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## IN THIS ISSUE

This issue of the Chronicle is printed at a time of great sadness, as our Society adjusts to the sudden death of our beloved President, Wilson Hulme. Per our by-laws, vice president Wade Saadi takes the helm. Wade's obituary appreciation of Wilson appears overleaf.

This Chronicle is fatter than usual, in order to make room for an important contribution from Steven C. Walske. Technical advances in the way the Chronicle is created have substantially reduced our costs, and at Wilson's urging, our Board of Directors authorized an increase in the annual Chronicle page count. The goal is to add enough space to run every section in every issue, and still leave room for longer works of philatelic scholarship, research that gives our Society its distinction and the Chronicle its unrivalled reputation.

Walske's article on blockade-run transatlantic mail, a Guest Privilege feature beginning on page 30 , is a fine example. This well researched and well organized mini-monograph illustrates the various mail routes traveled by covers between Europe and the Confederacy (both ways) during the Civil War. In addition to useful maps and some stunning illustrative covers, the article includes sailing tables showing dates, vessels and connections. Never before available in one place, this information ought to be enable anyone who owns a blockade-run transatlantic cover to trace its route and carriage quite specifically.

Our Essays and Proofs section, starting on page 58, showcases Matthew Kewriga's fascinating and well-illustrated study of the evolution of the dies leading up to the $2 \not \subset$ Jackson Large Bank Note stamp. Your editor has an inordinate fondness for single-stamp specialized collections, and Kewriga's exhibition collection of the 2ф Jackson is extraordinary, well worth viewing if ever you have the opportunity.

We're pleased to present in our Foreign Mails section (page 77) a useful article from Leonard Piszkiewicz outlining techniques for identifying what he calls "anonymous" supplementary mail covers-covers that were franked and treated at New York as supplementary mail but did not receive the expected supplementary marking.

The winds of winter blast through these pages in two articles. In the Western Mails section (page 71) Floyd Risvold and James Blaine collaborate to explore newly unearthed showshoe expresses from California's Sierra Nevada mountains, while in our Carriers and Independent Mails section (page 19) Gordon Stimmell reveals new discoveries involving the Blizzard Mail local stamp of 1888.

Our 1847 section (page 23) contains a provocative piece by Philip T. Wall, with additional remarks from Wade Saadi, using stamp-census data and statistical analysis to support the hypothesis that the 200 -subject plate for the $10 ¢ 1847$ stamp was cut in half. Wall has been a significant contributor to these pages for decades. An article of his in the Chronicle in 1982, revealing that stamps stolen from the New York Public Library had found their way back into the marketplace, launched the FBI investigation that ultimately resulted in the recapture of many of the stolen items. We're happy to see him back.

Also noteworthy in this issue: James Milgram launches a series on attached-rate and integral-rate postmarks from the stampless era; Michael McClung looks at an odd imitation of the $3 申 1861$ stamp; George Sayers explores oval spiral scratches in the plate margins of Official stamps; and Hubert Skinner appreciates an early piece of targeted advertising mail, franked with a $1 \not \subset 1857$ stamp. Altogether, an eclectic mix that we hope you'll enjoy.

## WILSON HULME

Anyone who knew Wilson Hulme would agree that no one did more to advance the hobby of philately at every level. Wilson died suddenly on January 10, of a heart attack, while on a fund-raising mission in Florida. He was 60 years old.

Wilson had a successful career first as a naval officer and then as a corporate executive. He joined the National Postal Museum, a branch of the Smithsonian Institution, in
 2002. As curator of philately at the NPM, Wilson established the goal "to access the inaccessible." Through his work, philatelists were able to view part of the collection of Queen Elizabeth II, and most recently, the entire Benjamin Miller Collection of the New York Public Library, unseen for 30 years. In the same vein, more and more of the NPM philatelic collections are being placed online and made accessible to all. While serving the needs of serious philatelists, Wilson also saw the importance of making stamps and stamp collecting a popular pursuit. He appreciated the appeal that the childhood stamp collection of John Lennon would have in reminding people that stamp collecting is a hobby for everyone.

Wilson's efforts as President of the United States Philatelic Classics Society helped make the past few years among the best ever for this organization. Our membership has grown in each of the past two years, something that few other philatelic organizations can claim. We are on a firm financial footing. In addition, Wilson spearheaded the development of the Chase Fund, which is used to finance special, board-approved projects, not for operating expenses. The fund was used to establish the USPCS room at the new American Philatelic Center in Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, and as seed money for the publication of our now-sold-out book on the 1851 issue, to which Wilson was also a contributing author. His work as a philatelic student and author was repeatedly recognized by our society.

I was very fortunate during the past three years to spend much time with Wilson. Our philatelic paths crossed in many ways. In the course of certain weeks, it was not unusual for us to speak several times a day. On those occasions, when answering a call from me, Wilson would wryly quip, "Hey, long time!" I sorely miss his wise counsel, his easy demeanor and his friendship.

We've placed a guestbook on the Society website (www.uspes.org) where anyone can read or share a memory or story about Wilson. The Society is also accepting donations in Wilson's name that will become part of the Chase fund, something I believe he would have wanted. He gave so much of himself to our Society. Donations may be made on-line on our website or by mail to USPCS, c/o Wade E. Saadi, PO Box 750368, New Orleans, LA 70175-0368.

I'm sure that all Society members share my feeling that there is now a big hole in our collective album, one that will never be filled.--Wade E. Saadi

Another one of Bill Helbock's wonderful books on modern era United States postal history...


Richard W. Helbock


A catalogue of censor markings used on mail from American soldiers and War Department civilians assigned overseas in 1941 and 1942.

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The first three chapters examine censor markings applied to mail from Army and Air Corps personnel-as well as civilian contractors working for the U. S. government - at the Lend-lease bases in Newfoundland, the Caribbean, Iceland and Greenland. The next five chapters examine mail originating from the four above listed possessions and the Philippines.

The assignment of American forces north to Canada to assist in the establishment of the North Atlantic Ferrying Route was a major focus of Army activity in 1942. Chapter 10 describes these efforts and examines associated censor markings.

There were over 170 thousand American military personnel in Britain. Chapter 11 discusses the build-up and presents details of U. S. Army censor marking used in Great Britain. Chapters 12 and 13 examine the development of the South Atlantic Ferrying Route through South America and sub-Saharan Africa.

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## By Richard W. Helbock

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Chapter 14 explores the rather limited action of U. S. forces in the Middle East and Chapter 15 discusses the American military commitment to the China-Burma-India Theater.

Chapter 16 details the assignment and distribution of U.S. forces in Australia and discusses the unique censor handstamps associated with the deployment. Chapter 17 details the distribution of U. S. military forces in the South Pacific and the censor makings associated with them.

Chapter 18 -the final chapter-is devoted to the greatest assault by United States Army forces up to that time: OPERATION TORCH. It is fitting that the North African invasion which involved nearly 200 thousand American servicemen and marked a major turning point in the war in Europe, should conclude this examination of military censorship during the early months of the war.


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# PRESTAMP \& STAMPLESS PERIOD JAMES W. MILGRAM, EDITOR 

## ATTACHED RATES AND MARKINGS ON STAMPLESS COVERS: PART 1: THE PRE-1845 ERA

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

This is the first of a series of articles dealing with dated circular town markings to which were attached either outside the circle (this article) or inside the circle (integral rate markings) information about the postal rate and whether the letter was PAID or FREE. As readers should be aware, a major revision of the American Stampless Cover Catalog is underway. Toward that end, we solicit new information extending the period of usage for any of the markings discussed, as well as unlisted postmarks, colors or towns.

This first article will describe the 30 -millimeter circular markings, used mostly during the 1830s in New England, to which were attached on the right one of six postal rate


Figure 1. Attached rate with FREE from Port Byron, New York, on 1831 folded letter sheet to New York City.
indicators ( $6,10,12 \frac{1}{2}, 183 / 4,25,371 / 2$ ) and the words PAID or FREE. These markings were described and listed by Arthur H. Bond in three articles in The Postal History Journal beginning in 1968. ${ }^{1}$ The rates coincide with the six-tier, distance-based rate structure in effect until 1845. A subsequent article will discuss attached rate markings from later years.

No example of the actual marking device has been reported, although Bond in his first article described its construction and manufacture at Templeton, Massachusetts. This

[^0]description shows a single wheel with the rates and PAID and FREE. He speculated that the device was made of steel. I believe the device was later modified to two wheels, to allow the word PAID to be used or omitted with a rate. The FREE is always found struck closer to the circle than the PAID, so I think that the FREE was mounted on the rate wheel. The $371 / 2$ rate is so rare that it may not have been included on the standard wheel.

Bond also reported the same circle-type device used at other post offices without attached rates. This goes beyond the scope of this article about attached rates, so those mark-


Covers from the same correspondence showing an attached rate marking in two different arrays. Figure 2, at top: a cover from Syracuse, New York, JAN 29 [1832], with attached $121 / 2$ handstamp. Figure 3, at bottom: the same marking on another 1832 cover. Here the marking includes both the $121 / 2$ handstamp and PAID.
ings are not discussed here. The listing below combines Bond's listings and descriptions of covers with the listings in Volume 1 of the American Stampless Cover Catalog, 1997 edition, plus other information. I list FREE preceding the rating numerals (thus implying it appears on the wheel with the rates) and PAID at the end. If PAID is listed, a numeral rate could appear with or without it.

It is obvious that only smaller post offices used this device for postmarking. Also, usage appears limited to the New England states and New York, so the device is presumed to have been sold only in those states. The strikes I have seen are generally sharp. The numerals, although small, are distinct. However, there seems to have been widespread dissatisfaction with the marker. Only a few post offices continued using it into the 1840's. The examples chosen for illustration show various features of the known uses.

Figure 1 shows a very well struck postmark with the FREE handstamp from Port Byron, New York, in 1831. Note that the FREE shows a period. Note also the position of the FREE relative to the date-stamp circle. It falls in the area where the numeral is generally struck.

Two overlapped covers from the same correspondence, with Syracuse, New York, postmarks, are shown in Figures 2 and 3. Both show the $121 / 2$ handstamp in the same position. The Figure 3 cover shows an additional PAID, farther out from the circle of the postmark. Comparison of the markings in Figures 1 through 3 will show why I believe the FREE was mounted on the rate wheel and the PAID on a second, outer wheel. I have a third cover from the same correspondence as Figures 2 and 3 that shows the 25 handstamp. In
this case the 25 indicates a double rate, twice the $12 \frac{1}{2} \phi$ rate based on distance, for a letter traveling 80-150 miles. This is an unusual use of the 25 handstamp, which was meant to indicate the single rate of over 400 miles.

Figure 4 shows an attached rate marking in an interesting use on a much-forwarded cover from 1833. Originally addressed to Camillus, New York, the cover was carried by the vessel Science to New York City where it was rated as a SHIP cover with $203 / 4$ rating mark and "NEW-YORK AUG 23." At the top of the cover is written "Ford Detroite Ter Mishagan" with postmark "CAMILLUS N.Y. AUG 29" and attached " 25 ". This sum is added to the original postage due to total " $45^{1} / 2$ " which is an error. It should have been " $453 / 4$." At Detroit, Michigan Territory the marking "DETROIT MICHIGAN OCT 16 " was struck.


Figure 4. Attached rate with 25 from Camillus, N.Y. on incoming forwarded SHIP cover, forwarded again from Detroit, Michigan Territory.


Figure 5. Brunswick, Maine, seldom-seen attached $371 / 2$ and PAID, on 1832 cover to New York City.

The cover was forwarded a second time and 10 more cents was added to the forwarding postage. But the error made at Camillus was corrected, so the new postage due was " $553 / 4$ ". This third rating is in a red ink and there appears to be the name of another town at the bottom of the address, but the town name is not clear.

Bond noted only two $371 / 2$ attached rates, but a few more are listed in the stampless catalog. Figure 5 shows a new listing from Brunswick, Maine, on a cover to New York City with $371 / 2$ and a PAID without period. The address suggests the cover might have contained a payment to a society. An enclosure would have required two rates, and thus the cover was rated, at twice $183 / 4$.


Figure 6. Claremont, N.H., rimless circular datestamp with attached rate 6 and PAID, on a cover to Ludlow, Vermont.


Figure 7. ITHACA, NEW YORK, OCT 14, attached PAID with manuscript "183/4" on cover to Albany. The rate wheel on this marking device had apparently broken.

Figure 6 shows a cover from Claremont, New Hampshire, to nearby Ludlow, Vermont. This is a variety of the town marking with no outer rim, a very rare use with an attached rate marking--6 and PAID in this example.

Another variety, shown in Figure 7, is the Ithaca 1831 use with attached PAID but no attached rate. This cover has a substantial space between the circle and the PAID with period. One can speculate that the inner wheel was inoperative. The postmaster had to add the $183 / 4$ rate in manuscript. Avoiding handwritten rates, of course, was the whole purpose of the attached rate handstamps.

The cover in Figure 8, from Greenwich, New York, is one of the red attached postmarks, here with a 25 rate marking. However, the PAID on this marking was attached in a


Figure 8. Greenwich, New York, with attached 25 and parallel PAID, all in red, on a cover to Warrenville, Illinois.


Figure 9. BENNINGTON VT 1833 OCT 10, unusual year-dated circular datestamp with attached $121 / 2$, on cover to Norwich, Connecticut.
different position, parallel to the rate marking instead of perpendicular to it. I do not have an explanation for this.

Only one year-dated attached postmark has been reported in the literature, that from Alfred, Maine. Figure 9 shows another, a new listing from Bennington, Vermont, with the 1833 year date within the circle and an attached $12 \frac{1}{2}$ rate marking.

Bond listed only two oval postmarks with attached rates. One of these was from Warehouse Point, Connecticut, with a fancy double-oval frame, with both ovals composed


Figure 10. Warehouse Point, Connecticut, red double oval composed of tiny dots, with attached rate $183 / 4$ and PAID with manuscript "Jan 17 ," on a cover to Easthampton, New York. The Warehouse Point postmaster apparently found a way to marry his oval marking to the rate attachment.
of dots. A new type with attached $183 / 4$ and vertical PAID is shown on the 1837 cover in Figure 10. The writer has an 1829 cover with exactly the same type of dotted double-oval in red, but on this the postal rate (10) is handwritten, and there are two strikes of a separate PAID. In both the 1829 and the 1837 covers, the date is handwritten within the ovals. This postmaster had figured out a method of using his own town postmark with the attached rate wheel(s).

This article has dealt with attached rate markings from the multiple-rate period of the 1830s and early 1840s. The next installment will discuss later markings, from the later 1840 s , the 1850 s and even the 1860s.

## CONNECTICUT

Fairfield: 1832, red; $121 / 2$
Mansfield Centre: 1831-33, black; FREE, 6, 10, $121 / 2$
Mystic Bridge: 1834-41, red, black, brown; FREE, 6,10, PAID
South Glastenbury: 1833-36, black; $10,12 \frac{1}{2}, 25$, PAID

Tariffville: 1831, black: $121 / 2$, PAID
Warehouse Point (dotted oval): 1837-38, red; 6, 10, $12 \frac{1}{2}, 183 / 4$, PAID
Westport: 1835, blue, black: 10, $121 / 2$

## MAINE

Alfred: 1831, black; FREE, 6
Bath: 1830-33, black; 6, 10, 12½, 183/4, PAID
Brunswick, Me.: 1830-32, black; FREE, 10, 183/4, 371/2 with vertical PAID
Brunswick, MAINE: 1830-32 black; FREE, 6, 10, 12½, 1834, 25
Camden: 1831-47, red, black; FREE, 10, 183/4
China: 1832-40, black; 10
East Thomaston: 1831-36, black; 10, 12 $1 / 2,183 / 4$
Hallowell: 1830-32, black; FREE, 6, 10, 12 $1 / 2,183 / 4,371 / 2$, PAID (several with misspelled town)
Kennebunk: $1842-43$, red; $6,10,121 / 2,183 / 4,371 / 2$, PAID
New Castle: 1830, black; 6
Portland: 1830, black; 183/4
South Berwick: 1830-31, black; FREE, 6, 10, 25, PAID
Thomaston: 1830-32, red, black; 10
Waldoborough: 1831-34, black; FREE, 6, 10, PAID
Warren: 1831-34, black; 10, 183/4
Wiscasset: 1830-36, red, black; FREE, $10,121 / 2,183 / 4$, PAID
York: 1832-43, red, black; FREE, $6,121 / 2$, PAID

## MASSACHUSETTS

Blackstone: 1834-38, black; 6,10, PAID
Brookfield: 1834-36, red, black; 6, 183/4, PAID
Brookline: 1837-43, red, black; $10,121 / 2,183 / 4$, PAID
Cambridgeport: 1830, black; $12^{1 / 2}, 18^{3} / 4,25$ (also space between two parts of town name)
Canton: 1835, red; 121/2, 183/4
East Bridgewater: 1843, blue; 10
East Randolph: 1831, black; $121 / 2,183 / 4$, PAID
Framingham: 1839, black; 6
Kingston: 1831, black; 10
Lexington: unknown years, black; 6, 10, 183/4, 25
Milford: 1836-40, black; 10
Millbury: 1832, unknown color; FREE
Millville: 1833, black; FREE, 6, 10, 183/4
New Bedford: 1831, red, black; $121 / 2$
Petersham: 1834, black; 10
Randolph: 1833-40, red; $6,10,183 / 4,25 ; 1840$ no outer rim, 6
Southampton: 1832-36, magenta; 6, 10, 12 $1 / 2$
Stoughton: 1832-43, red; 6, 10, 183/4
Sturbridge: listed in Bond, no other data
Taunton: 1831, black; 10, PAID
Uxbridge: 1836-38, black; FREE, 6, 12½
Wareham: 1831, black; 10, 12 $1 / 2$
Waterford: 1832-33, black; 121/2

West Bradford: 1830-33, red, black; 6, 121/2
West Bridgewater: 1832-43, red, blue; $6,183 / 4$

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

Amherst: 1831-43, black; 6, 12½, PAID
Charleston: 1833, black; FREE, 10
Claremont: 1830-33, red, black; 6, 10, $121 / 2$; also no outer rim: 6 with vertical PAID
Great Falls: 1830, black; 121⁄2
Hopkinson: 1830-36, blue, black; FREE, 6, 10 12 $1 / 2$, PAID
Meridan: 1832-34, black; 1843-44 red; 6, 10, 12½, PAID

## NEW YORK

Albion: 1831-34, black; 183/4, PAID
Amsterdam: 1831, red; 10
Avon: listed in Bond, no other data
Camillus: 1831-44, black; FREE, 6, $12 \frac{1}{2}, 183 / 4$, PAID
Cayuga: 1831-32, black; FREE, 6, 183/4
Clarkson: 1831-34, black; FREE, 183/4, 25
Cortland Village: 1832, black; $121 / 2$
Dryden: 1832-44, black; FREE, 6, 10, 183/4, 371/2, PAID; 1846, black; 5
Fayetteville: 1832-34, black; 6, 10, 12 $1 / 2,183 / 4,25$
Gaines: 1832-34, black; FREE, $121 / 2,183 / 4$, PAID
Gorham: 1831-32, black; FREE, 183/4
Greenwich: $1844-45$, red; FREE, 6, $10,121 / 2,183 / 4,25$
Havana: 1833-36, red; FREE, 6, 10, 12½, 183/4, 37½, PAID
Ithaca: 1831-33, black; FREE, $121 / 2,183 / 4$, PAID
Martinsburgh (double oval): 1832, red; FREE
Medina: 1832, black; FREE
Middleport: 1832, blue; 6
Murray: listed in Bond, no other data
Newark Wayne Co.: 1833-41, red; 6, 12½, 183/4, PAID
Norwich: 1833, black; 121/2
Penn Yan: 1835, red; 10, 12 $1 / 2,183 / 4,371 / 2$ PAID
Phelps: 1832-33, black; FREE, 6, 183/4, PAID
Port Byron: 1831-36, black; FREE, 6, 183/4, PAID
Salina: 1832-40, red; black 6, 12 $1 / 2,25$
Smyrna: 1832-33, red, black; 183/4, PAID
Syracuse: 1831-32, black; FREE, 6, 10, $12^{1} / 2183 / 4,25$, PAID
Trumansburg: 183?, black; FREE, 183/4
Vernon: 1831-44, red, black; 6, 10, $121 / 2,183 / 4,50$ (double 25), PAID
Victor: 1832, red; 6
Warsaw: 1839, black; 25
Weedsport: listed in Bond, no other data
Whitetown: 1831-34, black; FREE, 6, 12½, 183/4, 25, PAID
York: 1833, black; 25

## RHODE ISLAND

East Greenwich: 1834-40, black; FREE, 6, 10, 183/4, PAID
Slatersville: 1833, black; $183 / 4$, PAID
Westerly: 1831, black; 10, 183/4, PAID
Wickford: 1831-35, black; 6, PAID

## VERMONT

Bellows Falls: 1831, black; 183/4, PAID
Bennington: 1831-36, red, black; FREE, 6, $10121 / 2,183 / 4$, PAID
Bradford: 1833, blue, black; 10, 12 $1 / 2$, PAID
Ludlow: 1849, red; 6
Newbury: 1831-42, red, black, green; 6, 10, $121 / 2,183 / 4,25,371 / 2$, PAID
Passumpsic: 1831, red, black; FREE, 6, PAID
Plainfield: listed in Bond, no other data
Syracuse: black; $12 \frac{1}{2}$, PAID
Thetford: 1833-34, black; 6
Woodstock: 1832-36, black; FREE, 6, 10, 12½, 1833/4, 25, PAID; no outer rim: 1836-37, black; $10,12^{1 / 2}$ ■

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

HOT ON THE BLIZZARD MAIL TRAIL

GORDON STIMMELL

The first Emergency Mail stamp ever pressed into service in the United States was the 5¢ Blizzard Mail stamp (Scott 163L1) issued during the "white hurricane" that buried much of the Northeast in deadly drifts from March 12 to March 16, 1888. The colorful history of this elusive post is recounted in an article I penned in The Penny Post (Volume 5, Number 1) in 1995, which rounded up previous research on this rare local stamp.

