THE CHRONICLE February 2011 (No. 229)

The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues

The undenominated Franklin Carrier stamp (center) shared basic design elements with two other United States stamps that were also issued in 1851. In an illustrated census of known Franklin Carrier covers, starting on page 27, Vernon Morris Jr. discusses how these design similarities may have contributed to the limited use of the Franklin Carrier stamps.

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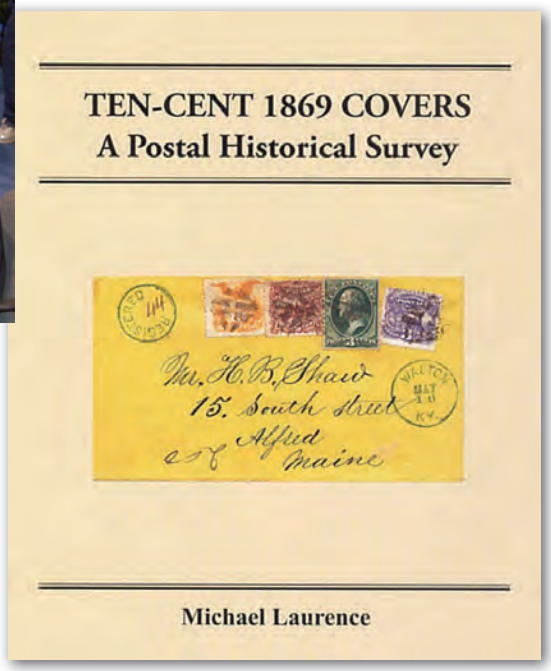

Decades in the making, Michael Laurence's tour de force study of the postal use of the 10-cent 1869 is so much more than the study of one of the most intriguing 19th century U.S. stamps. In seven extensive sections and 26 chapters, it is the highly comprehensive (and documented) study of the mails to foreign countries during the years preceding the Universal Postal Union. Domestic mails are included, too, but this stamp saw limited use within its own country's borders.

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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

MICHAEL LAURENCE

IN THIS ISSUE

Another fat *Chronicle*, and this one contains several articles with illustrations that have never been seen before, or at least, not seen for many years. In our Carriers and Independent Mails section, starting on page 27, Vernon R. Morris Jr. presents an illustrated census of all known covers bearing the 1851 Franklin Carrier stamp (Scott LO1) along with some provocative observations about how the stamp was used, why its use was limited and how it should be treated in the Scott catalog. And starting on page 51, Wade E. Saadi presents enlarged images of all the straddle-pane examples known to exist for the 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 stamps.

The recent appearance of a new block has enabled specialists to locate the position of a well-known 3¢ 1857 plate variety that was featured in one of the first photographic illustrations ever to appear in this *Chronicle*. Rob Lund describes this new discovery in our 1851 section, beginning on page 58.

In our Prestamp and Stampless section, starting on page 10, editor James W. Milgram concludes his long-running series (which began way back in *Chronicle* 213) on the integral rate postmarks found on stampless covers. This last installment discusses integral rate markings used on circular mail. In another form, much of this information will reappear in the forthcoming edition of the *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, now being revised under the supervision of a past president of our Society, Van Koppersmith.

The earliest contract mail routes serving Salt Lake City are the subject of our Western section this issue. In an article beginning on page 81, editor Steven Walske presents some seemingly unprepossessing covers that illustrate major aspects of this important early service, from which very few artifacts have survived.

Ken Lawrence is well known to *Chronicle* readers, having received our Society's Distinguished Philatelist Award in 2004, but his career outside the stamp hobby is pertinent to his article-length critique (beginning on page 96) of a new book on Civil War patriotic covers. As founder and director of the Deep South People's History Project in the early 1970s, Lawrence researched and published important narrative and documentary material on the region's past. He co-edited five volumes of Mississippi slave narratives, and smaller numbers of volumes for other states, that had been gathered by the WPA Federal Writers Project in the 1930s but then abandoned with the coming of World War II. The encyclopedic 41-volume collection was published by Greenwood Press under the title *The American Slave, a Composite Autobiography*, for which Lawrence wrote an introduction to the Mississippi section. The Mississippi Historical Society honored him with its Award of Merit in 1979.

And there's more: Our 1861 section this issue, starting on page 61, features an article by Gary Granzow discussing covers illustrating the demonetization of the 1851-60 stamps. In our 1869 section (page 73), Swiss specialist Harlan Stone resolves a mystery involving U.S.-Swiss correspondence during the Franco-Prussian War. In our Officials section (page 79), Lester C. Lanphear III explores the use Departmental stamps at the Philadelphia international exhibition of 1876. And our Foreign Mails section this time features two articles: David d'Alessandris on missent covers involving New Brunswick and Theron Weirenga on an 1836 cover with a manuscript "steamer" endorsement. Enjoy! ■

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DOMESTIC POSTMARKS SHOWING INTEGRAL RATE WITHIN THE TOWNMARK: CIRCULAR RATES

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Introduction

This concludes a series of articles about town markings that contain information about the postal rate or prepayment, as found on United States stampless covers. The first two articles, in *Chronicles* 213 and 214, listed and discussed attached rate markings: those on which the rate indicator is part of but outside the circular datestamp. Articles in *Chronicles* 216 and 222 discussed integral rate markings, on which the rate information is contained within the marking. The *Chronicle* 216 article was devoted to markings from the 1845-1851 period and the *Chronicle* 222 article discussed markings from the 1851-1855 period. An article in *Chronicle* 223 discussed integral rate markings showing California rates and an article in *Chronicle* 226 discussed integral rate markings showing drop rates. Our concluding subject is integral rate markings used on mail sent at circular rates.

Regular mail involved written messages. Enclosed documents, whether printed or written, were charged both by weight and by the number of separate sheets. For instance, during the Express Mail of 1836-39, single-rate letters could weigh up to one half ounce. A single piece of paper was charged a single rate. Enclosures (often paper of financial value) were charged extra: double, triple or quadruple rates, with quadruple being the maximum.

Newspapers were charged extremely low rates. They were deemed necessary to foster democracy and keep the republic together, acquainting other parts of the country with the news. Very few newspapers bear postal markings of any type.

Printed Circulars

This article will deal with printed circulars. Table 1 shows United States circular rates between 1 July 1845 and 30 June 1863. Prior to July 1, 1845, there was no discounted rate for printed circulars. As the table suggests, the circular rates for this era are quite complex. I wrote an article in *The American Philatelist* on this subject in January, 1978, but much new material has come to light since.

Some mailed printed circulars were "prices current," mini-newspapers showing prices for various commodities in the market where the circular originated. Such information was used by merchants buying and selling the same goods in other markets. Today we have real-time or nearly instantaneous information on such prices, but in the 1840s, before the telegraph, a merchant who learned of a market fluctuation could profit if he had the information ahead of his competitors.

Most mail pieces sent at circular rates in the 1845-55 period were simple advertisements. Some bore year dates but many did not. Thus, even when the contents are present, the precise dating of a circular may be difficult or impossible. A complicating factor is that during this era the envelope was being adopted. After the envelope came into wide use, surviving covers often have lost their original contents. So these markings are not easy to collect. And even when they show an indicated rate integral to the postmark, they are sometimes difficult to distinguish as markings specifically intended for circular mail.

Table 2, at the end of this article (page 25), lists and describes integral rate markings found on mail sent at circular rates and provides year-date information when that is known.

Table 1: U.S. Circular Rates, 1845-1863

Rate period	Beginning date	Details of rate structure
1	July 1, 1845	2¢ per sheet (prepaid or collect)
2	March, 1847	Prepaid: 3¢ per sheet Unpaid: 6¢ per sheet
3	July 1, 1851	1¢ per sheet up to 500 miles when prepaid 2¢ per sheet up to 1,500 miles when prepaid 3¢ per sheet up to 2,500 miles when prepaid 4¢ per sheet up to 3,500 miles when prepaid 5¢ per sheet up over 3,500 miles when prepaid *Double rates if unpaid*
4	October 1, 1852	1¢ up to 3 oz. plus 1¢ per additional ounce when prepaid 2¢ up to 3 oz. plus 2¢ per additional ounce when unpaid
5	June 30, 1863	2¢ for up to three circulars, prepayment required

The markings are listed alphabetically by state. The data in Table 2 may not precisely match the text of the markings described. This information will appear in a different format in the next edition of the *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, currently being revised by our Society. Collectors with additional markings to contribute are urged to contact me at the address in the masthead. The discussion that follows is also alphabetical by state.

Figure 1 shows a prepaid circular that was not posted at the circular rate. The San Francisco marking with large integral 6 is dated August 1. This is the San Francisco integral rate marking used (with "PAID") on regular mail sent to the east coast. The year is 1851 (per contents), so this cover was posted a month after the third rate period (variable rates

Figure 1. Two prepaid circulars, one inside the other, sent from San Francisco to New York but not posted at the circular rate because it was then cheaper to send this two-sheet circular from coast to coast by regular mail at the prepaid 6¢ rate.

Figure 2. Prepaid circular from Hartford, Connecticut, to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, dated May, 1852. This cover bears an unusual type of "PAID 1" integral handstamp. It dates from the third circular rate period and appears to have been underpaid.

Figure 3. Prepaid 1856 circular from New Haven to South Madison, Connecticut. Most postmarks like this one, with integral PAID and no date, were created for use on circular mail. In this case, the mailer prepaid 1¢.

determined by distance) went into effect (see Table 1).

Figure 1 was actually two circulars, which would have required 5¢ per sheet for the over-3,500-mile distance. By posting the cover at the regular prepaid postage rate of 6¢, the sender saved money, because 10¢ would have been required for two circulars. I have in my collection an example of a San Francisco circular posted at the 5¢ circular rate; this was illustrated in my 1978 *American Philatelist* article. At least four other circulars exist showing a separate San Francisco town mark, a 5¢ rating mark and PAID.

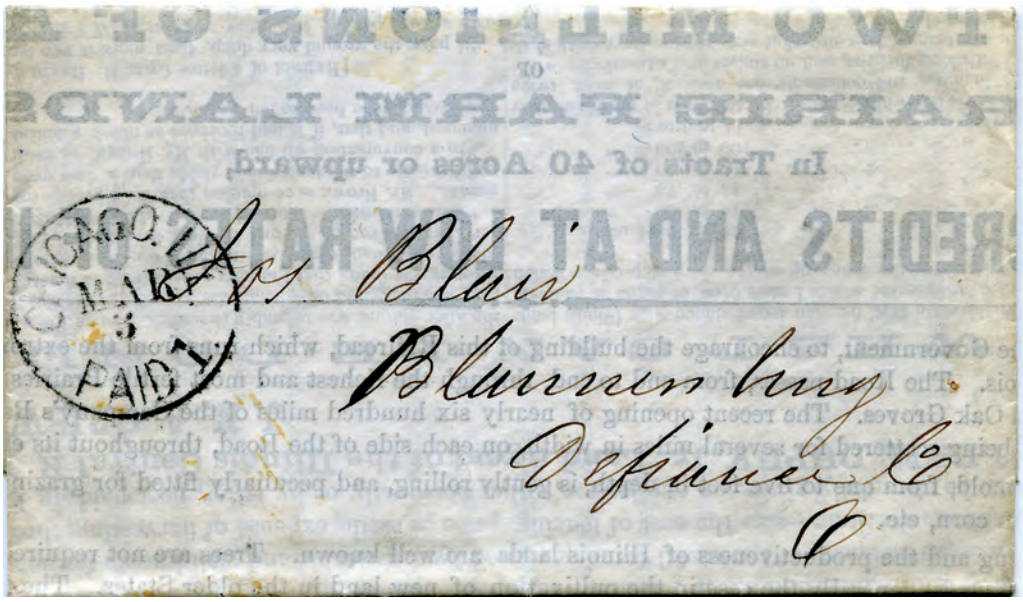

Figure 4. Railroad circular from Chicago to Ohio, 1855. Here prepayment of the 1¢ circular rate is indicated by the marking.

The unusual "HARTFORD Ct. May PAID 1" marking in Figure 2 was also used on prepaid drop letters; see my article in *Chronicle* 226. But the cover in Figure 2 is not a drop letter, it is addressed to a distant town. The circular within is dated 1852, so it falls into the variable-rate era, when the postage on a prepaid circular sent under 500 miles was 1¢ per sheet. The distance between origin and destination for this cover was a bit more than 500 miles, so the postage should have been 2¢.

The 1856 cover in Figure 3 is a relatively late stampless circular from New Haven. The contents provide the year date. This is from the fourth circular rate period (1 October 1852—30 June 1863) when the rate for a paid circular up to 3 ounces was 1¢. Most postmarks without dates that show "PAID" as an integral portion of the marking, such as the marking on this cover, were intended for use on circulars.

Also from the fourth circular rate period is the marking shown in Figure 4. This reads "CHICAGO ILL. PAID 1 MAR 3" and is struck on a circular from the Illinois Railroad dated 1855. I have two examples of this marking on two different specimens of the same circular and I have seen several other strikes of this marking, always on this same circular. It is possible the marking was created just for this large circular mailing.

Figure 5 shows the most unusual of all postmarks found on circular mail, and this is the only recorded example. This large red double-straightline postmark, from North Wayne, Maine, could not be more specific: "N. Wayne, ME. July 25, 1849 (CIRCULAR) PAID 3 CENTS." This marking dates from the second circular rate period, when the prepaid rate for circulars was 3¢ per sheet. Of all integral rate markings, only three are straightlines.

The cover in Figure 6, struck with a blue "Baltimore Md. PAID 3 cts" marking, contains an 1849 printed circular, also from the second circular rate period. This and another example show the "D" in "PAID" inverted, suggesting that the marking was made of moveable type, with "PAID" and the rate inserted into the space where the date slugs were normally placed. I have another example, dated July 25, 1848, on which the "D" is not inverted. Undated markings with integral "PAID" were often used on circular mail, but some were used on drop letters as well.

