Waud-that some sort of messenger or pouch system existed for transmitting State mail from Washington, D.C. to New York-strikes me as the logical explanation for why we find strikes of NYFM cancellations on the higher value State stamps.

SIR:-The following explanation of the use of the 10 and 20 dollar stamps may be useful. These two values are no longer used on packages; the heavy mails of the State Department are now sent to the City Post-Office, and charged against the Department. The account is settled monthly by payments in the high value stamps. These are turned over by the city postmaster to the General Post-office as vouchers for the account, and are destroyed. Thus you will see that neither used nor unused copies are to be had.

Yours truly, C. E. D."
This has the ring of truth, since postally used copies of the $\$ 10$ and $\$ 20$ State are virtually impossible to find. Perhaps these stamps paid for transporting bags to the dispatch agent in New York, where the correct foreign postage was then affixed on each individual package.

The Van Vlissingen and Waud census listed two NYFM strikes on Agriculture stamps: TR-W13a on a $2 \phi$ Agriculture, and TR-W4d on a $1 \not \subset$ Agriculture. ${ }^{12}$ These are traditional designs-a circle of V's and a circle of wedges respectively. Very similar devices were carved in other parts of the country, so positive identification as off-cover NYFM strikes seems wishful thinking to me. A definite NYFM on an Agriculture stamp would be spectacular, since no background color better enhances the legibility of cancellations than yellow. All the surviving Agriculture covers were posted in Washington, D.C. The Department of Agriculture did not have field offices per se, and off-cover usages from major cities are relatively scarce, but there was a system for distributing stamps to "principal reporters" to cover their postage needs in collecting statistical information from their "assistant correspondents." ${ }^{13}$ One would have expected any official correspondence with European governments regarding, say, the quarantining of live animals and fresh meat due to hoof-and-mouth disease to have emanated from departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C.; still, a gentleman "town-and-country" farmer serving as a "principal reporter" in New York might have taken the initiative to inquire about agricultural advances on the continent.

In Figure 4 we show various strikes of NYFM killers on Treasury, Navy and Post Office stamps. While a few of the Navy and Post Office stamps could have originated as

[^21]

Figure 4. ST-8P11, ST-MP2, GE-EN3, GE-C4, GE-EP3, GE-EP4
supplemental postage affixed by the dispatch agent, most must have derived from foreign mail generated by government officials in New York. The Post Office and Navy Yard there were the largest in the country, and the Treasury Department had an Internal Revenue Office, a Custom House, an Assessor's Office, and an Office of the U.S. General Appraiser there, all of which had been furnished official stamps.

In 1968, Van Vlissingen and Waud wrote, "The only known examples of NYFM cancellations on the Department stamps are off cover on the Continental issue of 1873." ${ }^{14}$ In 1990, William R. Weiss Jr. wrote, ". . . none are reported on cover. Such a cover, if ever, discovered, would be worth a king's ransom." ${ }^{1 / 5}$ At that time, he was unaware of the cover shown in Figure 5, purchased by Robert L. Markovits at Ameripex in Chicago in 1986 but not exhibited publicly until $1994 .{ }^{16}$ The authenticity of this cover is unquestionable, since all four stamps are tied by three strikes of the GE-EP1 killer, the postmark date-May 29 (1875, confirmed by the red Liverpool transit marking)-fits within the two week span, May 29 to June 15, of the four other reported covers showing this device, ${ }^{17}$ and the $24 \varnothing$ franking correctly pays the quadruple treaty rate to England. There is an indecipherable red wax seal on the back, and the absence of an imprinted corner card is atypical for the Treasury Department. Some time in the past, this cover was expertly restored in the upper left corner and paper added exactly where we would expect to see the corner card. It is unclear whether the area of restoration is sufficiently large to have encompassed the entire corner card. A portion of the back flap was also replaced, so it appears that instead of the corner card having been deliberately torn off by a misguided descendant, the cover was simply roughly opened. The "(personal)" notation in the lower left should not be interpreted as suggested that this was private, unofficial correspondence, but only that the information contained therein was confidential, for the eyes of General Lucius Fairchild alone, who in fact was the U.S. Consul in Liverpool. ${ }^{18}$ At any rate, it is unfortunate that the true origin of the only surviving official cover bearing the classic geometric NYFM cancellations will never be known.

