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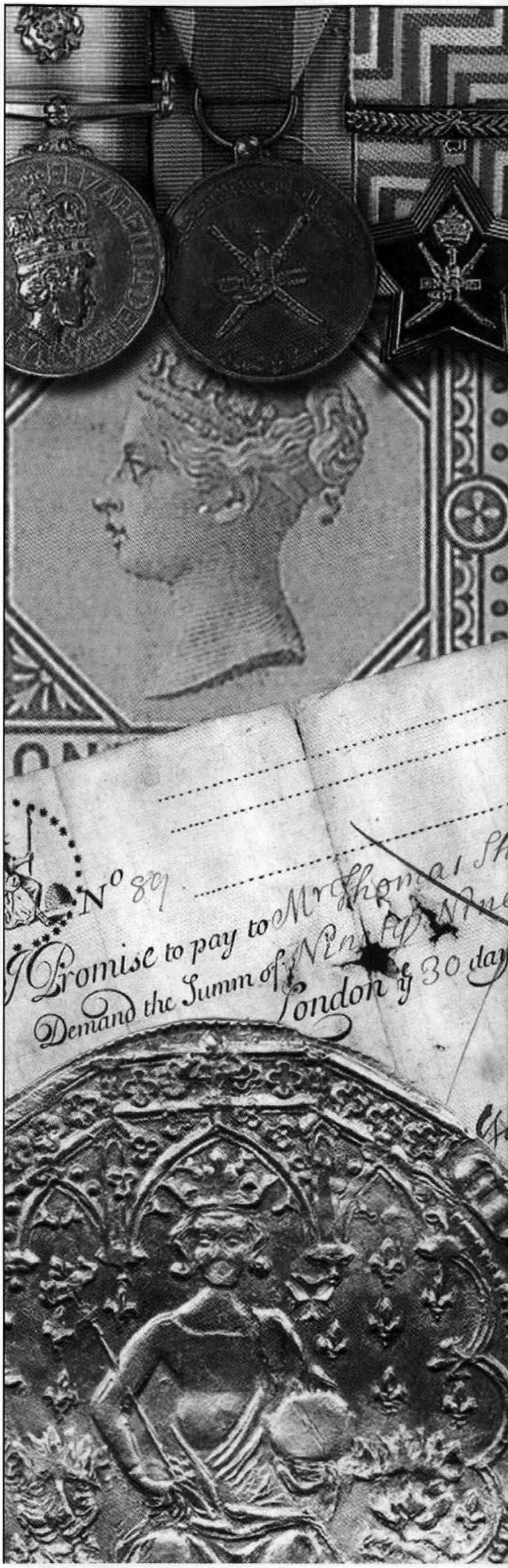

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THE EDITOR'S PAGE
MICHAEL LAURENCE

IN THIS ISSUE

We're pleased to introduce in this issue two contributors who are new to the pages of *The Chronicle*. In the Foreign Mails section, starting on page 149, Georg Mehrtens provides a major piece on the currencies, weights and measurements of the old German states. Understanding the interrelationships among these complex and confusing measuring units is essential to understanding the rating and marking of many covers that passed between the United States and Germany (either way) in the middle decades of the 19th century. Mehrtens illustrates some striking examples. The information in Mehrtens' article, especially his tabular data, should be helpful to all collectors who enjoy or study classic U.S.-German mails.

Our other new writer this issue is Stephen Rose, whose collecting specialty is the 2¢ 1869 stamp. In our 1869 section (pages 124-128) Rose uses two very different 1869 covers to support some interesting observations about the carriage of printed matter to Spain during the 1869 era.

George Sayers has been a frequent recent contributor to our Officials section. In this issue he goes on loan to the Essays and Proofs section where, starting on page 137, he provides an important and well-annotated examination of the origins, provenance and identifying characteristics of the cardboard plate proofs of the U.S. Official stamps. While Sayers' focus is on Officials, his research and his observations have much to say for all the card plate proofs of 19th century U.S. stamps. This is a must read for any collector who owns such items.

In the Carriers and Locals Section starting on page 101, Gordon Stimmell announces the discovery (in an eBay large lot) of an elusive mint single of the large Hampton's Despatch Post stamp (Scott 77L2). Only two examples of this stamp, both on covers, were previously recorded.

In our 1851-57 section, Hubert Skinner revisits the earliest New York foreign mail cancels, making a point that can be made often enough: NYFM cancels, sometimes fancy NYFM cancels, exist from the 1860s and earlier. The 1861-69 section boasts two interesting articles: a well-illustrated piece from Stephen Pacetti on the Leeds patent envelopes, and an article by Michael C. McClung on the frequently-misunderstood due markings from the 1863-65 penalty period.

In our Stampless section, James Milgram continues his exploration of attached rate markings. In the 1847 section, Harvey Mirsky discusses two covers with demonetized 1847 stamps that were accepted paying postage to foreign destinations. And rounding out this issue is an interesting research piece from Joe H. Crosby, who traces the familiar B.F. Stevens "despatch agent" markings into the early 20th century and promises in future to take them even further. ■

ATTACHED RATES AND MARKINGS ON STAMPLESS COVERS PART 2: THE POST-1845 ERA

BY JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Part 1 of this series, in *Chronicle* 213, dealt with markings during the multiple-rate period of the 1830s and early 1840s. The second part of the attached-rate story includes a number of markings from towns and cities which for various reasons fashioned hand-stamped circular date stamps to which were attached either rate markings or words, so that the postmaster only had to strike one device once. The markings which will be discussed in this second part are mostly later markings, from the late 1840s, the 1850s and even the 1860s.

First we must mention two unusual markings showing the town's name or state attached outside the circle. The cover in Figure 1 bears a red double-circle postmark from Harrison Square, Massachusetts. Here the circle contains only the two-word town name.

Figure 1. Harrison Square, Massachusetts, with state abbreviation attached below the double circle and a separate "PAID 3" in oval, on a cover to Annapolis Junction, Maryland from the early 1850s.

The state abbreviation ("MS") appears below the word "SQUARE" within a separate, scroll-like frame that is attached to the circular datestamp. This marking was used during the 5¢/10¢ rate era of the late 1840s and into the Paid 3 (or Due 5) rate era of the early 1850s, when the Figure 1 cover was posted.

The second unusual marking, from North Hardwick, Vermont, and dated 1848, is pictured via tracing in the stampless cover catalog. Here the word "NORTH" appears within a separate arch-shaped oval frame, surmounting the word "HARDWICK," which is placed within the double circle of the marking. Also within the double circle are two fleurons.

As will be discussed in a future article, many towns during the 5¢/10¢ rate era (1 July 1845—30 June 1851) incorporated a "5" or a "10" into their circular town marking. Only

Figure 2. Richmond, Virginia to New York City, two 1849 covers from the same correspondence, overlapped to emphasize the two different styles of attached "10" rate markings.

a few attached a numeral outside of the circle. Figure 2 shows two 1850 covers from the same correspondence from Richmond to New York City. We have overlapped them in Figure 2 to show the different "10" handstamps attached below the circular datestamp. At least one Richmond handstamp bore a "5" rater for covers traveling less than 300 miles.

Philadelphia a few years earlier had a similar "10" postmark. That city also used a marking with attached "2" for drop letters. Use of this postmark ("PHILADELPHIA Pa. FEB 15 2") on a circular from 1847 is shown in Figure 3. This represents the 1845 circular rate, which was changed in March, 1847. Integral postmarks intended for use on circulars will be discussed in a future article. In my recent article on E.S. Zevely, I showed a marking with attached "5" above the large circular handstamped date; also an attached "PAID"

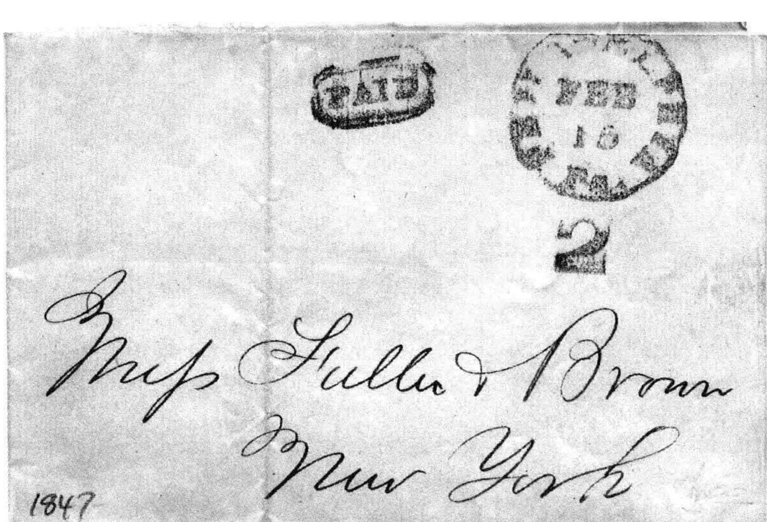


Figure 3. Philadelphia circular datestamp with an attached "2" and a separate "PAID" on a printed circular dated February, 1847, when the circular rate was two cents.

Figure 4. Two examples of the scarcest and most interesting of all attached-rate markings: "RHEA-TOWN Ten." with Quaker dating and attached rate. At left, attached "5 Cents" at top and Quaker dating ("3 Month 2"), on an 1851 cover to Lynchburg, Virginia. At right: "10 Cents" and "10th MONTH 2", on an 1850 cover to Virginia.

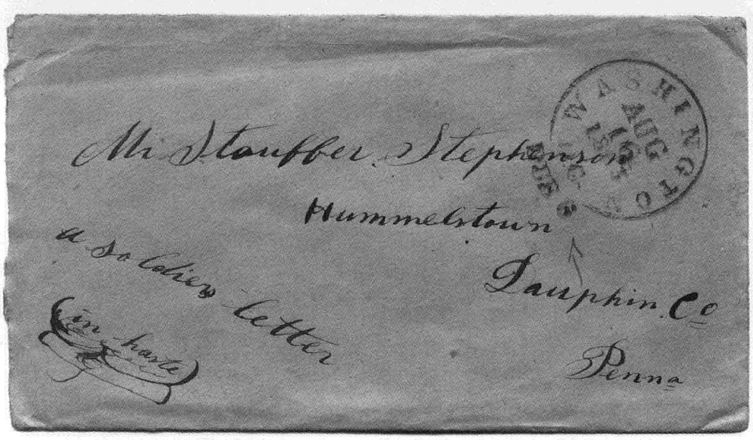


Figure 5. "WASHINGTON D.C. AUG 16 1863" with attached "DUE 6," on a cover marked as "a soldier's letter" but not endorsed by an officer. Thus the penalty of double the deficient postage.

in a printed postmark.[1]

Certainly the most interesting attached-rate markings of the later period are the two markings known from Rhea-town, Tennessee, which also show Quaker dating of the months. Both covers are shown in Figure 4. The earlier of the two, at right, sent to Virginia in 1850, shows "10 Cents" attached above the rim of the circular datestamp and a "10th MONTH" (abbreviating October) within the circle. The other cover, at left in Figure 4, is docketed 1851 and contains handwritten numbers in two positions of the circular datestamp, with "5 Cents" attached above the circle.

After the July 1, 1863, penalty rate called for doubling the unpaid postage, Washington, D.C., with its thousands of Civil War soldiers' letters, used a small circle with attached "DUE 6." An example is shown in Figure 5. This cover has a "soldier's letter" designation, but it was not certified by an officer and thus did not qualify for the Due 3 soldier's rate. This Washington marking was not used long, possibly because it was difficult to read. A

[1] James W. Milgram: "E.S. Zevely Makes Postmaster's Handstamps," *Chronicle* 210, pp. 109-120.

larger "DUE 6" in circle replaced the attached-rate handstamp, even though this meant twice as much work from the postal clerk: two strikes instead of just one.

One of the most highly collected attached-rate postmarks is the Elkton, Maryland "Paid 3." This is shown in Figure 6 crisply struck on a lacy lady's envelope addressed to Wilmington. This marking was obviously created for the 1851 period, when the prepaid rate was three cents.

Figure 6. "ELKTON MD NOV 27" with attached "PAID 3." on an exquisite lacy envelope addressed to Wilmington.

Another attached "PAID" marking comes from Savannah, Georgia. The example shown in Figure 7 is struck on an 1855 circular addressed to Salem, Mass. As we will see in a future installment of this integral-rate series, it was very unusual for circulars to show an

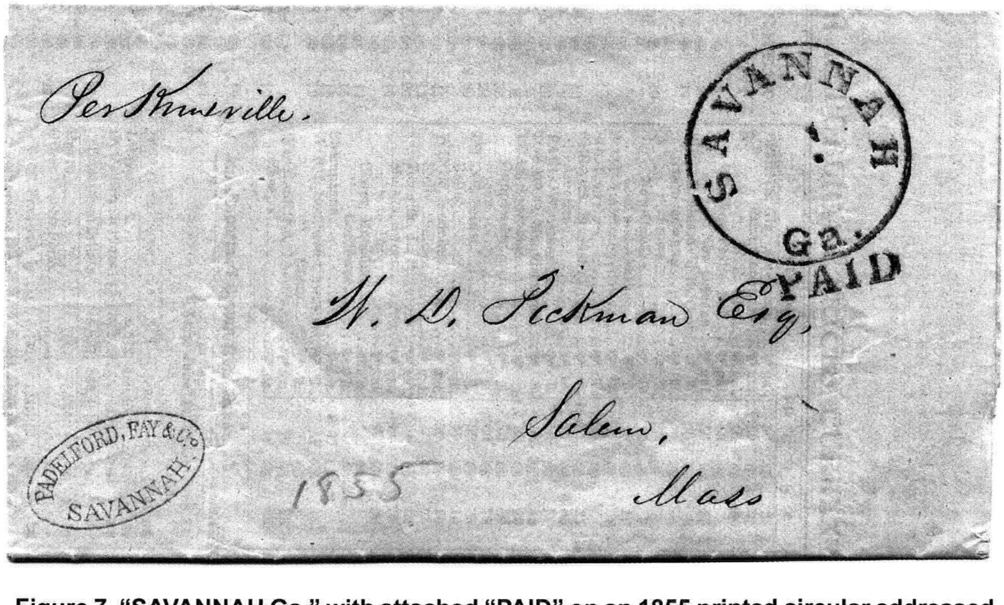


Figure 7. "SAVANNAH Ga." with attached "PAID" on an 1855 printed circular addressed to Salem, Massachusetts.

attached "PAID" marking. Savannah also had postmarks with attached "10" in 1847 (for the over-300-mile distance) and a "PAID/3" for the earlier circular rate. The author has not seen either of these markings. An attached "PAID" on a California integral 40 rated cover from New York is listed in the stampless catalog.

In Washington, D.C., one of the postmarks used frequently was the word "FREE." Therefore, it should not be surprising that several types of "FREE" attached to dated circles

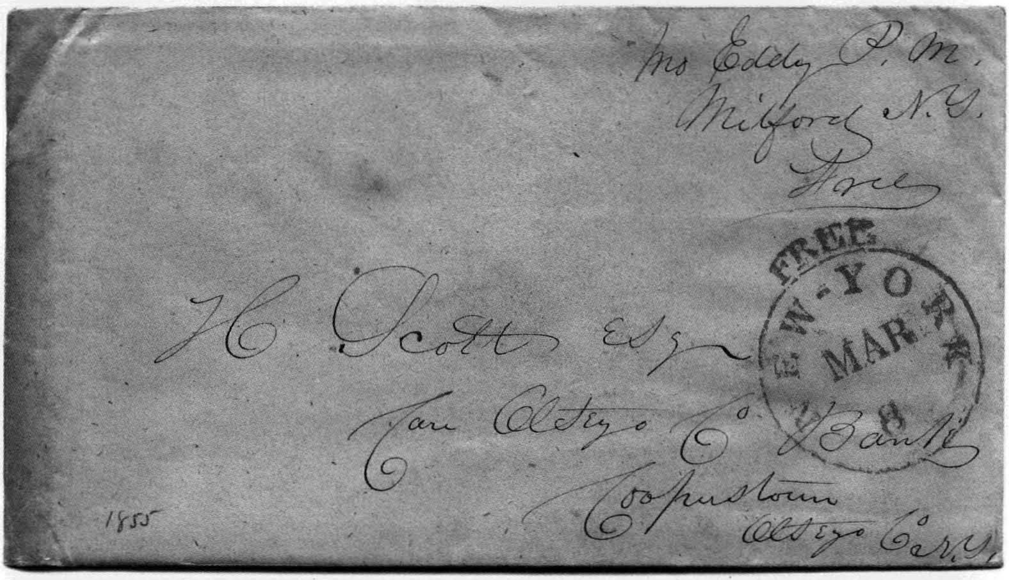


Figure 8. "NEW-YORK MAR 8" with attached "FREE." The postmaster of New Milford, N.Y., franked this cover (a so-called traveling frank), presumably on a visit to New York City, where his frank was honored.

were used there. These were in use from 1845 to 1850 on different sized circles and are known in both black and red. During the 1851-1857 period, New York also employed a marking with an attached "FREE" at the top of the circle. An example is shown in Figure 8. This is an 1855 cover franked by the postmaster from New Milford, N.Y. (while on a visit to the big city) to an addressee in Cooperstown. After these attached rates there were many varieties of integral "FREE" postmarks from New York.■

NEW DISCOVERY: LARGE HAMPTON DESPATCH POST, OFF-COVER ADHESIVE

GORDON STIMMELL

This is an updated version of a tale of two printers and their creation of evanescent Philadelphia local posts in the 1847-1849 period. George S. Harris operated the G.S. Harris Despatch Post in 1847. In the McElroy City Directory he was listed as a printer at 119 North 4th Street. Thomas A. Hampton was proprietor of the T.A. Hampton City Despatch for a longer run, and the earliest street address for him shows up two years after the post ended, at Marshall above 5th Street South. All this was established in an article by Steven Roth on "Short-Lived Local Posts of Philadelphia" in *The Penny Post* for October, 1993.

While the business relations between the two printers remains enigmatic, they are linked by the adhesive stamps they used, which were printed from the same template. Only the names were changed. Complicating the picture is the fact that both posts' adhesives were modeled on the handstamps they used. Handstamps and adhesives have thus been confused.

Both Scott Trepel, president of Siegel Auction Galleries, and the late Calvet M. Hahn have written extensively, and disagreed, on these posts. Hahn argued in an article in the November/December 1994 issue of *The Collectors Club Philatelist* that the large Thomas A. Hampton adhesive (Scott 77L2) is a cut-out version of the Hampton handstamp pasted onto covers. In *The Penny Post* for April 2002, after this theory was assailed by other scholars, Hahn reiterated his conjecture: "Unlike the other adhesives, the adhesive (77L2) is of the same character as lettersheet paper in my opinion." Meaning he was sticking to his guns and still believed the adhesive was a cut-out of a handstamp taken from a folded lettersheet.

Trepel penned a masterful response to Hahn's first doubts in the David Golden Sale catalog (Siegel sale 817, November 15-17, 1999, pages 236-7, viewable on-line at the Siegel website), convincingly arguing that the 77L2 adhesives were printed, not handstamped. He cited the impressions of the stamps ("flat, dark and uniformly inked on grayish white wove paper"), as well a pooling of ink around the edges of several letters in the design, which would signal typographic printing. Trepel employed digital overlays to reveal that both the Hampton stamp (77L2) and the Harris stamp (79L2) used an identical template, with the names of the printer/proprietor inserted later.

In my opinion, the conclusion that 77L2 was printed, not handstamped, is a no-brainer. When examined closely, all the handstamps show uneven inking, slightly smudged lettering, and a range of variations that arise when a handstamp is imperfectly applied by a human hand to a cover. The Hampton stamps Hahn cast aspersions upon show even inking, clear lettering and a crispness of impression that only arises from the mechanized consistency of a printing press.

But what of the paper differences? Trepel in his lot description calls 77L2 "one of the rarest of all locals." The two known examples both survive on covers. That makes it

Figure 1. Recently discovered in an eBay large lot: an apparently mint single example of the large Hampton's Despatch Post stamp, Scott 77L2. Prior to the appearance of this stamp, only two examples were known, both on cover. One of the covers is shown in Figure 3.

difficult to measure paper thickness and composition, a key to determining if the adhesive is a real stamp.

All that changed with the recent appearance of an off-cover example of 77L2 . This is shown in Figure 1. It turned up in an eBay auction, thrown into a large lot of cheap genuine and ancient dealer-forged local stamps. Auction drama ensued and the lot, worth perhaps $150 without the Hampton stamp, drew very large bids. I prevailed, only to discover the seller had passed away in his retirement home during the sale. His daughter finally came to the rescue and honored her dad's auctions from the last week of his life. The process of retrieving the lot took two months of highly sporadic communications.

Figure 2. Cover bearing a Hampton Despatch Post handstamp. The handstamp and the adhesive share a common design, but the adhesive stamps (Figures 1 and 3) are clearly press-printed.

Obtaining an off cover Hampton stamp, which is possibly unique, was very exciting. Right away I examined the paper thickness. While my experience with folded letter sheet papers from the 1840s is nowhere near the numbers that passed through Hahn's hands over the decades, I have personally examined more than 10,000 folded letters. Letter sheet paper is usually fairly thick, but would the stamp be? No, the stamp is on thin, very crisp paper, slightly thinner than the similar design Blood's adhesives Scott 15L7-15L9. The thickness of the Hampton stamp measures 2.88 mils. The thickness from the thinnest folded letter sheet I have with a Hampton handstamp is just under 3 mils. This is too close to be decisive.

However, the paper of the stamp is very crisp, almost brittle, and hard. The paper of the folded letter sheet is far softer and more pliant.

Most important, the impression on the Figure 1 stamp is without doubt printed, not handstamped. Every letter on the stamp design has even inking. There are no soft spots, or blurred impressions such as one encounters on every handstamp known from the post. See, for example, the strike on the cover in Figure 2. On the discovery stamp in Figure 1, the most complex parts of the design, the asterisks, have finely executed inking, whereas the asterisks from the surviving handstamps are all blotchy or smudged. In addition, the Figure 1 adhesive has a thin overall residue of original gum remaining and is thus likely the only mint (as well as the only off-cover) example known.

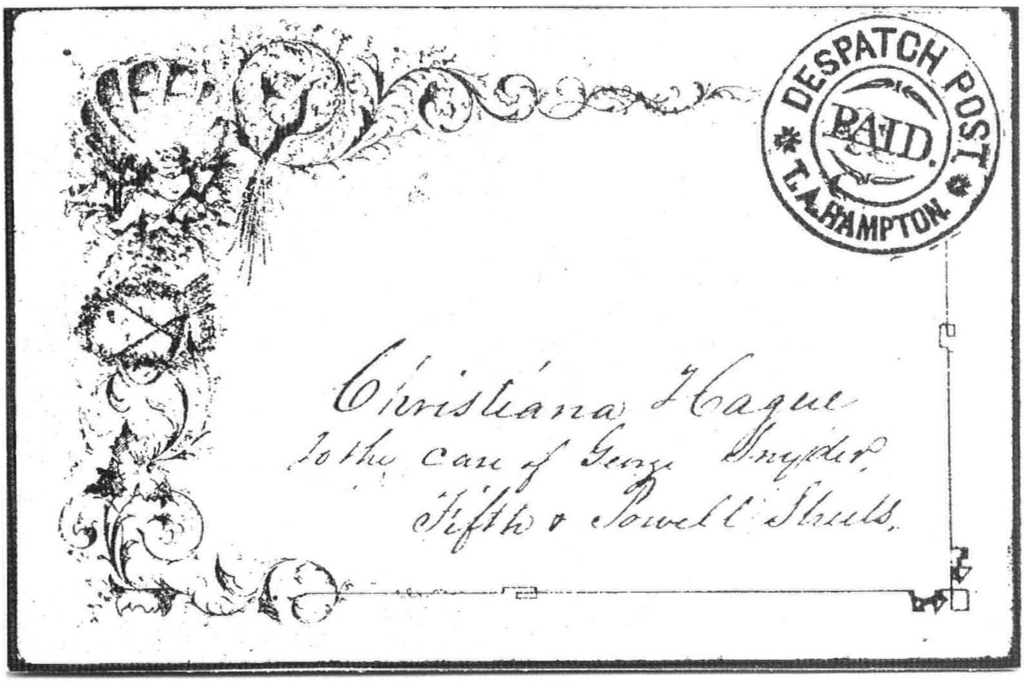


Figure 3. One of the two covers known to bear the large Hampton's Despatch Post stamp, Scott 77L2. This undated cover is signed by George Sloane.

Both surviving 77L2 covers bear adhesives with faint surprinted numeral "3" handstamps, reflecting a change of rates charged by the post from two to three cents. This seems to be missing from the discovery off-cover stamp, but there is a faint ink smudge to the right of the PAID which might have been a "3," which would suggest the stamps were struck with the rate before use. However, it is too faint to tell.

Trepel points out that there are two variants of the 77L2 stamp, with the lettering of "T.A. HAMPTON" differing. Figure 1 is the variant with the "T.A." close to "HAMPTON," long top "T"s, wide-bottomed "M" and pointed top "A"s in the name. This variety also occurs on the undated cover, signed "Geo. Sloane," which is shown in Figure 3.

The other known 77L2 cover is dated May 23 addressed to New Orleans, ex Gibson, Lilly, Lowe and Golden. Roth lists this as internally dated 1849, while Trepel omits the year in his description (lot A1151, Golden Sale). The adhesive from this cover is presumed to be the source of the illustration in Scott's specialized catalog. In the Golden sale, this cover fetched $12,000 before commissions.

The dates of the Hampton handstamps on cover cluster mainly in the summer of 1847.

The PAID handstamps are dated Aug. 7, and Aug. 14, 1847. The 2 Cts. (due) handstamps are dated July 18, 1847 (this cover is shown in Figure 2); July 22; July 25; and October 26, 1847. The "2" overwritten in ink as "3" handstamp cover is undated, and the one recorded date for the "3 Cts." (due) handstamp on cover is February 14, 1848.

Since the 77L2 adhesives each bear the "3," I assume Hampton used them in the 1848 or later period. The more common 77L1 Hampton adhesive covers, eight of which are listed and summarized by Trepel in the Golden sale, date from Aug. 7, 1847 through Nov. 22, 1849.

The known examples of the Harris stamps and markings all seem to precede the Hampton stamps and handstamps. Most students have concluded that Harris sold out to Hampton. Others have speculated, because the two printers shared a stamp template, that they may have been partners. Perhaps one simply passed on the template to the other.

The brothers of my great great grandfather ran printing businesses in Philadelphia in the 1840-1890 period, so I wondered what happened to these two printers who briefly ran local posts. Thomas Hampton shows up in the 1861 McElroy's City Directory as still a printer at 829 Leonard St., having moved from Marshall, above 5th (S) in the 1852 period. Hampton does not seem to have left much of a mark otherwise.

George S. Harris became one of the major printers of the U.S. He operated a lithography business from 1847 to 1872. His son joined him from 1873 to 1880 and his other son joined his printing business in 1881 on Vine Street, moving to Arch Street from 1882-1892. The firm subsequently lost its name, absorbed by larger printing companies in a series of mergers whose corporate descendants survive to this day.

Harris was a pioneer in perfecting the cameo stamp die-sinking process. He is highly regarded even today by collectors for his ornate cigar boxes and labels, from the 1870s and 1880s, which used multi-color chromolithography.

