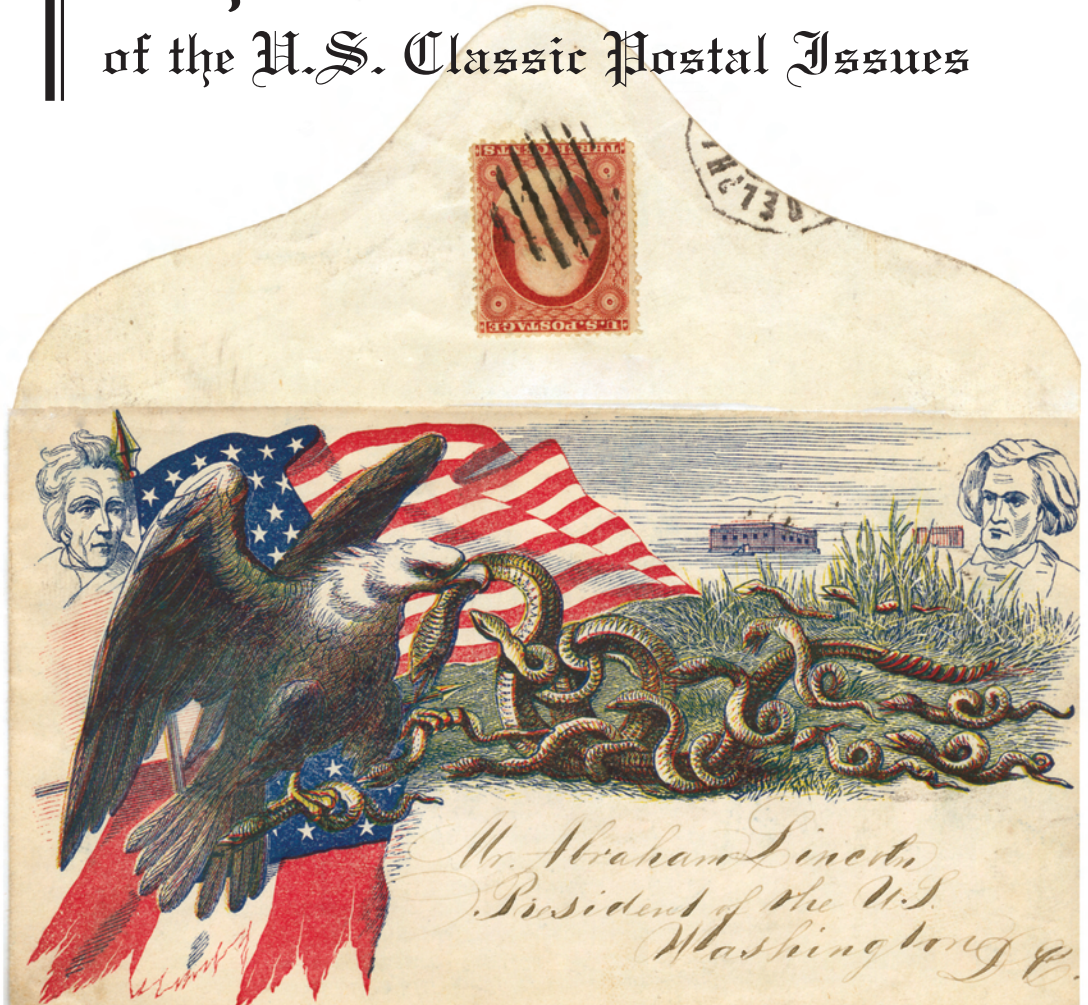


The Chronicle

of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues



3¢ 1857 stamp tied by Philadelphia 7-bar grid on the backflap of a striking patriotic cover addressed to President Abraham Lincoln. From an archival discovery of 49 patriotic covers mailed to Lincoln in June-July 1861 and found among the John Hay papers at Brown University. Article by James Milgram and Thomas Greene in our Stampless section, page 273.

November 2009

Volume 61, No. 4

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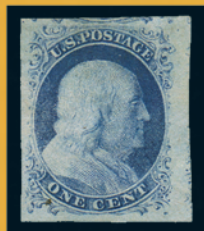
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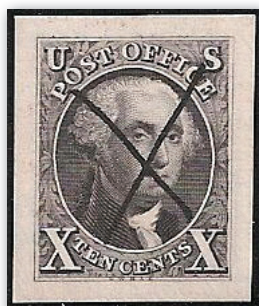
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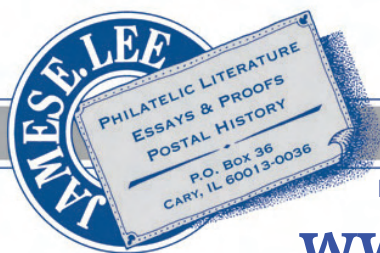
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of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues

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IN THIS ISSUE

Featured on the cover of this issue is one of almost 50 striking patriotic envelopes from a new archival discovery. All date from the summer of 1861 and all are addressed to President Abraham Lincoln. Until now, patriotic covers addressed to Lincoln as president were not known to exist. Details of this amazing discovery are presented by James W. Milgram and Thomas F. Greene beginning on page 273. It's an exciting story.

Having recently published his authoritative *Guide to Vending and Affixing Machine Perforations, 1907-1927*, Steven R. Belasco, executive director of the Philatelic Foundation, turns to another philatelic interest, 19th century U.S. covers involving stamp dealers and stamp collectors. Starting this issue and running into next year, we will be serializing Belasco's *The Postal History Of U.S. Stamp Collecting: 1862-1899*. The first installment, dealing with covers from the decade of the 1860s, starts on page 329. Belasco's study has produced interesting insights into the evolution and social history of the stamp hobby.

Cover census activity looms large in this *Chronicle*. In the 1847 section, beginning on page 287, Gordon Eubanks looks at the Turner correspondence, covers from St. Louis to Boston on which multiple 1847 stamps are often very artfully overlapped. Eubanks' article illustrates some attractive covers and provides a beginning census. In our 1869 section, starting on page 297, Jeffrey M. Forster updates an earlier tabulation of covers to Norway bearing 1869 stamps. A generation ago only two such covers were known. Now, thanks to assiduous census-taking and international collector collaboration, the count is 17. And starting on page 301, our Bank Note section features a well-illustrated article by Nicholas M. Kirke, who uses census-derived data to explore what he calls the "Death Throes" of the New York foreign mail fancy cancellations (1875-1877).

Our Foreign Mails section features two very different articles. Starting on page 345, Heinrich Conzelmann explores aspects of a conflict between Thurn & Taxis and Prussia involving Prussian closed mail covers that passed between the Thurn & Taxis postal district and the U.S. in the 1850s. And on page 352, Douglas N. Clark examines a multifaceted ship letter that travelled prepaid via Nantucket Island from the Society Islands to London in 1845. It entered Nantucket with the help of a floatation device known as a "camel."

In our Carriers and Independent Mails section, page 283, Gordon Stimmell offers a highly plausible explanation for the odd pen markings found on Cheever & Towle stamps of Boston between 1847 to 1850. These jots have long puzzled postal historians. On page 293, 1861-69 editor Michael C. McClung concludes his exploration of the postal history of Union-occupied New Bern, North Carolina, with an article illustrating 28 different killer cancels, some of them quite fancy, that were used at New Bern during the occupation era.

In our Officials section, page 310, George G. Sayers interrupts his ongoing series on the plate varieties of the Departmental stamps to discuss the physics, formulation and manufacture of opaque inks. While the objects under Sayers' consideration are Official stamps, his conclusions have broader significance.

We're happy to announce a new assistant editor for our Cover Corner section. John W. Wright, a graduate of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, has been a stamp and postal dealer since 1974. He's a member of many philatelic societies, including ours. Please welcome John, and provide him (or Cover Corner Editor Greg Sutherland) with challenging material for this popular feature. ■



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**CIVIL WAR PATRIOTIC COVERS
ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D. AND THOMAS E. GREENE

Previously unknown to the philatelic community, almost 50 patriotic covers addressed to President Abraham Lincoln have long reposed among the John Hay papers at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. Covers to Abraham Lincoln exist in collector hands, but these are mostly addressed to him at Springfield, Illinois, before he became President. Until the appearance of the Hay holding, patriotic covers addressed to Abraham Lincoln were not known to exist.

The background is as interesting as the covers themselves. Born in 1838 and raised in Illinois, John Hay graduated from Brown University in 1858. He went on to study law and was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1861. Law was not his passion, but a choice among different evils. His real goal was to write. He was even something of a poet.

His uncle, Milton Hay, took him into his law office in Springfield, Illinois. Next door was the office of Abraham Lincoln. A good friend was John G. Nicolay, whom Lincoln, after being elected President, selected to be his personal secretary. Nicolay persuaded the President-Elect that John Hay would be useful as an assistant private secretary. Lincoln

agreed and thus there came to Hay the chance to play a small role in national politics. Figure 1 shows a photo of Nicolay, Lincoln and Hay, taken in the White House during Lincoln's first term.

Daily relations with the President over more than four years gave Hay an abiding sense of Lincoln's greatness. Shortly after the beginning of Lincoln's first term in office, for reasons we will never know, Hay collected a group of patriotic envelopes addressed to the President. In the ordinary course of business, such envelopes would have been discarded. But evidently Hay saw something of the history of these objects and saved them, along with other Lincoln letters and manuscripts that were



Figure 1. Lincoln with his two secretaries. John G. Nicolay is seated and John Hay is standing behind Lincoln.



Figure 2. Cover bearing a patriotic flag design, franked with a 3¢ 1857 stamp and addressed to “John Hay Esq., Private Sec’y of Pres. Lincoln.”

eventually bequeathed to his heirs. The patriotic envelopes were part of a large holding of John Hay memorabilia that was presented to Brown by members of his family in 1958.

During his exposure to all the political intrigue that occurred around him, it was a wonder that Hay was able to maintain his reputation for honesty and sincerity. At night he and Nicolay removed to the Willard Hotel, but many were the nights that he worked late at the White House. “The Ancient” and “the Tycoon” were affectionate nicknames Hay used for Lincoln. He saw firmness as well as kindness in Lincoln’s interactions with others, and he was impressed by both qualities.

In March, 1865, Hay was appointed secretary to the American Legation in Paris. He began to write again and today he is best remembered as a man of letters. From Paris he went on to offices in Vienna and Spain. He returned to New York in September, 1870, to become a journalist. For six years he was an editor of *The New York Tribune*. He collaborated with Nicolay to write their definitive 10-volume biography, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, which was published in 1890, 25 years after Lincoln’s death.

Hay returned to government positions in the State Department, then as ambassador to Great Britain, which soon propelled him into consideration for Secretary of State, a position he accepted in 1898. He was subsequently much involved in American’s China policy in 1900. He died in 1905.

It appears that Hay simply appropriated a group of envelopes addressed to Lincoln during a three-week period in June and July of 1861. This was when patriotic envelopes were surging in popularity. The envelopes bear no markings about their contents or the names of the senders. The actual number of surviving covers is 49, from which the authors have selected 14 to show different and typical uses. All these envelopes are shown by permission of the John Hay Library at Brown University Library in Providence, Rhode Island. The covers have been removed from the Hay holding and are now part of Brown’s substantial philatelic collection.

Figure 2 is the only envelope addressed to Hay himself and it is apparently the only cover docketed (apparently by Hay) with the name of the sender, Moses Smith of Brooklyn, New York. The cover is addressed to “John Hay Esq., Ast. Private Sec’y of Pres. Lincoln, Washington D. of Columbia.” The design is a common flag type in red and blue. The



Figure 3. Flag patriotic and red Cincinnati FREE postmark, endorsed “private” and boldly addressed to “Hon. A. Lincoln, President U.S., Washington, D.C.”



Figure 4. Shield and two small flags, with 1¢ and 3¢ 1857 stamps (a carrier use) tied by two strikes of an octagonal “PHILADELPHIA PA JUN 28, 1861” marking and addressed to “Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, Washington D.C.”

postage was prepaid by a 3¢ 1857 stamp tied by a seven-bar grid. The postmark reads “BROOKLYN N.Y. JUN 18 (1861)”. This is among the earliest covers in the holding. Perhaps this is the item that sparked Hay to assemble his patriotic cover collection.

The cover in Figure 3 shows a large flag in red and blue, boldly addressed to “Hon. A. Lincoln, President U.S., Washington D.C.” The cover also bears a red double-circle “CINCINNATI O. JUN 14, FREE” postmark, since it was then legal to send letters to the President free of postage.

Figure 4 shows the only carrier use among the 49 covers. The 1¢ 1857 stamp carried the cover to the Philadelphia post office and the 3¢ stamp paid the postage from Phila-



Figure 5. Design similar to Figure 4, with the addition of the seal of the state of Maryland. This cover was posted at Tarrytown, Maryland, with a manuscript “Free”.



Figure 6. This is one of the choicest designs in the whole group, an overall Capitol showing an officer climbing over the wall of a fort while the cannon fires.

delphia to Washington. The double-octagon Philadelphia postmark clearly reads “JUN 28 1861.” Because the sender used so much space in addressing the cover to Lincoln, the stamps had to cover portions of the patriotic design.

Figure 5 is almost the same design but the central element is the Maryland state seal. The use is also from Maryland; the postmark reads “TARRYTOWN MD. JUNE 28.” So the sender of this cover, from a state whose allegiance was sometimes doubted, showed his loyalty to the country by the envelope he used. Note that he also marked the cover “Free.”

Figure 6 is the only overall illustrated envelope in the entire group. This design is not rare, but it presents a dramatic and very patriotic picture, with a cannon firing in the foreground and the pediment of the national capitol showing behind the blast. The manuscript postmark (“Little Hockmo, O., June 10”) was written far to the left, away from the address

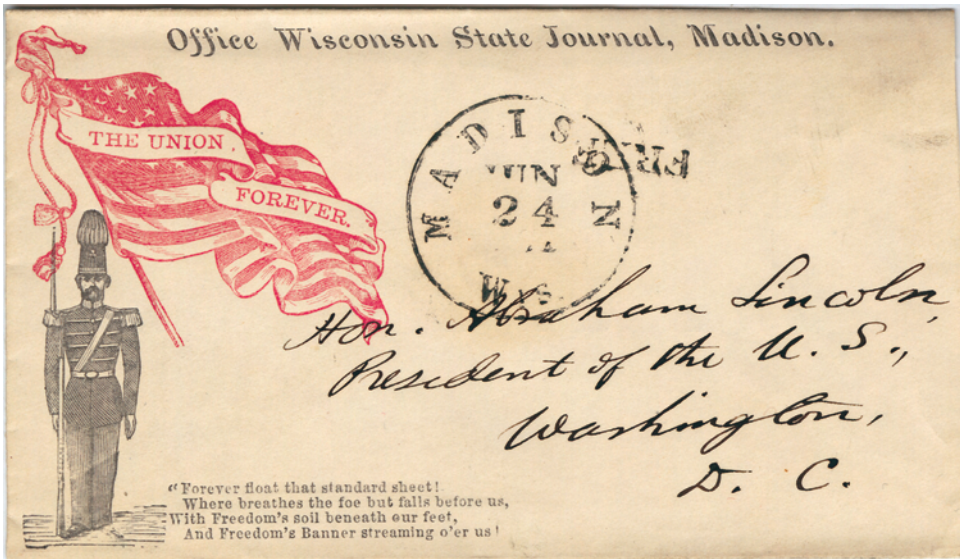


Figure 7. This envelope combines a newspaper corner address (“Office Wisconsin State Journal”) with the patriotic image of a soldier and flag.

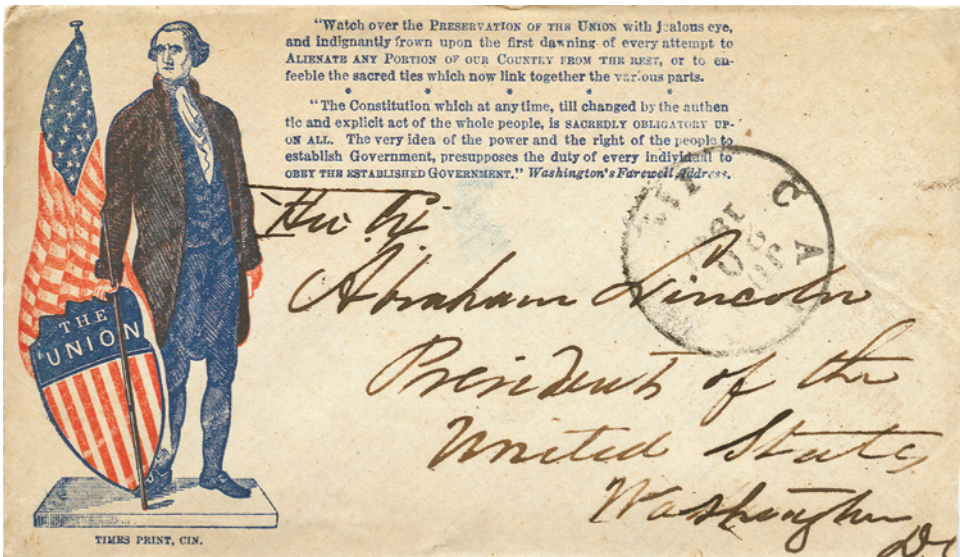


Figure 8. Uncommon view of a standing Washington with prophetic quotations from Washington’s Farewell Address, mailed free from Cairo, Illinois.

and placed so as not to obscure the design. Note that the sending postmaster thought “free” was not necessary.

Figure 7 is also an interesting patriotic cover. Here a standard male design with flag is used as the advertising envelope of a Wisconsin newspaper, the *Wisconsin State Journal* at Madison. This daily newspaper still exists today. The postmarks are a “FREE” and “MADISON WI JUN 24 1861”.

Views of Washington, the loyal patriot, seem appropriate when sent to Lincoln, another great patriot who gave everything, even his life, to his country. The image on the cover in Figure 8 is particularly strong. The printed legend quotes a prophetic passage from Washington’s farewell address, which seems to speak down the decades directly to Lincoln:

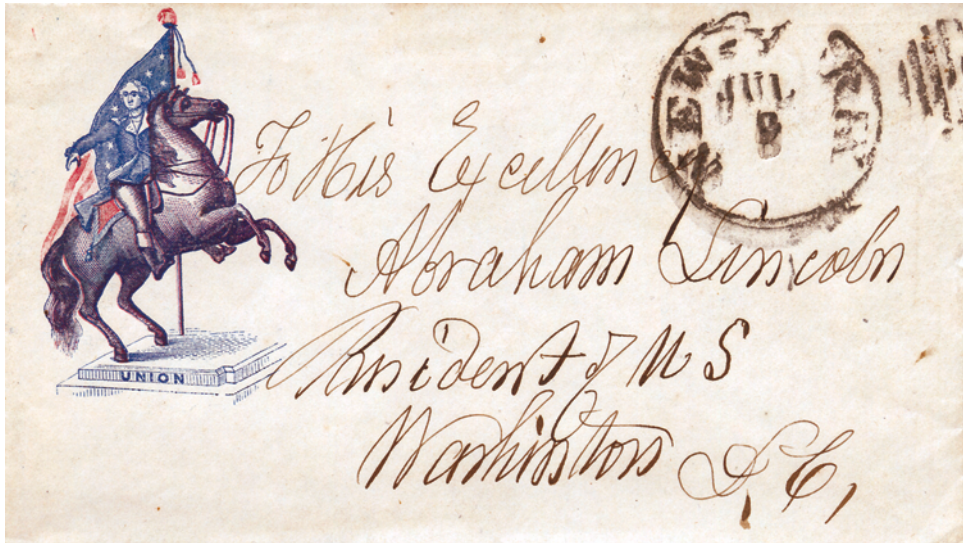


Figure 9. A portrait of Washington on horseback, postmarked at New York City and boldly addressed to “Abraham Lincoln, President of U.S., Washington, D.C.”



Figure 10. The eagle is a common image on patriotic envelopes. This design shows the national bird surrounded by military symbols, sent to President Lincoln from the small town of Texas, New York, with manuscript “Texas, N.Y., July 8th” and “Free.”

“Watch over the Preservation of the Union with a Jealous eye, and indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to ALIENATE ANY PORTION OF OUR COUNTRY FROM THE REST....” The cover was postmarked at Cairo, Illinois, June 20, 1861.

The design on the Figure 9 cover, showing another view of Washington, here on horseback, seems much less forceful. But this cover shows a bold, dramatic address and a New York July 7 circular datestamp without a “FREE” postmark.

Figure 10 shows an eagle with patriotic symbols, quite a nice view, with a manuscript postmark from “Texas, NY, July 8th, Free.”

The eagle on the cover in Figure 11 represents one of the most dramatic of all patriotic cover designs, mainly because the snakes are so realistic. The two heads represent Jackson,

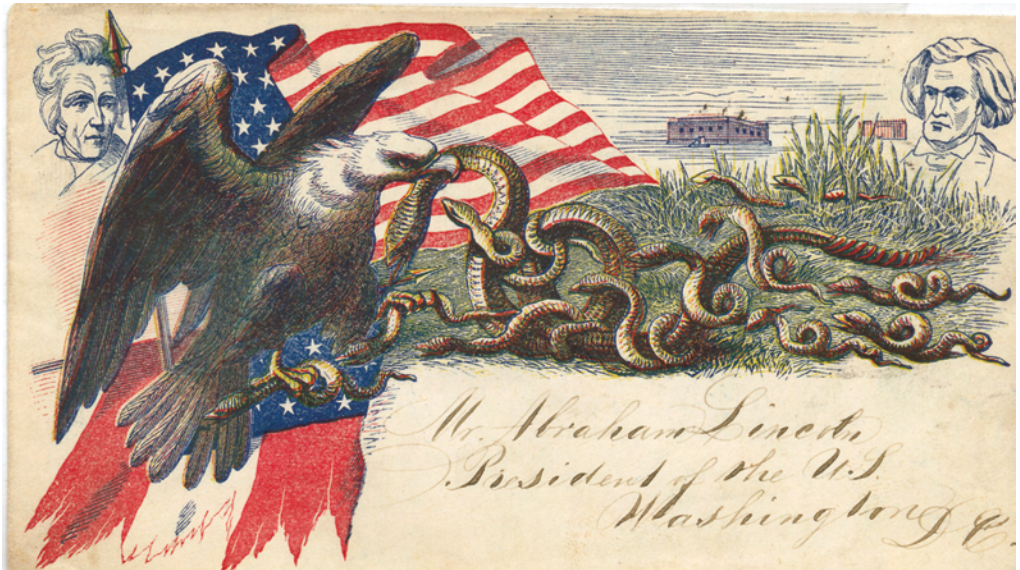


Figure 11. A dramatic battle between the Union eagle and multiple snakes (representing the Confederate states). There are 10 snakes in the fight and two waiting in the rushes. Fort Sumter is seen in the background, along with images of Jackson and Calhoun.



Figure 12. The reverse of the cover shown in Figure 11. The sender thought so much of the cover illustration that he placed the 3¢ 1857 stamp on the back. The stamp is tied “PHILADELPHIA PA. JUL 3 1861.” An interesting text explains the symbolism of the design.

the Tennessee patriot (at left), and Calhoun, the state’s rights spokesman, with a view of Fort Sumter between them. In the 1830s, when Calhoun developed the doctrine that states could nullify federal legislation, Jackson threatened to send troops to South Carolina and privately threatened to hang Calhoun.