The creator of the stamp was Dr. William H. Mitchell, a prominent collector and locals post catalog creator. With trains buried in mountains of snow and normal transport shut down, he approached his local postmaster, C.T. Munn, as regular mail piled up in the Bergen Point (N.J.) post office. Mitchell suggested he could get the mail through to New York City by hiring a man with a horse and sleigh to take letters to the ferry. Thus a local post was created.

In two surviving letters, in 1890 and 1894, Mitchell recounted with sometimes slightly conflicting detail how he created the stamp that very morning. At Dr. A.W. Seward's local drug store, odds and ends of type used to print drug labels were gathered, along with a cut of the state seal of New Jersey. A stamp design was hatched.

Seward suggested they needed watermarked paper and located a box of quadrilled stationery. Mitchell says the stamps were printed over the next hour, run off one at a time on a boy's toy printing press. His recollections vary from 300 to 800 stamps. Mitchell says as well that the stamps were cancelled with a red rubber-stamp device and used in five sleigh trips over the course of three or four days, until regular mails resumed.

No used stamp has survived, either on cover, or off cover showing the red handstamp. Fewer than a half dozen mint examples exist. The example once owned by Richard Schwartz recently sold in the Siegel Kuphal sale (sale 925, lot 1292) for a $\$ 3,250$ hammer price. This same stamp had sold for $\$ 7,500$ in June, 2000 (Siegel Sale 825, lot 1588). Another copy sold in a Shreve \& Mader sale in June, 1994, for $\$ 1,100$. This one had a pencilled notation on the back: "Complementary/Dr. W.H. Mitchell's/Own Post/Mar. 13-
 16, 88." Another example changed hands privately for $\$ 4,000$ in 1998.

Figure 1 is yet another example. This is the stamp used in the illustration in the Scott specialized catalog. Ancient mucilage, dried on the four corners of the back, shows through faintly on the front.

Deepening the mystery is the recent
Figure 1. Blizzard Mail stamp, Scott 163 L 1. This same stamp was used for the illustration in the Scott specialized catalog. The characteristic quadrilled paper may be evident in this photo.
appearance of a $5 \phi$ Blizzard Mail stamp with "CENTS" misspelled "CETNS". When this item appeared on eBay, I could not believe my eyes. Why had this never shown up before? My antennae were twitching. The eBay stamp, shown in Figure 2, is in rough shape, with large creases and a hinge holding the left side of the stamp together. The design looked authentic, but the telltale quadrille was not evident in the image on my computer monitor.


Figure 2. At left, newly discovered example of the Blizzard Mail stamp, with CENTS misspelled CETNS. Inking is heavier than in the Figure 1 example. The quadrille rules are faint and may not show in this photo. Figure 3. At right, the CETNS error stamp with contrast reversed, in an attempt to emphasize the faint quadrille lines in the paper.

To determine if the stamp had the essential quadrilled paper, I imported the eBay scan onto my computer and into Photoshop, an image-manipulation software. By playing with the Photoshop settings, I was able to darken the image of the stamp to the point where the quadrille lines became more apparent. Using a Photoshop feature called inversion revealed the overall grid. This contrast-inverted image is shown in Figure 3. In many respects, this quadrille closely matches the known genuine CENTS stamps. The possibility the stamp was real prompted me to bid $\$ 600$, but I was ultimately bested by locals collector Glen Lafontaine, who bid much higher, and landed the stamp for a bit more than my bid.

Since then, the Figure 2 stamp has passed through several expert hands, resulting in mixed conclusions. Some think the stamp is genuine, others think it may be counterfeit.

Another CETNS copy, printed on the back side of a piece of coarse, ruled note paper, exists in the Philatelic Foundation reference collection, accompanied by what appears to be a contemporary newspaper clipping about the Blizzard Mail service. This item, shown (through the courtesy of the Philatelic Foundation) as Figure 4, seems to have the same design characteristics as the two stamps shown in Figures 1 and 2, but the paper is certainly different. If this were a counterfeit, it's surprising the perpetrator didn't trim it down to stamp size. More likely, this is a proof of some sort, from an early trial before Mitchell decided on the quadrille paper for his main print run. It is hard to believe it's a counterfeit of a variety no one has ever before reported in the philatelic press.

The owner of the Figure 2 stamp was kind enough to send me the actual stamp to compare with my known genuine version (Figure 1). Here's my analysis of the patient compared to the normal stamp.

Paper: Both stamps are printed on stiff, cream-colored paper 3.8 mils thick.
Dimensions: On both stamps the height is 31 millimeters and the width 37.5 mm (exclusive of the ornaments).

Quadrille: This resembles chain-link fencing. On both stamps, each separate quadrille box measures $8 \times 8 \mathrm{~mm}$. On the patient the diagonal angle of the quadrilles is 48 degrees. On
the known genuine stamp, it's 52 degrees.
Clarity of inking impression: On the genuine stamp the design is very crisp, with lines of the robes of the women in the state seal standing out clearly. On the patient, slightly more ink was applied. The robes seem smudged and the corner ornaments are more filled in by ink.

Design details: Despite variant inking, the designs are identical, with telltale tiny details in the New Jersey seal, such as LIBERTY spelled "LIBCRTY" and the crossbar in T of PROSPERITY" separated from its upright.

Microscopic: Under a 30 -power illuminated magnifier, both stamps show highly distinctive red threads embedded randomly in the weave of the stout cream paper.

Conclusion: The paper and the quadrille impression is identical and without doubt from the same source. The difference in the slant angle of the quadrille is easily attributable to each stamp being separately printed from a hand-fed sheet of paper. One-at-a-time production also accounts for the slightly different amount of ink shown on the patient and the correctly spelled stamp. The paper on the patient is worn by handling and perhaps soaking, so the quadrille does not stand out as readily as in the fresher, better preserved stamp in Figure 1.

But my conclusion is this patient should be discharged from hospital. It is real.

How did this stamp come about? The world of local stamps is full of such mistakes: spelling errors, wrong fonts and transposed individual


Figure 4. A similar CETNS error stamp, on very different paper, from the reference collection of the Philatelic Foundation. The design elements seem identical to those in Figures 1 and 2. This could be a proof. letters. Mitchell was no doubt aware of some of these. Perhaps he was imitating variants he had encountered in his study of local stamps. However, I feel it's more likely he simply made a mistake when hurriedly assembling the druggist's type in creating the stamp. He noticed the mistake early on and perhaps discarded the Figure 2 stamp, which would account for the patient's crumpled aspect. It bears at least five folds, including one that is life threatening, almost separating the stamp into two pieces. Perhaps someone, even the druggist who supplied the amateur printing press, recovered the rejected stamp from the trash can. We may never know the whole story. Perhaps Mitchell did not notice the error until several had been run off. Examine your collections!

In my opinion, this CETNS variant, at least in the version shown in Figure 2, deserves a designation as 163L1a and inclusion in the Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps and Covers.

## THE DIE IS NOT CAST

Locals collectors should be wary of a number of finely tooled "original dies" for local post handstamps showing up on eBay. One, purporting to be the original brass die for the
rare Locomotive Express Post PAID handstamp (which also is known as an adhesive, Scott 97L1) appeared in an eBay auction recently, replete with research citing that the handstamp, and the adhesive used bearing the handstamp, were from San Francisco, and since this item was purchased in Woodland, California, it "lent further credibility to its authenticity."

Nice try, guys, but no bananas. The so-called "unique" antique die was drawing big bids when I pointed out it had a deep horizontal line across it, a gash that exactly matched the horizontal white safety line in the Scott catalog illustration of the handstamp (page 451 of the 2007 Scott specialized catalog). The vendor promptly withdrew the item after my observations were pointed out to him.


Figure 5. Imprint portion of what purports to be an original handstamper for a scarce San Francisco local marking. Upon inspection, this turns out to be a modern fabrication based on an image in the Scott catalog.

A second example was more deceptive. This purported to be the original steel die for the San Francisco Letter Express running-pony handstamp (page 460 of the 2007 catalog) used on the Gahagan \& Howe locals stamps of San Francisco. This is the second one of these I have seen. The first sold for big money. I purchased the other one for less than it probably cost to create the very authentic looking die on a woodblock. This is shown in Figure 5, with the image flopped for easier reading. In real life, of course, the imprint portion of the device is negative. The fine white line in the Scott catalog cut shows up as tiny breaks in the design going across the left and right oval rim, and running across the pony's hind quarters and chest and through the rider's legs.

Other such creations no doubt will show up from the same dubious perpetrators, so don't be duped!■


Prologue from the Section Editor: Philip T. Wall began the following article in the mid-1990s and never completed it. It is a fine piece of research, but draws no firm conclusions. Therefore, with Wall's permission, at the end of his notes I have introduced a few additional facts that support the object of the research.

## WAS THE 10¢ 1847 PLATE CUT IN HALF?

PHILIP T. WALL

It is an established fact that the $10 ¢ 1847$ stamps were printed on a plate of 200 subjects and consisted of two horizontal panes of 100 each (10x10). Elliot Perry determined this more than 70 years ago and published his research in the Collectors Club Philatelist between 1924-1926.

Yet on December 12, 1851 Rawdon, Wright, Hatch \& Edson (RWH\&E), printer of the 1847 stamps, signed the following affidavit, which was witnessed by the Postmaster of New York City and two other men: "Have this day destroyed dies of the 5 and 10 cent stamps, also plates of same. $1-5 \phi$ stamp plate, 100 on, 1847 Issue. $1-10 ¢$ stamp plate, 100 on, 1847 Issue. Rawdon, Wright, Hatch \& Edson. Witness: Wm. Brady, P.M.N.Y.; John Moor; G.W. Johnson."

It is quickly noted that the affidavit refers to plates of 100 of both the $5 ¢ 1847$ and the 10\& 1847. This apparent conflict between the known size of the plates for both denominations and the affidavit has troubled philatelists for decades.

Rawdon, Wright, Hatch and Edson had not received the contract to print the 1851 issue of stamps but it is inconceivable that this firm would sign an affidavit that was not entirely truthful. Surely Postmaster Brady would not have signed as a witness to something that did not take place.

What happened to cause this inconsistent situation? It seems possible that, sometime between the third printing on 20 March 201849 and the fourth and final printing on of the $10 \propto$ stamps on 5 February 1850 , something happened to the left pane of the $10 \propto$ plate. The plate of 200 stamps was then cut into two smaller plates of 100 each with the left plate (pane) taken out of service and either defaced or destroyed. Then only the right pane (plate) was used to print the final 300,000 stamps in February, 1850.

## Data from Personal Collection

In 1980 this author owned 212 off-cover copies of the $10 \propto 1847$ stamp. These had been purchased with the objective of reconstructing the original plate as detailed by Elliot Perry in the 1920s. Very few of the stamps had been plated when they were bought, mostly between 1970 and 1980. As time permitted, the author plated them, a few copies at a time. It was soon noticed that more copies came from the right pane, about $60 \%$ of the total, than

[^1]from the left pane. This ratio would sometimes drop to $55 / 45$ and other times rise to $65 / 35$, but there was always an average ratio of $60 / 40$ with the higher number being stamps from plate positions in the right pane.

This same ratio- $60 \%$ of $10 \propto 1847$ stamps coming from the right pane and only $40 \%$ from the left pane-has been confirmed by other sources that this author has used to make tabulations.

## Data from Auction Catalogs

No auction house sold more $10 ¢ 1847$ stamps during this era than the Boston firm of Daniel F. Kelleher Co. Between sale 581 (February 22-23, 1989) and sale 592 (October $21-23,1992$ ) the Kelleher firm held nine auctions with strong showings of the 1847 issue, including numerous plated copies of the $10 \phi$ stamp both on and off cover. With the exception of the "Sierra Madre" sale (March 5, 1991), it is believed that most of this 1847 material came from a single source-the estate of a collector from the Deep South. In reviewing those nine catalogs, there is no indication the owner was interested in reconstructing the plate of 200. From every indication, the plated copies had been purchased randomly.

|  | Sale | Date | Left <br> Pane | Right <br> Pane |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
|  | 581 | Feb. 1989 | 10 | 16 |
|  | 582 | Jun. 1989 | 8 | 10 |
|  | 583 | Oct. 1989 | 5 | 10 |
|  | 584 | Feb. 1990 | 14 | 20 |
|  | 585 | Jun. 1990 | 17 | 21 |
| Sierra Madre | 588 | Mar. 1991 | 31 | 47 |
|  | 590 | Oct. 1991 | 14 | 33 |
|  | 591 | Mar. 1992 | 20 | 22 |
| Total plated \#2s from nine Kelleher sales | 592 | Oct. 1992 | 20 | 27 |

Table 1. Nine Kelleher sales in the 1989-1992 era featured 345 plated copies of the U.S. $10 ¢ 1847$ stamp. The right-pane/left-pane ratio was 60-40.

Table 1 shows a compilation of the plated copies of $10 ¢ 1847$ stamps in these nine Kelleher sales. Note that the total number of plated $10 \& 1847$ stamps is 345 , of which 206 are from the right pane and 139 are from the left. That's almost precisely a $60-40$ ratio.

Two Robert A. Siegel sales of this same era featured a large number of plated $10 ¢$ 1847 stamps. Data from these sales is presented in Table 2. These two sales contained a total of 88 stamps, 53 from the right pane and 35 from the left. Again, the ratio is strikingly close to 60-40.

|  | Date | Left Pane | Right Pane |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Siegel 484 | $1 / 29 / 1976$ | 8 | 19 |
| Siegel 681 | $6 / 25 / 1987$ | 27 | 34 |
| Total plated \#2's from two Siegel sales |  | 35 | 53 |

Table 2. Two Siegel sales from the 1970 s and 1980s also featured plated $10 \phi 1847$ stamps. Again, the right-pane/left-pane ratio was approximately 60-40.

## Data from Levi Records

While Frank S. Levi Jr. was not the first collector to compile data on classic stamps, it is doubtful that anyone ever matched Levi's volume of records. Shortly after returning from naval service in World War II, Levi set about compiling survey records on almost every aspect of classic U.S. philately, including back of the book, Confederate States and selected foreign issues, primarily British North America. The author visited his home in Naples, Florida, in 1974 and was amazed to find almost 600 scrapbooks of information pertaining to classical philately. Most of the material consisted of clippings from auction catalogs, but also included were articles from weekly philatelic publications, monthly and quarterly periodicals and at least one clipped copy of the 1947 edition of the Brookman handbook.

Levi had detailed records on both $10 \notin 1847$ stamps and $10 \notin 1847$ covers. He considered the $5 \phi$ stamps to be too common off cover to maintain records. His records for off-cover $10 \phi$ stamps included the following categories (1) sheet margin copies (2) plated copies and (3) all multiples from pairs on up.

A friendship quickly developed that lasted for many years, until Levi's death. A few months after the 1974 visit, the author purchased Levi's off-cover $10 \notin 1847$ records and kept them current until the writing of these notes. Levi's detailed records of all the plated copies of the $10 ¢$ stamp showed 516 plated stamps from the right pane and 375 plated stamps from the left pane, a total of 891 stamps. Here the ratio is $58-42$. [End of text from Philip T. Wall.]

## Epilogue from the Section Editor

Hypothesis: Somewhere in the life of the $10 ¢ 1847$ plate, it was cut into two plates of 100. From then on, only the right pane was used to print stamps. That would account for the fact that there are more plated copies from the right pane of 100 than the left pane in a ratio of approximately $60 / 40$, as the Wall data has demonstrated.

While this might sound like heresy against the established theories of the students of classic U.S. philately, we need only look forward to 1856 to see that the same printer did indeed cut a plate of 200 in half (a plate very similar to the U.S. $10 \notin 1847$ ) and then printed sheets of 100 stamps from the cut-down plate.

According to Winthrop Boggs in his definitive work on 19th century Canada, ${ }^{2}$ RWH\&E were the printers of the first issue of Canada, the $3 \mathrm{~d}, 6 \mathrm{~d}$ and 12 d stamps. The original plate for the 3d Beaver stamp consisted of two panes of 100 stamps arrayed vertically. This plate arrangement was due to the horizontal format of the Beaver stamp. If you rotate the Beaver plate 90 degrees, it would be comparable to the U.S. $10 \& 1847$ plate, which of course was made up of vertically formatted stamps.

In Volume II of the Boggs book, Appendix H contains "Selected correspondence and agreements between the Post Office Department of Canada and the contractors for Postage Stamps," which includes 120 letters. The earliest mention of plates or sheets of 100 is a 1 March 1856 letter from RWH\&E to the Canada Post Office Department: "Dear Sir, We send you this day by express, Two hundred thousand Three pence Postage Stamps, being balance of the number ordered per your favor of 23rd Jany. You will observe that a number of these sheets are cut in two, in consequence of a portion of the sheet being defective, and we would remark that we would prefer to cut them all if you have no objections...."3

[^2]While there are other telling letters that mention sheets and plates of $100,{ }^{4}$ the most important one is an invoice from RWH\&E that actually states " $1 / 2$ plate." Specifically: " 3000 Imps. ( $1 / 2$ plate) at $20 \phi$ per. M., $\$ 60.00 . " 5$

It is clear that RWH\&E printed the Canadian Beaver stamps from one half of the original 200 -subject plate. Whether the plate was cut in half or whether only half of the plate was inked and a half-sized paper was used is uncertain. Did RWH\&E do the same to the $10 ¢ 1847$ plate? This would certainly explain why more copies of the $10 \notin 1847$ survive from the right pane than from the left.

Another interesting approach to the $10 ¢ 1847$ statistics can be garnered by examining the shipments of stamps. There were four deliveries of stamps from RWH\&E to the Post Office, as follows: 200,000 stamps on June 1, 1847; 250,000 on March 13, 1848; 300,000 on March 19, 1849; and 300,000 on February 14, 1850. This makes a total of $1,050,000$ stamps delivered, of which only 845,169 stamps were issued (per the introduction to Tom Alexander's The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census).

The total of stamps in the first three deliveries was 750,000 . Assuming the $10 \notin 1847$ plate remained intact during these printings, that would suggest 375,000 stamps each from the left and right panes. If the fourth printing was then entirely from the right pane, that would mean the right pane printed a total of $675,000 \mathrm{stamps}$ and the left pane 375,000 . That's a 64-36 ratio.

However, if only 845,169 stamps were used by the public, as Alexander suggests, and the first three printings account for 750,000 stamps (assuming all stamps from the first three deliveries were used by the public), it would appear than 95,169 stamps were attributable to the fourth delivery $(845,169-750,000=95,169)$. That would make the numbers 470,169 right-pane stamps and 375,000 left-pane stamps, for a ratio of $56-44$. It is unlikely that all the stamps not used by the public were indeed from the fourth delivery, but most probably were. Interestingly, if you average the percentages for the right pane in these two calculations ( $64.2 \%$ and $55.6 \%$ ) you get $59.9 \%$.