Harris also survives due to thousands of song sheets printed in the late 1850s and 1860s bearing his imprint: "George S. Harris' Card and Job Printing Office operating out of the SE cor. Fourth & Vine Sts." Many of these were sheet music songs of the popular black-face minstrels of the day, which struck a warm note. Two Stimmells were members of the Nightingale Serenaders who wowed Philadelphia audiences in the 1840s. One played the tambourine, the other the bones. I have a lithograph of them in their black face doing "De Banks Ob De Ohio" and "Brack Ey'd Susianna" in the summer of 1846. But alas, this pioneer piece of sheet music was not printed by George S. Harris. ■

USING DEMONETIZED 1847 STAMPS TO FULLY PREPAY INTERNATIONAL TREATY RATES ON U.S. MAIL

HARVEY MIRSKY

On June 11, 1851, in anticipation of a new series of postage stamps, Postmaster General N.K. Hall issued an order stating that: "The five and ten cent postage stamps issued by this Department under the provisions of the 11th section of the Act of March 3rd 1847 and now in use by the public, will not be received in prepayment of postage after the 30th of the present month."[1]

That order notwithstanding, there are 81 post-demonetization covers listed in the 1847 Cover Census (including eight with bad certificates).[2]

Of the covers so far assumed genuine, seven were sent from Canada. Five use a 10¢ Washington stamp (Scott 2) to fully prepay the treaty rate of April 6, 1851; one cover has a 5¢ Franklin stamp (1) affixed to it with the remaining postage presumably paid in cash;

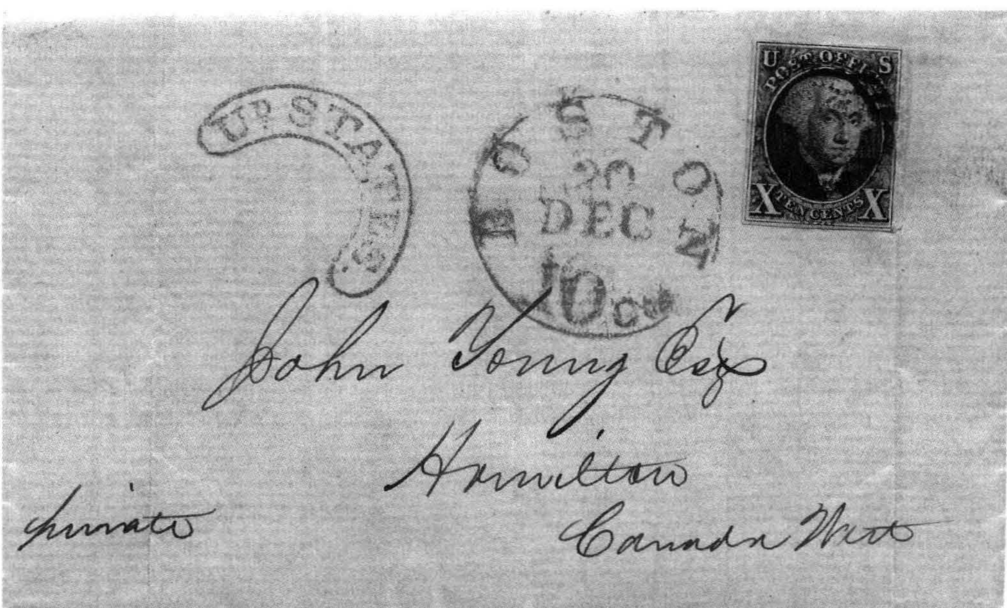


Figure 1. Although officially demonetized earlier that year, the 10¢ Washington stamp on this 1851 cover was accepted as valid by the Boston postmaster and by the Canadian postmaster at Hamilton, Ontario. The postage was correct because the 10¢ rate to Canada had not changed, even though the stamp itself was no longer legally valid.

[1] See Thomas J. Alexander, *United States 1847 Issue Cover Census* (Austin, Texas: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 2001) pg. 857.
[2] *Ibid,* pp. 858-872.

and the seventh cover paid the treaty rate with a 5¢ Franklin and a 3d Canada Beaver stamp (Scott 1).[3]

While postmasters in the United States were very accommodating in their acceptance of post-demonetization uses (only three small-town postmasters rejected them), their forbearance was perhaps most notable when they allowed demonetized stamps to fully prepay international treaty rates on mail sent to foreign countries. Two such examples are known; both are shown herewith.

The cover in Figure 1, mailed from Boston to Hamilton, is datelined December 19, 1851, and has a December 20 Boston date stamp. The 10¢ franking paid the correct 10¢ rate as established by the U.S.-Canada treaty of April 6, 1851, but the stamp itself was no longer officially valid for postage. The treaty with Canada also required that mail between the two countries had to be marked to show the country of origin. The U.S. marking on this cover is "A-2," using the classification system devised by Susan M. McDonald.[4]

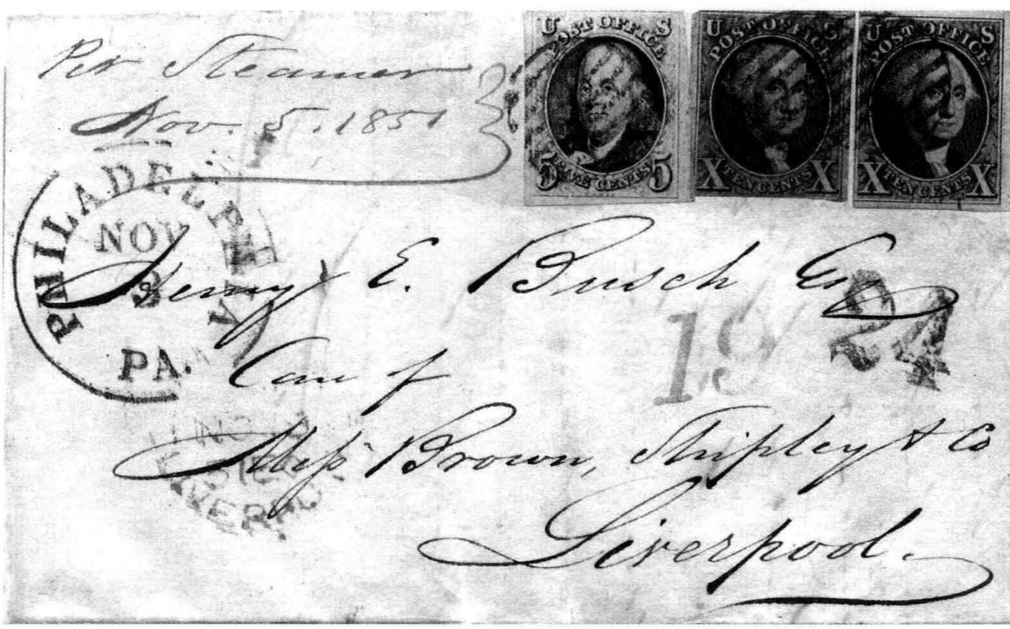


Figure 2. This cover front to Liverpool also used demonetized 1847 stamps to overpay by 1¢ the 24¢ packet treaty rate to Great Britain. It is one of two recorded examples of post-demonetization 5¢/10¢ combination postage use, and the only one to a foreign country.

The cover front in Figure 2 is also a post-demonetization use of the 1847 stamps. This was mailed at Philadelphia on November 3, 1851 and, per the manuscript endorsement at top left, was carried "Per Steamer" (*S.S. Niagara*), which sailed from New York November 5, arriving Liverpool November 19. The 25¢ postage was actually a 1¢ overpayment of the 24¢ treaty rate established under the U.S.-Great Britain treaty of 1848. The U.S. kept 5¢ for inland postage and credited the British with 19¢ for taking the cover across the Atlantic to its destination.

As noted, these two covers are the only recorded examples of demonetized 1847 stamps accepted in full payment of U.S. international treaty rates.■

[3] *Ibid,* pg. 859.
[4] Susan M. McDonald, "U.S. Exchange Markings on 1847 Covers," *Chronicle* 67, pp.102-107.

THE EARLIEST NEW YORK FOREIGN MAIL CANCELS

HUBERT C. SKINNER

This writer has written previously about New York Foreign Mail cancels as a part of a longer article.[1] There the genesis of obliterators designed to invalidate adhesive stamps and prevent their re-use was discussed. On 1 July 1851, the postage on single letters prepaid by adhesives (or in cash) was discounted to 3¢ though unpaid letters were still rated at the preexisting rate of 5¢. Initially, all letters to domestic and foreign destinations were treated alike. Stamps were cancelled, postmarks were applied and then the letters were sorted and dispatched to their destinations.

Shortly after July 1851, the post office in New York City (hereafter NYC) was reorganized and letters were sorted and sent to the various dispatch centers uncanceled and without postmarks. In the early 1850s the adhesives on many domestic letters were obliterated by the ordinary dated postmark (see Plate 1, NYDM 51-2). Various experimental devices were employed at NYC including integral bar grids within the circular datestamp (CDS). Examples are shown in Plate 1. Beginning in late 1860, duplex devices were in use on domestic letters in NYC due to instructions from the Postmaster General to use a separate device to obliterate the stamps (see Plate 2). Duplex devices were employed to avoid striking a letter twice and thus lessen the labor required to process domestic letters. The duplex devices initially were fabricated by attaching a bar grid to existing CDS postmarks. The killer devices were generally circular six-bar grids of various sizes. In early 1861, the Norton patent device was used briefly on letters at NYC (see Plate 2, NYDM 61-2).

The foregoing discussion is essential to understanding a fundamental principle of handling and postmarking New York Foreign Mail at NYC. By November 1851, letters entering the mail at NYC addressed to foreign destinations (except overland to Canada) were sent to the Foreign Mail dispatch center uncanceled and unmarked. There, the letters were sorted into groups according to the various treaties and to the trans-Atlantic line expected to carry each letter. The rates were checked for accuracy and the adhesives were cancelled with special NYFM killers. Stampless covers were marked with prepaid or due markings as required. No postmarks (dispatch markings) were applied in advance of the sailing of the mail-carrying vessel; covers were postmarked on the actual sailing date. The result, therefore, is that none of the transatlantic letters originating at NYC have duplex postal markings, though domestic letters bear either integral postmarks or duplex postal markings after late 1860.

Peculiarly, the earliest foreign mail obliterator (used exclusively on transatlantic mail) recorded by this writer is the common seven bar encircled grid (NYFM 51-1 in Plate 3) that was used in many different post offices. After November 1851, no use of this cancel has been recorded on domestic letters originating in NYC (except for those struck on U. S. Express Mail letters, generally struck in red ink, apparently by the railway clerk receiving such mail). This marking was not applied in the NYC post office. However, NYFM 51-1 is one of the four circular grid markings recorded used on outgoing foreign mail after Novem-

[1] "The Cancellations and Postmarks of New York City: 1845-1876, Their Usage and Their Postal History," pp. 79-107 in *U.S. Postmarks and Cancellations*, Philatelic Foundation Seminar Series, Textbook No. 3, 1992, edited by Scott R. Trepel. The tracing plates and numbering nomenclature used here are reproduced from this 1992 publication.

ber 1851 (the top four markings in Plate 3). Marking NYFM 58-1 resembles NYFM 51-1 but has thinner lines and is recorded in both red and black. Marking NYFM 60-1 has ten thin lines, generally recorded in black. Marking NYFM 60-2, has eight bars with a circular opening at center which may be a nail hole indicating where the grid was attached to the cancelling device. It is recorded in both red and black. This NYFM 60-2 grid is struck in black on the cover shown in Figure 1.

All four grids are single obliterators; none is part of a duplex device. These four grids were used on outgoing foreign mails from late 1851 until late 1863. Pictorial and hand-

Figure 1. A transatlantic cover from New York City to Liverpool, postmarked 11 August 1858. The two 12¢ 1857 stamps (Scott 36) were cancelled by the black grid with hole at center. A tracing of this marking is shown as NYFM 60-2 in Plate 3.

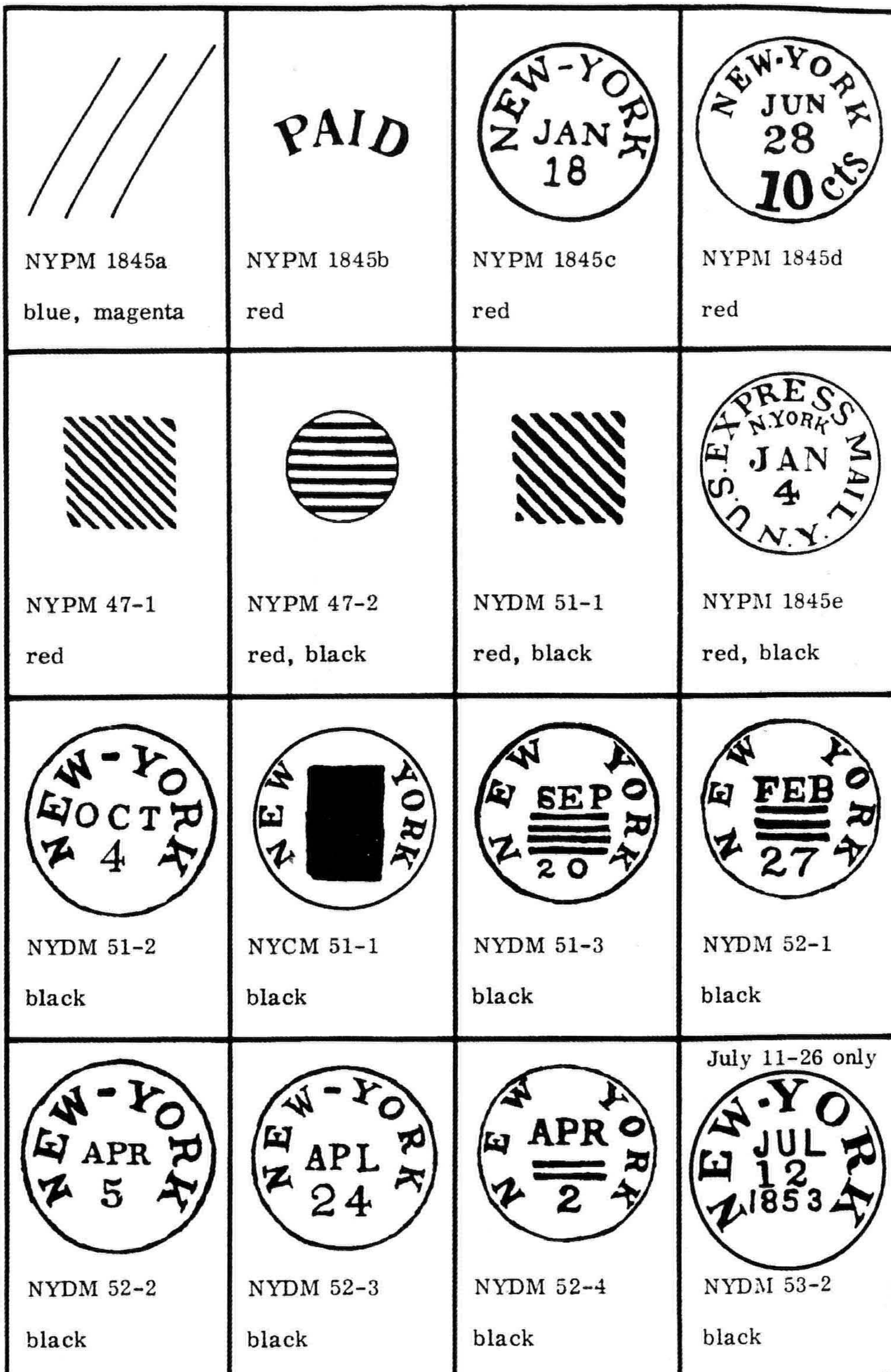
carved geometric obliterators were used on the transatlantic mails from December 1862 into 1869. Again, all of these are single designs; none are duplex devices.

It is remarkable that the commonplace seven bar encircled grid was used exclusively on the transatlantic mails from late 1851 to 1863 at NYC and is not recorded on domestic letters originating in NYC after late 1851. Further, many of the geometric designs from the 1860s are as elaborate and complex as those from the 1870s. In addition, pictorial designs such as the New York Soldier's Head and the Zebra Head used on the outgoing foreign mails at NYC in the 1860s have no equivalent counterparts in the 1870s.

The tracing plates in the three pages that follow are reproduced from *U.S. Postmarks and Cancellations* (see Footnote 1). In order to fit the *Chronicle* page format, the tracings are shown slightly smaller than lifesize.

Plate 1 shows early postmarks used at NYC. The first seven were applied to all mail dispatched at NYC, during the time when all mail was handled and postmarked the same way, regardless of destination. The eighth design was used on the U. S. Express Mail between New York and Boston. The bottom eight markings were used on mail in 1851-1853, including the experimental integral circular date stamps with the obliterator placed within the central area of the datestamp. Plate 2 shows early postmarks used at NYC. The top four were applied to domestic mail in 1855-1859. The four duplex devices at center were prepared for the postmaster at NYC by his diemaker by attaching various circular grids to existing postmarks. The marking at bottom left is the Norton patent device used briefly at NYC in early 1861 on covers with 1857 adhesives or on Star Die envelopes. The last two tracings show the New York Ocean Mail markings with integral grid obliterators. The ocean mail letters were dispatched by the domestic mail division, probably because most are addressed to California. Plate 3 shows foreign mail obliterators used at NYC. The top four designs are the early grid designs from late 1851 through 1860. The bottom 12 tracings illustrate some of the outgoing foreign mail cancels used from 1862 to 1864, just a sampling of the hand-carved designs from the 1860s.

Thanks to Edgar W. Jatho, Jr., for assistance in scanning images for this article.■


NYPM 1845a
blue, magenta
NYPM 1845b
red
NYPM 1845c
red
NYPM 1845d
red
NYPM 47-1
red
NYPM 47-2
red, black
NYDM 51-1
red, black
NYPM 1845e
red, black
NYDM 51-2
black
NYCM 51-1
black
NYDM 51-3
black
NYDM 52-1
black
July 11-26 only
NYDM 52-2
black
NYDM 52-3
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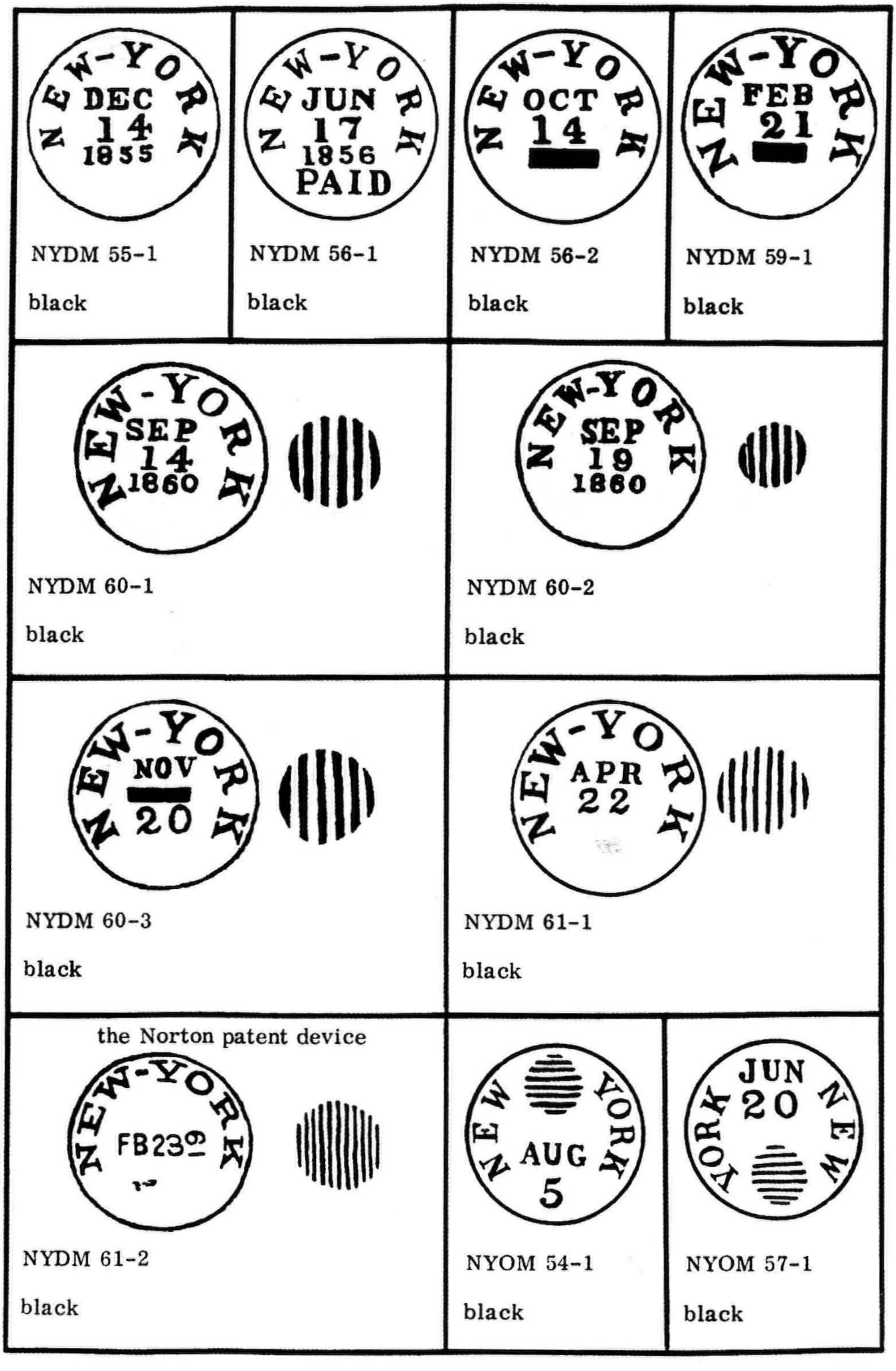
NYDM 52-4
black
NYDM 53-2
black

Plate 1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NYDM 56-1
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NYDM 59-1
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NYDM 60-1
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NYDM 60-2
black
NYDM 60-3
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NYDM 61-1
black
the Norton patent device
NYDM 61-2
black
NYOM 54-1
black
NYOM 57-1
black

Plate 2

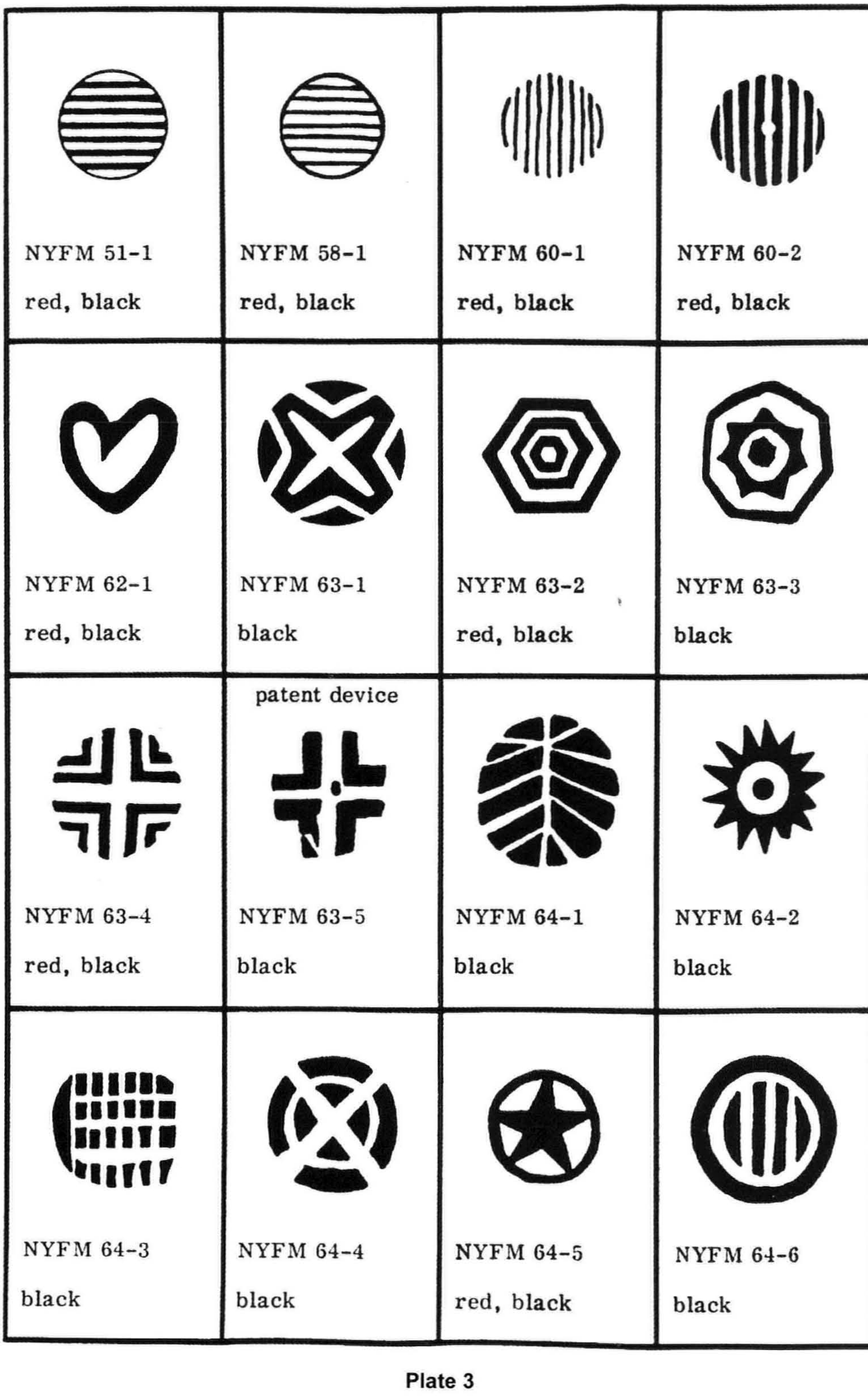
NYFM 51-1
red, black
NYFM 58-1
red, black
NYFM 60-1
red, black
NYFM 60-2
red, black
NYFM 62-1
red, black
NYFM 63-1
black
NYFM 63-2
red, black
NYFM 63-3
black
NYFM 63-4
red, black
patent device
NYFM 63-5
black
NYFM 64-1
black
NYFM 64-2
black
NYFM 64-3
black
NYFM 64-4
black
NYFM 64-5
red, black
NYFM 64-6
black

Plate 3

THE LEEDS PATENT ENVELOPE: A REVIEW AND A POSSIBLE NEW EARLIEST KNOWN USE

STEPHEN B. PACETTI

Introduction

There hasn't been a lot written about this footnote to early 1860s philately for quite some time, mostly because the pioneering research done by E. Tudor Gross in 1942-44 was so very thorough.[1] Don L. Evans gave us a fine review of Gross' findings, along with a number of images of covers, in his book on the 1¢ 1861 Franklin stamp.[2] And Richard B. Graham provided a recap and showed some covers in a 1979 Chronicle article.[3]

Here I will summarize what Gross found and present what I believe to be a new earliest known use (EKU) of a Leeds envelope. To avoid excessive footnotes, everything below about the envelope can be found in Gross' articles, unless I cite otherwise. One caution: Putting together a precise time line for the envelope's history is difficult and open to some guesswork, because records were not kept or lost.

Background

Sometime in late 1859 or early 1860, two men, who were not acquainted, independently came up with the same idea for an "improved" envelope with a die-cut hole, somewhat larger than a postage stamp, in the front of the envelope. Their idea was that the post office date stamp could be affixed through the hole directly onto the envelope's content. When the letter's recipient opened the envelope and removed its contents, a record of the mailing date would be preserved on the letter or enclosure. This would serve as legal proof of the mailing and date. The inventors reasoned that this would be of value to businesses needing such proof. It was a nifty idea, but fraught with problems.

The man who was first to the U.S. Patent Office with this idea was Benjamin Morison of Philadelphia. He was not a printer or an envelope manufacturer, but rather in business to assist others with patent searches. On June 19, 1860, Morison received Patent No. 28767 for his "Improved Envelope."[4] Morison's design placed the die-cut hole high in the upper left corner of the envelope.