So as not to obscure this dramatic tableau, the sender affixed a 3¢ stamp to the back of this cover, which shown in Figure 12. The reverse includes a legend explaining the symbolism of the design: “The destruction of the Snake of South Carolina, Nullification and Seces-

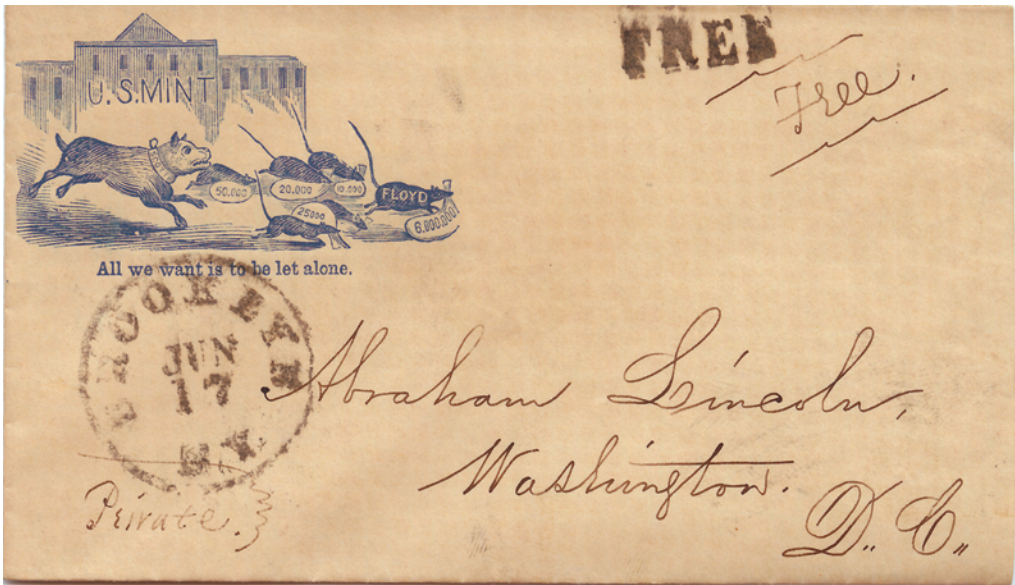


Figure 13. Caricature design showing rats stealing monies from the U.S. Mint. The cover was sent to Washington marked “FREE,” but technically, to merit free franking, it should have stated the title of the addressee.

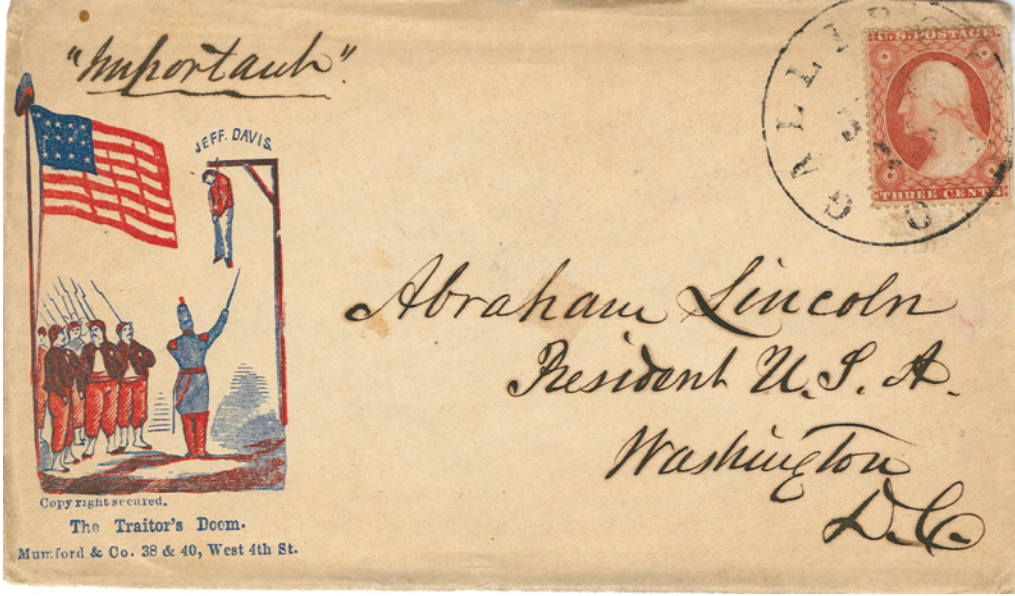


Figure 14. “The Traitor’s Doom,” a cartoon design showing Jefferson Davis being strung up by a group of Union troops. Sent from Gallipolis, Ohio, with a bold, neat address. The sender thought his comments were “important,” but perhaps because he did not want to risk that his letter would go unread, he franked the cover with a 3¢ 1857 stamp.

sion, and all her progeny by the NATIONAL BIRD.” The reverse bears a double-octagon Philadelphia postmark dated July 3, 1861, and the 3¢ 1857 stamp is tied by a seven-bar grid. One has to guess that these covers showing postage paid with stamps contained requests for some favor from the President.

Figure 13 is a caricature type of patriotic cover, showing rats (representing southern

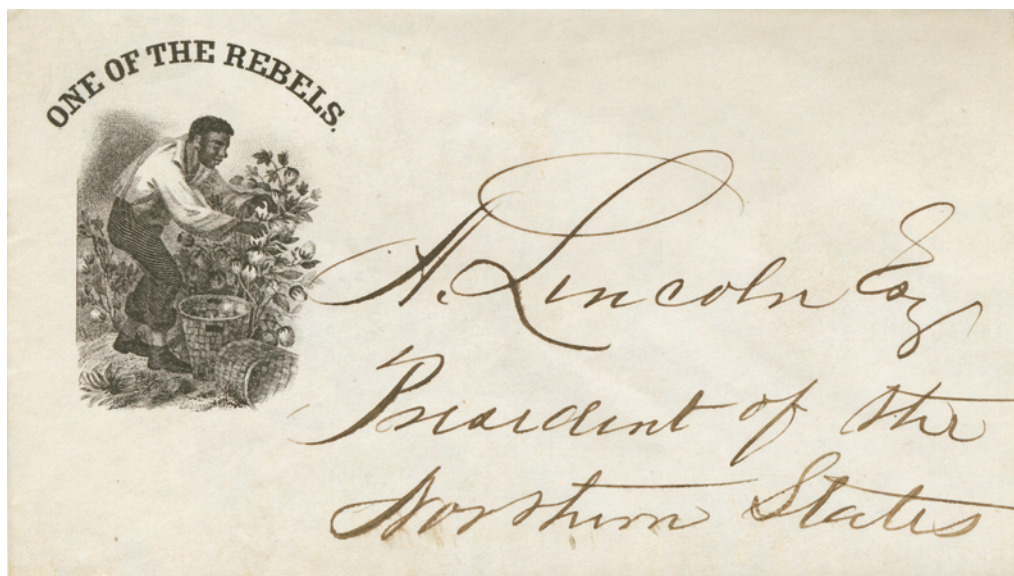


Figure 15. This is certainly the rarest view among the 49 Lincoln covers in the Hay holding. This envelope is part of a large series of these “one of the rebels” types, some of which show named individuals. This unknown black man picking cotton is one of the most interesting. This arresting image and the Lincoln address make a dramatic combination. The absence of postmarks suggests this envelope did not pass through the mails.

politicians) stealing money from the U.S. mint. One rat represents John B. Floyd, a Virginian who was Secretary of War under James Buchanan and went on to become a Confederate General. The dog chasing the rats is General Winfield Scott, then in command of the Union armies. This is another free use, posted at Brooklyn, New York, on June 17, 1861 and bearing both a manuscript and handstamped “FREE.” Technically, to merit free postage, the address should have stated the official title of the addressee.

Many patriotic caricature designs depict people, not animals. Probably the most common of these shows the hanging of Jefferson Davis, as exemplified by the cover in Figure 14. This cover is franked with a 3¢ 1857 stamp datestamped at Gallipolis, Ohio.

Our final cover, shown in Figure 15, is by far the scarcest patriotic design in the entire Hay holding. This is a delicate steel engraving of a black man picking cotton, part of a larger series of “One of the rebels” envelopes, some of which show named individuals. This particular design is not known to the writers in used condition. But the cover in Figure 15 is not postmarked, so there can be no certainty that it passed through the mails. Nonetheless, this superb image on a cover addressed to Lincoln as “President of the Northern States” represents an attractive and highly desirable juxtaposition of visual elements.

The authors believe there are many other interesting covers in archives and libraries that have yet to be noted in the philatelic record. These may never be available to collectors, but we should nonetheless be aware of their existence. ■

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MYSTERY PEN MARKINGS OF CHEEVER & TOWLE

GORDON STIMMELL

One of the enduring innovations and legacies of local posts is that they delivered letters several times a day. It was their greatest strength from the very beginning, because the U.S. Post Office delivered at best once a day until city carrier service was established in 1849. But from 1842 to 1848, once a day was not good enough for businesses that relied on prompt exchange of information for survival.

Evidence of such multiple daily deliveries survives not only in the newspaper advertisements by the local posts, but in the form of hour-dated handstamps. The earliest is the City Despatch Post of New York City, whose red circular handstamps showing “9 O’Clock,” “1 O’Clock” or “4 O’Clock” were in use from early 1842.

From 1843 onward, the Philadelphia Despatch Post had circular handstamps with either “10 a.m.” or “2 p.m.” One cover survives showing both handstamps. It went out at 10 a.m. but the carrier could not locate the recipient, so it was rerouted back to the Despatch Office, then sent out again at 2 p.m. When that post was taken over by D.O. Blood, some of the handstamps continued to show hourly times.

In the summer of 1844, Boyd’s City Express launched with a rectangular framed date-stamp showing “9 O’C,” “3 O’C” or “7 O’C” as well as the calendar date. Various Boyd handstamps showing hours appeared in the ensuing years. The vital thing to remember: Time was money. Fast delivery meant the local posts were more competitive than the U.S. Post Office right out of the gate.

All this provides a minimalist context for my real mission here, which is decoding the enigmatic pen markings found on Cheever & Towle stamps in Boston from 1847 to 1850. These have long puzzled postal historians.

The conundrum is the markings are far from random. They are consistently applied on locally sent letters within the city of Boston, almost always on the same part of the stamp design. They were obviously part of some kind of system, a code perhaps related to the carriers delivering the letters.

Could these be linked to an hourly delivery system? I toyed with this idea 18 years ago, in a major overview of Cheever & Towle (*The Penny Post*, August 1991). Now, after almost two more decades of study, I am convinced the markings were a reminder to the carrier telling him his deadline for delivering each letter.

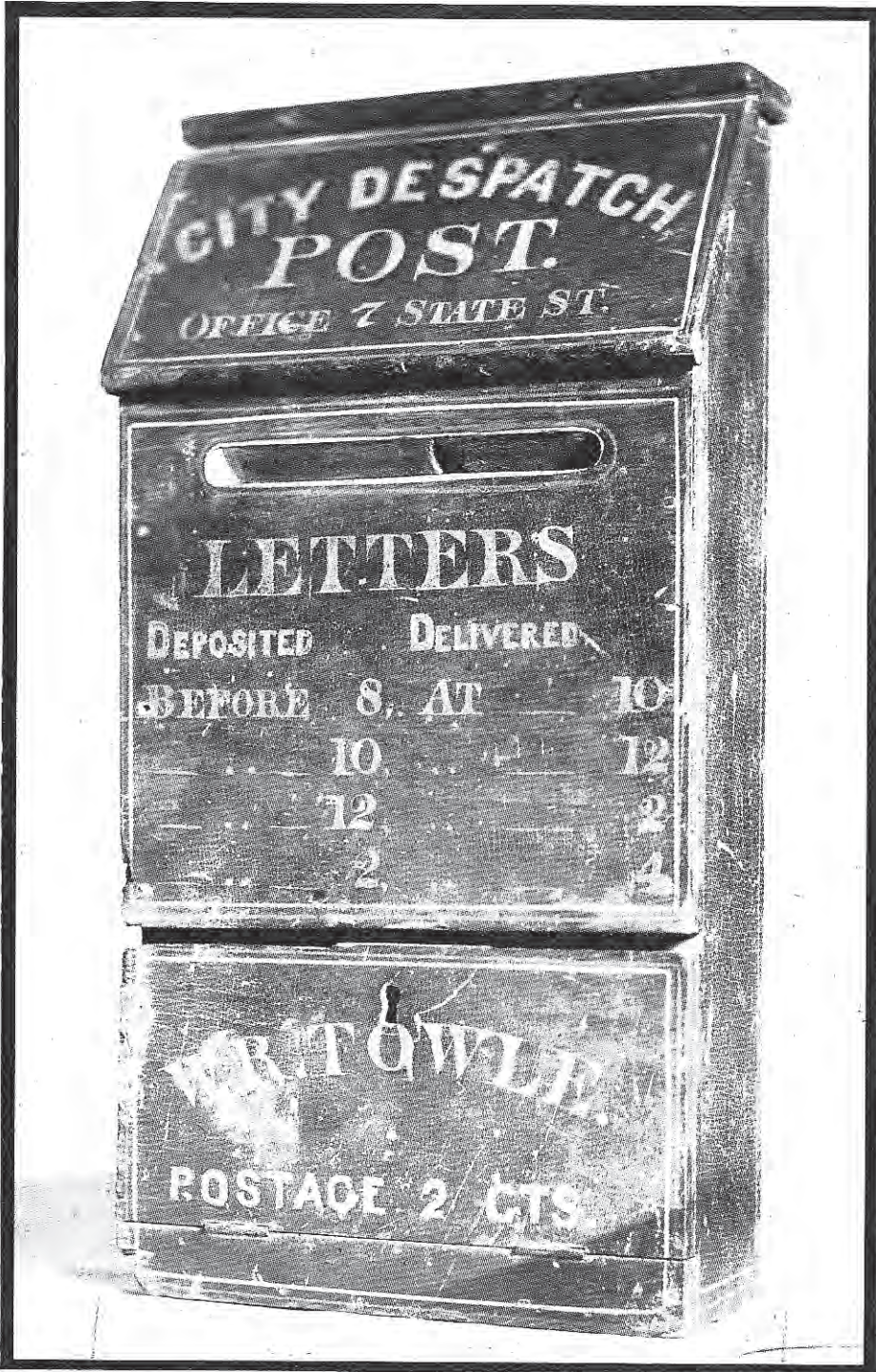


Figure 1. The sole surviving William R. Towle drop letter box, with schedule of two-hour deliveries: In before 8, delivered at 10; in before 10, delivered at noon; in before noon, delivered at 2; in before 2, delivered at 4. All this for 2¢.

No one has ever found an advertisement in the newspapers of the day for Cheever & Towle giving times of delivery. Fortunately, a unique Towle letter drop box survives. This is shown in the photo in Figure 1. Painted on the front is William R. Towle's schedule of daily deliveries going out from his City Despatch Post office at 7 State Street. Letters deposited before 8 a.m. were delivered by 10 a.m.; those before 10 a.m. were delivered by noon. Letters left before noon were delivered by 2 p.m. and those dropped by 2 p.m. were in the hands of recipients by 4 p.m. This was a challenging two-hour delivery system. Organization was paramount, and comparable to that of a premium modern city courier service. The charge for this service was 2¢ per letter.

These old letterboxes are true treasures. In addition to the Towle box in Figure 1, one Blood's box (which I once owned) survives from Philadelphia, and one Boyd's box from New York City. Both are now held by the Smithsonian's National Postal Museum.



Figure 2. A simple X for 10 a.m. delivery. This is the most common marking on Towle stamps.



Figure 3. An X and two slashes, likely noon delivery, on the peacock later shade of 37L1.



Figure 4. An X and two slashes and a dash, likely indicating the 2 p.m. delivery deadline.



Figure 5. An X and three slashes (final stroke is worn) indicating the last delivery of the day.

Returning to Cheever & Towle, most of the surviving stamps, which Scott lists as 37L1, bear the pen mark “X.” An example appears on the stamp shown in Figure 2. I am convinced this Roman numeral meant delivery by 10 a.m., the first morning mailout and no doubt the largest. Looking at the stamp on the letter, the carrier knew instantly that it had to be in the recipient's hands by 10 that morning. None of the Towle handstamps show a time reference, so this filled that vacuum.

Other stamps bear an “X” plus slashes. Figure 3 shows a stamp bearing an “X” plus two slashes. This is probably a stylized “XII,” signifying a noon delivery deadline. Figure 4 shows an “X” plus two slashes and a dash. This “XII-” likely meant the 2 p.m. delivery. Figure 5 shows a stamp with X and three vertical lines (one of which is faded). This “XIII” presumably represents the final delivery of the day, at 4 p.m. It's a shame we cannot travel back through time to see exactly how this system operated.

All of this was triggered by the appearance on eBay of a Cheever & Towle stamp on the cover shown in Figure 6. The stamp (described as a “label”) lacked the usual X series pen markings, so I was immediately suspicious of it. In my own holding, I had long consigned such covers bearing a stamp with no pen markings to my study pile. One such was the Ambassador Middendorf cover (Richard Frajola May 1990, Lot 471) with a cut-to-shape stamp on a letter addressed to New York City. I bought this despite the lot description which said “probably not original to letter.”

And I bought the eBay cover too, knowing in all likelihood it might be a reprint stamp later applied to an old cover. Curiosity is such a strange thing. However, when I received the item, the seller had kindly included another Boston cover from the same family correspondence, from a trove of family letters found in western New York State. This 1846 collateral letter predated the Boston post's existence, so it had no Towle adhesive or markings.

When the stamp on the 1848 letter plated to the original pane, I realized it was, in fact



Figure 6. The latest discovery letter, dated March 15, 1848, which was dropped in the Post Office bound for western New York State, whose stamp did not require local delivery pen markings.

an original, tied by ancient gum bubbling and representing the proper period of usage for the chalky-blue shade of the Cheever & Towle stamp. (There were four shades of genuine Towle stamp from different printings in 1847-1850).

The cover itself, a tatty and faded letter folded to resemble the envelopes just coming into use in the late 1840s, was sent from East Boston by Moses H. Sisson to his brother Augustus in Eagle, Wyoming County, New York, with a red integral 10¢ Boston due marking dated March 15 (1848).

So why did the stamp lack the penmarks? A check of my Towle census of known covers suddenly brought a eureka moment. In fact, I felt dumbstruck by how dense I had been over the years.

None of the other ultra-rare “to the mails” Towle covers with Boston circular date-stamps show penmarks, because the stamps did not need local delivery messages to the carriers. Instead, letters addressed to out-of-town destinations were simply carried to the post office, where they were dropped into the U.S. mails. There was no need for specific deadline notations on stamps not intended for local rush handling.

Clarity is wonderful sometimes, even if it is a very long time in coming. ■

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THE TURNER CORRESPONDENCE
GORDON EUBANKS

The E. E. Turner correspondence, from St. Louis, Missouri, to Boston, Massachusetts, is well known for its covers with overlapping 5¢ 1847 stamps. Figure 1 is an example. The rate between St. Louis and Boston during the 1847 era was 10¢ per half ounce or 20¢ for a letter weighing between one half and one ounce. On the cover in Figure 1, the single rate is paid by two single 5¢ 1847 stamps, artfully overlapped diagonally. This is typical of the Turner covers that are prepaid with 5¢ 1847 stamps. The Figure 1 cover bears a St. Louis circular datestamp with integral “10” dated “JAN 29”. The year is uncertain.

While most of the Turner covers bearing 5¢ 1847 stamps show the stamps overlapping, a few show non-overlapping 5¢ 1847 stamps. Figure 2 is an example. Here the single rate is paid with a vertical pair. The date on this cover is June 24, expressed by a different St. Louis integral “10” rate marking. Here too the year is uncertain.



Figure 1. A typical cover from the Turner correspondence, St. Louis to Boston, showing diagonal overlapping of 5¢ 1847 stamps. When the sender of these covers applied multiple stamps, he almost always overlapped them in this manner.

Two Turner covers, both postmarked on Christmas eve, show overlapping 10¢ 1847 stamps. These must be double-rate covers. An example is shown in Figure 3. On this cover the “DEC 24” circular date stamp does not show an integral rate.

A listing of all known Turner covers is presented in Table 1, which draws heavily from Tom Alexander’s book, *The United States 1847 Issue, A Cover Census*. Column by column, the listing shows the date the cover entered the mails, the stamp value, the manner in which the stamps are arranged on the cover, and notes, including provenance information when available. The data is presented chronologically.



Figure 2. Vertical pair of 5¢ 1847 stamps. This is one of very few Turner covers bearing multiple 1847 stamps on which the stamps were not overlapped.



Figure 3. Most Turner covers bear single 10¢ 1847 stamps. But when a double rate was required, as in this case, the sender overlapped the 10¢ stamps.

Date	Value	Arrangement	Notes/Provenance
14-Apr-50	10¢	single	
16-Sep-50	10¢	single	
24-Sep-50	10¢	?? overlap	
11-Nov-50	5¢	side by side overlap	800 RAS 220, ex Ackerman
18-Nov-50	10¢	single	
20-Nov-50	10¢	single	
2-Dec-50	10¢	single	
10-Dec-50	10¢	single	
19-Dec-50	10¢	single	
24-Dec-50	10¢	diagonal overlap	
31-Dec-50	5¢	diagonal overlap	ex Hart, pictured in Baker
6-Jan-51	10¢	single	
20-Jan-51	10¢	single	
17-Feb-51	10¢	single	Siegel 875, date error in Alexander?
21-Apr-51	5¢	side by side overlap	ex Haas, pictured in Baker & Alexander
26-May-51	10¢	single	
2-Jun-51	5¢	diagonal overlap	ex Wenk, Craveri
16-Jun-51	5¢	?? overlap	
17-Jun-51	5¢	diagonal overlap	937 RAS 30, ex Garrett, Greene, Sweet,
29-Jan-xx	5¢	diagonal overlap	Figure 1
13-Jan-xx	10¢	single	
27-Jan-xx	10¢	single	
3-Feb-xx	10¢	single	Mirsky
13-Feb-xx	5¢	?? overlap	overlapping, address not clear
25-Feb-xx	10¢	single	
11-Mar-xx	10¢	single	Rumsey #25
17-Mar-xx	10¢	single	
25-Mar-xx	10¢	single	
30-Mar-xx	10¢	single	
31-Mar-xx	10¢	single	Siegel 875
1-Apr-xx	10¢	single	
8-Apr-xx	5¢	diagonal overlap	Mirsky; PF 322,656
28-Apr-xx	10¢	single	
12-May-xx	10¢	single	
22-May-xx	10¢	single	
25-May-xx	10¢	single	
10-Jun-xx	10¢	single	Hart
10-Jun-xx	5¢	?? overlap	
24-Jun-xx	5¢	vertical pair	Figure 2
1-Jul-xx	5¢	vertical pair	
8-Sep-xx	10¢	single	PF 171,178
17-Sep-xx	5¢	?? overlap	
25-Sep-xx	5¢	?? overlap	ex Saadi, Gross
xx-Oct-xx	5¢	?? overlap	
7-Oct-xx	10¢	single	
13-Oct-xx	10¢	single	
26-Nov-xx	10¢	single	937 RAS 30, ex Emerson
3-Dec-xx	10¢	single	
16-Dec-xx	10¢	single	
24-Dec-xx	10¢	diagonal overlap	Figure 3
25-Dec-xx	5¢	?? overlap	

Table 1: Census of Turner covers with 1847 stamps

The data in Table 1 indicates that the Turner correspondence dates from mid-April 1850 through June 1851; it probably extends further in both directions. None of the Turner covers includes the original content, so year-dating is often not possible. Thirty-three of the Turner covers cannot be assigned a year date. It was common practice during this era for

Stamp	Multiple stamps overlapping	Multiple stamps not over-lapping	Single stamp	Total covers
5¢ 1847	15	2	0	17
10¢ 1847	2	0	33	35
Total covers	17	2	33	52

Table 2: Summary of Turner covers with 1847 stamps

the sender to number his letters so the recipient would know if a letter was out of sequence or missing. This was done in the Swift correspondence of 1847 covers. But it was not done with the Turner correspondence.

Table 2 summarizes the number of each type of franking on the Turner covers. Note that of the 52 known covers, a majority, 33 covers in all, bear single 10¢ 1847 stamps, which of course can show no overlapping. But when multiple stamps were used, the sender almost invariably overlapped them. Fifteen of the 17 5¢ 1847 covers (all of which necessarily required multiple stamps) show overlapping. Only two of the 35 10¢ covers involved multiple stamps, and both these show overlapped stamps. Figure 3 is one of them.