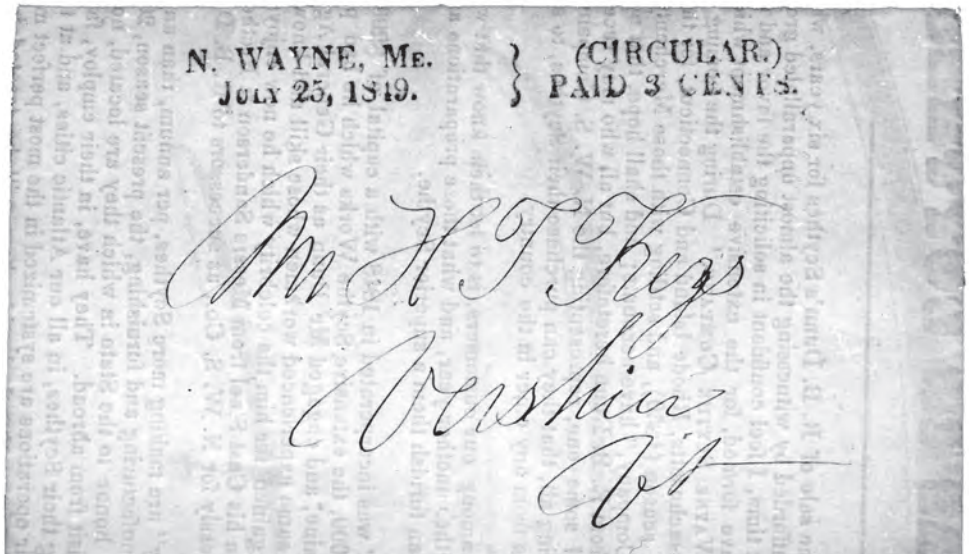

Figure 5. This highly specific double-straightline postmark, from North Wayne, Maine, is the most unusual of all postmarks found on circular mail. Struck here on a circular sent to Vershire, Vermont, this marking dates from the second circular rate period, when the prepaid rate for circulars was 3¢ per sheet.

Figure 6. Blue "BALTIMORE Md. PAID 3 CTS" on an 1849 circular from Baltimore to Petersburg, Virginia. The 3¢ paid marking represents the second circular rate period. Note that the "D" in "PAID" is inverted.

Because they were mostly advertising, few circulars were sent postage due. The great majority of circulars during the stampless era were sent prepaid, and the surviving examples reflect this. But some were sent unpaid. Figure 7 shows an example. This is an unpaid circular from the fourth period (after October 1, 1852). It dates from 1856 (per contents) and shows a black "BOSTON 20 JAN 2cts" marking. Another cover, not pictured, shows a black "BOSTON PAID DEC 23," also dated 1856 from the contents. This is from the same rate period, but the postage was just 1¢ because it was prepaid.

Figure 7. 1856 circular from Boston to Windsor, Massachusetts, postmarked at Boston for 2¢ collection from the recipient. Most stampless circulars were sent prepaid, but unpaid examples can also be found.

Figure 8. Cover from E.S. Zevely of Pleasant Grove, Maryland, who was both a postmaster and a manufacturer of postal marking devices. This is the only postal marking, designed for use on circular mail, that includes a county designation.

Figure 8 shows the only recorded example of the integral rate postmark from Pleasant Grove, Maryland: "PLEASANT GROVE/ALLEGANY CO/Md./2". The postmaster, E.S. Zevely, had another business: he manufactured postmarking devices. This cover, addressed to another postmaster, undoubtedly contained a circular offering Zevely's handstamp devices. This is the only postal marking, designed for circular mail, that includes a county designation. I wrote about this marking in another context at *Chronicle* 210, page 118.

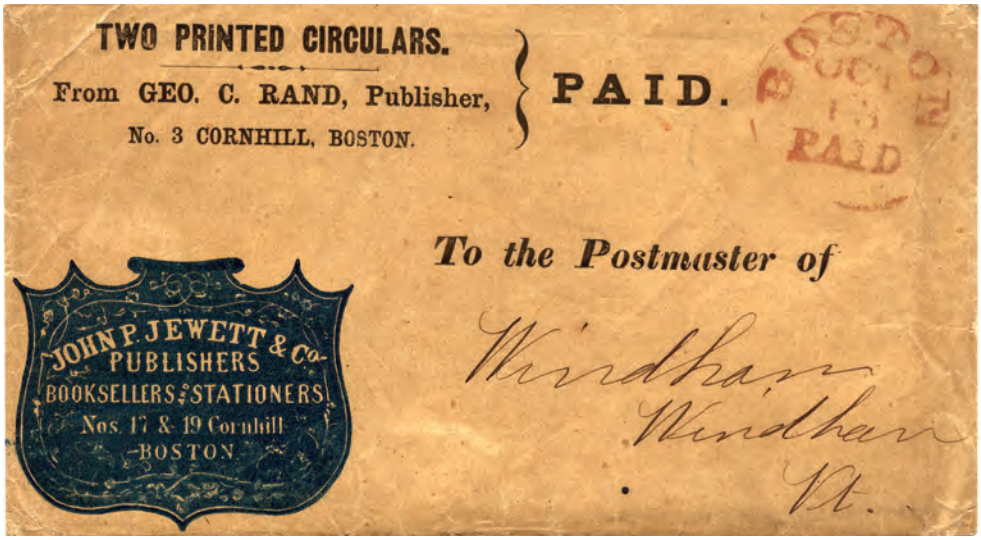

Figure 9. Cover from Boston to Windham, Vermont, probably 1856, containing two enclosed circulars. The postmark does not describe a rate, but the "TWO PRINTED CIRCULARS" suggests that the postage on this prepaid mailing was 2¢.

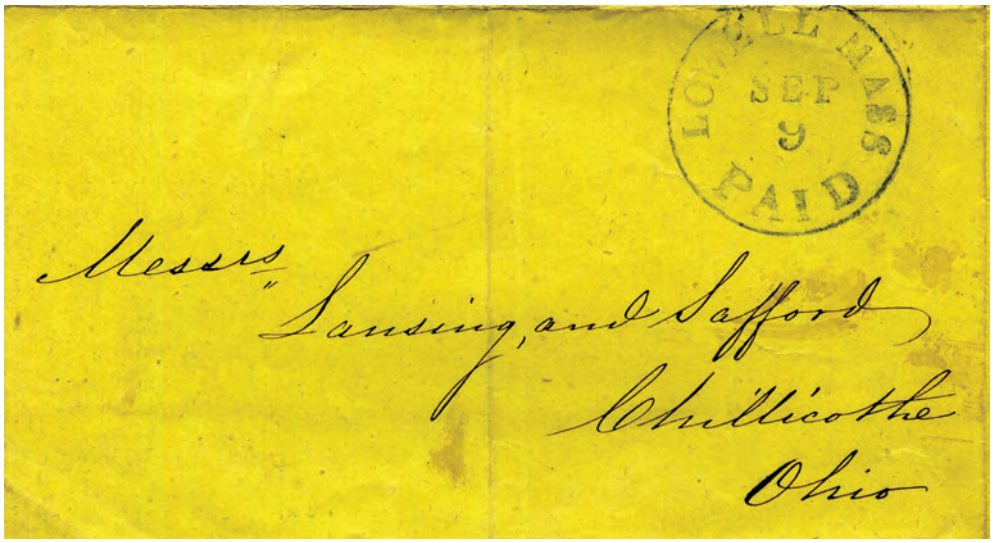

Figure 10. Lowell, Massachusetts, to Chillicothe, Ohio, with a black postmark struck on a startling yellow printed circular. The postmark "LOWELL MASS PAID" is typical of circular markings from the 1850s that don't show a rate.

Figure 9 shows an undated cover from this same period, probably 1856. The postmark "BOSTON OCT 13 PAID" in red does not describe a rate, but the legend on the envelope ("TWO PRINTED CIRCULARS") suggests that the postage on this prepaid mailing was 2¢. Both circulars are still enclosed; one is a spectacular broadside and the other is a facsimile script letter on tissue paper, both from George C. Rand, Publisher.

The circular in Figure 10, from Lowell, Massachusetts to Chillicothe, Ohio, bears a black postmark struck on startling yellow paper. The circular is dated 1853, which is the fourth rate period. Thus, 1¢ was prepaid. This postmark, "LOWELL MASS PAID" is typical of 1¢ circular markings from the 1850s.

Figure 11. Integral PAID postmark on a cover sent from Detroit in 1853 when the rate was 1¢ for a prepaid circular up to 3 ounces. This circular enclosed a printed list, so it presumably weighed more and required 2¢ prepayment.

Figure 12. Concord to Walpole, New Hampshire, 1850s. This circular "1 PAID" marking is a variant of a fairly common marking type.

The cover in Figure 11 is dated 1855 and shows "DETROIT Mich. PAID" with a separate encircled "2" rate marking. The rate in 1855 was 1¢ for a prepaid circular up to 3 ounces; see Table 1. However, this circular contained an enclosure, a printed list, so it presumably weighed more and required the 2¢ prepaid rate. The Detroit marking on this cover may be the source of the listing in the stampless catalog. Note that it shows a dent in the outer frame above the letter "T".

The marking in Figure 12 shows an undated integral paid marking from the fourth circular rate period, when the prepaid rate for the first three ounces was 1¢ regardless of distance. Markings like this are fairly common from the 1850s. This circular "1 PAID" marking from Concord, New Hampshire, is a variant.

Figure 13. Circular sent in 1850 (per contents) from Buffalo, New York, to Lancaster, Ohio. From the second rate period, when the prepaid rate was 3¢ per sheet.

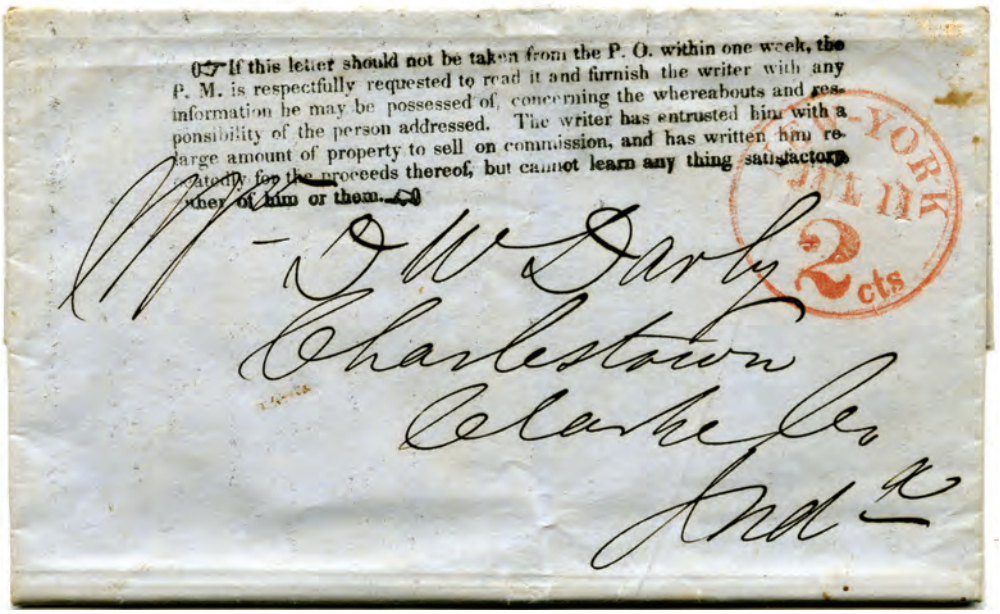

Figure 14. New York to Indiana, from the first circular rate period (1845-47). This large red postmark was used extensively at New York on early circulars. The sender's black handstamped request at top, most unusual, attempts to solicit information about the addressee from the receiving postmaster.

Figure 13 shows a circular from the second rate period, when the prepaid rate was 3¢ per sheet. This was sent in 1850 (per contents) from Buffalo, New York, to Lancaster, Ohio. It bears an integral rate marking "BUFFALO N.Y. PAID 3" which contains no date.

Figure 15. Sent from New York City to Malone, New York, this circular is from the second rate period, when prepayment was usual because the unpaid rate was 6¢. The word "Circular" is not a postal marking; it was applied by the printer of the circular.

As noted, such undated markings were used mainly for circulars. There was no 3¢ letter rate until 1851.

Figure 14 shows an example of the unpaid first circular rate of 1845-1847, here indicated by the marking "NEW-YORK 2 cts" with no date. This large red postmark was used extensively on early circulars and is fairly common today, because so many circulars originated from New York. The sender's black handstamped paragraph at the top of the cover is most unusual, an attempt to solicit information from the receiving postmaster. I have another circular cover with this same marking struck in blue ink.

Figure 15, also from New York, bears a marking that is very similar to dated circular postmarks from other big cities, including Cincinnati and Philadelphia. The marking reads "NEW-YORK APR 9 PAID 3cts." The bold printed "Circular" at upper left was applied by the sender (or his printer). This is not a postal marking, although it certainly has postal significance, since it calls for the lower circular postal rate, 3¢ instead of the 5¢ or 10¢ that would have applied to a regular mailing. This circular dates from the 1847 rate period, when prepayment was usual because the unpaid rate was 6¢. Another cover, not pictured, shows a weak strike of this same New York postmark showing the 3¢ rate. But it also bears a printed "2" and "Printed Circular" in dark black. Apparently the imprinting was done before the March 1847 rate change. A pen line is drawn over the "2".

A third New York cover, addressed to Sterling, Massachusetts and shown in Figure 16, dates from the next rate period, the short-lived split-rate era from July 1851 through September 1852. The marking reads "NEW-YORK PAID 1 ct. AUG 22". The 1¢ prepayment indicated in the marking is appropriate for a circular travelling under 500 miles. Similar to Figure 15, the Figure 16 cover bears a printed notation ("PRINTED CIRCULAR—PAID") applied by the sender. Presumably these inscriptions were printed at the same time as the contents.

Figure 16. New York to Sterling, Massachusetts, circular from the third rate period, the short-lived split-rate era. The marking reads "NEW-YORK PAID 1 ct. AUG 22". The 1¢ prepayment indicated in the marking is appropriate for a prepaid circular travelling under 500 miles.