In Figure 6 we illustrate a legal-size War Department cover to Germany with an early penalty handstamp, posted April 15, 1878 at the main Washington, D.C. post office with the characteristic violet duplex cancellation, with "New York British Transit," "New York F. D." and "Dresden-Lobtau" backstamps. The double UPU rate was paid by $10 \notin$ in Post Office official stamps (two $2 \not \subset$ and a $6 \not \subset$ ), with one $2 \not \subset$ overlapping the violet D.C. killer, canceled with circle-of-8-wedges killers. A similar killer (TR-W13) was used by the New York Foreign Division, and Weiss records five covers with this cancel from 1878.

[^22]

Figure 5. 2¢ Treasury (2), 10¢ Treasury (2) with GE-EP1 killers paying the quadruple treaty rate to the U.S. Consulate, Liverpool, May, 1875

This cover was examined by a gathering of official specialists at Pacific '97, and skeptics noted that a portion of the D.C. killer was missing on the envelope, perhaps because a $10 \phi$ War stamp had fallen off or been removed. They also deplored the absence of a dispatch agency backstamp. However, the expected franking-a $10 \notin$ War stamp-has never been seen paying foreign postage on a penalty envelope. Moreover, a dispatch agency handstamp was not found on the earlier $6 \not \subset$ State cover to Hawaii and is recorded only on covers posted later in the 1880s, so perhaps this marking did not exist in 1878. Finally, critics argued that there was no evidence the dispatch agency had ever been furnished Post Office stamps, since at this time the cover illustrated in Figure 11 had not come to their attention. The only aspect of this cover of questionable authenticity are the Post Office stamps, and if these didn't originate on the cover, then the fake cancellations-TR-W13 correctly in period-had certainly been meticulously researched. After American


Figure 6. 2c Post Office (2), 6¢ Post Office with TR-W13 killers paying the double UPU rate on a War Department penalty cover to Germany, April 15, 1878
collectors passed on this cover, it resurfaced in an obscure German auction and was bought by a local collector there. Ralph Ebner examined this cover for me and reported that the lower right corner of the violet killer exists clearly under the $2 \phi$ Post Office stamp. He believes this controversial cover to be completely authentic, and I am inclined to agree with him.

Steel Numeral in Vertical Barred Ellipse NYFM Cancellations, 1876-1884
In 1876, the innovative main NYPO became the first city to use John Goldsborough's patented ellipse cancelers on a regular basis. Numerals in horizontal barred ellipses were assigned to clerks for use on domestic mail going outside the city. "PO" ellipses were used on local delivery mail. Letters in ellipses were used at the different stations and substations of the main post office. Strikes of these different types can be found on off-cover stamps of all eight departments (although not on the stamps of the Executive Office itself) and on covers from Treasury, War, Navy and Post Office. There even exists a late $18832 \not \subset$ State cover to Iowa posted at Station E. ${ }^{19}$ On and off-cover strikes of these cancellations on State stamps presumably derive from correspondence of the dispatch agent, not from forwarded official mail.

As part of this new system of steel ellipse cancels, numerals in vertically-barred ellipses were prepared for the foreign division to use on first class mail. The first set consisted of duplex devices, sans-serif numbers 1-13, for use on straightforward outgoing foreign mail. The earliest reported use of these is January $10,1877 .{ }^{20}$ A deceptively similar set of devices, with slightly heavier numerals, was used in St. Louis on domestic mail during the same time period. The use of penalty franks was authorized on March 3, 1877, coinciding with President Hayes' inauguration, but all foreign governments with the exception of Canada refused to recognize them, so supplemental postage was required. After April 1, 1879, official stamps were no longer valid on UPU mail, but only the Treasury Department seems to have made an effort to comply with this regulation, and most other departments ignored it without adverse effect. The NYFM duplex ellipses are typically found on off-cover State stamps, much less frequently on Treasury, Post Office and Navy stamps, and typically only numbers 1-6. ${ }^{21}$ A selection is shown in Figure 7. Three remarkable official covers are known with these cancellations, two of them exMarkovits, one ex-Stone. In Figure 8 we illustrate an 1883 cover from Cleveland addressed to a cadet midshipman care of the U.S. Consul, South Africa, with a $10 \notin$ State added to the original $5 \notin$ Garfield postage to make up the $15 \notin$ British mail to South Africa, with a three line handstamp on the reverse reading "Forwarded by the United States

[^23]

Figure 7. Sans-serif numeral in vertical barred ellipse duplex NYFM cancellations


Figure 8. 5c Garfield from Cleveland with 10c State added by the dispatch agent in New York to pay the $15 ¢$ British mail rate to Capetown, South Africa, December, 1883


