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of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues

August 2006

Volume 58, No. 3

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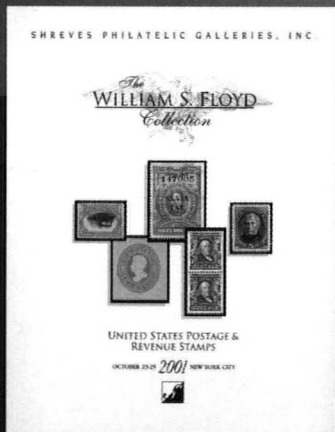
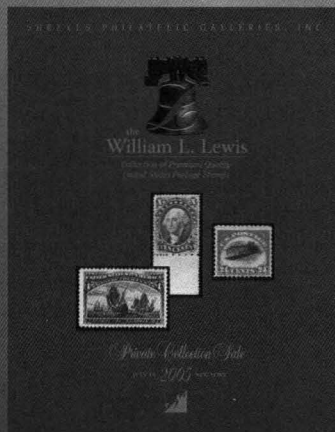
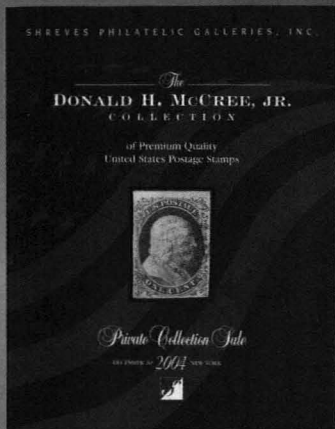
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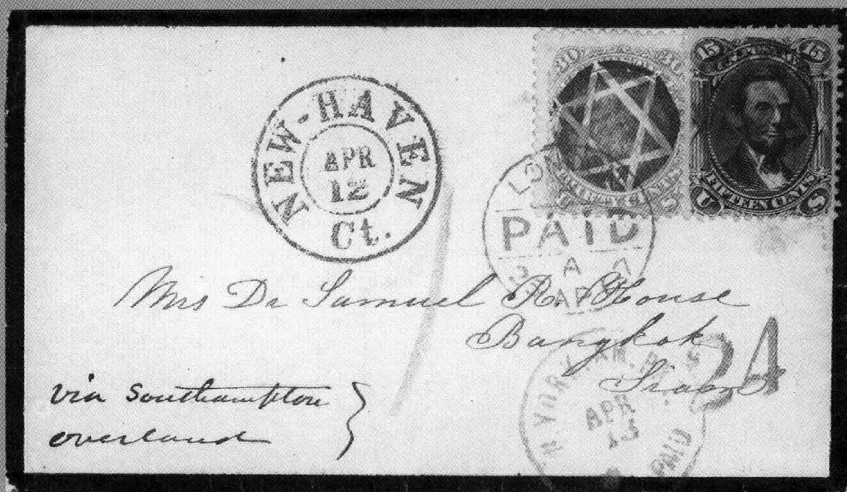
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ONE OF THE HIGHLIGHTS
FROM OUR AUTUMN 2006 AUCTIONS
IN NEW YORK:

The Lincoln Collection



1867 mourning envelope from New Haven to Bangkok, Siam via England
bearing 1861-66 15c and 30c cancelled by intaglio "Star of David";
the 45 cents British mail rate via Southampton.

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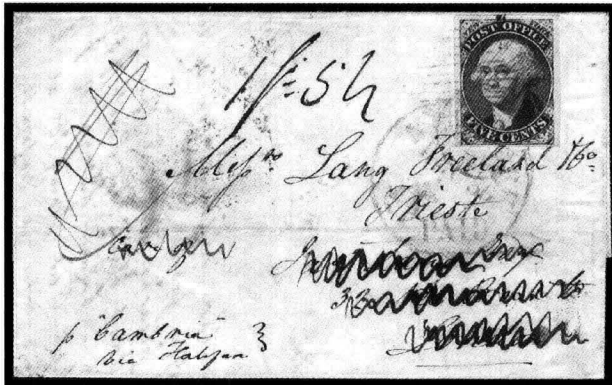
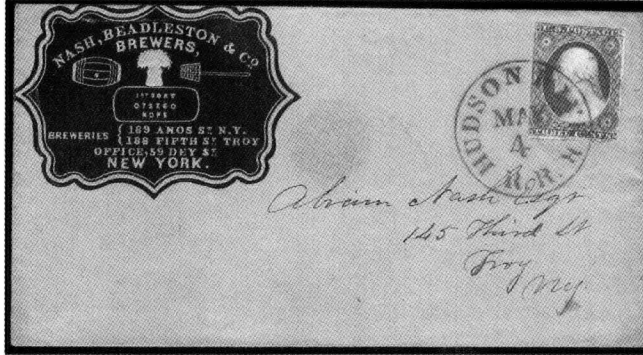
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LANGUAGE ABUSAGE

Reference to any dictionary will reveal that **use** and **usage** are not synonyms. The “-age” suffix, a French import, transforms a concrete word into an abstraction. In “usage” the suffix implies duration, use over an extended period of time. This durational construction appears frequently in English, and makes a distinction worth preserving: bag/baggage, bond/bondage, coin/coinage, wreck/wreckage, there are many examples.

With the growth of postal history exhibiting, stamp collectors have taken to calling covers “usages.” Presumably “usage” sounds more learned than “use” and thus seems more appropriate to a scholarly write-up—two syllables being weightier than one.

But a cover shows a use of a stamp, not a usage. While the cover survives forever (we hope), the use of the stamp was a fleeting, ephemeral event. It’s proper to write about the usage of Bank Note stamps on transpacific covers, but to call an individual cover a “usage” violates fundamental principles of the English language. When the focus is on the stamp, the cover shows a use, not a usage.

Your editor realizes he’s fighting an uphill battle here. Misuse of usage is well entrenched in the philatelic vocabulary. The Elliott Coulter 1869 collection (the sale of which is reviewed by Jeffrey Forster on page 192 of this issue) included a cover exhibit called “Usages Around the World.” This designation was picked up by the Siegel firm on the title page of the Coulter catalog. Worse, “usage” is now hard-wired into the computer at the Philatelic Foundation. Whenever PF certifies a cover, it calls it a “usage” instead of a use.

This *Chronicle* strives for linguistic purity as well as factual accuracy. For as long as we can hold out, we’ll continue to refer to covers as uses, rather than usages.

In addition to the Coulter write-up just mentioned, this issue contains a wide range of fascinating and insightful information. In an important article in our Essays and Proofs section starting on page 196, Stephen Tedesco describes the development of the 15¢ Webster large Bank Note stamp, a story that has eluded philatelists for generations. The 1999 dispersal of the Falk Finkelburg essay-proof collection, and subsequent access to the Brazer/Finkelburg records, provided keys. Tedesco has now completed the puzzle. His research should change the catalog sequence and listings for the long-misunderstood Webster essays.

In a highly visual article beginning on page 215, Alan Campbell lays out in considerable detail the various vulcanized rubber killer cancellations to be found on U.S. official stamps. In his poignant conclusion, Campbell asks some hard questions about the current rules governing the exhibition of postal history. Are these rules stifling the exhibition of attractive stamps and covers?

And in a provocative article beginning on page 189, Stephen B. Pacetti discusses the color ultramarine and poses two tough questions: What is true ultramarine for the 1¢ Franklin stamp of 1861 and does it actually exist as an issued stamp (Scott 63a)? Because the *Chronicle* is currently limited to black-and-white reproduction, the images that accompany Pacetti’s article necessarily can’t do full justice to his thesis. For this reason, we’ve posted the images in color in the Members’ Domain section of our society website. So if you’d like to see color images supporting Pacetti’s ideas, and at the same time learn more about the color ultramarine, go to the Society website (www.uspcs.org), click on the “Members’ Domain” link, and follow the instructions for registration. Use your Route Agent number as ID and your ZIP+4 address as password. If you encounter problems, contact Michael Heller (mi.heller@verizon.net) or Charles DiComo (Charles.DiComo@uspcs.org). ■

THE EARLIEST SPECIAL DELIVERY COVER?

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

I have hanging in my library room a poster headed "IMMEDIATE DELIVERY SYSTEM." This official publication of the Post Office Department, dated at Washington, D.C. August 11, 1885, announces the list of cities offering special delivery service beginning October 1, 1885.

However, collectors of stampless covers and later stamped covers are familiar with the occasional notation by a sender that this letter is of great importance and to make haste with it. Of course, in the early days this just meant between post offices, but later there was a penny post to deliver letters in many cities. To date the earliest cover documented to show a fee from the sender for delivery is five cents in 1847.¹

So the cover shown in Figure 1 is of great interest because it was written 10 years earlier, in 1837. It is a folded letter postmarked "TROY N.Y. JAN 2" and "PAID," both in red, and rated "18³/₄" in manuscript. The addressee is one J.W. Mitchell at a specific street address in New York City, 63¹/₂ Cedar St.



Figure 1. 1837 "Express" letter from Troy, New York, sending one dollar to help secure immediate delivery by mail carrier to an addressee in New York City. This is possibly the earliest U.S. special delivery letter.

But it is the other notations that make this cover special. The first is a large "Express" written at upper left. Then there is "One doll. to the Carrier to hasten this to hand over

¹Collectors Club Philatelist, January, 1968 (Vol. 47), pg. 44.

at once, W." The writer was W.F. Walker, who wrote a draft of acceptance for a room on Thursday. Thus the mail carrier was paid a dollar for special delivery service, the dollar presumably being sent with the letter from Troy. This would make this letter the earliest letter showing a fee for special delivery.

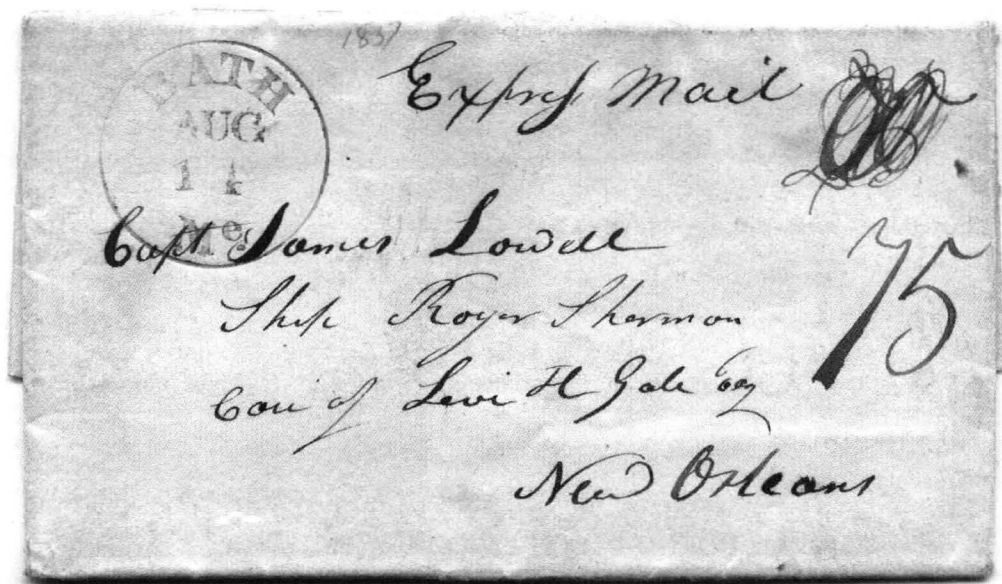


Figure 2. An 1837 Express Mail cover from Bath, Maine, rerated from 25 cents due to 75 cents due, carried over the Great Mail route to New Orleans.



Figure 3. 1837 Express Mail cover showing double short rate from New York to Richmond, \$1.12½ due.

The year date of this letter is 1837. This is during the period that the Post Office Department ran the Express Mail, a special fast mail service over specific routes throughout most of the country.² In fact, when I first saw this cover, I thought it was an express mail cover from Troy, N.Y. an unlisted town, so I got very excited.

But this not an express mail cover. The sender presumably had seen government express mail covers and wanted some of that express action to rub off onto his letter. Thus the large "Express" notation. The government Express Mail was a postal service carrying letters by pony riders over routes where stages usually carried the mail. It cost three times the regular postage, so it was quite expensive.

Figure 2 shows an 1837 cover with "BATH Me AUG 14" and "Express Mail 75" to New Orleans. Bath is a newly listed town. Regular mails carried this letter to Boston where it entered the express for transmittal to New Orleans. It went by railroad to Philadelphia. One can see that the cover was originally marked 25, but rerated to 75. Seventy-five cents was the single express rate for over 400 miles.

Another example of express mail is the 1837 cover in Figure 3, supplied by Schuyler Rumsey. This went by express from New York to Richmond, a shorter distance for which $18\frac{3}{4}\text{¢}$ was the regular rate, similar to the cover in Figure 1. The Figure 3 cover is marked "Express Mail Double" and " $1.12\frac{1}{2}$ " which is twice the single express rate of $56\frac{1}{4}\text{¢}$ ($3 \times 18\frac{3}{4} = 56\frac{1}{4} \times 2 = 1.12\frac{1}{2}$). This is one of four double-rate covers recorded for the 150–400 mile distance.

ADDENDA TO PREVIOUS ARTICLES

Responding to my article in *Chronicle* 210, Harvey Teal supplied the item shown in Figure 4, which is a note by E.S. Zevely showing two postmarks used at Smith's Store, S.C. This was shown in *South Carolina Postal History and Illustrated Catalog of Postmarks*,

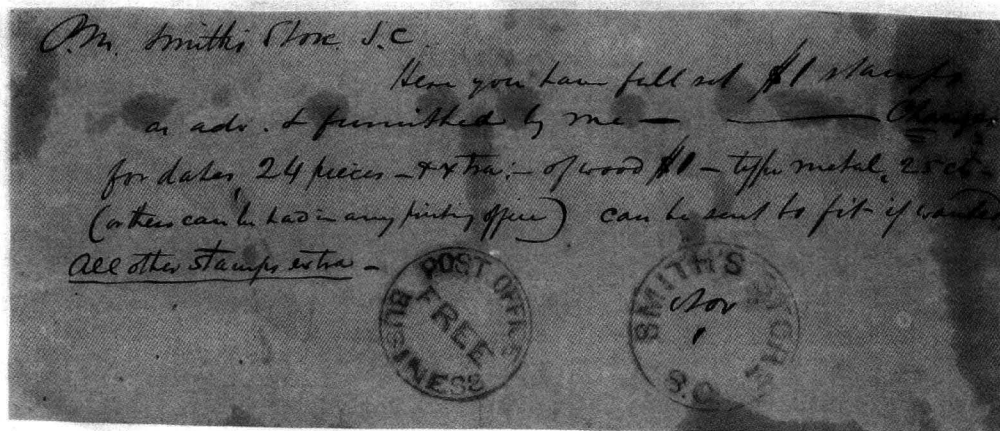


Figure 4. A note from E.S. Zevely to the postmaster of Smith's Store, South Carolina, commenting on hand stamps sent, including the two struck in red on the note: "POST OFFICE BUSINESS FREE" and a "SMITH'S STORE S.C." circular date stamp.

1760-1860.³ This illustrates yet another communication from Zevely concerning his manufacture of postmaster handstamps.

² Milgram, James W., M.D., *The Express Mail of 1836-1839*, Collectors Club of Chicago, 1977.

³ Harvey S. Teal and Robert J. Stets, *South Carolina Postal History and Illustrated Catalog of Postmarks, 1760-1860*, Raven Press, Lake Oswego, Oregon, 1989, pg. 156.

An additional marking has appeared to add to those discussed in “Negative Lettering in Postmarks on Stampless Covers” in *Chronicle* 208. This is shown in Figure 5. The marking is from Stony Point Mill (Virginia), a red 26-millimeter handstamp used in the 1840s. The only known example was offered in Siegel sale 845 as lot 441. Addressed to Petersburg, this cover also shows a “RICHMOND Va. OCT 13” postmark in carmine with



Figure 5. Negative lettered postmark from “STONY POINT MILL” (Virginia)” in red, on a cover MISSENT to Richmond and then on to Petersburg. This item adds to the listing of negative-letter stampless postmarks published in *Chronicle* 208.

matching “MISSENT.” The negative lettered “STONY POINT MILL” is redder in color and lacks a printed date in the postmark stamp. The date is handwritten (“8 Octo”) as is the “12½” postal rate.

Finally, in response to “The Printed Postmarks of Cumberland, Maine” (*Chronicle* 206), two readers, Michael Gutman and Roger Curran, sent photocopies of covers similar to that article’s Figure 9 but showing manuscript cancellations extending onto the cover. One of Curran’s covers also showed the postmark limited to the stamp. So maybe there should be no Type 6 in manuscript. In the Frajola auction of June 26, 1983, lot 75 shows a two cent circular with printed circular date stamp postmark from 1854, so that would be a new type of printed postmark, and we will call that Type 6.

In addition, Steve Pacetti has shown me a 1¢ 1861 stamp with manuscript cancel on the stamp and the printed postmark with Horace Gray corner card for 1863 (before the circular rate was increased to two cents). The envelope is similar to those shown in Figures 7-9 in the *Chronicle* 206 article. The printed Horace Gray envelope, addressed to Selectmen, has been documented to 1869. The purpose of this envelope was to enclose a circular by Gray offering to furnish towns with highway surveyor’s books, town orders, and similar printed items, including envelopes with corner advertising. ■

A SMALL DIFFERENCE IN ROUTING – A BIG DIFFERENCE IN COST!

HARVEY MIRSKY

The covers shown in Figures 1 and 2 have several things in common. They were both mailed from New York City. Both were addressed and delivered to Kingston, Canada West. And both are franked with two copies of the 5¢ 1847 stamp, paying the 10¢, over-300-miles U.S. postage rate “to the lines.”

There is, however, one major difference between them: Figure 1 was sent via the U.S. exchange office at Cape Vincent, while Figure 2 was routed, apparently in error, through the



Figure 1. Two 5¢ 1847 stamps on a cover from New York City to Kingston, Canada West. Threepence in Canadian currency was collected from the recipient in Kingston.

Queenston exchange office in Canada. The difference is significant.

As the map in Figure 3 shows, Kingston is located at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The Figure 1 cover was ferried over to Wolfe Island in Lake Ontario, and turned over to Canadian postal authorities who then carried it by ferry across to Kingston. The charge to the recipient for this “ferriage” service was 3 pence, represented by the manuscript “3” above the address.

The cover in Figure 2 was incorrectly routed through Queenston. As the map in Figure 3 shows, Queenston is at the western end of Lake Ontario. Therefore, Canadian authori-



Figure 2. A similar cover: two 5¢ 1847 stamps on a cover from New York City to Kingston, missent to Queenston. Note the Queenston receiver at left. Because of this misrouting, the cover was assessed 11-1/2 pence upon delivery.

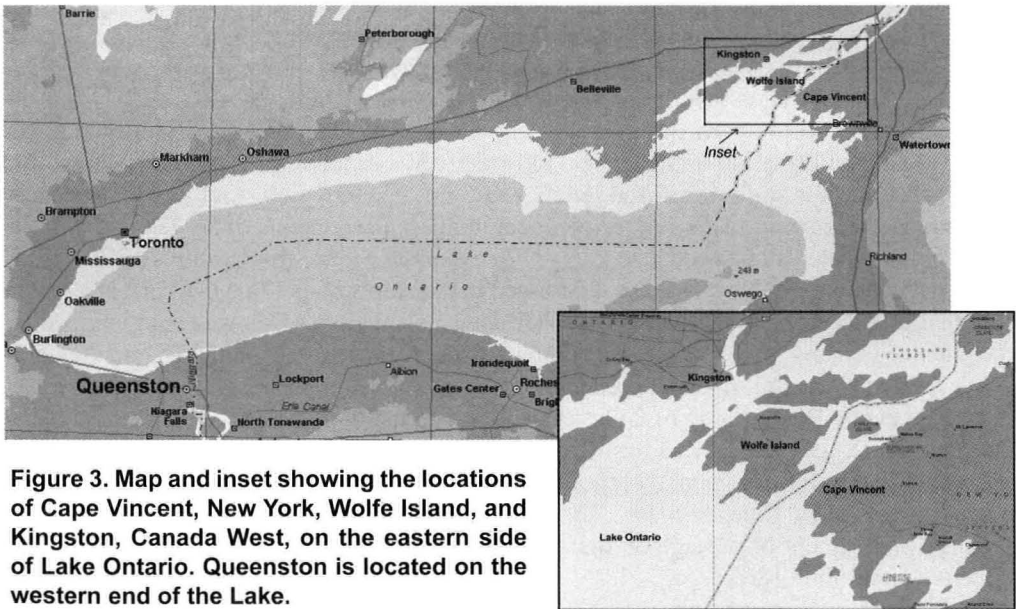


Figure 3. Map and inset showing the locations of Cape Vincent, New York, Wolfe Island, and Kingston, Canada West, on the eastern side of Lake Ontario. Queenston is located on the western end of the Lake.

ties had to carry the letter completely around the Lake to Kingston (a distance of approx. 230 miles), and were obliged to charge the recipient 11-1/2 pence, the inland postage rate for distances between 201 and 300 miles. Note that this is nearly four times the charges paid by the ferrage cover.