Certainly, these are some interesting points to ponder.-WES■

[^3]
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# THE 1851-61 PERIOD HUBERT C. SKINNER, EDITOR 

## AN UNUSUAL PRINTED CIRCULAR - OBITUARY NOTICES

HUBERT C. SKINNER

A very unusual printed circular recently came to the notice of this writer via an eBay auction. Needless to say, the item was purchased with some delight and satisfaction. The address panel of this circular bears an uncommon number of press-printed elements. At the upper left is the endorsement "(CIRCULAR)" and at the center left "To the friends of..." followed by the name of the deceased in manuscript. Centered below the address line is printed "(Who died during the Year 1858)" and printed at the center of the bottom line "In" followed by the town and abbreviated state in manuscript, in the present case "Portsmouth/ N.H." The circular was franked with a single 1\& stamp of 1857, the Type V, Scott 24, postmarked "LOWELL/MS." The cover front is shown in Figure 1.


Figure 1. The face of the unusual printed circular described in this article. Note the uncommon use of press-printing as portions of the address. The stamp is a Type V1申 stamp of 1857 (Scott 24) and is postmarked at Lowell, Massachusetts.

The contents are press-printed in their entirety and begin with a large bold face "Obituary Notices for 1858 " followed by these paragraphs:
"I have undertaken to publish annually, such obituary notices of our best men and women as I can gather by careful examination of newspapers, periodicals, sermons, \&c. I have my material mostly gathered for 1858 , and am now ready to prepare it for the press. I have a notice of the person indicated by the superscription of this circular, and now address you - 1 -that you may examine the editorial and other commendations of my volume for 1857, and become acquainted with the scope, plan, and execution of the work-2-that
you may aid me by furnishing me with exact dates, age, residence, name, and such notice as you may have, and may wish to have inserted. And, 3-that I may have your pledge to take at least one copy, and may know with some certainty the support I shall have in publishing this volume. Please make immediate answer, that I may know whether you will cooperate with me and how soon, if not at once, I may expect the facts or notice asked for.
"I send the volume for 1857 by mail prepaid, (postage 39 cts.) upon receipt of $\$ 2$ in eastern bills or stamps. The new volume (1858) will not exceed that sum; and, as it is proposed to have the volumes of uniform size and character, it will probably be the same."

The text that follows these two paragraphs consists of a sales pitch designed to encourage the recipient of the circular to respond both with information and purchase of the volumes for 1857 and 1858 together with instructions as to the information expected by the author/publisher of the books. Included are these lines: "This work is commenced in the belief that such a record of deceased friends will prove a grateful tribute to their memory by those who appreciate and feel their loss....This work is an endeavor to save from forgetfulness those whose virtues are our inheritance, and whose lives are our worthiest models."

The promotional appeal for is signed "N. CROSBY" at "LOWELL, Mass., Feb. 24, 1859." This page of text is followed by two and two-thirds pages of quoted letters from 10 satisfied individuals and seven quoted extracts from reviews in the Lowell and Boston newspapers and from the Congregational Journal and the Vermont Standard.

This circular presents an intriguing and charming mid-19th century attempt to profit from the emotional response to death, playing on the survivors' sense of the individual's place in history, whether deserved or not. It also attempts to appeal to the affection and respect the deceased person's family and friends. If not as charmed as this writer is by the "flavor" of the 19th century, I trust that readers will at least enjoy this unusual bit of philatelic memorabilia.

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## BLOCKADE-RUN TRANSATLANTIC MAIL, 1861-1865

STEVEN C. WALSKE

Much has been written about the blockade-run mail of the American Civil War, but previous studies have concentrated primarily on the routes taken by the blockade runners themselves. This article supplements those studies by addressing the transatlantic packet routes that mail followed before or after it had run the blockade. The various transatlantic routes are described in the context of how they connected with the blockade-run routes, and transatlantic packet sailing tables are included as appendices to aid in the analysis and identification of blockade-run covers to or from Europe.

## Pre-War Transatlantic Routes

Postal relations between the United States of America (USA) and the Confederate States of America (CSA) were not severed until mid-1861. Accordingly, from the formation of CSA on February 4, 1861 until mid-1861, transatlantic mail between Europe and the southern states used pre-war routes. These routes are shown in Figure 1.


Figure 1. Sketch map showing transatlantic packet routes connecting with Europe and interior routes used to connect the southern states with the Boston/New York gateways.

As long as the USA maintained postal relations with the seceded states, mail between Europe and the South could still use USA interior postal routes for the trip between the northern gateways and the southern states. The principal interior route was the connec-
tion between Washington, D.C. and Richmond, Virginia, which serviced Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama. The other important interior mail route traversed the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to serve Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas via Louisville, Kentucky.

The cover in Figure 2 was among the last mails to use the pre-war postal routes through the USA. It was franked by a French 186080 centimes rose stamp (Scott \#20), prepaying the $15 \phi 1857$ treaty rate (per $1 / 4$ ounce) from France to the USA. It was posted in Paris on May 17, 1861. Per the treaty, Paris credited the USA $3 \phi$ for inland postage with a manuscript red " 3 " marking. It was carried by the Cunard steamship America, which left Liverpool, Great Britain on May 18,
Figure 2. France 80 centimes rose stamp on a cover originating in Paris, May 17, 1861, carried in the United States postal system via Louisville and Memphis to New Orleans. and arrived in Boston on May 31. Boston re-stated the paid $15 申$ rate on June 1, and added the "Br Service" marking to confirm carriage by British packet. From there, it was taken via Louisville, Kentucky, and Memphis, Tennessee to New Orleans, Louisiana. The "due 10 " marking was applied in New Orleans, and reflects the collection of Confederate postage for the distance from Memphis to New Orleans. The CSA postal system had commenced operations on June 1, 1861, and initial postal rates were $5 \notin$ per $1 / 2$ ounce for less than 300 miles and $10 \notin$ for over 300 miles.

The cover in Figure 3, addressed to Richmond, illustrates the beginning of the embargo of postal relations between the USA and the CSA. This letter was franked by a Vic-


Figure 3. Victoria 1859 one shilling blue stamp and pair of 1860 4d rose, on cover posted March 25, 1861 from Melbourne to Richmond, Virginia, via London. The cover transited London May 13 and reached New York May 28. It was returned to Great Britain due to the suspension of U.S. postal service into the Confederacy. toria 1859 one shilling blue (Scott \#25) and a pair of $18604 d$ rose stamps (Scott \#59), and was posted in Melbourne, Victoria, on March 25, 1861. One shilling paid the packet postage from Melbourne to Great Britain, and 8 d paid the American packet postage from Great Britain to the USA. Accordingly, Melbourne credited 8 pence to Great Britain per the manuscript red " 8 " marking. The letter was
carried from Melbourne to Ceylon by the Jeddo of the Peninsular \＆Oriental Steam Navi－ gation Company（ $\mathrm{P} \& \mathrm{O}$ ），and from Ceylon to Suez by the P\＆O steamer Nemesis．It was then carried overland to Alexandria，Egypt to catch the P\＆O steamer Vallette to Marseille， France，and then traveled via France to arrive in London on May 13．London credited 16ф （equivalent to 8 pence）to the USA for packet postage，and forwarded it to the North Ger－ man Lloyd steamer New York，which left Southampton on May 15 and arrived in New York on May 28．Since USA inland postage had not been prepaid，New York marked the letter for $5 \phi$ postage due．The mail route between Washington，D．C．and Richmond，Virginia had been discontinued on May 24，so this letter was diverted at Washington，D．C．，and returned to Great Britain．Upon its return，it was marked＂SENT BACK TO ENGLAND WITH－ OUT A REASON FOR NON－DELIVERY．＂


Figure 4．U．S． $3 申 1857$ and $12 \phi 1860$ stamps on cover posted at New Orleans，June 10， 1861，and sent to France via Louisville．The Louisville postmaster had been instructed not to recognize U．S．postage stamps originating in the Confederacy．The cover was marked ＂SOUTHN LETTER UNPAID＂in Louisville on June 27，and sent on to France as unpaid．

The cover in Figure 4 passed through the last open route between the CSA and the USA．It was mailed in New Orleans on June 10，1861，and prepaid 10¢ CSA postage for the distance between New Orleans and Nashville，Tennessee，per the manuscript blue＂ 10 ＂ marking（under the Louisville postmark）．It was also prepaid 15申 in USA postage，with an 1857 3申 type II dull rose（Scott \＃26）and an 1860 12申 black，plate 3 （Scott \＃36b）making up the treaty rate for mail from the USA to France．Louisville had instructions to forward such mail from the South，but not to recognize any USA postage on it．Accordingly，the letter was marked＂SOUTHn LETTER UNPAID，＂and forwarded unpaid from Louisville on June 27．Louisville also re－stated the $15 \phi$ treaty rate in black manuscript．In New York， the cover was marked for a $9 \varnothing$ debit to France，reflecting the inland and packet postage that was due to the USA．It departed New York on June 29 aboard the Inman steamer City of Baltimore，and arrived in Queenstown on July 11．The red July 13 French entry marking reads＂Etats－Unis Serv．Am．Calais，＂which identified American packet mail that entered through the French port of Calais．In France，the addressee was assessed 8 decimes postage due，which was equivalent to $15 \phi$ ．

By early July, all pre-war postal routes between the USA and the CSA had been discontinued.

## Private Express Company Through-the-Lines Routes

Private express companies, however, were permitted to carry mail across the lines between North and South until August 26, 1861. Figure 5 gives an example of European mail carried to the CSA by an express company.

The letter in Figure 5 was datelined June 12, 1861 in Bremen, Germany, and placed inside an outer envelope addressed to the New York forwarding firm of Oelrichs \& Com-


Figure 5. Inner letter from Bremen, Germany, sent June 12, 1861 under cover to a forwarder in New York for transmittal to Richmond, Virginia.
pany. It left Liverpool on June 15 aboard the Cunard steamship Europa, which arrived in Boston on June 28. Oelrichs discarded the outer envelope, marked the reverse of this letter, and gave it to the Adams Express Company. Adams carried the letter across the lines via Louisville and Nashville to Richmond, where it was posted on July 5, 1861, prepaid 2 cents CSA local postage. On August 26, 1861, however, all communications with the CSA were banned by the USA, so the private express routes were discontinued.

## Flag-of-Truce Routes

The only remaining USA-sanctioned postal link was flag-of-truce mail exchanged between military authorities. Since this type of mail was tightly regulated, not much mail to or from Europe was carried by flag-of-truce. A rare example is shown in Figure 6. A CSA soldier at Salisbury, North Carolina posted this letter in April 1862, prepaid with a CSA 1862 5¢ blue stamp (Scott \#4) for the CSA postage to Norfolk, Virginia. Salisbury also marked the letter with the circled 30, perhaps reflecting an unpaid double 15¢ Hamburg packet rate. At Norfolk, the letter was examined by CSA military authorities, and then carried by flag-of-truce boat to Union-held Fortress Monroe in Virginia. The USA practice in this period was to remove the CSA postage on this type of letter, so the 5¢ stamp was
removed in transit. The letter was censored by USA military authorities per the manuscript "Exd. Ft. Monroe" and it was mailed at nearby Old Point Comfort, Virginia, on April 28, which re-stated the $15 \phi$ rate with the blue " 15 " mark. The cover was rated unpaid in New


Figure 6. April 1862 letter sent from Salisbury, North Carolina to Germany, across the lines via flag-of-truce and then via New York. As was U.S. practice during this period, a Confederate $5 \phi$ stamp was removed in transit.

York on May 3, and marked with a $5 \phi$ debit to Hamburg for USA inland postage, per the "N. York Hamb. Pkt" postmark. It left New York on May 3 aboard the HAPAG steamer Teutonia which arrived in Hamburg on May 18. Hamburg rated the letter " $41 / 2$ Sgr./6 Xr." in blue ( 4.5 silbergroschen for the 10ф international rate plus 6 kreutzer for internal postage), for a total of $61 / 2$ silbergroschen. It was finally received by the sender's wife in Fritzlar, Germany on May 19 with $6^{3 / 4}$ silbergroschen postage due, which included $1 / 4$ silbergroschen for local delivery.

## Development of Blockade-Runner Routes

After the transatlantic packet routes to the CSA were severed in mid-1861, and with no viable government-sanctioned routes available, alternate means of communication were needed. The USA had complicated this by proclaiming a blockade of the Southern coastline on April 19, 1861. The predictable response of the CSA was to encourage a fleet of fast steamships whose main purpose was to run the blockade and to facilitate the export of cotton and the import of important supplies.

Figure 7 shows the principal CSA ports active in blockade running: Wilmington, North Carolina; Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; Mobile, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana; Galveston, Texas; and Brownsville, Texas. Also shown are their connections to the three West Indies ports which acted as the main staging areas for Confederate supplies and mail.

A systemized mail service by blockade runner developed in September 1861 on the Gulf coast, and starting in May 1862 along the Atlantic Coast. Mail from Europe to the CSA was typically sent inside another envelope addressed to a forwarder in the West Indies. The forwarder would then place the inner letter in a blockade runner's mailbag. Upon arrival in the CSA, such mail was rated for regular inland CSA postage plus a 2 cents ship fee. Generally, only CSA postal markings appear on this type of cover.

Mail from the CSA to Europe was sent inside another envelope to a forwarder in one
of the CSA blockade running ports. That forwarder would then place the inner letter in a blockade runner's mailbag for delivery to a West Indies forwarder. The latter forwarder would generally mail the letter at the local post office for onward delivery. This means that


Figure 7. Sketch map showing the blockade-running routes used for carrying supplies and mail between Confederate and neutral ports.

CSA postal markings generally do not appear on such mail. Postage assessed was British packet postage plus the postage from Great Britain to the European destination. British packet postage in this period was six pence per half-ounce until March 31, 1863, and one shilling after that.

## Replacement Transatlantic Packet Routes between Europe and the CSA

As blockade-running developed into an effective mail transportation system, however, new transatlantic routes were needed to replace the discontinued pre-war routes. The only transatlantic packet routes which could bypass the USA postal embargo of the CSA were those that touched at the West Indies ports, or those that employed closed mailbags through the USA, thereby precluding inspection by USA postal authorities. That eliminated the Allan, Inman, North German Lloyd and HAPAG steamship lines, since they all ran between Great Britain and ports in the northeastern USA, and their through mail was handled in open mailbags by the USA.

Three transatlantic packet routes, however, did circumvent the postal embargo. First, the Cunard Line serviced the closed mail contract for mail between the Bahamas and Great Britain via New York. Since this mail was not opened in transit through New York, it could not be interdicted by USA postal authorities. Second, the Royal Mail Steamship Company (RMSP) operated a line of steamers between Southampton, Great Britain and St. Thomas, Virgin Islands. From St. Thomas, RMSP also operated a branch line which extended to

Tampico, Mexico via Havana, Cuba. Finally, the Cunard Line also operated the packet service which ran between Great Britain and Halifax, Nova Scotia. From Halifax, a Cunard branch line ran to Bermuda and St. Thomas. These three alternate transatlantic routes are labeled the Nassau Route, the St. Thomas Route, and the Halifax Route, respectively, in this article.

## Nassau Route: The Liverpool-New York-Nassau-Havana Cunard Packet Line

Since most of the supplies needed by the CSA came from Great Britain, the British colonial port of Nassau in the Bahamas Islands naturally became the most important staging port. As a result, the greatest volume of blockade-run mail was carried between Nassau and the CSA ports of Charleston and Wilmington, and the Cunard Line closed-mail packet ser-


Figure 8. The Nassau Route: the Cunard Line route between Great Britain and Havana via New York and Nassau, Bahamas. vice between Nassau and Great Britain became the most-used of the transatlantic packet routes for blockade-run mail.

The Cunard branch line service between New York and Havana via Nassau operated at four-week intervals, with departures from New York timed to connect with the arrivals of every other westbound Cunard Line transatlantic packet from Liverpool. The trip between New York and Nassau took four days, and the leg between Nassau and Havana took two days. Northbound departures from Havana were on Saturdays, and the arrivals in New York from Nassau connected with every other eastbound Cunard Line transatlantic packet. The leg between Nassau and Havana did not operate during the summer months of July and August. Detailed sailing data for the Nassau Route during the Civil War period is included in Appendices A and B, and Figure 8 illustrates the route.

Figure 9 shows an unusual cover which served as both the inner and outer envelope for the trip from Great Britain to the CSA, and illustrates the entire range of postal markings. This cover traveled via the Nassau Route, and was franked with a Great Britain 1862 one shilling green (Scott \#42) to prepay the packet postage for the trip from Liverpool to the Bahamas Islands. One penny was credited to the Nassau post office for inland postage. The letter was carried by the Cunard transatlantic steamship Persia, which left Liverpool on 26 September 1863 and arrived in New York on October 7. It was transferred there in a closed mailbag to the Cunard steamer Corsica, which left New York on October 12, and arrived in Nassau about October 16. The Nassau forwarder of Sawyer \& Menendez received the letter and put it into the mailbag of the blockade runner Fannie, which arrived in Wilmington, North Carolina on October 23. The letter was rated for 12 cents CSA postage due, and marked "SHIP" to justify the additional two cents ship fee.

Very rarely, a letter from the Gulf Coast would be taken via Havana to Nassau for connection with the northbound Cunard steamer to New York. The cover in Figure 10
originated in Galveston, Texas on 11 September 1863 and was enclosed in an outer envelope addressed to Saunders \& Son, a forwarder in Nassau. It was probably carried by the blockade runner Alice, which was making regular trips between the Gulf ports and Havana during this period. The letter was forwarded from Havana to Saunders \& Son,


Figure 9. A blockade-run cover that traveled the Nassau route. Franked with a British 1 shilling green stamp, this cover was posted September 25, 1863 at Liverpool and sent via New York to Nassau, Bahamas. From there it ran through the blockade into Wilmington, N.C., where it entered the Confederate mails for delivery to Augusta, Georgia.


Figure 10. Taken from Havana to Nassau for connection with the Cunard steamer from New York: September 11, 1863 blockade-run letter from Galveston, Texas to Prussia via Havana and Nassau. The Nassau stamp was added by a local forwarder, who paid other postage in cash. Once in Nassau, the cover could travel in closed mails via New York to England and then on to Dusseldorf.
which discarded the outer letter, and added a Bahamas 1862 1d lake (Scott \#5) for local postage. They then posted the letter in Nassau on September 25 with an additional 16 pence paid in cash to make up the 1 shilling 5 pence rate to Prussia. One penny of the postage was claimed by the Nassau post office per the blue manuscript " 1 ". The Cunard steamer Corsica carried the letter from Nassau about September 28, and arrived in New York on October 2. The letter was then transferred in the closed mail at New York to the Cunard steamer China, which left on October 7, and arrived in Queenstown on October 16. It finally reached Prussia on October 20, where it was marked paid per the "Aus England per Aachen Franco" datestamp.

The sender of this letter had the option of directing it to the RMSP route from Havana to Southampton via St. Thomas. However, the next departure on the St. Thomas Route left Havana on October 7, and arrived in Great Britain on October 29, so the sender saved 13 days by routing the letter via Nassau.

This alternate St. Thomas Route will be examined next. It principally serviced mail carried by Gulf Coast blockade runners, and mail that evaded the Federal blockade by passing overland through Mexico between Matamoras and Tampico.

## St. Thomas Route: The Southampton-St. Thomas-Havana-Tampico RMSP Line

The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company maintained a twice-monthly packet service between Southampton and St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands. The RMSP connecting line to Havana and Tampico, however, operated on a monthly basis and met every other sailing of the RMSP transatlantic service.

The trip between St. Thomas and Havana took five days, and the leg between Havana and Tampico took four to six days, with an intermediate stop at Vera Cruz, Mexico. A detailed sailing table for the St. Thomas Route during the Civil War period (drawn from


Figure 11. The St. Thomas Route: the Royal Mail Steam Packet route between Great Britain and Tampico via St. Thomas and Havana. the excellent book Early Routings of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 1847-1879, by Kenton and Parsons) is included in Appendices E and F. Figure 11 illustrates the route.

In an effort to use this route, on October 15, 1861, Antonio Costa announced a post-office-endorsed foreign mail private express service out of Confederate New Orleans. In his flyer, he stated, "The undersigned, now suffering in common with others, the inconvenience of blockade and non-intercourse with foreign countries; has, by the advice and approval of J.L. Riddell, Post Master at New Orleans, taken all needful measures to establish at his own expense, a monthly mail between New Orleans and the Mexican port of Tampico, to connect with the regular British Mail steamers touching at that port."
J.L. Riddell also added a postscript stating that, "Letters intended for this Mail, may
be enclosed along with the money required per tariff above, and the outer envelope addressed to Costa's Foreign Mail, care of Postmaster, New Orleans." The tariff indicated was $\$ 1.00$ to Europe, including Confederate postage. Couriers took the mail overland across Texas to Brownsville, then across the Rio Grande to Matamoros, Mexico. Letters were then taken overland from Matamoros to Tampico.