Figure 9. Serif numeral in vertical barred ellipse simplex NYFM cancellations

Government . . . ${ }^{{ }^{22}}$ An 1883 cover from Baltimore addressed to an ensign care of the U.S. Consul, St. John's, Newfoundland has a $2 \notin$ Navy added to the original $5 \notin$ Garfield postage to make up the $7 申$ treaty rate, with an arched "U.S. Govt Despatch Agency/P O Box 1249/New York" handstamp on the front and a 6-line handstamp on the reverse. ${ }^{23}$ It seems odd that the dispatch agent added a State stamp in one case and a Navy stamp in the other, when both letters were addressed to sailors care of the U.S. Consul. An 1884 cover from Ionia, Michigan addressed to the American Consul in London has a $3 \notin$ State added to the original $2 \phi$ red brown to make up the $5 \phi$ UPU rate, with a pair of similar dispatch agency handstamps on the front. ${ }^{24}$ In my estimation, these are not representative usages. More likely, most of the off-cover State stamps we find with these cancellations came from official penalty envelopes first posted in Washington, D.C., with the supplemental foreign postage added by the dispatch agent in New York. The far less common strikes on Treasury and Post Office stamps probably derive from foreign mail generated by the New York offices of these departments.

The second set of vertical barred ellipses used by the main NYPO consisted of duplex devices, serif numbers 1 and 2, for supplementary mail. Although the specialized catalogue lists such cancels on off-cover $12 \notin$ and $30 \notin$ Navy stamps, I have never seen a copy. The third set consisted of simplex devices, serif numbers 1-6 (later extended 7-13), and are chiefly seen on foreign mail incoming from Cuba and Haiti. They were also used to cancel the stamps on foreign letters posted at branches of the main NYPO: the branches typically postmarked the envelope, but only the foreign department could cancel the stamps. The only official cover recorded with this type of cancellation is an 1883 penalty envelope from the Postmaster at Philadelphia to Christiania, Norway with a $6 \not \subset$ State added overpaying the $5 \notin$ UPU rate, with a 6 -line handstamp on the reverse: "Deficiency in Postage supplied U.S. Despatch Agency, New York . . . ${ }^{25}$ Clearly, whatever official stamps were in stock would do. In Figure 9 we illustrate three strikes of this simplex handstamp, " 3 "s on a $12 \phi$ and $\$ 2$ State and a " 6 " on a $10 \notin$ Navy. John Donnes reports " 3 "s on the $7 \phi$ and $\$ 2$ State and a " 6 " on the $2 \notin$ Treasury, Roger Curran has a " 6 " on the $\$ 2$ State, and the Markovits sale had a similar stamp. ${ }^{26}$ We may never be able to imagine the prototypical official cover that could have borne such stamps, but it seems most unlikely that they originated on incoming foreign mail, or that the $\$ 2$ State examples were even used on first class mail.

## New York Third Class Foreign Mail Double Oval Cancellations

The first rubber handstamps used by the main NYPO to cancel mail were double ovals for registered and non-first class mail. These typically were undated, so their date of introduction has been hard to pin down. Devices meant for use by the foreign department did eventually incorporate a date, with the earliest example recorded being July 15, 1881. ${ }^{27}$ As illustrated in Figure 10, strikes can be found on official stamps from four departments: Treasury, Navy, Post Office and predominantly State. The bags of heavy mail from the Department of State, posted earlier to have been transported from Washington, D.C. to the dispatch agent in New York for application of foreign postage, seem applicable here also. Presumably the strikes on stamps from the other departments came from third class mail generated by their New York offices. We would not expect many wrappings and envelopes

[^24]

Figure 10. Dated double oval third class NYFM cancellations
from official third class foreign mail to have survived, but there is one recorded example. In Figure 11, courtesy of Dr. Dennis L. Schmidt, we illustrate a Postal Service penalty envelope (UO14, ex-Marcus White) to Paris, posted in Washington, D.C. in June 1883, with a $15 \not \subset$ Post Office stamp added by the dispatch agent in New York to pay the triple UPU rate. The Washington, D.C. postmark incorporates a " 1 " at the bottom, a special simplex type used on stampless penalty mail where there was no need for a killer. The " 1 " is a postal clerk designation, paralleling the various sets of numeral killers 1-6 used simultaneously on stamped mail by the main Washington, D.C. post office. There are French transit markings on the front and back and a purple "deficiency in postage . . ." handstamp on the back. The dispatch agent apparently treated the letter as first class foreign mail, since there was nothing printed on the envelope to indicate otherwise. Nevertheless, the stamp was canceled by the Foreign Division of the NYPO with the double oval device as if this were third class mail. Surviving regular issue Bank Note covers from New York indicate that this type of canceler was predominantly used on third class foreign mail and in rare exceptions on third class domestic mail. ${ }^{28}$