No other St. Louis covers are known to the author that appear to have been sent by the person who addressed these covers to Miss Turner. No non-Turner St. Louis covers show this sort of overlapping. The inescapable conclusion is that the artful arrangement of stamps was done by Miss Turner's correspondent, not by the St. Louis postmaster.

During the period when the Turner covers were mailed, Archibald Gamble was the postmaster at St. Louis. There were continuing problems with a cholera epidemic at St. Louis. It started in 1849 and lasted through the entire period of the letters. Some of the covers, such as Figures 1 and 2, bear the infrequently-found red St. Louis town postmark with an integral "10" rate marking. This marking is known used from June 1850 until the end of the 1847 period, when it was no longer needed.

Who was Miss Turner and who was writing to her? As noted, no content has been found for any of these covers. Detailed searches of on-line ancestry web sites and other sources did not yield useful information.

One of the Turner letters is addressed to "Miss Turner c/o J. Turner Esq., Corner of Broadway and H Street, South Boston". From this it can be deduced that Miss Turner was not away from home in St. Louis but rather at home, with a correspondent in St. Louis writing the letters. The fact that they were saved for many years and that they bore stamps (at a time when most letters were sent collect), would support the assumption that the writer was a suitor, rather than a family member.

Another question that continues to elude the author is the circumstances of the Turner find. A detailed search of the literature and discussions with leading authorities such as Tom Alexander, Stanley Richmond, Louis Robbins and Scott Trepel has not uncovered an answer to this question. The author would be most appreciative of any additional information about the covers, the find, and especially Miss Turner and her family. ■

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FANCY CANCELS FROM UNION-OCCUPIED NEW BERN, N.C.

MICHAEL C. McCLUNG

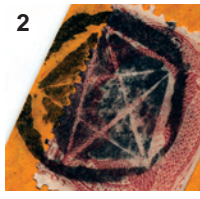
Of the dozens of Union-occupation post offices in the South during the Civil War, New Bern, North Carolina, stands alone as a producer of multiple interesting killer cancels. These distinctive cancels (some fancier than others) began to appear in January 1864, and they continued until the end of the occupation period, which I consider to be 23 June 1865, the day the civilian postmaster was appointed. Between November 1862, when the New Bern occupation post office began operation, and January 1864, stamps were canceled by a New Bern circular datestamp or by a target-style killer with four concentric rings which was in use throughout the war.

There were three New Bern postmarks in use throughout the 18-month fancy cancel period, and they are shown in Figure 1. These datestamps were designated as Types I, III and IV in a previous article (*Chronicle* 221, February 2009). When it is present, the year-date slug in the Type I postmark can be very confusing, because the “3” in “1863” often looks like a “2,” giving the mistaken impression of an early use. The Type IV postmark was always duplexed, while the other two were never duplexed. Fancy cancels attached to the Type IV postmark were not used with the other two postmarks, but some cancels used with Type I were also used with Type III. All the postal markings from occupied New Bern were stamped in black.

The fancy handstamps appear to have been made of wood because they do not show the same kind of deterioration that we often see with cork killers. And the number of them suggests that they were made by one or more persons with a good bit of time on their hands. This is not surprising because the large occupation army, camped around New Bern, did not move around much and did not see a lot of action.



Figure 1. Three types of New Bern, North Carolina, circular datestamps found with fancy killer cancels. The Type IV postmark was always duplexed. Types I and III were never duplexed. Fancy cancels attached to the Type IV postmark were not used with the other two postmarks, but some killers used with Type I were also used with Type III.



#	Description	Recorded use	Dupl?
1	3x4 grid	Jan-Feb 1864	no
2	5-point star	Jan-Feb 1864	yes
3	8-point star	Feb-Mar 1864	yes
4	cross	Feb-Mar 1864	yes
5	geometric	Feb-Mar 1864	yes
6	circle of diamonds	Feb-Mar 1864	no
7	odd wheel	Feb-Mar 1864	no
8	crossroad #1	Mar-Apr 1864	yes
9	circle of V's #1	Mar-May 1864	no
10	pineapple	Apr-May 1864	no
11	irregular	Apr-Jun 1864	yes
12	Maltese cross	May-Jun 1864	yes
13	spoked wheel	May-Jun 1864	yes
14	compass rose	Jun-Jul 1864	yes

#	Description	Recorded use	Dupl?
15	4 large wedges	Jun-Aug 1864	no
16	grid of diamonds	Jul-Aug 1864	yes
17	negative N #1	Jul-Sep 1864	yes
18	Union Jack	Aug-Sep 1864	yes
19	pinwheel	Sep-Oct 1864	yes
20	6x7 grid	Sep 64-Jan 65	no
21	negative N #2	Nov 64-Jan 65	no
22	6 bars	Feb-Mar 1865	no
23	circle of V's #2	Feb-Mar 1865	no
24	2x3 grid	Feb-Apr 1865	yes
25	crossroad #2	Mar-Apr 1865	no
26	radial #1	Mar-May 1865	no
27	radial #2	Mar-Jun 1865	no
28	beehive	Apr-May 1865	no

On the page at left, scans of 28 distinctively different killer cancels used at New Bern, North Carolina, between January 1864 and June 1865. The markings are numbered and keyed to the data above. “Dupl?” indicates whether the killer was duplexed. If duplexed, it was attached to the Type 4 circular datestamp shown in Figure 1.

The fancy killer cancels illustrated with this article are representative of those used during the occupation period. Others surely exist. The markings are presented approximately lifesized, scanned from New Bern covers that I have inspected. I have numbered the markings 1 through 28.

Details of use are presented in the accompanying table. In the table I have assigned a general period of use for each marking, based on the examples I have seen. The markings are presented in approximate chronological order, but it is possible that any of the time ranges could be extended. The descriptive titles I have given to the designs are arbitrary on my part. The table also notes which designs are found duplexed and which are not.

The distribution of the designs seems to be completely random. There is no chronological grouping of designs, nor is there any evolution of styles. It is possible that more than one person made these handstamps. It is also possible that a good many of the handstamps were made, by different carvers and used in random order afterwards.

Most of the New Bern fancy killers I have seen are duplexed with the Type 4 circular datestamp. This makes sense. The duplex device was more efficient than the others, so it was the most often used. There also seems to be an uneven distribution of fancy cancels across the timeline. This could be due to fluctuating mail volume caused by changes in the population of the troops. Of course, other dynamics might also have contributed. After the occupation period ended, a few additional fancy cancels were used by the New Bern civilian post office, and these are sometimes listed with the occupation cancels.

The fancy cancels from occupied New Bern provide an interesting study for cancel specialists, postal history collectors and Civil War students alike. I would be very interested in seeing additional examples of the occupied New Bern fancy cancels.■

Section Editor’s Note: In *Chronicle* 223, page 221, the Figure 2 caption reads in part, “All D grills must have 15 rows of points, but the number of columns can vary.” It should read, “All D grills must have 15 columns of points, but the number of rows can vary.” This puts it in agreement with the text, which is correct. Apologies for this lapse.



David Feldman

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FOUR NEWLY REPORTED 1869 COVERS TO NORWAY

JEFFREY M. FORSTER

In *Chronicle* 220 (November, 2008) I wrote about 1869 covers to Norway. At that time, 13 1869 covers were known addressed to that destination. Since then, four additional covers have come to light. Of the four covers, three show the “direct” rate to Norway via Germany and one shows transit to Norway via England and Germany. All four covers were brought to my attention by Richard F. Winter, editor of the Foreign Mails section of this *Chronicle*. Winter also provided the images, for which we should all be grateful.

The earliest of the covers, illustrated in Figure 1, represents the 16¢ direct rate, which was effective 1 January 1868 through 26 July 1869. So far, this is the only 1869 cover known to show this rate. The direct rate was reduced to 15¢ on 27 July 1869 and remained in effect through 30 June 1870. The majority of the 1869 covers to Norway show this 15¢ direct rate. For more complete rate and route information, see the article in *Chronicle* 220.

The Figure 1 cover was posted at Black Earth, Wisconsin, on June 29, 1869 (a month before the rate reduction) and is addressed to a hard-to-read town in Norway. The 16¢ direct rate was properly prepaid with a 10¢ ungrilled Washington stamp (Scott 68) and a



Figure 1. 16¢ direct rate to Norway via German mails, posted at Black Earth, Wisconsin, on June 29, 1869, a month before the rate was reduced to 15¢. Franked with an ungrilled 10¢ Washington stamp and a misperforated pair of 3¢ 1869 stamps, this newly reported item is the only 1869 cover known to show the 16¢ rate.



Figure 2. 15¢ direct rate to Norway, overpaid by two 5¢ red-brown Jefferson stamps and a 6¢ 1869 stamp, on a cover to Christiania posted at Neenah, Wisconsin, November 23, 1869. Like Figure 1, this cover was exchanged between Chicago and Hamburg.

badly misperforated pair of 3¢ 1869 stamps. Like most 1869 covers to Norway, this is presumed to have passed through the Chicago exchange office. It does not bear a Chicago circular datestamp but shows what appears to be a crude credit “6”, struck in red at upper right. This would indicate the appropriate 6¢ credit from the U.S. to the North German Union (NGU) for carrying the cover beyond Germany to Norway at this time. The credit was restated at the Hamburg exchange office with the “2 WF” marking, indicating two silbergroschen (= 5¢ U.S.) “paid beyond” (“Weiterfranco”). The blue and green postage stamps make this quite a colorful cover. Moreover, it does not appear in any of my auction data, which, embracing the Levi auction records, goes back almost 60 years.

The cover in Figure 2 shows the 15¢ direct rate to Norway. Bearing two 5¢ red-brown Jefferson stamps (Scott 75) and a 6¢ 1869 stamp, the cover was presumably franked to pay the previous 16¢ rate. Thus it represents a 1¢ overpayment. Addressed to Christiania, Norway, this cover was posted at Neenah, Wisconsin on November 23, 1869. This cover was also exchanged between Chicago and Hamburg and bears exchange-office markings similar to those on the cover in Figure 1. But here the credit marking is stand-alone “5” rather than the “6” that appears on the cover in Figure 1. The 1¢ rate reduction on covers to Norway (reflecting a reduction by NGU for its charge for carrying covers beyond Germany to Norway) was dated July 27, 1869 and announced in the August 1869 issue of *The United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* (Chicago reprint, page 426). As with Figure 1, the Figure 2 cover shows a very colorful combination of stamps.

The cover in Figure 3 also represents a 1¢ overpayment of the 15¢ direct rate. Franked with the seldom-seen combination of 15¢ and 1¢ 1869 stamps, the cover was postmarked in January 1870 at Rushford, Minnesota and addressed, again in difficult script, to “Ytre Rendahlen,” Norway. As with Figures 1 and 2, this cover was also exchanged between Chicago and Hamburg and shows the same markings, including the appropriate credit “5”. The front of the cover bears two Christiania receiving marks dated February 23, 1870. This cover was lot 1705 in an auction held in Oslo by Frimerker Auctions on November 17, 2007.

The last of the four new additions to our census is shown in Figure 4. This is a 15¢ 1869 cover (Type II stamp) from West Salem, Wisconsin, addressed to Vardal, Norway. The



Figure 3. Another overpayment of the 15¢ direct rate, here made by the seldom-seen combination of 15¢ and 1¢ 1869 stamps, on a cover to Norway postmarked in January 1870 at Rushford, Minnesota. As with Figures 1 and 2, this cover was exchanged between Chicago and Hamburg.



Figure 4. 15¢ 1869 stamp on cover from West Salem, Wisconsin, to Vardal, Norway, postmarked October 3, 1870. Because it travelled the “via England” route, this cover was exchanged through the New York office. The circular New York credit 5 marking is dated OCT 8; the “Wfco 2” handstamp was applied at the Aachen exchange office.

cover is dated October 3, 1870, and it too shows a Christiania, Norway, receiving mark on the front, in this case dated October 24, 1870.

Unlike the previous three, this cover travelled the “via England” route. As established in *Chronicle* 220, the rate to Norway via England and the NGU mails was 15¢ from July 1, 1870 until October 1, 1871. In order to access the German mails via England, covers origi-

Posted	Origin/destination	Stamps	Rate	Reference
06/29/69	Black Earth, Wisc/Norway	114(2), 68	16¢ Direct	Figure 1
08/14/69	Madison, Wisc/Bergen	114(2), 116	15¢ Direct	<i>Chronicle</i> 220, Figure 1
8/?/69	?/Christiana	114(2), 116	15¢ Direct	10¢ 1869 missing
10/17/69	Mobile, Ala/Tramso	119	15¢ Direct	Rose: 794 RAS 608
11/23/69	Neenah, Wisc/Christiana	115, 75(2)	15¢ Direct	Figure 2
11/24/69	Moscow, Wisc/Cristiana	116, 95	15¢ Direct	Laurence collection
12/22/69	Norfolk, Va/Egersund	98, 115	20¢ via England	<i>Chronicle</i> 220, Figure 3
1/14/70	Norway, Mich/Stavanger	112, 113(7)	15¢ Direct	320 Bennett 222
1/22/70	New York, NY/Arendal	113, 114, 116	15¢ Direct	Soler y Llach 7/7/03
01/?/70	Rushford, Minn/Norway	119, 112	15¢ Direct	Figure 3
2/1870	Decorah, Iowa/Christiana	119	15¢ Direct	PFC 404277
5/12/70	Carbondale, Ill/Thym	113, 114, 116	2x15¢ Direct	<i>Chronicle</i> 220, Figure 2
8/10/70	Otsego, Wisc/Bergen	119	15¢ via England	Coulter: 911 RAS 286
9/5/70	Shabbona, Ill/Bergen	117, 146(2)	15¢ via England	948 RAS 448
9/10/70	Clermont, Iowa/ Hamar	119	15¢ via England	<i>Chronicle</i> 220, Figure 4
10/03/70	West Salem, Wisc/Vardal	119	15¢ Via England	Figure 4
1/17/71	Clermont, Iowa/Hamar	121	2x15¢ via England	<i>Chronicle</i> 220, Figure 5

Table 1. Details of the 17 1869 covers now recorded to Norway, which was once thought to be an extremely scarce destination.

nating in the United States had to pass through the New York exchange office. This cover was struck at New York with a red circular integral 5 credit marking, Hubbard-Winter type 252, dated OCT 8. The large script “Wfco 2” handstamp was applied by the Aachen office on the railroad sorting car travelling between Verviers and Cologne.

Table 1 combines data on the four new covers with information previously presented in *Chronicle* 220. With the addition of the four new covers to the table, we now have a total of 17 covers to Norway on which the postage was paid in part or in whole with 1869 stamps. The covers represent a microcosm of the 1869 world, showing the 1¢, 2¢, 3¢, 6¢, 10¢, 12¢, 15¢ and 30¢ 1869 stamps, as well as stamps from the previous and subsequent stamp series. In fact, the only 1869 stamps not represented on covers to Norway are the 15¢ Type I stamp, the 24¢ and of course the 90¢.

Almost 40 years ago, when I first began to collect the 1869 issue on cover, the conventional wisdom, in which I concurred, was that there were only two 1869 covers to Norway. Now, thanks to continuing data-gathering and reports from many different sources, we have 17 covers. No doubt there are more to come. If readers know of 1869 covers to Norway that are not listed in Table 1, I would be happy to add them to the listing. And I am indebted to Richard Winter for bringing these four new covers to my attention.■

DEATH THROES OF THE NEW YORK FOREIGN MAIL
FANCY CANCELLATIONS: 1875-1877

NICHOLAS M. KIRKE

Studying the chronological order of cancellation use in the Foreign Mail Department at the New York City post office has produced rich dividends. It becomes clear, for example, that the classic fancy cancels associated with the NYFM department were produced in a far narrower time period than the traditionally accepted periods of either 1870-1876 or 1870-1878. My study has drawn census data from Bartels, Milliken, Van Vlissingen-Waud, Weiss, Dan Richards and my own collection of covers. Examination of the first dates of cancellation use show that the classic intricate fancy cancellations (examples of which are shown in Figure 1) were introduced predominantly from March 1873 to August 1875.

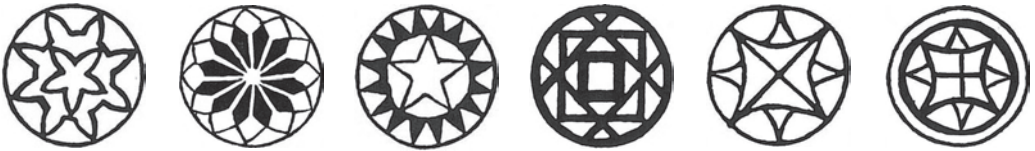


Figure 1. Tracings (approximately 50% of actual size) of the classic intricate fancy New York Foreign Mail cancellations introduced between March 1873 and August 1875.

Between January 1 and August 7, 1875, we see a surge of 20 new classic intricate NYFM fancy cancels introduced (up from 13 in the whole of the previous year). However, from August 1875 to December 1876, just 7 new classic intricate fancy cancellations were produced for use in the Foreign Mail Department.

Why did these attractive cancellations disappear, and what replaced them?

Provisions of the General Postal Union (GPU) went into effect on July 1, 1875, thereby standardizing international postal rates for member countries to 5¢ per ½ ounce. This was a monumental change to the complex international postal rates that had previously required treaties with separate countries dictating rates with individual debits and credits. Perhaps this moment of transformation was taken as an opportunity to standardize procedures at the New York post office, including cancellation designs. The first reported steel ellipse cancellation used on a foreign mail cover from New York dates from December 1876.

Another potential contributory factor for standardization was the opening of the new purpose-built New York City post office building at City Hall Park, which opened for business on Sunday, August 29, 1875.¹ The transfer began Saturday, August 28 at 6:30 p.m. as reported in the *New York Times* and was completed at 9:40 a.m. on Sunday, with the old building on Nassau Street being all but abandoned.² Figure 2A shows an image of the move from the old post office on Saturday, and Figure 2B shows the old foreign mail department after postal operations were removed, both images from *Leslie's Monthly Magazine* dated

¹“The Transfer Complete—Crowds of Visitors at the New Building,” *New York Times*, August 30, 1875, pg. 8

²“The New Post Office—Moving Day of the Institution,” *New York Times*, August 29, 1875, pg. 2



Figures 2A and 2B. Two images from the September 18, 1875 issue of *Leslie's Monthly Magazine*. Figure 2A, at left, shows moving out of the old Nassau Street post office. Figure 2B, at right, shows the abandoned foreign-mail office just after the move.

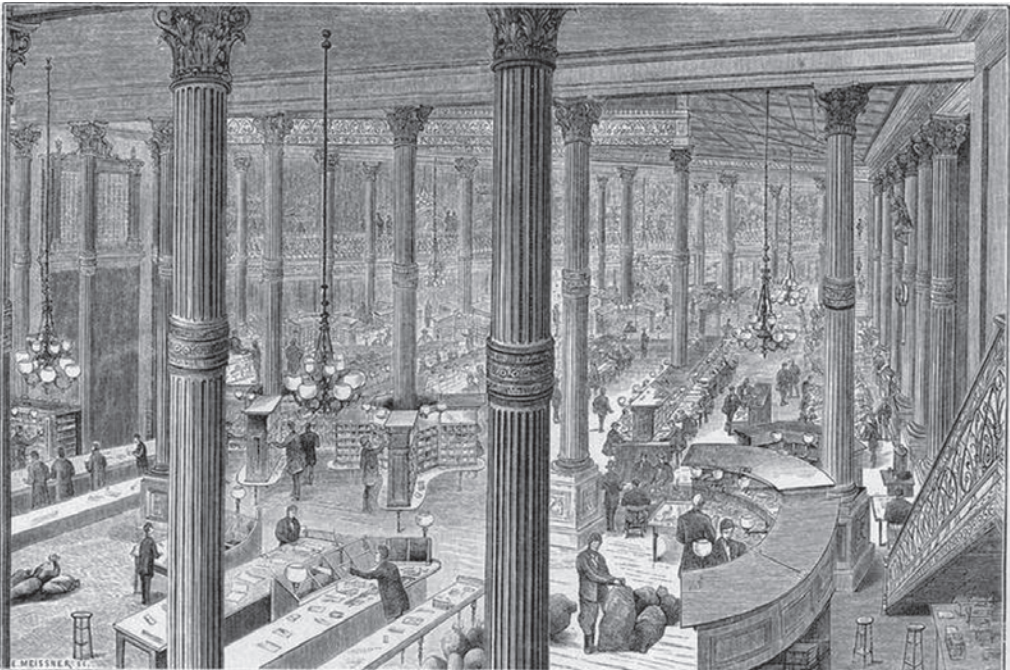


Figure 3A. The interior of the spacious new post office at City Hall Park was cavernous in comparison to its predecessor on Nassau Street.

September 18, 1875. Figure 3A shows the interior of the new post office, vastly larger than the predecessor. Figure 3B shows the exterior of the new building, a fine example of the baroque architecture of the Second Empire. This structure was torn down in 1939.

Sunday was the logical choice for moving day since there was no letter delivery or stamp sales. All letters received Saturday were sorted and distributed as normal in the new post office on Sunday. The *New York Times* listed the clerks for the foreign mail department at the time of the move as George F. Hopper, Superintendent, and Joseph J. Gregory, Assis-



Figure 3B. Exterior of the new post office at the junction of Broadway and Park Row. A stupendous example of baroque Second Empire architecture, it was razed in 1939.

tant Superintendent. The great change from the rickety structure on Nassau St. to the new spacious facility with all new equipment, provided a perfect setting for clerks to embrace change and the movement towards standardization to speed mail handling.

The era of attractive design that made NYFM cancellations so distinctive and famous appeared to virtually close down in the autumn of 1875. Generally, the Foreign Mail Department seemed to revert to the re-use of previous grid and wedge devices, as well as the steel ellipse, at the end of 1876.

The Swansong Cancellations of 1875-77

The following cancellations were introduced by the NYFM department after August 1875 and show the final period of cancellation design.



Figure 4. 3¢ and 2¢ Bank Note stamps, tied by a strike of the 30-millimeter ringed star geometric design (Weiss GE-EP4) on a January 13, 1876 mourning cover to Bermuda. A tracing of the marking is shown superimposed on the cover.



Figure 5. The only recorded on-cover example of the complex NYFM geometric design that Weiss designated GE-EP12, on a cover to Italy postmarked 5 January 1876. A tracing of the marking design is superimposed.

The ringed star geometric design that Weiss designates as GE-EP4 is shown in Figure 4 on a January 13, 1876 mourning cover to Bermuda. The cancellation design is a larger version of an earlier design first introduced in 1874. This one measures 30 millimeters in diameter as compared to the smaller 26-27 mm 1874 design. There are 45 covers recorded with this intricate fancy cancellation. They date from 22 September 1875 to 23 December



Figure 6. Other examples of the NYFM geometric cancel on the Figure 5 cover (Weiss GE-EP12) on Bank Note stamps.



Figure 7. One of five recorded examples of this elaborate NYFM geometric cancel (Weiss GE-EP13), here on a cover from Peru to Marblehead, Massachusetts, dated January 14, 1876. Combination franking of U.S. 5¢ Taylor stamp and a Peruvian 1d green. A tracing of the NYFM design is superimposed.

1876. The 2¢ and 3¢ Bank Note stamps on the Figure 4 cover prepay the 5¢ treaty rate. The blue crayon “2” indicates 2 pence due from the addressee for inland postage.

The sole reported on-cover example of the complex NYFM geometric design that Weiss designates GE-EP12 appears on the January 5, 1876 cover to Italy illustrated in Figure 5. The 2¢ and 3¢ Bank Notes prepay the 5¢ U.P.U. rate. This marking was probably discarded quickly, because the lack of negative space within the cancel meant it was frequently over-inked and blurred. In the example in Figure 5, the central negative diamond and one arm are quite clear, defining the cancel with reasonable certainty. The off-cover examples in Figure 6 show clearer strikes of this design.