Figure 12. September 17, 1861 letter from New Orleans carried in an outer envelope to Mexico by Costa's Express for transmittal to France. The 18611 real black on green Mexico stamp was added by the local forwarder in Tampico, even though the cover never entered the Mexican mails. This is the only known outbound cover that traveled via Costa's Express.

The letter in Figure 12 is the only known outgoing Costa Express letter, and was enclosed in an outer envelope addressed to a forwarder in Tampico. It was carried on Costa's first trip from New Orleans, which left on October 10, 1861 with 1,233 letters. The overland trip to Brownsville, Texas, took about three weeks, and the mail was then carried across the Rio Grande from Brownsville to nearby Matamoros. After a two-week overland trip through Mexico, the mail arrived in Tampico in mid-November. The Tampico for-
warder, Ramon de Obregon, added a Mexico 1861 one real black on green (Scott \#7) to pay local postage (although the letter never entered the Mexican postal system), and deposited the letter at the British post office in Tampico. On November 29, the RMSP steamer Clyde carried the letter to St. Thomas, arriving on December 12. From there, the RMSP steamer Shannon took the letter to Southampton on January 1, 1862. The letter was rated unpaid in Great Britain and sent to France under the terms of the 1856 France-GB Treaty, which called for a debit to France of 40 centimes (the "G.B. 1F 60c" marking is a bulk debit per 30 grams, or about four letters). France collected 80 centimes ( 40 centimes due Great Britain plus 40 centimes inland) from the recipient.

Costa's circular also gave instructions for sending mail from Europe to New Orleans. It stated, "Letters from abroad can be received through the same route. The Foreign post-


Figure 13. Blockade-run letter written in Rotterdam, Holland, December 29, 1861, sent in an outer envelope via Tampico to the postmaster at Matamoros, Mexico and carried by courier to Brownsville, Texas and on to New Orleans. There the outer envelope was discarded, the two $5 \phi$ green Confederate stamps were applied and the letter sent via CSA mails to its recipient in Richmond.
age on such letters must be prepaid to Tampico, and they must be endorsed By the West India mail, via Tampico, care of the Postmaster at Matamoros."

The cover in Figure 13 was written in Rotterdam, Holland on December 29, 1861, and sent in an outer envelope addressed to Warneken \& Co., a forwarder in New Orleans, but care of the Postmaster at Matamoros. It was routed to the RMSP steamer Atrato, which eft Southampton on January 2, 1862, and arrived in St. Thomas on January 16. This letter was then transferred to the RMSP steamer Avon, which arrived in Tampico on January 28. The postmaster at Tampico forwarded the envelope to Matamoros, where it was picked by Costa's courier and taken overland from Brownsville, Texas to New Orleans on March 14. Upon the letter's arrival in New Orleans, Warneken \& Co. discarded the outer envelope, added their manuscript endorsement to the reverse, and franked the letter with 10¢ CSA postage, using two $18615 \phi$ green stamps (Scott 1). Warneken then posted the letter on March 15, 1862 for transmittal by the CSA postal service from New Orleans to Richmond,

Virginia.
Halifax Route: The Liverpool-Halifax-Bermuda-St. Thomas Cunard Packet Line
The Cunard Line operated a bi-weekly transatlantic packet route between Great Britain and Boston, with a stop at Halifax, Nova Scotia, each way. The Cunard branch line between Halifax and St. Thomas via Bermuda ran on a monthly schedule, and connected


Figure 14. The Halifax Route: the Cunard packet route between Great Britain and St. Thomas via Halifax and Bermuda.
with every other transatlantic sailing. The leg between Halifax and Bermuda took five days, and the leg between Bermuda and St. Thomas also took five days. Detailed sailing data for the Halifax Route during the Civil War period (drawn largely from the excellent research published by Morris Ludington in The Bermuda Packet Mails and the HalifaxBermuda Mail Service, 1806 to 1889) is included in the Appendices C and D, and the route is illustrated in Figure 14.

This route principally serviced the blockade-run mail between Bermuda and the CSA ports of Charleston and Wilmington. The blockade-run letter illustrated in Figure 15 was carried on this route. It was written in Liverpool on December 10, 1862, and enclosed in an outer envelope addressed to a forwarder in Bermuda. It was dispatched on the Cunard Line steamer Africa, which arrived in Halifax on January 9, 1863, and was transferred to the Cunard branch line steamer Delta, which arrived in Bermuda on January 13. The Bermuda forwarder discarded the outer envelope, and endorsed the letter to the blockade runner S.S. Princess Royal, which departed on January 26. The Princess Royal ran aground in Charleston harbor on January 29, and was subsequently captured by the U.S.S. Unadilla. Just before the capture, however, the passengers and mail were off-loaded and taken to Charleston. The letter was posted there on February 2 with 22 cents due (double-weight


Figure 15. December 10, 1862 blockade-run letter sent via the Halifax route from Liverpool to a forwarder in Bermuda, who discarded the outer envelope and endorsed this cover "per SS Princess Royal," a blockade-running steamer that carried it into Charleston, where it entered the Confederate mails for travel on to Richmond.


Figure 16. A blockade-run letter sent under cover from Petersburg, Virginia (July 19, 1864) to a forwarder at Wilmington, N.C. From Wilmington the cover ran through the blockade to Bermuda and then traveled via the Cunard Halifax route to London.

CSA postage to Richmond plus the two cents ship fee) and marked "STEAM-SHIP" to justify the additional two cents ship fee.

Because of its greater distance from the Atlantic blockade running ports, mail through Bermuda is scarcer than through Nassau. The Bermuda post office was also less prone to apply transit marks to blockade run mail, so letters with such marks are quite rare.

The letter in Figure 16 is a very unusual example, in that it shows three different Bermuda postal markings. On July 19, 1864, it was sent under cover from Petersburg, Virginia to a forwarder at Wilmington, North Carolina. The forwarder discarded the outer envelope and placed the letter in the mail bag of the blockade runner City of Petersburg, which left Wilmington on July 23 and arrived in Hamilton, Bermuda on July 28. Hamilton erroneously rated it for a collection of four pence ship fee plus one shilling packet postage to London, and applied the very rare "HAMILTON-BERMUDA SHIP LETTER" marking. The letter was transferred to St. George's, Bermuda on August 4, which re-rated the letter for one shilling packet postage to Great Britain. It left Bermuda on August 5 aboard the Cunard steamer Alpha, which arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on August 9. It then connected in Halifax with the Cunard transatlantic packet Africa, which arrived in Liverpool on August 29. In London, the letter was finally correctly rated for two shillings due, consisting of one shilling packet postage plus one shilling unpaid letter fine.

In the summer of 1864, an outbreak of Yellow Fever in Bermuda caused blockade runners to avoid docking at Bermuda. A small number ran directly from Wilmington to


Figure 17. This September 1864 cover was carried by blockade runner from Wilmington, N.C. all the way to Halifax, where it boarded the Cunard steamer for transit to Liverpool and onward via England and France to its destination in Heidelburg.

Halifax during the August-September 1864 period.
Figure 17 illustrates a letter carried by the blockade runner Helen, which left Wilmington on September 15, 1864, and arrived in Nova Scotia on September 20. It entered the mails unpaid at Halifax on September 20 (per the Halifax back stamp), and Halifax debited Great Britain one penny for local postage per the black " 1 " marking. It left Halifax on September 30 aboard the Cunard steamer Arabia, which arrived in Liverpool on October
10. The letter was rated unpaid in Great Britain and sent via France to Germany under the terms of the 1856 France-GB Treaty, which called for a bulk rate debit to France of two francs per 30 grams, as indicated by the "GB 2F" marking. On October 11, France rated the cover double-weight (between 7.5 and 15 grams) per the manuscript " 2 " marking. Upon its October 14 arrival in Heidelberg, it was rated for 33 kreutzer due, consisting of 30 kreutzer due to France, plus 3 kreutzer inland postage.

## Hybrid Transatlantic Routes

Since the three transatlantic routes detailed above ran on monthly schedules, a blockade run letter could be inordinately delayed if it missed a monthly departure. As a result, forwarders in the West Indies could sometimes save significant transit time by crossing a letter over to another transatlantic route. Both Havana and St. Thomas were on two of the three packet routes, so it was particularly easy to re-direct a letter to an alternate sailing from those locations. Also, since the three West Indies staging ports were in relatively close proximity, it was also possible to send a letter by inter-island transport to another West Indies port for forwarding by an alternate transatlantic sailing.


Figure 18. May 22, 1863, blockade-run letter from Charleston to France via Wilmington and Nassau. "Too late" for one steamer out of Nassau, it waited 27 days for the next steamer. Postage via British mails to France was prepaid in cash at Nassau.

Figure 18 shows a letter which could have benefited from an alternate routing. It originated in Charleston, South Carolina on May 22, 1863, and was forwarded by the blockade runner Banshee (I) from Wilmington to arrive in Nassau on June 8. Since the monthly steamer from Nassau to New York had left earlier that day, it was marked "Too late" in blue crayon, and held 27 days in Nassau until the July 5 sailing of the Corsica for New York. The 1 shilling 4 pence rate to France was prepaid in cash, of which one shilling 3 pence was credited to Great Britain per the red manuscript " $1 / 3$ " marking, and one penny was retained by Nassau per the blue manuscript " 1 " marking.

Had the letter in Figure 18 been transported to St. Thomas from Nassau, it might have caught the June 14 sailing of the RMSP steamer Shannon, which arrived in Great Britain on June 29. Instead, it was carried by the Cunard steamer China, which arrived in Great Britain on July 25.

The letter in Figure 19 was re-directed to St. Thomas from Nassau. It originated in Petersburg, Virginia on May 23, 1864, and was sent under cover to a forwarder in Wilmington. That forwarder endorsed the inner letter to the blockade runner Edith, and to the care of Geo. Chambers \& Co., a forwarder in Nassau. The Edith left Wilmington on May 26, and arrived in Nassau on May 30. The Nassau forwarder, however, mailed the letter on June 7, one day after the departure of the Corsica for New York, so the Nassau post office sent the letter in inter-island transport to St. Thomas. Nassau also rated the unpaid letter at


Figure 19. Redirected from St. Thomas to Nassau: this May 23, 1864 blockade-run letter originated in Petersburg, Virginia. It was sent under cover to Wilmington and from there (via blockade runner Edith) to Nassau and then on to St. Thomas, thus making a more timely connection to London.

2 shillings due, consisting of one shilling packet postage plus one shilling unpaid letter fine. Of that amount, 7 pence was due to Nassau, consisting of one penny inland postage plus one half of the unpaid letter fine. The letter left St. Thomas on June 29 aboard the RMSP steamer Tasmanian, which arrived in Great Britain on July 13, eleven days before the next Nassau Line arrival.

Figure 20 shows an example of re-direction from Bermuda. This cover was written on June 28, 1864 in Spartanburg, South Carolina, and carried by Edith from Wilmington to arrive in Bermuda on July 8. The northbound Cunard Line sailing from Bermuda to Halifax had left earlier that day, so this letter was re-directed to the July 26 southbound sailing of the Cunard steamer Alpha to St. Thomas. It connected there with the RMSP transatlantic steamer Shannon, which left St. Thomas on August 15, and arrived in Southampton on August 29. The one shilling unpaid letter fine was not assessed on this letter.

## Conclusion

After it became clear that the replacement transatlantic routes were operating effectively, they became known to and accepted by correspondents. Figure 21 shows an outgoing blockade-run letter that illustrates this well.

The letter in Figure 21 was written in Charleston on November 17, 1863, and sent


Figure 20. Redirection from Bermuda: June 28, 1864 blockade-run letter sent from South Carolina to Liverpool via a blockade runner from Wilmington to Bermuda. From Bermuda it was routed south to St. Thomas for a more timely transatlantic connection.
under cover to the care of the Importing and Exporting Company of South Carolina, an owner/operator of blockade-run steamships. The writer was a director of this company, which endorsed the letter to one of its steamships, the Fannie. The Fannie left Wilmington on December 3, and arrived at Nassau on December 6. A Nassau forwarder mailed the double-weight letter unpaid on December 7 (per the Bahamas postmark on the back), and Nassau rated it for 3 shillings due, consisting of 2 shillings packet postage plus one shilling unpaid letter fine. Of that amount, 8 pence was due to Nassau, consisting of double-weight inland postage plus one half of the unpaid letter fine. The letter was carried to New York by


Figure 21. November 17, 1863 blockade-run letter sent under cover from Charleston to Liverpool via Wilmington and Nassau. The content of this cover, quoted in the accompanying text, indicates the sender was quite knowledgeable about the transatlantic mailing options then available.
the Cunard steamship Corsica, which arrived on December 26. In New York, the letter was then transferred in a closed mailbag to the Cunard transatlantic steamship Australasian, which left on December 30, and arrived in Queenstown on January 8, 1864.

The enclosed letter sheds considerable light on the knowledge of the various transatlantic options open to correspondents. From Charleston, Cornelius Burckmyer wrote:
> "...You seem to labor under a misapprehension about the steamer which takes my letters to Europe as you speak of looking for them by the mail at Southampton. It is only a letter from Mobile which reaches Europe that way, for they go from Mobile to Havana and are sent from that point by the West India mail to England. The steamers from Wilmington go to Nassau and the mail is made up there for England and sent in a closed bag to New York by an English steamer from which it is transferred without being opened to one of the Cunarders which takes it to Liverpool, and your letters reach me by the same mode, always passing through New York before going to Nassau. I make this explanation that you may not be worried hereafter at not hearing from me on the arrival of the West India Steamer."

In Europe, the various transatlantic alternatives were also well known. On January 1, 1864, Fraser, Trenholm \& Co., a large blockade-running firm based in Liverpool, issued a
notice relating to mails for the CSA (reproduced on page 25 of Ludington's Postal History of Blockade Running Through Bermuda 1861-1865). It stated that, "Messrs. FRASER, TRENHOLM \& Co. intend to dispatch their mails for the Confederate States, upon the following days during the current year or existence of the Blockade." This was followed by two columns of dates headed "Via NASSAU" and "Via BERMUDA". The dates listed in each column correspond to the Liverpool departure dates for the Nassau Route and the Halifax Route, respectively. The flyer continued,
"For the accommodation of their friends, Messrs. FRASER, TRENHOLM \& Co. will receive private letters to be forwarded with their own mails; but they cannot of course undertake to have them safely delivered in the Confederate States. All such letters are entirely at the risk of the senders, and are liable to destruction in transit to the coast. The English postage required to be paid in advance is one shilling per half-ounce, which must be remitted in detached stamps - and the letters should reach us one clear day before each departure."

These examples show how the replacement transatlantic routes for blockade-run mail came into general acceptance and usage.

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## Bibliography

[^5]
## APPENDIX A-Nassau Route Westbound Liverpool-New York-Nassau-Havana Cunard Line Sailing Table: 1861-1865

| Transatlantic Steamship | Depart <br> Liverpool | Arrive <br> New York | West Indies Steamship | Depart <br> New York | Arrive <br> Nassau | Depart <br> Nassau | Arrive Havana |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1861 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Asia | 28 Sep 61 | 11 Oct 61 | Karnak | 14 Oct | 18 Oct | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| Persia | 26 Oct | 5 Nov | Karnak | 12 Nov | 16 Nov | 18 Nov | 20 Nov |
| Africa | 23 Nov | 8 Dec | Karnak | 10 Dec | 14 Dec | 16 Dec | 18 Dec |
| 1862 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Asia | 21 Dec 61 | 3 Jan 62 | Karnak | 7 Jan | 11 Jan | 13 Jan | 15 Jan |
| Africa | 18 Jan | 31 Jan | Karnak | 1 Feb | 6 Feb | 10 Feb | 12 Feb |
| Arabia | 15 Feb | 4 Mar | Karnak | 4 Mar | 9 Mar | 10 Mar | 12 Mar |
| China | 15 Mar | 26 Mar | Karnak | 29 Mar | 2 Apr | 3 Apr | 5 Apr (1) |
| Persia | 12 Apr | 23 Apr | Johnson | 26 Apr | 5 May | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| Scotia | 10 May | 21 May | British Queen | 24 May | 28 May | 2 Jun | 3 Jun |
| China | 7 Jun | 18 Jun | British Queen | 21 Jun | 25 Jun | 30 Jun | 2 Jul |
| Persia | 5 Jul | 16 Jul | British Queen | 19 Jul | 23 Jul | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| Scotia | 2 Aug | 12 Aug | British Queen | 16 Aug | 20 Aug | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| Australasian | 30 Aug | 10 Sep | British Queen | 13 Sep | 17 Sep | 22 Sep | 24 Sep |
| Persia | 27 Sep | 9 Oct | British Queen | 10 Oct | 14 Oct | 20 Oct | 22 Oct |
| Scotia | 25 Oct | 8 Nov | British Queen | 10 Nov | 14 Nov | 17 Nov | 19 Nov |
| China | 22 Nov | 5 Dec | British Queen | 9 Dec | 13 Dec | 15 Dec | 17 Dec |
| 1863 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Asia | 20 Dec 62 | 4 Jan 63 | British Queen | 6 Jan | 10 Jan | 12 Jan | 14 Jan |
| Australasian | 17 Jan | 1 Feb | British Queen | 2 Feb | 6 Feb | 9 Feb | 11 Feb |
| Africa | 14 Mar | 28 Feb | British Queen | 2 Mar | 6 Mar | 9 Mar | 11 Mar |
| Asia | 14 Mar | 28 Mar | British Queen | 28 Mar | 1 Apr | 6 Apr | 8 Apr |
| Persia | 11 Apr | 22 Apr | Corsica | 25 Apr | 29 Apr | 4 May | 6 May |
| China | 9 May | 22 May | Corsica | 23 May | 27 May | 1 Jun | 3 Jun |
| Scotia | 6 Jun | 16 Jun | Corsica | 20 Jun | 24 Jun | 29 Jun | 1 Jul |
| Persia | 4 Jul | 14 Jul | Corsica | 18 Jul | 22 Jul | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| China | 1 Aug | 11 Aug | Corsica | 15 Aug | 19 Aug | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| Scotia | 29 Aug | 8 Sep | Corsica | 12 Sep | 16 Sep | 21 Sep | 23 Sep |
| Persia | 26 Sep | 7 Oct | Corsica | 12 Oct | 16 Oct | 19 Oct | 21 Oct |
| China | 24 Oct | 4 Nov | Corsica | 9 Nov | 13 Nov | 16 Nov | 18 Nov |
| Scotia | 21 Nov | 4 Dec | Corsica | 7 Dec | 11 Dec | 14 Dec | 16 Dec |
| 1864 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Persia | 19 Dec 63 | 31 Dec 63 | Corsica | 4 Jan | 8 Jan | 11 Jan | 13 Jan |
| Australasian | 16 Jan 64 | 29 Jan 64 | Corsica | 1 Feb | 5 Feb | 8 Feb | 10 Feb |
| Asia | 13 Feb | 28 Feb | Corsica | 29 Feb | 4 Mar | 7 Mar | 9 Mar |
| China | 12 Mar | 23 Mar | Corsica | 27 Mar | 31 Mar | 4 Apr | 6 Apr |
| Australasian | 9 Apr | 20 Apr | Corsica | 23 Apr | 27 Apr | 2 May | 4 May |
| Persia | 7 May | 18 May | Corsica | 21 May | 25 May | 30 May | 1 Jun |
| Scotia | 4 Jun | 15 Jun | Corsica | 18 Jun | 22 Jun | 27 Jun | 29 Jun |
| Australasian | 2 Jul | 13 Jul | Corsica | 16 Jul | 20 Jul | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| Persia | 30 Jul | 11 Aug | Corsica | 13 Aug | 17 Aug | (no trip to Havana) |  |
| Scotia | 27 Aug | 6 Sep | Corsica | 10 Sep | 14 Sep | 19 Sep | 21 Sep |
| China | 24 Sep | 5 Oct | Corsica | 10 Oct | 14 Oct | 17 Oct | 19 Oct |
| Persia | 22 Oct | 2 Nov | Corsica | 7 Nov | 11 Nov | 14 Nov | 16 Nov |
| China | 19 Nov | 2 Dec | Corsica | 5 Dec | 9 Dec | 12 Dec | 14 Dec |
| 1865 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Australasian | 17 Dec 64 | 29 Dec 64 | Corsica | 2 Jan | 6 Jan | 9 Jan | 11 Jan |
| Cuba | 14 Jan 65 | 28 Jan 65 | Corsica | 30 Jan | 3 Feb | 6 Feb | 8 Feb |

Notes: Italicized dates are estimates that have been interpolated from known dates. (1): Karnak was wrecked leaving Havana on April 14, 1862.