Lewis W. Leeds of New York City had the same general idea, but upon exploring an application for his own patent discovered that Morison had already staked his claim. Leeds, like Morison, was not in the envelope-making business. He was a steam-heating consultant, with an office at 112 Broadway. His idea was different in that his die-cut hole was in

[1] *Collectors Club Philatelist*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, April 1942; Vol. XXII, No. 1, January 1943 & October 1943; & Vol. XXIII, No. 2, April 1944.
[2] *The United States 1¢ Franklin 1861-1867*, (Linn's, 1997).
[3] *Chronicle* 103, August 1979, pp. 187-192.
[4] An image of the two-page patent is reprinted in Gross' first article. Or, you can search by patent number at the Patent Office web site: http://www.uspto.gov/.

the conventional location, the upper-right corner, and included thin paper lattice across the hole. The postage stamp would stick both to the lattice and to the envelope content. When

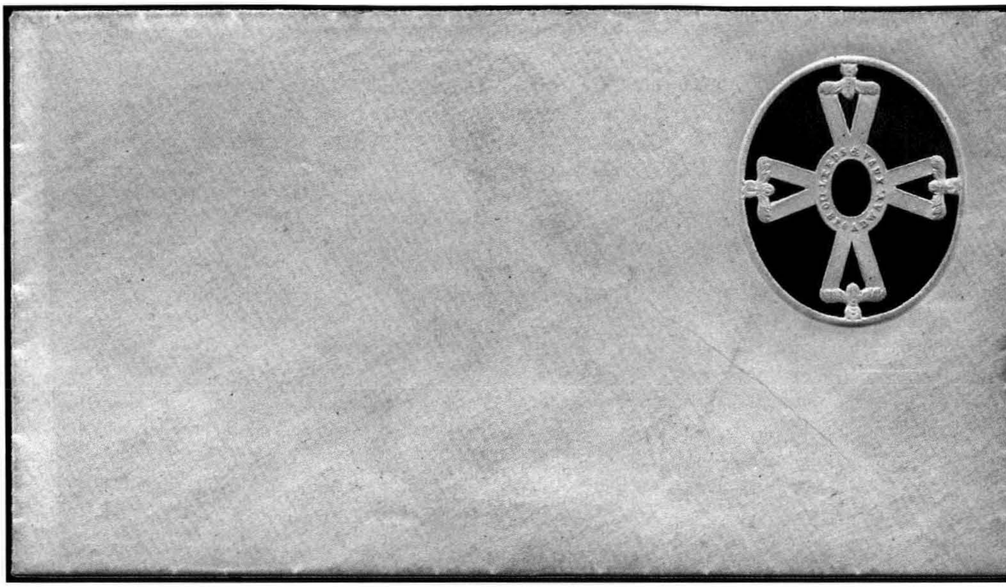

Figure 1. Leeds & Vaux envelope showing embossed ornamental lattice die-cut in the stamp area.

the envelope was opened and the contents removed, the lattice would break away, leaving both the postage stamp and the post office date stamp on the contents. Even though this envelope idea differed from Morison's, the main concept was the same, at least in the eyes of the Patent Office. Leeds could not receive his own patent.

Leeds approached Morison about purchasing the rights to the patent. Morison had become disenchanted with the money-making possibilities of his envelope and agreed to sell for $1000, with quarterly payments of $250 to begin January 1, 1862.[5] Leeds' first active partner in the envelope venture was Calvert Vaux, an architect whose office was next door to Leeds'. The two had worked together in the steam-heating business. Their envelope partnership began sometime in early 1861. They called their "new" envelope the "Stamp Sealing and Postmark Preserving Envelope." Figure 1 is an example of an unused Leeds and Vaux envelope, with a piece of black paper inside the envelope to highlight the lattice.

Figure 2 provides a close up of the lattice work. Note the finely embossed "Leeds & Vaux/110 Broadway" in the center (they used Vaux' business

Figure 2. Enlargement of the the Leeds & Vaux window, showing the intricate detail. These envelopes were likely fabricated by George Nesbitt.

[5] According to the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis' inflation calculator, available online, that's $22,500 in 2006 dollars.

Stamp Sealing and Postmark Preserving Envelope.

By the use of the ordinary envelope we lose the advantage of preserving upon the letter itself the *Post Mark* and *Postage Stamp*, which are generally thrown aside with the unattached envelope, and it is also difficult to identify the letter and envelope as belonging together, after they have been once separated.

We have prepared an envelope with one or more openings, through which, by the use of the postage stamp, the letter and the envelope are sealed fast together, and when the letter is removed from the envelope, *the postage stamp and any post mark placed thereon remain adhering to the letter.*

We claim that the following advantages must arise from the general use of this or a similar system of envelopes, provided the Post Office Department sanctions it, so far as to print a clear and distinct post mark on such Postage Stamp, or if preferred, directly on the letter, through an additional opening, made especially for that purpose.

First.—Sealing the letter independent of the envelope by the stamp, thus making the operation of stamping the most perfect security for the sealing; and the stamp having to be put on the front of the letter before it can be sent, this sealing is not liable to be neglected.

Second.—Sealing the letter and envelope fast together, and thus increasing the difficulty of substituting envelopes, or of removing the enclosure, either by violence or from neglect of sealing, or from bursting, in consequence of bad gumming.

Third.—Securing to the Government the destruction of the stamp in opening the letter, or its general preservation thereon.

Fourth.—Defining the location of the stamp of the letter, and this in the most convenient position for the Post Office mark.

Fifth.—Securing on the letter itself the legal evidence of the time and place of mailing, and giving information as to the Post Office and State from which the letter is sent.

Sixth.—Preserving an evidence of the action of the Post Office in regard to the punctual mailing of letters.

Seventh.—Supplying by the public stamp any private deficiency in the neglect of dating the letter.

We have prepared an envelope—opening at the right hand end, sealed by the stamp—affording all these advantages, and the much greater convenience of entering the letter from the end, which we believe the public are ready to adopt, and which can be furnished at the price of the ordinary envelope now in use.

LEEDS & FRANKLIN,
112 Broadway, New York.

Extract from the "COMMERCIAL BULLETIN," *of Boston, November 30th,* 1861.

"At a recent meeting of the Newcastle, (Eng.,) Chamber of Commerce, a communication was read from Glasgow, calling attention to the inconveniences arising from the use of envelopes in commercial communications, from the difficulty cf proving dates of postal and delivery of letters, and urging the desirability that the post marks should always appear on the letters themselves. The Chamber expressed the opinion, that in business letters it would be much better to avoid the use of envelopes.

Figure 3. Leeds & Franklin advertising circular, created by William P. Lyon in 1862. The shadow of a postage stamp (on reverse) shows at bottom left.

address), and the decorations at the four points where the lattice attaches to the envelope. This is the obvious work of a master craftsman with the know-how and machinery to manufacture highly intricate embossed envelopes. Such details were not lost on Gross. His "birddog" research style led him to a stamp collector who had in his collection a Leeds and Vaux envelope with a manuscript pencil notation under the back flap, "Obtained from Nesbitt estate." This would refer to the famous envelope maker George Nesbitt, who certainly had the talent and equipment to make such an envelope. I believe the envelope shown in Figure 1, which is now in my collection, to be that very envelope. It bears the same notation in the same location.

Soon afterwards, Vaux became discouraged and wanted out of the partnership, which leads us to the real problem. In mid-1860, the Post Office Department issued the first of a series of regulations requiring postmasters and postal clerks not to use town date stamps to cancel postage stamps. Instead, they were ordered to use a separate canceling device. But for the patent envelope to serve its intended purpose, the mailer had to affix the postage stamp in the center of the die-cut hole, and then the postal clerk had to sock it on the nose with a well-inked date stamp. After the Post Office decree, the patent envelope was simply not practical.

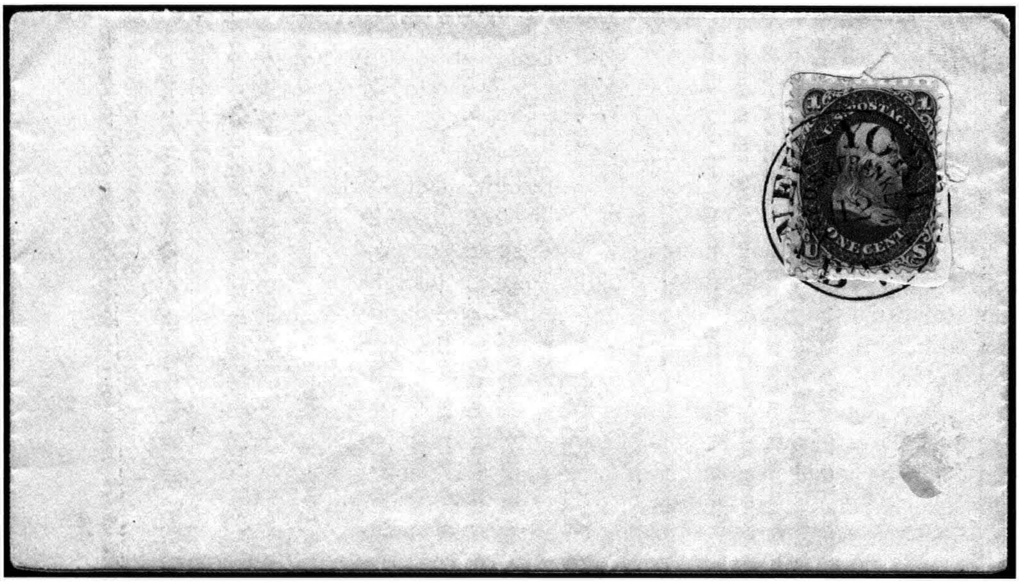

Figure 4. Leeds & Franklin envelope housing the Figure 3 circular. The 1¢ 1861 stamp is affixed to the back of the circular.

Although Leeds knew he needed Post Office Department support (which he sought but could not obtain) to make the idea viable, he kept the faith and located a partner to replace Vaux. This is when Joseph F. Franklin, a "broker" who shared the 112 Broadway address, entered the picture. The Morison patent was formally assigned to Leeds and Franklin on May 7, 1862. Leeds and Franklin realized that they needed to better promote and advertise their product. They hired William P. Lyon, an envelope manufacturer, as their selling agent. (Lyon had previously made sample envelopes for Leeds and Vaux.) In addition to making envelopes for Leeds and Franklin, Lyon printed an advertising circular to be enclosed in a patent envelope and mailed to prospective customers. Figure 3 shows one of the Lyon circulars for a "Stamp Sealing and Postmark Preserving Envelope." It lists seven reasons why businesses should use this product.

The Figure 3 circular was enclosed in the unaddressed patent envelope shown in Figure 4. You can see what appears to be a black circular date stamp tying the 1¢ 1861 stamp (Scott 63) to the envelope. In fact, this was a return address hand stamp, custom made to resemble a date stamp, a tracing of which is shown in Figure 5.[6] In full, it reads: Leeds & Franklin, 112 Broadway, New York. The slight space between the "11" and "2" gives it the appearance of a date, November 2.

Figure 5. The Leeds & Franklin handstamp on the Figure 4 cover.

The sharp-eyed reader may have noticed at the bottom left of the Figure 3 circular what appears to be something similar in shape to a postage stamp showing through from the other side. Indeed, it is the 1¢ 1861 stamp that appears in the die-cut window of the envelope in Figure 4. The contrast-enhanced image in Figure 6 shows the unmistakable remnant of a Type 2 lattice that remained stuck to the stamp when the circular was torn away from the patent envelope. Gross identified four lattice types, which he numbered 1, 1A, 2, and 3, but in no particular date order. A Type 1A lattice is shown in Figure 7, also stuck to the back of a stamp. The ornate Leeds and Vaux lattice in Figure 2 was designated Type 3.

Franklin, like Vaux, must have become disenchanted with this venture. He sold his interest in the business to Barclay Leeds, Lewis Leeds' brother, on November 8, 1862. Barclay had provided seed money and moral support for the venture and now became a two-thirds owner (he had earlier bought in with Lewis and Franklin). Shortly thereafter, on November 11, 1862, William Lyon placed an announcement in the New York Times stating that he had become the "proprietor" for the Leeds and Franklin "Post-mark Preserving Envelopes." Thereafter, we hear nothing further from the brothers Leeds, as Lyon began to pursue the venture alone.

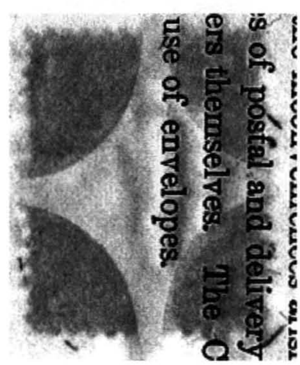

Figure 6. The stamp portion of the Figure 3 circular, back-lighted to show the Type 2 lattice.

Next there came an interesting turn of events. Earlier I said that Calvert Vaux, Leeds' first partner, was an architect. For a time he had been a partner of the famous Frederick Law Olmstead, who created New York City's Central Park among other achievements. Shortly after the onset of the Civil War, Olmstead took a leave of absence to become the general secretary of the U.S. Sanitary Commission in Washington, D.C. Apparently the Sanitary Commission building was in need of some heating improvements and Vaux recommended his steam-heater specialist friend Lewis Leeds for the job. While in Washington working on that problem, Leeds must have mentioned his envelopes to Olmstead. There is record of a William P. Lyon invoice dated November 19, 1862 showing the sale to the Commission of 29,500 different sized "Envelopes Patent Stamp sealing," some preprinted, some not.

Why the Sanitary Commission wanted this type of envelope is not known. My speculation is that Lyon gave them a good deal on the purchase. The Commission was a low-budget, volunteer organization. In any event, one would think that with nearly 30,000 patent envelopes in the Commission's hands, an abundant supply would survive for current postal history collections. Alas, no. A printed Sanitary Commission Leeds and Franklin envelope is scarce and commands a high price in good condition. Figure 8 shows two such covers from the famous Kantor collection. These hammered down for $2,000 each in 1995.[7] Both from the same correspondence, these two covers show a proper use of the patent envelope

[6] Evans, *op. cit.*, page 396.
[7] Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Sale 776A, May 5, 1995.

Figure 7. Front and back of another 1¢ 1861 stamp, showing Type 1A lattice.

(at top) and the more typical use (at bottom), on which the sender deliberately avoided placing the stamp in its intended location. It seems that the general public had trouble understanding how to use these envelopes.

After late 1862, not much is recorded about the patent envelopes. A precise date when the envelope vendor went out of business is not known. In 1942-44, Gross identified only 18 stamped examples. The earliest known use was October 19, 1861 and the latest known use was July 3, 1865. He properly observed that these dates are subject to change as the years roll by.

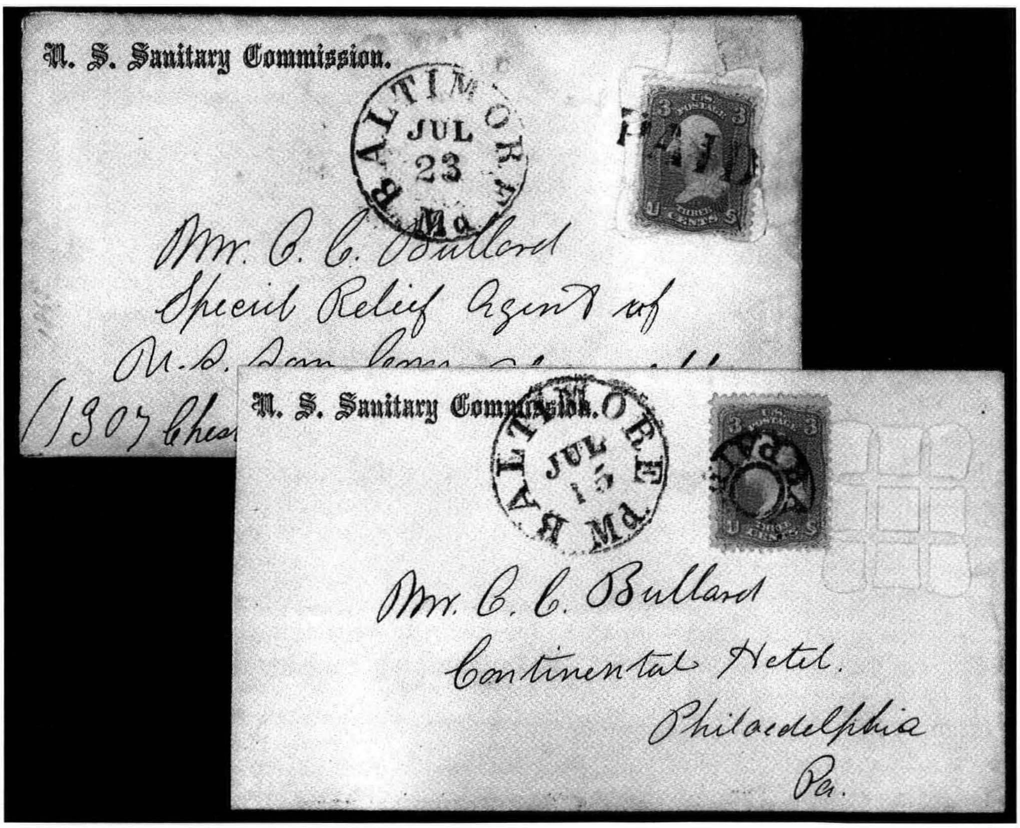

Figure 8. Leeds & Franklin covers, postally used, showing the imprint of the U.S. Sanitary Commission in Baltimore. The upper cover shows a proper use of the envelope, but the stamp placement on the lower cover is more typical.

A new earliest known use?

When I purchased the unused Leads and Vaux envelope in Figure 1, included with it was an off-cover 1857 1¢ Franklin stamp (Scott 24), on piece. This is shown in Figure 9. The paper remnant on back is a pale blue-lined writing paper. The postage stamp is cancelled with the unmistakable red NEW YORK CITY/(month, day)/ PAID 1 CT. carrier hand stamp, dated May 14. Also, from the front, you can see odd paper remnants in the middle of all four sides between the stamp and paper. When the stamp is held up to a bright light, what clearly shows through is the early Leeds and Vaux lattice (Type 3). Figure 10 is a back-lighted scan of the lattice.

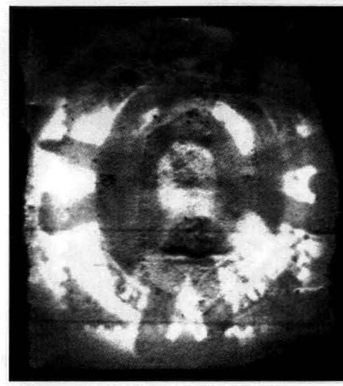

Figure 9. At left, U.S. 1¢ 1857 stamp, on small piece, with New York carrier cancel dated MAY 14. At right, reverse side of the same piece, back-lighted to show the Leeds & Vaux lattice between the paper fragment and the 1¢ 1857 stamp. This may represent the earliest known use of a Leeds patent envelope.

I believe this stamp was cancelled in 1861, for a new earliest known use of May 14, 1861. I cannot prove this beyond all doubt, but the preponderance of evidence argues for 1861, for several reasons.

First, the New York City post office was one of the largest in the country. Its postal clerks were well trained and well aware that the 1851-57 series stamps had been demonetized. Although it was one of the first post offices to receive a supply of the new 1861 series postage stamps (mid-August, 1861), Postmaster William B. Taylor balked at the immediate refusal of the old stamps. Nevertheless, he advertised in the New York Times on September 16, 1861 that: "The new style of Government Postage Stamps is now ready..." and advised the public that old stamps would be exchanged for the new for a period of six days after September 16, "...after which stamps of the old issue will not be received in payment of postage on letters sent from this office."[8]

Second, although the envelope from which this particular postage stamp was taken could have been marked with postage due if the year were 1862 or later, Leeds and Vaux were savvy, experienced businessmen trying to market a product. Assuming this early use came from one of their own mailings, it is not likely, in my opinion, that they would have used a demonetized stamp and thus "stiffed" a potential customer with a postage-due charge.

Finally, the stamp clearly shows the remnant of the first Leeds and Vaux lattice, the one apparently created by George Nesbitt.

If I am correct about the date, May 14, 1861, it would also put Lewis Leeds and Calvert Vaux together earlier than Tudor Gross knew. Also, it shows that they were pressing ahead with their improved envelope considerably before Gross thought (early Fall 1861) and almost a year before the Morison patent was formally assigned to Leeds and new partner Franklin (on May 7, 1862). ■

[8] Evans, *op. cit.*, pg. 157. For a concise history of the demonetization process, see Evans' Chapter 9.

THE 1863–1865 PENALTY PERIOD

MICHAEL C. McCLUNG

Background

Prior to 1855, prepayment of postage was optional with a few short-lived exceptions. It was customary for most mail to be sent collect, with postage due from the addressee. Since the recipients of unpaid mail had the option of refusing it, the Post Office Department (POD) handled tons of mail for which it did not get paid. Beginning in 1855, the POD made a number of attempts to minimize losses due to handling unpaid mail. This article begins with a chronology of the *effective dates* of changes in policy leading up to the establishment of the penalty for postage due mail in 1863. The penalty period, 1 July 1863 through 1 May 1865, produced many interesting and ambiguous covers, a few of which are discussed below.

January 1, 1856: Act of Congress required prepayment by stamps on all regular mail (later known as first class). This Act took care of only part of the problem, because it required that only one full postage rate be prepaid by stamps. An overweight letter would still carry postage due to the addressee and could still be refused. Unpaid letters were sent directly to the Dead Letter Office (DLO).

July 1, 1859: Act of Congress required that unpaid letters were to be held for payment, and a notice sent to the addressee. Part paid letters were to be dispatched with appropriate postage due. Any letters unclaimed after one month were sent to the DLO.

November 1, 1860: Post Office Order required that all part-paid and unpaid letters be sent directly to the DLO.

February 27, 1861: Act of Congress required prepayment by stamps on all drop letters (1¢ regardless of weight).

November 26, 1861: Post Office Order rescinded the order of November 1, 1860, because the DLO was unable to handle the deluge of unpaid and part-paid letters.

July 1, 1863: Act of Congress set drop letter rates at 2¢ per half ounce–the first time drop letter postage was made subject to weight. This Act also specified that unpaid mail be sent to the recipient and charged *double* the prepaid rate, and that part paid mail be assessed a charge equal to *double* the unpaid rate. The previous practice of sending a "Held for Postage" notice to the addressee was abolished.

Beginning of Penalty Period

The Act of March 3, 1863 ("AN ACT TO AMEND THE LAWS RELATING TO THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, APPROVED MARCH 3, 1863") became effective on July 1, 1863. This was a far-reaching piece of legislation that affected all aspects of Post Office business. The Act had 45 sections, each with a separate set of instructions, covering everything from employment policies to postage rates. Sections 26 and 27 dealt with the penalty for unpaid and part-paid mail. The instructions for these sections state that the double-rate penalty applies to all regular mail, all printed matter and miscellaneous (third class) mail. Exceptions to this were free-franked letters, properly endorsed soldiers' and sailors' mail, newspapers to subscribers, ship mail and steamship mail. Also, the penalty was applied to postal rates only. It did not apply to fees such as advertising, forwarding, return to sender or registry.

Figure 1 shows an example of an unpaid letter charged with twice the regular rate. Posted at New Orleans on 15 January 1864, this could have been a soldier's letter, but it was not properly endorsed, so the penalty was applied, via the "DUE 6" handstamp.

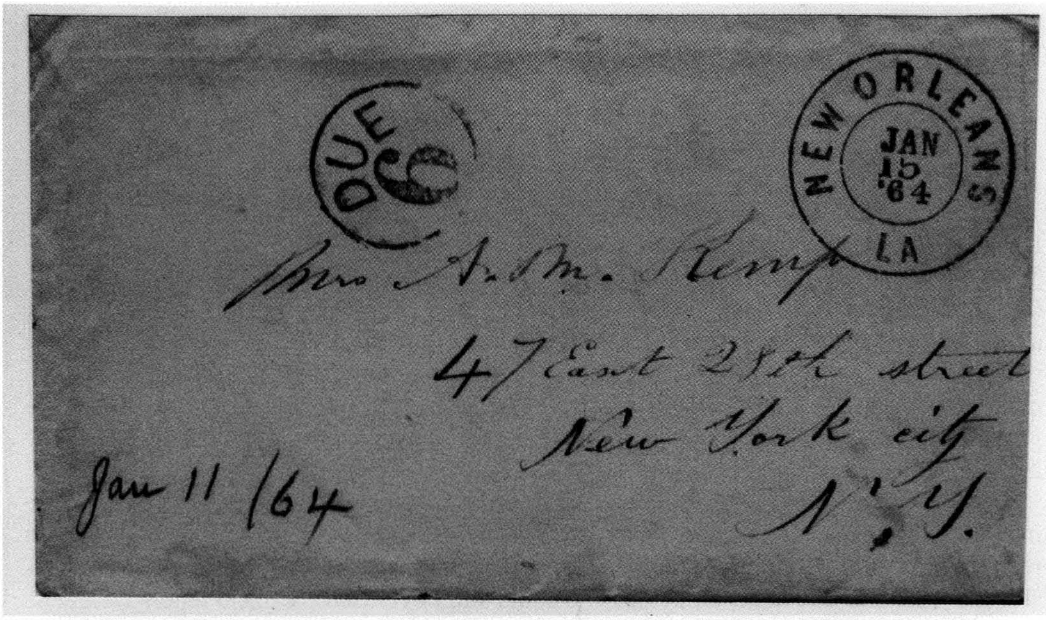

Figure 1. January 15, 1864, unpaid single-rate letter charged double postage.

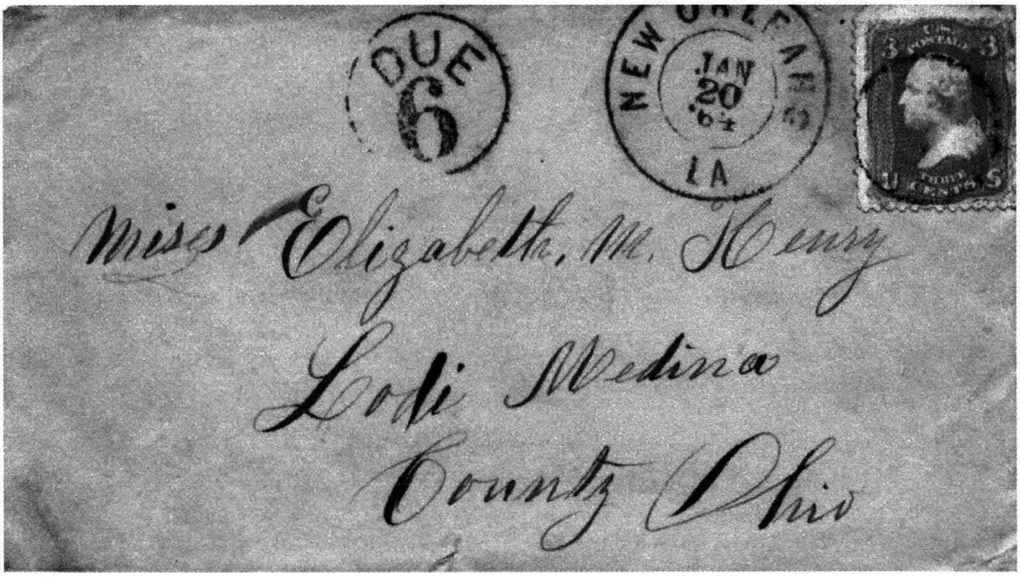

Figure 2. January 20, 1864, part-paid, double-weight letter charged double the deficient postage.

Figure 2 shows a cover, franked with a 3¢ 1861 stamp, posted at New Orleans just a few days after the Figure 1 cover. This is a partially paid double weight (½ to 1 ounce) letter that was charged double the unpaid amount (2 x 3¢ = 6¢).