Figure 7 shows the earliest of five recorded on-cover examples of an NYFM eight-spoke ringed geometric cancel (Weiss GE-EP13), here on a cover from Peru to Marblehead, Massachusetts, via New York City. The cover is dated January 14, 1876. The combination franking of Peruvian 1d green pays the Peruvian local postage while the U.S. 5c Taylor stamp prepays the 5¢ steamship rate from Panama to New York City. The cover was carried by British packet from Peru to Panama where it was handstamped due “12” cents (one



Figure 8. 10¢ Bank Note stamp on March 8, 1876, cover to Mexico. This is the earliest of three recorded covers bearing the NYFM shaded star (Weiss ST-MP2a), a tracing of which is shown superimposed.



Figure 9. Other examples of the NYFM shaded star cancel on the Figure 8 cover (Weiss ST-MP2a) on Bank Note stamps.

shilling) to Great Britain for this leg of the trip, and upon receipt at New York the cover was handstamped due 14¢ in depreciated currency payable by the addressee. The latest recorded use of this cancel is December 9, 1876, a long 11-month period of usage.

The NYFM shaded star cancellation (Weiss ST-MP2a) shown on the cover to Mexico in Figure 8, dated March 8, 1876, is rarely found on or off cover. This is the earliest on-cover strike, of only three recorded covers. The 10¢ Bank Note stamp prepays the 10¢ steamship rate to Mexico. This cancel can often only be identified by one or two of the half-shaded segments, as seen on the off-cover stamps in Figure 9.

Figure 10 shows the earliest of six recorded covers with a typical post-GPU eight-section wedge design that Weiss designates as TR-W14. This cover, to Germany, is dated April 8, 1876. The latest recorded on-cover example of this design is dated August 1876. This design is possibly a modification of an earlier wedge killer with circular negative lines cut into the wedges. The 3¢ stamped entire is uprated with a 2¢ Bank Note to prepay the 5¢ UPU rate.

A simplistic grid cancel design is shown in Figure 11 on the earliest of only four recorded covers. This one, to Germany, is dated June 16, 1876. The cancel is a new design that was not recorded by Weiss. The 3¢ Centennial stamped entire is uprated with 2¢ and



Figure 10. A typical post-GPU eight-section wedge design, this one designated by Weiss as TR-W14. This cover to Germany, dated April 8, 1876, is the earliest of six recorded covers showing this marking, a tracing of which is superimposed.



Figure 11. A simple grid design, not recorded by Weiss, on a supplementary-mail cover to Germany dated June 16, 1876. This is the earliest of four recorded covers showing this marking. A tracing is superimposed.

5¢ Bank Notes to prepay the 5¢ UPU rate plus 5¢ supplementary fee, paid to send a letter after the normal dispatch had been processed for the steamship departure. Of the four recorded covers bearing this unlisted NYFM marking, three are supplementary-mail uses and the fourth is a transit cover from Cuba to Germany via New York.

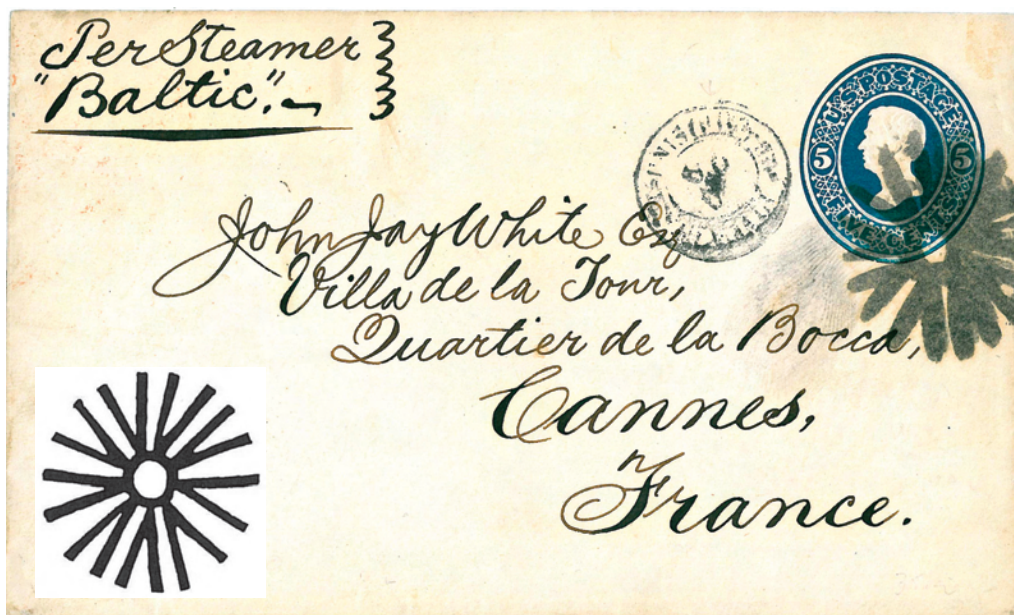


Figure 12. An example of a spoke radial design, Weiss TR-S5, on a 5¢ stamped envelope to France dated November 25, 1876. A tracing of the marking is superimposed.



Figure 13. To Bohemia, March 7, 1877: 1¢ postal card with 3¢ Bank Note stamp making 2¢ international card rate plus 2¢ supplementary mail fee. The stamps are tied by two strikes of a broken circle of wedges design that is unlisted by Weiss. A tracing of this marking is superimposed.

Figure 12 shows an example of a spoke radial design that Weiss designates as TR-S5, here on a 5¢ stamped envelope to France, dated November 25, 1876. This cancellation is recorded on covers from October 18, 1876 to December 12, 1876. Weiss has also designated an over-inked version of this cancellation with a smaller (25 mm) diameter as TR-S6. This marking probably does not deserve a separate classification.

The March 7, 1877 1¢ postal card to Bohemia shown in Figure 13 is uprated with a 3¢ Bank Note stamp tied by a broken circle of wedges design that is unlisted by Weiss. The marking appears to have been made from an earlier wedge design with the wedges trimmed down, possibly to remove broken edges. Many stamps bearing such non-descript cancellations were probably soaked from their covers, leaving few on-cover survivors. I have seen no other examples of this cancel design. The 4¢ franking prepays the 2¢ UPU postal card rate plus 2¢ supplementary fee.

There are a few additional NYFM designs not shown in this article that were used during the 1875-77 time period. These include basic types, such as large quartered circles, cross-roads and variations of the circle of wedge designs.

Conclusion

One fascinating question remains: Who carved such cancels and where? It is a romantic notion to suppose it was an artistically-inclined clerk whittling in his spare time. The amount of mail being processed (during this era millions of letters passed annually between New York City and Europe) dictated that multiple boxwood devices of the same general design had to be used simultaneously. Combine this with the varieties and complexity of many different carvings, and it is evident the work was most likely professionally contracted. Perhaps one day an undiscovered invoice will yield the secret—where and by whom?

Credits

I am indebted to the numerous NYFM students, past and present, who have contributed information unwittingly or otherwise to this article. To name but a few: Barry Boggio, Hubert Skinner, William J. Ainsworth, Don Getz, Dan Richards, Richard Frajola, John Donnes, Alan Campbell, Matt Kewriga, Ardy Callender, Stephen Tedesco, Jim Lee and John Valenti. And without the seminal works of J. Murray Bartels, Edwin Milliken, Van Vlissingen/Waud, William R. Weiss Jr. and material once residing in great collections belonging to David T. Beals III, William R. Weiss Jr. and John Boker Jr., my plane would never have left the airstrip. ■

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**PRODUCTION PLATE VARIETIES AND THE NATURE OF OPAQUE INKS,
WITH NOTES ON THE POST OFFICE “SCUMMY” PRINTINGS AND
THE STEAM-PRESS PRINTINGS OF THE 2¢ POST OFFICE STAMP****GEORGE G. SAYERS**

Having prepared articles on the constant plate varieties of five Departments of the 1873 Officials,¹ the author believes no further progress can be made without an in-depth examination of inks and the printing process. The Official stamps of the Post Office Department, next in this series, offer a laboratory in which to examine these subjects, and in fact the production varieties of these stamps cannot be understood without it.

This article discusses briefly the physics, formulation and manufacture of opaque inks—those inks composed of one or more insoluble pigments suspended in a “drying” oil which is generally combined with other liquid or soluble ingredients used to control the ink’s physical properties. The drying oils, such as boiled linseed oil, were mixtures derived from naturally occurring plant seed oils. These oil mixtures quickly turned into a plastic solid after exposure to air.

Most readers are familiar with the four color process inks—yellow, magenta (red), cyan (blue), and black—used to print today’s photographic and digital images. These inks are transparent and the pigments are dissolved in the solvent system. Both properties are required to produce the infinitely varying shades necessary for true color reproduction. Each individual ink is printed as an array of small dots of precise dimension and thickness, and the inks are printed consecutively on top of the previous inks. Opaque inks are totally different.

Ink Production

The opaque inks of the 19th century, particularly those used in security printing for money, bonds, stamps, stock certificates and similar documents, were formulated to permit production of exactly the same color from multiple batches over years. This consistent color aided verification of the authenticity of the document. Such a high level of quality control begins with the engraving, which is simply a tool designed to deliver a precise amount of color to a specific point on the paper. In the 19th century, ink formulation and manufacture were therefore the responsibilities of the master engravers, and an engraving was made to be used with a particular ink color formulation. The ink formulas and production details, particularly quality control technologies, were the printing company’s most important pro-

¹ George G. Sayers, “Constant Plate Varieties of the 1873 Official Stamps: The Department of Agriculture, Introduction and Definitions,” *Chronicle* 219, pp. 218-20. Part 2, dealing with the Executive appears at *Chronicle* 220, pp. 323-27. Part 3, dealing with the Department of the Interior, appears at *Chronicle* 221, pp. 63-71. Part 4, dealing with the Department of Justice, appears at *Chronicle* 222, pp. 155-62. Part 5, with co-author Dr. Alfred E. Staubus, dealing with the Navy Department appears at *Chronicle* 223, pp. 229-39.

proprietary secrets and known only to a few senior employees.²

The ink components were scarce and expensive. The ink itself was by far the most expensive component of the stamp. Generally, inorganic pigments such as powdered minerals were used to allow color stability after printing and color matching of different batches over time. We do not know the exact procedures used to produce 19th century opaque inks, however the technology to produce printing inks and paints during the 20th century can be extrapolated back to the 19th. The late 19th century ink manufactory was not the artist's mortar and pestle, but it was still a substantially mechanical production with empirical quality control. Mineral pigment powders produced at the mine were mixed according to a recipe with a "drying oil," a surfactant, a "drying agent," a solvent, and possibly other ingredients. The resulting slurry was then "milled".

The milling process at its simplest consists of placing the ingredients in a tightly sealed cylinder with an appropriate quantity of a grinding agent such as hard metal balls or stone pebbles and rolling the cylinder on its side for an empirically determined time, as much as several hours. As the grinding balls collide in the slurry, the pigment particles caught in between are broken down into smaller particles and the new and old particle surfaces are saturated with the oil-solvent system. Thus the total surface area of the pigment is increased, and the milling is continued until the surface area dependent "chroma" or color intensity is maximized.³ If milled too long, the particles may become too fine and the chroma decreases with additional milling. The milling process is time, temperature and volume dependent, not to mention speed, quantity of and mean diameter of the balls. Producing useable ink requires a skilled operator and a rigorous quality control system. Samples are taken periodically and the color and viscosity adjusted to a standard. When the batch is finished, it is strained and then is ready for use. Generally, the quantity of ink produced would be that required for one day's printing.

Because the human eye has both the color-sensing cones and the black-white or gray-sensing rods, ink must be adjusted to three color standards—the hue or color blend, the chroma or color intensity, and the gray-scale value. Generally, single-pigment inks can only be hue adjusted by additional milling or dilution. Many inks have white pigment—in the 1870s this was probably zinc oxide—added to increase the opacity and produce a lighter tint color from a given pigment. Tint, then, can be a fourth descriptor of inks for which the primary component of the color blend or hue is white. These inks are more easily hue and tint adjusted by adding specially prepared white ink to the batch, or a specially prepared concentrated ink of the primary pigment. Because the milling characteristics of mineral pigment powders were unpredictable, colors which required two or more primary pigments generally had to be made by blending specially formulated and adjusted single pigment inks. Gray-scale value was readily adjusted by adding carbon black (lamp black in earlier formulations) at the end of the milling. The quality-control procedures generally involved a device which spread a uniform layer of the test ink on or next to a standard ink sample. The skilled technician measured by trained eye the hue, chroma and gray value differences of the dried inks and calculated and measured out the adjusting inks to be added to the batch. The student should note that in the 1870s all of the ingredients were from "natural" sources and therefore were received with quite variable physical properties and chemical compo-

² The historical importance of the proprietary nature of the inks cannot be overemphasized, and its misinterpretation has led to some unfortunate errors in the historical record. The most instructive example is the case of Henry Mandel, titled as vice-president at A.B.N.C., in charge of inks and the proof press operation. Mandel traveled the world investigating ink components, and meeting foreign printer-engravers to trade technical information. His competitors and detractors accused him of using company resources to enhance his essay and proof collection.

³ For a given weight of pigment powder, the total surface area of all the powder particles increases as the average powder particle size decreases. For spherical particles, if the average particle radius is decreased by half, the average particle surface area is decreased by a factor of four, but the number of particles must have increased by a factor of eight so the total surface is doubled.

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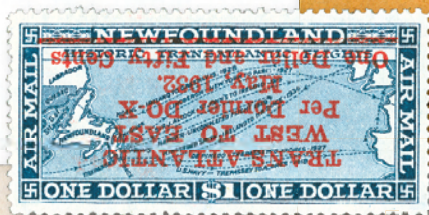
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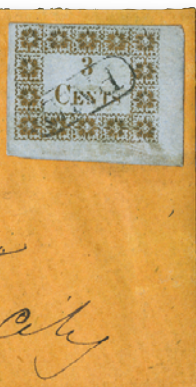
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sition. Changing a source of supply of any of the ingredients of an ink formulation could require extensive experimentation to produce a satisfactory ink.

The drying oil when dried was the matrix of the ink, holding the particles together and holding the dried ink to the paper fibers. The solvent was necessary to adjust the viscosity of the final product and to optimize the milling, which would not work well if the initial slurry was too thick. Solvent was added during milling as the gradual increase in surface area of the pigment powder adsorbed liquid and thickened the slurry. The surfactant had four functions: insuring the wetting of the pigment particles by the drying oil-solvent system; stabilizing the suspension of the pigment particles in the oil-solvent system so the ink would not quickly separate into two phases; lowering the surface tension of the ink so it could more readily flow in between the paper fibers; and increasing the adhesion of the ink to the surface of the damp paper fibers. The drying agent was added to the ink to hasten the solidifying reactions in the ink and was generally assisted by the addition of a second water-soluble drying agent such as “printer’s alum” to the water used to dampen the paper. The use of the drying agent in the liquid ink was limited by the need to keep the bulk ink liquid for a day’s printing.

The student should remember that in the 1870s the science of chemistry was in its infancy, there was no theoretical basis for understanding the physical properties of liquids or slurries and there was no technology base of applied math or instrumentation to systematically predict or measure them. All of the ink formulas and production methods were developed by trial and error, and the capital investment in this most expensive form of research made these formulations and processes extremely valuable trade secrets.

What Does It All Mean?

The master portrait engraver can take months to complete a stamp-size portrait, and must continuously evaluate the in-process engraving using the color ink—hue, chroma and gray scale—intended for printing. Changing the ink color can result in a printed portrait which appears pale or flushed, even angry. The 1873 Official stamp die portraits were made from transfers of the portraits from the 1870 regular postage stamps and the mismatch of color to engraving can be seen in some portraits printed in other than the original color.

However, both the engraver and the production master printer had a wide range of control over the printing characteristics of the ink by adjusting the formula and the milling variables, the printing pressure and the wipe. In fact, the ink and printing process could be adjusted to emphasize or hide plate wear, repairs and damages to a surprising extent. The proof-press master routinely exercises this skill to examine the state of the finished plate or to reformulate an ink that will then print an acceptable impression from a questionable plate. Figure 1 shows part of an early India-paper proof of Positions 6, 7, 16 and 17 of the 6¢ Executive (Scott O13) using an ink and light wipe which emphasizes the remnant double transfer lines in the design and repair tool marks in the margins from the erasure of a previous transfer. Compare Figure 2, which shows this same double transfer on a production stamp from Position 6 of the 1875 Special Printing. The production stamp shows relatively little of the underlying transfer, and the damages present at the upper left corner of Position 17 on the India proof have not been reported on an issued stamp. Another example of control of printing conditions may be the ink “smears” which print in the bodies of the numerals at the bottom of the 30¢ Navy stamp (Scott O44) which, as noted in the article on Navy plate varieties,⁴ are absent in most late proofs.

Considering then the Navy stamps with narrowly spaced double transfers of the top or bottom frame elements, a plausible explanation for their apparent rarity on stamps is the selection of ink and production printing conditions, intentionally or coincidentally, which

⁴ Sayers, *Chronicle* 223, pg. 238.

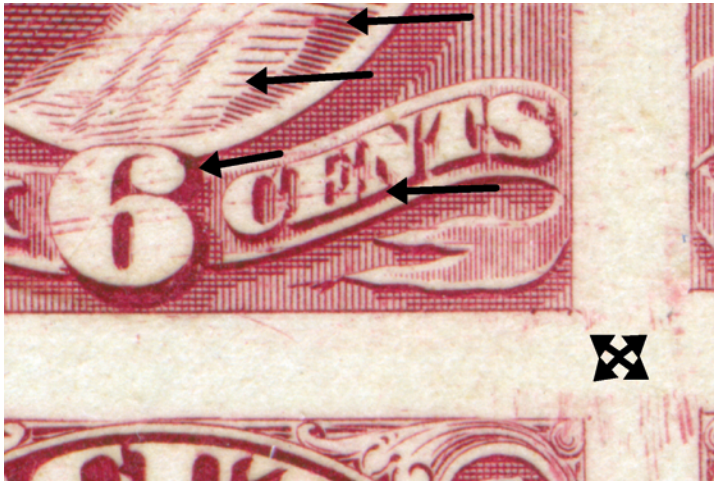


Figure 1. Portions of Positions 6, 7, 16 and 17 from the 6¢ Executive stamp. This early India-paper proof (O13P3) shows double transfer and repairs. Single arrows show double transfer remnant inside the design. The quadruple arrow shows tool marks left after erasure in the margins.



Figure 2. From the 1875 Special Printing (O13S), the same position 6 on the 6¢ Executive stamp as shown in Figure 1 above. On this later printing the double transfer remnants are much less apparent and the tool marks are nearly invisible.

minimized their appearance. Note that many of these double transfers were first identified on India-paper proof sheets, generally printed with ink that created very sharp lines. The author's study with Dr. Alfred E. Staubus of the 6¢ Navy (Scott O38) line through "N" plate variety confirms the variability of the printing quality on the production stamps, but of course these were not printed intending to produce a clear, sharp plate variety—quite the opposite. Arguably, with the Navy stamps the ink was adjusted to print a horizontal line somewhat broader than the actual engraved line, thereby masking most of the small double transfers. After the Navy article was finalized, this author saw two 2¢ Navy stamps (Scott O36) which clearly show the double transfer of the top frame line. Both were under-inked, showing sharp, fine doubled top frame lines. The author could not confirm they were from the same position.

Carbon Black Ink

The Post Office Department stamps printed with black ink demonstrate a series of new technical challenges. Domestic production of rock oil began in 1859. Simple distillation produced lamp oil, petroleum naphtha, lubricating oils, wax, tar and a substantial amount of hydrocarbon gases which burned with a sooty flame and swamp gas smell. Practical chemists realized the gases could be converted in a controlled burn to a carbon black pigment which could replace the relatively expensive lamp black pigment produced by burning tallow. Apparently, the Continental Bank Note Company did not have experience using carbon black pigment for production printing, and the author believes three significant technical problems were encountered in the first few months of production in 1873, causing operational changes resulting in interesting production varieties of the early Post

Office stamps and a few constant plate varieties. These problems were likely caused by differences at the molecular level between carbon black and lamp black. Lamp black produced by the burning of tallow contained not only carbon, but the partial combustion products of the tallow including organic acids, aldehydes and alcohols adsorbed and also chemically bound into the structure of the carbon.

The carbon black produced by controlled petroleum gas burning condensed directly from the vapor phase into small structures of relatively pure graphite rings, which then agglomerated into larger relatively fragile clumps. For ink production, the pigment required extra surfactant and the clumps broke down quickly in milling into exceptionally fine particles which did not lose color as they became finer. The result was an intense black ink which was difficult to wipe and filled and printed every least scratch and pit on the plate surface. That was only the first problem.

Petroleum contains sulfur bound into the hydrocarbon structure, as the general class of compounds known as mercaptans, source of the “swamp gas” smell. Mercaptans readily accompany the gases used to produce carbon black and in the controlled burning process the sulfur is oxidized to sulfur dioxide, and the sulfur dioxide is readily adsorbed by the carbon black. Unfortunately, the ink milling process converts the sulfur dioxide to sulfurous acid, which is notoriously effective at etching and initiating rust on the mild steel plates used for printing in the 1870s. The quantity of sulfur dioxide adsorbed in a batch of carbon black was highly variable and extremely difficult to measure. Fortunately, the sulfurous acid could be rendered much less corrosive by adding zinc oxide or calcium oxide to the milling batch. Both were used at the time as white pigments, and the addition of either produced a gray ink.

Finally, milled ink is a slurry, a suspension of solid particles in a liquid system. Slurries are by their nature thixotropic, that is, the viscosity of a slurry decreases with increasing shear force, and to a large extent the change in viscosity is dependent on particle size for a given liquid system. The smaller the mean particle size, the greater the reduction in viscosity for a given shear force change. While the master printers and engravers were familiar with the range of particle size distributions encountered in commercial mineral pigments and their effect on ink printing and wiping characteristics, the extremes of carbon black ink were unexpected.

In summary, the carbon black ink presented three new properties which complicated the conversion process. The pigment particles were much finer than normal black ink, the pigment milling produced acid, and the flow characteristics of the ink produced were unfamiliar. These properties, singly and in combination, caused some production varieties and constant plate varieties not recorded on most other Official stamps. The balance of this article examines these varieties, generally considered at the time to represent poor printing quality. The trial-and-error methodology was used on the 1¢, 2¢ and 3¢ plates and led to acceptable prints of the Post Office Department stamps using the hand presses after a few months but not the steam press. However, the author cannot rule out a partial change back to lamp-black pigment as part of the solution implemented.

The 3¢ Post Office Recut Plates

The spring of 1873 at the Continental Bank Note Company was extremely busy if not outright chaotic.⁵ Little time was available for trial-and-error experimentation on ink formulations, and consequently quality standards were relaxed and shortcuts were taken to deliver Official stamps to the Departments for the July 1 law change. The production of 3¢ stamps for the largest departments was begun first. The essays and die proofs of the period

⁵ George G. Sayers, “Foreign Entry and Erasure of the 1¢ Executive in the 6¢ State Position 11,” *Chronicle* 208, pp. 307-15. For a discussion of the intensity of the spring of 1873, pp. 312-15.

indicate the decisions on design and color for the Post Office Department stamps were not finalized until April, 1873.⁶

The choice was for numerals whose engravings were readily available, to be printed in black. When combined with the other standard design elements, the final engravings were assembled quickly. Plates 30 and 41, each with 200 impressions, were prepared to print the 3¢ Post Office stamp (Scott O49). The Post Office stamps were to be distributed to the post offices nationwide before July 1, 1873. But the 3¢ Post Office plates printed a blank spot in the belly of the “3”, an unsatisfactory result. There was no time to solve the ink problem, and the engravers didn’t know how to correct the engraving to make a new die and plates. The first shipments of stamps were from the unaltered plates with the blank spot. To correct this problem, the central “3” of each position on both plates was recut by hand, 400 positions total, and the stamp production and shipments after the initial surge were from the recut plates. The dies for some other values were recut apparently before any transfer rolls and plates of those values were made. The 1¢, 12¢, 15¢, 24¢ and 30¢ dies were recut before hardening using long and in some cases curved strokes clearly visible in the production stamps and die proofs. Note that the white lines in the design are the “walls” of metal pushed up by the engraving tool to the side of the deep engraving cut. These walls prevent the wipe from scooping more ink from the deepened grooves. The 2¢, 6¢, 10¢ and 90¢ dies were recut carefully deepening the horizontal lines only and the recutting is much less obvious. It may have been that these four dies had been hardened and could not be more extensively recut.⁷ The 3¢ die large numeral retained its original waffle pattern which can be seen on die proofs. Both initial 3¢ plates then, 30 and 41, printed stamps before and after recutting of the central numeral, and can be found in an early and late state.