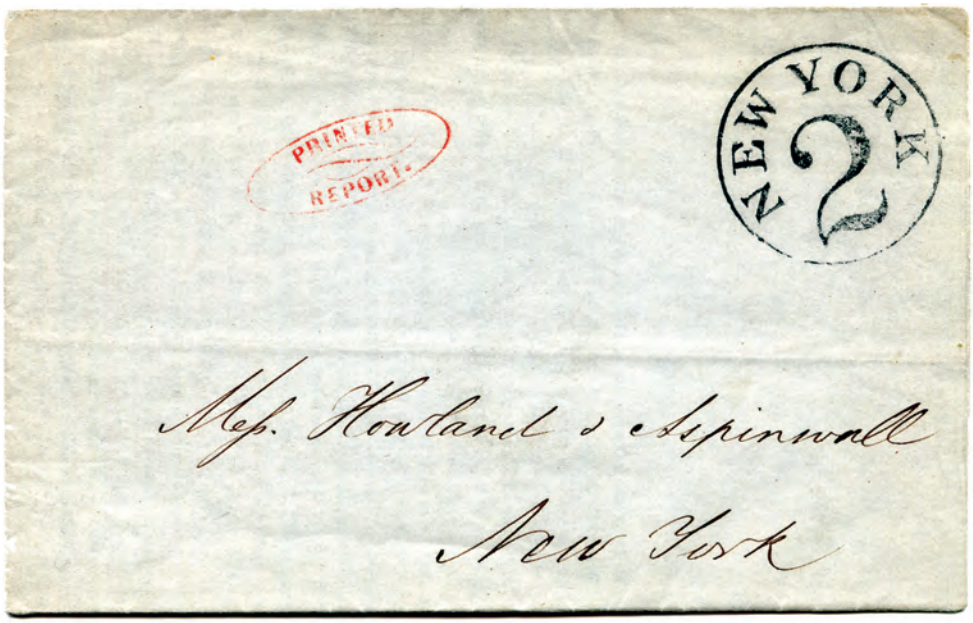

Figure 17. Unpaid circular from New York City in the fourth circular rate period. The large "2" represents the lowest rate for an unpaid circular during this rate period. The red oval "PRINTED REPORT" was applied by the mailer to indicate to the postmaster that the contents were to be charged as a circular, not at the higher 5¢ rate for an unpaid letter.

Figure 18. This 1852 cover from Troy, N.Y. is both a circular and a drop letter. The postal rates for each were 1¢ if the circular rate was prepaid.

Figure 19. This integral "PAID 3cts" marking from Cincinnati is one of a number of similar postmark found on circular mail from this era.

The unpaid rate for the fourth period is exemplified by the bold "NEW YORK 2" in black from 1855, shown in Figure 17. The red oval "PRINTED REPORT" was applied by the mailer to indicate to the postmaster that the contents were to be charged as a circular, not at the higher 5¢ rate for an unpaid letter. The "2" represents the lowest rate for an unpaid circular during this rate period. This postmark was only used on unpaid circulars.

Figure 18 shows a very interesting cover with "TROY N.Y. 1 ct. 19 Mar" (1852 per contents) which was marked as a circular, but which was also a drop letter. The unpaid circular rate was 2¢, while the drop letter rate was still 1¢. Presumably the sender prepaid the 1¢ cent drop postage so that the letter would not be charged the 2¢ circular fee.

The marking in Figure 19—"CINCINNATI PAID 3 cts."—is one of a number of similar large circular markings found on circular mail. This was used during the second rate period. An unpaid circular during this era would have been charged 6¢.

Figure 20. Massillon, Ohio, circular sent to Cleveland during the second circular rate period. This scarce Massillon marking is not listed in the stampless cover catalog.

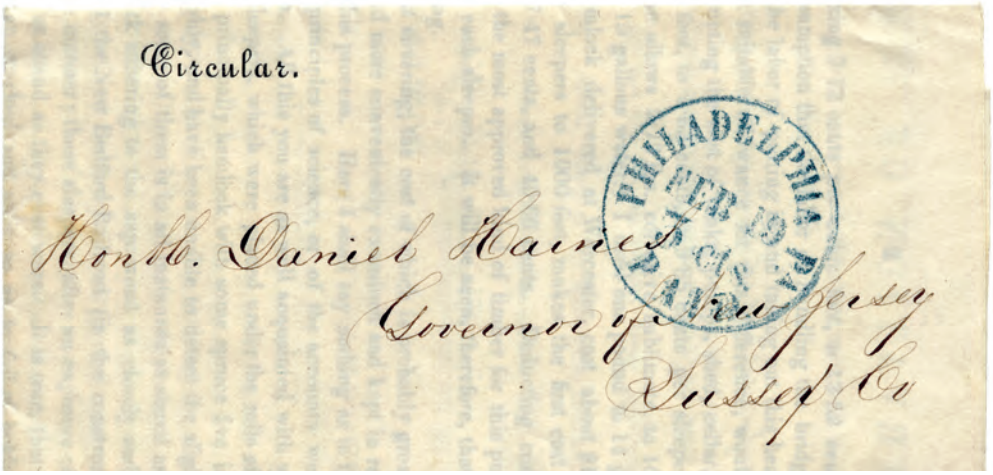

Figure 21. Prepaid circular sent from Philadelphia to New Jersey. The printed "Circular" endorsement confirms that the "PAID 3 cts" represents the circular rate.

In contrast, the blue marking on the circular shown in Figure 20 ("MASSILLON OHIO paid 3 cts") is a rarity, currently not listed in the catalog. But this represents the same rate. The very small "3 cts" at the center of the marking is unusual.

As noted, many of the 3¢ circular postmarks from the second (1847-1852) rate period show no date. The cover in Figure 21 shows an integral "PAID 3 cts" marking from Philadelphia that does include the date. On a mute envelope, such a marking might suggest a regular-mail letter from the 1851-55 period when the 3¢ domestic letter rate could be prepaid in cash. However, the Figure 20 cover bears a "Circular" legend, applied when the mailing was printed. The cover is addressed to Daniel Haines, who was governor of New Jersey twice during the 1840s. Another Philadelphia cover with a circular dated 1847 bears a Philadelphia postmark with an attached "2" rate. This must date from before the March rate change (see Table 1).

Figure 22. 1854 cover from Philadelphia to Academia, Pennsylvania. The black "PHILADELPHIA 2" postmark was used in the mid 1850s on unpaid circulars. New York used a very similar marking, see Figure 17.

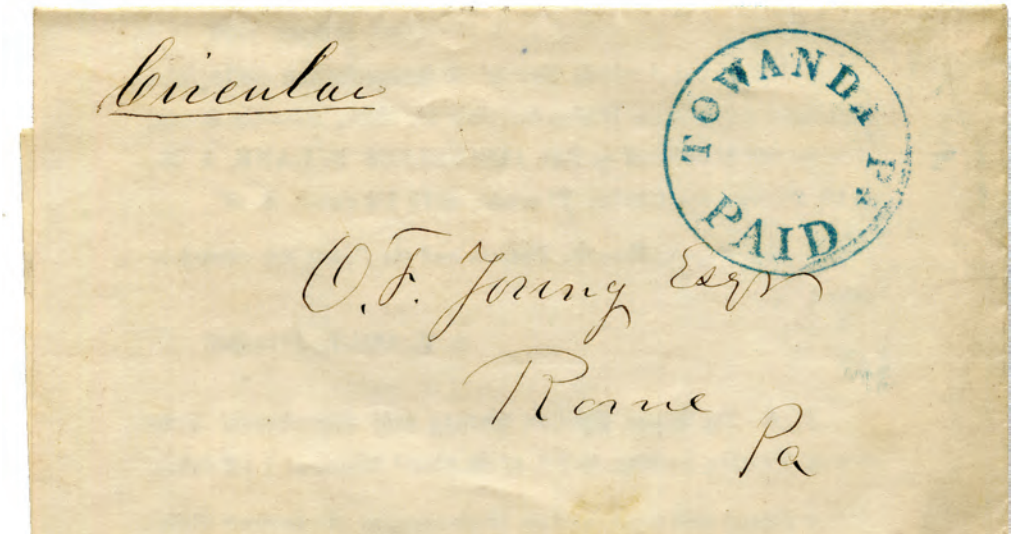

Figure 23. 1856 circular from Towanda to Rome, Pennsylvania. This rare marking from a small town shows an integral PAID in a dateless blue circle. The word "circular" is written to show that the 1¢ prepaid charge applied..

Besides New York (Figure 17), Philadelphia was the other city that used a large 2 due marking on circulars during the fourth rate period (1852-63), when an unpaid circular weighing up to three ounces was charged 2¢ (double the prepaid rate). Figure 22 shows an example from 1854. The matching postmark for a prepaid circular (not pictured) reads "PHILADELPHIA PA. [DATE] 1 PAID" in blue circle.

The cover in Figure 23, marked "TOWANDA PA. PAID" with no central date, contains a circular dated 1856. This therefore indicates prepayment of a 1¢ rate. The word "circular" was written on the cover to indicate eligibility for the lower circular rate. Circular markings from small towns are not common.

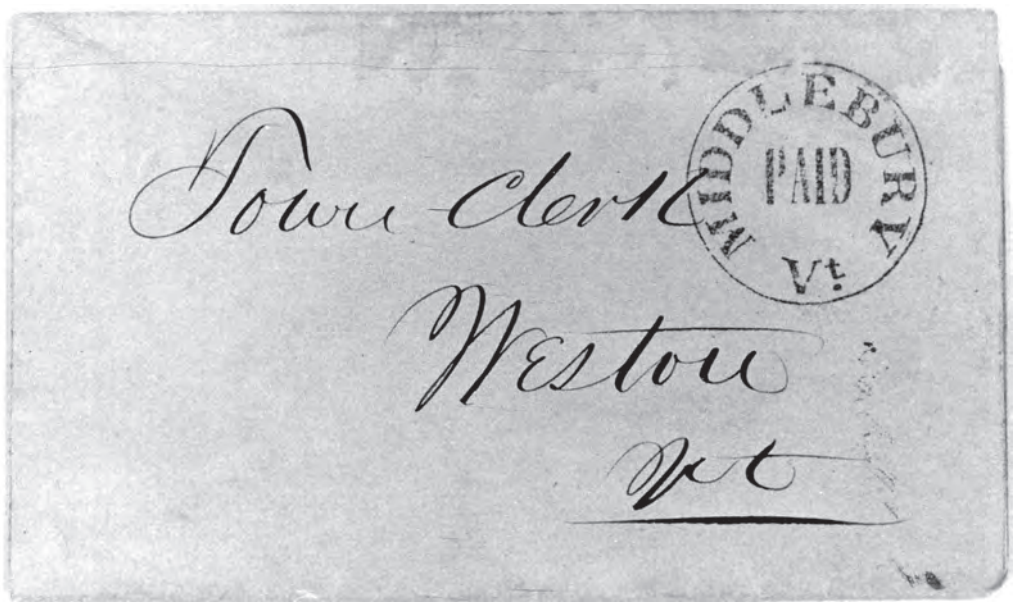

Figure 24. 1855 circular from Middlebury to Weston, Vermont. Circular postage of 1¢ was prepaid by the sender.

Figure 25. Undated envelope from Norfolk, Virginia to Salem, North Carolina, struck with a rimless blue "NORFOLK VA PAID" in a greenish ink. Most probably this represents a 1¢ circular rate from the 1850s.

The image in Figure 24, which was supplied to me by Richard Marek, shows "MIDDLEBURY Vt. PAID" struck in blue on a circular sent to Weston, Vermont, in 1855. This represents another of the undated PAID markings used on circulars during the two-tiered fourth rate period, which lasted for most of the 1850s. One cent circular postage was prepaid by the sender.

Figure 25 is an undated envelope addressed to Salem, North Carolina, struck with

Table 2. Integral rate markings found on stampless mail sent at circular rates

ALABAMA	
Montgomery PAID 1 CT.	1854
CALIFORNIA	
San Francisco 6	1851
CONNECTICUT	
Hartford Ct. PAID 1	1853
New Haven PD 1	
New Haven Ct. PAID	1856
Norwich Ct. PAID	1853
DELAWARE	
Wilmington Del. 2 cts	1854-55
ILLINOIS	
Chicago Ill. PAID 1	1855
Springfield Ill. PAID	1854
Springfield, Ill. PAID 1	1854
INDIANA	
Indianapolis Ind. PAID 1	1852-53
MAINE	
Augusta Me. PAID	
Bangor Me. PAID	1854
N. Wayne Me. [2SL]	1849
Portland Me. 3 PAID	1850
MARYLAND	
Baltimore Md. PAID 3 cts	1848-49
Baltimore Md. PAID	1852
Cumberland Md. PAID	1854
Pleasant Grove Md. 2	
MASSACHUSETTS	
Boston Ms. 3	1848-49
Boston Ms 2cts	1853
Boston PAID	1856
Boston Ms. PAID	1856
Lowell, 2 Ms	1853
Lowell MASS PAID	
Oxford Mass. PAID	1855
MICHIGAN	
Detroit, Mich. PAID	1855
MISSOURI	
St. Louis PAID 1 ct	1852-53
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Concord N.H. 3 PAID	1850
Concord N.H. 1 PAID	1851-52
Dover N.H. 3 CTS PAID	
NEW YORK	
Albany N.Y. PAID 3	1847
NEW YORK (continued)	
Albany N.Y. PAID	
Buffalo N.Y. 2 CTS	1850
Buffalo N.Y. PAID/3CTS	
Buffalo N.Y. PAID/3	1851
Homer, N.Y. PAID	1855
New York N.Y. 2cts	1845-47
New York N.Y. PAID 3 cts.	
New York N.Y. PAID 1 ct.	1851
New-York PAID 2 cts	1851-52
New York 2	1852
Sing Sing N.Y. PAID/3cts	1848
Syracuse N.Y. 2	
Troy N.Y. 2cts	1852
Utica N.Y. 2	
OHIO	
Cincinnati PAID /3cts	1849-51
Cincinnati PAID	1852
Cleveland O. PAID 3	1847-50
Cleveland O. PAID 1	1851-52
PAID Cleveland 3	1847
Cleveland PAID [date]	1853-54
Massillon OHIO paid/ 3 cts	
PENNSYLVANIA	
Erie Pa. PAID/3	1847-51
Harrisburgh PA. PAID	
Philadelphia 2	1850s
Philadelphia Pa. PAID 3 Cents	1847-50
Philadelphia PA. PAID [date] 3 cts	1849
Philadelphia PA. 1 PAID [date]	1851-52
Philadelphia PA. 1 PAID	1852-53
Towanda PA. PAID	1856
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Charleston S.C. 3	1848-50
Charleston S.C. 1	1851-56
TEXAS	
Galveston, Tex 1 PAID	1854
VERMONT	
Middlebury, Vt. PAID	1855
VIRGINIA	
Norfolk Va. PAID	
Petersburg Va. 3 [date]	1840s
Petersburg Va. 3	1851
Richmond Va. PAID/3 ct	1847
Richmond Va. PAID/3 ct [NOR]	1848-49

a rimless blue “NORFOLK VA PAID” in a greenish ink. Most probably this represents a 1¢ circular rate from the 1850s. The stampless catalog dates this marking from 1858. The “PAID” is within the lettering around the rim of the circle is unusual.