Figure 3 shows the penalty applied to a drop letter. This cover was originally mailed (12 August 1863) at the Oshkosh post office franked by the 3¢ stamp only. It was found to be overweight and therefore underpaid by 1¢. When the addressee went to the Oshkosh post office to pick up his mail, he was informed that he owed 2¢ postage due for the drop

Figure 3. August 12, 1863, part-paid, double-weight drop letter charged double the deficit. Payment of the penalty was acknowledged by the addition of the two 1¢ stamps.

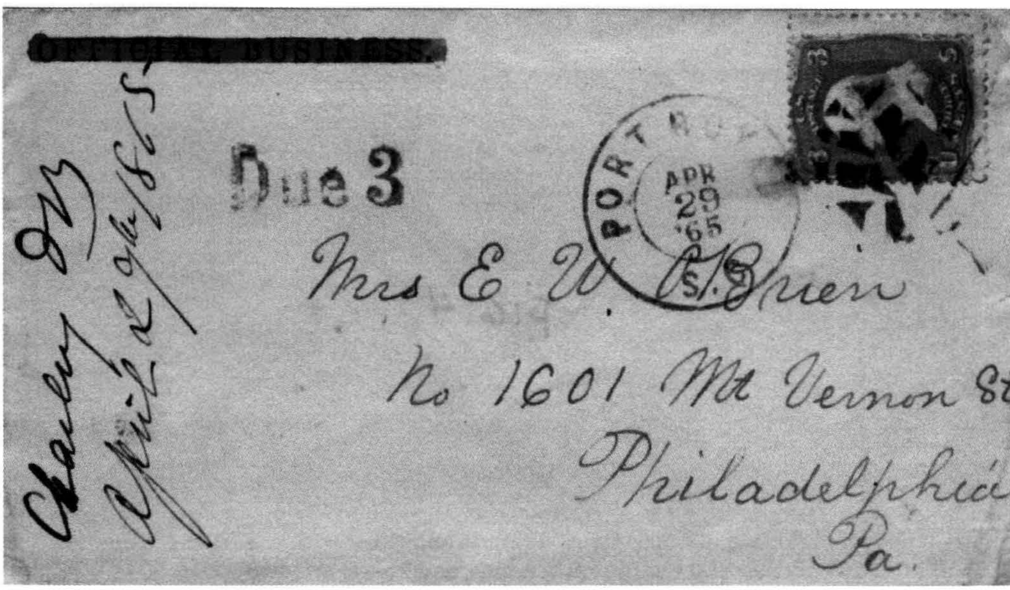

Figure 4. April 29, 1865, part-paid, double-weight letter charged with regular postage due. No penalty was assessed.

letter that had been left there for him. When he made the payment, the two 1¢ 1861 stamps were placed on the envelope and cancelled, to signify payment.

The instructions encouraged postmasters to use "liberal discretion" in applying the penalties. If a postmaster could determine that a partial payment was an unintentional or innocent mistake, he could forego the penalty. If a postmaster believed that a letter was deliberately sent unpaid, he could send it directly to the DLO.

The "liberal discretion" phrase allowed local postmasters to interpret the rules as they saw fit. This led to inconsistencies and probably some total noncompliance. Figure 4 shows an example of a postmaster's leniency. Franked with a 3¢ 1861 stamp and postmarked at Port Royal, S.C. on 29 April 1865, this is an apparent double-weight letter, partially paid, that was only charged a single rate for the unpaid portion. The proper charge should have been 6¢, as shown on the cover in Figure 2.

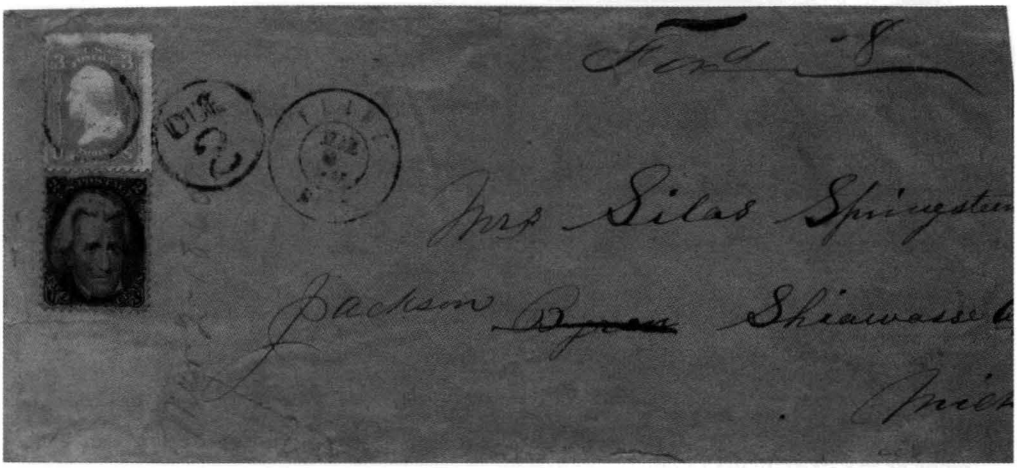

Figure 5. March 3, 1865, part-paid, double-weight letter charged double the deficit ("Due 2").

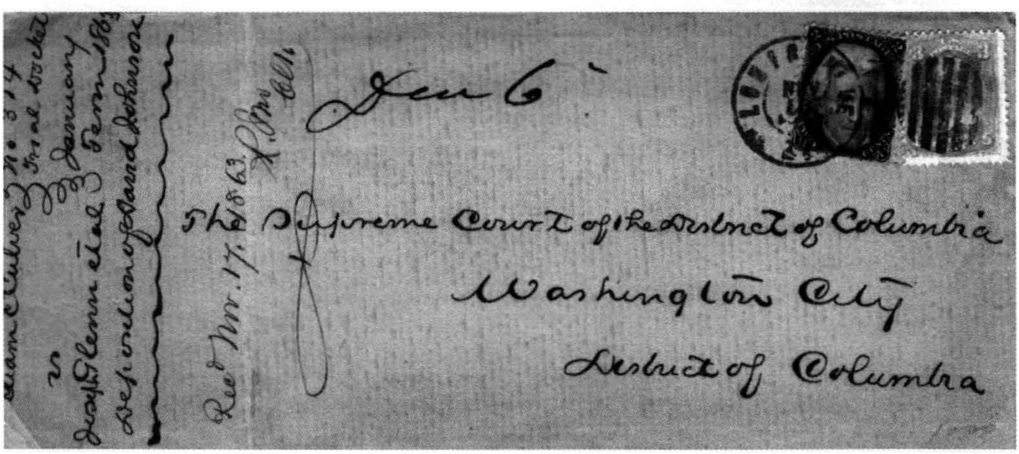

Figure 6. November 13, 1863, part-paid, double-weight letter with partial payment of the second rate disregarded and charged twice the second rate ("Due 6").

The instructions also did not define partial prepayment in detail. They did not specify if partial payment of a rate was to be counted or if it was to be disregarded. Figures 5 and 6, both franked with 5¢ postage paid by 3¢ and 2¢ stamps, show how different postmasters interpreted the penalty regulations differently. Figure 5, posted at Flint, Michigan on 3 March 1865, shows an underpayment of 1¢ on a double-weight letter. It is handstamped "DUE 2," double the deficit. The letter was subsequently forwarded and the 8¢ forwarding fee, noted in manuscript at upper right, included regular double-weight postage (6¢) plus the 2¢ due from the original mailing.

Figure 6 shows a very similar cover (postmarked 13 November 1863) with identical franking. This is also a double-weight letter that is 1¢ underpaid. But, instead of charging double the unpaid deficit, the postmaster disregarded the partial payment of the second rate altogether. In other words, the 2¢ stamp was not recognized, and the letter was treated as if it were prepaid only for a single weight. This made the deficit 3¢, so, with the penalty, it was rated for 6¢ postage due, via the manuscript "Due 6" at top center.

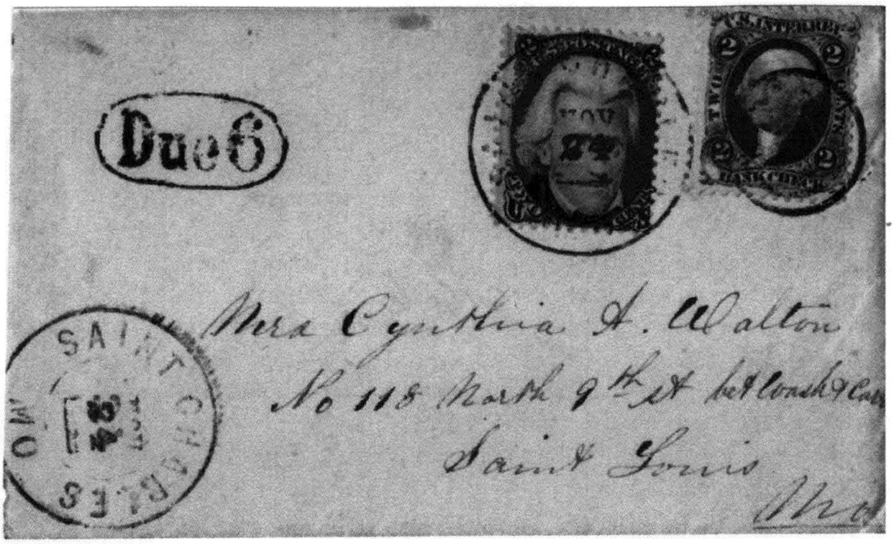

Figure 7. November 24, 1864, part-paid letter (the revenue stamp was not valid for postage) with partial payment disregarded and charged double postage ("Due 6").

Figure 7 shows what is possibly another interpretation of the regulation. Posted at St. Charles, Missouri, on 24 November 1864, this cover is franked with a 2¢ Black Jack and a 2¢ Bank Check revenue stamp (Scott R5c). The revenue stamp was invalid for postage, so the letter was actually 1¢ underpaid. However, the postmaster treated the letter as wholly unpaid. Perhaps he disregarded the 2¢ stamp because it did not pay a full rate, or maybe he decided that the attempted use of an illegal stamp deserved more of a penalty than just 1¢. Whatever the reason, the letter was charged 6¢ postage due.

End of Penalty Period

An Act of Congress approved 3 March 1865 and effective 1 May 1865 abolished the penalties for postage due. Part-paid letters were to be sent to destination with regular postage due, and unpaid letters were to be forwarded to the DLO. The penalty period lasted less than two years. Obviously the penalties hurt the recipients more than they hurt the senders of part-paid letters, so it is doubtful whether the penalties accomplished any of the results the POD desired. ■

PRINTED MATTER TO SPAIN, 1869-70

STEPHEN ROSE

An interesting but relatively obscure corner of 1869 postal history is the treatment of printed matter sent to Spain. Several factors complicate the study of such items. First, as Richard Winter notes in his definitive study of transatlantic mail, "there is little surviving material to evaluate, since most printed matter was discarded and not retained in company or personal archives...."[1] Winter's general observation certainly holds true for 1869 postal history. Of more than 400 international-mail covers catalogued in the Rose, Lafayette, Mack, and Coulter auctions of 1869 material, only 11 qualify as printed matter.[2]

Another factor contributing to the obscurity of international printed matter is the comparative lack of rate, route and date markings on the surviving objects. Most international covers with 1869 stamps tell a rich story, and their detailed array of markings usually allows a postal historian to decipher essential information about a cover's journey. With printed matter, however, key information is often missing, thus placing philatelic sleuths in the uncomfortable position of having to propose alternative hypotheses, none of which can be empirically confirmed.

These two factors alone–scarcity of material and lack of markings–have relegated printed matter to a stepchild status among 1869 postal history writers. Their scarcity sometimes makes them prized items for collectors, especially if the destination is a rare one. But the heart of a typical auction write-up is usually a bland statement such as "X cents printed matter rate to location Y." A perusal of auction catalogs reveals that most 1869 printed matter, even to distant locations, is franked with small-denomination stamps. This is understandable because postal conventions of the era set low rates for the distribution of newspapers and printed circulars, in order to raise public awareness and encourage commerce.

With regard to printed matter sent from the United States to Spain during 1869-70, routing involved the postal services of four nations–U.S. to Britain to France to Spain. Since the U.S. had no postal convention with Spain, mail destined for Spain had to pass through an intermediary country. All known U.S. correspondence to Spain during this era transited through London.[3] Since Britain also had no direct mail service to Spain at this time, British mail to Spain traveled overland via French rails.

The U.S.-British Postal Convention of 1868, in force at the beginning of 1869, established separate rates and rules for the category of "international letter" and for the category of "international newspapers, book packets, and patterns and samples of merchandise."

[1] Richard Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*, (State College, Pa.: American Philatelic Society, 2006), pg. 62.
[2] Rose (Siegel sale #794, 27 September 1997): lot 528, Baltimore to St. Lucia (2 x 2¢); Lafayette (Bennett sale #261, 2 May 2003): lot 1112, New York to Puebla, Mexico (2¢); lot 1173, New York to Palermo, Italy (2¢ + 6¢); Mack (Siegel sale #876, 12 June 2004): lot 71, Charleston to Mallorca, Spain (2¢ x 6); Coulter (Siegel sale #911, 12 May 2006): lot 171, New York to Puebla, Mexico (2¢); lot 183, New York to St. Lucia (2¢ x 2); lot 203, Puerto Rico/New York to St. John, Newfoundland (2¢); lot 271, unknown origin to Leiden, Holland (2¢ + 6¢); lot 278, New York to Naples, Italy (2¢ + 6¢); lot 295, New Orleans to Liverpool, England (2¢); lot 330, Kanagawa, Japan to St. Etienne, France (2¢ x 2).
[3] For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that in September 1870 Belgium and Spain established a new convention allowing printed matter to travel from the United States to Spain via the Belgian mails. This route appeared at a time when the Bank Note stamps were replacing the 1869 pictorials, and no covers to Spain through Belgium are known with 1869 stamps. For more information on this Belgian route, see *Chronicle* 111, pg. 206-208.

Collectively, this second category comprises what postal historians now refer to as printed matter. Aside from an occasional newspaper wrapper, most of the surviving printed-matter items known to 1869 collectors are circulars containing current prices or sailing information. These circulars are part of the "book packet" category mentioned in the Convention.

In order to qualify for the favorable printed matter rates, the convention required strict adherence to two rules. First, postage for printed matter had to be fully prepaid (whereas most letters could still be sent unfranked, although at a higher rate). Second, no book packet could be sealed or contain any communication in the nature of a letter, or writing other than the address.[4] Violation of any of these rules meant that the book packet would be treated by postal authorities as a letter.[5]

A comparison of postal rates set out in the 1868 Convention illustrates the burden of such a forced conversion from book packet to letter status. A printed circular weighing one ounce could be sent in 1869 from the U.S. to Britain for two cents; a letter of similar weight cost 24 cents. In practice, a disqualified "book packet" would likely never travel the mails, since all printed matter had to be fully prepaid. This provision ensured that book packets with a high indemnity would not become unaccepted orphans at destination.

Figure 1 illustrates a printed circular to Spain that involves many of the elements just

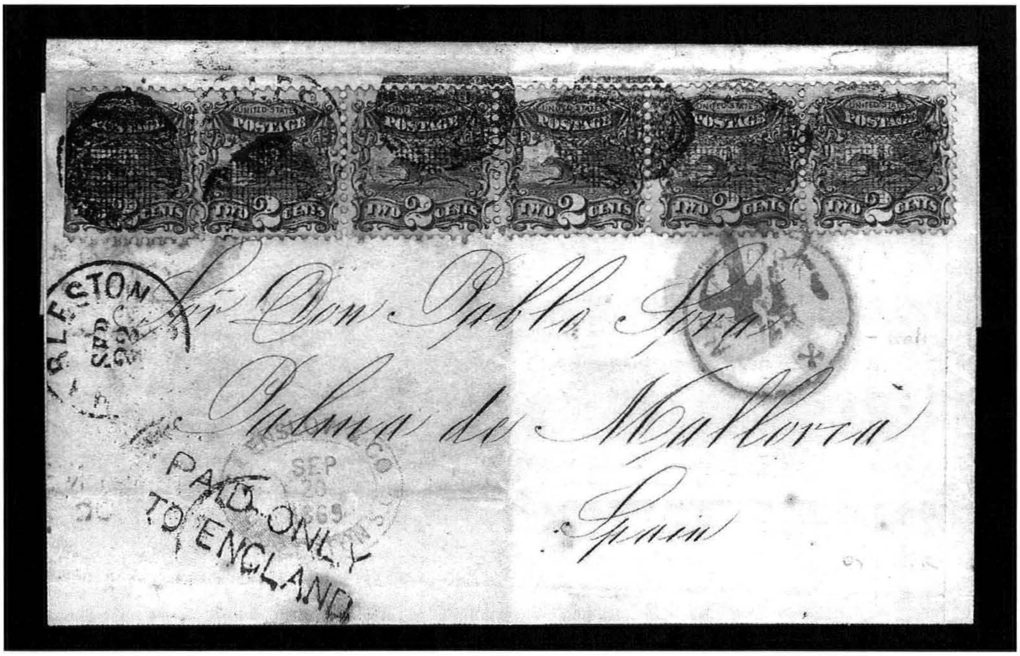

Figure 1. 1869 printed circular to Mallorca, Spain, sent at the 10¢ open-mail letter rate.

discussed. This cover was lot 71 in the 2004 Siegel auction of the Millard Mack collection. The auction description provided the following postal history notes:

"Strip of five and single [Scott 113]…tied by cork cancels and 'Charleston S.C. Sep. 22' (1869) duplex datestamp on folded printed circular to Mallorca, Spain, red New

[4] During 1869-70, the *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* (reprinted by the Collectors Club of Chicago in 1975) listed in each monthly issue the same detailed instructions for printed matter to foreign destinations, except for February and March 1870, when this 500-word summary appears to have been omitted to accommodate other news.

[5] Winter cites an example of a printed circular that was re-rated by a London postal clerk to a six-fold increase in postage due because the company sending the circular from New Orleans had merely signed its name in ink at the end of the circular. Winter, *op. cit.*, pg. 148.

York transit, 'Paid Only to England' handstamp, '4R' (reales) due handstamp. London and Mallorca receiving backstamps...overpaid for 10¢ letter rate (it is unclear why this printed circular was not sent as printed matter), signed Ashbrook and illustrated in Special Service (No. 273)."

As noted in this summary, Stanley Ashbrook had analyzed the cover back in 1956. Curiously, Ashbrook did not acknowledge the cover as an example of printed matter, but rather focused his comments on the mechanics of the Open Mail rate to Spain with its characteristic "Paid Only to England" marking and required franking of 10¢ to the British frontier for letters up to ½ ounce. Since the auction description notes that Ashbrook signed the cover, he would likely have examined its interior and noticed that it is a printed circular, but perhaps he did not consider the implications of a separate rating scheme.

In point of fact, there is nothing on the face of the cover to signify its status as printed matter. Presumably, the mercantile agent involved in the mailing of the cover, Enslow & Co., Charleston, S.C., took precautions to ensure that the cover qualified as a letter packet under convention rules and affixed the mandatory prepaid postage as set out in the *U.S. Mail* rate chart for foreign mail.

Unfortunately, there was a franking error. Between 1869 and September 1870, the only way to send a book packet from the United States to Spain was via Britain, at a prepaid rate of 14¢ up to four ounces.[6] This was a bargain compared to the available letter rates to Spain,[7] but the insufficient franking of 12¢ on the circular in Figure 1 made it ineligible for treatment as printed matter.

Happily, a resourceful postal clerk recognized that the 12¢ postage, although inadequate to pay for either the 14¢ circular rate or the 22¢ fully prepaid letter rate via Britain, did allow another mailing option for this item – the partially paid 10¢ open-mail letter rate. The recipient of the cover in Spain paid "4R" (reales), equivalent to 20¢, since it weighed 7.5 grams or less (roughly ¼ oz.). Under the open-mail arrangement, 10¢ was sufficient to launch a letter from the United States up to ½ ounce, but the postage due from the recipient for a ½ ounce letter would have been the equivalent of 40¢. For such a heavier item, the U.S. postal clerk might have faced an interesting decision – whether to return the circular to Charleston for adequate postage at the book packet rate, or take a chance that the recipient in Spain would pay the additional 40¢ to accept a non-personal item of printed matter.

Figure 2 is another example of U.S. printed matter to Spain, but it presents a different set of postal history challenges. This cover is listed in the 12¢ chapter of the grand census of 1869 covers compiled by the Pictorial Research Associates in 1986.[8] The census includes this item as one of four 12¢ 1869 covers sent to Spain (as reflected in the preprinted address). A review of the markings on the cover, however, shows that it did not pass through Spanish mails. It almost certainly traveled on one of the regular British India packets that routinely stopped at Gibraltar on their way east.

The cover originated in Savannah, Georgia, as shown by the manuscript notation on the front ("Cotton Calculations/Savannah//U.S. of A.") and a blue cork killer that is characteristic of Savannah during this period. It passed next through the New York exchange office, receiving a red "8" credit marking; and then through London, where it received a circular "10 OC 70 PAID" transit. The reverse has no backstamps or any other markings.

[6] During 1869, the foreign rate table in the *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* listed three ways to send international letters from the United States to Spain; two ways to send newspapers, but only a single option for book packets. From September 1870, there was an alternate route via the Belgian mails, as noted in footnote 3.

[7] In 1869, a ¼ oz. prepaid letter from the United States to Spain via British mails cost 22¢; via French mails, 21¢. At heavier weights, the letter rates rose rapidly, whereas the book packet rate remained constant at 14¢ up to four ounces. By comparison, a four-ounce letter via British mails would have required $2.72 postage; and an equivalent weight letter via French mails, $3.17.

[8] J. Rose & R. Searing, Editors, *The 1869 Issue on Cover: A Census and Analysis* (U.S. 1869 Pictorial Research Associates, Inc., 1986).

Both the Savannah post office and New York exchange office treated this cover as printed matter addressed to Spain, properly franked at the prevailing 14¢ rate for book packets up to four ounces. The sender applied the handstamp "PRINTED CIRCULAR" and also added the manuscript figure "2" to the left to indicate that the envelope contained two circulars. Given the flat rate up to four ounces, it would have been economical for the sender to include as much material as possible.

In any case, a cover of this size and likely weight would have been an unusual item to pass through the New York exchange office. The cover appears to have been opened at

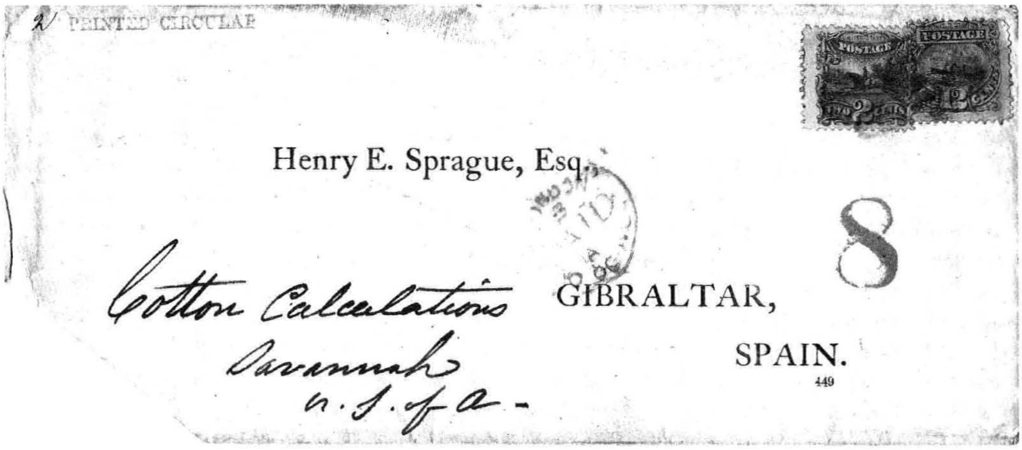

Figure 2. 1870 packet of "cotton calculations" sent from Savannah, Georgia, at the international printed matter rate to "Gibraltar, Spain," via New York and the British international mail system.

one end by scissors, but the main flap remains sealed. As an experiment, I was able to insert two ounces of folded paper into the envelope without difficulty, simulating the original "cotton calculations" that were its contents.

Contents this bulky would have been at risk of falling out of an unsealed cover. Although the Postal Convention specified that "no book packet may contain anything which is sealed or otherwise closed against inspection…," it was acceptable practice for a sender to seal, but otherwise reveal. As noted in the Philatelic Foundation certificate for this item, "it is a genuine usage on 1870 cover sent at 14¢ book post rate; bottom left cover corner clipped for postal inspection."

Another interesting feature of this cover is the red "8" on the front – red showing credit, and "8" signifying what was due Britain. This numeral is the single indicator that the cover passed through a U.S. exchange office, but such treatment is typical for printed matter, which rarely received date stamps in the U.S. Most likely the credit numeral was applied at the New York exchange office, since in size and color it closely resembles other large numeral credits applied at New York on British-mail covers during the 1869 era. But the configuration of this particular "8" – with its large bottom lobe – is different from the style of "8" applied to letter-rate covers and, to my knowledge, has not been recorded in the 1869 literature.

Finally, a review of the PRA Census of 1869 covers reveals that this 14¢ Savannah cover is the highest franking listed for printed matter in the entire book -- and the only printed matter cover to use an 1869 stamp above the 6¢ denomination. International printed matter from the 1869 era is scarce in any case, and it is fortunate that this comparative "whale" of a cover has survived as a colorful and intriguing example of the usage.

Acknowledgements: The primary source for information about classic U.S. covers to Spain via British Convention is a monograph by Richard Winter, published in 1990 as a supplement to *Chronicle* 147. He is due further credit for his insightful comments on an early draft of this article. Chronicle Editor-in-Chief Michael Laurence also kindly provided useful information from an unpublished chapter of his forthcoming book on the 10¢ 1869 uses. ■

AFTER B.F. STEVENS: THE U.S. DESPATCH AGENT AT LONDON, 1902-1938

JOE H. CROSBY

On June 23, 1866, the U.S. Secretary of State appointed Benjamin Franklin Stevens to serve as United States Despatch Agent in London, England. This position was responsible for handling diplomatic mail pouches and for forwarding both open and pouch mail addressed in care of Stevens or his office to Americans traveling abroad, mostly State Department officials and U.S. Naval personnel.

Stevens continued as Despatch Agent until his death in London on March 5, 1902. During this long tenure, he used at least six different types of elaborate oval forwarding markings, applied to mail that passed through his office. Tracings of these markings were most recently presented in *Chronicle* 209, page 54.

Numerous philatelic articles have documented B.F. Stevens in his role as an antiquarian bookseller in addition to the postal history he helped to create. Stevens articles, both philatelic and non-philatelic, are listed in the "references" section at the conclusion of this article.

Type	Dimensions	Color	Earliest	Latest	Notes
I	37x22.5	Black	Aug 4 1866	Aug 6 1866	Backstamp only
I	37x22.5	Red	Sept 6 1866	Jan 13 1868	
II	37.5x28.5	Red	May 21 1868	July 19 1879	Diamonds
IIA	37.5x28.5	Red	Dec 26 1878		Carets; see *Chronicle* 209
IIB	37.5x28.5	Red	21 Oct 1879		Diamonds; European date
IIC	37.5x28.5	Red	12 Apr 1880	2 Mar 1881	Carets
III	40.5x30.5	Red	30 Sep 78	7 Jan 79	
III	40.5x30.5	Purple	2 May 81	4 Jan 93	
IV	39x29.5	Purple	24 Mar 94	12 May 97	
IV	39x29.5	Blue	23 Jan 96	29 Mar 96	
V	39.5x29.5	Purple	28 Jan 97	1 Jul 97	
VA	39.5x29.5	Purple	18 Oct 1897	24 Dec 1901	4-digit year date
VA	39.5x29.5	Purple	2 Apr 1902	5 May 1902	No name
Gilder	39x29	Purple	15 Jun 1902	16 Mar 1904	See text
VI	38x29	Red	23 Jan 1871		See *Chronicle* 209

Figure 1. Table showing earliest and latest known dates of the various B.F. Stevens markings used in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Tracings of the markings themselves appear in *Chronicle* 209.