The 2¢ Plates 37 and 38, and the Steam Press Stamps

According to Luff,⁸ two plates of 100 impressions, numbered 37 and 38, were made for use on the “experimental” steam press, whose setup required two plates of 100 impressions. These plates were also used to print on the normal presses designed for plates of 100 impressions. For these plates the author has recorded only a few multiples from plate 37. Most stamps printed from these 2¢ plates are readily identifiable by the position dot seen at the left midline edge of the central oval.⁹ The later replacement plate 285 shows a right position dot. Therefore, the 2¢ stamps from plates 37 and 38 can be readily identified.

Historically, the transition from muscle power to steam power presented technological challenges in every application. The steam cylinder action produced a force-time profile markedly different from other power sources, that resulted in stresses and damage to machine parts that had performed well for many years. Products suffered similar changes, and their raw materials had to be re-engineered to accommodate the new technology. For stamps, ink was the component that had to be fixed. Beginning with the 1873 contract for stamps, the master engravers at Continental Bank Note were never able to develop ink formulations suitable for their experimental steam press, and the effort according to Luff was abandoned in 1876. The 1877 stamp contract specified use of manual presses, and it was nearly a decade before the successor American Bank Note Company overcame the general ink viscosity problem allowing use of the steam-powered presses. The author believes the

⁶ Alan C. Campbell, “The Design Evolution of the United States Official Stamps,” *Chronicle* 168, pp. 267-71 and *Chronicle* 169, pp. 45-62.

⁷ The Post Office dies were not the only dies recut to correct light printing. The Agriculture dies and parts of the Executive dies were extensively recut to deepen color where needed. However, no stamps or die proofs from the unrecut dies are known to exist.

⁸ John N. Luff, *The Postage Stamps of the United States* (New York: Scott Stamp & Coin Co., Ltd. 1902), pg. 103.

⁹ For printed sheets with left position dots, the leftmost column, conventionally referred to as Column 1, shows no position dots. The tenth column of position dots prints a few tenths of an inch to the right of the right edge of column 10 if not erased from the plate.



Figure 3. 2¢ Post Office (O48). Central “2” shows many blobs with similar shapes outside the edge of the figure, particularly on the right, due to steam press.



Figure 4. 3¢ Post Office (O49), problems resulting from early steam-press printing: The belly of the central “3” shows blobs outside the edge of the figure, and light printing in the upper part of the belly.

solution involved a substantial redesign of the press.

The die for the 2¢ Post Office stamp (Scott O48) appears to have been redesigned or modified to correct the 3¢ printing problems. First, the depth of the central numeral engraving was increased, and some proofs suggest the structure of the interior crosshatching has been modified. Both changes put more ink in contact with the paper, with the hope of avoiding the blank spot in the central numeral figure. The changes caused a new problem. For the carbon black ink, its extreme thixotropic behavior with the extreme force-shear profile¹⁰ of the steam press resulted in a fleeting millisecond when the ink was fluid enough to force through the tiny gaps between paper fibers at the edge of the engraving lines producing what appear to be blobs attached to the edges of the figures.¹¹ Figure 3 shows an enlarged illustration of the central “2” that shows these blobs very clearly. The master engravers in charge of the inks must have realized that the ink was too thin, but apparently did not recognize that the underlying cause was twofold. Some intense black inks can be found on some 2¢ printings, indicating ongoing experiments to solve the flow problems. On a few stamps the central “2” ink shows an unusual sheen that suggests they tried adding asphaltum to the ink to thicken it—but that likely caused more intractable problems. With only these two plates available to produce the 2¢ stamps, and pressure from the Post Office Department to lower costs and speed up production, a significant effort appears to have been made to solve the problems. However, the demand for 2¢ stamps had to be met, and the author believes the printing largely was done on the hand presses, with perhaps a third of the 2¢ stamps showing some thixotropic hyperflow suggesting they were printed on the steam press. One can only speculate on the waste generated if the existing copies are the “acceptable” ones.

Luff states plates 36 and 40, each plates of 100 impressions of the 3¢ Post Office

¹⁰ In mechanics, it is known as “jerk”, the time rate of change of acceleration, or the third derivative.

¹¹ These blobs show the characteristic shape of blowby found among others, in injection molding of thermoplastic, which is another thixotropic liquid. Model builders will recognize the shape seen along the edges of the mold sprue.

stamp, were prepared for use on the steam press, and in fact a few used 3¢ stamps show this blob pattern although the shallower engraving depth appears to ameliorate much of the thixotropic flow problem but not the blank spot in the belly of the figure. Figure 4 shows the belly of the central “3” of a stamp the author believes was printed on the steam press. This stamp shows both the edge blobs and the light printing in the top right portion of the belly. Previous descriptions of the stamps from these two plates in the philatelic literature do not take into account the early states of plates 30 and 41, and are incorrect. No plate number examples of either of these plates are recorded, although several examples of top and bottom plate number strips from the right pane of plate 140, with perforations separated between the 1 and 4, have been misidentified as plate 40. No proven characteristic of these two plates has been recorded to identify stamps from them. However, with two additional plates of 200 impressions available to print 3¢ stamps on the production presses, it is unlikely there was much incentive to make these plates work on the steam press.

The initial steam press “bump” may have caused other production varieties of the 2¢ Post Office stamp which resemble double prints or double transfers.

Gray Prints, Scummy Prints, Streaky Prints, Dirty Prints, Scratches

For more than 50 years, Scott has noted in the specialized catalog at the start of the Post Office Officials listing that “Stamps of the Post Office Department are often on paper with a gray surface. This is due to insufficient wiping of the excess ink off plates during printing.” While this statement is not incorrect *per se*, no other stamp or department receives this notice, making the statement questionable. The interaction of two of the new properties of the carbon black ink explains the wiping problem. As noted above, early batches of carbon black ink likely contained sulfurous acid and compounds derived from it. This acid had the ability to destroy the polished surface of the printing plate, producing a rough surface, or in some cases large numbers of tiny pits. Some of the early batches contained due to over-milling unusually small carbon black particles. The intense black color of even the smallest particles could produce a gray wash effect across the paper unmitigated by even the most careful wipe. The worst examples of poor wiping caused by the small particle size seen by the author come from the 24¢ Post Office Plate 74. Persistent acid damage and scratches can be found on the 12¢ Post Office Plate 71. Figure 5 shows a 24¢ stamp (Scott O54) from Position 86. Particularly near the numerals, this shows the gray wash and scummy print caused by poor wiping characteristics of the ink, possibly in combination with a slightly acid-damaged plate surface. The problem likely was corrected with addition of an unidentified flocculating agent to the ink—a compound that causes the smallest particles to stick together in larger aggregates.

At an intermediate stage, the acid differentially etched the steel crystals depending on orientation of the crystalligraphic axes, and with magnification, the underlying crystal structure of the “annealed dead soft”



Figure 5. 24¢ Post Office (O53), Position 86, showing the gray wash and overall scummy printing, particularly near the figures, typically seen on the earliest printings.

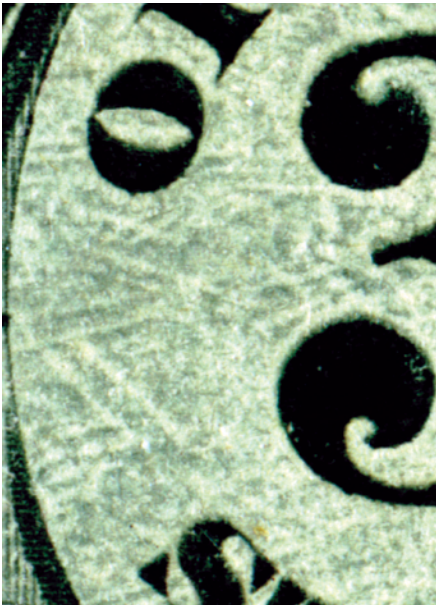


Figure 6. 3¢ Post Office, Position 32, left pane, Plate 41 late. Background shows pattern of steel crystal grains in the plate etched by acid in the ink.



Figure 7. 3¢ Post Office, unknown position, Plate 41 late. The gray background here shows a different pattern of grains caused by acid etching.

steel plate can be examined. Figure 6 shows this effect on a 3¢ Post Office stamp from Position 32 of the left pane of Plate 41, and Figure 7 shows the effect with a differing pattern on a used 3¢ stamp from an unidentified plate and position. In fact the details of the pattern will be constant at each position but different for every position, offering a unique plating method. Eventually, the ink masters probably found that zinc oxide or calcium oxide, both readily available, could be used to suppress and neutralize sulfurous acid formation. Both are white pigments and a slight excess of either would result in gray ink. Later printings closer to a true black indicate a better solution was found.

Plate 30 suffered similar damage, and a few stamps from Position 10 late of the left pane show a plate variety the author believes is a repaired rust pit. An example is illustrated in Figure 8.¹² Many stamps from this position can be identified by the unique configuration of the interpane arrow captured in the upper right margin. Stamps from this position of Plate 30 early without the recuts do not show the rust pits. The author believes these two Plates, 30 and 41, were scrapped due to the extensive recutting and acid-initiated rusting as soon as Plates 140 and 141 were available, probably late in 1873.¹³ As with Plate 140 noted above, in the right pane top and bottom plate strips of Plate 141 the perforations run cleanly between the 1 and 4, allowing a deceptive plate number single 41 from Plate 141. No soft

¹² A similar rust pit occurs on a few of the 1¢ Post Office stamps at Position 1 of the right pane, and is also found on the 1875 Special Printing.

¹³ Luff, *op. cit.*, pg. 103 for the 1873 regular stamps, pp. 211-12 for the Official stamps. Examination of Luff's lists of plate numbers shows that in 1873 an initial group of plates were made for the regular stamps, followed by the 99 plates for the Official stamps, the last of which were finished in August or September, 1873. Then four 1¢ regular plates, probably as backup for the original set of 4 plates, followed by six 3¢ regular plates which Luff indicates were used on the steam press and may have been plates of 100 impressions, and four more plates of 200 impressions for the 3¢ regular. Then Plates 140 and 141 for the 3¢ Post Office. No other backup or replacement plates were made for Official stamps until the 6¢ Post Office Plate 249, made perhaps four years later. The reasonable conclusion is that the two plates were made to replace Plates 30 and 41 as quickly as possible.



Figure 8. 3¢ Post Office, Position 10, left pane, Plate 30 late. Arrows indicate (1) the repaired rust pit, (2) recuts in the central “3” and (3) the unique top interpane arrow. This stamp shown through the courtesy of John Donnes.

paper stamps were printed from Plates 30, 40 or 41. Luff suggests that 3¢ Post Office Plates 36 and 40 were probably scrapped along with the rest of the steam-press plates about 1876 when use of the steam press was stopped.

Even the finest scratches are made apparent with the small particle size black ink. Tiny vertical scratches caused by wiping are found on every plate, but normally do not print. These are caused by the wiping tool picking up small hard particles of grit normally existing in an industrial environment, and dragging them down the plate. Most fine scratches and damages caused by routine bumps, dings and rubs in the plate’s handling from storage to press and back, don’t print. Figure 9 shows a fine scratch on the 24¢ stamp



Figure 9. 24¢ Post Office, enlargement of a portion of the stamp illustrated in Figure 5, rotated 90 degrees clockwise, showing the fine diagonal scratch in the left part of the oval. This scratch is difficult to find on stamps without the gray wash.



Figure 10. 12¢ Post Office (O52). This image is slightly contrast enhanced to better show the light gray background wash and the several vertical scratches.



Figure 11. 12¢ Post Office, 1893 proof on card stock, slightly contrast enhanced to better show the vertical scratches and gray background wash, similar to Figure 10.

with a gray wash background, enlarged from the photo shown in Figure 5. Scratches such as this, similar handling damages, and wiping scratches have been identified on gray, scummy printings and on proofs of most Post Office stamps, but are nearly invisible on most later printings when the ink was under better control. Figure 10 shows a mildly scummy production 12¢ stamp (Scott O52) with several fine vertical scratches. Contrast in this image has been enhanced slightly to make the fine scratches more visible. Figure 11 is the stamp im-



Figure 12. 1¢ Treasury proof on card stock (O72P4). The lower right corner shows bent and broken ink lines caused by excess kerosene used to help separate the ink from the worn plate.

age portion of a late (1893) card proof of this plate, showing a mildly scummy print with many small scratches printing. Contrast on this image has also been enhanced slightly.

Early in 19th century stamp production, shade variation was a good indicator of the relative rarity of different stamp printings, which may have been separated by months or even years. The Post Office stamps showing multiple fine scratches and an overall gray wash, both caused by excessive milling of the ink, are from very early printings. These problems were corrected quickly. As the quality control of the ink improved, the quality of the printing improved. The obvious gray wash disappeared and the scratches became difficult to find. While early philatelic enthusiasm for shades had the gray wash and gray ink varieties considered as collectible, in fact the Post Office stamps were produced almost continuously from 1873 to the early 1880s. The carbon-black ink properties were quite variable, probably on a daily basis, and shade varieties have little historical significance. Dirty appearing sprints, such as the 3¢ Plate 41 late and the 12¢ were caused by acid damage to the plate surface, which persisted throughout the life of the

plate and can be seen on the production stamps and the later card-stock proof and India-paper proof printings of the 12¢.

The transition to soft paper around 1879 required reformulation of all of the inks then in use. For the black ink, the reformulation appears to cause a pale gray wash to print on the 3¢ soft-paper stamp (Scott 108), although the contribution of plate wear needs more study. Only plates 140 and 141 were used to print this stamp on soft paper. Cataloguing the resulting constant plate varieties, which appear to vary in intensity and therefore relative significance, has proven to be a difficult task.

Most students of the Official stamps have avoided research into the Post Office stamp varieties. The author hopes this article will provide a framework to encourage further research.

We conclude this section with three additional subtopics on production varieties not specifically related to the Post Office stamps.

Printing from Worn Plates

An old printer once told me that, given enough time, he could get an acceptable print from almost any worn plate. Figure 12 is an example. After the Official stamps were invalidated in 1884, one plate for each stamp was cleaned, coated in beeswax and wrapped in oilcloth per government instructions, preserved until the Post Office order for proofs was received in 1890. That order required printing three to six impressions from each of the ninety-two Officials plates. Apparently, some of the plates were unsatisfactory, because the old printer's secret method shows up on some of these proofs.

In a normal printing plate, the ink pushed into the engraved lines fills the lines and

sticks to the bottom of the engraved groove. Most of the ink transfers to the paper under the printing pressure, but some remains in the bottom of the engraved groove. In a worn plate, the wear has made the engraved lines shallower, and therefore unable to deliver enough ink to the paper. If a cleaned plate is brushed with kerosene before being inked, the kerosene binds in a thin layer to the steel surfaces inside the engraving lines, and blocks the ink from binding to the bottom of the groove. Then in printing, all the thicker ink adheres to the paper because the kerosene lubricant prevents ink from sticking to the steel. None stays in the engraved lines, and the quantity of ink transferred to the paper is 30-50 percent greater than if kerosene hadn't been used. A little too much kerosene and the ridges of ink pulled from the engraved lines soak up some kerosene and end up wavy or broken. The image in Figure 12 shows an extreme example of this distortion on the lower right corner of a 1¢ Treasury card proof (Scott O72P4). This distortion is generally not noticeable to the naked eye. It is doubtful that this technique was used on any production stamps, but is common on the later card proofs.

“Picking”

Figure 13 shows an extreme example of the production problem known to pressmen as “picking,” the result of the ink not separating properly from the plate onto the paper, particularly in the points of darkest shading, where the most ink is printed. Generally, this problem is caused by thickening ink and can be corrected by adding solvent to reduce the viscosity of the ink. Here controlling the preprinting wetting of the paper is critical, since even the slightest excess of liquid water on the surface of the paper can prevent penetration of the ink into the paper and cause the plate to pick the ink back up off the paper after the



Figure 13. 2¢ Executive 1875 Special Printing (O11S). An extreme case of “picking,” where excessively thick ink does not stick to the paper and is picked off the paper by the plate.


printing pressure is removed. Such varieties are occasionally misidentified as double transfers. Picking is common on some printings of the Department of State stamps.

Straw Paper

In the paper-manufacturing process, at the wet end of the paper machine are two or more huge tanks, generally built into the floor of the plant, for the preparation of the pulp slurry. Off to the side, hidden in a corner, are a few bales of straw. Paper machines are designed to operate continuously, so while one batch of pulp slurry is being fed to the machine from one tank, the following batch is being prepared in the second tank. Quality specifications for paper include a weight, which is a practical surrogate for mean fiber length, which determines several important mechanical properties.

Inside the tanks are agitators and vertical side-mounted “beater bars.” These are baffles, frequently made retractable, which mechanically break down the feed materials mixed with water into the pulp slurry. In paper making, timing is important. Continuous agitation is mandatory to keep the pulp slurry suspended, but continued agitation causes ongoing degradation of the mean fiber length, which increases the pulp density, eventually producing paper outside the weight standard. The time window for producing satisfactory paper from a given batch of pulp is not very long. A mechanical breakdown in the paper machine must be repaired quickly or the paper maker will be left with a huge tank of unusable pulp slurry.

Paper makers have found a patch to repair a batch of out-of-spec pulp slurry—the hidden bale of straw. The cell structure of the dried grass is filled with air, and when added to the pulp tank the straw stalks break down quickly into little pieces full of air. This substantially lowers the pulp density. The result is “straw” paper, a variation of normal paper production, not a distinct variety of paper.■

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THE POSTAL HISTORY OF U.S. STAMP COLLECTING: 1862-1899

STEVEN R. BELASCO

Part 1 – Introduction

The goal of this series of articles is to explore the postal history of stamp collecting in the United States from 1862, when the earliest postal history items can be found, to 1899, when stamp collecting had spread throughout the country. My main interest is to use post-marked covers and postal cards to trace and document the actual spread of stamp collecting (which prominently, or even predominantly, includes stamp dealing) from a few East Coast cities to the rest of the country in the second half of the 19th century. Covers and postal cards showing use by or to stamp collectors, stamp dealers, stamp clubs and societies are the basis of this study.

In calling this material “postal history,” I am loosely following the textbook definition of that term: “the study and collection of covers that chronicle the movement of the mails. Desirable covers will have significant postal markings, rates, routes, usages, origins, and destinations.”¹

Consistent with this definition, my focus is on covers that passed through the mails and show postal markings, origins and destinations, rather than rates and routes. I hope traditionalists will not be too offended.² Other possible descriptions of this material, such as a special study or a topical study, do not seem to fit as well as treating this as a study of postal history focused on a specific class of mail users (stamp dealers and collectors).

Compared to many areas of philatelic interest, relatively little has been written in recent years about the early days of stamp collecting and dealing in the U.S. What has been written has tended to be sporadic articles about “firsts,” such as the first U.S. stamp album or catalog, or a few well-known people such as J. Walter Scott or the early stamp faker S. Allan Taylor. The history of philatelic literature has had vastly more written about it than stamp collectors and dealers themselves. The early days of philatelic literature, the incunabula period from 1860-1879, is far better covered than the same period for collectors and dealers. The history of early American stamp collecting has been dealt with only a few times. The most readable account is a few dozen pages spread over several chapters in the excellent and enjoyable book, *Paper Chase*, by Alvin F. Harlow.³ While a number of the details of Harlow’s book are now outdated, overall it is still a very good source. Another excellent older source is *The Postage Stamp, Its History and Recognition* by L.N. and M. Williams, Pelican Books (1956).

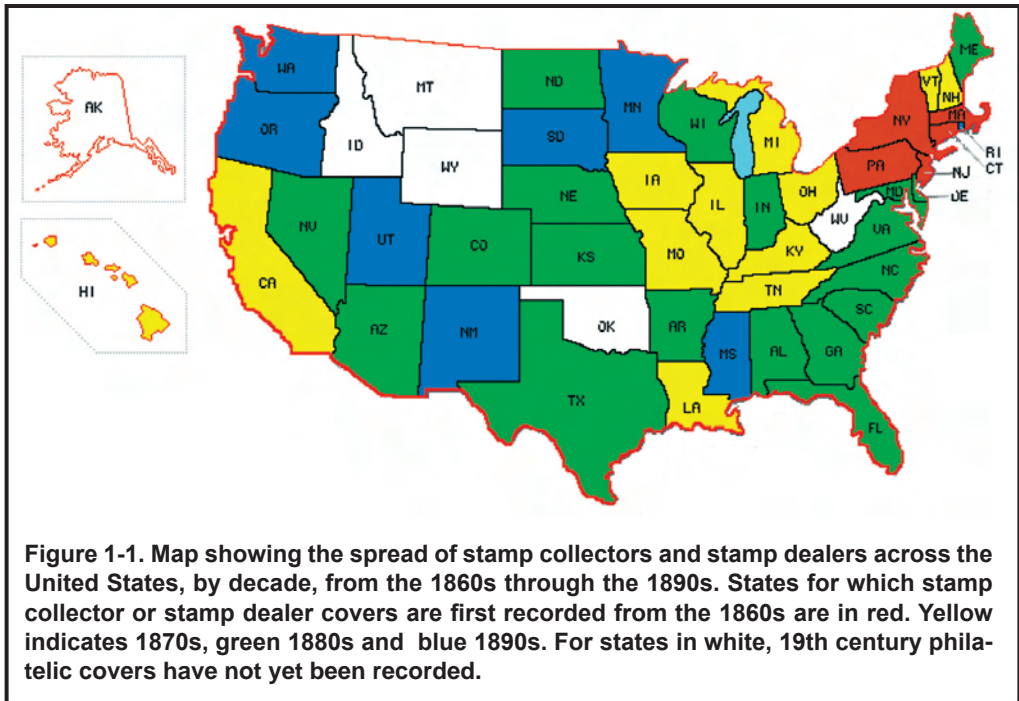
Two other more recent accounts cover part of this topic by focusing on stamp activities in specific cities. The peerless philatelic historian Herbert Trenchard focused on New York City.⁴ Stanley Bierman, the philatelic literature collector and writer, looked at

¹ Juell, Rodney A. & Rod, Steven J., editors: *Encyclopedia of United States Stamps and Stamp Collecting*, United States Stamp Society, Minneapolis, Minn. (2006), pg. 691.

² At least one well-known postal historian argued that advertising covers themselves can be within the traditional boundaries of postal history. Fricks, Gene: “I’ve Changed My Mind: Advertising Covers As Postal History,” *Collectors Club Philatelist*, January-February 1995, pg. 33.

³ Henry Holt and Company (New York) 1940, mainly in Chapter 3, pp. 26-49.

⁴ Trenchard, Herbert A., “A Brief History of Stamp Collecting in New York City—The First Half Century From the 1850’s to the 1913 International Exhibition,” *Collectors Club Philatelist*, July-August 1996, pp. 215-223.



these activities in several geographic areas, notably New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and California.⁵ These articles contain important information about the activities of dealers and some collectors. However, the authors mainly look at philatelic literature, stamp catalogs, periodicals, price lists and auction sales, rather than the postal history record that was left behind.⁶

My purpose here is not to follow in the footsteps of those who wrote about the history of American philatelic literature or used this literature to write about the dealers and collectors who produced it. While I believe it is long overdue for a stamp historian to produce a comprehensive work about stamp dealers and collectors all across the U.S., my interest as a collector is in stamps and covers rather than history based on these other sources. For that reason, my focus is on the postal history record left by these mid- and late-19th-century dealers and collectors throughout the U.S. A simple way to compare these approaches is that these other articles all have illustrations of old catalogs and periodicals. This article is illustrated with postally used covers.