Figure 11. Postal Service penalty envelope from Washington, D.C., with $15 ¢$ Post Office supplied by the dispatch agent in New York to pay the triple UPU rate to Paris, June, 1883, courtesy of Dr. Dennis L. Schmidt

[^25]
## Conclusion

Although official stamps were no longer valid on UPU foreign mail after April 1, 1879, strikes of NYFM vertical barred ellipses and double ovals are so plentiful on State stamps as to suggest that this department's foreign mail originating in Washington was routinely carried under the penalty frank up to New York, where the appropriate foreign postage was added by the dispatch agent. The only cover that has survived to substantiate this theory is the famous $\$ 2$ State package front to Germany, and regrettably it fails to neatly resolve all the issues. Throughout this conjecture, I have sometimes felt as if I were trying to force together pieces from two different jigsaw puzzles, with no hope of ever matching the ideal picture on the box top. If the double oval handstamps were really intended for foreign third class mail, and if the \$2 State cover front truly derived from a parcel of books, ${ }^{29}$ then the nineteen stamps thereon should properly have been canceled by double oval handstamps. If this were treated as first class mail, then we would expect to see numeral in vertical barred ellipse cancellations. Instead, what we find is the last thing we would anticipate, a numeral in horizontal barred ellipse duplex killer traditionally intended for domestic first class mail going out of the city. Apparently, this package was misrouted through the domestic division. The package label bears a faint purple penalty handstamp, and the catalogue description asserts that this item was originally posted in Washington, D.C., the lack of a Washington, D.C. postmark being not unexpected when there were no stamps on the cover originally and third class mail did not require a datestamp. In 1882, there was no requirement yet that the penalty clause itself be canceled. Perhaps this parcel along with others similar was transported in a bag from Washington, D.C. up to the dispatch agent in New York, only by this time-since all domestic official mail went free under the penalty frank-there would be no reason to settle the account at the post office with $\$ 10$ and $\$ 20$ State stamps.

## Acknowledgements

I am indebted to William R. Weiss, Jr., the reigning expert on NYFM cancellations, and to John Donnes, an indefatigable researcher of New York cancellations, for reviewing an earlier draft of this article; and to Joe Crosby, for sharing his unpublished research on the dispatch agents.

[^26]
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In previous articles here, I have been privileged to illustrate important items from the incomparable Department of Justice collection formed by my friend Theodore Lockyear. ${ }^{1}$ With great sadness, I must report that Mr. Lockyear, a prominent trial lawyer in Evansville, Indiana, died on May 5, 2004 of an apparent heart attack, stricken while on a cruise with his wife Joanie in waters off Acapulco, Mexico. Born on April 27, 1929, he had just celebrated his 75th birthday. In recent years Mr. Lockyear, always accompanied by his wife, was a familiar and genial presence at stamp shows in the Midwest, where he exhibited his collection, "Department of Justice: United States Official Stamps, 18731884." On three occasions, this five frame exhibit won the grand prize at national level APS shows: at Indypex in 1998, at Milcopex in 1999 and at Sescal in 2000. Mr. Lockyear showed internationally once, winning a large vermeil at London 2000, but was stymied by the mandatory requirement to expand the exhibit to eight frames. Arguing that his showing was already virtually complete and could not be significantly expanded, appeals on his behalf by prominent philatelists fell on deaf ears. Last year, Mr. Lockyear started showing

[^27]one frame of "Cancellations on Department of Agriculture Official Stamps." ${ }^{2}$ In early February 2004, recuperating from knee replacement surgery that he hoped would get him back on the golf course with Joanie, Mr. Lockyear bought heavily in the sale of the Robert L. Markovits collection in anticipation of improving both his exhibits. Some highlights of his collection can be seen at www.franadams.com/lockyear.html.

Before 1995, Mr. Lockyear had kept a low philatelic profile, and his speciality was known to only a few discreet dealers. There had been rumors of a great Justice collection in the Midwest, but the owner's identity remained a mystery. Originally more of a coin collector, Ted changed his orientation in 1972 after losing his collection when burglars tied a chain around the office safe and hauled it through a side wall of the building. The Justice official stamps, a distinctive purple consistent with the color of a doctorate hood for a law degree, were a natural choice for a third generation lawyer. He had spoken about his speciality at the Collectors' Club of Chicago and also made converts among lawyers who had not previously been stamp collectors. In the nine years we knew him, his avuncular warmth and wit enlivened many gatherings of official specialists.