The table in Figure 1 updates the known periods of use of each Stevens marking, with types designated according to the listing originally published by Richard B. Graham in his Oct. 29, 1984 Postal History column in *Linn's Stamp News*. The table adds a new earliest known use of the Type I marking (now known as a black backstamp), and additional types and sub-types created by Stevens' successor, J.B. Gilder, who is discussed below.

In the early years, Stevens did not use any directive to indicate where the piece of mail was to be forwarded. Given his official status, Stevens usually forwarded mail by diplomatic pouch. Typically, no onward transit markings appear on such covers.

The cover in Figure 2 is a good example. This is a very pleasant 12¢ 1869 cover, ex Haas, posted at Cambridge, Mass., in late 1869, just days before the rate was reduced from 12¢ to 6¢. The cover reached London 8 January 1870 (per the London receiver and the Type 2 Stevens oval in red). There are no other onward markings, but the docketing at the upper left shows that the addressee, Commander J.G. Walker, on the U.S. Frigate *Sabine*, received the letter in Genoa on Jan. 13, 1870 just five days after the letter arrived in London.

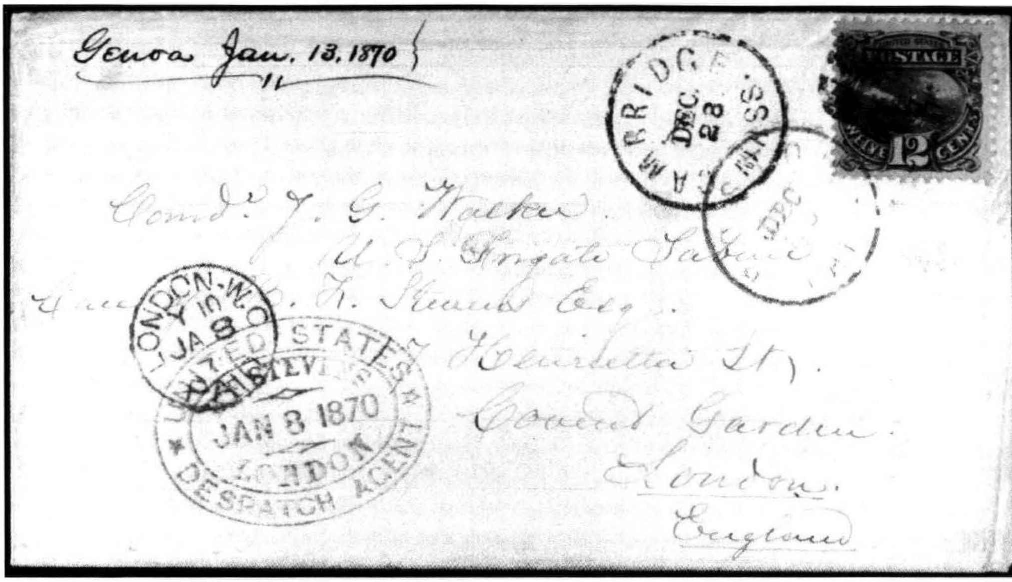

Figure 2. From the Haas collection, 12¢ 1869 stamp on cover to London, postmarked Cambridge, Mass., DEC 28 (1869). Forwarded to Italy (apparently by private pouch) by B.F. Stevens, United States Despatch Agent, Jan. 8, 1870 (Type II red oval marking). Docketed (at upper left) received at Genoa, Jan. 13, 1870.

By the Bank Note period, perhaps because the volume of mail had grown so large and the destinations so diverse, Stevens started marking the envelopes with a forwarding address. Typically he would strike through the original address and add a straight-line marking, usually in three lines, to redirect mail "Care of the / United States Consul / [destination location]. The information on the last line would indicate the place where the addressee was next expected to be able to receive mail. Apparently a number of different three-line hand-stamps existed. The example in Figure 3 reads "CARE OF THE/UNITED STATES CONSUL/ALEXANDRIA EGYPT." This cover bears a Type III Stevens oval, struck in purple (as was the straight-line handstamp). Posted in 1882, this cover is franked with two Bank Note stamps to pay the 5¢ Universal Postal Union rate from the U.S. to Britain.

This and subsequent articles will explore the evolution of the London U.S. Despatch Agent forwarding markings after B.F. Stevens died. Surprisingly little has been written or illustrated about the period after 1902.

The No Name Period – 1902

During a brief interim following B.F. Stevens' death, the Type VA oval forwarding marking using European-style dating and a four-digit year date was modified by removing

Figure 3. Stevens Type III marking, in purple, on an 1882 cover from Connecticut to London. The original address (to Stevens) is stricken out in manuscript, and the cover redirected with a handstamp, "CARE OF THE UNITED STATES CONSUL ALEXANDRIA EGYPT."

the Stevens name. The result I have called "Type VA–No Name." The earliest recorded use of the Stevens Type VA–No Name marking is 2 April 1902. This appears on the post card shown in Figure 4. The card was mailed from Stockholm, Sweden, franked with a pair of Sweden 5 ore yellow-green Oscar Head stamps (Scott 56) and addressed to Herr Allen H. Berlin, U.S.S. *Nashville*, c/o B.F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Square, London. The London portions of the manuscript address were stricken out by the Stevens office, and two strikes of a straightline redirective marking (VILLEFANCHE,/SUR MER FRANCE) were added. A tracing of the Type VA–No Name marking from this cover is presented in Figure 5. The latest recorded use of the Type VA–No Name marking is 5 May 1902, on a cover from New York on 14 April 1902, addressed to Mrs. W. Roy Field c/o B.F. Stevens. The marking was applied two days after appointment of Stevens' successor, which brings us to J.B. Gilder.

Joseph Benson Gilder – 1902-1904

On May 3, 1902, shortly after B.F. Stevens died, Secretary of State John Hay appointed Joseph B. Gilder (Figure 6) as the successor United States Despatch Agent. Hay's letter to Gilder reads: "You are hereby designated as Despatch Agent of the United States at London, England, with compensation at the rate of two thousand dollars per annum, beginning with the date of your entrance upon duty in that capacity. This designation is to continue during the pleasure of the Secretary of State for the time being."

As documented by Ian Paton,[1] in 1874 Stevens had moved his Despatch Agent's office and bookselling business from 17 Henrietta Street to 4 Trafalgar Square. It is interesting to note that Gilder's appointment was mailed to him at that same Trafalgar Square address just two months after Stevens' death.

So, who is the man Secretary of State Hay chose as Stevens' replacement?

Joseph Benson Gilder was born in 1858, the son of Jane Nutt Gilder and William

[1] Paton, *op. cit.* (see References), pg. 426.

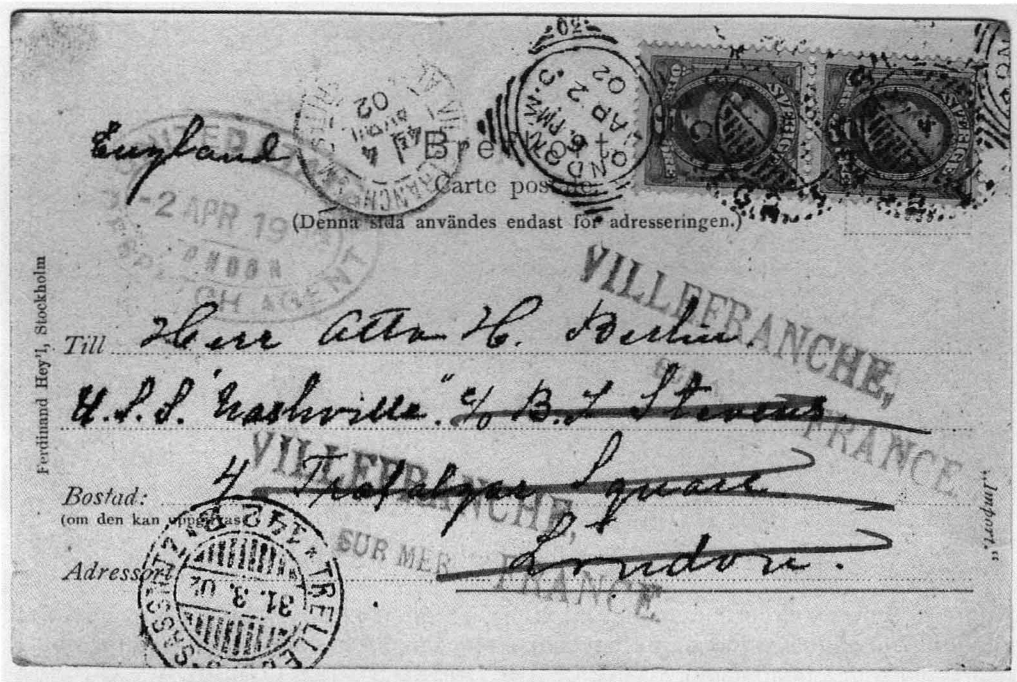

Figure 4. The earliest known use of the Type VA-No Name marking, 2 April 1902, on a card mailed from Stockholm, Sweden, franked with a pair of Sweden 5 ore yellow-green Oscar Head stamps (Scott 56) and addressed to Herr Allen H. Berlin, U.S.S. *Nashville*, c/o B.F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Square, London. The London portions of the manuscript address were stricken out by the Stevens office and two strikes of a two-line straightline redirective marking were added.

Henry Gilder, a Methodist minister and schoolmaster. Joseph attended the U.S. Naval Academy in 1872 but resigned after two years to become a reporter.[2]

Always a man of letters, Gilder began *The Critic* magazine in a tiny second-story office at Eighth and Broadway in New York City in 1881. He shared editorial duties with his older sister, Jeannette. *The Critic* never had a circulation much above 5,000 but became highly respected for its incisive reviews of literature, music and drama. It published essays, poetry and fiction from some of America's most talented writers, including Walt Whitman and Joel Chandler Harris.

Figure 5. The Stevens name-removed Type VA marking from the cover in Figure 4. Tracing by John Donnes.

During the 1880s and 90s, Gilder contributed to various magazines including *Scribner's Monthly* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. He knew many of the leading authors of the period. In 1888, he and his sister wrote "Walt Whitman at Home" for the "American Authors at Home" series in *The Critic*. Gilder's works include *Bordentown and the Bonapartes* (1880); *Authors at Home: Personal and Biographical Sketches of Well-known*

[2] Joseph Benson Gilder Letters, 1872-1873, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.

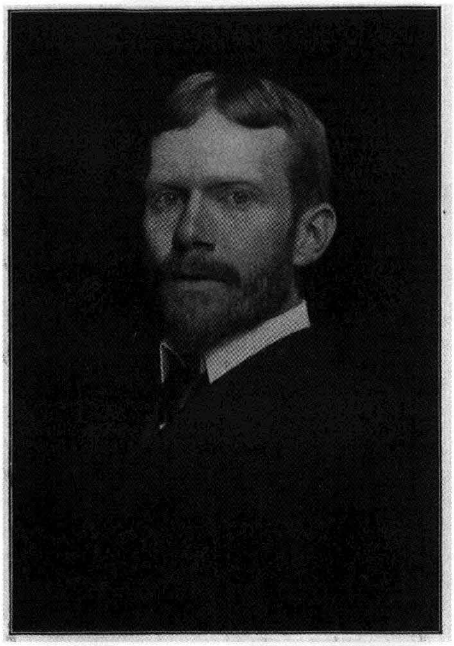

Figure 6. Joseph B. Gilder, U.S. Despatch Agent at London, 1902-04. This 1898 image is from the Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Arts, Prints and Photographs, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Image #1243058.

American Writers (this 1888 work included a chapter on Col. John Hay, also a man of letters, who would later become Secretary of State). Gilder edited James Russell Lowell's *Impressions of Spain* (1899) and created *The American Idea as Expounded by American Statesmen* (1902, including a chapter "John Hay on our Recent Diplomacy").

Hay had served as the U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain in 1897 before becoming Secretary of State, so he must have been quite familiar with the duties of the U.S. Despatch Agent at London. Obviously, he was also familiar with J.B. Gilder before he chose him as Stevens' successor.[3]

In 1901, Joseph Gilder retired from editing *The Critic* to take a position as a London representative of Dodd, Mead and Company, book publishers. By May 3, 1902, Gilder had established an office at 4 Trafalgar Square in London, the former location of Stevens' Despatch Agent office, since that is where he received his appointment from Hay. Gilder continued to represent his publisher while he served as Despatch Agent.[4] In maintaining several careers while holding down a government job, Gilder could have found no better model than B.F. Stevens.

The J.B. Gilder Marking

Soon after his appointment as Despatch Agent, Joseph Gilder had a new marking, in the same general array but slightly smaller than the predecessor Stevens Type V. The outside dimensions of the Gilder marking are 39 millimeters by 29 mm.[5] It includes small side decorations and Gilder's name rendered "J.B. Gilder." A tracing is shown in Figure 7.

The earliest known use of the Figure 7 marking is 15 JUN 1902 on a post card from India with a one anna stamp, forwarded locally in London. The latest known use is on an oversized cover from the Hermann Freitag correspondence. This contained a "book of views" mailed from Nottingham 16 MAR 1904 addressed "c/o Capt. Whitehouse, c/o B.F. Stevens, Esq." and forwarded to a hotel in Ajaccio, Corsica. To date, I have documented only 11 items forwarded with the J.B. Gilder marking, five of which are from the Freitag correspondence. There are undoubtedly more to be found, even given the relatively short period of use.

J.B. Gilder resigned as U.S. Despatch Agent in early 1904 and thereafter returned to the United States. When *The Critic* was merged with *Putnam's Magazine* in 1906, he and

[3] Hay also had contact with Gilder's more famous older brother, Richard Watson Gilder, the most powerful magazine editor in 19th century America and a towering figure in the world of letters. Richard Watson Gilder had published several books authored by Hay in the mid-1880's, including Hay and Nicolay's 10-volume *Life of Lincoln*.

[4] Elizabeth L. Banks Correspondence, McFarlin Library, Department of Special Collections, The University of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[5] Rowe, *op. cit.* (see References), pg. 157, lists the J.B. Gilder marking as 38 x 29 mm, but the marking is actually 39 mm wide.

his wife became editors there. Subsequently, Joseph was editor of the *New York Times Book Review* during 1910-1911. In 1911, he left journalism for banking and insurance. From 1914 to 1928 he was Secretary of the Industrial Finance Corporation. He retired in 1929 and died Dec. 9, 1936.

Figure 7. The J.B. Gilder marking, 39x29mm in purple, known used 1902-1904. Tracing by John Donnes.

After Stevens and Gilder, the "Agent" name was changed in subsequent markings to the "United States Government Despatch Agency," London, England. In future articles, I hope to complete the documentation of this long and fascinating sequence of forwarding markings, to tell "the rest of the story." Society members who have covers with markings extending the known periods of use of the six oval types or sub-types presented in Figure 1, or any markings after Stevens' death in 1902, are asked to send photocopies. ■

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Segnitz, Paul H.: "B.F. Stevens and Other United States Despatch Agents (The Herman Herst Jr. Collection)," *Weekly Philatelic Gossip*, Vol. 36, Nos. 6 and 7, April 10 and 17, 1948.

Stafford, Peter: "Benjamin Franklin Stevens Despatch Agent Markings," *Chronicle* 209, pp. 56 (adding a Type VI Stevens marking and sub-varieties of other types).

Regarding diplomatic pouch covers handled by Stevens during the Siege of Paris see the copious research of Ernst M. Cohn, including these references:

Cohn, Ernst M.: "Diplomatic Digression Provoked By the 1870 Paris Balloon Mail," *Postal History Journal*, No. 37, May 1974, pp. 8-15.
–"The United States Diplomatic Pouch in the Siege of Paris," *46th American Philatelic Congress Book*, 1976, pp. 119-145.
–"My Favorite Cover – The American Connection," *The American Philatelist*, December 1976, pg. 1239.
–"Personally Entrusted Mail in the Siege of Paris," *The American Philatelist*, March 1977, pp. 188-194.
–"1870 U.S. Pouch Mail – New Discoveries," *The Collectors Club Philatelist*, March 1977, pp. 84-88; May 1977, pp. 158-176.
–"La valise Diplomatique Des Etats-Unis Pendant Le Siege de Paris (19 septembre 1870 – 28 janvier 1871)," *Bulletin de la societe des amis du Musee Postal*, No. 60, 4th Trimestre, 1978.
–"French Mail Bags of 1870," *Collectors Club Philatelist*, July-Aug. 1994, pp. 207-208.
– *Ordinary Mail by Diplomatic Means During The Siege of Paris 1870-1871*, Lymassol, Cyprus, James Bendon, 1995.

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THE PLATE PROOFS ON CARD OF THE 1873 OFFICIAL STAMPS: A RE-EXAMINATION, INCLUDING A HISTORY OF THE "SIXTH" PRINTING

GEORGE G. SAYERS

Introduction

Within the last year, for 87 of the 1873 Official stamps plates, card-proof plate number and imprint strips of 30 have appeared in the philatelic market.[1] These have been identified as from the Crawford–Ackerman–Lilly card proof sheets, for which the author has provisionally borrowed the title "sixth card-proof printing" from the philatelic literature.[2,3] Figure 1 shows a strip of 30 of the 6¢ State Department stamp (Scott O60).

Several well-known philatelic authors have written extensively about the card proofs produced by the American Bank Note Company (ABNC) between 1879 and 1894. Clarence W. Brazer, editor and founder of the *Essay-Proof Journal*, wrote several articles in the 1940s and 1950s. Howard S. Friedman wrote extensively in several journals in the 1970s and early 1980s. George W. Brett, in the *Essay-Proof Journal* in 1992, examined the Post Office bill books. Friedman in particular devoted substantial effort to developing a method to distinguish the five printings of card proofs purchased by the Post Office Department and concluded the last three printings were not readily distinguishable.[4] Friedman and Brett discussed the possibility that additional printings were made, while Brazer provided data, from his own reference material, on the five card-proof printings created at the request of the Post Office. Brazer probably obtained his reference material from John Kleeman, owner of the Nassau Stamp Co. and the leading dealer of proofs in the 1920s. Kleeman is reported to have purchased from Walter Scott the remainders of Henry Mandel's proof col-

[1] The plate numbers are those listed by John N. Luff, *The Postage Stamps of the United States*, 1902, pp. 211-212, with the following exceptions: 1¢ Post Office: Plate 428; 2¢ Post Office, Plate 285, right pane; 3¢ Post Office, Plate 141, right pane; 6¢ Post Office, Plate 249, right pane; 1¢ Treasury, Plate 44, right pane; 2¢ Treasury, Plate 42, right pane; 3¢ Treasury, Plate 33, left pane; 2¢ and 3¢ War, no information. The 15¢ Interior sheet is missing.

[2] Alan C. Campbell, "Plating the Official Stamps," *Chronicle* 175, pp. 199-203. Reviewing the Bechtel half sheets on pg. 199: "With respect to plate proofs on card, this holding consisted of top half sheets of O1-O45 (less O21), bottom half sheets of O47-O67 and O72-O93...." The plate and imprint strips of 30 sold early in 2006 were the from the bottoms of sheets of O1-O45 less O21 and from the tops of sheets of O47-O67 and O72-O93. The trimming matched the trimming shown on the photographic negatives of the Ackerman sheets taken by Elliott Perry. From pg. 199: "...the most recent scholarship attributes them to a little-known sixth printing for the Atlanta Exposition of 1895." "Recent scholarship" refers to Don Evans' book on the 1¢ Franklin stamp, pg. 79.

[3] E. D. Bacon, "The Earl of Crawford's Collection of the 1895 Plate Impressions of United States Stamps on Cardboard," *London Philatelist*, Vol. 22 (1913), pp. 3-7, 31-37, 51-58.

[4] Howard S. Friedman, "The Die and Plate Proofs of the United States Stamp Designs, Part VIII," *Strictly U. S.*, Winter 1980, pp. 45-53. From pg. 51: "In any event, this writer believes that differentiation, certainly of the last three emissions and to a lesser degree of the first and second, cannot and should not be attempted on the basis of thickness alone. Similar problems exist with regard to the chroma and value of the colors of the five emissions." This problem also exists with regard to hue.

Figure 1. Card proof showing top plate number and imprint strip of 30 for the 6¢ State Department stamp, Scott O60.

ection, which included much of the ABNC archives of U. S. stamp production from 1873 to 1894.[5]

Recent developments in non-destructive near-infrared laser Raman reflection spectrum analysis have yielded relatively low-cost, bench-scale equipment capable of distinguishing small variations in stamp pigment and organic binder composition inexpensively. This technology offers the possibility of distinguishing the several card proof printings for at least some Official stamp departments.[6] The American Philatelic Research Library's publication of the Ricketts index has facilitated review of 19th century references and brought additional information to light.

In this article the author provides a consolidated historical framework upon which to base research into the chemistry of the proof printings of the Official stamps. This is relatively easy for the 1873 Official stamps because 79 of the stamps were printed from individual plates of 100 impressions throughout their production (including all the proof printings) and there are numerous plate varieties and plating marks on many of the plates. For these plates, this eliminates variables due to plate manufacturing changes and wear. Because this study diverges from some previously published articles on the card proofs, the author's documentation is more extensive than usual, being the result of five years of research. The author leaves further generalization of this card-proof history to students of the other issues.

The Bill-Book Data

George Brett's careful analysis of the Post Office Department bill books[7] yields the following summary of the five bills he found for sets of card proofs:

[5] Clarence W. Brazer, editor, "John A. Kleeman, Greatest Dealer in U. S. Essays and Proofs," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #48, October 1955, pp. 225-226. From pg. 225: "Mandel's duplicate U. S. collection was bought by the Nassau Company for $9,000."

[6] Distinguishing printings may not be as problematic as it appears. In each batch of ink are mixed a white mineral such as zinc oxide to adjust color intensity or chroma and carbon black to adjust the gray scale value. The ratio of these components is constant in a particular batch of ink but is likely to vary substantially from batch to batch. Both components are insoluble, and so the ratio should be stable even if a proof has been soaked to the point where some of the pigment has leached out. Identifying six individual printings with reasonable confidence is a complex task, but probably achievable.

[7] George W. Brett, "Extracts from the U. S. P. O. D. Bill Books, 1870-1879, Especially Relating to the Cardboard 'Proofs,' 1879-1894, and the Special Printings, 1875 et seq." *The Essay-Proof Journal* #193, First Quarter 1992, pp. 3-29.

"**October 31st, 1879**....Printing 500 sets of 171 stamps each comprising all stamps issued by the U. S. Post Office Department."[8]

"**November 2nd, 1882.**[9] Proof specimens of postage stamps furnished during the month ending on the 31st of October, 1882 ... [a listing of 17 sets totaling 172 stamps, 1000 of each,[10] follows]...In envelopes of one set each...."[11,12]

"**5 December 1890**. Specimen Postage Stamps furnished to the Post Office Department on order of October 22, 1890...." A listing of 18 sets totaling 191 stamps, 500 of each, follows. Notably, the 24¢ Treasury and 24¢ War are not listed as part of the printing.[13]

"**March 1, 1893**. 1,000 sets of ungummed cut proofs of the new series of Columbian postage stamps arranged in sets and envelopes upon order of January 4, 1893. Also 500 sets of impressions on card board of all the adhesive postage stamps of the U. S., obsolete as well as current issues as per order of Jan 13, 1893...."[14]

"**March 31-1894**. Specimen stamps furnished to the Department on order of letter of Feb. 4, 1894...500 sets of all issues viz. 1847-1851-1861-1865-1869-1870-1873-1874-1879-1890 and 1893 at $1.20 per set—each set being in a separate envelope. Cardboard proofs."[15] As a point of clarification, the 1865 stamps are the three large Newspaper stamps, the 1873 stamps are the 92 Official stamps in nine sets, the 1874 stamps are the small Newspaper stamps, the 1879 stamps are the Postage Due stamps, the 1893 stamps are the Columbians. The Special Delivery stamps are included with the "ordinary" stamps of 1870 or 1893.

Significance of the Bill-Book Data

Since these data come directly from a primary historical reference, their accuracy is difficult to dispute. The five bills demonstrate approximate dates of these card proof printings. Printing five to ten proof impressions from 171-211 different plates was likely to take a few weeks.

More importantly, the purchase instructions specified the card proofs were to be cut up into single stamps, organized into sets, and placed in envelopes by the printer. These envelopes (examples of which survive) were printed by the printer, not the Post Office. And most importantly, every bill refers to or lists all the stamps issued by the Post Office going back to 1847.

Note that no multiples of the card proofs were ordered or paid for by the Post Office.

[8] *Ibid*, pg. 14.

[9] This is not a misprint. The date of the second printing is 1882, not 1885 as reported elsewhere. Brazer based the 1885 date on the presentation letter dated 1885 accompanying a set of card proofs. Note that the change of administrations from Chester Arthur to Grover Cleveland at the end of 1884 would have resulted in a new letter for distribution of these political favors. The 1882 date is also supported by the summer of 1882 dating of 1¢ Post Office plate 428, from which no stamps, only proofs, were printed. The author believes this plate was manufactured solely for printing card proofs. The previous plate, number 427, for the re-engraved 10¢ regular-issue stamp, was first used in May, 1882.

[10] The previously published quantity was 500 sets.

[11] Brett, *op. cit*., p. 16.

[12] The instruction clearly implies that the printer was required to cut up the proofs, organize them in sets and place them in envelopes, which is not surprising. Cutting stacks of card proofs cannot be done freehand, and the Post Office did not do it. The modern printing industry uses a large, heavy piece of equipment called a paper knife, with a specially shaped blade and hydraulic clamps to hold stacks of paper in precise alignment for a clean cut. ABNC would have used some forerunner of this device to cut stacks of proof sheets cleanly. Contrast this with the ragged cuts found on the Official stamps overprinted "SPECIMEN," which were cut apart by Post Office employees because the stamps were accountable paper for whose face value the clerks were responsible. Similarly, the Office of the Third Assistant P.M.G., from which the proofs were distributed, did not have a print shop, while the printer had a letterpress printing facility capable of printing small envelopes. Historically, the Post Office had ordered from the printer India proofs of new issues cut up into sets, almost certainly while still on the original "blotter" paper backing on which they were printed, and placed in envelopes for distribution. Previous assertions in the literature that Post Office employees assembled the proof sets from sheets are incorrect.

[13] Brett, *op. cit*., pp. 20-21.

[14] Brett, *op. cit*., p. 21.

[15] Brett, *op. cit*., p. 22.

SPECIMENS UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS

IN USE IN 1886.

ORDINARY STAMPS.

Denominations, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 15, 30 and 90 Cents.

POSTAGE-DUE STAMPS.

Denominations, 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 30 and 50 Cents.

NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL STAMPS.

Denominations, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 24, 36, 48, 60, 72, 84, 96 Cents, $1.92, $3, $6, $9, $12, $24, $36, $48 and $60.

SPECIAL DELIVERY STAMPS.

Denomination, - - 10 Cents.

Figure 2. The text on the dos Passos envelope, magnified with contrast enhanced. The original envelope is 138 millimeters wide and 77 mm high. The top line of text is 110 mm long. The author has not determined whether this is the actual envelope found by dos Passos or another example.