Figure 26. Unlisted circular postmark from Richmond, Virginia, here on a circular dated 1847. A similar marking, without the outer rim, is found on circulars from later years.

The red marking on the cover in Figure 26 is not currently listed in the stampless cover catalog. This is a circular marking dating from 1847. It reads "RICHMOND Va., PAID 3 Cts." The catalog lists a different Ricmond postmark with no outer rim, found in red and blue on circulars from 1848 and 1849.

Addendum

After this article was finished and laid out for publication, a remarkable integral rate circular marking, previously unknown, was discovered in a large correspondence of circu-

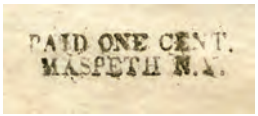

Figure 27. Newly discovered integral rate straighline circular marking from Maspeth, New York.

lars from the 1858-59 period. Shown lifesize herewith as Figure 27, this marking, a double straightline reading "PAID ONE CENT. MASPETH N.Y." is struck on a small white envelope addressed to the postmaster at Bethel Station, Pennsylvania.

Conclusion

It needs to be repeated here that this article only discusses postmarks used on circulars and showing integral rates within the townmark. Many more postmarks were used on circulars during this era. One of the more common types shows only the town name, without a date, with a separate handstamp showing the rate. Others show the town name and the date, with separate handstamped rate markings. Anticipating the forthcoming stampless cover catalog, the data in Table 2 lists the markings alphabetically by town and state and the textual discussion has followed the same pattern. Thus the rate periods are scrambled.

New listings are solicited and should be sent to the author in the form of photocopies or scans. Contact information appears on the masthead page. ■

THE FRANKLIN CARRIER STAMP ON COVER

VERNON R. MORRIS, JR., M.D.

A census of 18 covers bearing an 1851 Franklin Carrier adhesive stamp is presented herewith. Inclusion criteria required a genuine Franklin Carrier stamp, genuine cancel, full-sized cover, and when present, a date concurrent with official U.S. Post Office Department records about carrier activity including the "Steinmetz Miscellany"[1] and the Travers Papers.[2] Once the data was compiled, organized and analyzed, particular trends and postal associations were identified which afford a better understanding of the interaction between the carrier departments, federal post office, and public. The covers in this census demonstrate usage, location, timing, and cancellations which raise additional questions and mysteries, many of which can be plausibly explained by the locally prevailing carrier fees, contemporary private post charges, and the intentions of Washington, D.C. In the context of sparse contemporary collateral sources such as newspapers, and scant carrier department internal records, the author has employed the available postal history and circumstantial evidence to offer speculative but reasonable hypotheses and conclusions, as has been called for by some of our philatelic scholars.[3] The author agrees with others that this stamp should be properly classified as one of the "General Issue Carrier Stamps" and not the Scott catalog listing under "Official Issues" of Carrier Stamps.[4]

Carrier Department Background

Local delivery of inbound letters, generally by a "Penny Post" lad, began in Massachusetts in 1689, New York in 1692, and Philadelphia in 1753, introduced by Benjamin Franklin.[5] During the colonial period a British penny was two cents. By the second quarter of the 19th century several large carrier departments developed. The Act of 1836, "For the Reorganization of the Post Office," brought the carriers under the central control of Washington D.C., required bonding of all letter carriers, inaugurated carrier pick-up of outbound letters, initiated city mail, and stipulated that all carrier fees were "not to exceed 2 cents."[6] The carrier departments were required to be financially self sufficient without subsidy from Washington. The carrier "fee for service" receipts went to a common fund in the carrier department prior to satisfying all costs including carrier compensation. While physically connected to the post office, the carrier departments were separate financial and bookkeeping entities,[7] a 19th century cottage industry of sorts.

Between 1836 and 1860 the Postmaster General had the power to set carrier fees at his discretion from city to city and year to year.[8] This power, however, was not exercised until February 1849 by Postmaster General Cave Johnson. In a draconian measure the various carrier fees were all slashed 50 percent, to 1¢, but application was restricted to the largest cities where stiff private post competition was prevalent. The author believes this situation could not have been popular with the target carriers. The carrier departments of nine large cities, especially Philadelphia and New York City, were directly affected by private-sector competitive pressure, and responded independently and in concert with the Postmaster General by mimicking the private posts and creating prepaid Carrier Department stamps for the "public's convenience" for service in their locale. Two years later, in September 1851,

Postmaster General Nathan K. Hall compounded this unpleasant situation by changing the fee system again. He mandated free pick-up of outbound letters, offset to some extent by double charge (2¢) for delivery of inbound letters.[9]

Act of 1851

In 1851 Congress instituted several postal changes, not the least of which was the introduction of many new denominations including two blue stamps: the 1¢ Franklin stamp for intercity mail and unsealed circulars, and the Franklin Carrier stamp for local service. Each stamp had the same profile of Franklin, facing in different directions. The latter was inscribed "CARRIERS" at top and "STAMP" at bottom, the singular example of any 19th century U.S. general issue stamp lacking an expressed monetary value. Non-denomination may have served the Postmaster General well during a time when his mandated fees were changing all too frequently. The general issue Franklin Carrier stamp could be requisitioned by any carrier department. Only three cities responded: New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans. They sold these stamps to the public as prepayment for future carrier service in their city. The author believes that the Postmaster General did not want the carrier departments to order the blue 1851 1¢ general issue postage stamps, perhaps to better insure continuation of the separate accounting system.

The Franklin Carrier stamp was a milestone in United States postal history as the first attempt by the federal government to develop a unified prepayment carrier system. Breaking new ground should be celebrated rather than sadly overlooked, such as being listed by the Scott catalog in the "back of the book" section as number LO1. The successor general issue Eagle Carrier stamp, Scott LO2, retained the blue color but was obviously face different from the 1¢ 1851 Franklin Carrier stamp, and on its face declared itself a "One Cent" denomination.

The Franklin Carrier Stamp

Much has been published about the Franklin Carrier design, issue, and reissue,[10] but only in a small way (such as the 31-millimeter diagonal measurement of the stamp) is this rel-

Figure 1. Undated Bloods stationery (Scott 15LU6a) with Eagle Carrier stamp (LO2) and 1¢ 1851 stamp (9). Both adhesives cancelled by red star on Philadelphia city letter. 2007 PFC 447,385: "genuine usage."

Figure 2. Enlargement of the 1¢ 1851 stamp on the cover in Figure 1.

evant to this study. The Act of March 3, 1851 was effective on July 1, 1851. By April 26, 1851,[11] Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Company of Philadelphia received the contract for the entire general stamp issue of 1851. The Franklin Carrier stamps were ordered on August 12, 1851[12] and ready by September 27, 1851.[13] A total of 310,000 Franklin Carrier stamps was delivered during October of 1851; 250,000 were sent to New York on October 11, 1851 (received on October 13), but not placed on sale until mid-May 1852. Of that large supply, only 6,800 were sold and the balance returned in October 1852.[14] Also sent on October 11, 1851, were 50,000 to New Orleans, received there October 19, 1851. On October 21, 1851, 10,000 were sent and delivered in Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, John Montgomery, the Philadelphia Assistant Postmaster and Superintendent of the Philadelphia Carrier Department, expressed considerable trepidation on September 27, 1851 that "this new stamp is so like the one cent, that I am persuaded it will create great confusion."[15] On October 5, 1851, Montgomery further declared "it will be continually confounded with the one cent stamp of the P.O. Dept., the only difference in the design of the two being, that in the one case, Franklin is looking *West*, the other his face is turned toward the *East*."[16] Montgomery was proven correct by the cover in Figure 1 (with the pertinent stamp shown in Figure 2). This is the only recorded 1¢ 1851 stamp cancelled by the red star, a handstamp specific to the Philadelphia Carrier Department. Since carrier department accounting was separate from the main post office, the money for the 1¢ 1851 stamp in Figures 1 and 2, which was purchased at the main post office, mistakenly funded the federal system, while delivery of the cover was unintentionally provided free, courtesy of the Philadelphia Carrier Department.

The Franklin Carrier stamp was dead on arrival. Obsolescence was guaranteed by "General Montgomery's eagle design" (also demonstrated in Figure 1) telegraphically ordered on October 21, 1851,[17] the same day the Franklin Carrier stamps were delivered in Philadelphia. Such was the dilemma and fate of the short-lived Franklin Carrier stamp with a small number sold and far fewer surviving on cover. Covers showing the Franklin Carrier stamp genuinely used on cover represent one of the greatest rarities of any face-different general issue adhesive stamp in classic United States postal history.

Covers with Franklin Carrier Stamps

Precious few Franklin Carrier covers exist and several are sequestered away in venerable philatelic collections. A few have not seen the light of day in many decades. Some made cameo appearances in 20th century auctions, but their legacy is only a small black-and-white catalog photo. More recent auction catalogs have published digitized images in full color, although too often in low resolution.

The author agrees that 18 full-sized Franklin Carrier covers demonstrate a very high likelihood of genuineness. On seven of these the Franklin Carrier stamp is tied to the cover by its cancel, which further assures a genuine use. In addition to the 18, which are designat-

ed numerically in the census listing below, five covers exist which don't sufficiently meet the full criteria. For general information and future scholarship, these five "black sheep" are listed in the census but as a separate category (designated alphabetically, rather than by number) as a caution.

The census is presented in two formats. The first is a comprehensive narrative description, which defines the cover by date, cancel, address, provenance, and expertization. The exact written address has been quoted with a slash between each manuscript address line. This descriptive review greatly expands the unpublished census formed in 1991 by Robert Meyersburg. Like all such listings, this census is a work in progress that will hopefully improve with time, technology, and further research.

The second is a photographic census. Several of the covers have never been made available to modern scanning or photographic technology so their graphic quality is compromised. Until recently, three of the covers have been hiding in an obscure and inaccessible area of the New York Public Library, as part of the famous B. K. Miller Collection. To the author's best knowledge, the Miller images have not been previously recorded in the philatelic literature, except (in reduced or partly obscured form) in *Rarity Revealed.*[18] The author is most grateful to the Smithsonian National Postal Museum and the New York Public Library for sharing this important material. In both census presentations, the covers are arranged chronologically by city of origin.

Descriptive Census of Franklin Carrier Stamps on Cover

Philadelphia

1. October 28, 1851; "to the mails" use, tied by blue 32 millimeter Philadelphia "5cts." circular datestamp (Clarke 75a); repeat cds. To "Mrs. Mary McClellan / Coatesville / Chester Co. / Penna." New York Public Library, Miller Collection; ex Chase.

2. December 3, 1851; city mail, red star cancel, not tied. To: "Tatham & Brother / South St Wharf / Phi." Harmer May 26, 1943 lot 448, Col. Green; Siegel sale 925, November 15, 2006, lot 1139, Kuphal; Siegel sale 937, June 16, 2007, lot 305; Siegel sale 965, December 3, 2008, lot 1001, Geisler; 1980 PFC 85,544; Morris collection; ex Seybold.

3. December 6, (1851); "to the mails" use, front; red star cancel, not tied, double transfer, blue 32 mm Philadelphia "5cts." circular datestamp (Clarke 75a). To: "John W. Spicer Esq. / 26 Pine Street / New York". Harmer sale 1069, March 18, 1957 lot 14, Caspary; Siegel sale 925, November 15, 2006, lot 1138, Kuphal; 1989 PFC 205,122; Rumsey sale 40, December 6, 2010, lot 1225; Morris collection; ex Worthington; illustrated in *Chronicle* 168, page 232.

4. December 10, 1851; city mail, red star cancel twice, not tied. To "Mr. Charles G. Leland / 306 Walnut St." New York Public Library, Miller Collection; ex Chase.

5. January 1, 1852; city mail, red star cancel, not tied. To: "Mfs Goddard Parker & Co. / Market Street". Siegel sale 679, May 2, 1987, lot 360; Bennett sale 320, October 19, 2007, lot 103; 1978 PFC 72,271; ex Meyersburg; ex Wall.

6. January 13, 1852; city mail, red star cancel, not tied, double transfer. To: "William Ashbridge Esq / 321 Arch St. / above 8th". Siegel sale 830, November 14, 2000, lot 4, Hall; Siegel sale 853, December 19, 2002, lot 2472, Johnstone; Lyons collection; ex Mason.

7. January 26, 1852; city mail, red star cancel, tied. To: "Charles E. Lex Esq / No 51. North 6th Street / Philada". Harmer, October 21, 1975, lot 789, Hessel; Siegel sale 791, June 25, 1997, lot 8, Meyersburg; 1976 PFC 52,670 and 1997 PFC 317,206; Morris collection.

8. March 9, 1852; city mail, red star cancel, not tied. To: "Mfs Tatham & Bros. / 8. St Warves / Philada"; Siegel sale 285, March 31,1965, lot 457; Siegel sale 333, April 24, 1968, lot 983; Siegel sale 896, June 4, 2005, lot 510. PFC 119,343; Wall collection; ex Seybold and Gibson.

9. March 18, 1852; city mail, red star cancel, not tied, cracked plate variety. To: "Mr Benjamin B. Myrick / Corner of Christian and Church Streets / Philadelphia" (Southwark district). Siegel sale 294 , January 6, 1966, lot 158; Siegel sale 817, November 17, 1999, lot A15, Golden; 1999 PFC 344,720; ex Lichtenstein; ex Ward.

10. March 23, 1852; "to the mails" use, red star cancel, not tied; 3¢ 1851 dull red (Scott 11),

tied by indistinct blue 32 mm Philadelphia circular datestamp. To: "T.R. Poizath Esq, / West-Chester / Chester City Pa"; Siegel sale 294, January 6, 1966, lot 159; PFC 104,246.