# APPENDIX B-Nassau Route Eastbound <br> Havana-Nassau-New York-Queenstown Cunard Line Sailing Table: 1861-1865 



Notes: Italicized dates are estimates that have been interpolated from known dates. (1) Karnak was wrecked leaving Havana on April 14, 1862. (B) indicates the steamship left from Boston instead of New York. Transatlantic dates are drawn from Hubbard-Winter, North Atlantic Mail Sailings, 1840-1875.

## APPENDIX C-Halifax Route Westbound Liverpool-Halifax-Bermuda-St. Thomas Cunard Line Sailing Table: 1862-1865

|  | Depart | Arrive | W. Indies | Depart | Arrive | Depart | Arrive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Steamer | Liverpool | Halifax | Steamer | Halifax | Bermuda | Bermuda | St. Thos |
| 1862 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Canada | 28 Dec 61 | 8 Jan 62 | Merlin | 10 Jan | 16 Jan | 16 Jan | 21 Jan |
| America | 25 Jan | 9 Feb | Merlin | 9 Feb | 14 Feb | 14 Feb | 19 Feb |
| Canada | 22 Feb | 5 Mar | Merlin | 8 Mar | 13 Mar | 13 Mar | 18 Mar |
| Niagara | 22 Mar | 3 Apr | Delta | 3 Apr | 8 Apr | 8 Apr | 13 Apr |
| America | 19 Apr | 1 May | Delta | 2 May | 6 May | 7 May | 12 May |
| Europa | 17 May | 29 May | Delta | 29 May | 3 Jun | 4 Jun | 9 Jun |
| Arabia | 14 Jun | 24 Jun | Delta | 26 Jun | 1 Jul | 2 Jul | 7 Jul |
| Asia | 12 Jul | 23 Jul | Delta | 24 Jul | 29 Jul | 29 Jul | 3 Aug |
| Europa | 9 Aug | 19 Aug | Merlin | 21 Aug | 26 Aug | 26 Aug | 31 Aug |
| Arabia | 6 Sep | 16 Sep | Merlin | 18 Sep | 24 Sep | 24 Sep | 29 Sep |
| Asia | 4 Oct | 15 Oct | Delta | 16 Oct | 21 Oct | 21 Oct | 26 Oct |
| Europa | 1 Nov | 13 Nov | Delta | 13 Nov | 18 Nov | 18 Nov | 23 Nov |
| Arabia | 29 Nov | 9 Dec | Merlin | 11 Dec | 16 Dec | 16 Dec | 21 Dec |
| 1863 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Africa | 27 Dec 62 | 9 Jan 63 | Delta | 9 Jan | 13 Jan | 13 Jan | 18 Jan |
| Europa | 24 Jan | 9 Feb | Delta | 9 Feb | 14 Feb | 14 Feb | 19 Feb |
| Arabia | 21 Feb | 6 Mar | Delta | 6 Mar | 11 Mar | 11 Mar | 16 Mar |
| Canada | 21 Mar | 3 Apr | Delta | 4 Apr | 9 Apr | 9 Apr | 14 Apr |
| Europa | 18 Apr | 30 Apr | Delta | 30 Apr | 5 May | 6 May | 11 May |
| Asia | 16 May | 25 May | Merlin | 28 May | 3 Jun | 3 Jun | 8 Jun |
| Canada | 13 Jun | 24 Jun | Alpha | 25 Jun | 30 Jun | 30 Jun | 5 Jul |
| Africa | 11 Jul | 20 Jul | Alpha | 23 Jul | 28 Jul | 28 Jul | 2 Aug |
| Asia | 8 Aug | 18 Aug | Alpha | 20 Aug | 26 Aug | 26 Aug | 31 Aug |
| Arabia | 5 Sep | 15 Sep | Alpha | 19 Sep | 23 Sep | 25 Sep | 30 Sep |
| Africa | 3 Oct | 22 Oct | Ospray | 22 Oct | 25 Oct | (no trip to | Thomas) |
| Asia | 31 Oct | 13 Nov | Alpha | 13 Nov | 18 Nov | 19 Nov | 24 Nov |
| Canada | 28 Nov | 11 Dec | Alpha | 12 Dec | 17 Dec | 17 Dec | 22 Dec |
| 1864 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Africa | 26 Dec 63 | 7 Jan 64 | Alpha | 7 Jan | 12 Jan | 13 Jan | 18 Jan |
| Arabia | 23 Jan | 4 Feb | Alpha | 5 Feb | 10 Feb | 10 Feb | 15 Feb |
| Canada | 20 Feb | 3 Mar | Alpha | 4 Mar | 9 Mar | 9 Mar | 14 Mar |
| Africa | 19 Mar | 30 Mar | Alpha | 31 Mar | 7 Apr | 7 Apr | 12 Apr |
| Europa | 16 Apr | 30 Apr | Alpha | 30 Apr | 5 May | 5 May | 10 May |
| Asia | 14 May | 25 May | Delta | 26 May | 31 May | 31 May | 5 Jun |
| Africa | 11 Jun | 22 Jun | Alpha | 23 Jun | 28 Jun | 28 Jun | 3 Jul |
| Europa | 9 Jul | 19 Jul | Alpha | 21 Jul | 26 Jul | 26 Jul | 31 Jul |
| Asia | 6 Aug | 16 Aug | Delta | 18 Aug | 23 Aug | 23 Aug | 28 Aug |
| Arabia | 3 Sep | 12 Sep | Delta | 15 Sep | 20 Sep | 20 Sep | 25 Sep |
| Europa | 1 Oct | 12 Oct | Merlin | 13 Oct | 19 Oct | 19 Oct | 24 Oct |
| Africa | 29 Oct | 9 Nov | Delta | 10 Nov | 15 Nov | 15 Nov | 20 Nov |
| Canada | 26 Nov | 10 Dec | Alpha | 11 Dec | 17 Dec | 17 Dec | 22 Dec |
| 1865 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Asia | 24 Dec 64 | 4 Jan 65 | Alpha | 5 Jan | 11 Jan | 11 Jan | 16 Jan |
| Africa | 21 Jan | 2 Feb | Delta | 2 Feb | 7 Feb | 7 Feb | 12 Feb |
| Canada | 18 Feb | 3 Mar | Alpha | 3 Mar | 8 Mar | 8 Mar | 13 Mar |

Note: Italics indicate an estimated date, interpolated from known dates.

# APPENDIX D-Halifax Route Eastbound St. Thomas-Bermuda-Halifax-Liverpool Cunard Line Sailings: 1862-1865 

| W. Indies <br> Steamship | Depart <br> St. Thomas | Arrive <br> Bermuda | Depart <br> Bermuda | Arrive <br> Halifax | Transatlantic <br> Steamship | Depart <br> Halifax | Arrive |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Merliverpool |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Notes: West Indies dates are drawn from Arnell \& Ludington, The Bermuda Packet Mails and the HalifaxBermuda Mail Service, 1806 to 1889. (Norwich, GB: The Postal History Society, 1989). Transatlantic dates from Hubbard-Winter.

## APPENDIX E-St. Thomas Route Westbound <br> Southampton-St. Thomas-Havana-Tampico RMSP Line Sailing Table: 1861-1865

| Transatlantic Steamship | Depart Southampton | Arrive St. Thomas | W. Indies Steamship | Depart <br> St. Thomas | Arrive <br> Havana | Depart <br> Havana | Arrive <br> Tampice |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1861$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Shannon | 17 Jul | 1 Aug |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Aug | 16 Aug | Trent | 16 Aug | 21 Aug | 22 Aug | 29 Aug |
| Tasmanian | 17 Aug | 1 Sep |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 Sep | 17 Sep | Trent | 17 Sep | 22 Sep | 23 Sep | 29 Sep |
| Shannon | 17 Sep | 2 Oct |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Oct | 16 Oct | Trent | 17 Oct | 22 Oct | 23 Oct | 29 Oct |
| La Plata | 17 Oct | 31 Oct |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 Nov | 17 Nov | Clyde | 17 Nov | 22 Nov | 23 Nov | 28 Nov |
| Shannon | 18 Nov | 1 Dec |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Dec | 17 Dec | Clyde | 17 Dec | 22 Dec | 23 Dec | 29 Dec |
| 1862 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 17 Dec 61 | 1 Jan 62 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 Jan | 16 Jan | Avon | 16 Jan | 20 Jan | 22 Jan | 28 Jan |
| Shannon | 17 Jan | 2 Feb |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 3 Feb | 18 Feb | Thames | 18 Feb | 22 Feb | 23 Feb | 28 Feb |
| La Plata | 17 Feb | 7 Mar |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 3 Mar | 18 Mar | Avon | 18 Mar | 22 Mar | 22 Mar | 26 Mar |
| Shannon | 17 Mar | 1 Apr |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Apr | 16 Apr | Trent | 16 Apr | 20 Apr | 22 Apr | 27 Apr |
| La Plata | 17 Apr | 1 May |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 May | 16 May | Thames | 16 May | 20 May | 22 May | 27 May |
| Shannon | 17 May | 31 May |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Jun | 17 Jun | Trent | 17 Jun | 22Jun | 23 Jun | 29 Jun |
| Tasmanian | 17 Jun | 1 Jul |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 Jul | 16 Jul | Thames | 16 Jul | 20 Jul | 22 Jul | 29 Jul |
| Shannon | 17 Jul | 31 Jul |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Aug | 16 Aug | Trent | 17 Aug | 21 Aug | 23 Aug | 27 Aug |
| Tasmanian | 18 Aug | 1 Sep |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 Sep | 16 Sep | Trent | 16 Sep | 20 Sep | 21 Sep | 27 Sep |
| La Plata | 17 Sep | 2 Oct |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Oct | 16 Oct | Clyde | 17 Oct | 21 Oct | 22 Oct | 28 Oct |
| Tasmanian | 17 Oct | 1 Nov |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 3 Nov | 17 Nov | Conway | 17 Nov | 21 Nov | 22 Nov | 28 Nov |
| Shannon | 17 Nov | 1 Dec |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Dec | 17 Dec | Conway | 17 Dec | 21 Dec | 22 Dec | 28 Dec |
| 1863 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tasmanian | 17 Dec 62 | 31 Dec 62 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 Jan | 17 Jan | Conway | 17 Jan | 22 Jan | 22 Jan | 28 Jan |
| Shannon | 17 Jan | 2 Feb |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 3 Feb | 17 Feb | Clyde | 17 Feb | 22 Feb | 22 Feb | 1 Mar |
| Tasmanian | 17 Feb | 2 Mar |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 Mar | 17 Mar | Conway | 17 Mar | 22 Mar | 22 Mar | 28 Mar |
| Shannon | 17 Mar | 1 Apr |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 2 Apr | 16 Apr | Clyde | 16 Apr | 21 Apr | 21 Apr | 28 Apr |
| Tasmanian | 17 Apr | 1 May |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 May | 16 May | Trent | 16 May | 21 May | 21 May | 28 May |
| Shannon | 18 May | 1 Jun |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 2 Jun | 16 Jun | Trent | 16 Jun | 21 Jun | 21 Jun | 28 Jun |
| Tasmanian | 17 Jun | 1 Jul |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Jul | 16 Jul | Conway | 16 Jul | 21 Jul | 21 Jul | 28 Jul |
| Shannon | 17 Jul | 31 Jul |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 3 Aug | 17 Aug | Conway | 17 Aug | 22 Aug | 22 Aug | 29 Aug |
| Tasmanian | 17 Aug | 31 Aug |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Sep | 16 Sep | Trent | 17 Sep | 21 Sep | 21 Sep | 28 Sep |
| Shannon | 17 Sep | 1 Oct |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 2 Oct | 16 Oct | Trent | 16 Oct | 21 Oct | 21 Oct | 28 Oct |
| Tasmanian | 17 Oct | 1 Nov |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Nov | 17 Nov | Conway | 17 Nov | 22 Nov | 22 Nov | 28 Nov |
| Shannon | 17 Nov | 1 Dec |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 2 Dec | 17 Dec | Clyde | 18 Dec | 23 Dec | 23 Dec | 30 Dec |
| 1864 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 17 Dec 63 | 30 Dec 63 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Jan | 16 Jan | Conway | 17 Jan | 22 Jan | 23 Jan | 28 Jan |
| Shannon | 18 Jan | 2 Feb |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 2 Feb | 17 Feb | Conway | 17 Feb | 23 Feb | 24 Feb | 28 Feb |
| Atrato | 17 Feb | 3 Mar |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Mar | 17 Mar | Clyde | 18 Mar | 23 Mar | 24 Mar | 30 Mar |
| Shannon | 17 Mar | 1 Apr |  |  |  |  |  |


| T-A <br> Steamship | Depart Southampton | Arrive <br> St. Thomas | W. Indies Steamship | Depart St. Thomas | Arrive Havana | Depart <br> Havana | Arrive <br> Tampico |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| La Plata | 2 Apr | 16 Apr | Conway | 17 Apr | 23 Apr | 24 Apr | 28 Apr |
| Atrato | 18 Apr | 2 May |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 May | 16 May | Clyde | 17 May | 23 May | 24 May | 30 May |
| Shannon | 17 May | 31 May |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tasmanian | 2 Jun | 16 Jun | Trent | 17 Jun | 23 Jun | 24 Jun | 29 Jun |
| Atrato | 17 Jun | 1 Jul |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Jul | 16 Jul | Clyde | 17 Jul | 23 Jul | 24 Jul | 30 Jul |
| Shannon | 18 Jul | 1 Aug |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tasmanian | 2 Aug | 16 Aug | Trent | 17 Aug | 23 Aug | 24 Aug | 29 Aug |
| Atrato | 17 Aug | 31 Aug |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Sep | 16 Sep | Clyde | 17 Sep | 23 Sep | 24 Sep | 30 Sep |
| Shannon | 17 Sep | 1 Oct |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tasmanian | 3 Oct | 18 Oct | Solent | 18 Oct | 26 Oct | 26 Oct | 30 Oct |
| Atrato | 17 Oct | 1 Nov |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Nov | 16 Nov | Solent | 17 Nov | 23 Nov | 24 Nov | 30 Nov |
| Shannon | 17 Nov | 3 Dec |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tasmanian | 2 Dec | 16 Dec | Solent | 18 Dec | 24 Dec | 25 Dec | 29 Dec |
| 1865 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 17 Dec 64 | 31 Dec 64 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Seine | 2 Jan | 16 Jan | Eider | 17 Jan | 22 Jan | 24 Jan | 29 Jan |
| Shannon | 17 Jan | 2 Feb |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tasmanian | 2 Feb | 17 Feb | Eider | 18 Feb | 24 Feb | 25 Feb | 1 Mar |
| Atrato | 17 Feb | 3 Mar |  |  |  |  |  |
| La Plata | 2 Mar | 17 Mar | Solent | 17 Mar | 23 Mar | 24 Mar | 28 Mar |
| Seine | 17 Mar | 31 Mar |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tasmanian | 3 Apr | 16 Apr | Eider | 17 Apr | 23 Apr | 24 Apr | 28 Apr |
| Shannon | 17 Apr | 1 May |  |  |  |  |  |
| Atrato | 2 May | 16 May | Eider | 17 May | 23 May | 24 May | 29 May |

APPENDIX F-St. Thomas Route Eastbound
Tampico-Havana-St. Thomas-Southampton RMSP Line Sailing Table: 1861-1865

| W. Indies Steamship | Depart <br> Tampico | Arrive Havana | Depart <br> Havana | Arrive <br> St. Thos | Transatlantic Steamship | Depart <br> St. Thomas | Arrive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1861$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | Southampton |
| Clyde | 30 Jun | 6 Jul | 7 Jul | 13 Jul | Tasmanian | 15 Jul | 29 Jul |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 Jul | 13 Aug |
| Clyde | 31 Jul | 5 Aug | 6 Aug | 12 Aug | Shannon | 14 Aug | 29 Aug |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Aug | 13 Sep |
| Trent | 31 Aug | 7 Sep | 7 Sep | 13 Sep | Tasmanian | 14 Sep | 30 Sep |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 Sep | 20 Oct |
| Trent | 30 Sep | 6 Oct | 7 Oct | 12 Oct | Shannon | 14 Oct | 30 Oct |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Oct | 13 Nov |
| Trent | 30 Oct | 5 Nov | 6 Nov | 13 Nov | La Plata | 13 Nov | 28 Nov |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 Nov | 13 Dec |
| Clyde | 29 Nov | 6 Dec | 8 Dec | 12 Dec | Shannon | 16 Dec | 1 Jan 62 |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 30 Dec | 13 Jan 62 |
| 1862 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Clyde | 31 Dec 61 | 5 Jan 62 | 6 Jan | 12 Jan | La Plata | 14 Jan | 29 Jan |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 31 Jan | 14 Feb |
| Avon | 29 Jan | 5 Feb | 6 Feb | 11 Feb | Shannon | 14 Feb | 2 Mar |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 3 Mar | 13 Mar |
| Thames | 1 Mar | 8 Mar | 9 Mar | 16 Mar | La Plata | 17 Mar | 30 Mar |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 30 Mar | 13 Apr |
| Avon | 27 Mar | 6 Apr | 7 Apr | 12 Apr | Shannon | 13 Apr | 28 Apr |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 1 May | 14 May |
| Trent | 28 Apr | 6 May | 7 May | 13 May | La Plata | 14 May | 1 Jun |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 May | 12 Jun |
| Thames | 28 May | 5 Jun | 6 Jun | 13 Jun | Shannon | 13 Jun | 28 Jun |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 30 Jun | 14 Jul |
| Trent | 30 Jun | 6 Jul | 7 Jul | 12 Jul | Tasmanian | 14 Jul | 28 Jul |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 30 Jul | 13 Aug |
| Thames | 30 Jul | 5 Aug | 6 Aug | 11 Aug | Shannon | 13 Aug | 28 Aug |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 30 Aug | 13 Sep |
| Trent | 28 Aug | 4 Sep | 5 Sep | 11 Sep | Tasmanian | 14 Sep | 28 Sep |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 Sep | 13 Oct |
| Trent | 28 Sep | 6 Oct | 7 Oct | 13 Oct | La Plata | 14 Oct | 29 Oct |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Oct | 13 Nov |