As the author has previously argued,[16] common printing-industry practice would have been to print an extra sheet of each proof to offset post-printing spoilage. Luff noted in 1902 that multiples of the card proofs, while rare, existed then. Very possibly, part sheets from some card-proof printings were saved in the ABNC archives and were released after the printing contract was transferred to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (BEP) in 1894. For the Official stamps, colors of the "Atlanta" trial color proof multiples of the Post Office, State, Treasury and Interior are quite close to the issued colors and may have been misidentified as issued-color card-proof multiples. There is no evidence that any ABNC-printed card-proof multiples were received by or distributed through the Post Office Department.

Possible Additional Printings

Brett proposed two possible additional printings of proofs in 1886 and 1888 based on Cyril F. dos Passos' finding of a printed envelope containing proofs,[17] and a bill book entry not part of the above-listed five. The complete text from the dos Passos envelope is illustrated as Figure 2. The bill book entry, dated 3 April 1888, is for "Specimen Stamps furnished the Department, as per letter of April 23rd...5,000 Regular Stamps...500 Special Delivery...3,500 Postage Due stamps...12,000 N & P stamps...small envelopes, printing and packing." The envelope states "SPECIMENS UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS IN USE IN 1886" and lists 43 denominations of four types of stamps. The phrase, "in use in [year date]," is not found on any of the printed envelopes known to have been used for proof distribution or Special Printing sales, and none of these envelopes was used to distribute more than one set.

This wording appears to be that used for describing distributions of stamps from the office of the Third Assistant P.M.G. to member postal administrations of the Universal Postal Union. The 1888 bill, assuming 500 of each denomination, lists 42 denominations:[18] 10 regular stamps, one Special Delivery, seven Postage Due and 24 Newspaper stamps (the

[16] George G. Sayers, "The 'Atlanta' Proofs of the Department of State Dollar Value Stamps: A Re-Examination of the History," *Chronicle* 205, pp. 56-61. See especially pg. 59.
[17] Cyril F. dos Passos, "An Unrecorded Official Envelope Containing Cardboard Proofs of U. S. Postage Stamps in Use in 1886," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #114, April 1972, pp. 81-82.
[18] Brett, *op. cit.*, pg. 19, illustration 7 at top of pg. 17 (with incorrect title).

9¢ Newspaper having been out of use since 1879).

The 1886 envelope list corresponds exactly to the Scott listing of 43 stamps overprinted "SPECIMEN." (Scott type D). Note the period after the "N," which distinguishes these overprints from those of the Official stamps special printings. There is no question these overprinted stamps were available in 1886, as an 1887 description of the overprinted Newspaper set for sale in 1886 exists in the philatelic literature.[19] The bill book entry for April 3, 1888 indicates there probably was an additional 1888 printing, indistinguishable from the 1886 printing. Note that the overprinted 9¢ Newspaper, apparently missing from the second printing, historically has had a slightly higher catalog value, consistent with it having been printed just once.[20]

Therefore, even though the dos Passos envelope was purchased containing some proofs, it and the bill book No. 4 entry of 3 April 3 1888 are clearly unrelated to the card proof printings and almost certainly describe the "SPECIMEN."-overprinted stamps.

Howard Friedman proposed a final printing of card proofs from the ABNC plates for an 1895 Atlanta exhibition to explain the origin of the proofs exhibited there as described by W. Lionel Moise[21] and the origin of the full sheets of card proofs owned by the sequence of famous collectors: the Earl of Crawford, Ernest A. Ackerman and Josiah K. Lilly. Fortunately, the two card proof exhibits provided by ABNC and BEP at that exhibition were accurately described, the latter in detail, by Joseph Rich, a member of the Collectors Club of New York and a competent philatelic reporter, in a letter to the *American Journal of Philately*.[22] The letter describes the card proofs prepared by the BEP at the request of the Treasury Department specifically for this exhibit and thereby explains the origin of most of the later card proofs not printed by the ABNC.

An article attributed to the April 8, 1893 *New York World* states,[23] "A portion of the highly interesting exhibit which Uncle Sam will make at the Chicago World's Fair is just being completed by the American Bank Note Company... It is a complete collection of all the postage stamps issued by the Government since the general postal system went into effect in 1847. The collection [includes] the two latest stamps issued—the regular and the Columbian series eight cent registered letter stamps[24].... President James MacDonough [of ABNC] has charge of the mounting and framing of the present collection....The stamps will be mounted on one immense card about 7 feet by 11, artistically arranged so as to put the different colors in harmonious relations."

Moise described the display at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition thus: "In a beautiful oaken frame of immense size and imposing appearance are exhibited specimens of every adhesive postage stamp ever issued by this country. There are also exhibited all department adhesives in the same frame. These stamps were not merely pasted in, in a reckless and unattractive manner, but arranged in all kinds of fancy designs, to attract the passer by. Arches, circles, squares, diamonds, stars—every imaginable angle and curve were formed by stamps. Several specimens of the same stamp were used, and stamps of the same colors were placed together."[25] Joseph S. Rich reported: "The frame prepared by the American

[19] Editor, Notes Column, *The Philatelic Gazette*, Vol. 3 (1887), pg. 101, in a column about philatelic occurrences in 1886: "A short time since we had the pleasure of looking at a complete set (the first set we had ever seen) of U. S. periodicals surcharged 'specimen.'"

[20] In the 2001 Scott specialized catalog, the 9¢ PR14SD is listed at $30, while the other 24 overprinted Newspaper stamps are listed at $25.

[21] W. Lionel Moise, "Philately at the Atlanta Exposition," *The Boston Stamp Book*, Vol. 1, No. 8, (Dec. 20, 1895) pp. 179-183. This Atlanta Exposition of 1895 is not to be confused with the 1881 International Cotton Exposition (also held in Atlanta) which is traditionally thought to have been the source of the "Atlanta" trial color proofs. See Note 34.

[22] Joseph S. Rich, "Stamps at the Atlanta Exhibition," *American Journal of Philately*, Dec.1, 1895, pp. 602-603.

[23] "An Artistic Stamp Exhibit. The American Bank Note Company's Contribution to the Fair," citing from *The New York World*, April 8, 1893, in *The Post Office*, Vol. 3, (1893-94), pg. 27.

[24] The first half of an explanation for the two shades of proofs of the 8¢ of 1890. See footnote 42 below.

[25] Moise, *op. cit.*, pg. 180.

Bank Note Co., and exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition and which attracted so much attention there, occupies a prominent place here."[26] Note that Moise states the display of every stamp issued by the U. S. consists of "several specimens of the same stamp," not full sheets. Therefore, card proof sheets could not have been salvaged from the exhibit because they were never there, nor could they have gone out the back-door of the Post Office because they were never in its custody.

Hypothesis: Backup Sheets

As previously noted, it is likely that in preparation for the exhibit an additional card-proof sheet of each denomination was printed as backup in case a sheet was damaged; and that these backup sheets were retained, to allow repair of the exhibit if it were damaged in transport or at one of the exhibitions. The timing of the reported printing is consistent with Brazer's's observation that the shades of the colors of the Ackerman card proof sheets closely matched the fourth (1893) printing of card proofs.[27] These backup sheets then became part of the ABNC archives rescued and preserved by Henry Mandel, vice president of ABNC, when its plant dedicated to U. S. stamp production closed in 1894. Printing and exhibiting card proofs for promotional purposes was consistent with industry practice, which allowed promotional use of engravings made for governments. Additionally, the Post Office had for 14 years given away card proofs and continued to do so. Card proofs were recognized as having no value, therefore there was no revenue-loss justification to block ABNC's exhibit.

There is historical precedent for such an exhibit. Brett points out there is no bill book entry for the Atlanta trial-color proofs. The author has previously explained that the most likely source for the Atlanta trial-color proofs was the ABNC archives. The subsequent Atlanta exhibit was similar: printed and prepared as a private promotional display, which after the exhibition closed was returned to the ABNC New York facility and archived.[28]

James Petrie, close associate of Walter Scott, had much more credibility with European collectors than he enjoyed in the United States. At some time between 1900 and 1903[29] he distributed to wealthy European collectors a four-page list of items for sale, primarily proofs, which in the author's opinion must have derived from the ABNC archives rescued by Mandel that Mandel and Scott were jointly marketing.[30] The Earl of Crawford is reported to have purchased the set of card proof sheets from this list. The list remains part of the Crawford collection of philatelic literature in the British Library.[31] Brazer referred to this list in his article on the card proof sheets and elsewhere but it seems possible he had not

[26] Rich, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-603.
[27] Clarence W. Brazer, "U. S. Proof Panes in the Ackerman Collection," *Essay-Proof Journal* #47, July 1955, pp. 135-138. From pg. 136: "The complete set of sheets of cardboard proofs from the Ackerman collection match in shades of color and in thickness of the cardboard with the cardboard proofs presented with the letter of May 18, 1893...."
[28] Sayers, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
[29] Citations conflict. The 1900 date is found in manuscript on the first page of the original list in the British Library and cited in Brazer, Oct. 1941, footnote 32 below. Did the manuscript notation create the date in the article, or did the article create the date on the manuscript? The 1903 date is presented in Campbell, Aug. 1997, footnote 2 above, citing Stanley M. Bierman's book, *The World's Greatest Stamp Collectors*. The actual date is of interest because Mandel died late in 1902, and his involvement (or lack of it) in the list and the sale is significant.
[30] Some items from the Petrie list, in addition to the set of card proof sheets, the four 1869 invert card proof sheets and the State Department $2, $5, and $20 invert card proof sheets previously cited by Brazer are the 1890 regular-issue imperforate pairs, 1890 trial color proofs imperforate on stamp paper, "SAMPLE" overprints on the trial colors submitted for the 1890 contract, set of 1890 die proofs, set of Columbian die proofs, and two sets totaling 60 Match and Medicine die proofs. The National Bank Note Co. and its successor, ABNC, had the printing contract for the private die proprietaries from 1875 to 1880 and held the dies during that period.
[31] The British Library reference is "Crawford 893(8)–Petrie, J. A., Inverted medallions of the 1869 issue of U. S. postage stamps in cardboard proofs."

seen the entire list.[32] The list contains items which likely could be marketed more profitably in Europe, or which couldn't be marketed in the U. S. For instance: "U. S. 1890 Set, 1 cent to 90 cents, unperforated....These are regular stamps, and were sent by error (in this condition), by American Bank Note Co., on a requisition to the P. M. at Kansas City, Mo., and by him returned to the 3rd Assis't P. M. Gen'l, at Washington, where a few, these are the lot, were saved from the macerating vat of the Department."[33] This statement is a complete fabrication, and if published in the U. S. would have created a loud howl in the popular press.[34] The 1895 date for the printing of the card proof sheets first appears in E. D. Bacon's detailed description of Crawford's collection of these sheets, published in 1913.[35] Bacon must have gotten the date from Petrie, who reportedly delivered the card sheet set and other proofs to the Earl in 1905.[36] Petrie doubtless fabricated the 1895 date.

The above hypothesis is a circumstantial case defining the origin and early history of the card proof sheets. Students of the ABNC card proofs will have to judge for themselves the veracity of the numerous inferences the author has made. This hypothesis does rely on

Figure 3. Five perforated and gummed "Atlanta" proofs of the 1873 Post Office Department Official stamps, readily identifiable by their bright blue color.

facts and statements in the historical record, and the similar path to the retail market taken by other ABNC archive material. The subsequent history of the sheets has been adequately documented elsewhere.[37]

Fake Multiples

One loose end in the historical record that must be examined is a March 1, 1902 front page editorial in *The American Journal of Philately* by its editor, John N. Luff, as reported

[32] Clarence W. Brazer, "Where Are the Earl of Crawford and Senator Ackerman Sheets of U. S. Plate Proofs?" *The American Philatelist*, October 1941, pp. 42-46; and "U. S. Imperforate Proofs on Stamp Paper By the Bank Note Engraving Companies," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #23, July 1949, pp. 131-135.

[33] From pg. 2 of the list cited in footnote 31.

[34] In fact, none of the myths created about Petrie's obtaining rare items from the Post Office Department stand up to scrutiny. All are readily explained by his association with Scott's and Mandel's marketing of Mandel's proof collection, which contained the ABNC archives of U.S. stamp production. Petrie never claimed to have salvaged the Atlanta proofs. That embellishment may have originated with Kleeman's marketing of the Atlantas in the 1920s. The author has not been able to obtain any primary historical references or citations thereof which document the presence of the proofs at the 1881 Atlanta Cotton Exposition. From the plate and die data it is clear the Atlanta proofs were printed in 1880 or 1881, but Edward Mason's 1912 article, "The Proofs of U. S. Stamps," lists them repeatedly as "the usual set of five trial colors" with no mention of Atlanta. The Mason article is serialized in several issues of *The Philatelic Gazette*, Vol. 2 (1911-12). The Official stamp proofs are listed on p. 62 of the October 1, 1912 issue and pp. 76-77 of the October 15, 1912 issue.

[35] Bacon, op. cit., pg. 3. "Lord Crawford also possesses a separate [collection] consisting of no less than 215 sheets, partly entire and partly half sheets, of the Plate Impressions of 1895, on cardboard. ...not much seems to be known about them even in the States, for in a recent work published there, dealing solely with the proofs of United States stamps, I am surprised to find that these particular impressions are erroneously described as being on India paper." Bacon is referring to Edward Mason's 1912 article, "The Proofs of U. S. Stamps," (see note 34) which lists a set of India proof sheets from the Mandel collection.

[36] Campbell, *op. cit.*, pg. 200.

[37] Campbell, *op. cit.*, and the references cited therein.

Figure 4. Five State Department stamps, front and back. The two stamps on the left and the two stamps on the right are card proofs that have been sanded and rebacked with gummed tissue paper. The central 30¢ stamp is a genuine stamp, regummed. Bottom row shows these same five stamps reversed in watermark fluid. The central stamp is the regummed genuine. The others show the mottled appearance typical of sanded proofs.

by Brazer,[38] which warned of fake U. S. classics in blocks, "They are made by thinning cardboard proofs or by backing India paper...The paper, gum and colors are not those of the issued stamps....[They are printed from] new plates made for the reprints of 1875...About a year ago (1901) a large number of sheets of cardboard proofs of United States stamps were offered for sale here, but found no purchaser. It was subsequently reported that they had been disposed of in Europe. As United States [card] proofs are seldom seen except in the shape of single copies, it is not unreasonable to suppose that these new frauds came from fragments of those sheets." Since the sheet collection was intact in 1913 (according to E. D. Bacon), these fakes were of different origin. Most are backed, perforated and gummed India proofs.[39] The author has examined several obviously sanded-down Official stamp card proofs which have been perforated and gummed. Some are Atlanta proofs. Examples of altered proofs are shown as Figures 3-6. These altered card proofs cannot definitely be identified as coming from the lot which generated Luff's comments. But his observation that these fakes were not in the issued colors suggests some may have been Atlanta proofs. This inference and the 1900 approximate date suggests an alternate source. It has been reported that many Atlanta proofs and other materials from the ABNC archives were used by Mandel to prepare 1900 centennial presentation books for the directors of his corporation.[40] It is not unreasonable to suppose that some proofs left over from this effort were sold or traded.

Importance of Identifying the Sixth Printing

Why is identification of the sixth printing important? First, combined with Joseph

[38] Brazer, Oct. 1941, *op. cit.*, pg. 43, footnote 32 above.

[39] Clarence W. Brazer, "Varieties of U. S. Essays & Proofs," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #14, April 1947, pp. 149-154. From pg. 152: "Many years ago, some India paper plate proofs were bought in Europe, privately perforated and gummed and in some cases backed up with additional paper to the approximate thickness of stamp paper... cardboard plate proofs have also been thinned, perforated and gummed...."

[40] Clarence W. Brazer, "Famous Proof Collections: Henry G. Mandel," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #1, 1944, pp. 13-15. From pg. 13: "He is credited with preparing the large books of essays and proofs that were about 1900 made up for officers and directors of the American Bank Note Co. from duplicates in the files."

Rich's detailing of the BEP card proof display for the 1895 Atlanta exposition, the circumstances of production and initial distribution of almost every card proof can be traced in the historical record. Next, consider the printing, probably 200 of each proof except the 1¢-12¢ 1869s which are sheets of 300. Half were used to prepare the exhibit shown at the 1893 Columbian Exposition and again at the 1895 Atlanta Exposition. The other half, originally the only set of full sheets or panes of card proofs with plate number and imprint, have a very rich philatelic history and provenance. They were examined, touched and written about

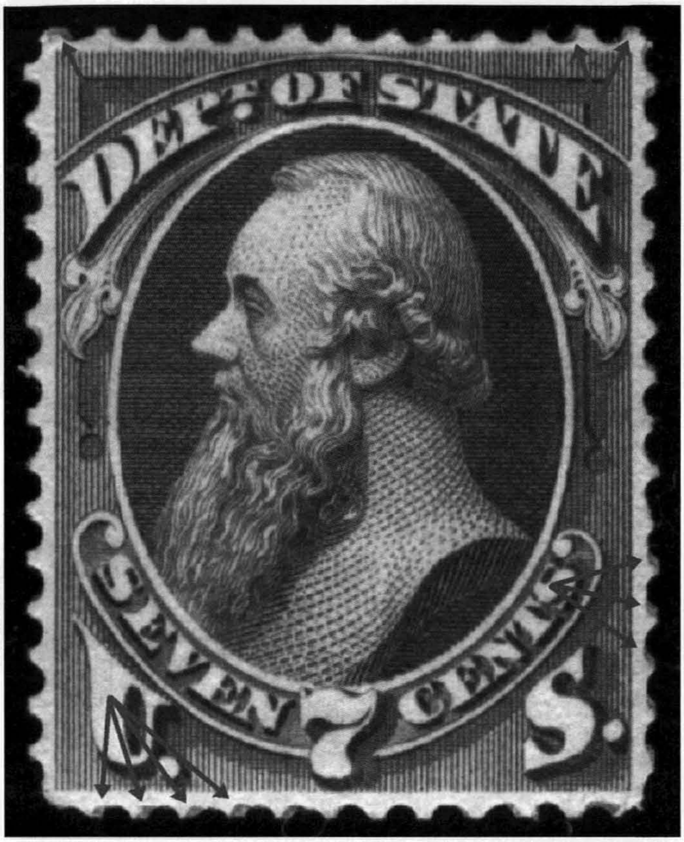

Figure 5. The 7¢ State Department proof from Figure 4, enlarged, showing the gummed tissue backing paper peeking out between the perforations (arrows in margins).

by Mandel, Luff, Scott, Petrie, Earl of Crawford, Bacon, Kleeman, Ackerman and Brazer. They were photographed by Perry, donated and undonated to the National Museum, sold by Harmer Rooke, bought by Lilly, sold by Siegel to the Weill Brothers, cut in half, with half bound and sold to Stephen Bechtel, Sr. and the balance sold to proof dealer Richard Taylor, who deserves our appreciation for keeping these blocks intact for 30 years. All of philately is enriched by the reappearance of these philatelic treasures.

Last, the Official stamp proof sheets of 100 are now known to exist as blocks of 50 and 30. The remaining 2x10 strips of 20 possibly were cut into five sets of blocks of four over the last 30 years. If they remain intact and in the extremely fine condition of the blocks of 30, many should be readily identifiable by color and plate position, potentially allowing at least digital reassembly of the sheets for plating and identification of plate varieties. To quote E. D. Bacon, "The fact that the collection consists of sheets or half sheets adds

Figure 6. Top row: five perforated proofs. The three proofs on the left are India proofs, the two Justice proofs on the right are sanded card proofs that have not been gummed. Bottom row: the same five perforated proofs reversed in watermark fluid. The three proofs on the left show the typical near-transparency of India proofs. The two sanded card proofs on the right show the typical mottled pattern due to uneven paper thickness.

materially to its value, as an inspection discloses a number of points connected with the manufacture of the plates, which are of great interest."[41] Did the scrap portion of the Official stamp proof sheets that were cut up to make the exhibit survive into the retail market as singles or multiples? If so, are they identifiable? This can be answered by examining plate varieties on possible examples. Digitally reassembled plates for most of the Official stamps, combined with nondestructive Raman spectroscopy, offers the possibility of identifying the source of other card-proof multiples known to exist, thereby verifying or expanding the scope of the card-proof history. The author has found no evidence that either the printers or the Post Office were the source of illegally obtained proofs in this period.

Summary of the Card Proof Printings

First Printing, October 1879: 500 examples of 17 sets totaling 171 stamps. Sets are: 1847, 1851 (including Carriers), 1861, 1865 Newspaper and Periodical stamps, 1869, 1870, 1873 (Official stamps in nine sets for the nine departments), 1874 Newspaper stamps and 1879 Postage Dues. Friedman notes that examples of this printing are scarce.

Second Printing, October 1882: 1,000 of 17 sets totaling 172 stamps. Sets are the same as the first printing.

Third Printing, November 1890: 500 of 18 sets totaling 191 stamps. To the 17 sets of the first and second printing, the set of 10 1890 stamp proofs is added. The Special Delivery proof is added to the 1870 set with nine other new stamps. The 1¢ Newspaper stamp of 1885 is added and two Official proofs are left out.

Fourth Printing, February 1893: 1,000 sets of the Columbian stamp proofs in addition to 500 of 19 sets including the Columbian proofs again, probably totaling 209 stamps.

Fifth Printing, March 1894: 500 of 19 sets adding the 8¢ of 1890 and the 8¢ Columbian, probably totaling 211 stamps.

[41] Bacon, *op. cit.*, pg. 4.

"Sixth" Printing, March-April 1893: two sheets or panes of each of 211 stamps. Petrie's description of the collection indicates 208 sheets but Bacon's description states the 1¢ of 1890, the 8¢ of 1890[42] and the 15¢ Interior sheets are missing, correcting the total to 208. Bacon includes the four 1869 invert sheets and the three State Department $2, $5 and $20 invert sheets bringing the total to the 215 sheets listed in his 1913 description.

Conclusion

For the Official stamps a total of 3,000 sets of card proofs of the stamps of each department were delivered to the Post Office. For the stamps which were printed from multiple plates, the 2¢, 3¢ and 6¢ Post Office and the 3¢ Treasury, the plates which were used for the first and second printing are not yet known, but are the subject of ongoing research involving constant plate varieties. For the 1¢ Post Office, the author believes Plate 428 was made specifically to print the proofs for the second and subsequent printings. The author has not identified any card proofs printed from Plate 43, the original 1¢ Post Office plate. India proofs of Plate 43 do exist. The third through the sixth printings were made from the same plates, which are the plates listed at Footnote 1.

Friedman states that 44 sheets of proofs on card of the 1890 stamps were ordered by the Post Office Department to be delivered to the BEP by the ABNC in March, 1894, possibly as quality-control samples.[43] He reports, without citation, that this printing consisted of the 11 1890 stamps, the seven Postage Due stamps, the 25 Newspaper stamps and the Special Delivery stamp. The author has not found any other reference to this printing in the literature, and Brett did not report any Post Office bill book entry that could refer to it. The author believes these sheets, if in fact they were an additional printing, were likely eventually turned over to the Smithsonian.[44]

The printing of the 1869 invert card proofs and the State Department $2, $5 and $20 invert card proofs remains an enigma, although their inclusion in Petrie's list strongly suggests they were part of the ABNC archives. Possibly the 1869 invert card proofs were printed for and included in the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition exhibit since the invert stamps were recognized as part of the issue. Hopefully, some master philatelic reporter described that Chicago exhibit in great detail and his report waits to be discovered by an historian more diligent that this author. I have found no evidence in the historical record of any other printings of ABNC plate proofs on card in the issued colors.[45] ■

[42] The other half of the explanation for two shades of card proof found for this stamp. See footnote 24 above. The 8¢ regular-issue proof (Scott 225P4) was not included in the fourth card proof printing, but was in the fifth printing. The sheet of proofs from the April 1893 "sixth" printing was missing from the set purchased by the Earl of Crawford, indicating it was probably cut up and sold in the U.S.

[43] Howard S. Friedman, "United States Plate Proofs on Cardboard, Further Thoughts and Revisions," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #123, July 1974, pp. 106-113.

[44] Clarence W. Brazer, "U. S. Proof Panes in the Ackerman Collection," *The Essay-Proof Journal* #47, July 1955, pp. 135-138. From pg. 137: "...there are some faded and soiled cardboard sheets in the Smithsonian Institution that were deposited there after having been exhibited at several large expositions."

[45] One other mention of card proof sheets in the historical record in Brazer's description of Mandel's collection cited in footnote 40 above: "In 1900 he arranged for the U. S. Post Office its creditable exhibit of U. S. stamps at the Paris Exposition including complete sheets of card board proofs..., virtually the same exhibit was sent to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo the following year..." Obviously this report does not raise the question of an additional printing, since we know Mandel had card proof sheets as did the BEP. Without a detailed description of the exhibits, and a source for the contemporary report, an explanation isn't possible. However, the sheets described by Friedman (see footnote 43) probably are all or in part these sheets.

Section Editor's Note: On recent trips to Germany to participate in the annual meeting of the International Postal History Fellowship, I had discussions with Georg Mehrtens about the currencies and weights used in the German states during the period of our mutual interest, the United States–Bremen mails in the mid-19th century. This currency area is complicated and I found it difficult to keep the various currencies and their equivalents separated. I asked him if he might prepare a paper for the Chronicle *to help our readers better understand the complexities of the German currency system during this era.*

Bremen, his area of specialty, was the first European government with which the United States had a postal arrangement. In addition, the Bremen postmaster was authorized to act as an agent of the United States Post Office to handle mails under that arrangement and to negotiate, with the various German states, the transit fees beyond Bremen so that postage could be fully prepaid in the United States. The United States based its currency on a gold standard, just as Bremen did. The two governments had much in common.

As a new author to the Chronicle *with this article, Georg Mehrtens has provided some very useful information that I feel will be quite helpful.—R.F.W.*

GERMAN STATES: CURRENCY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASUREMENTS

BY GEORG D. MEHRTENS

Background

In June 1847, when Assistant Postmaster General Major S.R. Hobbie traveled to Bremen on the maiden voyage of *Washington*, America's first contract mail steamer, he declared that he was going to conclude a postal contract with "Germany." At Bremen he was told by the Honorable Arnold Duckwitz, a member of the Senate of Bremen,[1] that there was no "Germany" with which he could conclude a contract. Duckworth told Hobbie that there were 17 independent postal administrations (this figure included Austria) and a great number of different currencies. Even weights and measures differed from state to state. Surprised by the complicated postal system in Germany, Hobbie called it "Humbug." Duckwitz recorded the discussions of his meetings, information now available in the Bremen State Archives and in Duckwitz' published memoirs. According to these notes, Hobbie said he had been instructed to conclude a contract with "Germany" and that he could not return unless he did. Duckwitz explained that, in the case of "Germany," Hobbie would have to start negotiations with 17 separate postal administrations. According to Duckwitz's experience, this could take a newcomer several years.

In the postal "arrangement" between the United States and Bremen, signed in Wash-

[1] The post office authority of the Hanseatic republic of Bremen was exercised by a committee of the senate, of which Duckwitz was the principal member.

ington on 29 March 1847 and in Bremen on 26 June 1847, the postmaster at Bremen had been appointed the "sole and exclusive agent" of the postal administration of the United States. This was the first time the United States appointed a foreign postal administration to act as an agent to handle its mail. Considering the extensive time involved to negotiate with the other German postal administrations and taking into account that Bremen had been appointed by the United States Postmaster General as an agent of the United States post office in Europe, Hobbie decided to let Duckwitz negotiate and conclude, on behalf of the American postal administration, agreements with the German states and Austria.[2]

Under the prevailing postal arrangement, therefore, Bremen had the power to determine which states could send their mail at the favorable transatlantic packet rate of 24¢. Hobbie authorized the Bremen Post Office to grant access to the American contract mail service to those German states that had established, for their transatlantic correspondence via Bremen, a German inland transit fee equivalent to 12¢ per ½ ounce (approximately 4 gutegroschen or 18 kreuzer) or less.[3]

As a result of Bremen's negotiations, all of the German states finally agreed to reduce their inland rates to this level. The last one, Austria, reduced its tariff to and from Bremen by March 1849, and was thereby allowed to participate in the American transatlantic mail service. A lower transit rate than the 12¢ equivalent was in force between Breman and Hanover, Oldenburg, and Hamburg, all situated in the vicinity of Bremen.