Furthermore, the letter routed via Queenston arrived there on November 11th, but was backstamped at Kingston on November 16th. It took five days longer for the letter to reach its destination, and cost the recipient 8 1/2 pence more in postage than if it had been correctly routed to Cape Vincent.

A small difference in routing, but a big difference in time and money! ■

THE 1851 ISSUE OF UNITED STATES STAMPS

HUBERT C. SKINNER

Introduction

In mid-1851, a new series of regular issue postage stamps appeared, replacing the first general issue postage stamps of 1847 with three new values not previously available. The 1847 issue became invalid for postal use on July 1, 1851 but the 5¢ and 10¢ stamps could be redeemed for cash at the post office where purchased until 30 September 1851. Thus, the new stamps replaced the old ones on 1 July 1851.

The New Issue

Many collectors believe that postal rates were reduced at the time the new stamps were issued. Actually, the rates remained the same for first-class mail, but a sizable discount was allowed for prepaid letters. For unpaid letters, the rate remained five cents for up to 300 miles and ten cents for greater distances. This innovative pricing was designed to offer a compelling incentive to prepay postage on first-class letters.

Traditionally letters had been sent unpaid with the postage to be collected from the recipient, based on the premise that the recipient received the benefit of family news or other valuable information in the letter. This presented a problem to the postal system: the cost of the transportation of refused letters could not be recovered. And there were many refused letters. In some cases, the recipient could guess the contents of the letter and its arrival communicated all he needed to know. For example, a letter from a ship's master or his merchant consignor in New Orleans, addressed to the ship's owner in New York or Boston, revealed that the ship and cargo had reached their destination. This was compounded by the practice of many merchants to send duplicate letters on different ships. The first letter to arrive carried all the information needed.

The Penny Black stamp of Great Britain, issued in 1840 as a part of Rowland Hill's postal reforms, was the first and most effective step toward encouraging prepayment of postage. The postmasters general of the United States had for many years tried to encourage prepayment, without much success. The new discounted rates in 1851 set the stage for the required prepayment of postage on first-class mail and drop letters, which finally became effective on 30 June 1863.

The new stamps were the 1¢ blue, the 3¢ orange brown, and the 12¢ black. Aside from the Franklin and Eagle carrier stamps, Scott numbers LO1 and LO2, these three values constituted the entire 1851 issue of postage stamps. The other values, 5¢ and 10¢, listed with the 1851 stamps in most catalogs, were issued in 1855 and 1856. Thus, they are not part of the 1851 issue.

The cover shown in Figure 1 bears all three values of the 1851 stamps. A pair of 1¢ stamps, a single 3¢ value, and a pair of 12¢ stamps prepay transcontinental postage from California and transatlantic postage from the east coast to Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, England. The 1¢ stamps on this cover come from Plate One Early, types II-III A. They thus represent two different catalog numbers, making four different catalog numbers on this combination cover showing all three values of the new postage stamps issued 1 July 1851.



Figure 1. All three 1851 stamps appear on this 1853 cover from California to England. The 5¢ and 10¢ values of what collectors now call the 1851 series were issued in 1855 and 1856.

The prepaid printed matter rate was also reduced in mid-1851, from 2½¢ for the first ounce and 1¢ each additional ounce (effective 1 July 1845) to 1¢ per ounce for 500 miles, 2¢ for 1,500 miles, 3¢ for 2,500 miles, 4¢ for 3,500 miles, and 5¢ cents for distances greater than 3,500 miles. If not prepaid, double rates were charged.

A short article illustrating an entire pamphlet weighing one ounce and sent at the new reduced prepaid rate of one cent was published in *Chronicle* 210, pages 132-134. This pamphlet, evidently mailed in August 1851, represents a very early use of the newly established 1¢ printed matter rate.

A definitive volume, *The 1851 Issue of United States Stamps: a Sesquicentennial Retrospective*, was published by this Society in June 2006. This book presents a twenty-first century perspective on the much-studied 1851 issue, in 26 chapters written by dedicated students who well represent the quite numerous cadre of researchers who are currently collecting and working on the 1851 issue of United States postage stamps. This volume, more than 377 pages, was edited by Charles J. Peterson and this writer, both long-time members and editors for the Society. The book was produced with full-color illustrations throughout. This was made possible by the generous contributions from 11 philatelic professionals who basically financed the cost of color printing. Advertisements for each appear on the final pages of the book. We can express our appreciation to these professionals by buying 1851 stamps from them! My personal gratitude to each of these contributors is most sincerely expressed.

In conclusion, I wish to make reference to what seems to me an incredible fact, that happens to be true: there are many more devoted students of the 1851 stamps today than in any previous decade since the initial studies of these issues began, in the early years of the 20th century. This is both heart warming and reassuring. It indicates that philatelic research is alive and well! ■

**THE THREE CENT 1851-57 RECUT VARIETIES:
A NEWLY LISTED VARIETY**

WILLIAM. K. McDANIEL

A previously unlisted recut variety has been noted on a number of positions. In these instances, the line defining the right side of the lower right triangle extends down to the lower right diamond block. The discovery example comes from position 47R5, Early. It was found on a cover dated November 28, 1851, and matches the photo in the Smithson-



Figure 1. A previously unlisted recut variety on the 3¢ 1851-57 stamp. On this variety, the line defining the right side of the lower right triangle extends down to the lower right diamond block.

ian reproductions of Dr. Chase's plate reconstructions. It will be referred to in the future as Variety #40 (lower right triangle and diamond block joined).

Figure 1 shows a stamp on which the recut can be seen clearly. A blow-up of the corner area containing the recut is shown in Figure 2.

Thirteen positions have been noted which show this feature, thus establishing it as a consistent variety. They are as follows: Positions 15L1E; 47 and 75R11; 88L and 94R1L; 29L and 19R“O”; 48, 50, 70, 100L and 47R5E; and 48L5L (the line has disappeared from the other positions).

Based on the number of positions identified, the variety should be given a rarity factor of 4, imperforate. The only perforated example would come from position 48L5L, with a rarity factor of 10.

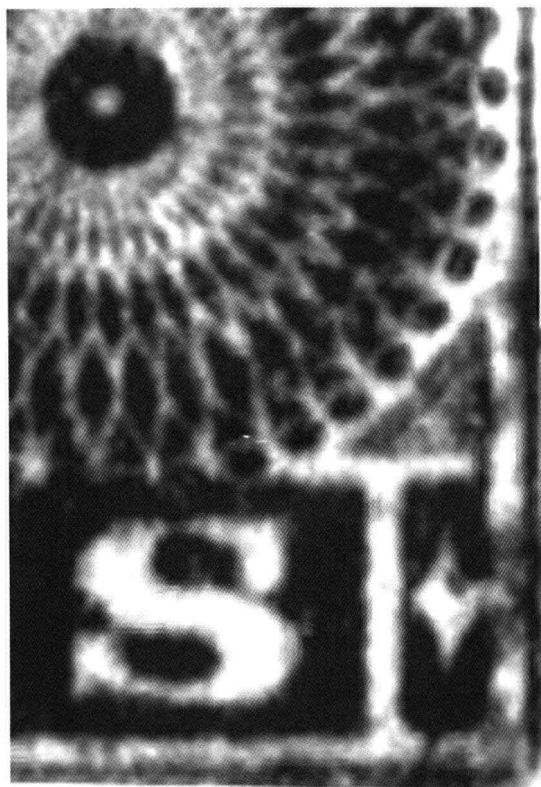


Figure 2. Blow-up of the area in which the re-cut appears. A line can be seen connecting the square corner of the triangle with the diamond block at lower right. This variety has been found on at least 13 different plate positions.

The relative rarity of this, or any other variety, either imperforate or perforated, is determined by the number of positions on a particular plate which produced the variety in question, and the estimated number of impressions made from that plate. After those factors have been determined, the relative rarity is calculated by the total number of stamps that could have been produced showing the variety in question. This calculation is all-inclusive, and does not discriminate between orange-brown (Scott #10) stamps and those from plates producing the stamps listed as Scott numbers 11 and 25. It does, however, differentiate between imperforate and perforated stamps. The arbitrary rarity scale created for this determination is as follows, with rarity factor for each variety referred to as “RF”: RF1: Over 10 million stamps produced; RF2: 5 to 10 million; RF 3: 1 to 5 million; RF4: 500,000 to 1 million; RF5: 250,000 to 500,000; RF6: 100,000 to 250,000; RF7: 50,000 to 100,000; RF8: 25,000 to 50,000; RF9: 5,000 to 25,000; RF10: Under 5,000. For a more detailed explanation of the criteria used to determine rarity, please refer to my earlier *Chronicle* articles, published in August and November, 1992 and February, 1993 (*Chronicles* 155-157).

Rarity factors for Variety 40 were determined using these criteria. Many of the photos in the Smithsonian plates are either faint, slightly out of focus, or both. As a result, it is entirely possible that more examples may turn up in the future, after examination of actual stamps from reconstructions either completed or in progress by students of the issue. Such new information will be welcome. ■

CSA, ANOTHER MISPLACED TRANSFER AND A STONE 1 VARIETY

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In *Chronicle* 207, August 2005, we published a census of misplaced transfers on the Confederate States 5¢ green lithographed stamp, presenting the concept that the 23 discrete collectible items were the total for now and for a reasonable time in the future. Wrong. In Robert A. Siegel sale 907, on March 16, 2006, another has shown up (lot 2816).



Figure 1. Newly discovered misplaced transfer variety (Stone 2, position 21) on the Confederate States 5¢ green lithograph stamp.

To describe this new item in the format of the census in *Chronicle* 207, this is Census ID #24, color green, Name Spur, Transfer Stone 2, Position 21, Printing Stone position not known. This is not from the Hall collection (unless part of large lot). It's the only example so far recorded. The stamp is used on a cover from Oxford, Mississippi to New Orleans, postmarked March 9, 1862. An enlarged photograph the stamp is shown in Figure 1.

The stamp in question is definitely Transfer Stone 2, Position 21 and as such is easy to recognize. The upper left scroll ornament has a distinct broad line often referred to as "The Spur." This basic position, "spur on upper left scroll (Pos. 21)" is listed in the Scott specialized catalog and also in the Dietz Confederate catalogs.

The misplaced transfer designation is evident for the specific stamp in Figure 1 because the transfer stone position is from the left of the pane, third row down,

but the Figure 1 stamp shows a small sliver of another stamp to the left. This portion of another stamp is too close to be the adjoining stamp (position 30 on the left pane) with respect to the known multiples which show proper spacing. Item 4 in the *Chronicle* 207 census, a block of 32 showing two misplaced transfers, also shows Position 21, but here the stamp shows normal spacing and is not a misplaced transfer. We thus have in Figure 1 a Transfer Stone Position 21 stamp which is a misplaced transfer, but we have no idea where it appeared on the printing plate or even which printing plate created it.

New Stone 1 Variety

The CSA lithographs have a tremendous list of varieties. One could consider every transfer stone position a variety and there are further variations on the printing stones but discerning their differences requires some ability to plate the stamps.

Markings in the sheet margins are evident to all, but these are surprisingly few and rare. The scarcity of these evident markings, such as the notations: “CSA,” “J,” “Cammann” and now the “X” suggests they were not on all of the printing stones and, when they were present, it was not for many impressions. In all cases three or fewer are known for each, versus hundreds of examples of the adjoining plate positions.

We present as Figure 2 a 5¢ Green Lithograph stamp, from Stone 1, showing a script letter X in the left margin below position 21 and above position 31. The existence of this item has been long known but (to my knowledge) never previously illustrated. It may not be evident from the accompanying black-and-white illustration, but the “X” is part of the printed impression, in the same distinctive green ink as the stamp itself.

The Figure 2 stamp was removed from a cover posted at Richmond on February 20, 1862. As the illustration shows, the stamp is badly cut into. Stamp and cover had been ineptly repaired twice, with three slivers of other stamps pieced together to hide the cut. Once these repairs were removed the stamp could be properly appreciated.

A confirming copy of the “X” is shown in Figure 3. This stamp, from position 31, is also on a cover, posted at Richmond on January 20, 1862. The cover is from Alfred Paul, the French Vice Consul in Richmond, addressed to Leon Schisamo, the French Vice Consul in Norfolk.

These two single stamps showing this “X” are each unique. We can only surmise that the “X” served some purpose in laying down either the transfer or the printing stone. The two singles are evidently from the same printing stone as the relative alignment is normal with respect to the transfer stone. The left margins suggest, but do not prove, that they are from the left pane and not from the vertical gutter of the right pane. It is also possible that this “X” was on the transfer stone to be removed with other excess marginalia prior to laying down a printing stone. By oversight the “X” was not removed until it was found and deleted after the printing plate had been placed in service.

The use of these stamps, January 20 and February 20, 1862 is well into the recorded lifetime of the original printing from Stone 1, which began in mid-October 1861. Had



Figure 2. Mystery “X” in the bottom margin of a 5¢ Green lithograph stamp from Stone 1, position 21.

this "X" stayed on the printing stone from the start we would surely have more examples. Perhaps Stone 1 also had more than one printing stones and our "X" is from a second stone. This usage occurs around the start of our misplaced transfers from Stone 2. As more material is found and documented, we may eventually get a clear picture.

To speculate and summarize possible explanations: There is no question of multiple printing stones. For the normal Stone 2 we have at least one stone for the green printing and two for the blue. The 10¢ Hoyer in blue may have had a second printing stone as one block of four suggests. The 10¢ Paterson may have had a second printing stone. And our Stone 2 misplaced transfers probably came from still another printing stone or stones.

As things now stand, this "X"

is one of the many interesting but unexplained printing marks. Any help or insight will be appreciated. We need to document more stamps that don't quite fit the normal picture. ■



Figure 3. Confirming copy of the mystery "X," in the top margin of a stamp from Stone 1, position 31.

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THE 1861 1¢ FRANKLIN: ULTRAMARINE REVISITED

STEPHEN B. PACETTI, RA 3668

The 1¢ 1861 stamp in the ultramarine color has been highly prized by stamp collectors for a long time and commands a premium catalog value. Various philatelic scholars have listed many different variations (shades) of blue for the 1¢. For example, John Luff's reference list for the 1¢ 1861 gives no fewer than 11 colors: pale dull blue, dull blue, gray-blue, slate-blue, pale blue, blue, bright blue, Prussian blue, chalky blue, ultramarine, and deep ultramarine.¹ Carroll Chase said, "The 1¢ has some gorgeous tints and shades ranging from a very pale blue to a real indigo, and including an ultramarine which is one of the best shades."² Lester Brookman lists the following: blue, pale blue, bright blue, dark blue, indigo, and ultramarine.³ And the venerable Scott catalog has listed a separate number for ultramarine since at least its 58th edition in 1898. The 2005 *Specialized Catalog of United States Stamps & Covers* lists the 1¢ in blue, pale blue and bright blue (Scott 63); ultramarine (63a); and dark blue (63b).

The color that is the subject here is ultramarine, and the questions posed are: What is true ultramarine for the 1861 1¢ Franklin, and does it exist on the issued stamp?

I do not dispute that some 1¢ 1861s have been expertized and certified as genuine ultramarine (63a) by the several expertizing authorities. Indeed, I have a handsome, certified example on a drop-rate cover from Fall River, Massachusetts. This cover has Philatelic Foundation certificates from 2002 and 2004 attesting that the stamp color is ultramarine. The stamp from that cover is shown as Figure 1. What I propose is that the expertizers are using incorrect criteria or reference color for what "ultramarine" should be on the 1861 1¢ Franklin.

William Herzog noted that "...the true ultramarine...shade [is] almost unobtainable."⁴ He supports this claim by citing the very few examples he could find in the records of the Philatelic Foundation, and goes on to analyze what ultramarine looks like by reference to standard works on color, such as Ridgway's *Color Standards and Nomenclature* and the Methuen *Handbook of Colour*. He concludes with this warning: "Remember, just because a 1¢ 1861 stamp is offered as ultramarine..., you should not accept it blindly as fact! [This] shade seems to be misrepresented continually as a result of the ignorance of both buyers and sellers."⁵

Bert Christian, a specialist in and noted exhibitor of the 1861 series, wrote a lengthy study of the 1¢ shades in 1984.⁶ His analysis also uses the published standards in the area of color: Ridgway, Methuen, and R.H. White's philatelic color reference book, *Encyclopedia of the Colors of United States Postage Stamps* (1981). Using these references, he concludes

¹ John N. Luff, *The Postage Stamps of the United States*, Scott Stamp & Coin Co., 1902, pg. 70.

² Dr. Carroll Chase, *Classic United States Stamps 1845-1869*, Herman Herst, Jr., 1962, pg. 25. The contents of this book first appeared as a series of articles in 1938, according to Herst.

³ Lester G. Brookman, *The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century*, Volume II, H.L. Lindquist Publications, 1966, pg. 7.

⁴ William K. Herzog, "1¢ 1861 Ultramarine & Indigo Shades," *Chronicle*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1980, pg. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pg. 118.

⁶ C.W. "Bert" Christian, "The One Cent 1861 Stamp—A Shade Analysis," *50th American Philatelic Congress Book*, 1984.

that after examining 300-plus 1¢ stamps, “less than 1% were true ultramarine.”⁷ It should be noted that White’s color plate for the 1861 1¢ (Plate 1-13) shows two examples of what Christian considered to be “ultramarine” for this stamp.



Figure 1. Stamp certified as ultramarine.

In a June 1965 column in *Stamps*, the Baker brothers wrote: “Can anyone furnish...a copy of a 1¢ 1861 stamp in the ultramarine shade?...There seems to be considerable question as to whether the 1¢ stamp exists in the ultramarine shade.”⁸ In October, the Bakers raised the subject of the 1861 1¢ ultramarine again in more detail, noting that the 1861 1¢ is the first U.S. stamp to be listed by Scott (in the 1898 edition) as available in ultramarine. They mention a number of later 19th century U.S. stamps specifically printed in ultramarine, and conclude: “These stamps do not match when examined together. How many [1861 1¢’s] were printed with inks using ultramarine pigments? Do you know?”⁹ Apparently no one knew, because the Bakers did not follow up in a subsequent column.

Don Evans, in his exhaustive study of the 1¢ Franklin, gives us perhaps the most recent discussion of color and the 1¢.¹⁰ While he mentions Methuen’s and White’s examples of ultramarine, his first criterion for what is true ultramarine for this stamp is the unique premiere gravure (also called first printing or August issue) large die proof, which was specifically printed in ultramarine. Next, he cites the more easily available premiere gravure plate proofs on India, also printed in ultramarine.¹¹ Figure 2 shows a premiere gravure die essay in ultramarine, printed on India paper mounted on card. Figure 3 shows a premiere gravure plate essay printed in ultramarine on India paper. My certified 1¢ ultramarine is not the same color as either of these two essays which are notable for their milky (whitish), pastel tint.

The Post Office Department contract with the National Bank Note Company (NBNC) for the new 1861 series of stamps specified the printing was to be “in such colored inks, of the best quality, as the Postmaster General may direct.” It went on to say that “the colors shall not be more expensive than those now used.”¹² Since the formal contract was signed well after the NBNC began printing the new stamps in late July 1861, when and how did they receive their instructions on what colors to print the new stamps? Specifically, what was the color of the 1¢ to be?

My search for original source documents to answer these questions has been unsuccessful. A reasonable assumption, however, is that the NBNC received the Post Office Department’s instruction on color by letter sometime between June 19 and mid-July 1861. This is based on a reading of (1) a June 15, 1861 letter from NBNC to the Third Assistant Postmaster General, which informs him that “All the engraving will be furnished by next

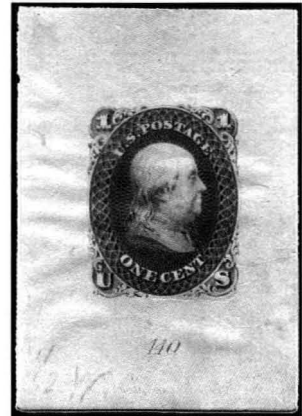


Figure 2. Premiere gravure die essay in ultramarine, Scott 63-E11a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pg. 141.

⁸ Hugh J. and J. David Baker, *Bakers’ U.S. Classics*, U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 1985, pg. 243.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pg. 243.

¹⁰ Don L. Evans, *The United States 1¢ Franklin 1861-1867*, Linn’s Stamp News, 1997, pp. 30-34.

¹¹ Listed as essays in Scott’s specialized catalog, the large die proof is No. 63-E11a, and the India plate proof is No. 63-E11c. A high quality photo of the large die proof is shown in the color plates that follow page 180 in Evans’ book.