11. September 1, 1852; city mail, tied by blue 32 mm Philadelphia circular datestamp (Clarke 62). To: "Messrs. Bancroft & Sellers / Machinists / Beach above Hanover Sts / Philadelphia" (Kensington). Harmer sale 1069, March 18, 1957, lot 13, Caspary; Siegel sale 285, March 31, 1965, lot 456; Frajola, June 1990, lot 25, Middendorf; "Greek" collection.

12. Indistinct date; city mail, tied by blue 32 mm Philadelphia circular datestamp (Clarke 62). To: "Elijah Dallett Esq. / Penn / Bank of Penn Township / No 257 North 10th St" (eastern Spring Garden district). Parke-Bernet, May 6, 1941, lot 887, Knapp; Harmer sale 644, February 26, 1951, lot 962, Y. Souren; ex Emerson, ex Boker.

13. Undated; city mail, red star cancel, not tied. To: "F.J. Greer Esq / Soh 7th above Spruce"; Cherrystone, October 4, 2006 lot 373; 1965 PFC 21,214 and 2007 PFC 451,823; Stimmell collection; ex Klein.

14. Undated; city mail, red star cancel, not tied, left sheet margin. To: "Henry Haines Esq / S.W. corner of Twelfth St and / Girard Avenue" (South Penn district). Goldberg, April 11, 2005 lot 47, Hancock; Piller.

A. September 5, 1851; "to the mails" use; red star cancel, not tied; 3¢ 1851 tied by blue Philadelphia cds. To: "Horatio Lyon / Monson / Mass." Siegel sale 817 November 15, 1999 lot A20, Golden; ex Schenck, ex Burrus. The cancellation date on this cover precedes the issue date of the Franklin carrier stamp.

B. February 2, 1852; city mail, red star cancel, not tied. To: "Mr John A. Baer / Wilson Academy / S.E. corner 7th & Spruce". Siegel sale 791, June 25, 1997 lot 9, Meyersburg; September 25, 1981 PFC 103,172: "LO3 with fraudulent cancel."

New Orleans

15. January 21, 1852; "to the mails" use; grid cancel, tied to 3¢ 1851 orange brown (Scott 10) but not tied to the cover; another adhesive stamp removed; red New Orleans circular datestamp; green Jan 21 New Orleans shovel. To: "Dr. J. Hancock Douglas / No 12 Clinton Place / New York". Harmer sale 2558, June 30, 1955, lot 768, Waterhouse; Frajola June 1990, lot 24, Middendorf; Siegel sale 817, November 15, 1999, lot A19, Golden; Siegel sale 853, December 19, 2002, lot 2473, Johnstone.

C. November 23, (1852); grid cancel, tied; 3¢ 1851 also tied by grid cancel; red New Orleans circular datestamp; manuscript "Way 1". To: "Msrss Leopold Rannot / New Orleans"; May 14, 1998 PFC 322,437: "The carrier stamp is a Scott LO3 reprint and did not originate on this folded letter." Although the typical New Orleans Carrier Department markings are absent, some experts believe that the Franklin Carrier stamp shows original gum, indicating the stamp is not a reprint.

New York

16. September 15, 1852; city mail, tied by red undated 30 mm New York circular handstamp. To: "Mr David Sands / 141 William St." Harmer sale 1069, March 18, 1957, lot 15, Caspary; Frajola, June 1990, lot 26, Middendorf; Mazza collection.

17. October 28, 1852 ; city mail, tied by red undated 30 mm New York circular handstamp; circular invitation to a October 28, 1852 ball. To: "Henry Matthews / Corn. 22 St. 3 avenue / Union Hotel / NY". Siegel sale 817, November 15, 1999, lot A16, Golden; 2000 PFC 349,297; Bailar collection; ex Seybold.

18. Undated; city mail, tied by red undated 30 mm New York circular handstamp. To: "John J. Latting Esq / 85 Fulton St.;" New York Public Library, Miller collection; ex Chase.

D. November 28, 1851; uncancelled, 3¢ 1851 tied by black New York cds. To: "R.J. Palfrey Esq / Cashier / New Orleans / Louisiana". Siegel sale 830, November 13, 2000, lot 5, Hall.

E. December 1, (1852), tied by black 32 mm New York cds; to New York. Siegel sale 817, November 15, 1999, lot A17, Golden; 1957 PFC. Piece of cover with no address or dateline, 1852 pencil date on reverse.

Photographic Census of Franklin Carrier Covers

The pages that follow present the best available images, in color wherever possible, of all known genuine Franklin Carrier covers and several questionable ones. These images have been assembled from different sources, and their quality varies as a consequence.

Figure 3. Census number 1. Outbound letter from Philadelphia to Coatesville, Pennsylvania. Postage "to the mails" prepaid by a Franklin Carrier stamp. Collect postage indicated by the blue Philadelphia integral 5 circular marking dated October 28, 1851. From the Benjamin K. Miller Stamp Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation, courtesy of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum. Until recently, this cover had not been viewed in public for 50 years.

Figure 4. Census number 2. December 3, 1851. Philadelphia city mail; Franklin Carrier stamp with red star cancel.

Reasons for exclusion

Although five items did not meet the strict inclusion criteria, they offer some merit and have been presented here for a wider study of Franklin Carrier material. Their exclusion from the census proper may be on the basis of one or more of the following four issues.

CANCEL: Covers bearing uncancelled Franklin Carrier stamps have been excluded.

Figure 5. Census number 3. December 6, (1851). Philadelphia outbound letter to New York City. Franklin Carrier stamp with red star cancel. Adjacent blue circular date-stamp with 5¢ integral rate.

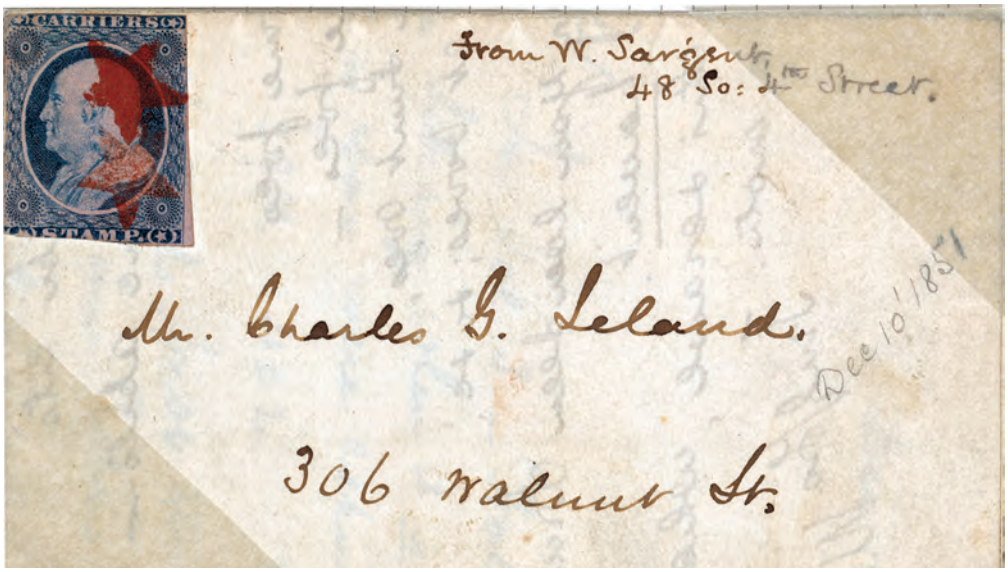

Figure 6. Census number 4. December 10, 1851 Philadelphia city mail. Franklin Carrier stamp with two strikes of the red star cancel. The Benjamin K. Miller Stamp Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation, Courtesy of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum. Until recently not viewed in public for 50 years.

They are easily applied non-contemporaneously to stampless covers. Cancellation of federal stamps was generally universal by the main post office for outbound mail, and by the respective carrier department for city mail. Carriers had a direct and vested interest to prevent stamp reuse and potentially uncompensated service. Item D in the descriptive census (Figure 24), was excluded because of the uncancelled stamp. The stamp placement on this

Figure 7. Census number 5. January 1, 1852. Philadelphia city mail; Franklin Carrier stamp with red star cancel.

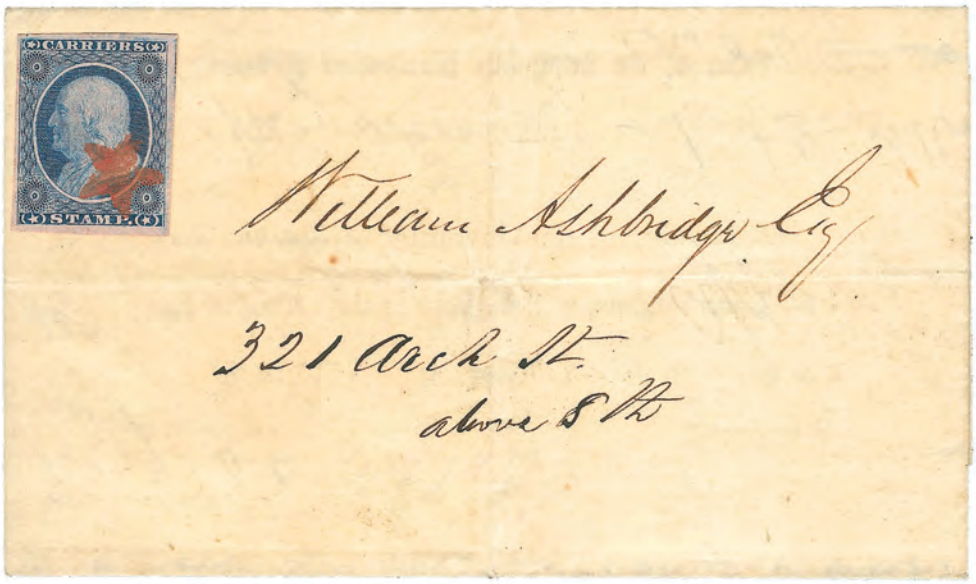

Figure 8. Census number 6. January 13, 1852. Philadelphia city mail; Franklin Carrier stamp, double transfer variety, with red star cancel.

cover is also suspect. It appears to fit all too neatly into the address, suggesting application after the address was written, probably non-contemporaneously.

COVER SIZE: Franklin Carrier stamps on less than a full cover by definition are excluded. Item E in the descriptive census (Figure 25) is a cover piece lacking an address and other possibly helpful markings. Three other more diminutive on-piece Franklin Carrier examples exist. While not warranting full listing in this study, they should be mentioned. Harmer sale 2293 on October 23, 1975 of the Sidney Hessel collection included two Franklin Carrier stamps (lot 787 from New York and lot 788 from New Orleans) both on small pieces of cover. Additionally, there's an off-cover strip of three Franklin Carrier stamps which was apparently misused in New Orleans to prepay an intercity letter.[19]

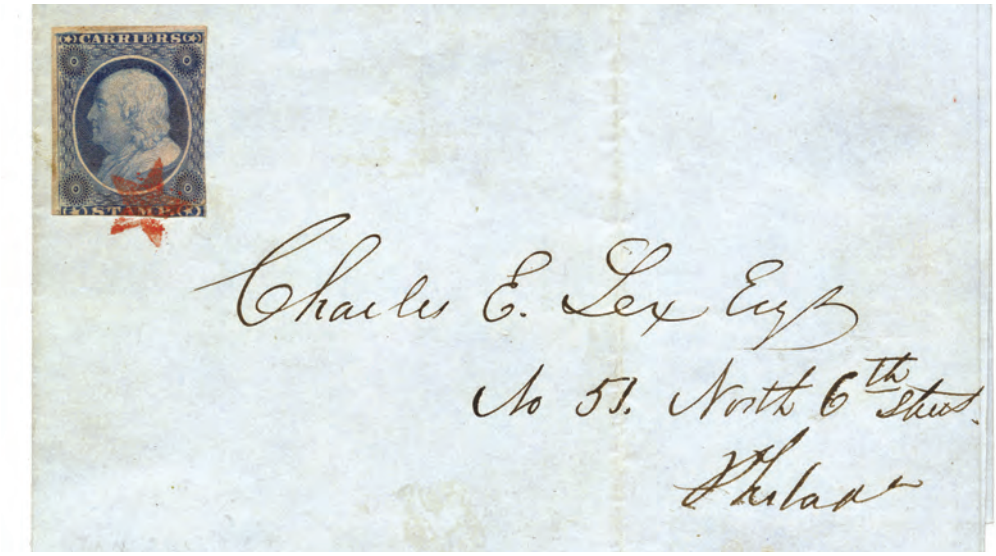

Figure 9. Census number 7. January 26, 1852. Philadelphia city mail, Franklin Carrier stamp tied by red star cancel.

Figure 10. Census number 8. March 9, 1852. Philadelphia city mail, Franklin Carrier stamp with red star cancel.

1875 REPRINT: Twenty four years after they were originally issued, 20,000 Franklin Carrier stamps were reprinted, half on remainders of the original pink (rose) paper, but without gum. According to Luff, the most distinguishing factor of the two issues is that "The impressions of the originals is clear and fine while the reprints are too heavily inked and often blurred."[20] Not contemporary by several decades, therefore, is the stamp on the cover listed as Item B (Figure 18), which bears a Franklin Carrier reprint, Scott LO3, rather than the regularly issued LO1. A similar but more controversial situation exists with Item C in the descriptive census (Figure 20). Several respected experts believe that the Franklin

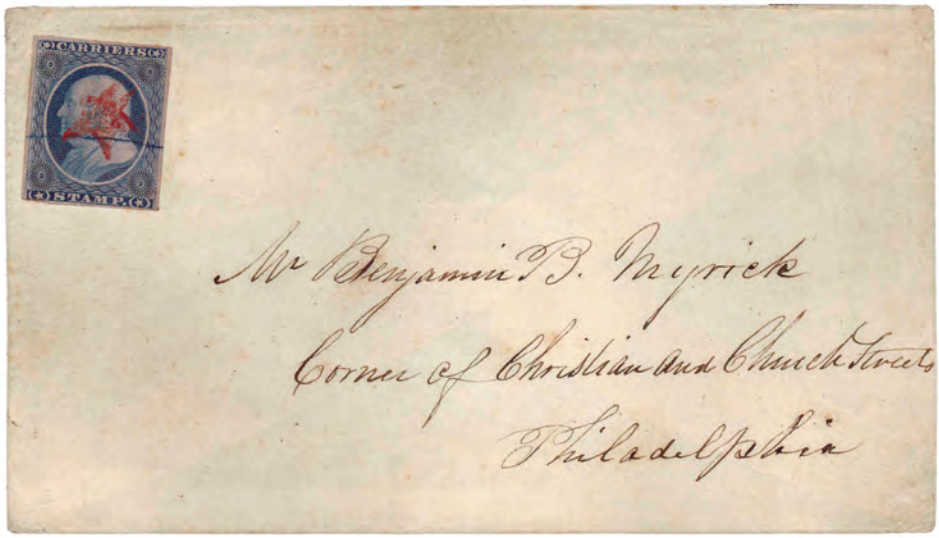

Figure 11. Census number 9. March 18, 1852. Philadelphia city mail addressed to the Southwark District. Franklin Carrier stamp, "big crack" plate variety, with red star cancel.