Mr. Lockyear, a graduate of Vanderbilt University Law School along with his brother and father, was still active professionally at the time of his death. Two years ago, in a major case, he prevailed against the Governor's plans to close the Evansville Psychiatric Children's Center, a victory which won his firm the Indiana Bar Association's 2002 Pro Bono Publico award. In 1961, arguing before the U.S. Supreme Court, he had made legal and journalism history by winning his notorious client a new trial due to adverse pretrial publicity. That same year, the court had refused to hear Lockyear's appeal in a product liability case of crashworthiness, years before Ralph Nader's Unsafe at Any Speed. Mr. Lockyear was highly respected among his peers, and had served two terms on both the Indiana State Judicial Nominating Commission and the Rules Commission. At a memorial celebration of his life on May 11, the Methodist Temple in Evansville was packed with family, friends, professional associates and members of the community he had served so passionately. One of his many proteges, Randall T. Shepard, Chief Justice of the Indiana Supreme Court, delivered an eloquent and moving eulogy.

Mr. Lockyear is survived by his his wife Joanie, his brother retired Superior Court Judge Thomas Lockyear, his stepson and law partner James Kornblum, sons Tommy and Scott, daughters Lisa and Melanie, and numerous grandchildren and great grandchildren. Professionally, he left a legacy and made a lasting difference. For those of us privileged to have known Ted well, at the hearth of his loving spirit, the embers continue to glow.

- Alan C. Campbell $\square$

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Great collections have one name in common.


[^0]:    ${ }^{79}$ Davis, p. 124.
    ${ }^{80}$ New Brunswick, Report of the Postmaster General for the Year Ending October 31, 1857, p. 408.
    ${ }^{81}$ Boston, Portland and Eastport were not listed as exchange offices for mail to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in the Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America, 1852 (Theron Wierenga reprint, 1980, p. 80), but are listed as exchange offices in the 1857 edition (Wierenga, p. 83).

[^1]:    ${ }^{82}$ This cover is discussed by Stanley B. Ashbrook in his Special Service, Issue No. 45 (December 1, 1954), pp. 358-59 and photograph 184. It sold in Matthew Bennett, Inc., Sale 248 (June 27, 2002), lot 43.
    ${ }^{83}$ Maurice C. Blake and Wilbur W. Davis, Boston Postmarks to 1890 (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, 1974), p. 75, tracing 393.

[^2]:    ${ }^{84}$ Hahn, p. 31.
    ${ }^{85}$ Jephcott, p. 209.

[^3]:    ${ }^{86}$ Thomas J. Alexander, editor, Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings 1851-61, $2^{\text {nd }}$ rev. ed (Columbus OH: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 1979), p. 316.
    ${ }^{87}$ Ibid.

[^4]:    'Tom Clarke, A Catalog of PHILADELPHIA POSTMARKS, Part 1, rev. ed. ([Davie, FL: T. Clarke], 1991), pp. 18-19.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ibid., pp. 14-15.
    ${ }^{3}$ Thomas J. Alexander, The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census (Austin, TX: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 2001), pp. 608-609, 652-653
    "The early and frequent use of the Philadelphia "PAID" in double-line octagon to "kill" the new adhesive postage stamps was first observed and noted by Creighton C. Hart (see Chronicle \#90).

[^5]:    ${ }^{3}$ See for example "The Modes for Engraving Bank Notes," The New York Evening Post, September 21, 1861, p. 2: "These [transfer presses] are never patented as the secret of their construction is worth more than a patent, and improvements and alterations are made from time to time, while their great cost prohibits their coming into general . . . use."
    ${ }^{32}$ These were stamps of The City Dispatch Post Company of New York which was bought by the U.S. Post Office and became the U.S. City Dispatch Post carrier service on August 1, 1842.
    ${ }^{33}$ Pre-1845 rates were $6 \not \subset$ to send a letter 30 miles escalating to $25 ¢$ for over 450 miles.
    ${ }^{34}$ Prior to this, mail to California traveled by much higher rates established by treaties with Mexico.
    ${ }^{35}$ Barnabas Bates, A Brief Statement of the Exertions of the Friends of Cheap Postage in the City of New York (New York: W.C. Bryant \& Co., 1848), pp. xi and xii.
    ${ }^{3}$ In contrast, $48,410,0003 \phi$ stamps were printed in the first year of their usage. Carroll Chase, The 3 Cent Stamp of the United States 1851-1857 Issue, rev. ed (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, 1942), pp. 39.