| W. Indies Steamship Clyde | Depart <br> Tampico <br> 29 Oct | Arrive Havana 5 Nov | Depart <br> Havana <br> 7 Nov | Arrive <br> St. Thos <br> 12 Nov | Transatlantic Steamship Tasmanian | Depart <br> St. Thomas | Arrive Southampton |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | 12 Nov | 28 Nov |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 1 Dec | 14 Dec |
| Conway | 29 Nov | 6 Dec | 7 Dec | 13 Dec | Shannon | 15 Dec | 29 Dec |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 30 Dec | 13 Jan 63 |
| 1863 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conway | 29 Dec 62 | 5 Jan | 6 Jan | 12 Jan | Tasmanian | 14 Jan | 30 Jan |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 30 Jan | 13 Feb |
| Conway | 28 Jan | 6 Feb | 6 Feb | 13 Feb | Shannon | 15 Feb | 2 Mar |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 2 Mar | 17 Mar |
| Clyde | 1 Mar | 7 Mar | 8 Mar | 14 Mar | Tasmanian | 16 Mar | 31 Mar |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 Mar | 13 Apr |
| Conway | 28 Mar | 5 Apr | 6 Apr | 11 Apr | Shannon | 12 Apr | 27 Apr |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 29 Apr | 13 May |
| Clyde | 28 Apr | 6 May | 7 May | 12 Mat | Tasmanian | 15 May | 29 May |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 May | 13 Jun |
| Trent | 28 May | 5 Jun | 6 Jun | 11 Jun | Shannon | 14 Jun | 29 Jun |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 30 Jun | 15 Jul |
| Trent | 28 Jun | 6 Jul | 7 Jul | 13 Jul | Tasmanian | 15 Jul | 29 Jul |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 31 Jul | 14 Aug |
| Conway | 28 Jul | 5 Aug | 6 Aug | 12 Aug | Shannon | 13 Aug | 28 Aug |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 30 Aug | 13 Sep |
| Conway | 29 Aug | 5 Sep | 6 Sep | 11 Sep | Tasmanian | 13 Sep | 29 Sep |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Sep | 14 Oct |
| Trent | 28 Sep | 6 Oct | 7 Oct | 12 Oct | Shannon | 14 Oct | 29 Oct |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 1 Nov | 13 Nov |
| Trent | 28 Oct | 4 Nov | 4 Nov | 12 Nov | Tasmanian | 13 Nov | 30 Nov |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 20 Nov | 16 Dec |
| Conway | 28 Nov | 6 Dec | 7 Dec | 15 Dec | Shannon | 16 Dec | 31 Dec |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 30 Dec | 14 Jan 64 |
| 1864 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Clyde | 30 Dec 63 | 6 Jan | 7 Jan | 12 Jan | Atrato | 15 Jan | 29 Jan |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Jan | 12 Feb |
| Conway | 29 Jan | 5 Feb | 6 Feb | 13 Feb | Shannon | 14 Feb | 29 Feb |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 20 Feb | 14 Mar |
| Conway | 29 Feb | 6 Mar | 7 Mar | 14 Mar | Atrato | 15 Mar | 29 Mar |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Mar13 Apr | 12 Apr |
| Clyde | 30 Mar | 5 Apr | 6 Apr | 12 Apr | Shannon |  | 27 Apr |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 29 Apr | 13 May |
| Conway | 29 Apr | 6 May | 7 May | 13 May | Atrato | 14 May | 27 May |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 May | 12 Jun |
| Clyde | 30 May | 5 Jun | 6 Jun | 12 Jun | Shannon | 13 Jun | 27 Jun |
|  |  |  |  |  | Tasmanian | 29 Jun | 13 Jul |
| Trent | 30 Jun | 6 Jul | 7 Jul | 13 Jul | Atrato | 14 Jul | 28 Jul |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 1 Aug | 12 Aug |
| Clyde | 30 Jul | 5 Aug | 6 Aug | 12 Aug | Shannon | 15 Aug | 29 Aug |
|  |  |  |  |  | Tasmanian | 30 Aug | 13 Sep |
| Trent | 30 Aug | 5 Sep | 6 Sep | 13 Sep | Atrato | 14 Sep | 28 Sep |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Sep | 13 Oct |
| Clyde | 30 Sep | 6 Oct | 7 Oct | 13 Oct | Shannon | 14 Oct | 28 Oct |
|  |  |  |  |  | Tasmanian | 29 Oct | 15 Nov |
| Solent | 31 Oct | 6 Nov | 6 Nov | 13 Nov | Atrato | 13 Nov | 28 Nov |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Nov | 13 Dec |
| Solent | 30 Nov | 6 Dec | 7 Dec | 14 Dec | Shannon | 15 Dec | 31 Dec |
|  |  |  |  |  | Tasmanian | 29 Dec | 13 Jan 65 |
| 1865 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Solent | 30 Dec 64 | 5 Jan | 6 Jan | 14 Jan | Atrato | 14 Jan | 29 Jan |
|  |  |  |  |  | Seine | 29 Jan | 12 Feb |
| Eider | 31 Jan | 5 Feb | 6 Feb | 11 Feb | Shannon | 13 Feb | 27 Feb |
|  |  |  |  |  | Tasmanian | 1 Mar | 16 Mar |
| Eider | 1 Mar | 7 Mar | 8 Mar | 14 Mar | Atrato | 15 Mar | 28 Mar |
|  |  |  |  |  | La Plata | 29 Mar | 13 Apr |
| Solent | 29 Mar | 5 Apr | 6 Apr | 13 Apr | Seine | 13 Apr | 28 Apr |
|  |  |  |  |  | Tasmanian | 29 Apr | 13 May |
| Eider | 30 Apr | 6 May | 7 May | 13 May | Shannon | 15 May | 29 May |
|  |  |  |  |  | Atrato | 29 May | 16 Jun |
| Eider | 30 May | 5 Jun | 6 Jun | 12 Jun | Seine | 13 Jun | 28 Jun |
|  |  |  |  |  | Tasmanian | 29 Jun | 13 Jul |

Note: RMSP dates are drawn from Kenton \& Parsons, Early Routings of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 1847-1879 (Surrey, GB: Postal History Society, 1999).

## THE 1861-69 PERIOD MICHAEL C. MCCLUNG, EDITOR

## A COUNTERFEIT 3¢ 1861?

## MICHAEL C. MCCLUNG

## Counterfeit vs. Fake

In the context of this article, the word "counterfeit" refers to a spurious item, manufactured to be sold or passed off as the genuine article and fool the Post Office as well as the general public. Counterfeits are usually made in quantity in order to overcome start-up costs and maximize profits. A "fake" is an item made to fool collectors. It has been manufactured or altered to give it the appearance of a valuable stamp or cover. Fakes of many types exist with the $3 \phi 1861$ (involving grills, markings and cancels, to name just three), but counterfeits are a different story. Although I have seen a couple of historical references to counterfeit stamps in the 1860s, I have never seen an actual 1861 counterfeit.

## The Item

Figure 1 shows a crude imitation of a $3 \phi 1861$ U.S. postage stamp. The color is carmine red and the paper is brownish buff. The stamp is perforated 15 on three sides, with an irregular straight edge on the left. There is a bit of paper in the center of the back, suggesting that the stamp may have been pasted on an album page at one time.

An examination of the back also reveals a crown shaped watermark. A tracing of this watermark is shown in Figure 2.

A search through Scott catalogs yielded one and only one exact match for this watermark. It is the "CROWN and INDIA" watermark, found exclusively on Indian revenue stamps, and on Indian postage stamps that were produced in the 1860s by overprinting and altering those revenue stamps. Figure 3 shows a photographic image of the reverse of an Indian revenue stamp, lighted in such a way as to show the watermark as clearly as possible.

The cancel on the Figure 1 item appears to be a British numeral cancel, of the sort commonly found on Penny Reds and other British stamps used during the 1860s. The letter-numeral combinations on these barred oval cancels indicated the town of origin, a system of numbering that had been set up for British post offices in England and around the world.

I showed this item to Stan Bednarczyk, who is a student and exhibitor of the British numeral cancels. He confirmed that the code in this postmark is B32 (upside down in the Figure 1 image). This was the code assigned to the British post office in Buenos Aires, Argentina. He

Figure 1. Enlarged copy of a crude typographed imitation of a 361861 stamp. The design is redcarmine and the paper is brownish-buff.

was unable to determine the genuineness of the cancel because the strike is light and incomplete. Bednarczyk, a one-time printer by trade, also confirmed that the subject stamp was produced by typography-a process through which ink is applied to the raised surfaces of a manufactured mirror-image of the design (or type) and then transferred to the paper. This could have been done as one-off or by multiple clichés locked into a frame.

It seems likely that this item was produced by bleaching out the design of a large Indian revenue stamp and printing the facsimile on one end of the long, rectangular format.


Figure 2 (left): enlarged tracing of the crown watermark in the paper of the Figure 1 stamp. Figure 3 (right): Photograph of the reverse side of an Indian revenue stamp, lighted to show the "CROWN and INDIA" watermark.

The image seems well centered and aligned, while the straight edge is jagged and somewhat sloppy. It should be pointed out that these Indian revenue stamps are quite plentiful. One would suffer no great loss in turning them into objects more useful.

## The Questions

What is this object and why was it made? It's neither a counterfeit nor a fake. It's too crude to fool anyone, so it doesn't meet the criteria for either. So we are left with the conclusion that it was made for a purpose outside the realms of postage or philately. Since someone went to a good deal of trouble to make this item, he must have had a good reason for doing so.

I showed this "stamp" to a number of people and asked for their opinions about its reason for existence. Most agreed that the original product probably included the entire bleached-out Indian stamp and that some collector clumsily reduced it to the "stamp" part and pasted it into a stamp album over a picture that looked somewhat like it.

The discarded left side of the original product may have contained a commercial message, meaning that the whole item was originally an advertising label. This label could have been attached to envelopes, correspondence or business forms. Several different kinds of busine es could have been well represented by this kind of label - stamp dealer or collector, printer, handstamp maker, travel agent, there are many possibilities. The message may have been something like: "John D. Doe / Dealer in Postage Stamps / 47 Nassau Street, New York City." The argument against a stamp dealer or collector as the creator is that such an individual should have known that the cancel did not go with the stamp. I'm not convinced by that argument, and in an advertising promotional device such consistency isn't critically important. Another thought is that the advertised business may have been housed in a former post office building. The message could have read, "Ye Olde Post Office Inn / 200 High Street, Freeport, Maine."

Other suggestions are that this object could have been be part of some kind of artwork or display, or that it was a prop made for a play or demonstration. The appearance of other examples might help dispel the mystery. We would welcome any additional suggestions or information about this unusual item.

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# ESSAYS AND PROOFS <br> JAMES E. LEE, EDITOR 

## THE UNITED STATES 1870 2ф JACKSON: FROM CONCEPTION TO FINISHED DIE

## MATTHEW KEWRIGA

The "Issue of 1870 Ordinaries," as the Post Office department called the Bank Note stamps, would turn out to be the longest running United States regular issue of the 19th ceentury. The designs launched in 1870 would serve postal duty until 1883. The object of this article is to show the design evolution of the $2 \not \subset$ large Bank Note stamp, from conception to the finished die. New information will be presented that previous essay students were unaware of, relating to the surviving essays and their order. Re-ordering the essays helps to understand the evolution of the dies and re-categorize two regressive die essays.

The author has seen all of the material illustrated in this article and much of it currently resides in his collection, purchased from recent name sales including the Falk Finkelburg, Barbara Fosdyke, Dr. Peter M. Burrows and the "Lake Shore" collections. The rarity of this essay material is confirmed by the fact that many of these same items graced major essay collections of the past, including those of the Earl of Crawford, Robert P. Hackett, Clarence W. Brazer and Thomas F. Morris, Jr. For many of the scarcer items, this article will attempt to record chains of provenance.

The definitive article by Clarence Brazer, "Preparation of the U.S. 1870 Issue Designs," laid the foundation for the $1 \phi$ through $10 \phi$ values. A second part was to treat the $12 \phi$ through $90 \phi$ values, but this was never completed. The basis for Brazer's article was correspondence between the Third Assistant Postmaster-General, W.H.H. Terrell and James Macdonough, secretary of the National Bank Note Co. (NBNC), consisting of 45 letters dated between August 31, 1869 and January 11, 1871. Congress reprinted the correspondence in 1873 as a transmittal from the Postmaster General, who was providing information required by congressional resolution concerning the contract for and changes in postage stamps. ${ }^{2}$ This document sheds light on reasons for the design changes, which can be seen reflected in the essay material.

## Historical Background

Andrew Jackson was the seventh President of the United States and one of the most popular Presidents of the 19th century. He was a logical choice for a stamp subject, but was not chosen until the new $2 \not \subset$ stamp of 1863 , popularly called the "Black Jack." Jackson was left out of the designs selected for the 1869 Issue, which included only three portraits (Franklin, Washington and Lincoln), with the rest being pictorial designs. As stated in Stephen Tedesco's recent Chronicle article on the $15 \notin$ Webster essays, ${ }^{3}$ the Postmaster General's letter dated November 15, 1870 provides a useful summary:

[^6]"The adhesive postage stamps adopted by my predecessor in 1869, having failed to give satisfaction to the public, on account of their small size, unshapely form, the inappropriateness of their designs, the difficulty of canceling them effectively, 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."

Postmaster General John A.J. Creswell required the NBNC to prepare new designs, dies and plates without additional compensation, as the four-year extension contract of 1 February 1869 had stipulated. On 31 August 1869, Terrell wrote to the NBNC: "As the Postmaster General has now returned, I am anxious to come to some conclusion respecting the proposed change in the designs of postage stamps." Terrell and Macdonough began searching for appropriate busts, visiting the studio of a Mr. Coffee, who had issued a catalog of sculpture. The studio of Matthew Brady was employed to photograph selected busts for engraving.

For the 1870 Issue, the first five design subjects were chosen from the usual cast of our country's forefathers: $1 \phi$ Franklin, $2 \phi$ Jackson, $3 \phi$ Washington, $6 \phi$ Lincoln and $10 \phi$ Jefferson. In a letter dated 2 November 1869, Macdonough referred to these stamps as "the bust series."

## First Essay

The first essay (Scott 146-E2) produced for the $2 \phi$ value was the vignette-only essay made from photographs supplied by Brady of the Coffee bust. F.E. Girsch produced the engraving with an impression size of $15 \times 19$ millimeters. Macdonough referred to this design as the "coat-collar affair" because it shows a military style stiff collared jacket on a youth-
 ful Andrew Jackson. This essay is found as a die impression on India paper, die sunk on card. Two examples are recorded in orange brown. One, measuring $58 \times 61 \mathrm{~mm}$, was in the Burrows collection. The other, $56 \times 61 \mathrm{~mm}$, ex Brazer and Fosdyke, is illustrated as Figure 1. No examples in black are recorded except cut to shape for use in the Scott 146-E3 and 146-E4 models discussed next. The additional color listed by Scott, dull violet, does not exist. The purported example in the Fosdyke sale, which I

Figure 1. First design Andrew Jackson vignette, first state of the die. Scott lists this as 146-E2.
purchased, was actually orange brown. ${ }^{4}$ The Earl of Crawford sale, held on September 17, 1942, contained an example listed as dark red brown, but this color is unconfirmed and the item has not reappeared since that sale.

## Second Through Fourth Essays

The next stage for the NBNC was to produce models with borders penciled and hand painted around a cutout of the engraved vignette. Before starting to engrave the frame, NBNC submitted these models to the Post Office department for approval. A 14 December 1869 letter from NBNC to Terrell spells out the process: "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."

Butler Packard at NBNC designed three different models for the $2 \not \subset$ Jackson. Figure 2 illustrates the first, Scott 146-E3. This essay, ex Brazer, is a black vignette cutout, mounted on a $46 \times 52 \mathrm{~mm}$


Figure 2. Model, Scott 146-E3. The Figure 1 vignette (in black) is cut out and mounted on card, with pencil and dark gray watercolor frame elements added. The frame design suggests a monument. white card. Frame details have been added in pencil and dark gray watercolor within layout dots at the four corners. A faint vertical layout line runs through the center. The frame design suggests a monument and shows "TWO" and "CENTS" in the value tablets. As with all watercolor models, this essay is necessarily unique.

Figure 3 illustrates the second model (Scott 146E4), also ex Brazer, a black vignette cutout mounted on a $46 \times 89 \mathrm{~mm}$ white card. The frame details are added in gray watercolor in similar fashion to Figure 2. The frame design in Figure 3 suggests the Confederate flag. The value tablets are blank. The reverse of the card shows a printed " $R$. Vail" in script of unknown origin.

Figure 4 illustrates the third model (Scott 146E5), an orange-brown vignette cutout mounted on a $45 \times 50 \mathrm{~mm}$ white card (ex Hackett and Brazer). Except for the orange watercolor, the frame design is similar to Figure 3. But the outer frame details are more complete. This model closely matches the incomplete engraving of the frame in the

[^7]

Figure 3. Model, Scott 146-E4. The Figure 1 vignette (in black) is cut out and mounted on card with pencil and gray watercolor frame elements that suggest the Confederate flag.
fifth essay (discussed next) and is presumably the source of the fifth essay design.

## Fifth Essay

The line-engraved essay in Figure 5 shows the features of the Figure 4 model, incompletely engraved. The oval frame lacks shading lines under the value tablets and there are no vertical lines in the colorless stripes at top and bottom. Also, the top and bottom frame lines are incomplete. This is only recorded example. The Scott listing is $146-$ E6. D.S. Ronaldson engraved the frame, the design measuring $191 / 2 \times 251 / 2 \mathrm{~mm}$. Ex Hackett and Fosdyke, this is a die impression on India paper, printed in dim dusky orange, die sunk on a $49 \times 60 \mathrm{~mm}$ card. Pencil shading below the value tablets suggests this example was used in the proofing process to indicate improvements that were to be engraved onto the developing die. This particular item is not listed in Scott. The Scott catalog lists 146-E6 as a die proof in dark orange on thin white card referenced from Finkleburg's Brazer addendum comments. I have never seen this item. It is possible that these two objects are one and the same.

## Sixth Essay

Figure 6 illustrates the completed die of the collared Jackson. This essay survives in various formats: die proofs on India paper die sunk on card, on ivory paper, and on thin wove paper. In addition, this die was also used by the NBNC in their bid for the contract for government entire envelopes. A single-subject plate was made from the die and imprinted on envelopes listed by Undersander as E36B. ${ }^{5}$ I have recorded two different colors: black on white, blue on orange.

Die impressions of the Figure 6 essay on India paper die sunk on card were recorded by Brazer in 20 colors, many of which are only known cut down to stamp size. It is nearly impossible to add new items to the Brazer listing (which was picked up by Scott) because auction houses use varying color nomenclature. Brazer used the Ridgeway color guide. ${ }^{6}$ The impressions on ivory paper are recorded in four colors: brown black, black, scarlet, and blue. The first exists with the frame engraver's signature "D.S. Ronaldson" and vignette engraver's signature "F.E. Girsh" in pencil (ex Brazer). The last three colors are

[^8]

Figure 4. Model, Scott 146-E5. The Figure 1 vignette (in orange brown) is cut out and mounted on card with pencil and orange watercolor frame similar to Figure 3, but with design elements more complete.


Figure 6. The high-collar die in completed form. After being fully executed, this design was rejected. This essay survives in several formats and many colors. Scott 146-E7.


Figure 5. Engraved die essay based on the Figure 4 model, showing incomplete engraving of the frame. The oval frame lacks shading lines under the value tablets. Scott lists this as 146-E6.
known with the frame engraver's signature in pencil at lower left (all ex Crawford and Burrows).

The impression on thin wove paper is extremely rare and listed by Brazer and Scott only in dark yellow. But there are also three examples in black brown: $35 \times 44 \mathrm{~mm}$ (ex Brazer and Lake Shore 2); $35 \times 40 \mathrm{~mm}$ (ex Beals and Lake Shore 4); and 56x73 mm (ex Beals). This means a total of four examples recorded on thin wove paper.

On 4 November 1869 the NBNC wrote: "We send by mail this day a package containing sixty-seven proof impressions of stamps of denominations one cent, two cents, three cents, six cents, ten cents, made in a variety of colors, some of which, together with the designs, we hope will meet with your approval. None of the heads are quite finished, but we considered them far enough advanced to present them for your inspection." This package might have contained some of the sixth-essay designs just described. On November 16, 1869 Terrell
wrote: "The proof-impressions 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, twocent, three-cent, and six-cent, and decidedly condemns the ten-cent..." The President and Cabinet also approved the designs on the same day. The NBNC was instructed that the matter of design was settled and "go to work on the permanent plates for these at once."

## Seventh Essay (New Design)

Terrell disapproved the "high collar affair" on November 17, 1869. The letter to the NBNC states in part: "The reason we wish the two-cent new Jackson changed, is, it is believed a more characteristic picture of the old hero can be obtained. Yours is too young and not likely to be recognized. 'Old Hickory' is what we want." The Post Office and NBNC were then tasked with finding a new subject bust to engrave for an older Andrew Jackson.

In a letter dated 14 December 1869 from Terrell to the NBNC, he writes of finding a suitable subject bust: "The enclosed photographs, taken from the Power's bust of Andrew Jackson in the public square, Memphis, Tennessee, were received this morning. They


Figure 7. Bust of Andrew Jackson from a public park in Memphis. This became the basis for the vignette portrait on the issued stamp. are very poor, but I send them supposing you may make something out of them. The two marked No. 1 and No. 2 are the best, though they face the wrong way. If you can transfer the face to the left and bring out the features strikingly, so as to make the head look like 'Old Hickory,' go ahead." The following day the NBNC returned four doctored photographs with one in which they "strengthened the features, reduced the size of the lower lip, and removed the drapery; the latter operation was a delicate matter, as the Lord (who created the anatomy) only knew what was likely to turn up beneath it." Figure 7 shows a close-up picture of the Memphis bust.

On December 17 Terrell wrote back settling the matter of design subject: "And now in regard to the Memphis bust of Jackson. I return the photographs (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4) and agree with you that No. 2 is the best of the lot, though I must say I am not altogether satisfied with it, while I admit your manipulation of the picture has greatly improved it. Mr. Creswell thinks it 'very good,' and that the people will readily recognize it as 'Old Hickory.' This, of course, is an important point; but never having seen the 'old hoss,' I can't express an opinion. I beg to suggest, however, that the picture will be improved if you will trim off a portion of the hero's back hair, all the pictures I have ever seen representing his head as thin and high. Also that his chin may be very properly toned down very little. In regard to the hair, No. 1 of the series of photographs is much better, as well as the general pose. But I leave all this to your better judgment, satisfied that you have the best Jackson you can get."