This approach is a voyage into an uncharted territory. I know what I have collected, and what reposes in the albums of a few like-minded collectors. But I am sure that there is much more information in collections and records of the philatelic community. So while I will often refer to the “earliest documented” this or “first known” that, these statements are based on a limited knowledge base. I hope and expect that the readers of these articles

⁵ Bierman, Stanley M. “Early New York Dealers, Auction Houses and Periodicals,” *Collectors Club Philatelist*, July-August 1996, pp. 225-235; “Early Philadelphia Stamp Dealers, Auction Houses, and Periodicals,” *Collectors Club Philatelist*, November-December 1996, pp. 347-354; “California Philatelic Auction Houses, Pioneer Dealers and Early History,” *Philatelic Literature Review*, Volume 44, #2 (1995), pp. 110-117; “Early Chicago Dealers, Periodicals, and Auction Houses,” *Philatelic Literature Review*, Volume 44, #3 (1995), pp. 206-214; “Early Boston Philatelic Periodicals, Stamp Dealers and Auction Firms,” *Philatelic Literature Review*, Volume 44, #4 (1995), pp. 298-306.

⁶ Another of Herbert A. Trenchard’s excellent articles based on philatelic literature is “Deceit and Dispersal: Hussey and Taylor and Their Products,” *The Penny Post*, July 1996, pp. 22-34 (Part I) and October 1996 (Part II), pp. 4-21. While his subject is the Hussey and Taylor counterfeits, fakes and reprints, in Part I on pages 25-33 he provides a very clearly written history of early philately and philatelic literature through 1863 in England, Europe and the United States.

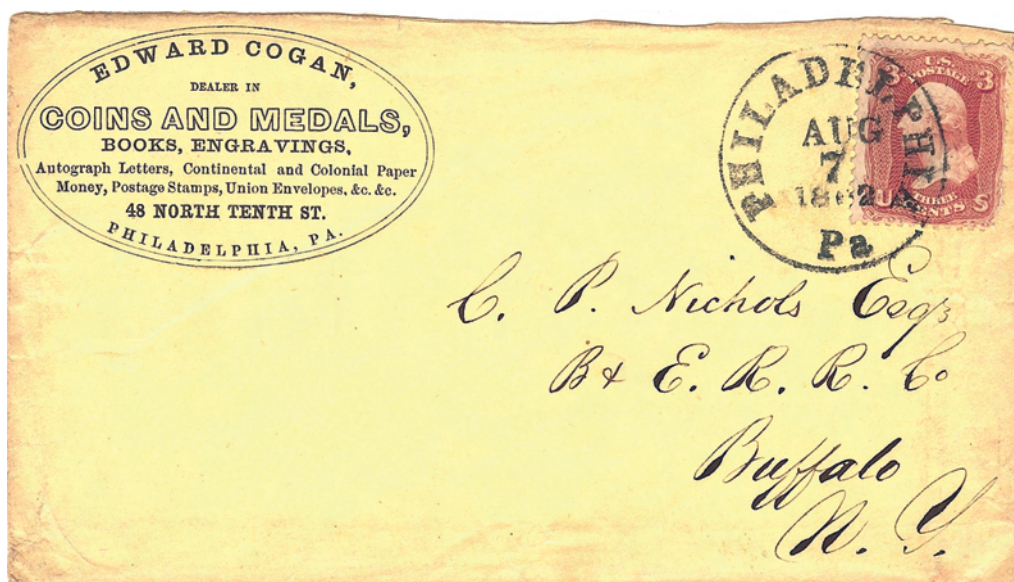


Figure 1-2. Earliest known cover from a U.S. stamp dealer. Edward Cogan mailed this cover on August 7, 1862 in Philadelphia. The corner card states that he was a “Dealer In Coins and Medals, Books, Engravings, Autograph Letter, Continental and Colonial Paper Money, Postage Stamps, Union Envelopes, &c. &c.”

will correct the record and add substantially to our knowledge of the postal history of U.S. stamp collecting.

This article is organized on two principles. First, the period from 1862 through 1899 will be explored decade by decade, rather than, say, by putting together the 1860s and 1870s the way they are grouped as the incunabula period for philatelic literature. My reason for doing this is that the growth in postal history material in each decade requires different treatment in each decade. For example, there is about four times as much postal history material known for the 1870s as is known for the 1860s. The second key principle is to organize the material within each decade by state, rather than by city or region. While a state-by-state analysis is sometimes awkward, it has the virtues of dealing with consistent and easily recognizable areas over the decades. Based on these principles, Figure 1-1 shows a map of the U.S. which identifies, by decade, the earliest philatelic postal history item for each state. This map gives a fine overview of how stamp collecting spread throughout the U.S. I have been able to locate 19th century stamp-collecting postal history items from all but six of the now 50 states.

My discussion of this subject begins with the earliest U.S. cover I know of from a stamp dealer or stamp collector.⁷ This is the cover in Figure 1-2. It is dated August 7, 1862 and bears the corner card of Edward Cogan of 48 North 10th Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. While Cogan was mainly a coin dealer, his corner card clearly states that he was a “dealer in Coins and Medals, Books, Engravings, Autograph Letters, Continental and Colonial Paper Money, Postage Stamps, Union Envelopes, &c. &c.” Philadelphia is not considered the center of early American philately (New York City or maybe Boston has that honor), but some of the earliest U.S. philatelic postal history comes from Philadelphia.

⁷ Although this is the earliest U.S. philatelic postal history item, a wonderful folded letter in England predates it by more than two decades. The letter, postmarked Oxford 14 December 1841, includes a request to save all the postage stamps available to assist in making a collection of them. This letter is discussed in the *London Philatelist*, May, 1997, pg. 115.

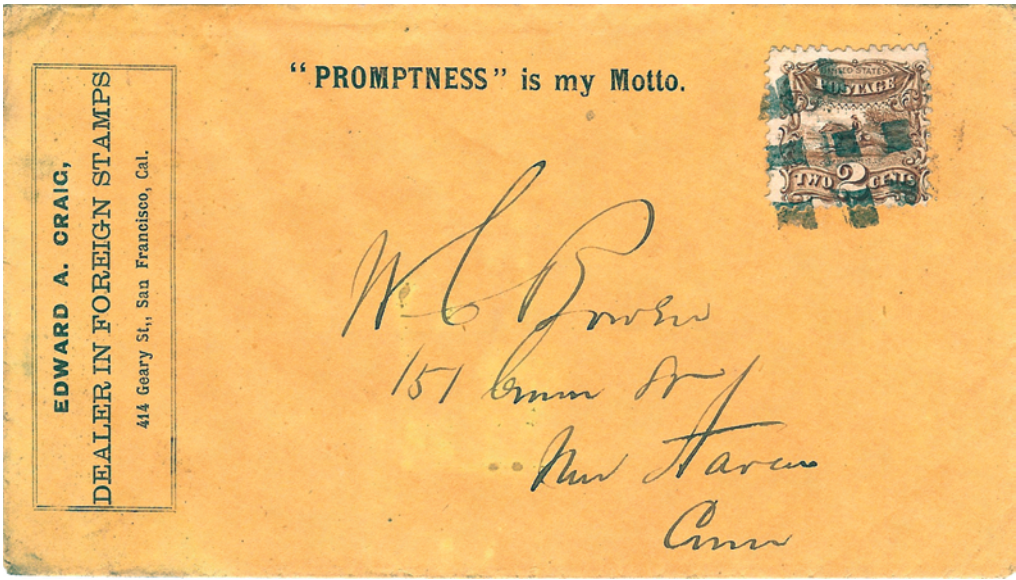


Figure 1-3. Cover with an enclosed circular from Edward A. Craig, an early San Francisco stamp dealer. The enclosure is dated May 15, 1870. This may be the earliest known cover from a West Coast stamp dealer.

Part 2 of this article will discuss the philatelic postal history of the 1860s in the Northeast, where almost all of the activity took place. Parts 3 and 4 will look at the spread of stamp collecting in the Northeast, South, mid-West and West in the 1870s. An example of the postal history from this decade is an 1870 2¢ circular-rate cover from Edward A Craig, 414 Geary Street, San Francisco, shown in Figure 1-3. The circular enclosed with the letter is dated May 15, 1870. I believe this is the earliest California stamp-dealer cover.

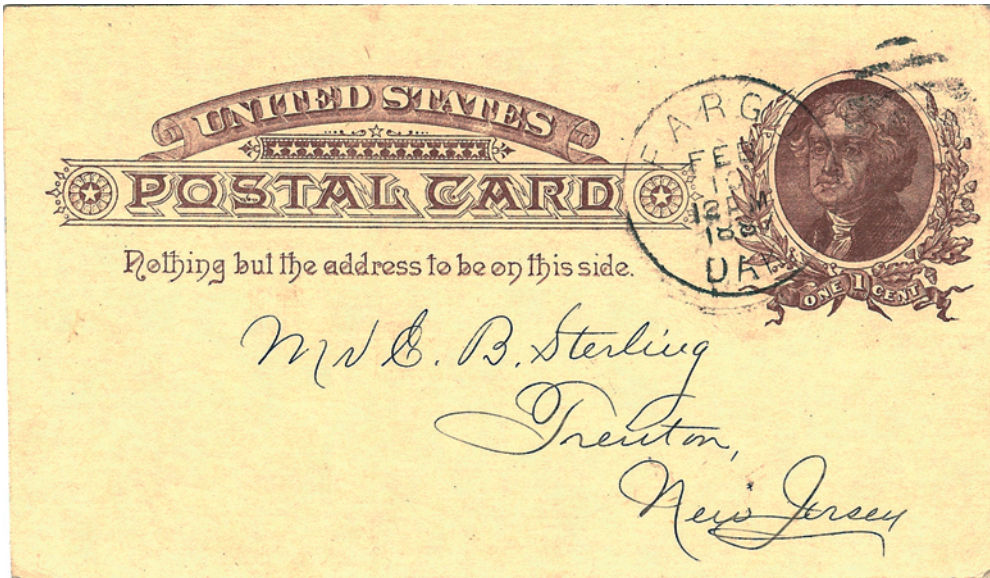


Figure 1-4. Postal card (Scott UX8) from Fargo, Dakota Territory, dated February 10, 1887, to E. B. Sterling, a well-known stamp dealer. The sender had sent Sterling 25¢ and wants to know when his U.S. stamp catalog will be delivered.



Figure 1-5. Earliest reported philatelic postal history cover from Mississippi. Dr. Henry C. Pope, a stamp and coin dealer from Port Gibson, Mississippi, mailed this cover on February 23, 1893.

Parts 5, 6, 7 and 8 will examine the postal history in the 1880s as stamp collecting expanded across most of the country. Shown in Figure 1-4 is an example of the stamp collecting postal history from this decade, a postal card (Scott UX8) from Fargo, Dakota Territory, dated Feb. 10, 1887. Addressed to E.B. Sterling, a stamp dealer in Trenton, New Jersey, the postcard is from a collector who had sent Sterling 25¢ for his U.S. catalog and wants to know when it will be delivered.

Parts 9, 10, 11 and 12 will look at the 1890s, when stamp collecting was well established in almost all states. An example of the postal history of this decade, shown in Figure 1-5, is a simple cover from Dr. Henry C. Pope, a stamp and coin dealer in Port Gibson, Mississippi, dated Feb. 23, 1893. This is the earliest stamp dealer postal history cover I am aware of from Mississippi. Part 13 will deal with the U.S. Possessions and Territories, and present updates and conclusions.

This article does not intend to be encyclopedic. I have made no effort to list all of the known covers from each period, which would range from a few dozen from the 1860s to thousands from the 1890s. Rather, the focus will be the earliest known covers from each state, covers from those states where there is little philatelic postal history, material involving stamp societies, and unusual destinations or stamp uses from the more active states. During these four decades, the amount of postal history material greatly increases. I estimate that the increase is roughly fourfold in each decade as the hobby expanded in territory and in the number of participants. In other words, for each item that can be found from the 1860s, four items can be found from the 1870s, sixteen from the 1880s and 64 from the 1890s.

I hope that readers will find this new philatelic area interesting. And I hope to learn from readers about postal history items and sources that are unknown to me today. Together we can use postal history material to develop a larger, clearer and more interesting picture of how philately developed in the United States.

Part 2 – The Beginnings in the 1860s

There is no real certainty where stamp collecting began in the U.S. Alvin Harlow⁸ refers to William H. Faber of Charleston, South Carolina, as the first U.S. stamp collector since he began his collection in 1855. But Harlow also raises the possibility that John K. Tiffany, a major figure among 19th century stamp collectors, could have be the first, since he too began collecting as a boy in 1855. The first woman stamp collector in the U.S. may have been Mrs. A. Jessop in New England, who began collecting in the late 1850s. Of course, there could have been other unknown and unrecorded collectors who left no trace of their passing or even continuing interest in collecting stamps. I don't think it much matters. As discussed below, the earliest postal history artifacts I can find from U.S. stamp collectors date from 1868 in Hartford, Conn. and 1869 in Morristown, N.J.

The same question of "first" can also be asked about stamp dealers. Harlow again has an opinion.⁹ The first may have been a poorly dressed man in City Hall Park, in New York City, who sold stamps pinned to a board. Or, it may have been a man named John Bailey whom William P. Brown, an important dealer throughout the second half of the 19th century, remembered as pre-dating his activities in New York. Bailey was also an outdoor dealer in City Hall Park and he may have been the first stamp dealer to move indoors. Lastly, Harlow mentions a man named Brennan, whom he knows very little about. This dealer, James Brennan, is better known today for the Civil War tokens he made to advertise his foreign and U.S. postage stamps.¹⁰ He operated at 37 Nassau Street and later 36 Liberty Street in New York City and published several price lists between 1864 and 1869. Regardless of who he was, the first American stamp dealer must have commenced his commercial activities before 1860. As discussed below, the earliest postal history items I can find for stamp dealers date from 1862 in Philadelphia.

State	Sender	Address	City	Date	Reference
Connecticut	Charlie Willard		Hartford	9/28/1868	Figure 2-1
Massachusetts	U. S. Stamp Company		Lowell	4/2/1866	Figure 2-2
New Jersey	Charles Brooks Tainter		Morristown	4/1/1869	Figure 2-6
New York	D. Appleton & Co.	443 Broadway	New York	1863 (?)	Figure 2-7
Pennsylvania	Edward Cogan	48 North Tenth St.	Philadelphia	8/7/1862	Figure 1-2

Table 1. 1860s, earliest philatelic postal history items, by state.

All of the philatelic postal history materials from the 1860s I have seen originate in the Northeast. They show activity in five different states: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. The earliest postal history item I have seen for each of these states is listed in Table 1. This and subsequent tables show for each item the state, the name of the sender (or recipient) through whom the association with stamp collecting is made, the street address (where known), city, date of use, and a reference (when appropriate) if the item is illustrated in this article. We will now explore the philatelic postal history of the 1860s by discussing these and other items by state.

Connecticut

The postal history of stamp collecting in Connecticut from the 1860s consists of a single outstanding letter from one stamp collector to another, written in 1868. This letter is

⁸ Harlow, Alvin F., *Paper Chase*, Holt (New York), 1940, pg. 26.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 26-27.

¹⁰ Prior to going into the stamp business in 1860, Brennan was a carrier for George Hussey's local delivery service. Hussey sold locals, reprints and forgeries of locals, and was one of the first stamp sellers in New York. Hahn, Calvet M.: "The Incunabula of Philatelic Literature on Locals and Carriers," *Collectors Club Philatelist*, May-June 1993, pg. 182.



Figure 2-1. Cover sent by a stamp collector, Charlie Willard, to his brother in Illinois. It is postmarked Hartford, Connecticut, September 28, 1868. Part of the enclosed letter discusses stamp collecting.

the earliest known U.S. postal history item about stamp collecting, and its cover is shown in Figure 2-1. The cover was postmarked September 28 at Hartford. The cancellation consists of a black grid on a red 3¢ F-grill stamp, Scott 94. The letter was written by Charlie Willard to his brother Eddie in Kewanee, Illinois. The letter runs six handwritten pages, with the most interesting content quoted as follows:

Hartford Sept 28/68

Dear Brother Eddie,

I have owed you a letter for a long time and I have been trying to find an excuse for it, but I cannot think of any except that I have been so busy with collecting stamps that I have hardly thought of any thing else....

Eddie are you getting a collection of stamps now, it is all the go here. Enclosed Willie [Chapin, a friend] & I send you a few duplicates. They are all we have now that you have not got, but if you can send us some more of those newspaper stamps, we can trade them for foreign stamps easily. I now have 250 stamps in my collection. How many have you got?

Please write soon to your aff. Brother, Charlie.

It is great to know that stamp collecting was “all the go” around Hartford in 1868. The newspaper stamps referred to in the letter were the large first-issue newspaper stamps of 1865.

Massachusetts

Boston was one of the cradles of stamp collecting in the 1860s. It was home to a number of very early, prominent stamp dealers, including S. Allan Taylor and Ferdinand Trifet. However, the earliest Massachusetts postal history item I am aware of is a revenue stamp dated April 2, 1866, and used on a stock certificate for the short-lived United States Stamp Company of Lowell, Massachusetts. An example is shown in Figure 2-2. The printed cancellation on the 5¢ Foreign Exchange revenue stamp (Scott R27) reads “E. H. Judkins, E. T. Gage, For U. S. Stamp Comp’ny, Apr 2d 1866.” An enlargement of the stamp is shown in Figure 2-3. More than a dozen of these stamps on the company’s stock certificates are known.

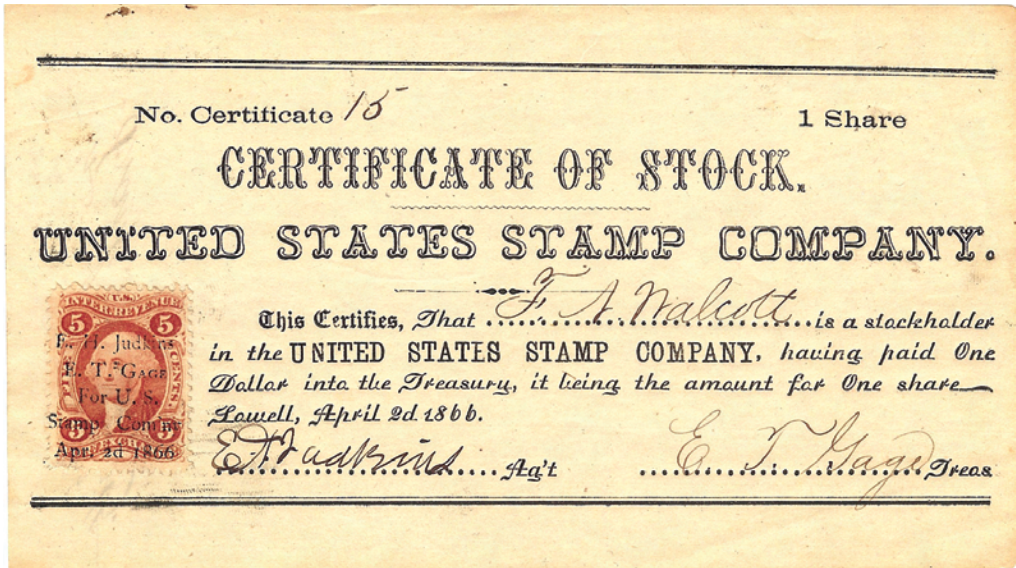


Figure 2-2. A 5¢ Foreign Exchange revenue stamp (Scott R27) with printed cancellation “E. H Judkins, E. T. Gage, For U. S. Stamp Comp’ny, Apr 2d, 1866” used on a stock certificate for the company. The 5¢ stamp paid the tax for the issuance of a share in an unincorporated company.



Figure 2-3. Enlargement of the 5¢ Foreign Exchange stamp on the stock certificate shown in Figure 2-2.



Figure 2-4. Cover and part of the enclosure from Ferdinand Trifet, an important Boston stamp dealer, author and publisher, postmarked Boston, August 18, 1868.

Edgar Judkins was a stamp dealer in Lowell who began using the name United States Stamp Company in 1865. E. T. Gage worked as a clerk in Lowell. In 1866 they sold shares in the United States Stamp Company in what may have been the first syndication of a stamp business. At least 100 shares were sold to several different investors. The 5¢ revenue stamp paid the tax applicable to the issuance of shares in an unincorporated company.

The famous Boston dealers are represented in the 1860s by an 1868 cover from Ferdinand Trifet, addressed to Grand Rapids, Michigan.¹¹ The cover and part of its enclosure are shown in Figure 2-4. The Boston cancellation on the 3¢ 1861 stamp is dated August 18. The year of the cover is inferred from the enclosure, a page from Trifet's *The American Stamp Mercury* from July, 1868. At this time Trifet had his office at 20 State Street in Boston.

Possibly the earliest Boston advertising items for use in the mail are stamp collars made by S. Allan Taylor, 3 Cornhill Court, Boston, to advertise his stamp business. Figure 2-5 shows one type of Taylor's stamp collars surrounding a 1863-64 2¢ black Andrew Jack-



Figure 2-5. Ad collar of S. Allan Taylor on Black Jack envelope.

¹¹ Trifet was a prominent dealer, author and publisher in Boston from 1866 through the mid-1890s. He published stamp catalogs from 1866 until 1894 and published the *American Stamp Mercury* from 1867 through 1871. There is a short biography of Trifet in Varro E. Tyler's *Philatelic Forgers, Their Lives and Work*, Sidney, Ohio, pp. 141-142. This was published in 1991 by Linn's Stamp News and is hereafter cited as "Tyler's *Philatelic Forgers*."

son cut square (Scott U46). This presumably dates from 1867, when Taylor was located at the Cornhill Court address.

New Jersey

Philatelic activity in New Jersey is represented by a letter from a young stamp collector mailed in 1869 from Morristown to a fellow stamp collector in Germany. The cover that carried the letter is shown in Figure 2-6. The relevant portions of this interesting letter follow:

Lennoxville, B.C.

March 22nd 1869

My dear Harry,

Your very dear letter reached me safely two days ago. It is quite cold here and there is not as yet the slightest prospect of spring.... I am sorry that I forgot to send you any stamps in my last letter, but I never thought of enclosing any until after I had mailed your letter, and then it was too late. I received a letter from Corwin about a week ago, he commenced collecting stamps again and wants me to send him a complete set of Canadian stamps...

Enclosed I send some stamps the best I can obtain....Stamps are all the rage here, nearly everyone is collecting them. The new U.S. stamps will be issued on the first of April. The one cent stamp is headed with the vignette of Franklin, & also those of two other men. The two, three & twelve-cent stamps have illustrations of railroad trains, steamboats & horses. The fifteen & twenty-four have miniature copies of the landing of Columbus and of the Declaration of Independence, the others consist of national emblems, the head of Washington, & of Lincoln. President Grant has been inaugurated....