¹² Reprinted in full in “History of Preparation of the U.S. 1861 Stamps,” Clarence W. Brazer, *Collectors Club Philatelist*, July 1941. The six-year contract, effective August 15, 1861, was not formally signed until November 5, 1861, but the NBNC proposal was accepted by the Postmaster General’s letter of May 1, 1861.

Wednesday [June 19] and we will forward for your inspection immediately after proofs from the dies in black and in various colors.”¹³; and (2) a July 27, 1861 letter in which the NBNC begins, “We wrote you [about the] color of [the] 3¢ stamp stating the trouble we had met with,” and goes on to mention “...a combination of carmine ink of the precise tint you desired...”¹⁴ It was because of the color problems with the 3¢ that issuance of the new stamps was delayed until Friday, August 16, 1861. Last, judging from the all the 1¢ stamps that survive in our collections, the color chosen for them was blue.

Use of natural ultramarine pigment dates back to the 6th century AD. It is made by a laborious process from the semi-precious gem stone lapis lazuli which contains the mineral lazurite. Until a French chemist synthesized an ultramarine pigment in 1828, the color was rarely used, even by artists, because it was very expensive. Assuming that the less expensive synthetic formula was known and available to NBNC in the Spring of 1861, the company was still guided by the Post Office Department’s March 27, 1861 “Advertisement for Proposals” which specified, among other things, that the designs for the new stamps be “...of the general style and description of those now in use... [and] Bidders will state the price per thousand stamps...”¹⁵ At an accepted contract price of 12¢ per thousand stamps for designs and colors like the old 1851-57 series stamps, it is not likely that NBNC ever used ultramarine pigment in any printing of the issued stamp.

Printing technology and the manual mixing of printing inks at the time are probably the main causes for the range of blue color shades now seen in the 1¢. Also, time and environmental conditions can produce changelings in the color of stamps.

Color is itself a complicated, scientific subject which is beyond the scope of this article. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that R.H. White, in *Color in Philately* (Philatelic Foundation, 1979) observes: “Problems of color identification [are] the creation of the collectors themselves. The youthful stamp enthusiast and the most sophisticated specialist must share the burden of responsibility for the interminable number of shades and tints that they have identified and named in [a] language of their choice.”

There is, however, no doubt that the printers at the National Bank Note Company knew what ultramarine was, or at least what they thought it to be, because they printed the two essays mentioned above in what they deemed to be ultramarine, and because they actually printed subsequent stamps in ultramarine. Specifically, the 3¢ and 6¢ 1869 stamps (Scott 114 and 115) and the 1¢ 1870 Franklin stamps (134 and 145). Again, my certified 1861 1¢ does not show the color of these stamps. Furthermore, I have not seen any 1861 copies among the thousands I have looked at in more than 15 years of collecting them, that look like those ultramarines.

To echo the Baker brothers 40 years ago, can anyone show an 1861 1¢ Franklin that matches the color of either of the two essays or the 1869 and 1870 stamps just named? Until then, in my opinion, the 1861 1¢ ultramarine does not exist. ■

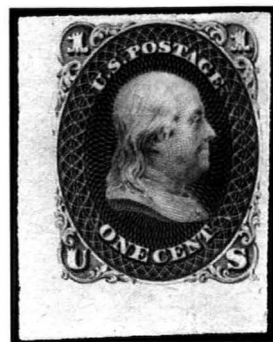


Figure 3. Premiere graveure plate essay on India paper in ultramarine, Scott 63-E11c. The color of the essays in Figures 2 and 3 does not match the color of the Figure 1 stamp.

¹³Norton D. York, “The Initial U.S. 1861 Issue,” *The American Philatelist*, July 1961, pg. 742.

¹⁴*Ibid*, pg. 743.

¹⁵Brazer, *loc. cit.*, pg. 183.

ELLIOTT COULTER COLLECTION SOLD AT AUCTION

JEFFREY M. FORSTER

On the evening of May 12, 2006, the Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries held the long-awaited sale of Elliott Coulter's 1869 stamps and covers. Elliott had been an ardent collector of the issue and for many years, during which he and this his writer often competed for covers—some of which came up in this auction. Elliott died in 1987. During the 15 years prior to that, we became close friends and shared our knowledge about many of the items in this sale.

The Coulter sale included both mint and used stamps, the inverts, and a large variety of domestic and foreign-rate covers. In the decade before his death, Elliott exhibited only his 1869 covers, to and from exotic locations around the world. Destination covers were Elliott's great interest, and he carried this interest further than any previous 1869 collector.



Figure 1. Three extraordinary stamps from the Coulter collection. The Waterbury “Old Woman in Bonnet” on a 3¢ 1869, the Hiogo (Japan) double-circle on a 6¢, and a perfect 10¢ 1869 with Sitka, Alaska Territory cancellation. This sold for almost \$5,000, record auction realization for a used single of this stamp.

Specialist collectors, myself among them, were eager to see how the Coulter covers would fare on the auction block.

Although there were only 350 lots and a small floor (15 collectors and two auction agents, Jeff Purser and Frank Mandel), it still took five hours to complete the sale, because there was a great deal of bidding activity from telephone and internet bidders. It's clear that the internet is transforming the auction market. This article will focus on some of the more unusual items and realizations in the sale.

Lot 10 was an off-cover example of the Waterbury Old Woman and Bonnet, a rare fancy cancellation on the 3¢ 1869 stamp. Bidding commenced at \$1,050 and ended at \$2,800, with the buyer a Frank Mandel client. (All prices here exclude the auctioneer's commission, which was 10% for this sale.) Also in the off-cover section was lot 13, a 6¢ 1869 stamp with a Hiogo, Japan, double circle handstamp. The 6¢ stamp is scarce with the Hiogo marking. This one sold to Andy Holtz for \$1,900. Lot 15 was a beautiful 10¢ 1869 stamp with two partial strikes of the distinctive circular datestamp of Sitka, Alaska Terri-

tory. This marking is rare on any 1869 stamp and only two examples are recorded on the 10¢. Bidding began at \$1,200 and the lot was finally sold to a Mandel client for \$4,750. I'm informed that this is the highest auction realization ever achieved for a used single 10¢ 1869 stamp. These three stamps are shown in Figure 1.

Coulter's inverts, all used examples, brought high prices too. All three sold at substantially over catalog value to the same internet buyer, bidder 155. The 15¢ invert sold for \$26,000, the 24¢ for \$42,500 and the 30¢ for \$90,000.

The bisects featured two notable realizations. Lot 83 was a left vertical half of a 2¢ 1869 stamp well tied by a perfectly struck paid-in-circle cancel from East Clarendon, Vermont. The bisect was used as a 1¢ stamp on a 2¢ brown-on-orange entire envelope (U80) to Salem, New York, with the imprint of the entire canceled by a second strike of the paid-in-circle cancel. Based on his work with the Miller collection, auctioneer Scott Trepel was able to match this bisect with its other half, which remarkably survives on another East Clarendon cover in the Miller holding. A photographic reconstruction of the original single stamp was a surprise research bonus in the Coulter catalog. The Coulter bisect cover opened at \$3,500 and was finally hammered down at \$11,500 to a Purser client. The next lot was the 6¢ bisect, a vertical half used as a 3¢ and well tied by a target cancel from Mechanicsville, New York. This is the only 6¢ 1869 bisect known. Bidding commenced at \$28,000 and the cover was hammered down to the book at \$45,000.

Beginning with lot 168, a 6¢ rate to Hawaii paid by two 3¢ 1869 stamps, serious competition commenced. Lot 168 opened at \$400 and sold to this writer for \$1,500. This is a treaty rate (post July 1, 1870 and scarce with 1869s) that I had been seeking for many years.

Lot 183 was a lovely cover with a pair of 2¢ 1869's to St. Lucia, British West Indies. The 4¢ postage paid the printed circular rate. This sold for \$5,500 to telephone bidder 33. The following lot was a 10¢ stamp on a cover to Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Uses of the 1869 stamps to the Dominican Republic are scarce, and this cover sold to floor bidder 152 for \$2,600. The next lot (185), a solo 10¢ 1869 on a cover to Montevideo, Uruguay, went to bidder 152 for \$1,700. The use represents an accepted underpayment of the 18¢ rate, but the rare destination more than compensated for the imperfect franking.

One of the highlights of the sale and a cover this writer had coveted for many years was lot 187, frequently described as one of the greatest 1869 mixed-franking covers. Illustrated on the front cover of the Coulter sale catalog, this folded letter has a 10¢ 1869 stamp used with a first-issue Danish West Indies 3¢ rose on white stamp (Scott 2), both stamps tied by strikes of a five-ring target cancel of St. Thomas. This cover is the only recorded example of a U.S. 1869 stamp used with a Danish West Indies stamp. Coulter had purchased this cover in 1984 at Siegel's John DuPont sale for \$17,000. In the Coulter sale, the cover was estimated at \$50-75,000 and sold for \$115,000.

Coulter had more than 30 covers to France or beyond France via French mails. Lot 226 was a lovely cover from Newark to Beirut, with a strip of three 10¢ 1869 stamps paying the 30¢ per quarter-ounce French mail rate. Only two 10¢ 1869 covers to Syria via French mail are recorded. This one sold to bidder 624 for \$6,000.

Lot 227 was a cover with two horizontal pairs of the 1¢ 1869 stamp paying the inter-treaty 4¢ rate via British open mail and bearing the Monroe & Co. "SHORT PAID" marking on reverse. Only two covers are known on which this rate is paid by four 1¢ 1869s. This item opened at \$3,500 and sold to a Mandel client for \$7,500.

Lots 240-245 represented a lovely holding of the scarce and sought-after Phantom rates to France. All six covers sold for strong prices, culminating with lot 245, a cover to Paris from the Fleming correspondence, posted in Pittsburgh in mid-July 1870 and franked with a single 30¢ 1869 stamp. This showed all the appropriate markings including a crayon

“18/2”, indicating three times 6¢ credit to England for carrying this cover fully prepaid to France at an unannounced rate. Bidder 624 acquired this one too, for a price of \$26,000.

Of covers sent by British mails to destinations beyond Great Britain, Coulter had a wonderful showing. Lot 303, previously in the Juhring and Grunin collections, was a cover to Barcelona, with 10¢ and 12¢ 1869 paying the 22¢ rate to Spain. This rate was effective during 1868 and 1869 but is not commonly encountered paid with 1869 stamps. Coulter had purchased this cover for \$3,250. It sold for \$8,000, again to bidder 624.



Figure 2. Typical of the exotic destinations that made the Coulter collection special: A horizontal pair of 15¢ Type II stamps on a cover from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to Moulmein, Burma. Posted in early 1870, this represents the 30¢ rate via British mails via Marseilles.

The covers in this British-mail category, more than any other, illustrate Coulter’s success in accumulating 1869 covers to truly exotic destinations. Lot 305 was a cover franked with two 12¢ 1869 stamps and two 2¢ Bank Notes (Scott 146), sent in late 1870 from Fall River, Massachusetts, to Fayal in the Azores Islands. This is the only 1869 cover known to the Azores. The cover was rated and marked as if sent to Portugal. It opened at \$2,500 and sold for \$6,000 to this writer. Coulter had purchased this cover for \$2,300 at the Siegel sale of the John DuPont collection in 1984.

Lot 310 was a cover from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, franked with a pair of 15¢ Type II stamps paying the 30¢ rate “via Marseilles” to Moulmein, Burma. This cover, shown as Figure 2, bears all the appropriate British mail markings and was hammered down for \$10,500. The very next lot showed a pair of 2¢ 1869s and a 24¢ 1861 stamp (Scott 78a) used from from Milwaukee to Jaffna, Ceylon. This cover bears a circular handstamped Chicago credit 18 marking; it sold for \$3,000. Lot 312, a solo 24¢ 1869 from New Bedford to Mauritius, sold for \$10,000 despite cover and stamp being heavily repaired on the right.

Lot 313 was a small cover franked with two 10¢ 1869s and a pair of 2¢ 1869s, sent from Lynn, Mass., to Mahe, in the Seychelle Islands. Two covers are known to this very exotic destination from this same find, the Edward Haven correspondence. This one sold for \$14,000 to a Mandel client. We illustrate it here as Figure 3.

Lot 314 was a cover with 10¢ and 12¢ 1869 stamps together with a 6¢ Lincoln Bank Note stamp (Scott 148) to Capetown, Cape of Good Hope, paying the 28¢ rate in 1870. This attractive three-color combination opened at \$7,500 and sold to bidder 624 for \$15,000. Lincoln collectors played a role in determining the hammer price here. Coulter had purchased this beautiful cover in a 1982 Harmer sale for \$2,500.

Transpacific covers are currently very popular and very pricey, buoyed by new scholarship and intense collector interest both in this country and in the orient. Three fairly ordinary covers from the U.S. to Japan, all franked with 10¢ 1869s, realized (as lots 325-327) between \$1600 and \$2100. Lot 332 was the famous cover from Hiogo to Quebec, franked with a 10¢ 1869 stamp and three 2¢ 1869s, stamps paying the 10¢ transpacific rate from Japan to the United States and the 6¢ rate to Canada. The catalog indicates this is the only

Hiogo-to-Canada cover known. Bidding commenced at \$17,500 and increased rapidly to \$40,000. Andrew Holtz was the buyer. This cover for many years was missing one of the 2¢ stamps. Stamp and cover both turned up (as separate lots) in the Juhring holding. Coulter bought both, reunited them, and then got the marriage certified.

Interconsular uses in the orient were represented by three covers and all achieved high realizations. Lot 335 was a cover from Yokohama to Nagasaki, with the 3¢ interconsular rate overpaid by two 2¢ 1869 stamps. The final bid was \$14,000, again from Holtz. Lot 337 was a 6¢ 1869 cover, posted at the U.S. consular post office in Shanghai and sent to Nagasaki. Holtz was the buyer here too, for \$13,500.

The last section of the auction was devoted to the 1875 Reissue of the 1869 stamps. Coulter had more of these scarce covers than had ever before graced a single collection, including several beauties.

Lot 338 was a piece: 2¢ and 3¢ reissues on a portion of a 4¢ green government entire envelope. The New York cancels date this from 1884. The 3¢ 1869 reissue stamp is rare in used condition. Coulter had purchased this piece for \$2,100 in the 1975 Wolfers sale of the Cy Horowitz collection. Here it realized \$25,000, selling to a Mandel client. At this price, one can only wonder what the Caspary cover (the only full cover known with a 3¢ 1869 reissue) might sell for today. This last sold in 1956 for \$75, in an era when reissue covers were disdained as dealer-fabricated curiosities. Today, it would likely fetch six figures.

One of the highlights of the sale was lot 340, unusual because it bears four different



Figure 3. Another seldom-seen destination: whaling cover from Lynn, Massachusetts to Mahe, Seychelle Islands. Two 10¢ 1869 stamps and a pair of 2¢ 1869s pay the 24¢ rate via British mails. The 20¢ credit to England was applied in crayon at the Boston exchange office.

1869 reissues (1¢, 2¢, 12¢ and 15¢) on one cover, from New York to Germany. The 30¢ franking pays four times the 5¢ UPU rate plus a 10¢ registry fee.

The bidding on this cover commenced at \$42,500, and a battle between Charles Shreve and Harry Hagedorf ensued, with Shreve the eventual victor at a realization of \$160,000.

A 15¢ reissue on a domestic registered cover, lot 341, sold to internet bidder 161 for \$16,000. And lot 342, a 24¢ reissue on a 3¢ green entire envelope (U163) embellished by the red advertising collar of Nicholas Seebeck, opened at \$21,000 and ultimately sold to Hagedorf for \$35,000.

The sale commenced at 5:45 p.m. and did not end until almost 11. At the end of a long day, the total realization for the Coulter 1869 collection came to \$1,463,000, approximately 50 percent over the pre-sale estimate. The great strength in the sale involved covers to or from unusual foreign destinations. My anticipation was amply fulfilled by the excitement of this sale, and it is a pleasure to report on it in these pages. ■

**THE UNITED STATES 15¢ WEBSTER STAMP OF 1870:
FROM MODEL TO FINISHED DIE**

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For 135 years the story of the development of the 15¢ Webster stamp of 1870, which concerns the order of the essays leading up to the finished design, has been unclear and in some instances incorrect. The object of this article is to show the evolution of the design, from the model to the hardened die. Within this evolution lie several different essay stages and subtle changes to each. In addition, this article corrects the Scott catalog listing and adds new paper and color varieties. From this study we can see in detail how the National Bank Note Co. (NBNC) performed its contract obligation, paying great attention to the smallest details of line engraving used to produce the finished stamp.

Much of the material cited here now resides in the author's collection and came from the Falk Finkelburg collection (Siegel sale 816) and Jacques C. Schiff's sale 290. Other key pieces were acquired from specialist dealers. In the Finkelburg collection reposed many important items that had previously eluded collectors. Several of these are the only reported copies. One could easily say that the Finkelburg holding was an obstacle to forming many well-developed collections of essay and proof material. In addition, the Schiff auction held a surprising hoard of fine material with a number of full die sinkages on India still intact on card.

An interesting find within the Brazer/Finkelburg papers, now in the library of Jim Lee, was the notes used for the formation of the Clarence Brazer article, "Preparation of the U.S. 1870 Issue Designs."¹ The notes are typed transcripts of correspondence between the Third Assistant Postmaster-General, W.H.H. Terrell and James Macdonough, secretary of the National Bank Note Co. They consist of 45 letters between August 31, 1869 and January 11, 1871. There are some notable gaps, but the letters still shed light on the reasons for the design changes.

The Brazer article was intended as two parts. The low-value denominations (1¢ thru 10¢) were covered in the first part. The second part was never completed. Reference material for the higher denominations is present in the correspondence and will be used here to complete the story for the 15¢ value.

Historical Background

The following is the background for the design change of the "Issue of 1870 Ordinaries," the official designation used by the Post Office Department for some 20 years. In the latter part of 1869, the National Bank Note Co. was required to start a new series of stamps and to bear the cost in submitting new designs, dies, and eventually plates as the terms of the extension contract of February 1, 1869 provided. To quote the Postmaster General from a letter dated November 15, 1870:

¹ Clarence W. Brazer, D.Sc., "Preparation of the U. S. 1870 Issue Designs," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #5 (1945), pg. 67.

“The adhesive postage stamps adopted by my predecessor in 1869, having failed to give satisfaction to the public, on account of their small size, their unshapely form, the inappropriateness of their designs, the difficulty of canceling them effectually, and the inferior quality of gum used in their manufacture, I found it necessary in April last, to issue new stamps of larger size, superior quality of gum and new designs. I decided to substitute an entire new series, one-third larger in size, and to adopt for designs the heads, in profile, of distinguished deceased Americans. The designs were selected from marble busts of acknowledged excellence.”

In the case of the 15¢ stamp, Daniel Webster was ultimately chosen as the subject, but as we shall see, early on it was not clear to which denomination he would be assigned. The marble bust selected was by American sculptor Shobal Vail Clevenger (1812-43).

Historical Letters

Perhaps no letter in the correspondence gives better insight to the new series of postage stamps than that dated November 16, 1869, from Third Assistant Postmaster General Terrell to Macdonough, the NBNC secretary. Only a small part was previously quoted by Brazer. The text is presented herewith in full, because it provides much useful information and a context that evokes the era in which it was written.

“MY DEAR SIR: The proof-impressions of the new designs for postage-stamps of the denominations of one cent, two cents, three cents, six cents, and ten cents were submitted to the Postmaster-General yesterday. His opinion of them accords entirely with my own; that is to say, he approves most heartily of the designs for the one-cent, two-cent, three-cent, and six-cent, and decidedly condemns the ten-cent, the profile of Jefferson being altogether unlike any representation we have ever seen of him before; the hair on the forehead has a backwoods appearance, and the expression is un-Jeffersonian.

To-day the Postmaster-General laid the designs before the President and cabinet, and all expressed themselves well pleased with the first four denominations, but not one of them favored the ten-cent design.

So you may consider the matter settled so far as the ones, twos, threes, and sixes are concerned, and you may go to work on the permanent plates for these at once.

I will try and ascertain if a better profile of Jefferson cannot be obtained here, and will advise you. We must have him.

In regard to the designs for the twelves, fifteens, twenty-fours, thirties, and nineties, it was suggested in cabinet to-day (and I think the suggestion was a good one) that they all be profile busts, as these are regarded as in much better taste than any other designs (even portraits) that could be selected. Therefore, I withdraw the suggestion I made to you when you were here in reference to portraits.

To-morrow Mr. Creswell and myself will try to select heads to be engraved in profile, or busts, for the balance of the stamps. Among the heads that have occurred to me as appropriate are the following: twelve-cent; Clay; fifteen-cent, Judge McLean; twenty-four cent, Webster; thirty-cent, General Scott; ninety-cent, Commodore Perry.

The Postmaster-General rather inclines to have Amos Kendall on one of the stamps; if this should be agreed upon, we can furnish an excellent profile portrait from which a bust could be easily engraved.