Figure 8 illustrates the resulting engraved vignette made in January 1870 by Lewis Delnoce. This is an unfinished state of the vignette, lacking fine details and without a silhouette line at the top of Jackson's head. The hair is unkempt over the ear and the nose and brow are craggier than on the finished design. Only two examples of this essay are recorded, both die impressed on glazed paper. The first (ex Hackett and Burrows) measures $64 \times 77 \mathrm{~mm}$ showing full die sinkage of $49 \times 63.5 \mathrm{~mm}$. The second (ex Burrows and Lake Shore 2) is trimmed to $28 x 34 \mathrm{~mm}$. According to Falk Finkelburg's unpublished revision


Figure 8. Incomplete engraving of the Memphis bust, lacking fine detail and without a silhouette line at top of head. Scott lists this as 146-E9.


Figure 9. The completed vignette. The Scott listing is $146-$ E8. Jackson's hairline has been smoothed out to make a more pleasing profile.
commentary on the Brazer catalog, one example is recorded in violet on ivory paper with ink outline. I have not seen evidence of this essay.

The Scott listing for the Figure 8 essay is both incorrect and confusing. The Figure 8 essay is listed as 146-E9 and described as "completed Jackson vignette." It should be listed as 146-E8 and described as an incomplete vignette.

## Eighth Essay

Figure 9 shows the vignette essay in finished form. Scott lists this as 146-E8 and mistakenly describes it as an incomplete vignette. It seems likely that Scott's information blocks for 146-E8 and 146-E9 were inadvertently transposed. The Figure 9 essay should be Scott 146-E9. This essay was impressed on India, die sunk on card in seven colors listed by Scott. Several of these colors are unique, including the deep yellow orange, which is from the Earl of Crawford's collection. There is also one example recorded on card, $87 \times 143 \mathrm{~mm}$, showing full die sinkage, pencil inscribed " 2 c " above and "Jackson" below the sinkage area. The example listed by Scott as $146-E 8 b$, impressed on glazed paper with die measuring $50 \times 63 \mathrm{~mm}$ in black, is possibly an example of the seventh essay, shown in Figure 8.

## Ninth Essay

The watercolor model design for what would become the issued stamp is illustrated as Figure 10. The vignette, in dim dusky bright blue green, is trimmed close and mounted on a $50 \times 60 \mathrm{~mm}$ card, surrounded with pencil and dark green watercolor frame design with labels blank. This example was designed by Butler Packard and is unique (ex Hackett, Beals and Burrows). Scott lists this as 146-E11.

Figure 11 illustrates an example of a "blank" model design, with a trimmed red violet vignette (the type shown in Figure 9) pasted on $50 \times 60 \mathrm{~mm}$ card showing scored layout
frame lines and caliper measuring holes at corners (ex Brazer and Burrows). Unfortunately, the watercolor frame design was never added. Stephen Tedesco records one other "blank" example of the $90 \phi$ Perry in his collection ${ }^{7}$ and I have noted a trimmed $12 \phi$ from the Finkelburg collection. These "blanks" are not listed by Scott.


Figure 10. Model for what would become the issued stamp. Completed vignette (in blue green ) cut out and mounted on card, with pencil and green watercolor frame elements added. Scott lists this as 146-E11.


Figure 11. Blank model with completed vignette (in red violet) cut out and mounted on card with scored layout frame lines. A blank like this was the basis for the model in Figure 10. Unlisted in Scott.

## Tenth Essay

After the new frame design was approved by the Post Office department, Ronaldson engraved the frame design nearly to completion, resulting in the essay shown in Figure 12. The only features missing are the leaves on the wide bands surrounding the lower part of the vignette. Other missing features mentioned by Brazer are not readily apparent; the design seems complete except for the leaves. This essay was created in various formats: die impressions on India, die sunk on card; impressions on thin wove paper; and impressions on thin card. In addition, the essay was also extensively used by the NBNC in their bid for the envelope contract. As with the essay in Figure 6, a single-subject plate was made from the die and impressed on envelopes, here in a wide variety of colors and envelope papers as listed by Undersander as E36C.

Die impressions on India, die sunk on card, are recorded by Scott (as 146-E12) in seven different colors: carmine, orange, brown orange, brown, blue, violet and green. One example on thin wove paper, ex Finkelburg and unlisted by Scott, is recorded in rose carmine. Also unlisted are two examples on thin card cut close to shape, one in black (ex Finkelburg), the other in blue green (ex Brazer and Beals).

[^9]

Figure 12. Scott 146-E12. All-but-finished essay for the 2ф Bank Note stamp. The only features missing are the leaves.


Figure 13. The completed design, including the leaves on the two wide bands surrounding the lower part of the vignette.

## Completed Die

The completed die, illustrated in Figure 13, shows the leaves added on the wide band surrounding the lower portion of the vignette. This is printed in the issued red brown color of the 1870 issue and comes as a die impression on India, die sunk on card, with and without "National Bank-Note Co." imprint. Since it shows the issued design, the item illustrated in Figure 13 is properly described as a die proof, rather than an essay. The Brazer catalog additionally records this item (Brazer's 146E-Cf) as a completed die proof in Ridgeway color " $70 \mathrm{k} / 1 \mathrm{dim}$ dark m. v-r-red." I have never seen this item and question its existence.

## Regressive Dies

Essays survive showing two states of a regressive or "break-down" die that must have been produced by the Continental Bank Note Co. and the later American Bank Note Co. Neither die is pertinent to the evolution of the NBNC design, but both have been a source of confusion for cataloguers and authors.

The first shows the Jackson vignette with only the " 2 " and the value labels. An example is illustrated as Figure 14. This was obviously created from the completed die (Figure 13). Most of the frame has been removed, but the die impression shows some specks and residual shading, a result of improper burnishing of the removed elements. Listed by Scott as 146 -E10, this essay is known impressed on India, die sunk on card, and impressed on ivory paper. According to Falk Finkelburg's revision comments on the Brazer catalog, one ivory paper example is recorded with "Master Transfer for Official Stamp" marked on it in pencil. In addition, there is one recorded ivory paper example signed in pencil by engraver D.S. Ronaldson. Other evidence presented by Alan Campbell (involving the secret mark


Figure 14. Regressive essay of vignette and value tablets used as master transfer die for the Official issue of 1873 . Scott lists this as 146-E10.


Figure 15. Regressive essay of headonly vignette used in the creation of the $18834 ¢$ stamp. Listed but not illustrated by Scott as 211-E2.
on $12 \phi$ essays) ${ }^{8}$ and Stephen Tedesco (whisker crosshatching on $15 \phi$ ) also proves that these regressive essays, which exist for the $1 \phi$ to $90 ¢$ values in various evolutionary stages, were created as breakdown dies by Continental for the Official stamps of 1873 . As such, all these regressive essays should be moved to the Officials section of the essay listings. They should not be catalogued within the regular Bank Note issue essays.

The second regressive die essay is the head-only design illustrated in Figure 15. This shows a completed vignette head of Jackson, as illustrated in Figure 9, with the surrounding background and outline of head removed. Only one example of this essay (ex Burrows) is recorded, impressed on India, die sunk on a $74 \times 73 \mathrm{~mm}$ card with a die impression of about $60 \times 62 \mathrm{~mm}$. The essay is listed but not illustrated in the Scott and Brazer catalogs as an essay for the $18834<$ stamp produced by American. The catalog listings are 211-E2 and $211 \mathrm{E}-$ Aa respectively. The die impression matches other $18834 \phi$ essays. The head itself is a completed design from the eighth essay (Figure 9) showing all the fine head engraving including shading. Because the seventh essay (Figure 8) exists without these details and the oval background, the Figure 15 essay does not belong in the NBNC design evolution and must have been produced later, presumably for the 1883 issue as the catalogs indicate. A similar 3¢ essay, showing Washington's head, is listed in Scott as 147-E8. Ronald Burns records this in his exhibit as an essay used in 1876 by Continental for new designs that were later abandoned. ${ }^{9}$

[^10]
## Conclusion

At the time, the NBNC felt the series of 1870 was the finest work the firm had yet produced for the Post Office. Postal officials seemed to agree. After all, these designs persisted relatively unchanged after NBNC lost the contract to Continental in 1873.

The design evolution of the $2 \notin$ Jackson is relatively clear after one has inspected all the relevant essays. I believe no one in the past had access to all of them, except perhaps Brazer himself, through his reference collection and files. But he was not concentrating his efforts on one particular stamp. Without Brazer's research it would have been difficult to locate many important resources, including the record of official correspondence published by the 42 nd Congress. I hope that new essays appear in the future to add depth and help us understand the remaining mysteries, one of which is Brazer's note of a state of the die existing without the value present. I also hope that future catalogs will be updated to reflect the information presented here

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## OFFICIALS <br> ALAN C. CAMPBELL, EDITOR

## OVAL SPIRAL SCRATCHES ON THE 1873 OFFICIAL STAMP PLATES

## GEORGE G. SAYERS

This unusual form of plate damage is primarily found in the plate margins, although some examples impinge on corner stamp positions. The transfer roll would have left obvious evidence of the roll-in on the scratch lines if these scratches were present before image transfer. Therefore, we conclude this damage followed the image transfer.

The finished printing plates were polished prior to use to improve wiping characteristics. These spiral scratches are probably a result of some small piece of grit caught in the polishing cloth. The pattern of the scratches is as expected for hand polishing.

Although they may exist, the author has not found any examples of stamps or India proofs from these positions that don't show the scratches. This fact may indicate that the plates were polished only prior to their first use. Only small segments of the scratches are found in or near the adjacent stamps. Individually these are minor plate varieties of interest to plating enthusiasts, but which reasonably do not qualify for catalog listing. As a group, however, they generate some interesting questions. The author has no explanation for why this type of damage has been found only at the plate corners, and so far only on plates of one hundred subjects or fewer.

Four examples found on stamps are presented for the interested student.
Figure 1 shows the lower portion of a $6 ¢$ Agriculture stamp from Position 100. Large copies of the stamp may show two scratch segments at the lower right corner.

Figure 2 shows the bottom right corner of a $2 \&$ Interior stamp from Position 91. This stamp is from the 1875 special printing and is shown here courtesy of Alfred E. Staubus.


Figure 1 (above). $6 \notin$ Agriculture card proof, margin below Position 100. Large copies may show two scratch segments at the lower right corner. Figure 2 (right): $2 \not \subset$ Interior, below Position 91. This stamp is the 1875 Special Printing.


Figure 3 shows the bottom right corner of a $\$ 2.00$ State stamp from Position 10 on the frame plate of 10 subjects. The scratch is on the green frame plate on which position 10 is in the lower right corner. This scratch, which impinges on the stamp design, is the characteristic plating mark that identifies position 10.

Figure 4 shows the upper right corner of a $30 \notin$ Treasury stamp from Position 10. The $30 \notin$ Treasury plate shows another similar scratch about 1 centimeter up from the top left corner of Position 1. Because it is so far from the stamp image, this scratch will be found only on an extreme jumbo stamp.


Figure 3. \$2.00 State Department, India proof, sheet margin near Position 10. The scratch through the bottom right corner of the stamp design identifies Position 10.


Figure 4. 30¢ Treasury card proof, margin above Position 10. Large copies will show this scratch extending from the top right corner.

A fifth example, found on the $6 ¢$ Executive stamp, Position 100, was illustrated in my article on roll-to-plate transfer defects on Official stamps in Chronicle 212 (pg. 287, Figure 17).

These scratches are generally very light and the colors of the stamps make reproduction difficult. All the illustrations presented here have been contrast enhanced to a greater or lesser degree. Students of the Bank Note issues are encouraged to report additional examples of these scratches, or examples from these positions that don't show scratches.

## ACROSS THE GIBSONVILLE RIDGE BY SNOW SHOE EXPRESS

## FLOYD RISVOLD AND JAMES BLAINE

California's Sierra Nevada mountains provide the geographic backdrop for this story of three related one-man letter expresses that operated across the Gibsonville Ridge in the 1860's. Zack's Snow-Shoe Express has been inadequately documented in the past ${ }^{1}$ while Walker's Express and Cook's Express, the successors on the route, have not until now been recorded. This article will correct inaccuracies in the written record and examine recently discovered material.


Figure 1. Map of the stage roads (solid lines) and express route (dotted line) connecting towns and mining camps in the Sierra Nevada mountains of California. Map adapted from Bancroft's 1867 "Map of The Pacific States."

These expresses operated in the region northeast of Sacramento, California. The dotted line in the map in Figure 1 represents the route connecting Downieville and La Porte that was used by the expresses. The primary roads in the area are shown with solid lines. What doesn't show on the map, and the principal geographic feature of the area, is the Gib-

[^11]sonville Ridge, which runs northeasterly between those two towns. This area receives an average yearly snowfall between 25 and 35 feet.

Government mail service was generally available in the area by the early 1860s, with post offices at Downieville, Camptonville, Nevada, Marysville, Oroville, Forbestown, La Porte and at Port Wine (August 19, 1861 until April 6, 1865). However, the mail route from Downieville to La Porte was circuitous and utilized the existing stage roads to Marysville and then north via Oroville to La Porte, a total distance of over 200 miles. The direct route over the Gibsonville ridge was about 20 miles. The mail service was time consuming in the best of weather conditions and completely unsatisfactory when the roads were impaired. This situation invited private-enterprise solutions.

## Zack's Snow-Shoe Express

On December 31, 1864, Granville Zachariah (Zack) placed his first advertisement for a "Snow-Shoe" express in the Downieville Mountain Messenger. This notice, shown at left in Figure 2, outlines his schedule of departures from Downieville on Tuesdays and Saturdays, and from La Porte on Sundays and Wednesdays. This one-day service between the two termini was hoped to become "a permanent winter communication." The advertisement specifically terms the service a "Snow-Shoe Express." The editorial notice shown at right in Figure 2 gives instructions for endorsing mail to be taken from the post office at La Porte to be delivered by Zack's.

> Snow-Shoe Express. GRANVILLE ZACHARIAH,

Will commence running twice a week befween Downirville and La Porte, and intermediate pomts; carrying
Letters, Papers, Langton's Expr's AND THE:

## Mountain Messenger,

Learing Downieville on Tueslaya and Saturdass, and Laporte on Sundays and Wednesdags.
It is to be hoped that citizens along the oute will batroniz thisenterprise liberally, that it may become a permaneut winter cotnmunication between the North and South sides of the County, savitig the long delays attendaut upon letter communication via. Marysville.

Zachariar's Express.- We call public attention to the fact that a snow-shoe express bas been started between this pizee and La Porte. It becomes those interested in speedy communication between the different portions of the county that thergire the new enterprise a liberal support. Cur currespondents on the North side will note the timo of leaving La rorte. If sens by mail to La Porte, letters should bedirected in cilre of B. Zachariah, who will call tor them on the days noted in the adrertisement for learing that place.

Figure 2. Advertisement (left) and editorial notice promoting Zack's Snow-Shoe Express, both from the December 31, 1864 issue of the Downieville Mountain Messenger.

It should be noted that newspaper references of the period ${ }^{2}$ commonly use the phrase "Norwegian shoes" interchangeably with "snow-shoe," both referring to what would now be termed skis. These skis were typically much longer than those used today. ${ }^{3}$

The earliest reported example of a Zack's Snow-Shoe Express franked cover is shown in Figure 3. This cover bears an ornate printed frank with the word "Paid" impressed in black on a $3 \notin$ pink 1864 issue postal entire envelope (Scott U58). The printed frank is stylistically similar to franks used by other express companies based in Marysville, but was probably printed for Zack in Downieville. The cover is addressed to Howland Flat, which

[^12]

Figure 3. Printed oblong frank for Zack's Snow-Shoe Express on $3 \not \subset$ pink government entire envelope (Scott U58), postmarked at Downieville, California, on June 12, 1865.
did not have a post office. The cover entered the mails at Downieville and was then turned over to Zack by the post office for delivery to Howland Flat. The cover bears a Downieville June 12, 1865 postmark which indicates that Zack's Express operated in the summer as well as in the winter. The cover shown, first reported in Harlow, ${ }^{4}$ is the only recorded example of this frank and was evidently the example known to Wiltsee, who listed the express as operating between Downieville and Howland Flat, as well as to Harlow.

A second style of printed frank for Zack's Express is shown in Figure 4. Although it has been described as a black handstamp, it is actually printed in dark blue. The "Paid" frank portrays a skier with a mail bag and is impressed on a $3 \notin$ pink 1864 issue postal entire (again U58). This example is a front only, as are the other two reported examples, which are also presumed to be printed in dark blue. All three are addressed to the Kleckner Brothers at Port Wine. The entire correspondence, which includes several other nice express franks, has been reduced to fronts. Although none of the covers from this correspondence are dated, the express franks all appear to have been used after April 1865 when there was no operating post office at Port Wine. They were probably first prepared for the winter season of 1865-1866.

The central design for the frank, illustrating a mail carrier on skis, is apparently derived from a picture of John A. "Snowshoe" Thompson that appeared in Hutchings' California Magazine in 1857. This illustration may in turn have been derived from a drawing found in the Hendel papers (California State Library, Sacramento) which is illustrated in Allen's book (see note 3 ) on page 17.

Additional examples of the oval skier cut exist impressed on blank envelopes. Some bear impossible text, such as an example in the Floyd Risvold collection which is a canary colored envelope with the cut including the text "Snow Shoe Express 1857." The announcement shown in Figure 5, from the 9 March 1867 issue of the Downieville Mountain

[^13]

Figure 4. Zack's Express blue oval printed frank on $3 \phi$ government entire envelope, Scott U58.

## Get Clibertisements.



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Figure 5. Notice of a ski race, in the 9 March 1867 issue of the Downieville Mountain Messenger, with the illustration that appears in the frank on the cover in Figure 4.

Messenger, used the same cut with "Four Days" text to publicize a snow-shoe race at Howland Flat.

Zack's illustrated express franks were printed at the office of the Downieville Mountain Messenger, which continued to publish his advertisements, unchanged, from 31 December 1864 until the 19 Au gust 1865 issue. Additional newspaper notices, including one in the Nevada Daily Gazette of 20 November 1865, indicate that Zack was hired by Roswell G. Tibbetts to assist him with express operations based at Meadow Lake. Later notices indicate that Zack had moved to Summit City, the name of which was subsequently changed to Meadow Lake City.

## William Walker's Express

William Walker replaced Zack on the express route over the Gibsonville range between Downieville and La Porte. The December 9, 1865 issue of the Downieville Mountain Messenger included a notice that William Walker "has commenced running a letter and package express from this place to La Porte twice a week, connecting with

Pauly's Gibsonville and Plumas express and Wheeler \& Co.'s for Howland Flat and intermediate points." The last newspaper notice of Walker's Express appeared in the April 21, 1866 issue, indicating that Walker "leaves La Porte twice a week - on Wednesdays and Saturdays, leaves Downieville on Tuesdays and Fridays." By May 5, 1866 a "passenger train" (string of mules) was noted as handling papers from Downieville to La Porte. No covers carried by Walker's Express have been reported.

## Cook's Express

The December 8, 1866 issue of the Downieville Mountain Messenger reported as follows: "Snow-Shoe Express. - Mr. Cook of Eureka has commenced running from here to the north side carrying the Messenger, and attending to all letters and packages that may be entrusted to his care. Full particulars as to the time and places of leaving will be announced next week."

Following issues of the Downieville newspapers included the promised particulars as well as the "New Advertisement" shown at left in Figure 6. From this information it is


> Snow-sitor Express.-We forgnt to mention last week, that Mr . George E. Cook, lately of Eureka, has begun to run a saow-shoe express from this place to Howand Flatdariag the winter or until the trails will become passable for mules and the saddle trains resume their regular tripe. Mr. Cook, we know from personal knowledge, is a faithful and experienced messenger, and we bespeak for him a liberal share of the patronage of those having business with the northern side of the county.

Figure 6. December 15, 1866 advertisement and notice for Cook's Express, from the Downieville Mountain Messenger (left) and the Downieville Sierra Advocate (right).
clear that George E. Cook had taken over express business on the Downieville to La Porte route. A recently discovered cover carried by Cook's Express is shown in Figure 7. This cover bears a frank that is identical to the Zack's Express frank, except that the text along the top oval has been altered and now reads "Cook's Express." It is printed in black on a plain, canary-yellow colored envelope and bears a 3¢ 1861 adhesive stamp (Scott 65). It originated at one of the camps northwest of Downieville and was carried by Cook's Express into Downieville where it entered the mails to Camptonville with a Downieville March 17, 1867 duplex postmark. This example is the only one that has been found. Cook's Express probably ceased operations in April 1867.