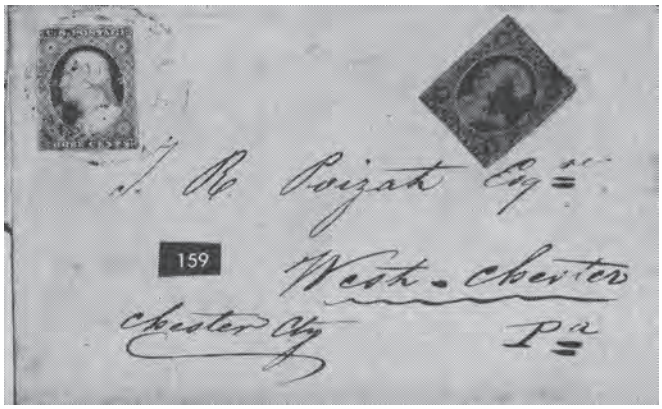

Figure 12. Census number 10. March 23, 1852. Philadelphia outbound letter to West Chester, Pennsylvania. Franklin Carrier stamp with red star cancel. PFC 104,246 as genuine. Not viewed by the public in 45 years.

Carrier stamp on this cover is not a reprint and shows a small amount of original gum under one corner. Because the reprint is very difficult to distinguish from the original, the opinion of an independent and objective expert group such as the Philatelic Foundation should prevail in this instance.

DATE: Item A in the descriptive census (Figure 17) is a cover dated September 5 (1851),[21] which predates the release of the Franklin Carrier stamps by five weeks. Although the Franklin Carrier stamp appears genuine, it is presumed to have been added subsequently to an otherwise genuine cover bearing the 3¢ orange brown 1851 stamp, which was used in 1851 and early 1852.

The census data was analyzed in six categories: usage by city, type of usage, recorded dates, cancels, correspondence and combinations.

Usage by City

Although Philadelphia received the fewest number of stamps (10,000),[22] the greatest number of covers, 14 of the 18, originated there. On only four of these is the Franklin

Figure 13. Census number 11. September 1, 1852. Philadelphia city mail addressed to the District of Kensington. Franklin Carrier stamp tied by blue unrated circular datestamp. Not viewed by the public for 20 years.

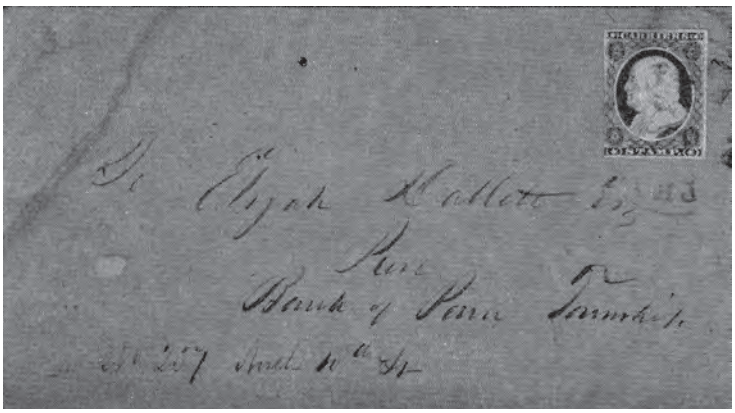

Figure 14. Census number 12. Philadelphia city mail addressed to the eastern Spring Garden District. Franklin Carrier stamp tied by blue unrated circular datestamp, date indistinct. Not viewed by the public for 60 years.

Carrier stamp tied to the cover by its cancel. Eleven were cancelled by the typical red star handstamp of the Philadelphia carrier department, but only one of these is tied (census number 7). On the other three covers, census numbers 1, 11, and 12, the stamp is cancelled and tied by a blue Philadelphia circular datestamp, a standard marking of the main post office. Two covers, numbers 3 and 10, combine a red star cancel with an adjacent blue circular datestamp. A blue 32 mm Philadelphia circular datestamp, therefore, appears on five of the 18 covers.

Eleven were locally addressed, four of which (census numbers 9, 11, 12 and 14) to one of the many nearby Philadelphia county districts just outside the old city limits. On census numbers 11 and 12, the stamps are tied by a blue unrated Philadelphia circular datestamp; the stamps on numbers 9 and 14 are cancelled by red star and as usual not tied.

Three outbound letters exist, census numbers 1, 3, and 10. Each cover displays a blue 5¢ integral rated Philadelphia circular datestamp (although the marking on item 10 is not distinct), which documented proper handling and rating by the main Philadelphia post office for intercity mail. Census numbers 1 and 10 are tied by the blue marking, whereas number 3 is red star cancelled. Of the 14 Philadelphia covers, 11 are dated. Four examples were used in late 1851, a time period not represented by examples from the other two cities. Only one of the 11 (census number 11) was dated after March, 1852.

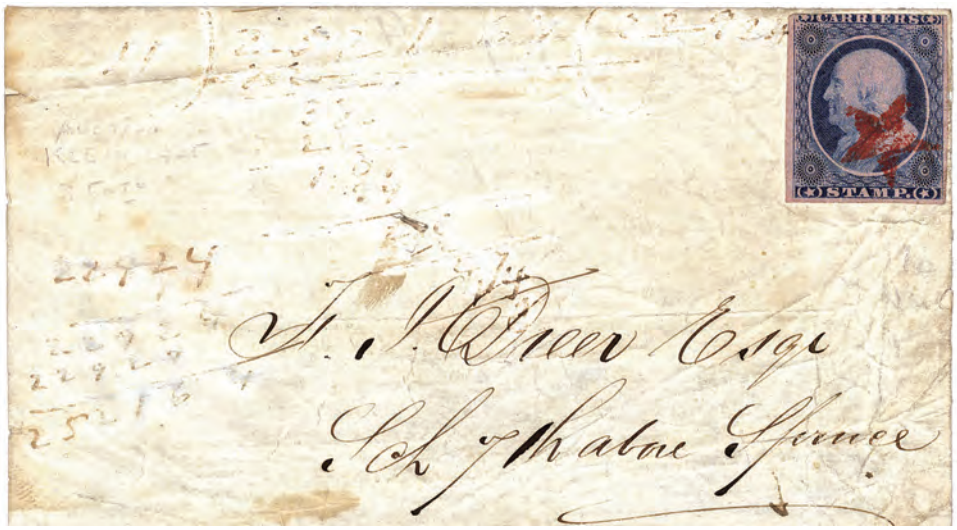

Figure 15. Census number 13. Undated Philadelphia city mail. Franklin Carrier stamp with red star cancel.

Figure 16. Census number 14. Undated Philadelphia city mail, addressed to the South Penn District. Franklin Carrier stamp, left sheet margin copy, red star cancel.

New York was by far the city to which the greatest number of Franklin Carrier stamps was delivered (250,000), but only three covers from New York have survived. All are tied by a red undated 30 mm New York circular handstamp, a New York City carrier department marking. All three covers were sent to a New York street address and represent city mail. Census letter E, one of the excluded items, reveals a 32 mm circular datestamp in black, dated December 1, with the year uncertain, except for a pencil mark hint of 1852 on the reverse, probably applied non-contemporaneously. Of the three full covers, two are dated, both in early Autumn 1852 (census numbers 16 and 17). None of these examples were franked during the initial 11 months following delivery of Franklin Carrier stamps. This is consistent with information reported in the Travers Papers that the stamps were withheld

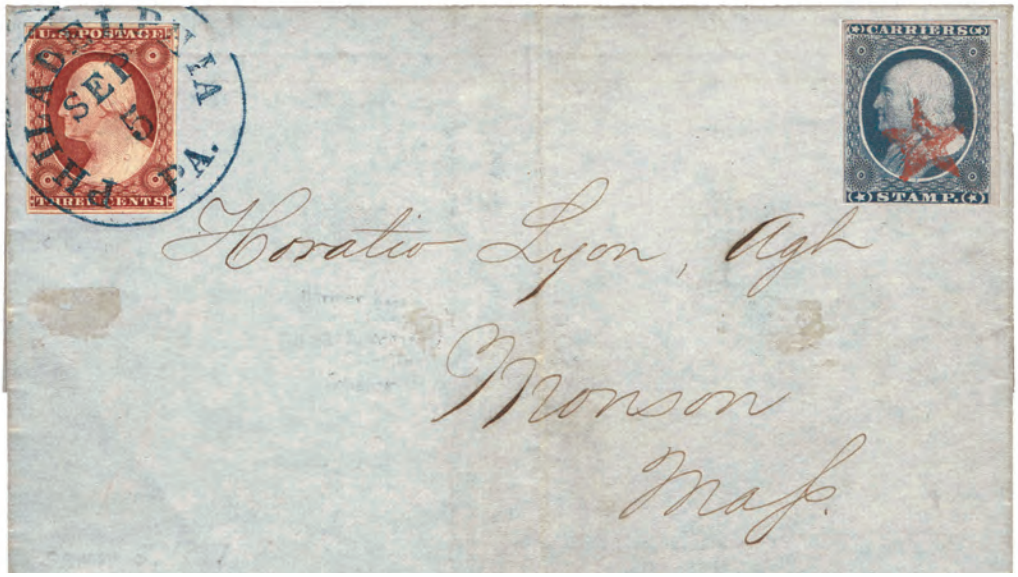

Figure 17. Census letter A. September 5, (1851). Outbound letter with 3¢ 1851 stamp, well tied, with Franklin Carrier stamp, not tied. The cancellation date on the 3¢ 1851 stamp precedes the issue date of the Franklin Carrier stamp.

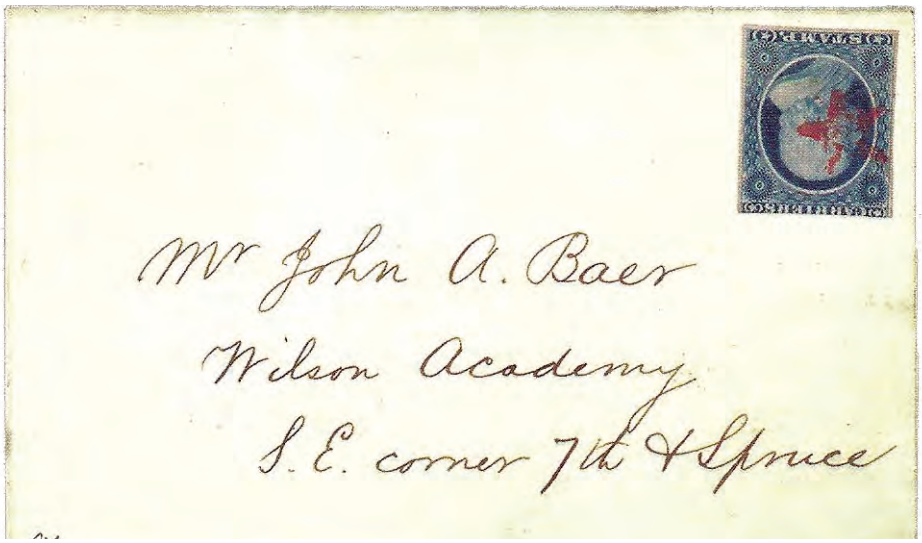

Figure 18. Census letter B. February 2, 1852. Philadelphia city mail, Franklin Carrier stamp with red star cancel. PFC 103,172 with warning for "LO3 [1875 reprint] with fraudulent cancel."

from sale in New York until mid May of 1852,[23] allegedly due to a dispute over "discounting" carrier stamps.

New Orleans received 50,000 stamps but only one dated, certified genuine full cover has survived. During the two years prior to 1851 the New Orleans carrier department did not sell their own stamps for prepayment of postage, and the author speculates they may not have fully understood the federal program in which they only casually participated.[24] Census number 15 is one of only two covers recorded on which the Franklin Carrier stamp is

Figure 19. Census number 15. January 21, 1852. New Orleans outbound letter to New York. 3¢ 1851 stamp and Franklin Carrier stamp, with a third stamp missing. Green New Orleans shovel-shaped carrier marking.

Figure 20. Census letter C. November 23, (1852). 3¢ 1851 stamp and Franklin Carrier stamp. Controversial cover with PFC 322,437 warning that the Franklin Carrier stamp the 1875 reprint, Scott LO3.

combined with a 3¢ 1851 general issue stamp. This cover is additionally unusual that in that it is missing a second stamp, cut away by a "philatelic felon." Although the two remaining stamps are not tied to the cover, they are tied to each other by the typical black New Orleans grid cancel, a standard post office handstamp. Pick-up by the New Orleans carrier department was confirmed by their green "shovel" handstamp escutcheon on this outbound "to the mails" cover addressed to New York. (The shovel marking is missing from the excluded census letter C cover.) As previously mentioned, off-cover Franklin Carrier multiples from New Orleans have been recorded. This supports the assumption that the stamp missing from census number 15 was a Franklin Carrier.

Figure 21. Census number 16. September 15, 1852. New York city mail, Franklin Carrier stamp tied by red undated circular handstamp.