I presume Judge McLean’s bust is in the Supreme Court room, in the Capitol. Clay, Webster, and Scott, doubtless, can be easily obtained in New York, and possibly Commodore Perry also.

I will go to the Capitol as soon as the selections are determined upon, and see how far we can aid you here in securing acceptable profiles for busts.

We are very anxious to get the new stamps introduced, and trust you will do what ever you can to accomplish that object with the least possible delay.

Very truly yours,

W. H. H. TERRELL,

Third Assistant Postmaster-General"

First, from this letter we gather that the new issue was broken into two groups. The first group included the 1¢, 2¢, 3¢, 6¢ and 10¢ stamps. The second group, 12¢, 15¢, 24¢, 30¢ and 90¢ stamps. Second, there are differences within this higher-value group, as to the subjects. Hamilton was not yet being considered, Judge McLean (a former PMG) was suggested for the 15¢ value and Webster was proposed for the 24¢ stamp. Amos Kendall (another former PMG) was considered for some value, but it was never stated which, or who he would replace.

The next day, Terrell followed up with another letter to Macdonough: "I also found a splendid 'Hamilton' in the Capitol...I also hope to get Judge McLean and General Scott in a few days, profiles and perhaps Commodore Perry...I presume you will have no difficulty in finding standard busts of Clay and Webster." Overnight Hamilton became a serious candidate without previous mention.

In a letter dated November 19, 1869, Macdonough replied, "The Hamilton family have a fine bust, which they pronounce a perfect likeness, and we can undoubtedly obtain it, although we would prefer the bust at the Capitol, as it must be better known among the people." The next letter skips almost a month. Judge McLean is never mentioned again.

On December 13, Terrell wrote: "Let me remind you of a suggestion I made, and which you regarded as sensible and appropriate, that something be worked in the borders (accessories) of Scott and Perry that will remind the public of the military and naval services respectively. Do not forget to send me the designs you may make for borders (accessories) as soon as they are executed. A great deal – almost everything – depends upon these points. But by no means must the engraving of the heads be delayed."

There is no record in any of the letters how the final choice of profiles was settled upon. It seems that sometime in late November or early December 1869, the final profiles, together with the assigned values, were chosen by the Post Office Department.

The last reference made to the 15¢ Webster was in a letter from Terrell dated March 24, 1870, referring to changes on the 6¢ Lincoln stamp: "Please look at the back hair -- is it not too clumsy, or too much after the style of Webster's whisker, which you worked over and very much improved." We will encounter below an essay bearing pencil notations calling for changes in Webster's whiskers.

Finally, it seems most probable that the die was finished and hardened and Plate 20 laid down in late January or early February 1870.

Scott 152-E1

The official description (as quoted by Luff) for the design of the 15¢ stamp reads: "Fifteen Cents. On a lined rectangular frame, with triangular panels set in near each corner, is an oval medallion bearing the profile bust of Daniel Webster. Above, in a curved tablet, ending on either side in a circular knob, are the words, in shaded white letters, 'U.S. POST-AGE.' Below, in a similar tablet, but without knobs, in small white letters, are the words, 'FIFTEEN CENTS,' separated by the number '15' in ornamented Arabic figures."

Figure 1 shows an incompletely engraved vignette, in dim red on India, cut out and



Figure 1. Model, Scott 152-E1. The incompletely engraved oval vignette (in dim red) is cut out and mounted on card, with pencil-and-watercolor frame elements carefully added.

mounted on card. Frame details, including blank labels, have been added in pencil and light red violet water color. Also visible are knife-cut layout lines through layout dots in all four corners and one vertical cut through the center. Before engraving would begin, this model for the frame design was sent to the Post Office Department for approval. This is the only known copy. Scott lists this essay as 152-E1.

A letter dated December 14, 1869 from the NBNC to Terrell says: "The engraving of the busts will be pushed forward as rapidly as consistent with good workmanship, and the designs of the borders will be submitted for your approval before they are engraved."

In summary, the POD wanted engraved vignettes nearly complete to be submitted first for their approval, followed by the frame designs. Only then could actual engraving begin on the frame.

Two additional essays survive that tend to confirm the POD request. I call them "blanks". These are vignettes mounted on card with all layout lines present but without the watercolor outer designs that appear on the model in Figure 1. One was in my Bank Note collection with the Perry vignette pasted down. The other is in Matthew Kewriga's 2¢ Jackson collection, with a vignette of Jackson pasted down.

Butler Packard was the frame designer for the entire 1870 series. For the 15¢ value the vignette was done by Louis Delnoce, frame engraving by E.F. Bourke and letter engraving by D.S. Ronaldson.

Scott 152-E2

The die block used for the engraving of the vignette measured approximately 63 x 76 millimeters.² This was a soft piece of steel that would later be hardened for the transfer roll to take up the image. Delnoce engraved the first state of the vignette from a photograph supplied in profile to National from the New York studio of photographer Matthew Brady. On November 17, 1869 Terrell wrote to Macdonough asking: "If I find heads that will suit the Department, will you authorize me to have Brady photograph them and send them to you at the expense of the National Bank Note Company?" Listed only in black (as Scott 152-E2), this vignette essay, the first state of the die, is shown in Figure 2. It shows significant incomplete lines of shading on the hair, face and neck. This essay is found as a die imprint on India paper, die sunk on card.

²Actually, two different die sinkages are recorded, the second being 42.5x63.5mm, from Schiff sale 290. Not included here until more research can be completed.

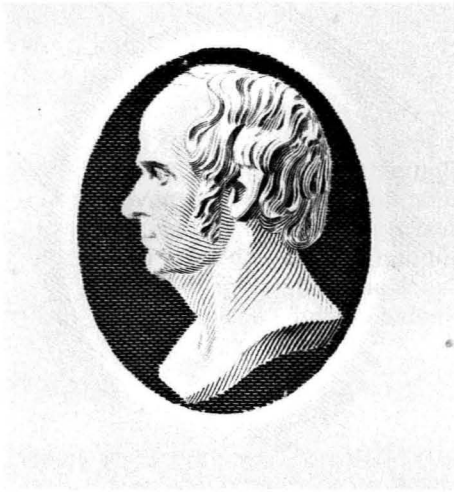


Figure 2. First state of the die, Scott 152-E2, showing incomplete shading lines in Daniel Webster's hair, face and neck. Found as a die imprint on India paper, die sunk on card.

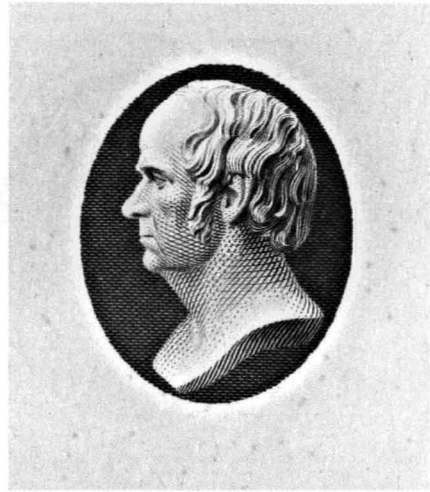


Figure 3. Second state of the die, Scott 152-E3. Shading lines have been added to the hair, face and neck. This is the vignette version that appears on the model in Figure 1.

Scott 152-E3

The next vignette essay, shown in Figure 3, represents the second state of the die. Scott lists this as 152-E3. This is a more complete design. Shading lines have been added to the hair, face and neck. This more complete design was used on the paste-up model shown in Figure 1. The vignette in Figure 3 is found as a die imprint on India paper, die sunk on card. Scott listed colors are: black, dark orange, orange, yellow, red violet, ultramarine and brown. Blue green also exists, unlisted.

Scott 152-E4

The essay in Figure 4, which Scott lists as 152E-4, is actually a regressive essay, created several years after the 15¢ Webster was plated up and printed by NBNC. Perhaps the first person to question the role of this essay, which shows the 15¢ vignette and numeral with the rest of the design cut away, was Cyril F. dos Passos, writing in the *Essay-Proof Journal*:³ “It has been observed above that the 15¢ Webster essays listed in Brazer’s catalogue do not appear to be arranged in chronological order, but for what reason is not apparent, since in the introduction thereto Brazer states that ‘An effort has been made to arrange chronologically and number the essays....’ Certainly the date ‘1873’ under item 152E-Bc should read 1870, because all essays must have been completed before the die had been proved or the transfer roll and plates were made. This work must have been finished before April 12, 1870 when the first 15¢ Webster stamp is recorded. Brazer probably had some reason for using that date (1873) since it is repeated also under the 1¢, 2¢, 3¢, 6¢, 7¢, 12¢, and 30¢ values, but that reason is not apparent.”

Alan C. Campbell, in what should be considered the definitive work on the design evolution of the official stamps,⁴ summed up this situation succinctly: “John Donnes, a specialist in the 12¢ Bank Note stamp, noticed that on the essay for this stamp (151-E10),

³Cyril F. dos Passos, *Essay-Proof Journal* #60 (1958), pg. 171.

⁴Alan C. Campbell, “The Design Evolution of the United States Official Stamps,” *Chronicle* 169, February 1996, pp. 50-51.

the lobes of the numeral “2” in “12” contain the secret marks, and that these marks had been strengthened in retouching the dies for the official stamps. Since the secret marks were added when the dies were turned over to Continental in 1873, this 12¢ essay must have been produced then, rather than in 1870. Therefore, we must conclude that these essays were not in fact progressive proofs, taken as the dies were originally worked up by National, but regressive proofs, taken after the rest of the frame had been burnished away on the transfer rolls, by Continental.”

My own observation for the 15¢ essay now follows. No essay found in any die state of the design has the finished attributes of the vignette shown in Figure 4. Only the finished state of the hardened die shows the sidewhisker with completed crosshatching. Essay E8 var., discussed at Figure 10 below, shows the suggestion by pencil notation to fill in the area on the sidewhisker. Throughout all the essays the sidewhisker remains bold and unfinished. For this reason it’s illogical to propose that the Figure 4 essay was created by National as part of the progressive design of the 15¢ stamp, or any National stamp.

The Figure 4 essay is now known on two types of paper: India paper and glazed (a.k.a. ivory) paper. It was previously known only on glazed paper. But in the Lakeshore collection (Siegel sale 909), appeared as lots 1383-1393 a series of essays said to have originated in a Post Office presentation album. Several of these were not previously known on India in regressive proof form. Lot 1383 included the following description: “its origin in an album of Post Office Department essays, gives credence to the footnote in Scott Catalogue which states that this ‘May be an essay for Official stamps.’”



Figure 4. Regressive die essay, glazed paper, Scott 152-E4. The nature of this essay indicates it was created by the Continental Bank Note Company after it took over the contract. This was three years after the National 15¢ Websters were first printed.

It would seem from the evidence of the 12¢ and 15¢ denominations, plus the fact that Continental created break-down dies in their hurried attempt to complete the contract, along with the presentation album of Post Office Department essays on India, that we should now attribute these regressive proofs, not as a product of National, but as a product of Continental Bank Note Company.

Scott 152-E5

The essay Scott that designates 152-E5, shown in Figure 5, is the first to show the merging of the frame and vignette designs. Both E.F. Bourke for the frame and D.S. Ronaldson for the lettering contributed to this essay. Notice how the frame engraving did not depart from Butler Packard’s pencil-and-watercolor model shown in Figure 1. The curved

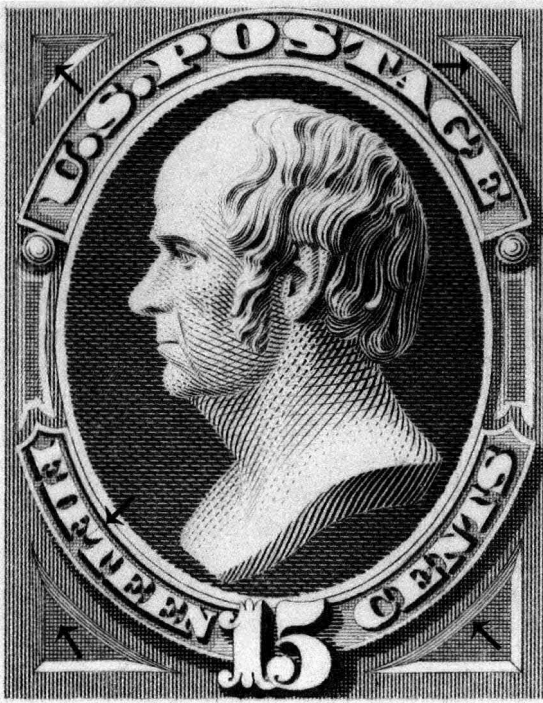


Figure 5. Third state of the die, Scott 152-E5. This is the first Webster essay to show the marriage of vignette and frame in a single engraving. Arrows indicate weak areas of the design that were subsequently strengthened.

blank tablets were filled in with the lettering, “U.S. Postage” and “Fifteen Cents”, separated by the numeral “15”. This is the third state of the die. Only three copies of this rare essay are known, two of which resided in the Finkelburg collection in lot 1645.

The Figure 5 essay was not listed by Brazer in his catalog. Dos Passos had the opportunity to examine Brazer’s reference collection after his death and noted this essay present but not recorded. Dos Passos observed that “the letters F and T of fifteen are separated by a thin, colored line. There are weak areas in the design that were later strengthened.”⁵ Arrows in Figure 5 show these designated areas.

Each changed die state necessarily shows added or strengthened lines in different places on the design. The Figure 5 essay, with frame and vignette merged, is the cornerstone of the development of future die states. The only known color is brown (not orange brown as Scott indicates) and the essay is a die imprint on India paper, die sunk on card. All three copies are cut close to the design.

Scott 152-E6

The essay Scott designates as 152-E6, shown at left in Figure 6, differs from the previous essay (152-E5, Figure 5) only in that pencil marks have been added to three of the four corner panels. Again, arrows mark the areas, which are difficult to see in a black-and-white photo. These markings were probably added by Butler Packard as his in-house recommendation to achieve a more satisfactory design prior to submission to the POD. We have noted that the POD sought vignette approval first, then approval of the overall design (vignette pasted down on card with a water color wash outline) and then frame approval. The essay at left in Figure 6, along with the one shown in Figure 5, make up two of the three known examples.

⁵dos Passos, *op. cit.*, pg. 171.

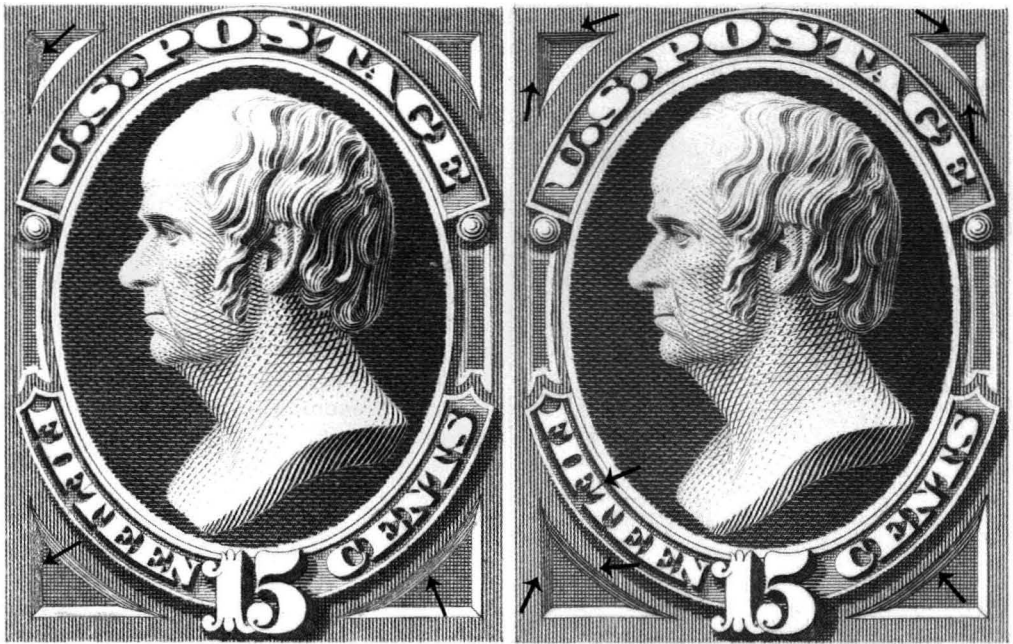


Figure 6. At left, an example of the third state of the die essay (Scott 152-E5) with pencil markings (indicated here by arrows) designating areas to be strengthened. Scott calls this 152-E6. At right, the fourth state of the die, Scott 152-E7, showing stronger lines in all four corner panels (arrows) and a stronger line between the “F” and “T” of “FIFTEEN”. This fourth state of the die is the source of most of the surviving Webster essays.

Scott 152-E7

Following the pencil notations as a guide, all four corner panels were strengthened. The line between the letters “F” and “T” of “FIFTEEN” has also been strengthened. The resulting essay, Scott 152-E7, is shown at the right in Figure 6, again with arrows indicating the added engraving. This is the fourth state of the die.

There is no doubt that this essay is the workhorse for NBNC. National had met the requirements for the “head”, model and now the merging of both into a working die design. Found in a multiple of papers and colors, this design is the source of the largest amount of essay material found today for the 15¢ Webster, though a few pieces on certain types of paper are extremely rare and one is unique.

The Scott *Specialized Catalogue* lists: orange, orange yellow, orange brown, green, red violet and rose carmine. Brown needs to be added; we have two copies. Scott does not list proof paper. Brazer identified three colors on proof paper: carmine, orange-brown and green, all considered rare.⁶ Present in the author’s collection are proof-paper essays in green, orange-brown and rose carmine. Also to be added is an essay in green on thin cardboard. This is the only known copy. The Scott listing for the 12¢ 151-E9 essay shows similar paper.

Now that we have established the characteristics of the fourth state of die, the Scott catalog listings can be addressed. Under the 152-E5 heading, the current Scott *Specialized Catalogue* states, “Also essayed for envelopes on thick paper.” This is a mistake that needs correction. The NBNC envelope essays are clearly created from the fourth state of the die,

⁶Clarence W. Brazer, *Essays for U.S. Adhesive Postage Stamps*, Quarterman reprint, pg. 103.

Scott 152-E7. The author owns 10 of the National envelopes. Found in various envelope sizes, papers and colors, they were presumably submitted by National with their bid for the envelope contract. They all show the same die state throughout, which is the fourth die state



Figure 7. The stamp portion of an NBNC envelope essay. Showing the strengthened corner panels and the strong line between the “F” and “T” of “FIFTEEN.” This is clearly an imprint from the fourth die state, as presented at right in Figure 6.

(E7 not E5). On the envelope essay the line between the “F” and “T”, and all four triangular corner panels, show strengthening which brings out the depth of each. No additional engraving has been added.

Brazer concurs that this design was essayed for these envelopes.⁷ Dan Undersander shows an illustration (as “E41A”) in his *Catalog of United States Stamped Envelope Essays and Proofs*. A blow-up of the stamp portion of a National envelope essay is shown in Figure 7. The engraving precisely matches that in Figure 6 (right).

Scott 152-E7 Variety

An essay unlisted in Scott is shown in Figure 8. This is still the fourth state of the die, but here pencil marks have been added to strengthen the design. A blue NBNC imprint

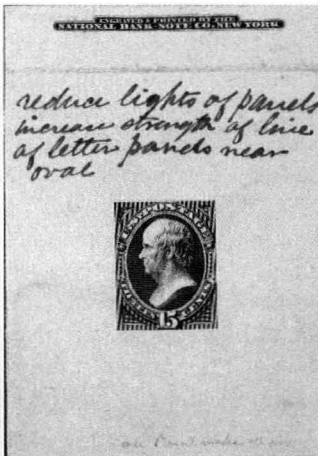


Figure 8. Fourth state of the die, Scott 152E-7, with NBNC imprint pasted on at top, pencil marks added and a note requesting further strengthening of lines.

is pasted on at top and a manuscript notation reads: “reduce lights of panels – increase strength of line of letter panels near oval.” A blow-up of the stamp portion of Figure 8 is

⁷ *Ibid.*

shown at left in Figure 9, with arrows marking the 11 areas where pencil markings call for design strengthening. This essay is a die imprint in red violet on India paper, die sunk on card. This is the only reported copy and likely unique as such.