[^6]:    ${ }^{37}$ These links included the firm where Charles Toppan apprenticed, Murray, Draper, Fairman \& Co. George Murray was co-inventor with Jacob Perkins on two key U.S. Patents of 1813 covering a transfer press for plate making and a steel plate printing press. Charles Toppan also was a nephew of Jacob Perkins. He, together with Gideon Fairman and Ma Spencer, accompanied Jacob Perkins to England in 1819 where they worked in the Perkins engraving business. Toppan, Spencer and Fairman returned to Philadelphia in 1822 to rejoin George Murray. After several changes in partners, the Murray firm in 1833 became Draper, Toppan, Longacre and from 1849, Charles Toppan, Samuel H. Carpenter and John W. Casilear were the managing partners.
    ${ }^{38}$ For a detailed analysis of the manner of entry of these three reliefs, see Richard Celler and Elliot Omiya, "The Toppan Carpenter Plates and the Guide Relief Method," 2001, awaiting publication by the U.S. Philatelic Classic Society.

[^7]:    ${ }^{33}$ See for example the Philadelphia Public Ledger dated July 9,1851: "The want of postage stamps in sufficient quantities is still the complaint of the public." And in the Daily Cincinnati Gazette of July 18, 1851: "the demand for postage stamps is so great that the government cannot supply it. . . . Between three and four hundred thousand stamps per day are manufactured and the cry is still for more."
    ${ }^{40}$ Letter 184 of the Arthur M. Travers historical documents currently being compiled by Thomas Alexander and Wilson Hulme of the United States Philatelic Classics Society [referred to as the "Travers Historical Rocuments"].
    ${ }^{4}$ Travers Historical Documents. The word "retouching" meant either recutting (using a hand engraving tool) or reentry of the transfer roll on top of the image needing strengthening.
    ${ }^{42}$ Chase, p. 86. When reviewing each of the other orange brown plates he repeats that none of them experienced wear.

[^8]:    ${ }^{43}$ Travers Historical Documents, Letter 194.
    ${ }^{44}$ This scale is intended to provide a qualitative comparison of wear, quantitative measurements not being possible. The method described above was used to compare wear.

[^9]:    ${ }^{45}$ Chase, p. 40.
    ${ }^{46}$ Records of the Post Office Department, Record Book of Stamp Shipments to Postmasters July 1, 1847 to June 30, 1853. The one original copy of this book resides in the U.S. Post Office Museum, 475 L'Enfant Plaza SW, Washington, DC. A microfilm copy and a hard copy of the book can be found in the American Philatelic Society Library, Bellefonte, PA.
    ${ }^{47}$ See Wilson Hulme's article, "July 1 " ${ }^{\text {s }}, 1851$ Usages, The U.S. 1851 Issue," which describes his discovery of Report No 1 . His article is awaiting publication by the USPCS.

[^10]:    ${ }^{48}$ Plate 1 E was probably pulled by TCC on July $8^{\text {th }}$ or $9^{\text {th }}$ and then reentered. Allowing for ink and gum drying times, stamps from Plate 1E probably continued to be shipped by the Post Office up to and including the $10^{\text {th }}$ (no shipments were made on the $11^{\text {th }}$ ). The first stamps of the reentered Plate 1i appeared on July 12, 1851.
    ${ }^{49}$ Travers Historical Documents, Letter No. 172.

[^11]:    ${ }^{50}$ Ibid., Letter No. 175.
    ${ }^{51}$ From the Boston Daily Evening Transcript of July 17, 1851: ". . . the three cent postage stamps are in many cases nearly useless for the want of sufficient gum to make them stick. Some of them will not adhere, and all of them cause unnecessary . . . time to make them do so."

[^12]:    ${ }^{52}$ See Rawdon, Wright, Hatch and Edison circular of 1853, in Lester G. Brookman, The United States Postage Stamps of the $19^{\text {th }}$ Century, rev. ed., Volume I (North Miami: David Phillips, 1996), p. 16.
    ${ }^{53}$ It is illuminating to note that in 1854, Perkins, Bacon ran trials with several plates which were not hardened to facilitate ease of reentry. While they experienced from 70,000 to 100,000 impressions from hardened plates (with a few exceptions), they found that soft plates lasted half as long before experiencing extreme wear. See Percy de Worms, Perkins, Bacon Records (London: Royal Philatelic Society, London, 1953), Volume I. To salvage these plates, they were taken from service, reentered and hardened just as TCC had salvaged Plates 1,2 and 5.