Yr. very aff. friend

Chs. Brooks Tainter

The heading "Lennoxville B.C." apparently references to Bishop's College in Lennoxville, Quebec, where Tainter was attending school. His letter to Harry was mailed from

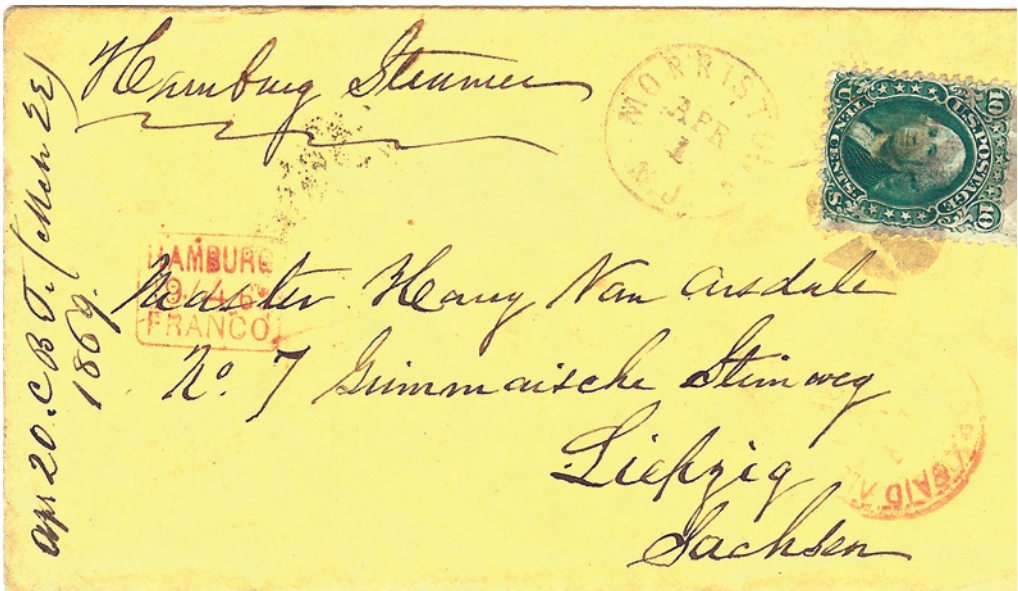


Figure 2-6. Cover postmarked April 1, 1869, in Morristown, New Jersey from a stamp collector to his friend and fellow collector in Germany. The enclosure discusses stamp collecting and the impending issue of the 1869 pictorial stamps, which were just beginning to come into use when this letter was posted.

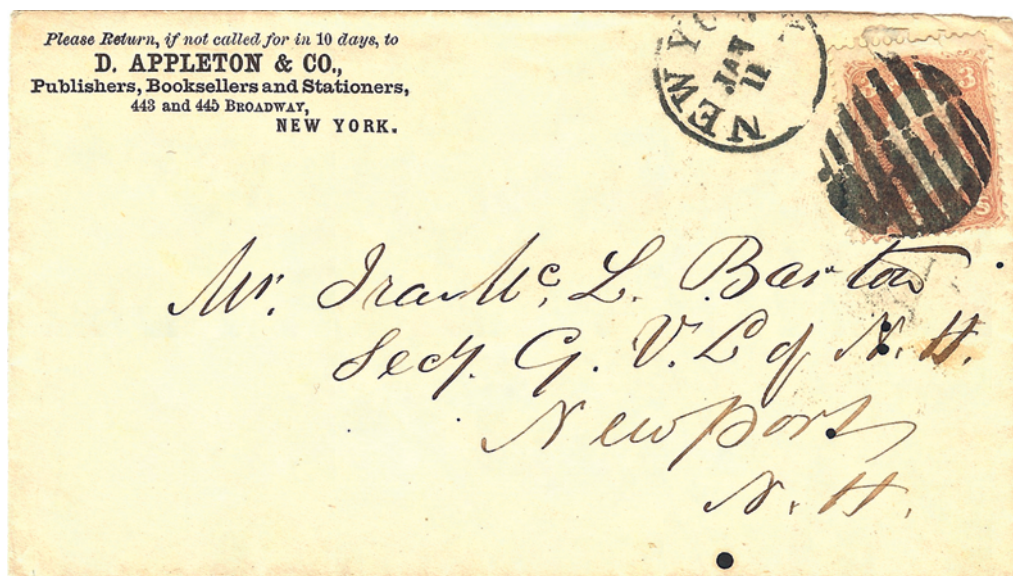


Figure 2-7. Cover mailed by D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway, New York, on January 11, probably 1863, using a 3¢ rose stamp (Scott 65). In December, 1862, Appleton & Co. published the first stamp album in the United States.

Morristown, N.J. on April 1, 1869 and arrived in Leipzig on April 20th. Postage was paid by a green 10¢ F grill stamp (Scott 96). Apparently this letter was carried or mailed to Tainter's home in New Jersey and mailed from Morristown, franked for the 10¢ direct rate from the U.S. to Germany. Tainter's information about the new U.S. issue of 1869 was pretty accurate for someone residing in Canada. This letter and the Connecticut letter mentioned above show the wide popularity of stamp collecting among young men in the late 1860s.

New York

The postal history of stamp collecting from New York in the 1860s is remarkably thin considering it was the home of important dealers such as J. Walter Scott and William P. Brown, as well as prominent early stamp collectors. One of the earliest links I am aware of is the cover to Newport, New Hampshire, shown in Figure 2-7, with the corner card of D. Appleton & Co., 443 and 445 Broadway, New York. The cancellation shows the month and day, January 11, but no year. The stamp is the common ungrilled 3¢ rose of 1861, Scott 65, so the cover probably dates from the early or mid-1860s. I've listed it in Table 1 as 1863 with a question mark. Appleton's philatelic claim to fame is that they published the first stamp album in the U.S. in December, 1862, while their offices were at 443 and 445 Broadway, the same address shown on the cover. A second, expanded edition of their album appeared around September 1863.¹²

Along with John Bailey and William P. Brown, James Brennan was one of the of the earliest stamp dealers in New York City. Figure 2-8 shows a registered cover dated March 13, 1865 from San Francisco, California, addressed to James Brennan, 37 Nassau Street, New York. Two times the 3¢ domestic rate is paid by three Black Jack stamps. The 20¢ registration fee was paid in cash. The Pacific Stage Express Co. envelope was obsolete at the time since it ceased to function in 1864. The back of the cover bears notations about the

¹² A history of the Appleton album, with many interesting illustrations, was published in 1987. Welch, Bill: "America's First Stamp Album Celebrates Its 125th Birthday," *The American Philatelist*, December, 1987, pp. 1134-1141.



Figure 2-8. James Brennan was one of the earliest stamp dealers in New York City. This cover from San Francisco was mailed to him on March 13, 1865.

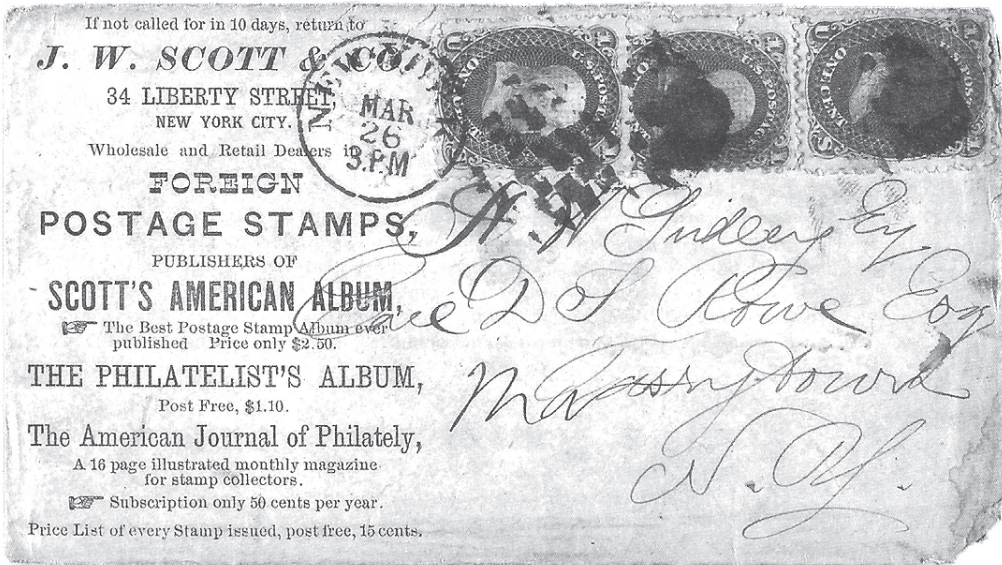


Figure 2-9. Early cover from Walter J. Scott when he was located at 34 Liberty Street in New York City. First-class postage was paid by three 1¢ E-grill stamps (86) and the cover was postmarked New York, March 26 (1868 or 1869).

stamps enclosed in this envelope, including a number from the Sandwich Islands.

The earliest J. Walter Scott cover I am aware of is shown in Figure 2-9.¹³ It is franked with three copies of the 1¢ E grill (Scott 86) which has an earliest known use of March 9, 1868. Scott's address is shown as 34 Liberty Street, New York City. The postmark shows a date of Mar 26, without any notation of a year. Scott's office was at 34 Liberty Street

¹³ Walter J. Scott was elected to the American Philatelic Society Hall of Fame in 1941; a brief biography of Scott can be found on the APS website by clicking Almanac, then Awards and then Hall of Fame. Scott's early reprint and forgery activities are discussed in Tyler's *Philatelic Forgers*, pp. 110-112.



Figure 2-10. All-over design advertising cover from Kline's Emporium postmarked Philadelphia, March 20 (1866) to Geneva, Switzerland. Postage of 33¢ was paid by 3¢ and 30¢ 1861 stamps (Scott 65 and 71).

from 1867 until 1871. It seems reasonable to date this cover as March 26, 1868, or even March 26, 1869. There may very well be earlier Scott covers from New York, but I have not seen any.

Pennsylvania

As discussed, the earliest Pennsylvania postal history cover dates from 1862 in Philadelphia. Printed envelopes from Edward Cogan are known used on August 7, 1862 (the cover shown in Figure 1-2) as well as August 16, 1862. These are some of the very earliest printed material for stamp collectors. There are no U.S. stamp catalogs, albums, periodicals or even price lists, that pre-date them.¹⁴ In total, I have seen four covers from Cogan from 1862.

Figure 2-10 shows a wonderful cover from Kline's Emporium, postmarked Philadelphia, March 20, 1866. Kline's Emporium, 824 Walnut Street, was run by John W. Kline who, under the name A. C. Kline, published the first stamp catalog in the United States.¹⁵ His all-over advertising cover lists "Postage Stamps" among the many items sold at Kline's Emporium. This cover is addressed to Geneva, Switzerland, with the 33¢ Prussian Closed Mail rate paid by a 3¢ and 30¢ 1861 stamps (Scott 65 and 71).

Richard Winter, foreign mails editor for the *Chronicle*, provided the following analysis of the rate, route and markings on this cover: The Figure 2-10 cover crossed the Atlantic in a closed mailbag on the Cunard steamship *Java*, arriving at Queenstown (Ireland) on 31 March 1866. The mail bag was then sent by ferry and train to Europe. It was opened and

¹⁴ This cover was preceded in Europe by: Berger-Levrault, Francois, list of stamps September, 1861, December, 1861, June 1862; Potiquet, Alfred, printed catalog, 1861; Brown, Mount, Catalog of Stamps, London, 1862; and, Moens, Jean Baptiste, pamphlet on falsification of postage stamps, 1862. In the U.S. the earliest publications are: catalog, Kline, A. C.; *The Stamp Collector's Manual*, Philadelphia, December 1862; stamp album, D. Appleton & Co., New York City, December, 1862; price list, George Hussey, late 1863; and periodical, Taylor, S. Allan, *Stamp Collectors Record*, Albany, 1864; all of which appeared after the August, 1862, Cogan cover shown in Figure 1-2.

¹⁵ See Footnote 14.

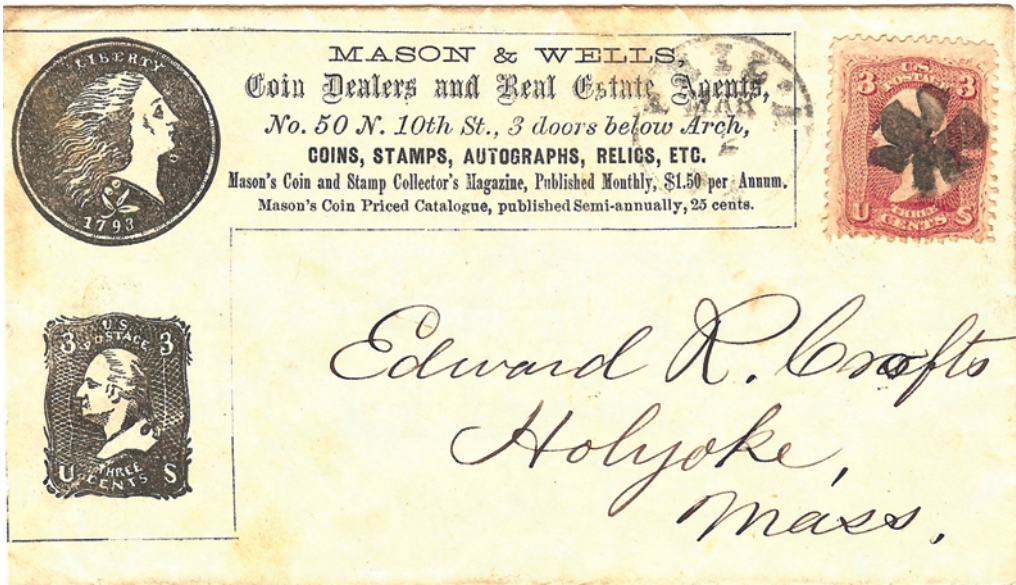


Figure 2-11. Mason & Wells advertising cover, Philadelphia, March 2, 1868. Note the gothic subheading: “Coin Dealers and Real Estate Agents.”



Figure 2-12. Mason & Co. advertising cover, postmarked Philadelphia, December 23, 1868. Still doing coins, but no longer in the real estate business.

its contents were marked at the Aachen exchange office (on the Verviers-Cologne train) on 3 April 1866. Under the convention that carried this cover, the United States was required to credit 7¢ to Prussia for a single rate letter plus additional “foreign” postage send the letter beyond Prussia. For Switzerland, that amount was 5¢. Thus the amount credited by the New York exchange office to Prussia was 12¢. The Aachen exchange office clerk marked in magenta ink, in the lower left corner, that “2” (silbergroschen) had been paid for the transit beyond the German-Austrian Postal Union (equivalent to 5¢). The Swiss wrote over the top of this marking a red crayon “6,” representing 6 kreuzer, the equivalent amount of foreign



Figure 2-13. Mason & Co. advertising cover, new design, postmarked Philadelphia, September 11, 1869. As with the cover in Figure 12-2, this must have contained overweight content. Six cents was collected from the recipient upon delivery.

transit postage paid. A few other Kline’s Emporium covers with similar all-over advertising designs are known.

Another well-known Philadelphia stamp dealer of this era, George B. Mason, also created striking advertising covers to promote his commercial activities. In 1867 Mason began publishing one of the earliest stamp journals in America, *Mason’s Coin and Stamp Collector’s Magazine*. Shortly thereafter, Mason went into partnership with a Mr. Wells, operating from February to May, 1868, at 50 N. 10th Street. A Mason & Wells cover dating from March 2, [1868], shown in Figure 2-11, refers to the firm as “Coin Dealers and Real Estate Agents” before mentioning stamps, autographs and relics. After the partnership dissolved, Mason continued on his own as Mason & Co. at the same location. Mason first used a similar design (dropping the reference to real estate) for his Mason & Co. envelopes. The example shown in Figure 2-12, a cover to Grand Rapids, Michigan, is franked with a 3¢ 1861 stamp postmarked at Philadelphia on December 23, 1868. In 1869 Mason created a new design for his advertising covers giving coins and stamps more prominent mention. An example, postmarked at Philadelphia on September 11, 1869, franked with a 3¢ 1869 stamp and addressed to Newcastle, Pennsylvania, is shown in Figure 2-13. It’s interesting to note that both covers Figures 2-12 and 2-13 were substantially overweight. Each must have weighed between 1 and 1½ ounces, because in each case, 6¢ postage due was collected from the recipient.

The 1860s – Conclusion

I look forward to hearing from interested readers about any other postal history material they are aware of from this decade. I’m sure more 1860s covers will be found in collections. Uncovering more material will help us understand the early history of stamp collecting in the United States. Looking ahead, our next installment will discuss the U.S. postal history of stamp collecting in the 1870s as it spread to another dozen states, as far west as California and Hawaii. ■

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CONFLICT BETWEEN THURN & TAXIS AND PRUSSIA OVER PRUSSIAN CLOSED MAIL

HEINRICH CONZELMANN

In 1852, the United States and Prussia signed a postal convention to establish a direct service between both countries in closed mail bags via England, which is commonly known as the Prussian closed mail. It took only a short time until the new service was accepted by correspondents in the United States and all parts of the German Austrian Postal Union (GAPU), and the service attracted a large part of the total correspondence between the two countries. Commercial letters usually were sent in the Prussian closed mail since the service was much faster than the routing via Bremen, an advantage that was well worth the higher postage fee.

In general, covers from the different German States sent to the United States in the Prussian closed mail are quite numerous. Some origins (or destinations), such as Mecklenburg-Schwerin or Braunschweig, are scarce because of the small exchange of mail by any routing. Covers from GAPU members with larger populations are common, including covers posted shortly after the U.S.-Prussian Convention went into effect on 1 October 1852.¹ One exception, however, was during the 1850s when Prussian closed mail covers posted within the Thurn & Taxis postal district to the United States are absent, even though a substantial number of covers were sent via Bremen or in the British open mail. The following article explains this strange situation and illustrates a few covers with unusual ratings based on the events that took place.

There are good sources that provide the background and details of the U.S.-Prussian Postal Convention of 1852; therefore, only the rate structure and the basic accounting are repeated here.²

The total Prussian closed mail postage for a single-rate letter of ½ oz. or 1 Loth was set at 30¢, which was equal to 13 silbergroschen (Sgr.) in the Northern German States and 45 kreuzer (Kr.) in the Southern German States. The transit postage through England and Belgium was paid for by weight of the closed bag, and it was assumed that four letters averaged one ounce. This resulted in the following breakdown of the 30¢ rate: 30¢ = 5¢ internal U.S. postage + 18¢ packet and British postage + 2¢ Belgium transit fee + 5¢ internal GAPU postage. On letters from the GAPU to the United States, Prussia received only the internal postage of 5¢. The British and Belgian transit expenses were paid by the U.S. postal administration. In the opposite direction, Prussia paid the Belgium transit postage and the United States continued to pay the British transit postage. Therefore, on unpaid letters from the United States to the GAPU, the U.S. exchange offices debited Prussia 23¢ for a single-rate

¹ Karl Christian Sautter, "Der preußisch-amerikanische Postvertrag von 1852," *Archiv für Post und Telegraphie* Nr. 9, Berlin, September, 1920, pp. 281–94. The U.S.-Prussian Convention went into effect on 1 October 1852 in Prussia; the earliest covers to Europe were sent from New York 30 October 1852 on the Collins Line steamer *Baltic*.

² George E. Hargest, *History of Letter Post Communication Between the United States and Europe 1845–1875* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), pp. 85–87; and Richard F. Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail, Volume 1* (Bellefonte, Penn.: American Philatelic Society, 2006), Chapter 4.

letter and credited 7¢ for a paid one. In the opposite direction, Prussia debited the United States 5¢ on an unpaid single-rate letter and credited 25¢ on a paid one.

An important aspect of the U.S.-Prussian Convention was that both parties agreed on a uniform rate of 5¢ (equivalent to 2 Sgr. or 6 Kr.) for the internal German portion to all parts of the GAPU and, with respect to the U.S. portion, to any location in the United States. In the negotiations with the United States, Prussia acted for all the members of the GAPU. Unfortunately, the GAPU Convention to which most of the various German postal administrations had agreed, established three zone rates for internal postage depending on the distance between the origin and point of delivery: 1 Sgr. or 3 Kr. for less than 10 miles (one German mile was equivalent to 4.61 U.S. miles); 2 Sgr. or 6 Kr. for 10 to 20 miles; and 3 Sgr. or 9 Kr. for larger distances. This postage was retained by the sending postal administration. For letters from foreign destinations, the exchange office that received the mails from outside the GAPU was defined as the sending office. For the Prussian closed mail, the exchange office was Aachen (the travelling office located on the Cologne-Verviers railroad). As a result, Prussia received the GAPU part of the postage for letters from the United States. Prussia had signed the convention with the United States before all the members of the GAPU had accepted the uniform internal rate of 2 Sgr. implemented in the Prussian closed mail rate. This caused a problem because some of the GAPU postal administrations were not willing to accept the reduced postage and receive only 2 Sgr. instead of 3 Sgr. on outgoing letters to the United States. In most cases the internal GAPU postage to Aachen was 3 Sgr.

In his very detailed and interesting paper about the Prussian closed mail based on original sources, Karl Christian Sautter explained the problems at the beginning of the U.S.-Prussian Convention period, with particular emphasis on the relations between Prussia and the Thurn & Taxis Post.³ In this same paper he provided the original explanation for the short paid letters described in an earlier *Chronicle* article.⁴ The following paragraph is a somewhat shortened translation of this part of his paper:

Not all the states of the German Austrian Postal Union welcomed the convention between Prussia and the United States. The southern postal administrations (Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Thurn & Taxis) didn't join the convention and used mainly the routing via France. The Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, which transmitted a substantial part of the Scandinavian correspondence to the United States, preferred to send letters in the open mail via England [*Comment: in addition to the direct Bremen mail*]. Because letters from the United States to or via the German States were commonly placed in the Prussian closed mail by the U.S. exchange offices if the sender had not expressly endorsed them for another routing, the volume of the correspondence in the Prussian closed mail from the United States (10,000 letters per week) was much larger than in the opposite direction (1,500 letters per week). This unbalanced ratio of letters from and to the United States was a detriment as far as the United States portion of the postage was concerned. [*Comment: Since the open mail letters from Germany were paid only to the U.S. border, and most of these letters were sent on British steamers across the Atlantic, the United States had a significant financial loss in not receiving the sea postage. Had the letters been sent in the Prussian closed mail, the ratio of letters carried by British or American packets would have been more equal.*] Therefore, the U.S. postal administration complained about the situation and asked for an explanation. The Prussians made a new attempt to convince the southern states, the Thurn & Taxis Post, and the Hanse towns to join the convention. Finally, all but Thurn & Taxis agreed to participate at the Prussian closed mail convention rates. Thurn &

³ Sautter, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-89

⁴ Heinrich Conzelmann, "Part Paid Covers in the Prussian closed mail," *Chronicle* 181 (February 1999), pp. 58-67.



Figure 1. Unpaid letter from Frankfurt (11 November 1854) to Ebenezer, New York (“near Buffalo”). The sender endorsed letter for the Prussian closed mail, but Thurn & Taxis charged 47 Kr. and sent letter through Aachen in the British open mail.

Taxis refused because they insisted on the 3 Sgr. GAPU postage, which (according to the GAPU Convention) belonged to the sending office, whereas Prussia and the United States had agreed on a reduced rate of 2 Sgr.

Letters posted at Thurn & Taxis post offices and sent via Aachen to the United States were always charged 3 Sgr. for the internal GAPU postage. In response, the Prussians expressly prohibited such letters from being sent in the Prussian closed mail. Senders within the Thurn & Taxis postal district who wanted their letters to be included in the Prussian closed mail had to send their letters under cover to friends in Prussia, to be posted at Prussian offices. The merchants in Frankfurt particularly complained about this situation to the Postal Commission of the Senate in Frankfurt, but without any success. Nevertheless, the situation escalated. An intensive, very sharp, and contentious correspondence between Berlin (Prussia) and Frankfurt (Thurn & Taxis) resulted, which lasted for years. On 19 April 1855, the Thurn & Taxis Post sent a letter to the Prussians with the offer to terminate its resistance if Prussia would compensate for the loss of the Thurn & Taxis postage caused by the reduced GAPU postage of 2 Sgr. Thurn & Taxis proposed that half of the GAPU postage, which Prussia received on Prussian closed mail letters from the United States and addressed to the Thurn & Taxis district, should be paid to Thurn & Taxis. However, Prussia refused that proposal. It took until 1859 before Thurn & Taxis accepted the conditions of the U.S.-Prussian Convention of 1852.

The following examples of covers will demonstrate the consequences of the conflict between Prussia and the Thurn & Taxis Post.