Scott 152-E8

From the suggestions of pencil notations found on Figure 9 (left) emerged the fifth state of the die, Scott 152-E8. This essay is shown at the right in Figure 9. Every one of the 11 designated areas has been strengthened. Notice that on the whisker only a few slight

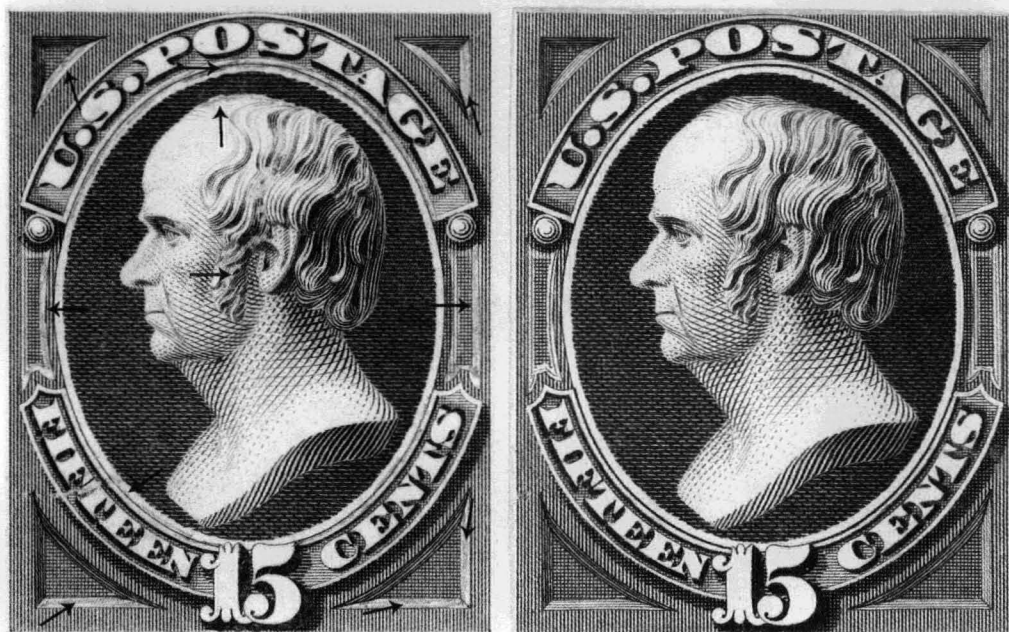


Figure 9. At left, a blow-up of the fourth-state essay shown in Figure 8. Arrows indicate pencil markings highlighting areas where strengthening was requested. At right, the fifth state of the die, Scott 152-E8, showing strengthened lines in all the areas called for on the pencil-marked essay at left.

lines have been added. The essay is found only in black, die imprint on India paper, die sunk on card. This essay should be considered rare as only three copies are known. Two of the three are in the author's collection.

Scott 152-E8 Variety

The 152-E8 variety shown at the top in Figure 10 is unlisted in Scott. The die remains in the fifth state with only the pencil marks added on the whisker. This essay, in black, die sunk on 149 x 197 millimeter card showing full die sinkage, is the only known copy.

Finished Die Proof

The whisker area shown at bottom in Figure 10 is taken from the finished die proof, the sixth state of the die. The crosshatching on the whisker is the only element that was added from the previous fifth state, shown in at right in Figure 9. This finished die state can exist in two types, soft and hardened. When hardened, the NBNC imprint will be found

about 18 millimeters below the engraving, small backwards-slanting capital letters that read “NATIONAL BANK NOTE CO. N.Y.”

Once approved, the die was hardened, transfer roll taken up and Plate 20 laid down.

Figure 10 is proof positive that NBNC, after a continuing series of design enhancements, submitted the finished design for final POD approval. This is confirmed by the letter



Figure 10. At top, the fifth state of the die (152-E8) with pencil marks added to Webster's side-whiskers, indicating yet another area where change was required. At bottom, the same area from the final, hardened die, from which NBNC's plate 20 (and the first Webster stamps) were created. Webster's whiskers have been substantially modified.

mentioned previously: “the style of Webster's whisker, which you worked over and very much improved.” The 152-E4 essay shown in Figure 4, showing this final and “very much improved” version of Webster's whiskers, can only be an after-the-fact break-down die. It was not produced by National in the course of creating the progressive design of the 15¢ Webster stamp.

Proposed Changes to Scott's Specialized Catalogue

An attempt will now be made to move the *Scott Specialized Catalogue* toward the needed corrections for the essay section of the 15¢ Webster. First and most important, the regressive proof currently listed as 152-E4 needs to be removed. It has no place in the evolution of the Webster design. It's likely an essay for the Official stamps. And it's certainly not an NBNC creation.

The renumbering described below conforms to Scott listing policy as I understand it.

At the very least, new colors and papers need to be listed, and the envelope essays must be correctly attributed to the fourth state of the die.

Here are my specific suggestions:

The listings for 152-E1, 152-E2 (first state of the die) and 152-E3 (second state) would remain unchanged, adding a listing in green for 152-E3.

The third state of the die, the current Scott 152-E5, a die proof on India paper, would become 152-E4, in the color brown (not orange brown, as now listed).

The current Scott 152-E6, the third-state die with pencil additions, would become 152-E5, the color again being brown, not orange brown.

The current Scott 152-E7, the fourth state of the die, would become 152-E6. The die proofs on India would be designated 152-E6a, with brown added to the current color listings. A second category, 152-E6b, would list the die essays on proof paper, in the colors green, orange brown and rose carmine. A third category, 152-E6c, would contain the so-far-unique green die essay on card. This renamed and expanded fourth-state section would also include the notation that this was the die used on envelope essays.

The 152-E7 listing would then be available to describe the fourth-state die with pencil notations (Figure 8) that's not currently listed in the catalog.

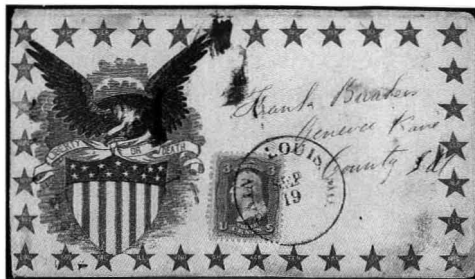
The fifth state of the die, 152-E8 (Figure 9, right), could then remain as currently listed. This same essay with pencil notations added (Figure 10, top) would become 152-E9.

Conclusion

The evolution of the design of 15¢ Webster stamp becomes much clearer with the addition of new material, the exclusion of the irrelevant regressive essay and the correct identification of the die states. All of the known essays now correlate to a progressively developing die state, supported by the new pencil-notations pieces. Added sections of proof paper and card expand the fourth-state listing. Two unlisted colors and the correction of orange brown to brown are also added.

These essays long begged to speak, but no one could fully understand their words. From the record of official correspondence found in the Brazer/ Finkelburg files (only a few items were quoted) and the evidence of the essays themselves, emerges a clear picture of how resolute the POD was in its determination to make this new stamp series succeed. "You will not fail to understand that I have always insisted, for all the denominations, on having bright, high, brilliant, clear and pure colors... Then with gum that will stick, I shall be willing to withdraw all intimations, expressed in that paragraph of my former letter which gave you uneasiness." Between the pull of the POD in achieving their vision of the "Bust" series and National's remarkable ability as security engravers augmented by their keen desire to please their most important client, a quality product was almost certain to result. We have detailed here the many steps that reflect their close collaboration in creating the 15¢ Webster stamp. ■

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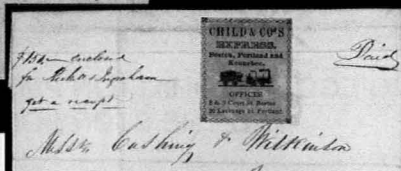
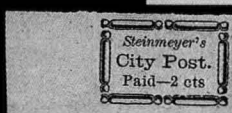
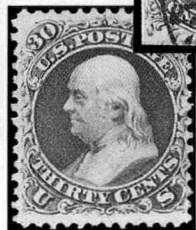


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A BIG EGO: THE “HATTON PM” NEGATIVE CANCELLATION AND THE STORY OF FRANK HATTON

JOE H. CROSBY

Frank Hatton (Figure 1) was born in Cambridge, Ohio, on April 28, 1846. His father, Richard, moved to Cadiz, Ohio, where he published the *Republican*. Frank worked at the paper starting at age 11 and became foreman and local editor. When the Civil War began he enlisted in the 98th Ohio infantry. In 1864 he was commissioned 1st Lieutenant in the Army of the Cumberland. After the war he went to Mount Pleasant, Iowa, to edit a newspaper called *The Journal* from 1869 to 1874. He then moved to Burlington, Iowa, where he purchased the *Daily Hawkeye*.

On January 19, 1880, he was appointed Postmaster of Burlington. We know that by June 2, 1880 he had implemented a bold 28 millimeter blue Negative HATTON PM cancellation (Figure 2), which exhibited his strong ego. During the Bank Note era, most postmasters who were bold enough to identify themselves in their killer cancels used only their initials, unless they chose to incorporate their name and office in a circular or oval datestamp in a much more modest fashion than Hatton employed.¹

This distinctive cancellation is usually found on the 3¢ green American Bank Note stamp (Scott 184). Figure 3 makes clear that the killer was not a duplexed device since it reads down (or facing the circular datestamp) while in Figure 2 it reads up (or facing away from the cds). A comparison of Figures 2 and 3 also shows that the HATTON PM killer exists in two different types, one with a sharp outside edge and the other with an edge that is almost serrated.

The best full illustrations of these two types are shown in Figure 4, taken from Whit-

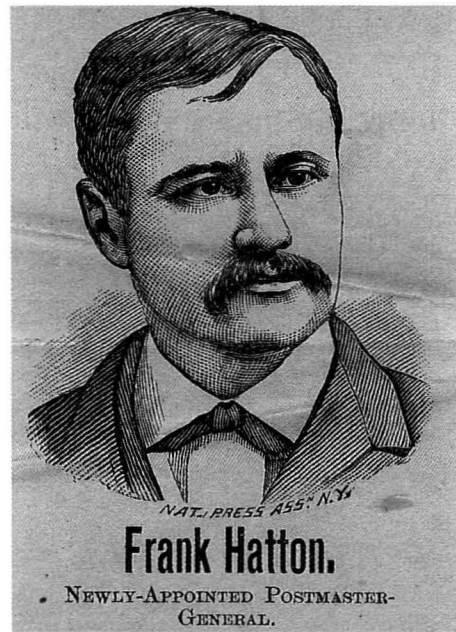


Figure 1. Frank Hatton, wood engraving from an 1884 handbill created by the National Press Association when he was appointed Postmaster-General.

¹ See *Doane-Thompson Catalog of U.S. County and Postmaster Postmarks*, Edited by Kenneth L. Gilman; published in 1990 by David G. Phillips, North Miami, Florida.

field, his numbers 4501 and 4502.² Note that the edge is almost serrated on the first type (which Whitfield recorded as used on June 25, 1880) while the Figure 2 postal card used earlier that same month has very sharp edges. From this it can be concluded that Frank Hatton made two different killers. It should also be noted that Whitfield reported the sharp

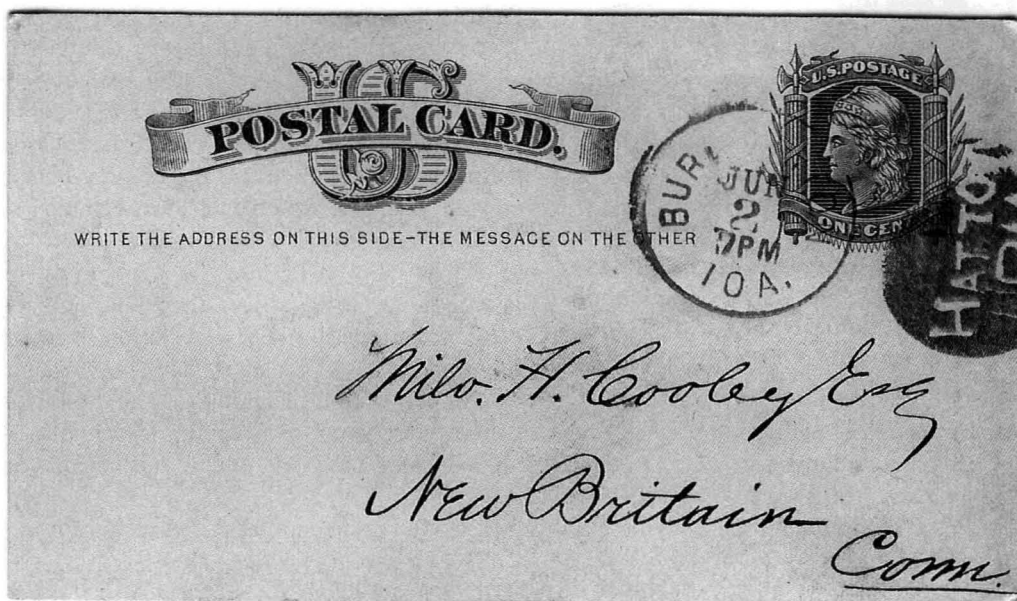


Figure 2. Postal card, Scott UX5, with Burlington, Iowa, June 2 circular datestamp and a nearly full strike of the 28-millimeter blue negative HATTON PM killer. The message side is dated 1880. From the Bill Hatton Collection.

edge type used as late as May 15, 1882. From this we know the period of use was nearly two years. The author would appreciate receiving documentation of earlier or later uses of either type.

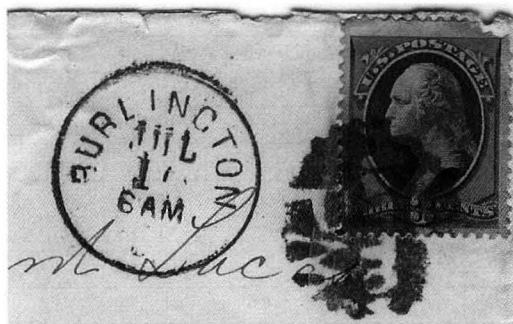


Figure 3. 3¢ Bank Note stamp, Scott 184, with blue negative HATTON PM killer reading down and a July 10 circular datestamp, from a cover to Bristol, R.I., year unknown. Also from the Bill Hatton Collection.

This ends the story of the HATTON PM cancel, but there's a whole lot more to the story of Frank Hatton, including a lot of postal history. In October, 1881, President James Garfield recognized Hatton's long service to the Republican party by naming him First Assistant Postmaster General. That means he was Postmaster of Burlington, Iowa for only 21 months. His successor continued to use the Hatton's killer after its namesake had moved to Washington. It will be interesting to learn just how long that use continued.

On October 14, 1884, when PMG Walter Gresham moved over to the Trea-

²Kenneth A. Whitfield, *Cancellations Found on 19th Century U.S. Stamps*, U.S. Cancellation Club, Lewisburg, Pa., 2002. This excellent 269-page compilation of cancellation tracings made in the 1940's and 1950's was published by the U.S. Cancellation Club as a supplement the standard references. A limited number of copies remain available (\$43 for members and \$59 for non-members) from U.S.C.C., 20 University Ave., Lewisburg, PA 17837.

sury Department, President Chester Arthur appointed Hatton Postmaster General. He was then only 38 years old, making him the youngest cabinet member since Alexander Hamilton! He served as PMG just short of five months, until March 6, 1885.

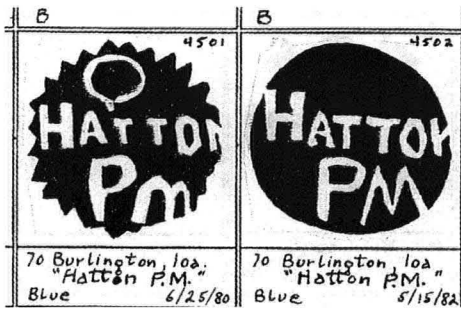


Figure 4. Illustrations #4501 and #4502 from Kenneth Whitfield's *Cancellations Found On 19th Century U.S. Stamps*, showing two HATTON PM types.

While he served the Post Office Department in Washington for only four years (1881-1885), he left a substantial legacy to attest to what seems to have been a monumental ego. Between 1881 and 1883, no fewer than 20 post offices named Hatton were established across the land—plus Hattonia, Ohio, coming on top of Hatton, Ohio, which had been established earlier the same year.

the offices alphabetically by state. Most of these were small or even tiny communities, which as the table shows were not destined to endure. In fact, only one of these offices, in North Dakota, still survives today.

The table in Figure 5 is a listing of the Hatton-named post offices from this era. It's clear that the period 1881-83, Hatton's time in the office of First Assistant PMG, was a boom era for the Hatton place name. The table lists

The naming apparently came about when Hatton rejected a proposed name, for any number of probably legitimate reasons, and then suggested his own name as an acceptable substitute. The correspondence files from Hatton's tenure as First Assistant Postmaster General have not survived at the U.S. National Archives, the National Postal Museum Library or the USPS Historian's office. However, we know that in West Virginia, the area in Marshall County once known as New Washington proposed to call itself Pine Hill in 1882. This name was rejected by First Assistant PMG Frank Hatton as a possible source of confusion, being too similar to the Pineville office. So in its place the Hatton post office was established on

Name	County and State	P.O. Dates
Hatton	Lawrence County, Alabama	1882-1907
Hatton	Polk County, Arkansas	1882-2002
Hatton	Fremont County, Colorado	1882-1887
Hatton	Pasco County, Florida	1882-1884
Hatton	Polk County, Iowa	1882-1890
Hatton	Christian County, Illinois	1882-1906
Hatton	Shelby County, Kentucky	1882-1986
Hatton	Clare County, Michigan	1882-1911
Hatton	Callaway County, Missouri	1882-1953
Hatton	Yalobusha County, Miss.	1883-1906
Hatton	Trail County, North Dakota	1881-date
Hatton	Lincoln County, Nebraska	1882-1887
Hatton	Wood County, Ohio	1882-1922
Hattonia	Harrison County, Ohio	1882-1903
Hatton	Cumberland County, Penn.	1882-1883
Hatton	Polk County, Texas	1882-1886
Hatton	Albemarle County, Virginia	1883-1975
Hatton	Waupaca County, Wisconsin	1882-1901
Hatton	Marshall County, W. Va.	1882-1886
Hatton	Albany County, Wyoming	1883-1902

Figure 5. Table showing Hatton-named post offices established during the brief period when Frank Hatton was First Assistant Postmaster General in Washington.

May 31, 1882. (It was discontinued July 9, 1886.)³ It's ironic and surely significant that Pine Hill was too similar to Pineville in West Virginia, but Hatton and Hattonia were both acceptable in Ohio.⁴

In March 1885 on the last day of President Arthur's term, the bill establishing a Special Delivery service was signed into law. Postmaster General Hatton, who was replaced

four days later, was the guiding force behind the effort to establish this new service. That same year, presumably before leaving his position, Hatton authored a *History of the Railway Mail Service*, now located in Records of the Post Office Department, Record Group 28, at the National Archives.

After leaving the Post Office Department, Hatton returned to journalism, in a major way. He served as editor of the *Chicago Mail*, the *New York Press*, and ultimately the *Washington Post*. In 1889, he and a partner, Democrat Representative Beriah Wilkins, purchased the *Post* for \$175,000. The paper had been founded in 1877 and was then in need of revitalization.

As a promotional effort, Hatton and Wilkins sponsored a contest for young authors, with awards to be presented in a ceremony at the Smithsonian Institution. Weeks before the event they encountered Washingtonian John Phillip Sousa on the street. "One of them (Hatton and Wilkins)", the march king recalled, "said it would be a great thing if I would

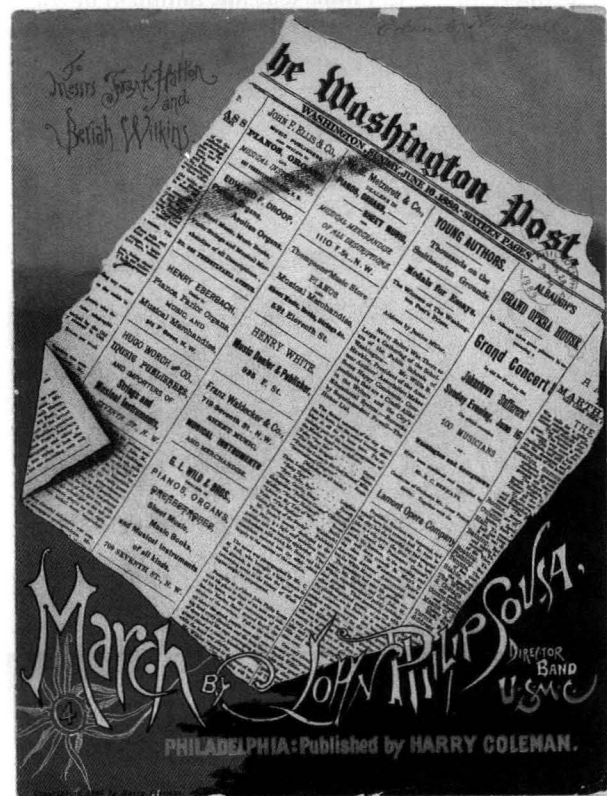


Figure 6. Cover from 1889 sheet music for *The Washington Post March*, by John Philip Sousa, director of the U.S. Marine Corps band. This work is dedicated (the odd lettering at upper left) "To Messrs. Frank Hatton and Beriah Wilkins."

write a special march for the awards, to which I agreed, and the first performance of *The Washington Post March* was at this event on the Smithsonian grounds."

³My source here is Alyce Evans' unpublished West Virginia postal history research records, which also indicate that this short-lived Hatton post office was on Route 12101 from Wheeling to Glen Easton on which mail was carried three times per week. The Contractor was George M. Snodgrass. The town had a population of only 40-50 but the post office supplied a population of 200. Its sole postmaster was Mrs. Amelia Fuchs.