In Germany at this time various currencies were in circulation. Adding to this confusion, weights and measurements could differ from state to state. As the agent of the American postal administration, Bremen had to deal with these complex conditions, since the 1847 postal arrangement with the United States required accounting in United States currency. Bremen put one *grote* at par with one cent. As a result of Bremen absorbing the problems of currencies, weights and measurements, the United States postage rates to all the German states, Austria and countries beyond, could be quoted in American dollars and cents.

The situation in 1848

In the middle of the 19th century, 11 different currencies were in circulation in the area that later became known as the German Austrian Postal Union (GAPU). All currencies were based on the Köln Mark of fine silver. Back in 1524, by his edict of Esslingen, German Emperor Karl V declared that the Köln Mark of 234 grains of fine silver was to serve as the basis for any German currency issued. Although some states within the Empire formed coalitions against the edict and protested, saying this interfered with their right to issue their own currencies, the Köln Mark maintained its position as planned by the edict. It was finally replaced as the currency basis by the "Zollpfund" of 500 grams, in a treaty signed by the German States in 1857.

In the 1848 Congress of Dresden, which was held to form a union of the German states (a forerunner of the GAPU), an attempt was made to find a common factor for all the

[2] The status of the Bremen Post Office as an agent of the United States was reflected in a discussion between Hobbie and Duckwitz at the beginning of September 1847, after Hobbie had returned to Bremen. In a report of 10 September 1847 issued by Duckwitz to the Bremen government, he indicated that Hobbie was informed by him about the negotiations with the different German postal administrations concerning the reduction of German postage fees so that the respective German states could have access to the American contract mail service. Duckwitz stated that, since the Bremen Post Office was "an agency of the American postal administration," i.e., an American Post Office, no costs could be charged for the negotiations that the Bremen Post Office had conducted at Hobbie's request. The only remuneration possible was based on the agency commission of 20% on the transatlantic postage collected by Bremen on behalf of the American postal administration. Duckwitz further mentioned that Hobbie was very pleased with the work carried out by the Bremen Post Office and expressed the gratitude of the American postal administration.

[3] Duckwitz confirms in his reports the request of Hobbie that only those German states were to take part in sending mail via the American mail line that had reduced their German rate to 4 gutegroschen (5 silbergroschen), equivalent to 12¢.

Table 1. German States in 1848 and the Currencies Used in Each
Based on 1 Köln Mark of 234 Grains Fine Silver

1. **Austria** (and **Liechtenstein** belonging to Austria)
20 gulden of 60 kreuzer each

2. **Prussia**, northern part of **Hesse-Cassel, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Saxe-Weimar, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt** (northern section), **Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe, Waldeck** and **Reuss** (old and young lines)
14 thaler of 30 silbergroschen each and 12 pfennige per silbergroschen

3. **Baden, Bavaria, Saxe-Coburg, Frankfurt, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Homburg, Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Saxe-Meiningen, Nassau, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt** (southern section) and **Württemberg**
24 ½ gulden of 60 kreuzer each

4. **Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Gotha** and **Saxony**
14 thaler of 30 neugroschen each and 10 neupfennig per neugroschen

5. **Anhalt (**Bernburg, Cöthen and Dessau**), Braunschweig** and **Hanover**
14 thaler of 24 gutegroschen each and 12 gutepfennig per gutegroschen

6. **Holstein** and **Lauenburg** (Schleswig does not appear on this listing since it was not a member of the Deutscher Bund formed in 1815 after the Vienna Congress)
18 ½ reichsbankthaler of 30 schillinge each

7. **Luxemburg**
52½ francs of 100 centimes each

8. **Mecklenburg-Schwerin**
14 thaler of 48 schillinge each and 12 pfennige per schillinge

9. **Oldenburg**
14 thaler of 72 grote each

10. **Hamburg** and **Lübeck** (Bergedorf as a joint possession of both states does not appear on this listing)
34 mark of 16 schillinge each

11. **Bremen**
13½ thaler (gold) of 72 grote each

German currencies, to facilitate more exact accounting between the states. A comparison of the currencies for each state, based on its relationship to the Köln Mark, was agreed upon. A table of currency relationships for each of the participating states was published after the conference. The title of the published table, however, indicated that the actual postage to be collected in each area was that of the individual state's currency.

Table 1 shows the German states and the currencies used in 1848 as published as a result of this meeting. Each entry shows that state's currency equivalence to the Köln Mark. For example, one Köln Mark was equal to 20 gulden in Austrian currency, each gulden consisting of 60 kreuzer. Note that in the southern German states such as Baden, Bavaria, Württemberg, etc., there were 24½ gulden to the mark. This meant the kreuzer currency in those states was different than the kreuzer currency in Austria.

Figure 1 illustrates some of these currencies on a letter from New York dated 29 April 1847, to Steyr, Austria. This cover never entered the United States postal system. It was placed on the merchant ship *Atlantic*, which arrived at Bremen on 16 June 1847. Here the black handstamp **See Brief.** was struck.[4] A Bremen postal clerk charged Hanover 5 grote (the 6 grote ship letter fee had been reduced to 5 grote on 27 May 1847). This was equivalent to **1 11/12** gutegroschen in the currency of Hanover, marked in red ink on the left side. The Hanover office in Bremen applied the black handstamp **AMERICA/ÜBER**

[4] The small **SeeBrief.** and the **AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN** on this cover are the earliest recorded uses of these markings.

Figure 1. 29 April 1847, New York to Steyr, Austria, folded letter carried by sailing ship *Atlantic* to Bremen, where black boxed See Brief marking was applied. Hanover debited 5 grote for incoming ship letter, equivalent to 1 11/12 gutegroschen (manuscript marking at left). In Austria the cover was marked for 37 kreuzer C.M. postage due.

BREMEN and added a Hanover transit fee of 2½ gutegroschen, charging Saxony **4 5/12** gutegroschen (marked in red ink in the upper left corner). Saxony debited Austria **86 neup** (neupfennige) in red crayon across the address (56 neupfennige = 4 5/12 gutegroschen plus 30 neupfennige transit). Austria converted 86 neupfennige to **25x** kreuzer Conventions Münze (C.M.) The Austrian kreuzer was based on a gold standard called Conventions Münze to differentiate it from the standard used in the southern German states. The 25 kreuzer C.M. was marked in red crayon at lower left, with the word "**reclamé**" (claimed) alongside. This was also noted in black ink in the upper right corner as the top number in the accumulated postages, **25/12/37**. This marking summed up the total postage due of 37 kreuzer C.M., which included 12 kreuzer C.M. Austrian internal postage. A datestamp on the reverse indicates that the letter arrived at Steyr on 22 June 1847.

Figure 2 illustrates a letter from Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, dated 26 September 1867 and addressed to New York City. It was endorsed "franko" in the lower left corner to show that it was fully paid and "via Bremen" to direct the letter by the Bremen mail. The postage paid in Ludwigslust was 10½ Mecklenburg-Schwerin schilling, marked in red crayon across the front as **2/4½}10½**. The first two figures showed 2 silbergroschen German transit and 4½ silbergroschen ocean postage to New York, which amounted to 6½ silbergroschen or 10½ Mecklenburg schilling.

The letter was carried by Prussian railroad to Bremen, marked by a three-lined date stamp on the reverse, **HAMBURG/28.9 IIR/BERLIN**. It arrived at Bremen on 1 October, also shown by a black boxed datestamp on the reverse, **BREMEN/1.10.*9-10**. At the Bremen post office the red boxed handstamp **PAID. *10*** was applied, informing the United States that the 10¢ sea postage (equivalent to 4½ silbergroschen) had been paid. The letter was carried by the North German Lloyd steamship *Union*, departing Bremerhaven on 5 October and arriving at New York on 20 October 1867. New York did not apply an arrival datestamp.

Figure 2. 26 September 1867, cover from Ludwigslust, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, carried by North German Lloyd steamship *Union* from Bremerhaven to New York. This cover was prepaid (in cash) 6½ silbergroschen or 10½ Mecklenburg schilling for all transit fees to destination. The red boxed "PAID.*10*" was applied at Bremen to show that the 10¢ transatlantic fee from Bremen had been prepaid.

The situation in 1853

In late 1852, a postal convention between the United States and Prussia went into effect, resulting in a closed mail directly with Prussia and through Prussia to other German states and countries beyond Prussia. German immigration to the United States had reached a peak, and at home, Germany was actively engaged in industrialisation. In 1853, a new postal convention between the United States and Bremen was signed substantially reducing the rates between the two postal systems. By the end of 1853 all the German states finally had joined the GAPU, which covered all of Germany and Austria.

Membership in the GAPU meant common standards. The German geographic mile was the standard distance unit and the metric pound of 500 grams was the standard weight.[5] Letter postage within the GAPU was set at three different rates per loth (slightly more than ½ ounce): up to 10 German miles, 1 silbergroschen or 3 kreuzer; up to 20 German miles, 2 silbergroschen or 6 kreuzer; above 20 German miles, 3 silbergroschen or 9 kreuzer. Standard rates also were used for printed matter and registration fees. Mail exchanged with foreign countries required the GAPU internal rate plus the postage to the country involved.

Because the dates of entry into the GAPU affected the internal transit fees, they are important to know, but sometimes difficult to find. Table 2 provides these dates for each state.

Also listed are the various states served by the postal administration of Thurn & Taxis. By appointment of the German Emperors, Thurn & Taxis had been administering the imperial mail since the 15th century. After the emperor abdicated in 1806, this appointment ended, but Thurn & Taxis reached agreements with numerous independent states to operate their postal services. Agreements signed by Thurn & Taxis with Prussia (2 August 1850) and Austria (13 April 1851) provided the precondition that states for which Thurn & Taxis supplied the postal services could become members of the GAPU. The Thurn & Taxis post

[5] The German geographical mile was a unit of length determined by 4 minutes of arc along the Earth's equator, approximately 7,420 meters.

Table 2. German States of the German-Austrian Postal Union and Thurn & Taxis Postal District and the Dates on which they Joined GAPU

State	Joined GAPU	District	Notes
Austria	1 July 1850		
Baden	1 May 1851		
Bavaria	1 July 1850		
Braunschweig	5 December 1851		
Bremen (district of state post office)	1 January 1852	Northern	1
Frankfurt (free city)	1 May 1851	Southern	
Hamburg (district of state post office)	1 May 1851	Northern	
Hanover	1 June 1851		1
Hesse-Cassel	1 October 1851	Northern	
Hesse-Homberg	1 May 1851	Southern	
Hohenzollern Hechingen	1 June 1852	Southern	
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	1 June 1852	Southern	
Holstein	1 July 1850		2
Liechtenstein	1 July 1850		
Lippe-Detmold	1 July 1853	Northern	
Lübeck (district of state post office)	1 January 1852	Northern	1
Luxemburg	6 November 1851		
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	1 January 1852		
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1 July 1850		
Nassau	1 October 1851	Southern	
Oldenburg	1 January 1852		
Prussia	1 July 1850		
Reuss (both lines)	1 April 1851	Northern	3
Saxony	1 July 1850		
Saxe-Altenburg	1 July 1850		
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	1 May 1851	Southern	
Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen	1 May 1851	Southern	
Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach	1 May 1851	Northern	
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	1 May 1851	Southern	
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	1 May 1851	Northern	
Schaumburg-Lippe	1 January 1854	Northern	
Württemberg	1 September 1851		

Note 1. The Thurn & Taxis post offices in these city-states were affiliated with the GAPU earlier and started to apply GAPU rules within the Thurn & Taxis postal area as follows: Bremen–15 November 1851; Lübeck–22 November 1851; Hamburg–28 November 1851.
Note 2. Membership in the GAPU was signed by Schleswig-Holstein, but the GAPU rules applied only in Holstein. Schleswig did not join the GAPU until 1864, after Schleswig, as Holstein, had gained independence from Danish rule.
Note 3. Reuss was the name of an old, established principality that historically had been divided into two family or nobility "lines," the older line, Reuss-Greiz and the younger line, Reuss-Schleiz-Gera.

did not join as a postal administration, but the agreements they signed granted membership in the GAPU to each individual state belonging to the Thurn & Taxis postal district.

On 21 July 1866, after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian War, the Thurn & Taxis postal administration came under Prussian control. On 1 July 1867, the entire Thurn & Taxis postal system was purchased by Prussia for three million thaler.

In the states for which Thurn & Taxis supplied postal services, two currencies were mainly in use. In the northern part of Germany the thaler, silbergroschen and pfennig were in circulation, while in the south the currency was gulden and kreuzer. In some areas both

Figure 3. 12 June 1856, Bückeburg, Schaumburg-Lippe, to New York, folded letter paid 8¾ silbergroschen in Northern Thurn & Taxis adhesives, representing 2 silbergroschen internal and 6¾ silbergroschen international postage. The latter was restated as 15¢ at Bremen (red handstamped "PAID." and "15.") to show prepayment. Carried by Ocean Line steamship *Hermann* from Bremerhaven to New York.

sets of currency were in use.[6] Besides these currencies Thurn & Taxis also had to cope with the monetary systems of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, where other postal administrations operated post offices in addition to Thurn & Taxis.[7]

There were a few other smaller states inside Germany not mentioned in Table 2. Their size or their political importance was minor and arrangements had been made for one of the more powerful states to cover their postal services. For example, Prussia operated the postal services in the small states of Waldeck-Pyrmont, Anhalt-Bernburg, Anhalt-Dessau, and Anhalt-Cöthen.

Before the Thurn & Taxis Post agreed to reduce the internal German fee to Bremen to 2 silbergroschen or 6 kreuzer, as required by the U.S.-Bremen postal convention to qualify for a lower international rate, different internal rates were charged depending on the distance to Bremen under GAPU rules. Two examples will demonstrate internal rates, used by the Thurn & Taxis Post, of 2 silbergroschen and 3 silbergroschen.

Figure 3 illustrates a letter from Bückeburg (Schaumburg-Lippe), dated 12 June 1856 and addressed to New York. It was endorsed "per steamer Hermann" in at top. The letter was fully paid to destination by 8¾ silbergroschen, paid by adhesive stamps of the Northern District of Thurn & Taxis (¼, ½, 2 and two 3 silbergroschen values, Scott numbers 1, 3, 6

[6] The gulden, the currency in circulation for the southern district, consisted of 60 kreuzer. One thaler, equivalent to 30 silbergroschen in the north, was equivalent to 1 gulden 45 kreuzer in the south or 105 kreuzer. One silbergroschen was equal to 3.5 kreuzer or one kreuzer was equivalent to 2/7 silbergroschen

[7] Bremen had the gold thaler of 72 grote, each grote equal to 5 schwaren. When the postal arrangement with the United States was concluded, Bremen put 1 grote at par with 1¢. Further parities of the Bremen and other states' currencies were: 5 grote was the equivalent of 2¼ silbergroschen or 7 7/8 kreuzer. The currency of Hamburg and Lübeck was the mark courant. The equivalent of 2½ mark courant of Hamburg or Lübeck was 1 thaler (silver). One mark courant was equal to 16 schillinge or 12 silbergroschen or 42 kreuzer of the southern German currency. Hamburg circulated this currency until 31 December 1874.

and 7) cancelled by a 4-ring target with the numerals "320" of Bückeburg. A black circular datestamp, **BÜCKEBURG/12/6/1856/5-7**, is struck in the upper right corner. Two silbergroschen paid the transit fee to Bremen. This was the prevailing GAPU rate for a letter carried a distance of more than 10 and less than 20 German miles. Since Thurn & Taxis had not yet reduced its internal rate from their whole postal district to Bremen to the equivalent of 5¢, 15¢ had to be charged for the transatlantic portion. The equivalent of 15¢ was noted in red crayon to the right of the adhesives as **6¾ Wfr.** (meaning 6¾ silbergroschen paid beyond the German border). The Thurn & Taxis office also struck the black oval **PD.** to show that the letter was fully paid. On arrival, the Bremen city post office clerk struck a black circular datestamp on the reverse, **ST.P.A./16/6/BREMEN**., and marked the letter on front with two red handstamps, a boxed **PAID** and **15.**, thereby indicating to New York that the 15 cent international fee was fully prepaid. The letter was carried by the Ocean Line steamship *Hermann* from Bremerhaven on 14 June, arriving at New York on 3 July 1856. Here the letter was marked **NEW.YORK/JUL/3/U.S. PKT** in red ink.

Figure 4. 15 March 1859, Gera, Reuss, to New York, folded letter paid 9¾ silbergroschen in Northern Thurn & Taxis adhesives for 3 silbergroschen internal and 6¾ silbergroschen international postage. The latter was restated as 15¢ at Bremen in red to show prepayment. Letter carried by North German Lloyd steamship *New York* from Bremerhaven to New York.

Figure 4, the second Thurn & Taxis cover, shows a letter paid for a longer distance from Bremen. This letter originated in Gera (Principality of Reuss, the younger line) on 15 March 1859, and was also addressed to New York. It was endorsed "Via Bremen" at top right. The letter was fully paid to destination, with 9¾ silbergroschen again paid by Northern District adhesives (¼, ½, and a strip of three 3 silbergroschen) cancelled by a 4-ring target with the numerals "291" of Gera, where the black circular datestamp **GERA/15/3/1 10** and black handstamp **PD.** were also struck. The division of the payment was noted in black ink above the lower adhesives, **3 – 6¾**. This indicated the payment of the German fee of 3 silbergroschen (the distance from Gera to Bremen exceeded 20 German miles) and 6¾ silbergroschen (equal to the 15¢ international rate). The Bremen City post office clerk struck a black circular datestamp on the reverse, **ST.P.A./17/3/BREMEN**. The clerk also struck the red boxed handstamp, **PAID.**, and the red **15.**, indicating that the 15¢ international rate was fully prepaid. The letter crossed the Atlantic on the North German Lloyd steamship *New York*, leaving Bremerhaven on 19 March and arriving New York City on 5 April 1859.

Additional Comments

Some additional comments are necessary to provide general information on the German postal system. First, a few comments on the postal system in the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg. Each operated its own postal system but was also a member of the GAPU based on the scope of its city post office (called *Stadtpostamt*) services. These two city states are of special interest since they were the operating seaports where the transatlantic mails were handled. Besides their own post offices, each city state hosted offices of the postal administrations of other German states. Prussia, for example, considered Bremen or Hamburg as a part of the Prussian postal district. Accordingly, for mail to and from the areas served by the Prussian mail, Prussian inland rates were applied. The post offices of Hanover and Thurn & Taxis operated in a similar manner in Bremen and Hamburg. Postal service between Bremen and Hamburg was provided by the post offices of each city.

In connection with the overseas and transatlantic mail arriving at the seaport of Bremerhaven, and with regard to other mails destined to the towns of Bremerhaven and Vegesack, Bremen had another special arrangement, as did Hamburg with Cuxhaven and Ritzebüttel. The office in Bremerhaven as well as the office in Vegesack belonged to the Bremen city post office. Accordingly, mail from the Prussian postal "sphere" (German districts of the Prussia Post Office, mail via Prussia such as mail from Mecklenburg-Strelitz and mail entering the GAPU system through a Prussian border office as in the case of Russia) which was sent to Bremerhaven or Vegesack, was treated by the Prussians as mail to the GAPU area.

Before the American contract mail started to arrive at Bremerhaven in June 1847, Bremen and Hanover had signed an agreement that the post office of the Kingdom of Hanover was to participate in the onward transportation of mail arriving from overseas via Bremen. As a result of this agreement the incoming mail from the United States was either forwarded through the Bremen city post office or by the Hanover post office in Bremen. Since there was neither a Prussian nor a Thurn & Taxis post office in Bremerhaven, neither of these two postal systems could claim the forwarding of the transatlantic mail to their respective postal districts. The Bremen city post office handled the mail to Oldenburg, Holland, and Hamburg as well as to the "states" beyond served by the Hamburg post office, such as Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Lübeck, and Scandinavia. The Hanover Post Office in Bremen forwarded all other mail arriving from the United States. As a consequence the two post offices in Bremen, the Bremen city post office and the Hanover post office, used different, identifiable postmarks on incoming transatlantic mail. These will be pointed out in the illustrations that follow.

Figure 5 shows a rare "one-month period" cover. Since Hanover had joined the GAPU on 1 June 1851, GAPU transit rates had to be used. New postage rates for the transatlantic mail service would change on 1 July 1851, when the American packet rate of 24¢ was reduced to 20¢, which now included the U.S. inland fee. This meant that from 1 June to 1 July 1851, the system of handling the mail to and from German states as well as the rating had changed fundamentally. Mail to Württemberg, which was handled by Hanover, now required a 3 silbergroschen or 9 kreuzer German transit fee.

The cover in Figure 5 originated in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 27 May 1851, and was addressed to Ludwigsburg, Württemberg. It was endorsed "via New York" at lower left and paid only the U.S. inland fee to New York City. When posted, the letter received a red

Figure 5. 27 May 1851, Cincinnati, Ohio, to Ludwigsburg, Württemberg. This folded letter was prepaid 10¢ to New York only. Then sent unpaid in Bremen closed mail on NY & Havre Line steamship *Franklin* to England with a debit to Bremen of 24¢, equivalent to 9 gutegroschen or 11¼ silbergroschen, to which was added 3 silbergroschen internal Hanover fee for a total of 14¼ silbergroschen or 49 kreuzer. Transit to Württemberg added 12 kreuzer and postage due at destination was 65 kreuzer or 1 gulden 5 kreuzer.

circular datestamp, **CINCINNATI O./MAY/27/10** and **PAID** (top center), showing that the 10¢ inland fee had been paid. From New York, the letter was considered unpaid. At New York the American packet rate of **24** cents was struck in black ink over the Cincinnati "paid" marking to show the United States debit to Bremen. A black circular datestamp, **NEW-YORK/MAY/31** was struck on the reverse. The letter was sent from New York on 31 May 1851 in the Bremen Closed Mail on board the New York and Havre Line steamship *Franklin* to Southampton (12 June), and arrived at Bremen by closed mail from England on 16 June 1851. The Bremen City post office clerk passed the letter to the Hanover post office in Bremen, where the red handstamp, **9 AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN** was struck in the upper left corner. As previously noted, the Hanover post office in Bremen was responsible for forwarding mail to all locations not specifically granted to Bremen, such as Württemberg. The "9" in this marking was for nine gutegroschen, the equivalent of the 24¢ U.S. debit. This amount also was equivalent to 11¼ silbergroschen, to which was added the 3 silbergroschen GAPU inland fee. This was noted in black pencil at center, **11¼/3**. The total amount was marked boldly in blue ink on the right, **14¼**. Carriage to Württemberg was by rail. On the reverse in black ink are two railroad datestamps, **BERLIN/MINDEN/16 6 II T** (Prussian railway post office No. 1), and **DEUTZ-MINDEN/RII/17 6** (Prussian railway post office No. 8), showing handling on 16 and 17 June. The letter was handed over to the postal administration of Thurn & Taxis at Frankfurt, which applied the black handstamp, **AUS AMERIKA/UEBER PREUSSEN** in the upper right corner. This uncommon marking is known on transatlantic mails passing through Frankfurt between June 1851 and the

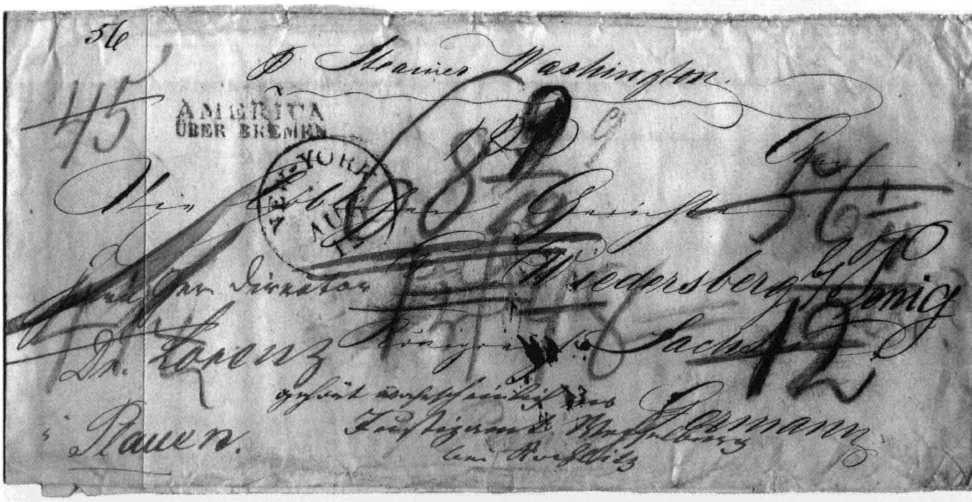

Figure 6. 12 August 1851, New York to Wiedersberg, Saxony, unpaid heavy letter requiring six rates in United States but five rates in Germany. New York debited Bremen $1.20 in black ink, equivalent to 45 gutegroschen in Hanover. Final postage due in Saxony was 68 neugroschen 9 neupfennige.

beginning of 1852. Thurn & Taxis converted 14¼ silbergroschen to 49 kreuzer and added 12 kreuzer transit fee to Württemberg for a total of 61 kreuzer. An additional four kreuzer was added for the internal Württemberg fee. At Ludwigsburg, the total postage due of 65 kreuzer was restated in magenta ink as **1f5** or 1 gulden and 5 kreuzer.

The cover in Figure 6 demonstrates the complex taxation of an overweight letter. This unpaid letter originated in New York on 12 August 1851, and was addressed to Wiedersberg, Saxony, from which it was redirected to Rochlitz, Saxony. It was endorsed at the top, "p Steamer Washington." The letter weighed between 2½ and 3 ounces, requiring six rates in the United States. A New York clerk debited Bremen $1.20 by marking in black ink just under the routing endorsement, **120**. The single-letter rate at this time was 20¢, equal to 7½ gutegroschen or 9½ silbergroschen. He also struck the black circular datestamp, **NEW-YORK/AUG/12**. The letter was sent to Bremen by the Ocean Line steamer *Washington*, departing New York on 12 August and arriving at Bremerhaven on 27 August 1851. Under the United States–Bremen postal arrangement the single rate was ½ ounce in the United States or 1 loth in Germany. Since the ½ ounce had a weight of 14.17 grams and the German loth had a weight of 16.67 grams, this difference should have caused a difference in the number of rates that applied in Germany.