[^13]:    ${ }^{54}$ Travers Historical Documents.
    ${ }^{55}$ George Brett, "Updating the U.S. 1847's," The Congress Book 1997 (American Philatelic Congress Inc., 1997), p. 198.
    ${ }^{56}$ The shades of this ink vary from the rare dull experimental orange brown to a deep experimental orange brown.

[^14]:    ${ }^{57}$ Even as late as 1870 at the firm with by far the most experience in hardening plates, Perkins, Bacon, two of the United Kingdom Half Penny plates cracked and broke after hardening and were never used. E.D. Bacon, The Line Engraved Postage Stamps of Great Britain (London: Charles Nissen \& Co., 1920), Vol. I, pp. 197-98; and Richard Payne, FRPSL, private communication with author August 8, 2003.

[^15]:    ${ }^{58}$ See Stanley Ashbrook, Ashbrook Special Service, August 31, 1951, Issue 4, pp. 19-20 for a complete copy of this receipt.
    ${ }^{59}$ Travers Historical Documents.

[^16]:    ${ }^{60} \mathrm{It}$ is the opinion of this author that the words " $1 / 2$ plain, $1 / 2$ rusted" must refer to a fully engraved plate of $3 ¢$ stamp images, half of which are undamaged and the other half of which are rusted. Richard Celler offers a different explanation of similar words in this receipt referring to the 1851-57 1\& stamp plates. See Richard Celler, "Plate 1 Early-An Alternate View," 2001, awaiting publication by the U.S. Philatelic Classic Society.
    ${ }^{61}$ This amount appears in a letter from TCC dated February 6, 1857. See Carroll Chase, p. 164.

[^17]:    ${ }^{62}$ J.H. Baxter, Printing Postage Stamps by Line Engraving (Federalsburg, Md.: American Philatelic Society, 1939), p. 77.

[^18]:    'Illustrated as Figure 5, "The Lone Star Collection of United States Officials," Chronicle 197 (February 2003), p. 65.
    ${ }^{2}$ Hammer prices of $\$ 1600, \$ 1200$, and $\$ 2500$ respectively, as reported in "The Robert L. Markovits Collection of United States Official Stamps, 1873-1884: An Insider's Report on the Public Auction," Chronicle 202 (May 2004), pp. 145-46.
    ${ }^{3}$ Arthur Van Vlissingen and Morrison Waud, New York Foreign Mail Cancellations 18701876 (Chicago: Collectors Club of Chicago, 1968), p. 78.

[^19]:    ${ }^{6}$ The Crystal Collection, Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries 577th Sale, April 10, 1981, lot \#352.
    ${ }^{7}$ During the official stamp period, the despatch agents in New York were Radcliffe Baldwin (1873-1881) and Haughwout Howe (1882-1889). The notion that they owed their appointments to the sheer majesty of their names is dashed when we learn that Howe was succeeded by I. P. Roosa, who served for forty years. The agency in New York had been formally established in 1830, preceding the London office by two years. In addition to expediting mail, other duties might be required from time to time: booking passage for Foreign Service officers and their families, receiving important foreign dignitaries, extending import courtesies for foreign articles to be displayed at international exhibitions, forwarding mail to naval vessels, executing passport applications, and administering oaths. The State Department maintains several dispatch agencies today, their sole purpose being to handle moving the possessions of Foreign Service personnel. For all this information, I am indebted to Joe Crosby for sharing his unpublished research.
    ${ }^{8}$ See lot \#3138 in the Markovits sale for a rare example of the printed corner card of the Despatch Agency of the United States, London.

[^20]:    ${ }^{9}$ Rollin C. Huggins, Jr., Official Chatter, house organ, February 1991.
    ${ }^{10}$ Ex-Robert L. Markovits, Lot \#3139, Matthew Bennett, Inc., February 7, 2004, now currently in the collection of Lester C. Lanphear III.
    "Weiss, p. 223-229. I am indebted to John Donnes for the explanation that such covers demonstrate a systematic policy of the New York Post Office, and are not-as some students had thought-the result of careless handling.

[^21]:    ${ }^{12}$ Philatelic Journal, February 20, 1875, cited by Luff.
    ${ }^{13}$ All the original Van Vlissingen-Waud numbers have been converted to Weiss numbers, using his handy reverse conversion compendium on page 477.