⁴To complete the record, there are other Hatton post offices, most of them similarly ephemeral, that had nothing to do with Frank Hatton. The Hatton in Hamilton County, Kansas (1888-1928) was established after Frank Hatton left the post office department; the source of its name is not known. Hattonville, Wilson County, Tennessee (1890-1903) was named for Confederate General Robert H. Hatton. Hatton, Van Zandt County, Texas (1888-1906) was named for James Thomas Hatton, its first postmaster (and apparently no relation). Hatton, Millard County, Utah (1898-1940) was named for Richard Hatton, its new postmaster. The Hatton in Adams County, Washington (1888-1975) was named by combining the surname of the railroad agent, J. D Hackett and that of his wife, Belle Sutton.

This Sousa piece, an immediate international hit, immortalized the *Post* in music and is a favorite of oom-pah marching bands to this day. The cover of the original sheet music for Sousa's opus, shown in Figure 6, featured a mock-up of the paper's front page with a dedication at the upper left "To Messrs. Frank Hatton and Beriah Wilkins."

On April 30, 1894, Hatton suffered a stroke at his desk at the *Washington Post* and died at age 48. In Polk County, Arkansas, the Hatton Post Office was discontinued in 2002. All that remains is the Hatton Rock Quarry. When questioned today, no one at the Quarry knows the source of the name "Hatton". However, Frank Hatton's name lives on today at the North Dakota post office that still bears his name.

The author thanks fellow collectors Bill Hatton and Alyce Evans for sharing material and information used in this article. ■

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COMMERCIAL VULCANIZED RUBBER KILLERS ON UNITED STATES OFFICIAL STAMPS

ALAN C. CAMPBELL

Introduction

The period in which official stamps were used, 1873-1884, coincided with sweeping changes in canceling practices at post offices large and small. Post offices across the country, designated by class based on their gross annual receipts, received different types of government-issue circular datestamps. First-class post offices (receipts exceeding \$1000) received steel duplex cancelers, second-class post offices (receipts exceeding \$500) received iron circular datestamps and third-class post offices (receipts exceeding \$50) received wooden datestamps. Postmasters at the smallest fourth class post offices (annual receipts under \$50) had to furnish their own datestamps.¹

At first-class post offices, new duplex devices were issued in which the obliterator portion, formerly a short-lived hand-carved cork insert, was replaced by durable steel. First introduced in New York City in November, 1874 on an experimental basis, this concept—a barred ellipse containing a letter designation for the branch station or a number assigned to a particular clerk—was quickly adopted elsewhere.² For fourth-class postmasters, innovation came in the form of vulcanized rubber handstamps.

The equipment for manufacturing such devices was first developed by J.F.W. Dorman of Baltimore in 1870. The use of these crisp, standardized and inexpensive handstamps at small post offices began in 1876, and became more widespread in 1877.³ While postmarks could be purchased separately, duplex cancelers were far more popular because of their obvious efficiency. First appearing in 1879, advertisements for them were placed by such firms as F.P. Hammond of Chicago and E.S. Miller of Newark, Ohio in the annual *U.S. Postal Guides*. Since postal regulations prohibited the use of rubber handstamps to cancel stamps, descriptive evasions such as “flexible” instead of rubber were sometimes employed.⁴ Black printer’s ink did not work well with the rubber handstamps, so the vendors developed a variety of colored inks, which were less viscous. Out of concern that these alternative canceling inks might be soluble and washed stamps reused, postal regulations continued to insist that only black printer’s ink be used for canceling stamps. But the trend was inexorable. The main post office in Washington, D.C. conducted a trial throughout most of 1878 of a duplex rubber canceler with a distinctive violet ink, to ascertain the durability of this new material.⁵

These two parallel trends towards standardized, legible cancellations resulted in the slow death of the hand-carved obliterator. While it is natural to lament the loss of artistry

¹Randy Stehl, “20th Century Non-Standard Postmarking Handstamps”, *La Posta*, May 1990, pg. 6.

²John Donnes, “New York City Ellipse Foreign Mail Cancellers”, *U. S. Cancellation Club News*, February 2006, pg. 1.

³See Arthur H. Bond, “19th Century Development of Postal Markings”, in J. David Baker, *The Postal History of Indiana*, 1976, pp. 361-390.

⁴James M. Cole, *Cancellations and Killers of the Banknote Era, 1870-1894*, introduction by Richard B. Graham, pg. 13.

⁵Roger D. Curran, “Washington Colors Revisited”, *U.S. Cancellation Club News*, August 2005, pg. 114.

that went into creating the majestic oversized geometric killers of the New York foreign mail department, the distinctive blue killers of Chicago, and the inexhaustible variations of New Orleans, it is important to remember that artistic carving was generally the exception, rarely the rule. For every master whittler such as John W. Hill of Waterbury, Connecticut, there were hundreds of careless slashers and gougers. For most collectors, the beauty of a well-struck ornate rubber handstamp is far superior to a couple of aimless pen scratches. The best strikes of rubber killers show a level of clarity, symmetry and detail that could never be equaled in hand-carving, and have the added virtue of appearing more often in vivid colors. The purpose of this survey is to summarize the various rubber handstamp designs encountered on official stamps, and to explain why they are mostly found on the stamps of only three departments.

Distribution of Official Stamps and the Conversion to Penalty Envelopes During the Transitional Period, 1877-1884

The variety of cancellations to be found on the stamps of a given department is based on two factors: whether there was an extensive system of field offices with government agents authorized to use official stamps, and how quickly each department converted to using penalty envelopes at their field offices. Penalty envelopes were first authorized for use from the great departmental headquarters in Washington, D.C. on March 3, 1877, and their use was extended to field offices outside the nation's capital on March 3, 1879. The Department of the Interior sought clarification as to whether the expanded use of penalty envelopes covered field officer correspondence with private citizens, and Attorney General Brewster ruled on January 10, 1882 that it did not.⁶ A warning was then added to Interior penalty envelopes for the land offices, stating that "This envelope, without postage stamps, can only be used for correspondence with the Executive Departments and officers of the United States," and the Department of the Interior continued supplying official stamps to their field offices. Pension Offices in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York took note of this change in the regulations and added supplemental official postage, even though the warning was never added to the generic envelopes supplied by the main office in Washington. Other departments paid little attention to this change in regulations, either out of ignorance or neglect. None took the trouble to add the proviso to their penalty envelopes, and examples of scrupulous compliance with supplemental postage added are rare indeed. In general, the use of penalty envelopes and the resultant lessening of demand for official stamps coincided, unfortunately, with the increased use of commercial vulcanized rubber handstamps, with the net effect that strikes are quite difficult to find on the stamps of six departments.

The Executive Office itself immediately converted over to using penalty envelopes, with the authorization coming on the day President Rutherford B. Hayes was inaugurated. Hayes used up the remaining official stamps on his personal correspondence. The only reported uses of Executive stamps outside of Washington, come from Long Branch, New Jersey, where President Grant's Summer White House was located. Fortunately, the postmaster there had bought a rubber handstamp. In Figure 1, from the collection of Lester C. Lanphear III, we illustrate a cover from President Grant to the Postmaster General James Tyner in Washington, franked with a 3¢ Executive and canceled with a duplexed Long Branch postmark and solid star killer struck in violet, the postmark dated Aug. 21, and the cover docketed as being from 1876. This is an obsolete free frank envelope, with a space for the clerk's signature in the upper right, and Lanphear noticed that it had been prepared expressly for use at Long Branch, since the corner card reads "Executive" instead of "Executive Mansion". To my knowledge, this is the earliest recorded use of a rubber

⁶Warren S. Howard, "A Land Office Story", *Chronicle* 172, pg. 249.

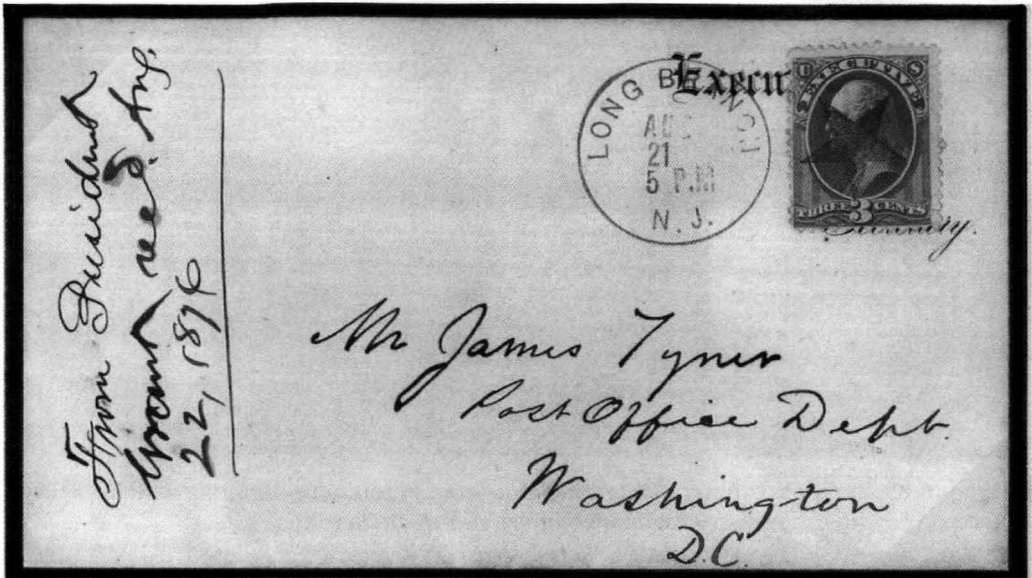


Figure 1. 3¢ Executive from Long Branch, New Jersey, home to President Grant’s summer White House. Violet star rubber killer, August, 1876. Courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III.

handstamp canceler on any official stamp. The President and his staff generated a lot of mail that summer, since examples of this arresting violet star killer—very different from anything used in Washington, D.C.—can be found off-cover on all five values of the Executive stamps. In Figure 2, we illustrate an astonishing survivor, a sheet margin strip of five 10¢ stamps canceled with multiple strikes of this obviously duplexed canceler, the only recorded used multiple of this stamp.⁷



Figure 2. 10¢ Executive strip of five from Long Branch, New Jersey, with violet star rubber killers, ex-Markovits. This is the only recorded used multiple of this stamp.

The official stamps of the Department of State were used only in Washington, D.C. and in New York by the dispatch agent, so no strikes of the commercial vulcanized rubber cancelers sold to small-town post offices are to be found on them. In contrast, the Treasury Department had a far-flung bureaucracy, chiefly east of the Mississippi River, with many collector’s offices and assessor’s offices located in relatively small towns. However, Treasury converted very quickly to using penalty envelopes everywhere, greatly reducing the need for official stamps. In Figure 3, we illustrate a registered Collector’s Office penalty envelope from Petersburg, Virginia, with a pair of soft paper 3¢ stamps and a pair of hard

⁷Courtesy of Matthew Bennett, Inc., Public Auction #273, February 7, 2004, Lot #3031. This strip is ex-Ackerman, Waud and Markovits.



Figure 3. Collector's Office penalty envelope from Petersburg, Virginia, with Treasury stamps (paying the registry fee) canceled by star-in-circle rubber killers.

paper 2¢ stamps paying the 10¢ registry fee, a clever use of leftover low values. The solid star-in-circle killer was one of the most popular standard designs.⁸

Navy official stamps were mostly used from cities along the Eastern seaboard where the larger naval yards were located. Although some mail would have been posted at smaller post offices such as Warrington, Florida and Port Royal, South Carolina, the Navy department also converted rapidly to penalty envelopes, so again, strikes of rubber handstamps are rarely found.

The same can be said for the Department of Justice. Justice stamps were furnished to the U. S. Attorneys and Clerks of the Courts all across the country. In the east, Justice mail would have been posted mostly in larger cities, but out west, some mail could have been posted at smaller post offices. Although early Justice penalty envelopes are relatively scarce, the fact is, this department also converted quickly to penalty envelopes at all their offices. Only the Office of the Solicitor of the Treasury, which was furnished Justice stamps for its official mail, was slow to convert, as all the post-1878 uses from Washington, D.C. originated at this office.

The Post Office Department, which distributed its official stamps to all 33,780 post offices across the country, ought to have generated many strikes of rubber handstamps bought by fourth-class postmasters. But this department also quickly converted to using penalty envelopes, so that most of the surviving strikes derive from the 1877-1879 period.

We are left, then, with three departments where the distribution and use of official stamps continued unabated during the period when vulcanized rubber handstamps came into widespread use: Agriculture, Interior, and War. Fortunately, the warm background colors of these stamps show off cancellations to their best advantage. The Agriculture stamps derive from prestamped reply envelopes sent out to farmers and ranchers all across the country, soliciting seed orders and crop and livestock reports, and mailed back from

⁸In reviewing this manuscript, Roger Curran commented that the postmark on this cover appeared to be steel or brass, not vulcanized rubber. Since second and third class post offices were furnished government-issue simplex datestamps, might some postmasters there, instead of continuing to carve their own obliterations, have resorted instead to buying stock rubber cancelers from the commercial vendors? Indeed, this would seem the plausible targeted market for the simplex cancelers offered in their advertisements. Moreover, due to the obvious efficiency of the duplex canceler, some postmasters at second and third class offices might have opted to set aside their government-issue simplex datestamps and use instead a duplex commercial rubber device, despite the out-of-pocket expense. It would be interesting to know if all the post offices known to have used the ubiquitous "wheel-of-fortune" cancelers were in fact fourth class.

many small post offices. They survive in disproportionate quantities because a lady clerk in the Washington headquarters clipped the stamps off incoming mail and sold them to school-boys.⁹ Some of the Interior stamps also originated from prestamped reply envelopes, in this case sent out by the Bureau of Education, the Census Bureau and the Commissioner of Pensions. Many more derive from field office correspondence with private citizens—from Land Offices, Surveyor Generals, and Indian agents—where supplemental postage was required on penalty envelopes. The War Department, partly because of the ubiquitous involvement of the Signal Service Corps in filing weather reports, used its official stamps all over the country, and made such a gradual transition to using penalty envelopes that large quantities of official stamps were being distributed up until they were finally declared obsolete. War stamps dominated official postage from the west, often mailed from post offices inside the forts established to protect the settlement routes from hostile Indians.

Designs of Rubber Killers

The manufacturers of commercial vulcanized rubber handstamps offered a range of different killers, from basic grids and targets to the wonderfully ornate wheel-of-fortune and pictorials such as the famous kicking mule. The product lines, as illustrated in advertisements in the *U. S. Postal Guides*, often overlapped, since vendors in many cases bought their molds from a common supplier. C. A. Klinker & Co. of San Francisco, the vendor of the kicking mule cancelers, offered a fantastic range of pictorial devices, most of which were never purchased or used. There is always the unsettling prospect that some of these handstamps survived and were later wielded by fakers. At opposite ends of the expressive spectrum, dull targets and the dazzling wheel-of-fortune were equally popular, in just the way some small-town postmasters would have been crusty and dull and others genial and flamboyant.

The colored canceling inks developed as an alternative to black printer's ink were used in the following order of frequency: violet, blue, purple, magenta and red. Strikes in red are really quite rare and are typically found only on targets. A deep shade of blue or ultramarine is almost never seen, nor are green and brown. However, a black ink compatible with rubber handstamps was developed in 1883 and widely used thereafter. This is always the most common color in which strikes are found.

For any given common design, there will be popular types for which strikes are plentiful, and less popular types which are scarcer. The less popular types are in some instances more complex, in some cases simpler. For the common designs, in the absence of additional commentary, it should be assumed that strikes on Agriculture, Interior, and War stamps are more common, and that strikes on Justice, Navy, Post Office and Treasury stamps less common or downright scarce.

Common Basic Designs

The most popular basic designs of the rubber killers consisted of stars, iron crosses, targets, bulls-eyes, and the wheel-of-fortune. The target cancels—typically four rings, sometimes three—are so ordinary-looking they are likely to be underrepresented in most collections of fancy cancellations. The same prejudice applies to the bolder bulls-eyes, which usually have two outer rings but can have four or as many as seven. It is not easy to distinguish off-cover strikes of vulcanized rubber target and bulls-eye killers from the steel or machine-engraved wood devices available earlier; however, the color of the canceling ink—violet, blue or magenta—is often a giveaway. The wheel-of-fortune has been identi-

⁹Alan C. Campbell, "Usages of Department of Agriculture Official Stamps", *Chronicle* 194, pg. 133.

fied as having been used at more than 350 post offices and a study underway will report uses at a much larger number. This intricate and beautiful cancellation, also called the Japanese parasol, is not uncommon on off-cover official stamps. Strikes in black, violet, blue and rarely red can be found on Agriculture, Interior, Post Office and War stamps. But the cover

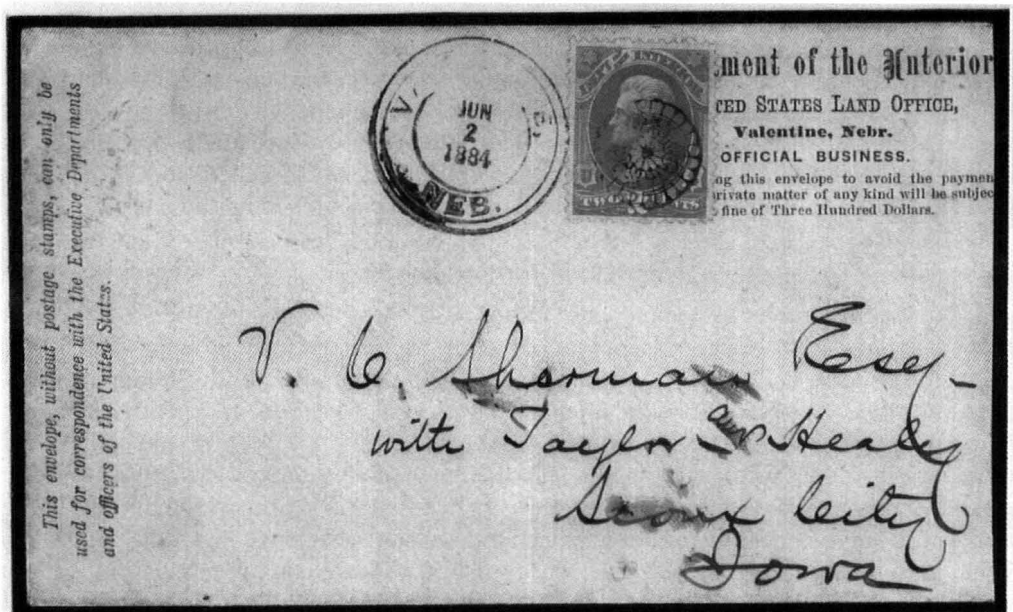


Figure 4. 2¢ Interior from at the Land Office at Valentine, Nebraska, 1884, with wheel-of-fortune rubber killer.

illustrated in Figure 4, a 2¢ domestic rate from the Land Office in Valentine, Nebraska in 1884, constitutes the only recorded strike on an intact official cover.

There were four popular types of iron crosses. Examples are shown in Figure 5. Six less popular designs are shown in Figure 6. The last of these, the “split-rail” cross on the 3¢



Figure 5. Popular iron cross rubber killers.

Interior, is the only strike reported on an official stamp. This is a fairly scarce cancellation, identified in both Cole and Whitfield as being from Spencer, Massachusetts.¹⁰ Strikes of the more common iron crosses are typically in black, sometimes in violet. I am puzzled never to have found a strike in blue of any of these handstamps. Perhaps the principal vendor did not offer this option. The 1879 Post Office cover from Taylorsville, Texas, illustrated in

¹⁰Kenneth A. Whitfield, *Cancellations Found on 19th Century U. S. Stamps*, Tracing #2980, pg. 101; Cole, *op. cit.*, #GE-123, pg. 25.



Figure 6. Less common iron cross rubber killers.

Figure 7, represents, implausibly, not only the only strike in magenta I have seen on any official stamp, but also the only strike in any color of any commercial rubber iron cross on an official cover.