There are newspaper notices of Cook's Express in the January 26, 1867 issue of the Downieville Mountain Messenger and the March 9, 1867 issue of the Downieville Sierra Advocate. According to the March notice, "Mr. Cook, our northern expressman, informed us that on Tuesday last the citizens of La Porte had another series of snow shoe races." This suggests that snow must have been abundant around the date the Figure 7 cover was carried. An editorial reference to Cook found in the Downieville Mountain Messenger commencing with the issue of 6 April 1867 and ending with the issue of May 4 , announced that "Mr. Cook is now making weekly, instead of semi-weekly, trips to La Porte." This was


Figure 7. The skiing expressman appears again in a printed oval frank for Cook's Express on this recently discovered cover to Camptonville. The target killer portion of the Downieville March 19, 1867 postmark ties a 341861 stamp (Scott 65).
the final mention of Cook's Express in the Downieville newspapers. His last advertisement appeared in the 13 April 1867 edition of the Mountain Messenger.

## Additional Snow Shoe Expresses in the High Sierras

The newspapers of the era mention several additional snow-shoe expresses in this period for which no postal artifacts have been reported. Several of these are noted by Allen. The Placer Herald of 25 November 1865 mentions that "Mr. Tibbetts, the expressman, has made arrangements to send an express regularly to Meadow Lake during the winter. He has employed a man accustomed to the business, who will carry it on Norwegian shoes. The distance from Summit City to the main traveled road, through which no attempt will be made to keep a trail open, is about ten miles and the trip will probably be made daily if the business will justify it." The area to be served was to the southeast of Downieville and, as previously mentioned, the person employed was Granville Zachariah.

The La Porte Union of 30 January 1869 advertised that "Knowles' Snow Shoe Express between La Porte, Saw Pit, Nelson Point, Quincy leaves La Porte every Monday morning, W.H. Knowles, Prop." The area served by this express was north of La Porte.

A Nevada Union news item in its 29 January 1866 edition reported that "Benjamin Sawyer is now running a snowshoe express from Downieville to Sierra Valley. He leaves Downieville every Monday morning."

In a future article, the authors will continue the story of snow-shoe expresses in the Sierra Nevada mountains by examining the career of the most famous precursor, "Snowshoe" Thompson. The authors wish to thank Richard Frajola for assistance in the preparation of this article.

## THE FOREIGN MAILS RICHARD F. WINTER, EDITOR

## ANONYMOUS SUPPLEMENTARY MAIL

## LEONARD PISZKIEWICZ

Postal historians who collect and study transatlantic mail from New York during the 19th century are familiar with supplementary mail: mail received by the Post Office for transit on a particular ship after the time of closing of the regular mails for that ship, generally two to four hours before the ship sailed. These late mails were taken to the ship or (in some cases) received at dockside and put on board as a supplementary dispatch. For inclusion in the supplementary dispatch, they were charged double postage, a practice dating back to the 1850s. During the Universal Postal Union period, a single letter to another UPU-member country was charged $10 \phi$ postage instead of $5 \phi$, and postage was similarly doubled for multi-weight letters.

New York supplementary mail received distinctive markings indicating supplementary dispatch. These are illustrated in the Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps and Covers (page 34A of the 2006 edition).

During the UPU period, however, some New York supplementary mail received ordinary New York postmarks. The presence of double postage is the only clue that the cover represents supplementary mail. But double postage could also indicate a double-rate letter. Indeed, the vast majority of double-postage covers encountered during the late 19th century are double-weight uses. Those that are supplementary mail rather than double-weight are termed here "anonymous" supplementary mail. This article explains how to identify such covers.

Figure 1 shows a $3 \phi$ entire envelope (Scott U165) sent from New York to Berlin, bearing a $2 \not \subset$ Washington stamp of 1883 (Scott 210) and a $5 \notin$ Garfield of 1882 (205), paying


Figure 1. Double postage (10¢) paid on a cover from New York City to Berlin, with manuscript "supplementary mail" endorsement. The ordinary New York duplex postmark is dated MAR 251885 at 11 AM. The cover bears a Bremen backstamp dated April 4, 1885.
a total of $10 \notin$ postage, double the UPU rate. The stamps are tied with ordinary New York duplex postmarks but the sender's endorsement reads "supplementary mail." The cover is also endorsed "Per S.S. Ems," a steamer of the North German Lloyd line.

That this cover received supplementary mail handling can be verified by consulting the issue of The New York Times for the postmark date of 25 March 1885. ${ }^{1}$ On that date, the "Outgoing Steamships" column (page 8) listed the "Mails close" time for the Ems as 9:30 a.m. with the ship sailing at 12:30 p.m. Thus, the $11 \mathrm{a} . \mathrm{m}$. time in the postmark must indicate supplementary dispatch.

Since the mail closing times for mail-carrying ships departing from New York began to be published regularly in The New York Times in the 1870s, covers that might appear to be supplementary mail and that are endorsed with the name of a ship can be checked against the listed mail closing times for that ship's departure. If the postmark time is later than the regular mail closing time, then the cover is supplementary mail, as the Figure 1 cover illustrates.


Figure 2. $5 申$ Garfield and $10 \phi$ Jefferson stamps on a $5 ¢$ Garfield stamped envelope paying four-times postage on a cover to Berlin, postmarked New York Station P OCT 91886 at 1:30 PM. Date, time and ship name are sufficient to determine that this cover represents a supplementary dispatch of a double-weight letter.

A truly "anonymous" supplementary mail cover is shown in Figure 2. Franked with $20 ¢$ postage, a $5 \phi$ Garfield (Scott 205) and $10 ¢$ Jefferson (Scott 209) on a $5 \notin$ Garfield stamped envelope (Scott U222), this cover could be interpreted as a heavy letter ( $11 / 2$ to 2 oz.). But the date and time in the postmark (OCT 9 1886, 1:30 p.m., New York Station P) together with the ship name (Etruria, of the Cunard Line) are sufficient to determine that this cover is supplementary mail. The outgoing steamships listing in The New York Times for October 9, 1886, shows that the regular mails for the Etruria closed at 11:30 a.m. and the ship sailed at 2:30 p.m. The information from the Times is shown in Figure 3. Since the

[^14]Figure 2 cover was postmarked at 1:30 p.m., it must have been in the supplementary dispatch.

A fortuitous circumstance provides evidence to corroborate and amplify the interpretation of this cover. During the 1880s, an Official Postal Guide for the Cities of New York and Brooklyn was published weekly and included mail closing time information for each dispatch of foreign mail from the New York Post Office. A copy of the issue, dated Oct. 4, 1886, containing data pertinent to the Figure 2 cover, had been previously found by this writer in the New York Post Office postal history room. ${ }^{2}$ The specific listing pertaining to the Figure 2 cover, on pages 54-55, is titled "Table C. Foreign Mail Dispatches for the Fortnight Ending Saturday, Oct. 16, 1886." This lists dispatches by date, ship, destination, etc., with the mail closing times for each dispatch at the New York General Post Office (NYGPO), all New York Stations, Suburban Stations, the Brooklyn Gen-



Figure 4. Excerpt from a table of foreign mail dispatch times published in the Official Postal Guide for the Cities of New York and Brooklyn, Oct. 4, 1886, showing data pertinent to the Figure 2 cover. Arrow indicates Station $P$ supplementary mail closing time.
eral Post Office and Brooklyn Stations. Closing times for supplementary dispatches (if there were any) from these locations are also listed. Data pertinent to the Figure 2 cover are shown in Figure 4, cropped and condensed for easier reading. The listing indicates that

[^15]the regular mail for dispatch 766 (numbering apparently started at 1 on January 1) closed at 11:30 a.m. at the New York General Post Office (identical to that stated in The New York Times listing, Figure 2) and also at 11:30 a.m. at Station P. The supplementary mails for this dispatch closed at $1: 30$ at the NYGPO and at $1: 15 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. at Station P. Note that all stations had their own, different closing times for both regular and supplementary dispatches for that single ship sailing. Note also that the latest closing times were those at the NYGPO (with the exception of Station P, in Lower Manhattan in the produce district, for the regular mail closing). These were the times published in The New York Times. Whether this means that dispatches were sent to the GPO is not evident from the data, but that would seem likely based on the time differences and locations of the stations.

The time on the Figure 2 cover, 1:30 p.m., was 15 minutes after the published closing time for supplementary mail at Station P. According to postal policy, mail was postmarked with the time every half-hour, with the mail received during the half-hour before the postmark time being stamped with that time. ${ }^{3}$ Thus, the $1: 30$ p.m. in the Figure 2 postmark was the first time indicator available after the supplementary mail closing at Station P, since the time indicators in essentially all postmarks at that time showed half-hour intervals.


Figure 5. This double-postage cover, franked with a $5 ¢$ small Banknote stamp of 1890 (Scott 223) on a $5 \not \subset$ Columbian envelope of 1893 (U350) shows how unobtrusive an "anonymous" supplementary mail cover can be. New York City to Bremen, postmarked at New York Station P FEB 281894 at 11 AM. Sailing data in Figure 6 confirms that this cover was in the supplementary dispatch.

My experience in examining double-postage covers in the late 19th century has shown that these "anonymous" supplementary mail covers are few and far between. Almost all $10 \phi$-franked covers bearing ship names when checked against the mail closing time published in The New York Times turned out to be double-weight covers posted before

[^16]the regular mail closing times for those ships. Of course, covers with double postage and no direction to a particular ship cannot be checked against a mail-closing time and almost certainly are simply double-weight letters.

A cover posted eight years after the Figure 2 cover, shown in Figure 5, bearing a $5 \phi$ small Banknote stamp of 1890 (Scott 223) on a 5¢ Columbian envelope of 1893 (U350) shows how unobtrusive an "anonymous" supplementary mail cover can be. While the $20 \phi$ postage on the Figure 2 cover might have aroused suspicion about its true identity, the $10 \phi$ Figure 5 cover looks like thousands of other covers that can be found in collections and dealers' stocks. The cover was postmarked at 11 a.m. on 28 February 1894 at the New York General Post Office. It was directed for transit on the Germanic of the White Star Line. The regular mail-closing time for that ship departure was 9:30 a.m., $11 / 2$ hours earlier, and $11 / 2$ hours before the ship departed, as indicated in Figure 6. Thus, the supplementary mail character of the cover is obvious when it is compared to the available data.

As the covers described here indicate, the character of any "anonymous" supplementary mail cover can be verified only by comparing the postmark date and time with mail closing times published daily in The New York Times and, if the appropriate issue is avail-


Figure 6. The New York Times listing of mail closing and ship departure times for February 28, 1894. able, the Official Postal Guide for the Cities of New York and Brooklyn. For screening covers as possible supplementary mail candidates, a few general guidelines can be offered.

First, covers postmarked late in the day (i.e., after 6 p.m.) can usually be dismissed out-of-hand, since essentially all ships departed New York in the late 19th century during daylight hours. Evening postmarks were before the mail closings the following day (or later).
Second, if one is familiar with the ships of the time, one can make a judgement based on the ship name. For example, the larger Cunard Line ships generally departed on Saturdays, so a Friday postmark on a cover endorsed with the name of a Cunarder is not likely to be supplementary mail. But exceptions exist, and checking should be done. If a postmark date is a Sunday, there is very little chance that a cover is supplementary mail, since almost no ships departed on Sundays. Wednesday and Saturday were the most popular departure days, followed by Thursday and Friday. Mail closing times vary widely ( 6 a.m. to 4 p.m.), so any cover postmarked mid-day is a more likely candidate to be supplementary mail. And occasionally one can find a double-postage cover where the postmark date and time match the regular mail closing published in The New York Times. Such covers were double-weight, not supplementary mail, and were posted just before closing for the regular dispatch.

## THE COVER CORNER GREG SUTHERLAND, EDITOR

## FOLLOW UP TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 211

Route Agent Albert J. Valente has provided an interesting follow-up to the problem cover presented in Chronicle 211 (page 236) and analyzed in Chronicle 212 (page 314). This item, shown again as Figure 1, was an 1852 cover from California to Maine that showed both a "free" and a due 10 marking. The simple explanation for these apparently contradictory markings was that the postmaster free frank applied only to the first rate. On a double-rated cover, the second rate (in this case $10 \phi$ ) was due from the recipient.


Figure 1. An 1852 west-to-east cover featured in previous columns. This was a doublerate cover. Per the regulations, the postmaster free frank applied only to the first rate. The second rate (in this case 10 $\phi$ ) was due from the recipient.

The Valente cover, shown here in Figure 2, represents an earlier era and a different rate structure, but the principle is the same. This is a cover from an unknown origin to the postmaster at South Lee, Mass., a town in the Berkshires. As can be seen, there is a red PHILADA RAILROAD hand-stamp, a NEW YORK JUL 13 circular datestamp and a blue manuscript " 1 oz $1 / 2$ oz Excess $371 / 2$ " due marking at top.

The basis for payment in the years before 1845 was sheets of paper and postal zones, except when a cover weighed an ounce or more. One ounce was considered a quadruple rate (Section 13, 1843 Postal Laws). Section 27 of the 1843 Postal Laws exempted up to half an ounce for letters to or from postmasters. On a one-ounce cover, this would result in one-half ounce (two rates) transmitted free, and one-half ounce (two rates) requiring pay-


Figure 2. A different rate structure from Figure 1, from an earlier era. Only the first rate was free. Subsequent rates were collected from the recipient, as explained in the cryptic manuscript "1 oz $1 / 2$ oz Excess $371 / 2$ " due marking.
ment from the recipient. In the 150 -to- 400 mile zone, this would mean two rates at $183 / 4 \mathrm{~d}$ per rate, or $371 / 2 \phi$ postage due, as shown on the Figure 1 cover.

## ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 212

Route Agent Richard B. Graham provided an answer to our problem cover in Chronicle 212. This 1874 cover, shown here as Figure 3, is franked with $6 \not \subset$ postage, the single


Figure 3. Our problem cover from last issue: three 1申 Continental Bank Note stamps on a $3 \phi$ green entire envelope from Pittsburgh to London. The British collection of sixpence consisted of the deficient postage of $3 \phi$ plus a fine of $3 \phi$.
rate to Great Britain, paid by a strip of three of the $1 \phi$ Continental Bank Note stamp on a $3 \phi$ green entire envelope. This cover must have weighed more than one-half ounce and was short paid one $6 ¢$ rate. The British collection of sixpence (equivalent to $12 ¢$ U.S.) consisted of the deficient postage of 3 pence plus a fine of 3 pence. This collection for underpaid letters from the United States to the United Kingdom applied between 1 January 1870 and the beginning of the Universal Postal Union. In 1868 and 1869 a different sequence of collections applied. See Charles J. Starnes, United States Letter Rates to Foreign Destinations, 1847 to GPU-UPU, page 64.

## PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue, shown as Figure 4, was posted at San Francisco, addressed to Germany, circa 1877. The single $3 \notin$ Continental Bank Note stamp is just tied by a black crossroads cancel, apparently duplexed with a black "SAN FRANCISCO CAL JUN


Figure 4. Problem cover for this issue: San Francisco to Germany, circa 1877, with a single 3¢ Continental Bank Note stamp. How was this cover rated and what do the black " 15 " handstamp and the blue crayon " 30 " markings represent?

25 circular date stamp. Intertwined with the datestamp is a black " 15 " hand-stamp. There's also is a blue crayon " 30 " marking across the address. The questions are all related: How was this cover rated and what do the black hand-stamped " 15 " and the blue crayon " 30 " markings represent? We hope to have answers in time for the next issue.

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A stunning Never Hinged $\$ 5.00$ Columbian. Catalogue: $\$ 9,000.2002$ \& 2005 PSE graded XF-S 95 \& 2002 PF certificates. From the Richard Baron Cohen collection sold by Harmers on June 24, 2005 for the world record price of $\$ 77,625$ including the buyer's premium.


The renowned Four Dollar Black Pony Express Cover with Blue Running Pony Handstamp. From the Alfred Lichtenstein collection sold by Harmers on May 13, 2004, for $\$ 603,750$ including the buyer's premium. A world record price for a Pony cover.

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Great collections have one name in common.


[^0]:    ' Bond, Arthur H. "United States 'Attached Rate’ Handstamps of the 1830 Era," Postal History Journal \#20 (July, 1968), pp. 35-38. Supplementary information appeared in PHJ \#23 (September, 1969), pg. 54, and PHJ \#35 (September, 1973), pg. 47.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lester Brookman, The 19th Century Postage Stamps of the United States, three volume edition, Vol. 1, pg. 91.

[^2]:    ${ }^{2}$ Winthrop Boggs, The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Canada, 1945. Special thanks to Wilson Hulme for his guidance to this reference.
    ${ }^{3}$ Boggs, op. cit., Vol II, Appendix H, \#48, pp. 18H-19H.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Ibid, Appendix \#51, pg. 19H; Appendix \#61, pp. 23H-24H.
    ${ }^{5} \mathrm{Ibid}$, Appendix \#60A, pg. 23 H .

[^4]:    For information about our auctions or to request a copy of the next sale catalogue and newsletter, please write to:
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[^5]:    J.C. Arnell \& M. H. Ludington, The Bermuda Packet Mails and the Halifax-Bermuda Mail Service, 1806 to 1889 (Norwich: Postal History Society, 1989).
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    Stephen R. Wise, Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988).

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ Clarence W. Brazer, The Essay-Proof Journal, \#6, (April 1945), pp. 67-72.
    ${ }^{2}$ House of Representatives, 42d Congress, Executive Document No. 113, Postal Cards and Stamps, "Letter from the Postmaster General transmitting to the House of Representatives the documents and correspondence relating to postal cards, and the contract for, and changes in, postage stamps, as called for by the resolution of December 13, 1872."
    ${ }^{3}$ Stephen M. Tedesco, "The United States 15\& Webster Stamp of 1870: From Model to Finished Die," Chronicle 211, pp. 218-229.

[^7]:    ${ }^{4}$ Schuyler Rumsey Auction, 26-29 April 2001, lot 2312.

[^8]:    ${ }^{5}$ Dan Undersander, Catalog of United States Stamped Envelope Essays and Proofs, 2003.
    ${ }^{6}$ Robert Ridgeway, Color Standards \& Nomenclature, First Edition, 1912.

[^9]:    ${ }^{7}$ Stephen M. Tedesco, "The United States 15¢ Webster Stamp of 1870; From Model to Finished Die," Chronicle 211 (May 2006), pg. 221.

[^10]:    ${ }^{8}$ Alan C. Campbell, "The Design Evolution of United States Official Stamps," Chronicle 168, pp. 267-71 and Chronicle 169, pp. 45-62.
    ${ }^{9}$ Ronald E. Burns, "The Essays, Proofs, and Patent Experimentals of the United States $3 ¢$ Banknote", exhibit copy on loan at the APRL.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ The description by M.C. Nathan in his book Franks of Western Expresses, pg. 241, and his short article in Western Express, July 1968, pp. 38-39, provides the most complete listing. A cover front is illustrated in Jesse L. Coburn, Letters of Gold, pg. 228 and A.P. Haller includes a catalog entry in his book Privately Printed Franks on US Government Envelopes (pg. 101). Ernest Wiltsee includes listings in his book Pioneer Miner and Pack Mule Express (pp. 97 and 101).

[^12]:    ${ }^{2}$ Placer Herald, November 25, 1865.
    ${ }^{3}$ See E. John B. Allen's book, From Skisport To Skiing, One Hundred Years of an American Sport, 1840-1940, for an excellent discussion of the skis used in California in this period, as well as the early mail-carrying snow-shoe expresses.

[^13]:    ${ }^{4}$ Old Waybills, Alvin F. Harlow, pg. 32. The photo plate shows the cover, attributed to material from the Alfred Lichtenstein collection.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ The New York Times is available on microfilm in major libraries. Mail closing times for outgoing mail-carrying ships began to be published in The New York Times on a regular basis in the 1870s, with more abbreviated notices before that time.

[^15]:    ${ }^{2}$ The Postal History room is located in the New York G.P.O. Farley Building (31st-33rd St. and 8th Ave.), on the 5th floor, in an area not open to the public. The entire Farley building is currently undergoing renovation. The room contains assorted old books and files from the New York Post Office. Access to the room can be obtained by contacting Paul Konigsberg, a retired postal employee, who works as a part-time volunteer to maintain the room.

[^16]:    ${ }^{3}$ This policy was codified in an Order of the Postmaster General No. 5456, February 24, 1921, amending the Postal Laws and Regulations of 1913, Sec. 541: "... At offices of the first class the time of postmarking first-class mail shall be changed each hour and half hour and kept one-half hour in advance. For instance, at 1 p.m. the time indicated in the postmark should be $1.30 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. and at $1.30 \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{m}$. the time in the postmark should show 2 p.m., etc."