In Bremen, the letter was marked in black ink, upper left corner, as weighing 5 loth. Since it weighed less than 83.33 grams, this cover was assessed six rates in the United States but only five rates in Bremen. The letter was handed over to the Hanover post office at Bremen, responsible for forwarding the letter beyond Bremen to Saxony. At the Hanover office, the red handstamp, **AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN**, was struck and 6 x 7½ gutegroschen, noted as **45**, was marked in red crayon in the upper left corner. The clerk ignored the marked weight of the letter, which indicated that only five German rates were to be charged, and marked the debit based on the U.S. debit of six rates. Later, at an unknown office (most likely a Hanover office) this amount was changed to 47½ gutegroschen, this time written in red crayon, lower left corner. This amount was 5 x 9½ gutegroschen, the Hanover rate to the United States. Again, this value was deleted by an unknown office and Saxony was debited in red crayon **1ß 48** (1 thaler 48 grote or 120 grote, written in the center of the letter). The

Table 3. German Currencies and Weights from 1853 to 1875

State	Currency	Weights
Baden	1 gulden = 60 kreuzer	1 loth = 16.667 grams (from 15 Jul. 1852)
Bavaria	1 gulden = 60 kreuzer	Until 31 Dec. 1860: 1 loth = 15.625 grams From 1 Jan. 1861: 1 loth =16.667 grams
Bergedorf	1 thaler = 2½ mark courant (Hamburg/Lübeck currency); 1 mark courant = 16 schillinge; 1¼ schilling (Hamburg/Lübeck) = 1½ schillinge Lauenburg = 4 Danish skilling; 1⅓ schilling (Hamburg/ Lübeck) = 1 silbergroschen, neugroschen or groschen	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Braunschweig	To 31 Dec. 1857: 1 thaler = 24 gutegroschen; 1 gutegroschen = 12 gutepfennig.* From 1 Jan. 1858: 1 thaler = 30(neu)groschen. 1 (neu)groschen = 10 (neu)pfennig *From 1 Jan. 1852 with other GAPU members postage rates were based on 1 thaler = 30 silbergroschen = 12 silberpfennige (the accounting currency of the GAPU)	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Bremen	1 Bremer thaler (gold) = 72 grote; 1 grote = 5 schwaren	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Hamburg	1 mark courant = 16 schillinge = 12 silbergroschen = 42 kreuzer ; for details of exchange rate see also under Bergdorf	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Hanover	Until 30 Sep. 1858: **For inland postage**: 1 thaler = 24 gutegroschen; 1 gutegroschen = 12 gutepfennige. F**or GAPU postage** (from 1 June 1851): 1 thaler = 30 silbergroschen; 1 silbergroschen = 12 silberpfennige. Equivalents: 24 gutegroschen = 30 silbergroschen; 1 gutegroschen = 1¼ silbergroschen; 1 silbergroschen = 0.8 gutegroschen. **From 1 Oct. 1858**: 1 thaler = 30 [neu]groschen; 1 [neu]groschen = 10 [neu]pfennige.	Until 30 Jun. 1857: 1 Hanover loth = 14.62 grams; 1.125 Hanover loth = 1 *"zoll-loth"* of 16.667 grams From 1 Jul. 1857: 1 loth = 16.667 grams
Holstein	See under Schleswig-Hostein	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Helgoland	Until end of 1874, Hamburg currency was used: 1 mark courant = 16 schillinge; From 1 Jan. 1852 for communication within GAPU: 2 (Hamb.) schilling = 1½ silbergroschen; 1⅓ (Hamb.) schilling = 1 silbergroschen, neugroschen or groschen; Under British Government: 1 shilling = 12 pence = 48 farthings	1 loth = 15.6 grams
Lübeck	1 mark courant = 16 Lübeck schillinge (as Hamburg)	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Lauenburg	See under Schleswig-Holstein	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	1 thaler = 48 Mecklenburg schillinge 1 schilling = 12 Mecklenburgi pfennige	Until 15 Oct. 1856: 1 loth = 15.15 grams From 16 Oct. 1856: 1 loth = 16.667 grams
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	Until 30 Jun. 1850: As Mecklenburg-Schwerin. From 1 Jul. 1850: 1 thaler = 30 silbergroshen; 1 silbergroschen = 12 silberpfennige	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Oldenburg	Until 31 Dec. 1857: 1 thaler = 72 grote; 1 grote = 5 schwaren From 1 Jan. 1858: 1 thaler = 30 (silber)groschen or 72 grote	1 loth = 16.667 grams
Prussia	1 thaler = 30 silbergroschen; 1 silbergroschen = 12 silberpfennige In a few southern districts: 1 gulden = 60 kreuzer	Until 31 Dec. 1849: 1 loth = 14.606 grams From 1 Jan. 1850: 1 loth = 16.667 grams
Saxony	1 thaler = 30 neugroschen; 1 neugroschen = 10 neupfennig	Until 31 Oct. 1858: 1 loth = 15.625 grams From 1 Nov. 1858: 1 loth = 16.667 grams
Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg	For Schleswig-Holstein: 1 mark courant (Schleswig-Holstein) = 16 schillinge; 1 schilling (Schleswig-Holstein) = 12 pfennige For Lauenburg: 1 thaler (Lauenburg) = 48 schillinge (Lauenburg); 1 schilling (Lauenburg) = 12 pfennige (Lauenburg) ; 48 schillinge (Lauenburg) = 40 schilling (Schleswig-Holstein); 1 schilling (Schleswig-Holstein) = 1.2 schilling (Lauenburg)	Until 31 Dec. 1850: 1 loth = 13.8 grams From 1 Jan. 1851: 1 loth = 15.625 grams From 1 Jan. 1864: 1 loth = 16.667 grams
Thurn & Taxis	Northern districts: 1 thaler = 30 silbergroschen; 1 silbergroschen = 12 (silber)pfennige Southern districts: 1 gulden = 60 kreuzer	1 loth = 16.667 grams (Hesse had at times a *Hessian* loth of 15.625 grams); Hohenzollern from 1 Jun. 52: 1 loth = 16.667 grams
Württemberg	1 gulden = 60 kreuzer	1 loth = 16.667 grams
North German Union (NGU)	Northern Districts (based on the Prussian thaler): 1 thaler = 30 groschen; 1 groschen = 12 pfennige Southern Districts: 1 gulden = 60 kreuzer	1 loth = 16.667 grams; the loth was used as a weight unit for mail within the GAPU until 31 Dec. 1874; for mail to foreign countries the weight progression was 15 grams
German Empire	Adhesives issued on 1 Jan. 1872 (up to that date NGU adhesives remained in use). New currency of the German Empire in use as of 1 Jan. 1875: 1 thaler = 3 (reichs)mark; 1 mark = 10 groschen = 100 pfennige; 1 mark = 35 kreuzer; 10 pfennige = 1 groschen = 3½ kreuzer. In 1880 the pfennige was changed to "pfennig."	1 loth = 16.667 grams; calculation of postage on weight as in NGU (see above); from 1 Jan. 1874 progression generally was based on 15 grams. Mail with Austria-Hungary and Luxemburg up to 1 May 1878 was exchanged at inland rates.

letter was sent by Prussian rail to Saxony. In the railway post office the incorrect quotation of "1ß 48" was deleted in black pencil and replaced on the right side by the accounting in silbergroschen currency, **56¼/12** silbergroschen. This amount reflected the conversion of the original Hanover debit from 45 gutegroschen to 56¼ silbergroschen and the additional transit fee of 6 rates at 2 silbergroschen each, or 12 silbergroschen. Thus, Saxony had to pay Prussia 68¼ silbergroschen. Since the silbergroschen of Prussia was at par with the neugroschen of Saxony, this was restated in red crayon upon arrival in Saxony as **68 9/10**, or 68 neugroschen and 9 neupfennige. This amount included a small fee for local delivery.

This cover demonstrates that even postal clerks could not always sort out the correct rates when handling overweight letters. A black circular datestamp on the reverse shows the letter reached its destination on 5 September 1851.

Summary of German States' Measurements, Currencies, and Weights

Beside currencies, the weights and measurements also differed from state to state. Since both the weight of a letter as well as the distance the letter was carried were essential to establish the proper postage, these factors are discussed below.

A German mile was generally measured at 7,420 meters. This was equivalent to 4.61 statute miles in the United States. Many collectors are unaware of this difference, which is important when analyzing GAPU distance rates, which were based on German miles not U.S. miles. Smaller mileage deviations prevailed in Prussia (until the end of 1849), Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, which calculated the mile as 7,533 meters or 4.68 statute miles. Saxony had the "Saxonian post mile" of 7,500 meters or 4.66 statute miles, as did part of Hanover. At the start of the German Empire the measurement of 7,500 meters also was applied.

Table 3 is provided to summarize the currencies and weights in use in many of the German states during a panoramic period between 1853 and 1875. In some cases the word *pfennige* is used, while at other times the word *pfennig* appears in the table. Although the "e" on the end of the word usually means a plural, the currencies are shown as they were used in each German state at the time. The absence of the "e" does not mean a typographical error. Similarly, both *schillinge* and *schilling* were used for the plural form.

The German *Zoll-Pfund* (customs pound), consisting of 30 *Zoll-Loth* and equal to 500 grams, with each loth weighing 16.667 grams, had been principally agreed upon by the German Customs Union in 1839. The German States (especially in the south) were slow to accept the "new" measuring units and some states continued to use their old measuring units. That is why the weights shown in some of the states differ.

As a final example of a cover showing a variety of the currencies and extensive postal handling, we present in Figure 7 a partially paid letter from Christiansfeld, Dukedom of Schleswig, 19 October 1849, to Philadelphia. The letter was endorsed in the lower left corner, "via Bremen/pr. Dampfschiff/franco Bremen," meaning that it was paid only to Bremen, whence it was to go by steamship. When it was posted, the clerk struck in the upper right corner a black circular datestamp, **CHRISTIANSFELD/19/10/1849**, and noted alongside the routing endorsement (at bottom center) the postage to Bremen paid by the sender—**3/5** Schleswig-Holstein schillinge. Five schillinge (the lower figure) paid the postage to Hamburg, where the letter was handled at the Hamburg City post office as shown by a black butterfly-style handstamp faintly struck in the upper right corner, dated 20 October 1849. Three schillinge (above the dividing bar) paid the fee from Hamburg to Bremen.

This was confirmed by a manuscript **/3** in red crayon noted above the statement of payment. The Bremen City post office clerk marked on the reverse the black circular date stamp, **ST.P.A./22/10/BREMEN.** Since the postage to Bremen had been paid, he marked a black boxed handstamp, **Paid to Bremen.**, on the front, left side, thereby informing New York that the ocean and American postage were still to be charged. The letter was sent to New York by steamer *Hermann* of the Ocean Line, leaving Bremerhaven on 15 November and arriving at New York on 16 December 1849. A New York clerk struck the black circular

Figure 7. 19 October 1849, Christiansfeld, Schleswig, to Philadelphia, folded letter paid 8 schillinge to Bremen, where it was marked Paid to Bremen. Letter carried by Ocean Line steamship *Hermann* from Bremerhaven to New York, where it was marked for 29¢ postage due in Philadelphia. Letter redirected to Bethlehem and then Nazareth, Pennsylvania, for an additional 10¢. Total of 39¢ collected from recipient.

datestamp, **NEW-YORK/SHIP/DEC 16/29** cts., to show that the letter was an incoming ship letter with postage due of 29¢ (24¢ for the fee from Bremen to New York plus 5¢ United States inland fee to Philadelphia). Here the letter received a blue circular datestamp, **PHILADA/DEC/22/Pa.** The letter was redirected to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with the additional charge of 5¢ marked in black ink under the 29¢ postage due in the New York datestamp and summed up to a total postage due of 34¢, marked in black ink below the 5¢ charge. The letter was then redirected again, this time to Nazareth, Pennsylvania, for an additional 5¢, marked with a red handstamp. In Bethlehem a red circular datestamp, **BETHLEHEM/DEC/27/Pa.**, was struck in the lower left corner and on the reverse to show when the letter was forwarded to Nazareth. The total postage due at destination was 39¢, the sum of the accumulated charges noted in black ink in the lower right corner.

Conclusion

The first opportunity for the United States to send mail to Europe fully prepaid to destination was the service via Bremen. Considering that Hanseatic Bremen was a partner with the United States by a postal arrangement, this service may be considered a U.S. mail service—since the post office in Bremen acted as an agent of the United States. Based on this, the cross-border traffic within Germany and continental Europe also can be considered an extension of the United States mail services.

It is hoped that the complexity of the German monetary as well as the weight and measurement systems will not frighten future students of the mails to Germany, but encourage them to collect and study this highly interesting field of postal history. This article has been written to provide some help.■

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ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 213

Only one answer was received for the problem cover in *Chronicle* 213, the February 2007 issue. The cover is shown here as Figure 1. The route agent who responded suggested the year might have been 1874 or 1875, but both those years can be eliminated by analyzing the due marking.

The calculation for assessing postage due on mail to or from Germany from July 1870 through March 1879 was double the correct amount, less the amount prepaid. The rate

Figure 1. Our problem cover from last issue. Analysis of the due markings on this underpaid cover to Germany leads to the conclusion that it must have been posted after the 5¢ UPU rate went into effect.

per half ounce from the United States to Germany from October 1871 through June 1875 was 6¢ for direct transit via Bremen or Hamburg or 7¢ via closed mail via England. This would result in 6¢x2=12¢-3¢=9¢ due if by the former, or 7¢x2=14¢–3¢=11¢ due if by the latter. But on the Figure 1 cover, 30 pfennig was assessed as due in Germany (blue crayon marking across the address). This was the equivalent of approximately 7¢, which doesn't fit either rate.

After 1 July 1875, with the Treaty of Berne, the international rate was lowered to 5¢. The method of penalty calculation continued, but the numbers changed and so did the markings. According to Article 5 of the regulations, the dispatching office was to indicate with a black figure the value of the affixed franking in French francs or centimes. In the case of the Figure 1 cover, 3 cents was paid, and this was restated in centimes by the black hand-stamped New York "15." The 5¢ postage that should have been paid was doubled to 10¢, with 3¢ subtracted to equal 7¢ (or 35 centimes) due in Germany. In Germany 20 pfennig equaled 25 centimes (or 1 centime equaled .8 pfennig). Consequently the 35 centimes due became 28 pfennig due, which was rounded up to 30 pfennig marked for collection.

Markings on the reverse include a black "NEW YORK Br TRANSIT JUL 3," a red "FRANKFURT A.M. 14/7 77 5-6N M." receiver and black three-line "VERVIERS A. 14.7 4 COELN" railroad marking. The 5¢ rate after 1 July 1875 conforms to the amount due in Frankfurt, and the receiver confirms this. We should have included the backstamp information when we stated the problem last issue, but that would have made the answer too easy.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Route Agent Jim Cate has submitted the problem cover for this issue, shown in Figure 2. This is a cover with a 3¢ 1861 franking, addressed to North Dartmouth, Massachusetts. All markings are in black. The markings on the front are a New London, Connecticut, double circular datestamp (OCT 4 1864), a "DUE 6" and an oval "SHIP" marking. The only

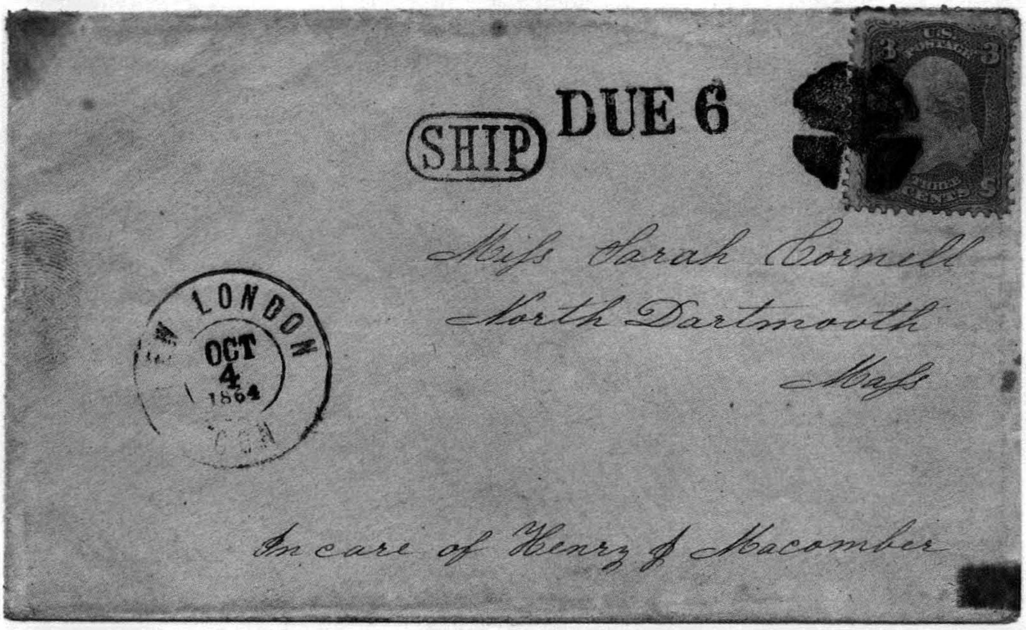
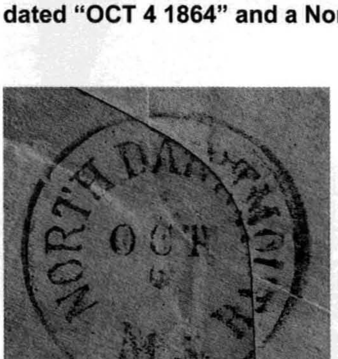


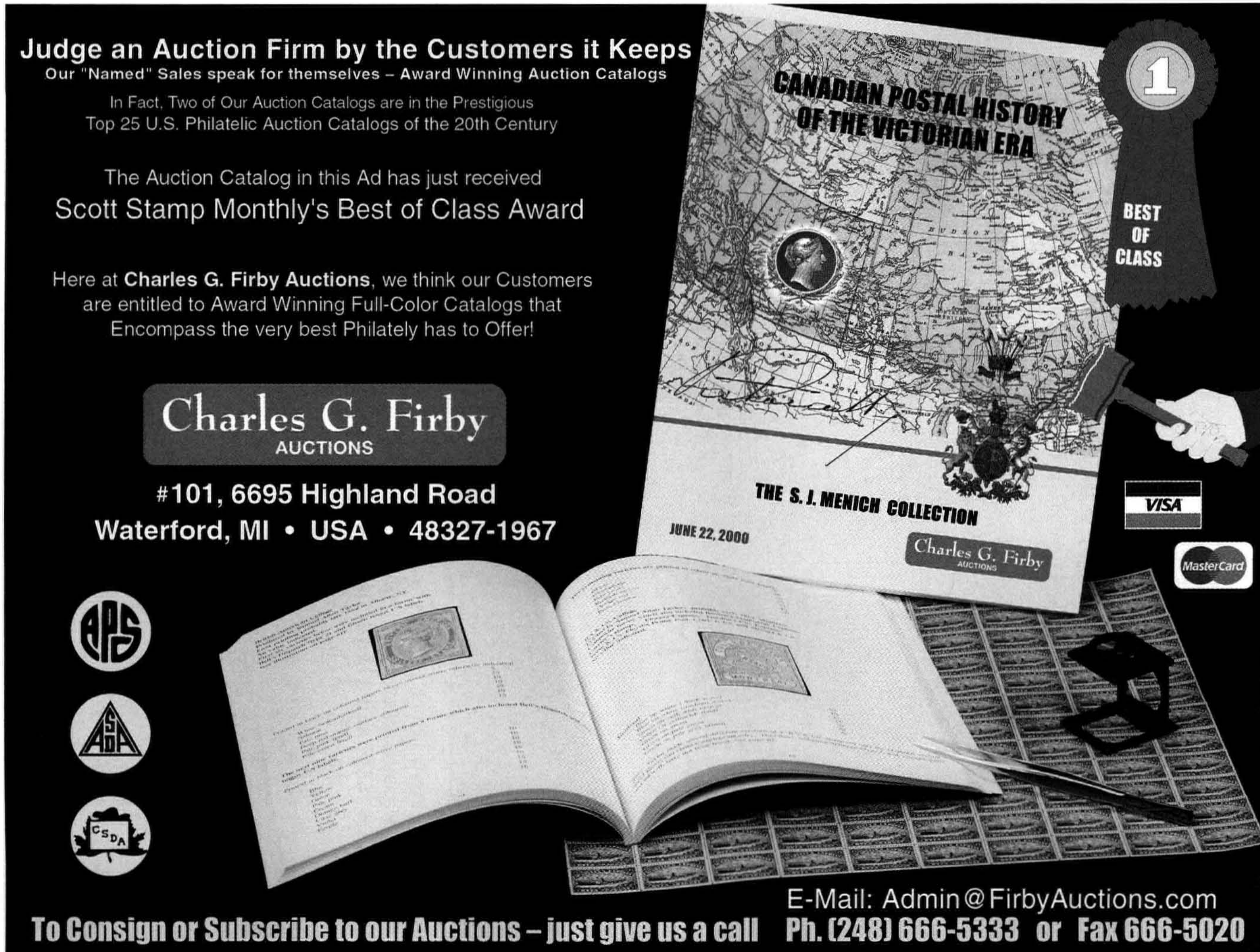
Figure 2. Problem cover for this issue: 3¢ 1861 stamp on cover addressed to North Dartmouth, Massachusetts, with "SHIP" and "DUE 6." The New London double circle is dated "OCT 4 1864" and a North Dartmouth receiver on reverse is dated OCT 6.



marking on reverse is a balloon North Dartmouth receiver dated "OCT 6." This is shown in Figure 3.

Questions to be answered are: Why was this marked for collection of 6¢? Where was the due marking applied? Did the cover enter the enter the mail at New London from a ship or did it go by ship from New London to North Dartmouth? ■

Figure 3. This balloon North Dartmouth marking is the only marking on reverse of the Figure 2 cover.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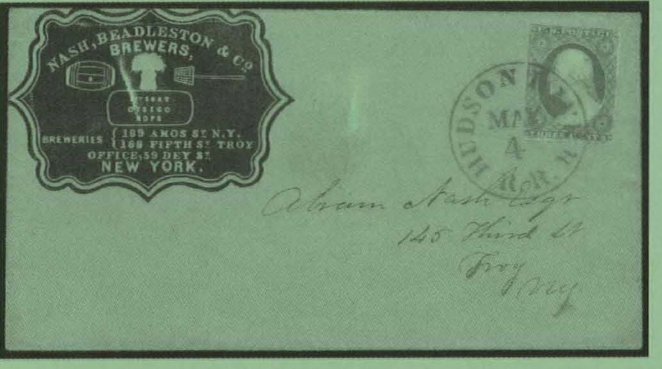
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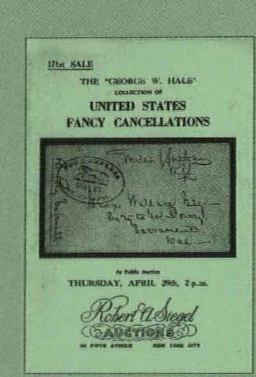

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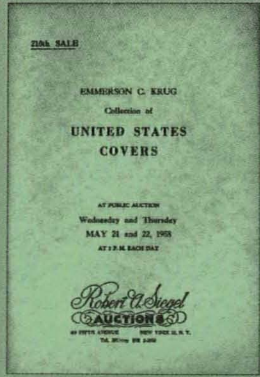
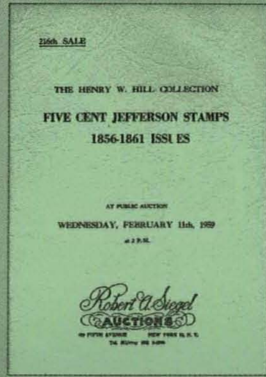
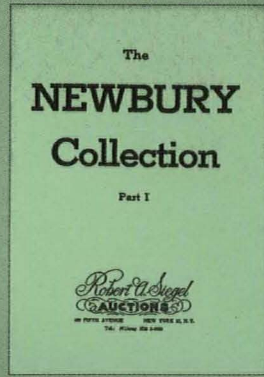


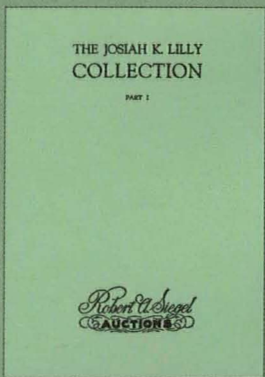
Krug 1958



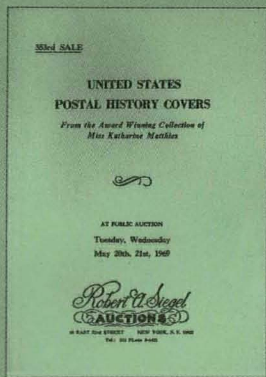
Hill 1959



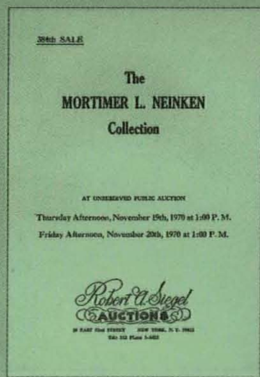
Newbury 1962



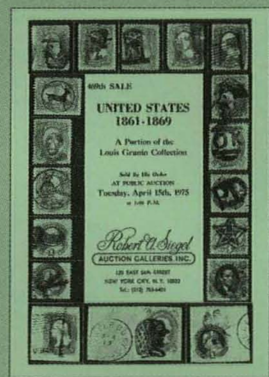
Lilly 1967



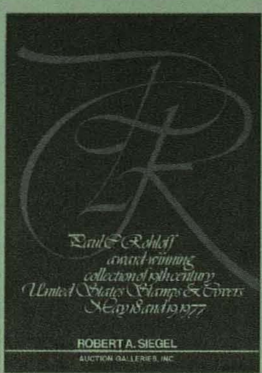
Matthies 1969



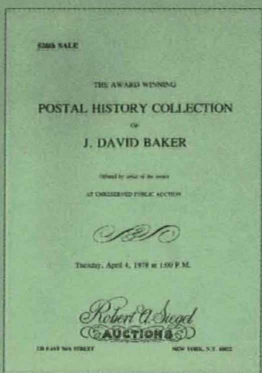
Neinken 1970



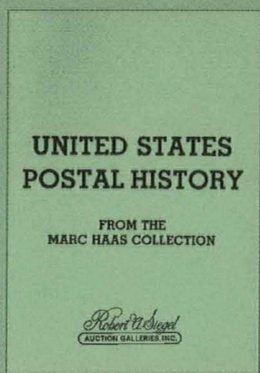
Grunin 1975



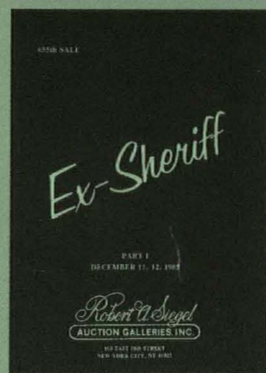
Rohloff 1977



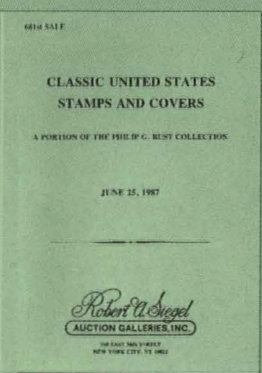
Baker 1978



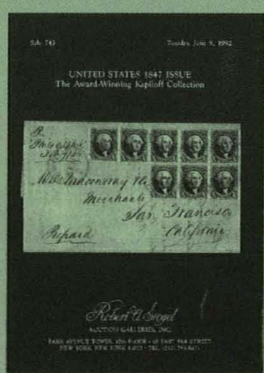
Haas 1980



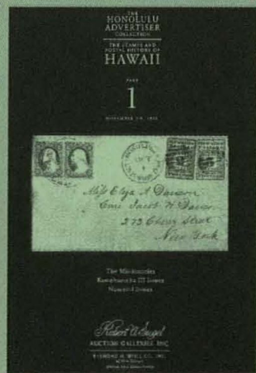
Sheriff 1985



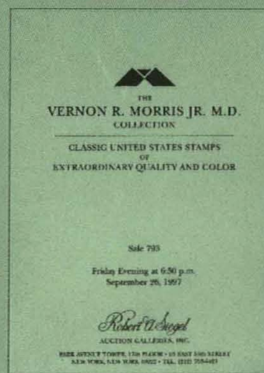
Rust 1987



Kapiloff 1992



Honolulu Advertiser 1995



Morris 1997

Great collections have one name in common.