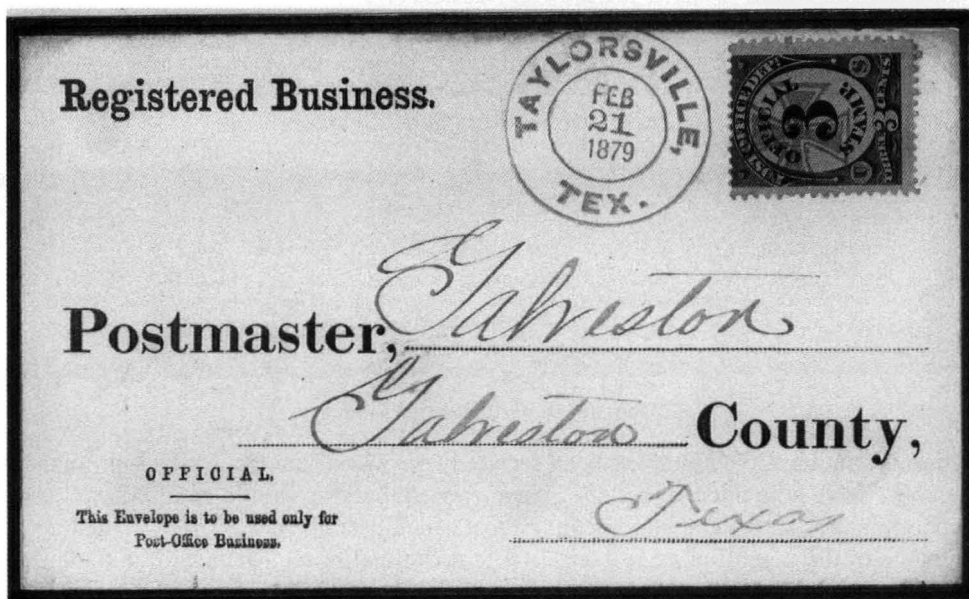


Figure 7. 3¢ Post Office from Taylorsville, Texas, with iron cross killer in magenta.

Stars came in a much wider variety of designs. The most popular types are shown in Figure 8, the rarer types in Figure 9. The strike of the circled negative star on the 90¢ Justice in Figure 8 is quite remarkable. One of the most beautiful and enigmatic types, a



Figure 8. Popular star rubber killers.

double-outlined solid star, is illustrated in Figure 10. I have managed to assemble a group of strikes on 16 different official stamps, all in black, all from these four departments. Strikes are typically very well-centered on the stamps, reminiscent of precancels. This can-



Figure 9. Less common star rubber killers.



Figure 10. Double-outlined star killers.



Figure 11. Grid rubber killers.

cellation is noted in Cole as having been seen only on official stamps, which is problematic, because we have no evidence that a legitimate postal marking should be found exclusively or predominantly on official stamps, given that official stamps always represented a small percentage of the overall postage used.¹¹ The dreadful 10¢ regular large Banknote stamp included in Figure 10 brought some relief. One veteran collector of fancy cancellation on official stamps considers all these strikes dubious, at best presentation cancels, at worst outright fakes. Lester C. Lanphear III has a strike on a 30¢ War where a bit of the postmark was captured, showing only the letter “K”. One might be tempted to assign this cancellation to New York, which aside from Washington, D.C. handled the most official business mail, but it is totally unlike anything ever used there. I have a faint memory of having seen strikes of a similar cancellation on at least two official covers franked with numerous regular 1857 issues posted at Washington, D.C. circa 1860, so perhaps this could be a revival of a steel canceler from an earlier era. Roger Curran, editor of the *U.S. Cancellation Club News*, has offered to run an appeal for information in an upcoming issue. In any case, this was not a commercial vulcanized rubber handstamp, nor was it duplexed to the postmark.

Grids of various types, none worthy of further comment, are shown in Figure 11.

Letters and Numerals

Many small town postmasters had been in the habit of carving their corks as a letter, either symbolizing their own name or the name of their town. The letters “N”, “S”, “E”,

¹¹Cole, op. cit., STU-3 and STU-5, page 107.

and “W” were also used to indicate the direction of outbound mail trains. Nearly complete alphabets of hand-carved positive, negative, and circled letters can be assembled, although rarely can the town of origin be determined. Multiple letter carvings, usually the initials of the postmaster, are more often attributable. This tradition did not carry over into the commercial rubber handstamps, as the demand for customized cancelers would have been too small to justify the expense of producing them. A few beautiful wreathed letters were produced, such as the well-known “E” used at Ellenville, New York, but strikes on official stamps are virtually unknown. Years of searching have yielded only six different circled letters, the circled initials “R H”, and an exceptionally florid “C” on a 6¢ War stamp.



Figure 12. “U. S.” rubber killers.

Initials with a wider common appeal, however, proved commercially viable. In Figure 12, we illustrate various strikes of the entwined “U S”, the circled entwined “U S”, and the entwined “U S Mail”. These are much less common than the “S” in “U” cancel, found exclusively on War stamps. Strikes can be found on all values, with the key to completing a set being surprisingly not the 7¢ or the 90¢, but the 30¢. In Figure 13, we depict the only recorded example of the “S” in “U” cancellation on an official cover, a 3¢ domestic

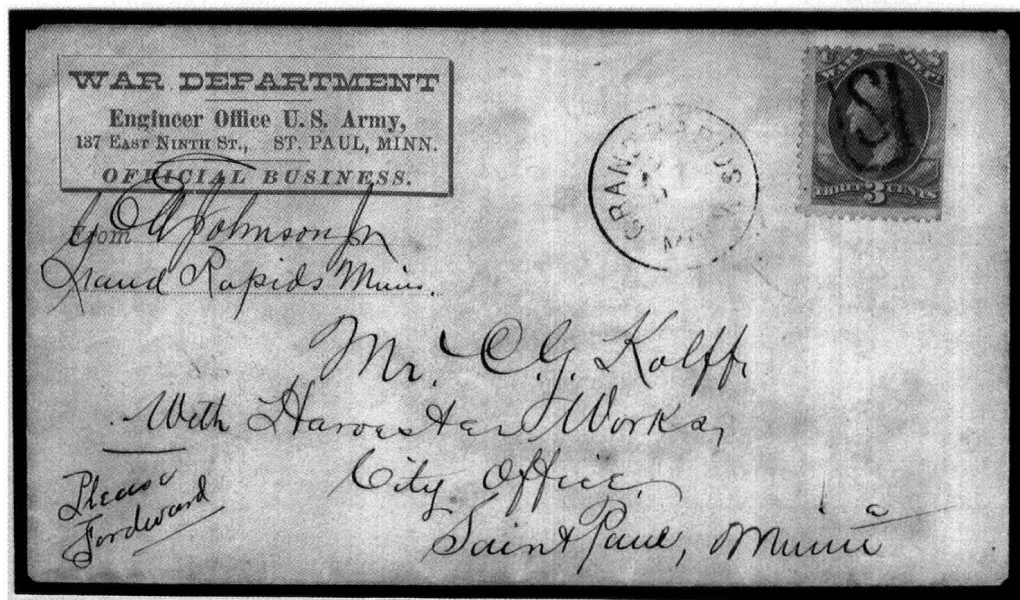


Figure 13. 3¢ War from Grand Rapids, Minnesota, with “S” in “U” rubber killer.

rate from Grand Rapids, Minnesota with a red corner card. The stamp is not tied, and the distance between the postmark and the killer would be suspicious if this were a duplexed canceler, but in fact it was not, as off-cover strikes are typically centered with no capture

of the rim of the postmark. This cancel was also used at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, an important war supply depot. I agree with Rollin C. Huggins Jr. that most of the off-cover strikes derive from mail posted there.



Figure 14. Encircled and entwined “POD” rubber killers.

In Figure 14, we depict strikes of the encircled and entwined letters “POD”. This was the killer portion of a duplex rubber handstamp known (from surviving strips of War stamps and a cover in the Lanphear collection) to have been used at Fort Cummings, New Mexico Territory. Some dealers have seized on this information as if it were a definitive attribution, and priced strikes of this cancellation on War Department stamps with the hefty premium attached to a legible Fort postmark, but there is no doubt that this killer was also used elsewhere.¹² The “O K” cancellation, of which many different hand-carved versions can be found on official stamps, surprisingly did not engender a vulcanized rubber successor.

Carved numerals, both positive and negative, were originally developed to distinguish the work of different postal clerks in large post offices, most notably at the main office in New York City. This practice became standardized in the sets of steel target and ellipse cancelers provided to first class post offices, but there was obviously no demand for such a product at fourth-class offices. I have never seen a rubber handstamp numeral cancellation on an official stamp, disregarding the use of obsolete rate markers from the 1850’s which would have been wood or steel, and improvised bottler stoppers, which were not commercially prepared. Oddly, the limited popularity of year-date cancellations seems not to have transferred over into the production of a single similar rubber handstamp. All the post-1876 devices depicted in Cole are clearly hand-carved.¹³

Less Common Designs

Certain rubber handstamps which are commonly found on large Banknote stamps are much rarer on official stamps. A good example of this phenomenon are pinwheels, which rate the lowest rank of scarcity and demand in Cole. A number of pinwheels are shown in Figure 15. Figure 16 depicts the only recorded official cover with a pinwheel cancellation, a fair strike on an O. R. R. (Office of the Records of Rebellion) prestamped reply envelope mailed back from Tuscumbia, Missouri. The 2¢ War stamp is a very distinctive chocolate brown shade, not oxidized, which has been seen on several covers dating from March, 1884 but has not been reported unused. This must represent a late printing. A fairly large number of covers from all over the country have survived from this particular O. R. R. mailing.

Likewise, honeycomb cancellations are ranked as fairly common by Cole, but are quite scarce on official stamps. A selection of strikes in black and violet are shown in Figure 17.

Fraternal designs--keystones, trowels, open books, the all-seeing eye, and most com-

¹² See Cole, *op. cit.*, PO-1 through PO-13, pp. 226-227.

¹³ See Cole, *op. cit.*, YD-134 through YD-148, pp. 196-197.



Figure 15. Pinwheel rubber killers.

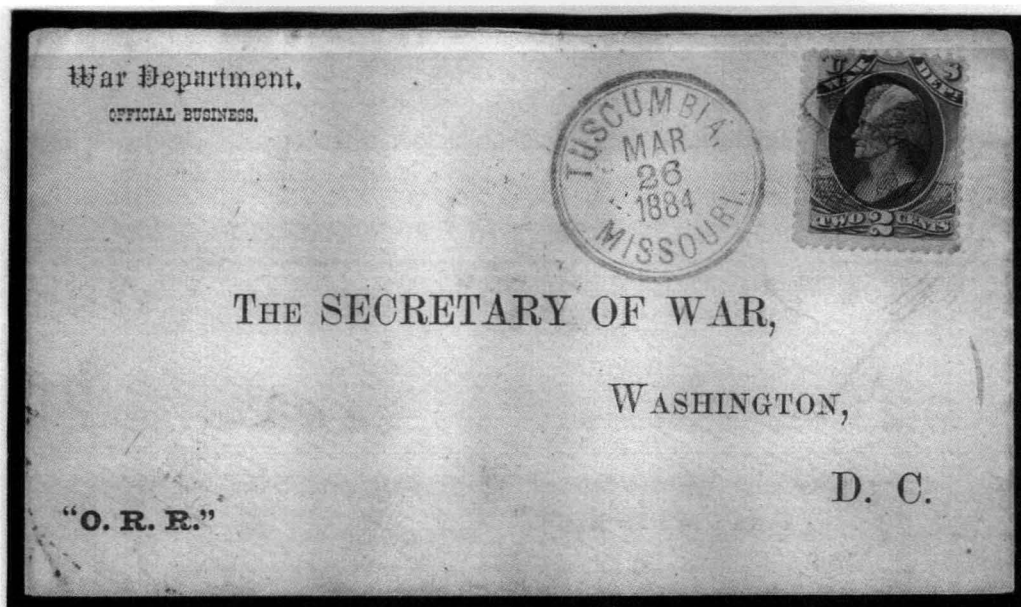


Figure 16. 2¢ War on pre-stamped O.R.R. reply envelope from Tuscumbia, Missouri, 1884, with pinwheel rubber killer.

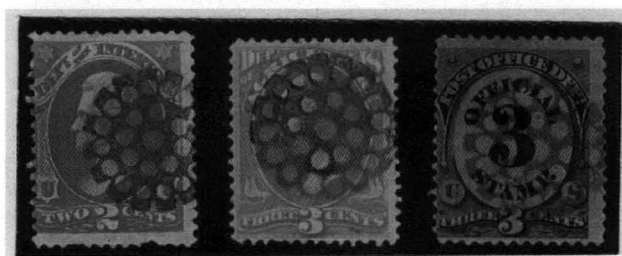


Figure 17. Honeycomb rubber killers.

monly the square and compass--were popular in the era of hand-carved corks, presumably created by postmasters who were also masons. But the manufacturers of commercial vulcanized rubber handstamps made little attempt to cater to this limited specialized demand. Figure 18 illustrates several strikes in black and violet of a very delicate and ornate cancellation that can be found on official stamps. Neither Cole, Willard, nor Whitfield show tracings of this cancellation. On two of the copies shown here, there is a partial capture of the postmark showing the last letter "M" at the bottom. To my eye, this cancel appears to be an "O" fantastically elaborated with fleur-de-lis in the manner of an opening letter in a

medieval illuminated manuscript. But at some point in the past, a copy of this cancellation was sold to a collector and identified as representing “compass points.” This description has been perpetuated because from a certain perspective, this can be seen as a circle with



Figure 18. Ornate “compass points” rubber killers.

quadrant lines extending towards the cardinal orientations, like the compass rose on an antique map. Any connection to typical Masonic cancellations seems quite tenuous.

Pictorials

Cole pictures 13 distinct rubber shield cancels, but only one of them has been seen on official stamps.¹⁴ Several strikes of this intricately detailed cancel are shown in Figure 19,



Figure 19. Shield rubber killers.

as well as a much simpler encircled design on a 6¢ Treasury. The latter is the only strike recorded on an official stamp of this apparently quite rare cancellation, which is not to be found listed in either Cole or Whitfield.

The anchor was a popular motif for hand-carved killers, but the only commercial device utilized seems to be the encircled fouled anchor attributed to Newark, New Jersey and Hebron, Connecticut.¹⁵ The only recorded strike on an official stamp is shown in Figure 20. Cole depicts seven different elaborate ornamental designs, fancifully termed “seashells”, but only one of them is to be found on Agriculture and Interior official stamps, struck typically in black, rarely in violet, as shown in Figure 21.¹⁶ The negative strike on the small Interior piece defies explanation: how would the manufacturer’s mold have ended up in the hands of a small town postmaster? This is the device known used from Cash City, Kansas. Clyde Jennings maintained that due to the inner spiral, this design actually represented a fossilized ammonite, which were excavated in quantity from the sur-



Figure 20.

¹⁴ See Cole, *op. cit.*, SH-126 through SH-138, pp. 130-131.

¹⁵ See Cole, *op. cit.*, RN-33, pg. 132.

¹⁶ See Cole, *op. cit.*, Pi-48 through Pi-54, pg. 152.



Figure 21. "Seashell" rubber killers.

rounding environs.¹⁷ This of course was a commercial device, not a custom design, but the postmaster in Cash City might well have chosen it for its apt local connection.

Jack-o-lanterns and masks had been a popular subject in the era of hand-carving, but this did not carry over into commercial production. In Figure 22, we illustrate two strikes



Figure 22. Skull-and-crossbones rubber killers.

of a rubber skull-and-crossbones cancellation. Of the several different designs illustrated in Cole, this is the only one to be found on official stamps, invariably struck in black on Agriculture or Interior stamps. Indian head cancellations are found only on War stamps, struck either in black or a light blue-gray. In Figure 23, we show a partial strike that captures the unusual boxed postmark of Fort Keogh, Montana Territory as well as an exceptional strike, ex-Markovits, on a 30¢ War stamp.¹⁸ Cole records commercial Indian head cancels also being used at

Chug Water, Wyoming Territory and Cranes, New Mexico Territory.¹⁹ Because of its thematic suitability to the West, I have no doubt that the strikes on War stamps derive from a number of sources, not just Fort Keogh. Russ Whitmore, who assembled an extraordinary thematic exhibit on the Native Americans, argued that most of the Indian head cancelers were derived from the dies for the Westervelt Post local stamp (Scott #144L9).²⁰ Good strikes on official stamps of the skull-and-crossbones and Indian head are highly prized, as they are a good deal scarcer than strikes of the kicking mule.



Figure 23. Indian head rubber killers.

But the piece-de-resistance in any collection of vulcanized rubber handstamps on official stamps would have to be a strike of the legendary Japanese fan. According to the premier dealer in United States fancy cancellations, Ed Hines, this is a very rare cancellation even on regular large Banknote stamps. It is not depicted in Cole, but Whitfield illustrated it, and Willard reported that it was used at Belfast, Allegheny County, New York.²¹ In Matthew Kewriga's collection of the 2¢ vermilion, there is an excellent strike on cover. In Figure 24, we show a strike in blue-gray on a 3¢ Interior, alongside the tracing from Whitfield. The only other recorded example on an official stamp is a superb strike on a 3¢ Agriculture in the collection of Ralph Ebner.

¹⁷Personal conversation with Mr. Jennings, some years back.

¹⁸Courtesy of Matthew Bennett, Inc., Public Auction #273, February 7, 2004, lot #3261.

¹⁹See Cole, op. cit., pg. 169.

²⁰Roger D. Curran, "Indian Head Cancel", *U. S. Cancellation Club News*, February, 2001, pg. 68.

²¹Edward L. Willard, *The United States Two Cent Red Brown of 1883-1887*, Vol. II, #182, p. 30-31, Whitfield, op. cit., #768, p. 27.

Kicking Mules

The most celebrated cancellation of the Banknote era was Catalogue Number J83 of C. A. Klinker & Company of San Francisco. It was ordered by the postmasters at Port Townsend and Neah Bay, Washington and Forbestown, Goleta, and Susanville, California.



Figure 24. Japanese fan killer.

Goleta and Susanville did not have government offices furnished with official stamps, although conceivably prestamped reply envelopes could have been posted there. Official uses are known from the other three towns. While an entire pamphlet has been devoted to this cancellation,²² the reigning authority on official usages is certainly War Department specialist Dr. David Lobdell, and much of the information here is derived from a one frame exhibit collection he prepared.²³ The key pieces in this amazing collection derive from his private purchase

of the official portion of the Morrison Waud holding.

Susanville had a Land Office, but no covers posted there survive franked with Interior stamps and the kicking mule cancellation. A cache of legal-size penalty envelopes from the Neah Bay Indian Agency was discovered by dealer William McGreer in the 1980's, and while some of these ought to have been franked with supplemental Interior postage since they were addressed to private individuals, none were. Dr. Lobdell owns the only official stamps definitely posted elsewhere other than Port Townsend, a block of the 1¢ War bearing four strikes of the kicking mule and a portion of the Neah Bay postmark. Dr. Lobdell



Figure 25. War and Interior pieces showing the duplexed rubber Port Townsend, Washington Territory postmark and kicking mule killer.

suggests that mail with War Department stamps could have been posted at Neah Bay by military personnel visiting the Makah Indian Agency, or by the lighthouse keeper at nearby Tatoosh Island sending back weather reports to the Army Signal Service.

Aside from this single item, all official stamps bearing kicking mule cancellations where the point of mailing can be determined come from Port Townsend, Washington. These consist of four Interior pieces, two War pieces, and three intact War covers. All three of the War covers are legal-size: 2¢ and 6¢ covers in the Lobdell collection, and a 3¢ cover in the collection of Rollin C. Huggins, Jr. In Figure 25, we illustrate a pair of pieces franked with the 3¢ Interior (ex-Ehrenberg) and the 3¢ War. There also exist a handful of off-cover

²²Lee Cornell, *The Tale of the Kicking Mule*, Wichita, Kansas, 1949.

²³Dr. David H. Lobdell, "Kicking Mule Cancellations on U. S. Official Stamps and Covers," exhibition photocopy.

War stamps showing a legible portion of the duplexed postmark, although in general Postmaster William Henry Harrison Learned was meticulous about not canceling stamps with the postmark. Most of his strikes of the kicking mule killer are well-centered on the stamp, and if there were several stamps arranged horizontally on the cover, after canceling the leftmost he would rotate the device so the postmarks struck above the top of the covers and the mules appear to be standing on end.

The vast majority of kicking mules on official stamps occur on War Department stamps, posted by the 103 officers and men of the 21st Infantry at nearby Fort Townsend. They are typically found on the 1¢-6¢ values and the 12¢. Key values to completing a set would be the 7¢ and 90¢ (currently deemed unique) and the 24¢ and 30¢, three copies recorded of each. All of these are currently in the possession of Dr. Lobdell, except for a seriously defective 24¢ owned by the author. Strikes on Interior stamps are far rarer, having been reported so far on the 3¢, 10¢, 15¢, 24¢, and 30¢ values. Three of the recorded



Figure 26. Port Townsend rubber duplexed postmarks with star killer.

Interior pieces are prestamped reply envelopes from the Bureau of Education. Other uses could have derived from the Land Office, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs there. A handful of strikes exist on 3¢ and 6¢ Agriculture stamps, presumably derived from prestamped reply envelopes.