The cover in Figure 1 was sent from Frankfurt on 11 November 1854 to the town of “Ebenezer Ezer/near Buffalo/near New York.” The sender endorsed the letter, “Via Ostende pr. Liverpool/Pr. Prussian closed mail,” wishing explicitly that the letter should be included in the Prussian closed mail. However, the post office at Frankfurt charged 47 Kr. (divided into 38 Kr. or 10 ³/₄ Sgr. foreign and 9 Kr. GAPU postage), which was the rate for the British



Figure 2. Unpaid Prussian closed mail cover from New York City (9 November 1852) to Heilbronn, Würtemberg. Aachen marked 45 Kr. debit to Thurn & Taxis. Frankfurt Thurn & Taxis office increased debit to the 47 Kr. British open mail rate and applied “Aus Amerika/ueber Preussen.”

open mail via Aachen to the U.S. border.⁵ This is one of the letters mentioned by Sautter. Since Thurn & Taxis charged 9 Kr. or 3 Sgr. GAPU postage, the exchange office at Aachen had to send the letter in the British open mail. Because Thurn & Taxis refused to join the U.S.-Prussian Convention, the sender had to pay 47 Kr., which is 2 Kr. more than the 45 Kr. Prussian closed mail rate. In addition, the addressee had to pay 5¢ U.S. inland postage. The total postage for the letter was about 6¢ higher than if it had been sent in the Prussian closed mail, and there was no advantage for the correspondents.

Aachen sent the letter to London (14 November transit marking) and credited 1 shilling British and packet postage to England. Although the packet postage was prepaid for carriage by a British steamer, the letter was sent on the next possible departure, the Collins line steamer *Baltic*, which arrived in New York on 26 November.⁶ Since this was an American contract steamer, the sea postage of 16¢ was credited to the United States (marked in red manuscript within the New York marking).

For a short period from the beginning of the U.S.-Prussian Convention to January 1853, Thurn & Taxis charged an additional transit fee on unpaid letters from the United States, which was not in accordance with the Convention. Two examples are shown in Figures 2 and 3.

Figure 2 illustrates a very early unpaid folded letter sent in the Prussian closed mail from New York on 9 November 1852 by the Cunard steamer *Niagara* and addressed to Heilbronn, Würtemberg. New York struck the typical exchange office marking for British packet service with a 23¢ debit to Prussia. Aachen (24 November transit marking on reverse) marked in blue ink the 45 Kr. Prussian debit to Thurn & Taxis (equivalent to 13 Sgr.

⁵ Technically, Frankfurt may not have ignored the endorsement since Article I of the 1852 Anglo-Prussian Convention used the term “Prussian closed mails” to refer to mail carried in closed mail bags through Belgium.

⁶ All sailing dates are from Walter Hubbard and Richard F. Winter, *North Atlantic Mail Sailings 1840–75* (Canton, Ohio: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 1988).



Figure 3. Unpaid Prussian closed mail cover from Baltimore (11 January 1853) to Goeplingen, Württemberg. Aachen marked blue ink 1 fl. 30 Kr. debit to Thurn & Taxis (90 Kr.) for a double letter. Frankfurt increased rate to the British open mail rate of 1 fl. 34 Kr. (94 Kr. marked in red ink above Aachen debit). Postage due at destination (red crayon, upper right) included 2 Kr. additional for delivery.

or 30¢), which was also the amount that should have been collected from the addressee. On the way to its destination the letter had to pass through the Thurn & Taxis postal district and was handled by the Thurn & Taxis Oberpostamt in Frankfurt on 25 November (dated marking on reverse). The Frankfurt office crossed out the 45 Kr. Aachen debit and marked 47 Kr. in red ink (typical for Frankfurt) above the Aachen debit, as the increased amount to be collected from the addressee. To explain the rate change, Frankfurt struck the marking “Aus Amerika/ueber Preussen” (“from America via Prussia”). The Thurn & Taxis Post did not accept the new Prussian closed mail rate of 45 Kr., but adjusted it to the 47 Kr. open mail rate to collect for its own profit the additional 2 Kr. The marking “Aus Amerika/ueber Preussen” is known in 1851 and 1852 on covers sent via Bremen or via England in the open mail, but it is very uncommon on a Prussian closed mail cover.

A second cover (outer letter sheet only), which shows the same treatment, is illustrated in Figure 3. The cover was posted in Baltimore on 11 January 1853 and was sent to Goeplingen, Württemberg. In contrast to the letter in Figure 2, its weight was above ½ oz. and accordingly New York debited Prussia 46¢ for two rates. The cover was sent by the Cunard steamer *Asia* to Liverpool. The closed bag was opened in Aachen on 28 January and marked in blue ink for a collection of 2 x 45 Kr. = 1 fl. 30 Kr. (1 florin [fl.] = 1 gulden or 60 Kr.). Again the letter passed through the Thurn & Taxis office in Frankfurt (29 January marking on the reverse), where the rate was increased to two times the British open mail rate, 2 x 47 Kr. = 94 Kr. (marked in red ink just above the Aachen debit marking), which was converted to 1 fl. 34 Kr. (magenta ink). The addressee in Goeplingen had to pay 1 fl. 36 Kr. (red crayon, upper right), which included two additional kreuzer for local delivery.

I have recorded very few additional covers via Frankfurt showing the same increase of the Prussian closed mail rate to the British open mail rate. One interesting cover (Schuyler Rumsey Auction, Sale No. 27, Lot 66) was sent from Philadelphia to Heilbronn, Württemberg, in the first Prussian closed mail to Europe carried by the Baltic on 30 October 1852.



Figure 4. Unpaid letter from New York City (25 April 1853) sent by mistake to Williamsburg, Brooklyn, and marked for 5¢ postage due, but returned and placed in Prussian closed mail to Württemberg. Aachen marked 45 Kr. debit to Thurn & Taxis and Württemberg added 2 Kr. for local delivery. Thurn & Taxis did not increase the rate.

I have also seen another cover addressed to Bavaria.⁷ This cover was sent by the New York & Havre line steamer *Humboldt* on 15 January 1853 and arrived in Frankfurt on 2 February 1853. Covers that arrived a few days later do not show this rate adjustment. A Prussian closed mail cover from Washington (19 January 1853) to Württemberg, which arrived at Aachen on 6 February 1853, shows simply the 45 Kr. Prussian closed mail rate.

Some covers that show the 47 Kr. marking appear to be the rerated covers discussed in this article but they are not. Figure 4 illustrates this so the reader may avoid confusion in evaluating other similar covers. This unpaid letter (outer letter sheet only) was posted in New York City on 25 April 1853, marked for 5¢ postage due, and mistakenly sent to Williamsburg, New York.⁸ The letter was sent back to New York City on 27 April, where New York struck the typical exchange office marking for British packet service with a 23¢ debit to Prussia. The letter was included in the Prussian closed mail sent on the Collins Line steamer *Arctic* to Liverpool. The closed mail bag was opened at Aachen on 12 May (red datestamp on reverse) and marked for a collection of 45 Kr. in the typical blue ink of the Aachen exchange office. The addressee in Württemberg paid 47 Kr., but this was not the fee increased by Frankfurt (no red ink marking). Instead it was the addition of 2 Kr. for local delivery in Württemberg. Note that the value underlined in Württemberg is 45 Kr. (marked at Aachen) and not the 47 Kr. marked at Frankfurt that was shown in Figure 2. This 47 Kr. is in red crayon and was marked in Württemberg.

It is possible that after a while the Prussian postal administration learned of this discriminatory treatment of the Prussian closed mail letters by Thurn & Taxis Post and took remedial measures. The cover in Figure 5 shows the Prussian answer. The cover was sent unpaid from Baltimore on 17 March 1853 to Hersfeld, Kurhessen, which was in the Thurn

⁷ Private communication in 2008 with Martin Camerer, Hoechberg, Germany.

⁸ Williamsburg was located immediately across the East River from Manhattan in the New York borough of Brooklyn.



Figure 5. Unpaid Prussian closed mail cover from Baltimore (17 March 1853) to Hersfeld, Kurhessen. The most unusual 47 Kr. Prussian debit was in anticipation of Thurn & Taxis surcharge. Postage due at destination was 13¾ Sgr. plus ¼ Sgr. local delivery fee.

& Taxis postal district. The debit marking of the New York exchange office, dated 19 March to coincide with the sailing of the Collins Line steamer *Pacific*, and the absence of any British transit markings prove that the cover was sent in the Prussian closed mail. As with the examples shown above, Aachen should have applied a 45 Kr. debit to the Thurn & Taxis Post. This time, however, Aachen marked a 47 Kr. debit to Thurn & Taxis in the blue ink. Aachen anticipated Thurn & Taxis' increase of the 45 Kr. rate to the British open mail rate, cancelling the profit for the Thurn & Taxis Post. The addressee had to pay 13¾ Sgr. (equivalent to 47 Kr.) and ¼ Sgr. for delivery, which was marked in magenta ink.

Since I have no record of another Prussian closed mail cover to a Thurn & Taxis destination with Aachen's debit to Thurn & Taxis of 47 Kr., it might be concluded that this "Retaliatory Period" was very short. Prussia and Thurn & Taxis might have agreed quickly after this to apply the appropriate 45 Kr. rate on unpaid letters that arrived from the United States in the Prussian closed mail. However, on letters to the United States, the Thurn & Taxis Post insisted on the 9 Kr. GAPU postage. As a result, all the letters originating in its postal district and sent via Aachen were placed in the British open mail and not the Prussian closed mail. As already mentioned, the Frankfurt merchants complained about this unfavourable situation, but they had to wait until 30 July 1859, when Thurn & Taxis joined the U.S.-Prussian Convention without reservation. A Frankfurt cover from the period after this date is shown in Figure 6. It was posted on 6 July 1860 and was addressed to Brookline, Massachusetts. In contrast to the cover in Figure 1 it was properly prepaid the Prussian closed mail rate. The postal clerk wrote "6/39 - 11" in red ink to show a prepayment of 6 Kr. GAPU postage and 39 Kr. (equivalent to 11 Sgr.) foreign postage. Aachen credited 25¢ to the United States and New York confirmed proper prepayment of 30¢ on 28 July. The cover was carried by Inman Line *Vigo*, an American contract steamer.

Since there are only a few covers known during the early months of the Prussian



Figure 6. Prepaid letter from Frankfurt (6 July 1860) to Brookline, Massachusetts. Similar to Figure 1, but sent after Thurn & Taxis joined the U.S.-Prussian Convention and therefore properly paid the “6/39” or 45 Kr. Prussian closed mail rate; the foreign portion of 11 Sgr. was also indicated. The New York marking showed 30¢ was paid.

closed mail to or in transit through the Thurn & Taxis district, it would be helpful to find additional covers. Perhaps Society members can add information. There are still questions to be answered. How long did this “Retaliatory Period” last? Did Prussia debit 47 Kr. on covers addressed to the Thurn & Taxis district even earlier than the one example shown, but not on transit covers to Württemberg? A report of any other covers from this most interesting period may increase our knowledge.

I want to thank Richard F. Winter for his detailed editorial and critical review of the manuscript and also for adding a cover (Figure 4) to point out the difference between the Thurn & Taxis rate adjustment and the local fee applied in Württemberg.■

NANTUCKET PREPAID SHIP COVER

DOUGLAS N. CLARK

The cover that is the subject of this article is unusual because of the way it was treated as a prepaid ship letter, payment being sent along with the letter. The story of the journey traveled by the cover reveals other aspects significant enough to become part of this article. The cover is not exactly a new discovery. It was in the collection of Tahiti postal history formed and exhibited by Melissa (Mrs. Gene) Scott. It appeared in the auction of that collection held by the H. R. Harmer firm in Zurich on June 6 and 7, 2008.

Origin

Illustrated in Figure 1, the cover was sent from Tahaa, an island near Bora Bora in the Society Islands, by E.R.W. Crouse, a British missionary. It is dated January 16, 1845.

The notation on the reverse, signed by “Geo. N. Chapin, Acting Consul,” indicates



Figure 1. Letter to London dated January 16, 1845, from Tahaa, in the Society Islands. Carried by whaling ship *United States* to Nantucket, where it entered the U.S. mail on 20 October 1845. The captain paid 7¢: 2¢ ship and 5¢ inland fee to Boston for the next Cunard steamer. Postage due of 1 shilling was collected in London.

“Postage 25¢ paid Capt. Worth, Ship *United States*.” We may never know whether handing cash to captains carrying ship letters out of the Society Islands was a regular practice, unless other covers indicating such an arrangement are found. This author has examined many incoming U.S. ship letters and is unaware of any regular arrangements for prepaying postage in cash rather than by adhesive stamps, other than the well-known practice in Honolulu in the mid 1850s.¹

The Zurich Harmer auction contained two other letters that appear at first to be prepaid ship letters. One is a December 1844 cover (lot 292) from Tahiti, with a Falmouth, Massachusetts, postmark and additional markings described as PAID 12 (12¢ being the ship letter postage to destination). Examination of the auction illustration, however, reveals that the PAID actually reads SHIP. The second cover (lot 295) is a June 1845 Tahiti letter with New Bedford, Mass. PAID and 5. This cover, however, bears a notation “Box 11,” indicating that the postage was to be charged, on arrival, rather than being prepaid. Probably this

¹ Fred Gregory and Steven Walske, “2¢ Ship Fee on Mail from Hawaii via San Francisco, 1849-1852,” *Chronicle* 217 (February 2008), pp. 31-50.

latter cover was brought to the post office by a passenger and never handled properly as a ship letter.

The ship *United States*, Captain Calvin B. Worth, was a whaler with a home port of Nantucket. The Pacific voyage, which caused her to arrive in Tahaa in January 1845 and to take on the letter in Figure 1, began November 22, 1841 and ended with her return back home at Nantucket on October 18, 1845.

Nantucket Camel

To enter Nantucket harbor it is necessary to cross a bar that had grown increasingly shallow since 1830. A larger ship had to discharge cargo at Edgartown, on Martha's Vineyard, to decrease her draft in order to make it over the bar. At 372 tons, the *United States* was one of the heavier whaling ships of her time.

But in 1842 a new invention allowed ships of deeper draft to enter Nantucket harbor fully loaded. According to *The Story of the Island Steamers* by Harry B. Turner,² the invention consisted of a pair of floating dry docks, 135 feet long, 29 feet wide and 19 feet deep. Called a "camel," it consisted of two halves securely fitted to both sides of the ship, flooded with water and joined together by chains running under the ship.³ The camel was then floated as the water was pumped out of its chambers, lifting the ship with the extra buoyancy to the point it could be towed into or out of Nantucket harbor by the steamers that ran regularly between Nantucket and the mainland.

Figure 2 is a painting titled "View of Brandt Point" by James Folger, showing the 257-ton Nantucket whaling ship *Peru* returning in 1839 from a successful, 3½ year voyage in the Pacific and being towed past Brandt Point in a camel over the Nantucket harbor bar by the steamship *Telegraph*.

Turner mentions that the ship *United States*, which arrived on October 16, 1845, was brought into Nantucket harbor by camel on October 18. Since that day was a Saturday, the Figure 1 letter did not receive a Nantucket postmark until October 20, the following Monday.

The *United States* left Nantucket on December 8, 1845, for its next and last whaling voyage, again carried out on the camel. The ship was lost in December 1849 near the island of Tongatabu. No longer of use to the declining Nantucket whaling industry, the camel was broken up in 1854. Turner's book lists by name 77 ships brought into Nantucket harbor by camel during 1842–1845, but Figure 1 represents the only letter known to the author to be carried by Nantucket camel.

Rates

The letter's ultimate destination was England. If it was to be mailed at a U.S. post office, arrangements would have to be made to prepay the postage to an appropriate port, in this case, Boston, for a Cunard steamship. Since Boston was less than 300 miles from Nantucket, the postage by act of July 1, 1845 would be 5¢ + 2¢ ship fee. Of course, the ship fee was to be paid only to the captain of a ship of U.S. registry, which was the case with the *United States*. This may be what caused the mix-up of the handstamped "5" on the cover being changed to a manuscript "7." The captain had to pay 7¢ to post the letter, but 2¢ was immediately handed back to him.

Back in Tahaa, 25¢ postage had been paid to Captain Worth. Undoubtedly this was

² Turner, Harry B. *The Story of the Island Steamers*, 1818-1910. Nantucket, Mass: The Inquirer and Mirror Press, 1910.

³ Turner uses the plural "camels" because, as he states, the ship on the two floating dry docks resembles "a heavy load ... carried over a desert upon the backs of two camels walking side by side." However, the section editor has pointed out to me that this device, which was used at other ports around the world, is usually referred to as "a camel," so we have adopted the singular tense in this article.



Figure 2. “View of Brandt Point” by James Folger, showing the 257-ton Nantucket whaling ship *Peru* being towed over the Nantucket harbor bar by the steamship *Telegraph*. A floatation apparatus called a camel was used to raise the ship over the bar. (Illustration courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Society.)

because at the time (January 1845), the new lower postage rates had not yet been enacted. Thus, if the *United States* had first landed at a U.S. port more than 400 miles from Boston (say Charleston or San Francisco) postage under the 1816 rates would have been 25¢.

In England

Leaving Nantucket after the October 20 postmarking, the letter arrived in Boston in plenty of time for the November 1 sailing of the Cunard *Hibernia*. Her grounding off Newfoundland, noted by Hubbard and Winter, caused a two-day delay. The docketing on the reverse of the cover is dated November 19, 1845, the day after *Hibernia*'s November 18 arrival in Liverpool. The eventful journey of this letter ended with its arrival in London, where the packet fee of one shilling was collected. This amount could not have been prepaid in the U.S.

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ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 223

We received only one response to the problem cover in *Chronicle 223*, illustrated here as Figure 1. As described, this is a 1¢ postal card, Scott UX12, used in 1895, probably composed somewhere in Alaska and handed to a passing steamer. The written text on reverse reads in part: “the steamer stopped but a few moments & we had no chance to talk....and had some oranges from St. Michaels, the first since we were there last July.”

A magenta two-line “Due 2 Cts. SHIP LETTER” handstamp is struck at the top center of the card, and two copies of a 1¢ Postage Due stamp (Scott J31) are affixed in the lower



Figure 1. Problem cover from *Chronicle 223*: “Due 2 Cts. SHIP LETTER” handstamp and two 1¢ Postage Dues on a 1¢ postal card, Scott UX12. Questions posed were: Why was the card charged postage due and what was the basis for the charge?

left corner to pay the assessed postage due. As indicated by the “SEATTLE, WASH” duplex cancel, the card was posted in Seattle. The questions posed were: Since the card paid the prevailing 1¢ postal card rate, why was it charged postage due and what was the basis for the amount charged?

The answer was provided by Leonard Piszkiwicz, as follows:

“The 1895 postal card in *Chronicle 223* is an interesting item. The handling of ship letters is clearly stated in the 1891 PL&R, Sections 808-815, but postal cards are never

mentioned. In summary, what the PL&R says is that an owner or master of a ship not regularly employed in carrying mails must deposit mails received en route at the post office at the first port of call and for that service he would receive 2¢ per letter (and presumably postal card). Letters received in this manner were then assessed double postage, so for double-weight and larger letters, the post office made money—2¢ for each extra weight increment. But in this case, one could guess that the Post Office wasn't about to lose money by giving the ship master 2¢ but collecting only 1¢ from the addressee.

“The next PL&R (1902) clarifies this. Section 423 states: ‘All letters conveyed by vessels not regularly employed in carrying the mail shall, if for delivery within the United States, be charged with double postage, to cover the fee paid to the vessel.’ Thus, the post office clearly stated in 1902 the connection between the 2¢ charged and why it was collected as postage due on this 1895 cover.” Editor’s Note: It would appear the Seattle post office charged double postage as required, but did not consider the 1¢ value of the card.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE



Figure 2. Problem cover for this issue, addressed to Washington, D.C., and franked with a brown 2¢ American Bank Note stamp, cancelled with a Portland, N.H. duplex marker dated JUN 29. The due stamp is tied by a “WASHINGTON D.C. T DUE” handstamp.

Our problem cover for this issue is illustrated in Figure 2. The cover is addressed to Washington, D.C. and franked with a brown 2¢ American Bank Note stamp, Scott 210, cancelled with a Portland, N.H. duplex marker dated JUN 29. A 2¢ red brown Postage Due stamp, Scott J16, at top center on the cover, is tied by a partial magenta “WASHINGTON D.C. T DUE” handstamp. The only marking on reverse is the black “WASHINGTON, REC'D. JUN 30 12 M 1885 2” backstamp shown in Figure 3. The questions are: What was the basis for the due postage, and does the date of the backstamp have any postal significance? Bonus question: Is there anything special about the “WASHINGTON D.C. T DUE” cancel? ■

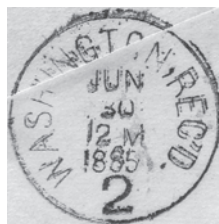


Figure 3. The only marking on reverse of the Figure 2 cover: “WASHINGTON, REC'D. JUN 30 12 M 1885 2.”



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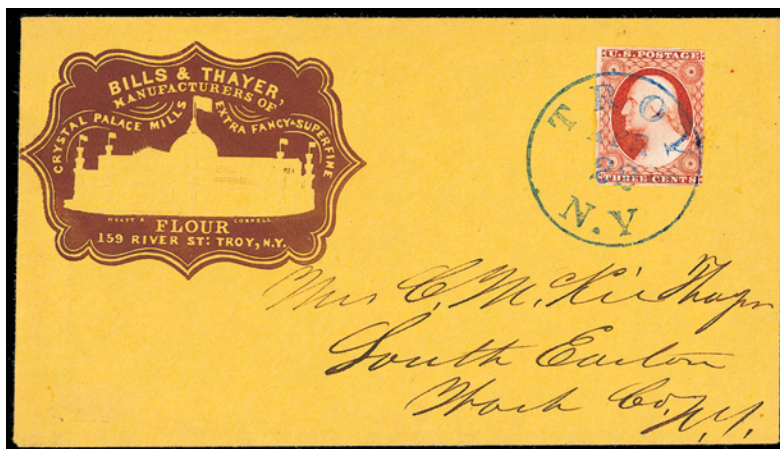
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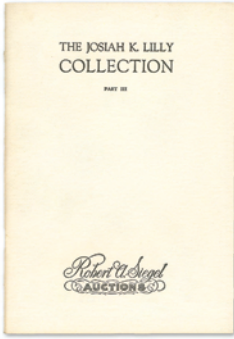
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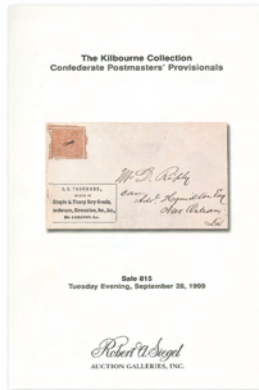
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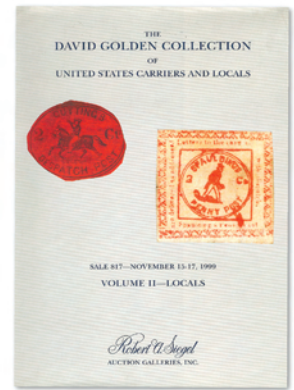
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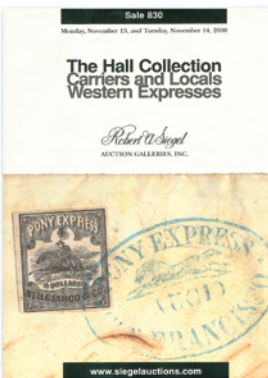
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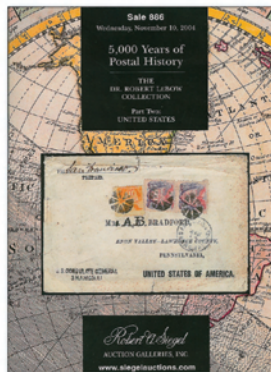
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