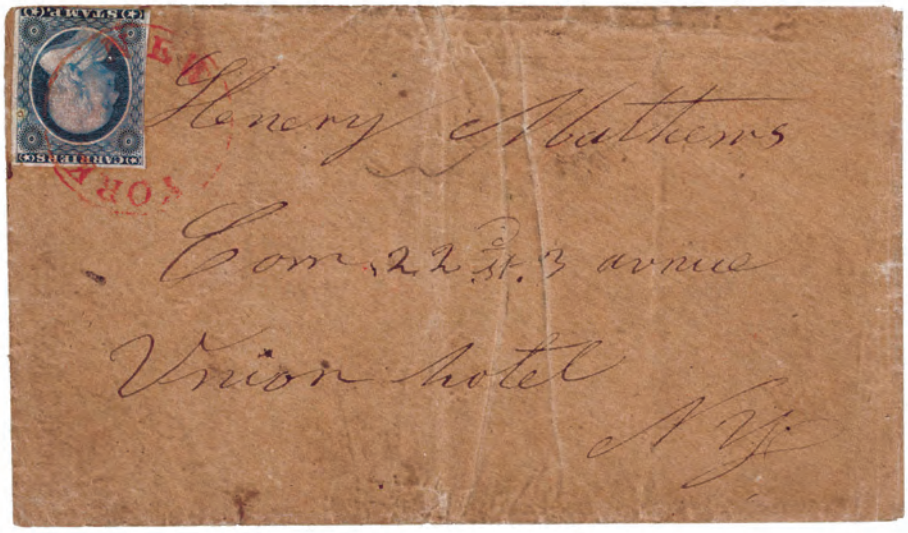

Figure 22. Census number 17. October 28, 1852. New York city mail, Franklin Carrier stamp tied by red undated circular handstamp.

Type of usage

Of the 18 Franklin Carrier stamps on cover, 14 are city mail uses and four are outbound "to the mails" uses. None are inbound "from the mails" uses. Of the 14 Franklin Carrier covers showing local pick-up and delivery, 11 are Philadelphia, three from New York and none from New Orleans. The author submits his belief that given the prevailing carrier fees in 1851, the Franklin Carrier stamp conveniently functioned for local city letters.[25]

Prepaid city mail represents a federal response to enterprising private posts such as Blood's Despatch in Philadelphia which had flourished for several years handling huge volumes of local letters, and which in early 1849 surprisingly reduced each and every service to only 1¢.[26] The author believes that by 1850 the 1¢ charge became the Philadelphia

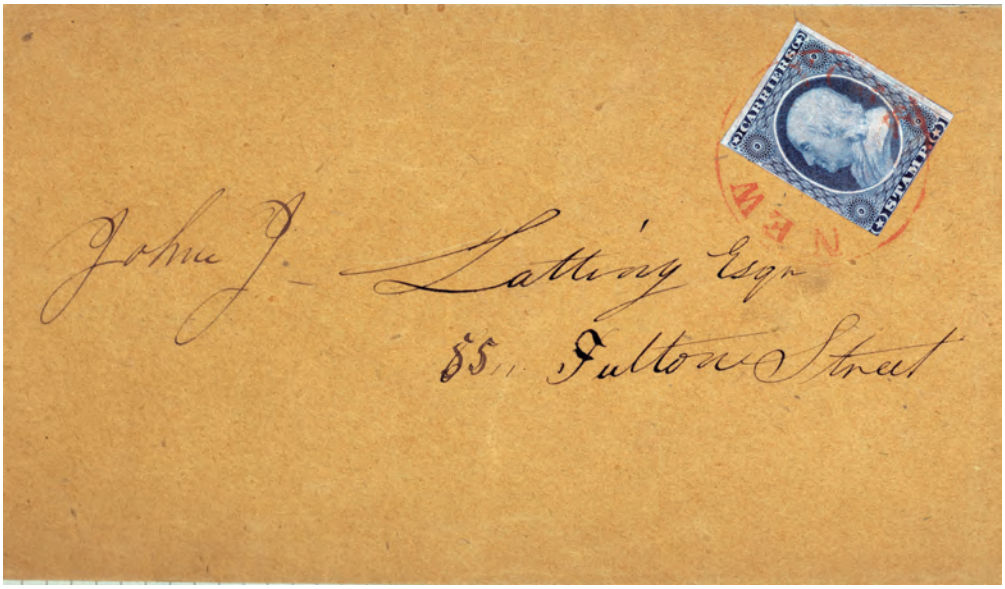

Figure 23. Census number 18. Undated New York city mail, Franklin Carrier stamp tied by red unrated circular handstamp. From the Benjamin K. Miller Stamp Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation, Courtesy of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum. Until recently not viewed in public for 50 years.

market price, and was by necessity also assumed by many other Philadelphia private posts such as the Eagle Post, Carters, Teese, Cressman, Chestnut Street Line, and the Telegraph Despatch. Philadelphia private posts that did not follow suit, such as Hamptons, Briggs, Auners, and Spence & Brown seemed to vanish from the marketplace by 1851.

Different circumstances, however, existed in New York City. Boyds was clearly the major private post and retained a 2¢ charge until 1860.[27] Swartz was probably the second biggest New York City private post and also charged 2¢ more often than not.[28] The author speculates that the New York City carriers may have seriously questioned two years of handling city mail for 1¢, half the historic and customary amount, and half of what much of their competition was earning. These circumstances lead the author to speculate that the carriers in New York, at the threshold of a new paradigm, refused to capitulate for quite a while, which plausibly explains why the Franklin Carrier stamps were not sold in New York for seven months, and which may represent "the dispute" recorded in the Travers Papers.[29]

As noted, of the 18 covers only four are "to the mails" uses showing prepaid carrier collection of outbound letters addressed to another city. All are early, prior to the end of March, 1852. This small number may have resulted from the 1851 declaration by Postmaster General Hall that carriers would pick up outbound letters free in large cities competing with aggressive private posts.[30] No outbound Franklin Carrier covers from New York have ever been discovered. Either the New York carrier department performed this work for free, or did not perform it at all. Whatever the explanation, this policy greatly diminished the Franklin Carrier's usefulness, and another reason why a broad federal carrier prepayment program in 1851 was a concept ahead of its time.

Three of the four examples on outbound letters were from Philadelphia: census number 1 (to Coatesville, Pennsylvania); number 3 (to New York City); and number 10 (to West Chester, Pennsylvania). These three, however, are indeed plausible because the Philadelphia carrier department apparently ignored or defied the Postmaster General and continued in Philadelphia the 1849 "uniform 1¢ carrier fee for all services"—a theory and term previ-

Figure 24. Census letter D: November 28, (1851). New York outbound letter to New Orleans. 3¢ 1851 stamp tied by New York circular datestamp. The Franklin Carrier stamp is not cancelled.

ously coined by the author[31] to explain the evidence from Philadelphia. The fourth example, census number 15, is from New Orleans to New York City.

As might be expected, there are no inbound letters, which would represent "from the mails" uses, even to one of the three cities which participated in the Franklin Carrier experiment. See for example the previously discussed New Orleans cover to New York, census number 15, and the Philadelphia to New York cover, census number 3. In these examples, how could the New York City carrier department in 1851 be reimbursed for delivery service if the respective stamps were sold by the New Orleans or Philadelphia carrier departments? A potential dilemma similar to the mistaken postage illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

To offset the free carrier collection service for outbound letters, Postmaster General Hall's 1851 scheme doubled the carrier delivery fee for inbound letters to 2¢. This could be a big reason for the non-denominational nature of the Franklin Carrier stamp. The public probably had adjusted very well in 1849 to the reduced 1¢ inbound delivery fee, but less well in 1851 when the fee reverted to 2¢. The circumstances suggest that this service was relatively expensive and possibly perceived by the public as exploitative. Intercity mail was a government monopoly and the carrier department was guaranteed delivery of such mails.

Nonetheless, in 1852 more than one third of intercity mail was still paid by the recipients. This must have been a lingering burden for the delivering carrier.[32] For these letters, prepayment of his fee didn't save the carrier much time or trouble if the intercity rate had not been prepaid too.

Recorded Dates

Fourteen of 18 covers, or 78%, were dated: 11 of the 14 from Philadelphia, the single from New Orleans, and two of three from New York City. The dated covers span exactly one year in duration: October 28, 1851 to October 28, 1852, beginning in Philadelphia and ending in New York, as the story seems to play. Actual service dates no doubt extend be-

yond the time period described by the small group of dated covers which survived. Census letter E, a large piece of cover revealing day and month but not year, may possibly extend the period into December 1852. Official earliest and latest date status, however, requires a complete date via internal dateline, outside dated receipt docket, or (conceivably) a year-dated handstamp.

The earliest recorded date, October 28, 1851, occurs on census number 1, only seven days following the first day of sale at Philadelphia. This cover resides in the Miller Collection and is not available to collectors. The earliest cover in private hands is census number 2, also from Philadelphia, dated December 3, 1851.

The latest recorded date, October 28, 1852, appears on census number 17, one of the three New York covers. The possibility that census number 3 represented a later date was considered but rejected.[33] The cover bears a December 6 handstamp but the year is indeterminate. December usage clusters well in 1851 whereas attribution to 1852 would make it a significant outlier, especially for Philadelphia.[34] The blue Philadelphia integral handstamp is Clarke type 75a, recorded from 1851 through 1853, so this is no assistance in determining the year. But if the piece in census letter E, whose year date is attributable solely to a pencil notation on reverse, truly represents 1852 service, then number 3 would not be an outlier, but more likely an 1852 use, and therefore possibly the latest date.

Figure 25. Census letter E: December 1, (1852). Franklin Carrier stamp on large piece, cancelled by black New York circular datestamp.

Cancels

The cancel size and strike completeness can be important to postal historians. The red star of the Philadelphia carrier department measured only 12 mm. Only one of 11 covers were tied because the star only covered one quarter of the stamp, shown best in census numbers 3 and 6. On the cover in census number 4, two red stars that do not overlap, do not shroud more than half of the stamp. The carrier department obviously did not want the cancel to miss the stamp, and no practical reason existed to strike the edge to tie the stamp and cover together, suggesting that a near "bulls eye" was the goal of cancellation.

The two Philadelphia blue circular handstamps each measure 32 mm. The greatest dimension of the Franklin Carrier stamp design is 31 mm. Therefore, any blue marking with full strike that cancels the stamp, must by necessity tie it to the cover, as is the case in census number 1. Even partial strikes of this marking, such as on census numbers 1 and 12, may tie the stamp. Likewise the New York circular datestamps measure approximately 30 mm, with all three covers bearing virtually complete strikes.

Correspondences

Of the 18 genuine covers, only one addressee appears on more than one cover. It should not come as a surprise that these are Philadelphia covers. Census numbers 2 and 8 are both city letters addressed to the manufacturer Tatham & Brother. The first is addressed

Figure 26. May 5, (1853). Outbound letter from Philadelphia to Charleston, South Carolina. 1¢ 1851 stamp (Scott 7) tied by blue Philadelphia circular datestamp for carrier pickup. Domestic postage paid by 3¢ Washington stamp.

to "South Street Wharf" and the second to "8. St Wharves," the same location at the border of the old city of Philadelphia and the Southwark district.

Combinations

Only two of the 18 covers, census numbers 10 and 15, possess a Franklin Carrier stamp in combination with a 3¢ 1851 stamp. The 3¢ stamp is orange brown (Scott 10) on the cover in census number 15; and dull red (11), in census number 10.

Trends and Associations

The majority of Franklin Carrier covers are Philadelphia covers that carried local city mail. The outbound letters were largely to Philadelphia addresses and tended to be early; those to adjacent districts date from later in the one-year period. Two thirds of the Philadelphia covers and the single New Orleans example are dated during the initial five months.

No New York covers exist during the initial 11 months. No outbound New York covers exist. Those New York examples that are dated occurred at the very end of the Franklin Carrier time period, and five months following the delayed May 1852 sale to the public.

Circular handstamps from both Philadelphia and New York were large enough to tie Franklin Carrier stamps to their covers. However, the red star, being much smaller, ties fewer than 10 percent of its covers.

Mysteries

New York City received the most stamps and produced the fewest covers. Philadelphia received the least number of stamps but accounts for the great majority of the covers. The author speculates that proximity to the printer, Toppan Carpenter, may have contributed to smaller and prospectively more frequent Philadelphia orders, and may have facilitated the transition to the Eagle Carrier stamp in Philadelphia. Montgomery did not care for the Franklin Carrier design and may not have requested many, but appeared to have been defiantly agreeable to use them, briefly, but at the "one cent for all carrier service" schedule mentioned earlier. The Franklin Carrier stamp, after all, was non-denominated.

New York's lateness in selling Franklin Carrier stamps to the public may in part account for the fact that only three covers survive. The substantial fee reduction in 1849, combined with an 1851 fee manipulation including some services for free, may not have been conducive to a happy carrier department; the author hypothesizes that this diminished the participation of New York carriers. The major competing private posts in New York largely continued to charge 2¢. The author speculates that a predominately 2¢ market for city letters may have fostered a carrier perception that the 1849 fee reductions had been an overreaction, unnecessary and in need of repeal. The "dispute" in the Travers Papers may have represented stonewalling the 1849 50 percent "discount." In short, the author submits that the New York City carrier department did not support the new federal program in any material way. Pertinent negative circumstantial evidence is the absolute void of Eagle Carrier stamps, on or off cover, identified as having been used in New York City.

The stamp missing from the New Orleans cover in Census #15 (Figure 19) cannot be determined. Was it another 3¢ stamp, for double the intercity rate, or an additional (and probably mistakenly applied) Franklin Carrier stamp? Many combinations and explanations are possible, although a second Franklin Carrier, perhaps for intended delivery in the destination city, is the most likely. Very few double-carrier covers are known. One is illustrated in the *Sesquicentennial Retrospective* book. This is from Brattleboro, Vermont, with pick-up prepaid by a 1¢ Franklin postage stamp (Scott 7), intercity postage paid by a 3¢ Washington stamp (10) and 2¢ carrier postage collected from the recipient in New Orleans.[35]

The absence of "from the mails" covers, the charge for which had been increased to a double charge for delivery of an inbound letter, is plausibly explained by the absence of a supporting accounting system. No evidence of credit-debit accounting adjustments between carrier departments of the various cities has ever been discovered. The city of origin sold the stamps but no mechanism existed, to our best knowledge, to reimburse the carrier department in the city of destination if the service were prepaid.