There are no legitimate strikes confirmed yet on Treasury or Navy stamps, but they could have once existed. According to Dr. Lobdell, Port Townsend, located on the western shore of the mouth of Puget Sound, had a customs house and a Coast Guard Station, and the author owns a cover with the corner card of the Treasury Department, Office of Special Agent, Port Townsend, bearing the second earliest strike of a kicking mule there (July 26, 1880) but unfortunately franked with a regular 3¢ Banknote stamp. Kicking mule cancels were not used before 1880, when field-office use of penalty envelopes was already well-established, and it is unclear if any of the three Treasury agencies in Port Townsend were ever furnished official stamps. Prior to ordering his kicking mule canceler, Postmaster Learned had been using a mundane duplexed solid star killer with an odd elliptical postmark, as shown in Figure 26. The War Department piece is struck in a dull blue, while the 12¢ Navy stamp is struck in a vivid purple. The latter provides tantalizing evidence that Navy official stamps were being posted at Port Townsend just before the kicking mule canceler was put into service there. Worrisome fakes--such as the so-called "blunt-eared" and "potbellied" mules--abound, and have been carefully studied.

Conclusion

A representative collection of commercial vulcanized rubber handstamp cancellations on official stamps will show strikes in back, violet, blue, purple and magenta of a variety of stock designs, predominately on Agriculture, Interior and War stamps, occasionally on Justice, Navy, Post Office and Treasury stamps. Based on how extensively official stamps

were distributed to field agents in small towns, and how quickly various departments converted to penalty envelopes during the transitional period, this is exactly what we would expect to find. I am deeply indebted to Roger D. Curran, longtime president of the U. S. Cancellation Club, for reviewing an earlier draft of this article and making many cogent suggestions.

On a personal note, for many years now, I have been trying to advance the argument that because of the poor survival rate for official covers, the analysis of off-cover stamps with legible cancellations is a vital part of understanding the postal history of this issue. The idea for this article germinated while I prepared the title page for a one-frame exhibit devoted to the subject. It was to have been part of a team competition at an upcoming show outside the U. S. But as I sat in the jury critique at a recent national show, it dawned on me that the appeal of artistically carved or cast obliterations found in classic U. S. philately would not travel beyond the borders of this country, simply because--with the notable exception of the large queen issues of Canada--similar cancellations were not used elsewhere.

Marcophilately in foreign specialties typically requires breaking a code: knowing, for example, that a certain letter or numeral encrypted in a cancellation tells you where it was posted. Judges in this country have taken to chastising exhibitors for including stamps where the town of origin cannot be determined, a criterion that would have expunged most of the stamps illustrated in this article. An increasing number of accredited judges in this country have never themselves collected classic U. S. and are unlikely to share the aesthetic impulse that motivated such great survey collections of the recent past as those of Joe Crosby and Clyde Jennings. Towards the end of the meteoric exhibiting history for the Robert L. Markovits collection of U. S. official stamps, which after winning the APS Champion of Champions competition in 1999 could then be shown only at international venues, all of the pages of off-cover cancellation studies had been stripped out, in deference to the prevailing tastes of international judging panels. Even William R. Weiss, whose great exhibition collection of the classic New York foreign mail cancellations formed the basis for his definitive book, might today be encouraged to write up the collection on the strict postal history protocol of rates and routes. There are many serious collectors here still entranced by the beauty of our early cancellations, and we desperately need a distinguished advocate in the tradition of Hubert Skinner on our side. At any rate, disheartened at the prospect of having my planned exhibit of vulcanized rubber handstamps on official stamps met with such derision that the entire team would be penalized, I substituted a sober study packed with postmarks. ■

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NEW YORK STEAMSHIP MARKINGS ON TWO LIMA-TO-MONTREAL COVERS

THERON J. WIERENGA

Two covers illustrate a 25¢ rate from Peru to Canada via Panama and New York in 1854. This is a rate that has not previously been documented. In *United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847–1875*, Second Edition, I discussed only a 15¢ and a 10¢ rate on steamship mail to Canada.¹

The cover illustrated in Figure 1 caught my eye at Washington 2006 because of my special interest in steamship markings on incoming mail. First, the familiar double straight-line STEAM/SHIP of New York jumped out at me, and then the circular Lima marking and the Montreal address. From time to time, one sees steamship covers to British North

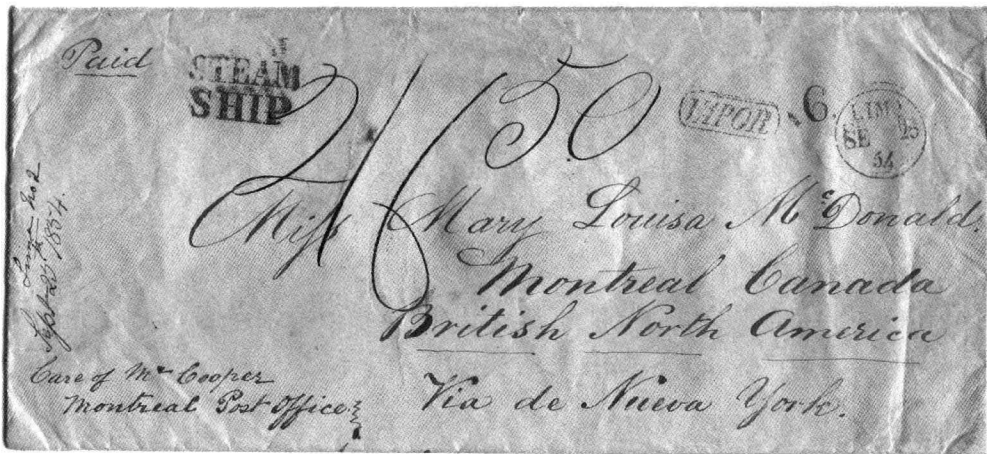


Figure 1. Lima, Peru, to Montreal, Canada, via Panama and New York, September 25, 1854. This cover shows a Lima circular datestamp, VAPOR and 6 (reales paid) in blue, with black New York STEAM/SHIP and manuscript double-weight 50¢ due, then re-expressed in Canada as 2/6 Canadian. A Montreal backstamp shows October 29, 1854.

America bearing the 15¢ rate. Usually they originated in Cuba. This rate went into effect on April 6, 1851, with the implementation of the postal convention between the United States and Canada.² Steamship covers to British North America from the West Coast of South America, on the other hand, are decidedly scarce.

The face of the cover in Figure 1 bears a blue oval VAPOR marking, meaning “steam” in Spanish and indicating the letter was to travel by a steamship of the British Pacific Steam Navigation Company (PSNC). There is also a blue handstamp 6 and circular datestamp, LIMA/SE 25/54. The blue “6” rate mark denotes 6 reales paid for a double-weight letter

¹ Theron J. Wierenga, *United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1875, Second Edition* (Austin, Texas, U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 2000), pp. 163–71.

² *Report of the Postmaster General, 1851*, Wierenga Reprint, pp. 466-468.

from Lima to Panama, including the service of dropping the letter in the United States mail bag at Panama. According to Percy Bargholtz, PNSC announced in January 1850 a special rate from Peru to Panama of 3 reales per ½ ounce.³ This rate was intended for mail to California, but the addressee had to pay the rate from Panama onwards. This rate to Panama was still in effect for this letter.

The letter was carried from Callao, Peru, the port city for Lima, to Panama by the PSNC steamship *Bolivia*, departing on September 26, and arriving at Panama on October 5, 1854.⁴ A. R. Doublet illustrates an 1854 “Tables Shewing (sic) the Arrivals and Departures of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company’s Contract Packets, Along the West Coast of South America.”⁵ This table shows the scheduled transit time to Panama was just under nine days, which is consistent with the dates reported by Bargholtz for this voyage. Wardle reports that with the delivery of the new large steamships *Santiago*, *Bogota*, *Lima* and *Quito*, bi-monthly service began in early 1852.⁶ This sailing would have been the second one of the month.

The letter arrived shortly after the steamship *North Star* had departed from Aspinwall to New York on October 3.⁷ It was placed on the next steamship of the United States Mail

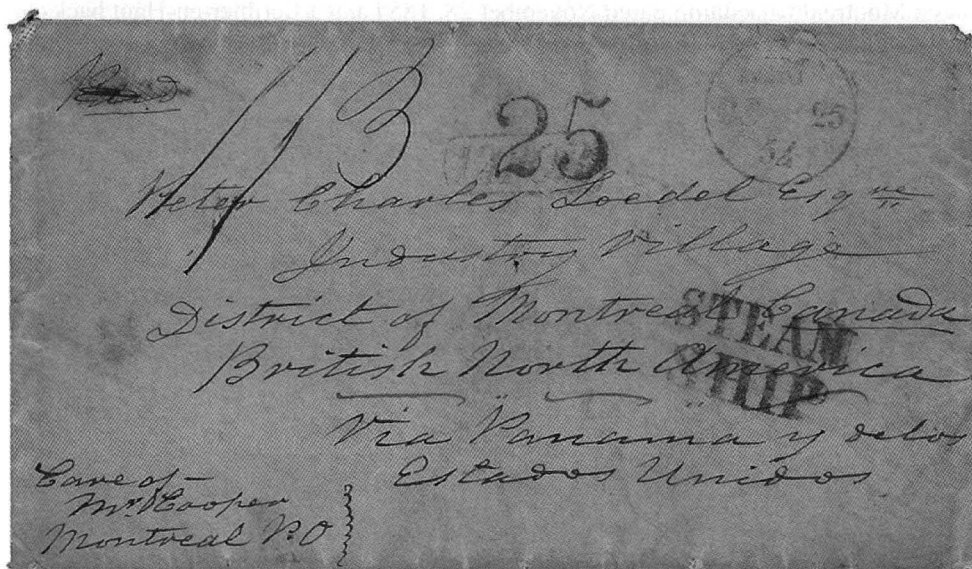


Figure 2. Single-rate letter, Lima to Montreal, via Panama and New York, October 25, 1854. The cover shows a Lima circular datestamp, VAPOR in blue, with black New York STEAM/SHIP and 25¢ due, subsequently re-expressed as 1/3 Canadian.

Steamship Company, *George Law*, which cleared Aspinwall on October 17 and arrived at New York on October 27, 1854. This matches well with the Montreal receiving marking, on the reverse of the cover, dated October 29, 1854.

In New York, a postal clerk applied the black double straight-line handstamp, STEAM/SHIP. The clerk rated the cover a double-weight letter at 25¢ per rate, and applied the large

³Percy Bargholtz, “The Pacific Steam Navigation Company on the West Coast of South America, 1840–1865” (in six parts), *Postal History Journal*, Nos. 120–26, October 2001–October 2003, Part 2, February 2002, pp. 35–36.

⁴Bargholtz, *op. cit.*, Part Six, October 2003, pg. 34.

⁵A.R. Doublet, *The Pacific Steam Navigation Company, Its Maritime Postal History 1840-1853 With Particular Reference to Chile* (London: The Royal Philatelic Society, 1983), pg. 66.

⁶Arthur C. Wardle, *Steam Conquers the Pacific; A Record of Maritime Achievement, 1840-1940* (London: Holder and Stoughton, 1940), pp. 87-88.

⁷Wierenga, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

manuscript "50" for the postage due. The steamship rate from Panama was 20¢ at this time, to which was added an additional 5¢ for transit to destination in Canada. While I have not seen this 25¢ rate documented, it parallels the 15¢ rate on covers from Cuba addressed to British North America, when the steamship rate alone would have been 10¢. A Montreal postal clerk rerated the letter at 2/6 Canadian currency, the equivalent of 50¢, and retained the entire amount per the United States-Canadian Postal Treaty.⁸

A cover with the single rate of 25¢ is shown in Figure 2. This cover was mailed in Lima on October 25, 1854, exactly one month later than the cover shown in Figure 1. It has a faint blue circular datestamp, LIMA/OCT 25/54, and faint blue oval handstamp, VAPOR, but does not show the single rate of 3 reales. The letter was carried from Callao to Panama by the PSNC steamship *Santiago*, departing on October 26, and arriving at Panama on November 4, 1854.⁹ It missed the November 1 sailing of *North Star* for New York, and traveled on the *George Law*, which cleared Aspinwall on November 15 and arrived at New York November 24.¹⁰ At New York the black STEAM/SHIP handstamp was applied along with a black handstamp 25 for the single-rate debit to Canada of 25¢. In Canada the letter was rerated 1/3 Canadian currency, the equivalent of 25¢ in the United States. The reverse shows a Montreal backstamp dated November 28, 1854 and a Berthier-en-Haut backstamp dated November 29, 1854. Berthier-en-Haut was 45 miles northeast of Montreal, on the left bank of the St. Lawrence River. The time line for this cover closely follows that of the cover in Figure 1, which was mailed a month earlier. ■

⁸ *Report of the Postmaster General*, 1851, op. cit., pp. 466-468.

⁹ Bargholtz, op. cit., Part Six, October 2003, pg. 34.

¹⁰ Wierenga, op. cit., pg. 349.

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ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 210

We received just one answer to the cover that appeared in *Chronicle* 210, pages 162-163. The cover, shown here as Figure 1, originated in New York. The contents appeared to be a printed circular designed to look like a handwritten letter. The cover bears a blue

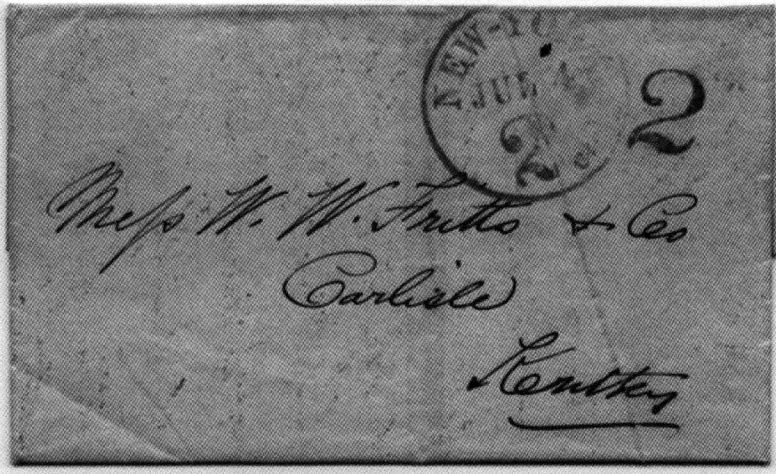


Figure 1. Our problem cover from last issue. The handstamped blue “2” at upper right was applied by the sender to make sure the cover—a preprinted circular that was carefully crafted to resemble a handwritten letter—received the favorable circular rate.

printed “2” as well as a red New York circular datestamp with “2” enclosed. One of the questions asked was why and where was the blue “2” applied, and whether the circular rate was appropriate here.



Figure 2. A similar example, supplied by respondent James Milgram. Here the privately applied “2” was actually printed and the rate clearly described. No misrating likely here.

A useful answer came to us courtesy of Dr. James W. Milgram: “These printed circulars that appear to be letters are pretty common. They pay the circular rate. The printed ‘2’ is a privately applied marking, so the post office would be sure to rate the cover as a circular at the 2¢ rate. In the case of your problem cover, the post office did, as the red New York postmark indicates.

“I have an example with the ‘2’ printed by the maker of the circular. I have others with ‘circular’ handstamped privately.”

Milgram included illustrations of several covers by way of example. One of them is shown herewith as Figure 2. This is a printed circular sent from Washington, D.C. to Seneca Castle, Ontario County, New York, year not certain. As the illustration shows, the 2¢ prepayment is evidenced loud and clear in bold type, privately printed by the sender of the circular.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue, shown in Figure 3, originated in Sonora, California, in 1852. It was sent to Robert Long Esq., Postmaster in Surrey, Maine. There is a black manuscript underlined “Free” in the upper right corner, and black circular dotted “10” cents due in the upper middle. The cover originally contained six pages, of which pages one through three are missing.

The question here is why, since this cover was endorsed free to the postmaster in Surrey, was it rated 10 cents due? As an aside, this cover is also photographed on page 323 of Jesse L. Coburn’s *Letters of Gold*, although there is no explanation of the rate. ■



Figure 3. Problem cover for this issue, sent from Sonora, California, to Maine in 1852. The question is: Since this letter was endorsed “Free” and sent to a postmaster, why was it rated 10¢ due?

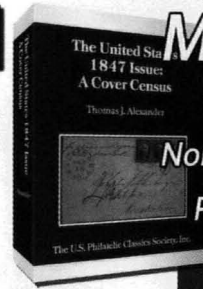
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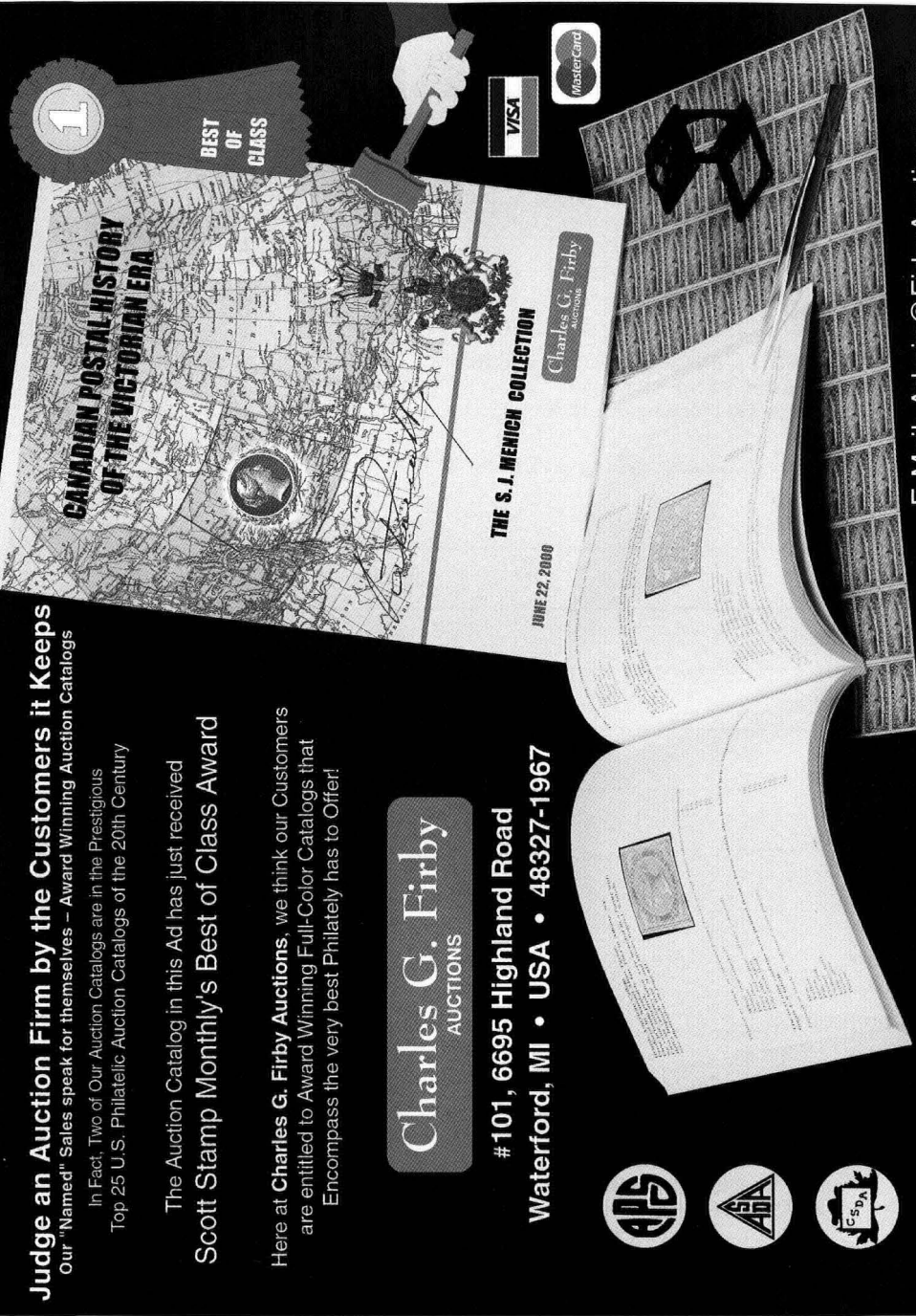
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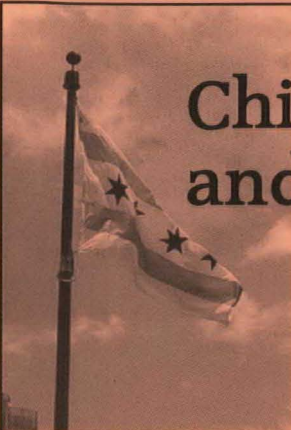
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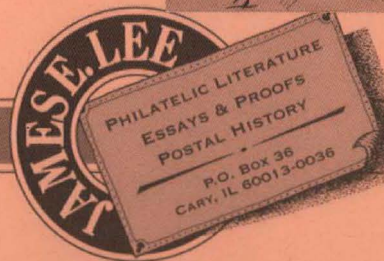
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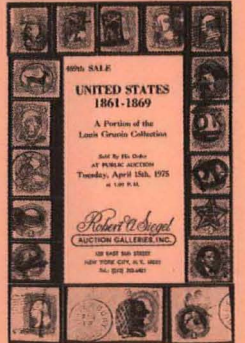
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