[^22]:    ${ }^{14}$ Alan C. Campbell, "Usages of Department of Agriculture Official Stamps," Chronicle 194 (May 2002), p. 136.
    ${ }^{15}$ Van Vlissingen and Waud, p. 78.
    ${ }^{16}$ William R. Weiss, Jr., p. 57.
    ${ }^{17} \mathrm{Mr}$. Weiss, the underbidder on this cover, deems it the third most important NYFM cover in existence, after the Metcalfe $15 \notin, 90 \not \subset$ National cover to Brazil and a long-missing $30 \not \subset 1869$ cover.
    ${ }^{18}$ Weiss, pp. 103-104.

[^23]:    ${ }^{19}$ Lucius Fairchild, born December 27, 1831, left for the California Gold Rush in 1849. He returned to Wisconsin no richer in 1855, buckled down, and in 1860 was admitted to the bar. When war broke out, he enlisted and lost his left arm in a charge at Seminary Hill, Gettysburg. Commissioned a brigadier-general while recovering from his wounds, he returned home a war hero in 1863. He was elected Secretary of State in 1863 and Governor in 1865,1867 and 1869. He was appointed U.S. Consul to Liverpool in November 1872, served as the Consul-General in Paris 18781880, then as U.S. Minister to Spain until 1882, when he resigned and returned to Wisconsin. In 1886, he was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, a veterans' organization. He died on May 23, 1896.
    ${ }^{20}$ Markovits Sale, lot \#3128. This cover was originally described on the Waud album page as an illegitimate private usage by the dispatch agent, since it is addressed to a Mrs. A.B. Robbins and was docketed by her as coming from her "husband." But the docketing also says "Washington, D.C., Dec. 1883." In 1883, the New York dispatch agent was Haughwout Howe, so while this is still clearly a private usage, it wasn't from Mr. Howe, although how it came to be posted at Station E remains a mystery.
    ${ }^{21}$ Roger D.Curran, "The Handstamps that Replaced NYFM Cancels," USCC News, August 2003, p. 106.

[^24]:    ${ }^{22}$ Numbers 1-4 are typically found on official stamps. According to Ardy Callender, numbers 1-2 were used for morning mailings, 3-4 for afternoon mailings and 5-6 for evening mailings. I have never seen the 5 or 6 on State official stamps, so apparently Mr. Howe didn't keep late hours.
    ${ }^{23}$ Markovits Sale, lot \#3145.
    ${ }^{24}$ Ibid., lot \#3341.
    ${ }^{25}$ Marshall Stone Sale, Robert A. Siegel, 728th Sale, September 14,1990, lot \#131.
    ${ }^{26}$ Markovits Sale, lot \#3144.
    ${ }^{27}$ Ibid., lot \#3116.

[^25]:    ${ }^{28}$ Roger D. Curran, "How Early?," USCC News, August 2002, p. 42.
    ${ }^{29}$ Personal communication with John Donnes.

[^26]:    ${ }^{29}$ This is an obsolete free frank label that had been pre-franked at least ten years earlier by then Chief Clerk Levellon A. Brown. His signature also appears on an October 13, 1873 four-value franking piece to certify "that this package contains no written matter" (Markovits Sale, lot \#3114). $\$ 7.20$ postage on a package to the American Public Library in Stuttgart obviously spells "books," but the fact is, there is no printed matter clause on this label, so it is not inconceivable that this was treated as first class mail.

[^27]:    '"24ф Justice Short Transfer," Chronicle 176 (Vol. 49, No. 4)(November 1997), pp. 276-78. "High Value Official Stamps on Cover," Chronicle 188 (Vol. 52, No. 4)(November 2000), pp. 29294. "Usages of Department of Justice Official Stamps," Chronicle 199 (Vol. 55, No. 3)(August 2003), pp. 207-220; Chronicle 2000 (Vol. 55, No. 4)(November 2003) pp. 302-07.

[^28]:    ${ }^{2}$ Ted was a passionate man. In the spring of 2002, I visited him at his home in Evansville to review his collection of cancellations on official stamps, with the plan of creating one-frame studies of each department. As we paged through his stockbooks, I assumed that he was saving his favorite department, Agriculture, for last. But when I asked to see it, there were tears in his eyes when he told me that six months earlier, he had taken the pages to his office to make photocopies and afterwards had somehow lost track of them. Despite turning his office and home upside down and inside out, they were nowhere to be found. He suspected that maybe they had somehow fallen into the waste basket beside his desk at work. I remember trying to reassure him that they might still turn up someday, but it seemed such a tragedy that I couldn't bear reporting this story to anyone. Three months later, the telephone rang at 6:30 a.m., and as I groggily fumbled with the receiver I could hear Ted's unmistakable voice telling me that he had been looking for the deed to his condominium that morning and lo and behold, there were his beloved Agriculture cancellations, all of them, misfiled.