The relatively few "to the mails" covers (only four outbound covers) is explained by the fact that this service was deemed free by the Postmaster General. Thus, prepayment by Carrier stamps was not necessary on outbound letters. Documentation to the contrary exits, however, in Philadelphia and New Orleans. (Not the case in New York where this service was indeed provided at no charge, or not provided at all.) Three outbound Franklin Carrier covers from Philadelphia exist, and over 100 outbound Eagle Carrier covers have been documented. This compelling circumstantial evidence is the "smoking gun" indicating that the carrier department in Philadelphia disregarded Postmaster General Hall's declaration and charged 1¢ for pick-up of outbound mail.

Philadelphia districts immediately outside the old city had their own post offices at various times. For a few years leading up to the Philadelphia consolidation of 1854, the Philadelphia carrier department occasionally served the citizens just beyond the border of the old city, in Kensington, Northern Liberties, Spring Garden District, Southwark, and even the South Penn District.[36] Four of the 14 Philadelphia covers were addressed to the districts and are typically later dates. Two are cancelled and tied by a blue unrated Philadelphia circular datestamp, addressed to the northeast in Kensington (census number 11), and to the Spring Garden district (census number 12). Two others are cancelled by the red star, not tied, addressed to Southwark (census number 9), and to the South Penn district (census number 14). Carrier integrated cooperation with the Kensington post office in the early 1850s has been well documented[37] and is further supported by this census data.

Failure

The Franklin Carrier stamp failed for many reasons and was replaced during 1852 by

Figure 27. November 8, 1853. 1¢ 1851 stamp (Scott 9) tied by red New York circular handstamp for city mail prepaid carrier service.

the Eagle Carrier stamp. The Franklin Carrier stamp was unorthodox in lacking a defined monetary value. Was it 1¢ or 2¢? Would the value or price be the same next year? The author speculates that sender anxiety may have discouraged potential purchases by the public. The lack of a denomination did provide the Postmaster General with the necessary flexibility for variously-priced carrier service in the milieu of potentially different competitive private posts, but perhaps at the expense of sender anxiety.

Confusion with the 1¢ Franklin postage stamp of 1851, as evidenced in Figures 1 and 2, may conceivably have caused carrier department anxiety over the possibility of uncompensated service, thus creating a reluctance to order the Franklin Carrier stamps. Both were blue, both showed a profile of Franklin, and both were issued at the same time.

Carrier department accounting was independent. It was as if each large city housed an isolated 19th century cottage industry, an island unto itself, with no financial relationship with the carrier departments in other cities or with the main post office in the carrier city. This system was not readily applicable to a broad and unified federal carrier prepayment program. It seems to this author that this problem took several years to resolve. It was ameliorated somewhat by carrier department use of the 1¢ 1851 and 1857 stamps. This is documented as early as 1853, evidenced by the covers shown in Figures 26 and 27.[38] Such usage became more commonplace by 1856.[39]

The Franklin Carrier stamps had very limited support; only three cities participated. The author believes that Philadelphia ignored the 1851 fee schedule, and New York City abstained for the most part. What carriers would support a program that severely slashed their earnings? The transition in 1852 to Eagle Carrier stamps also lacked robust interest. The evidence confirms deployment in only five cities: Philadelphia, Kensington, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Washington D.C. The author believes that both New York and New Orleans abstained; for 160 years no documentary evidence or covers to the contrary have surfaced.

In addition, the Franklin Carrier stamps had prepaid competition. In 1849 nine cities sold their own carrier department stamps for prepaid local service: Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati, Cleveland, St. Louis, Louisville, Boston, Baltimore and Charleston. In 1851 the latter five paid no attention to the general issue carrier stamps.[40] Only the first two,

Philadelphia and New York, employed carrier department stamps concurrently with general issue carrier stamps. In this instance, the initial system was provincial, but within years it strangely duplicated, competed with, and was finally replaced by the federal program.[41]

Discretionary changes by the Postmaster General of the carrier fee system in selected cities were arbitrary, temporary,[42] and in the author's opinion not compatible with a broad uniform prepayment plan (although successfully modified in Philadelphia).[43]

Free "to the mails" service in 1851 severely limited use of the Franklin Carrier stamp, although in the author's opinion, this was a big conceptual step toward eliminating the "fee" system entirely. "From the mails" use on inbound letters from well-intentioned senders from another city was precluded by the autonomous accounting of the carrier departments, with no credit-debit mechanism available between carrier departments of different cities.[44] Rare exceptions associated with unusual circumstances are recorded, but pertain only to carrier department stamps.[45]

Summary

The year 1851 was a time of great change and some growing pains for the United States Post Office. While the Franklin Carrier stamp was an important milestone in our nation's postal history, the author believes it was very much a Philadelphia program. The private posts in Philadelphia offered the stiffest competition, cheapest service, and therefore the greatest impetus for a federal response. The general issue Carrier stamps were all printed in Philadelphia. The great majority of Franklin Carrier covers are from Philadelphia. How fitting this should all take place in the great and historic city of Benjamin Franklin, the first Postmaster General of the United States and founder of the Philadelphia carriers.

The census data of surviving full-sized and dated covers genuinely bearing a regularly issued Franklin Carrier stamp mysteriously spans exactly one year to the day, although the universe of such covers must have been somewhat larger. This study has highlighted the early obstacles facing the United States Post Office in forming a broad and uniform system or carrier prepayment. Given the Postmaster General's 1849 reduction of carrier fees in selected cities, compounded by the PMG's awkward 1851 fee schedule, and given separate and autonomous carrier department accounting, the surviving evidence suggests that the interest in the Franklin Carrier stamp was limited and its usefulness largely reduced to local city mail. The author views the nation's two largest carrier departments as a "tale of two cities," each of which, he hypothesizes, resisted federal intrusion quite differently.

Based upon the evidence of surviving covers, the pertinent absence of certain usages, scant contemporary collateral information, and information from Steinmetz and the Travers Papers, the author believes that the circumstances reasonably suggest that the carrier department in New York City rebelled by limited participation in the 1851 initiative to install prepaid federal carrier stamps. And the carrier department in Philadelphia ignored or defiantly persisted in its own agenda continuing the 1849 "one cent for all carrier services" fee schedule. In the author's opinion, an underlying theme seems to be conflict, which quite speculatively may have even reached the Congress and the Postmaster General. The two major areas of conflict were between (1) unified prepayment by stamps versus collect and vacillating fees; and (2) a broad uniform program versus individual and separate accounting.

The year 1852 witnessed a seamless transition from the Franklin Carrier to the Eagle Carrier stamps. However, in the author's opinion, the Eagle Carrier too, in the same business model and environment, was not compatible with a large-scale federal carrier prepayment program, and dwindled away during the decade. Evidence shows that within a couple of years the 1¢ 1851 postage stamp began deployment in several cities for carrier service. The author hypothesizes that carrier department autonomy diminished simultaneously, and transition away from the provincial carrier department stamps occurred during the 1850s.

In the author's opinion, the non-denominational Franklin Carrier stamp was a concept ahead of its time, innovative but a failure. It was an important cog in the wheel of progress as the first step toward a broad uniform prepaid carrier pick-up and delivery service. As with many new ideas or start-up companies, the process evolved into a better system. Within a decade the carrier business model progressed from a relatively archaic "cottage industry" (today called a small business), to be assimilated into the vastness of the United States Post Office Department, in which carriers were but salaried employees.

The author respectfully recommends listing by the Scott catalog of the general issue Franklin and Eagle Carrier stamps in the front of the book and alongside their brothers of the 1851 general issue.

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Endnotes

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KNOWN STRADDLE-MARGIN COPIES OF THE 1847 STAMPS

WADE E. SAADI

Introduction: the Web Chronicle

Over the years, hundreds of articles have been published in the 1847 Section of the *Chronicle*. Until the arrival of the new Web Chronicle, there was no easy way to search for "straddle margin" or any other word or phrase in the 220-plus issues that comprise a full run of our publication. But now such a search is simple for anyone with online access.

Simply go to the "Members Domain" at our website, uspcs.org, and choose "Search Web Chronicle" from the menu on the left. Then, type "straddle margin" in the keyword box, click on "Periods and Topics" and check the "1847 Period". Next, in the "Search In" box, check "All Issues." In a few seconds, all the articles that have appeared in the 1847 section of the Chronicle containing the keyword "straddle margin" will appear. You can then choose from the resultant list the articles you wish to read. Nothing short of amazing. This is a research tool unequalled in classic U.S. philately.

This article used the Web Chronicle to achieve two objectives: to illustrate for the first time in the *Chronicle* all known copies of the 1847 straddle-margin stamps; and to show the importance of the discovery of the first one, made by Elliott Perry in the early 1920s.

Known Straddle-Margin Copies

In the case of the 1847 stamps, a straddle-margin or straddle-pane copy is one showing at least parts of stamps from both the left and right pane, with the sheet margin in between. In *Chronicle* 102 (May 1979), Creighton Hart wrote that there are two known examples of 1847 straddle margin copies: a 5¢ off cover and a 10¢ on cover.[1] Only the 5¢ example (shown here as Figure 1) was illustrated in Hart's article. Hart said he had never

Figure 1. This is the 5¢ 1847 straddle-margin copy that was twice illustrated by Creighton Hart in different issues of the *Chronicle*. Hart's illustrations were in black and white, but this is a full-color scan created from the actual stamp. This example is from the left pane, showing a 7.15 millimeter center margin between the impressions and a substantial portion of the left-side frame of the adjoining stamp on the right pane.

EXPECT THE UNEXPECTED...

Scott #9a, 1849 1Fr Light carmine on yellowish, tete-beche, a showpiece unused horizontal "face to face" tete-beche pair. This spectacular pair is widely regarded as one of the greatest 1849-50 Ceres issue tete-beche rarities extant. ex-Ferrary, Hind and "Lafayette".
Cat. $235,000;
Realized $218,600

Austin, Stephen F., An incredible content Autograph Letter Signed, Raising Tro
for Texas, "Stephen F.Austin", With Nashville postmark, February 25, 18
Est. $15,000-20,000; ***Realized $207,***

Scott #57b, 1870 20c Brigh
arresting mint never hinge
inverted cliché. Quite likely
of the 20c 1870 Siege of Pa
Cat. $6,000; ***Realized $27,***

The First postage stamps in Minnesota Territory, Ten Cent Black 1847 Issue with green "Saint Paul, Min. Ter./Feb 12" datestamp, the only known 1847 issue cover from Minnesota Territory.
Est. $10,000-15,000
Realized $54,725

Scott #126, 6c Blue re-issue, a phenomenal used example that is quite likely the finest used copy of this rare re-issue in existence. PF & 2005 PSE certificate (XF-Superb 95).
Cat. $2,750;
Realized $24,250

Paid Central Overland Pony Express Company, printed Pony Express frank on eastbound 10c Green on buff entire (#U18) to Coopers Mills, Maine, manuscript "Carson City - Sept 30/60", Paid $2.50, only eight reported examples of this printed frank. ex-Barkhausen, West. Est. $15,000-20,000; ***Realized $74,850***

Full Rigged Ship illustrated postmark on a fresh folded letter with integral address leaf datelined "Canton (China) April 16, 1834" to New York endorsed "Globe", undoubtedly the finest reported strike of this illustrated marking, as well as the only "full rigged ship" hand-stamp applied to a cover from China. ex-Porriss. Est. $7,500-10,000; ***Realized $71,975***

Pensacola, largely clear straightline British Colonial handstamp on folded letter to St. Augustine, East Florida datelined "Camp at Grand Sable, 14th, December, 1772", the only reported example of this combination of rare markings. ex-Glassco. Est. $30,000-40,000; ***Realized $115,100***

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Figure 2. Straddle-margin copy of the 10¢ 1847 stamp, on the cover discovered by Elliott Perry that led him to conclude that the stamps were printed from left and right panes on a 200-subject plate. This enabled Perry's landmark plating of the 10¢ 1847s.

seen the 10¢ cover and asked readers for a "black and white glossy print" to publish in a future 1847 section. But such an illustration never appeared in the 1847 section.

The existence of the 10¢ straddle-pane copy on cover was first recorded by Elliott Perry, when he plated the 10¢ 1847 and subsequently published his findings in the *Collectors Club Philatelist.*[2] The existence of the cover can now be reconfirmed; an image is shown in Figure 2, and an enlargement of the straddle-pane stamp is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Enlargement of the straddle-margin 10¢ 1847 stamp on the cover in Figure 2. This is a right-pane example showing an 8.25 millimeter center margin, which divided the two panes of 100. A sliver of the frameline from a stamp on the left pane is visible at the extreme left. The full stamp comes from Position 1R, the first position (upper left corner) of the right pane, showing the Type A double transfer.

Figure 4. Two lots from a recent New York auction sale that were misdescribed as straddle-pane examples. Both are lovely margin copies, but they are not straddle-pane copies as they do not show another stamp across the margin.

Four years after his initial article, in *Chronicle* 117, Hart stated: "…three 5¢ straddle-pane copies, all off cover, have been reported (Figure 1)."[3] However, Hart's "Figure 1" showed only the one illustration, the same image shown four years prior. Could this have been a misstatement or a typographical error? If the statement was accurate, why were the photos of the two others absent, while the items were described as "reported"?

I have studied the 1847 stamps in detail for over 25 years. I have never seen the other two 5¢ off-cover straddle-margin copies; in fact, I have never heard them rumored or spoken about. Also, being acquainted with the current holdings of today's 1847 collectors, I would expect such important pieces to reside in these collections. They do not. Whether the other two straddle-pane 5¢ stamps actually exist is not easy to discern, since proving that something does not exist is difficult. But images of the purported straddle-pane stamps have never surfaced in the 30-plus years since Hart's unsubstantiated report was published. It's fair to say that the stamps are certainly not "known."

The appearance of erroneous information is not a singular event. A recent sale (997) from the prestigious and reputable firm of Robert A. Siegel, offered two different "straddle-pane" copies, lots 5064 and 5103. Both these stamps are shown in Figure 4. While both may show a large sheet margin to the left of the stamp images, they are not, by my definition, "straddle pane" copies, since they do not show part of the stamp from the other pane, required if the margin is to be "straddled." This is an honest descriptive *faux pas* unquestionably, but both listings will come up when "straddle-pane 1847" is queried on Google. The resultant search might mislead, and while even images can lie (or be manipulated), at least they give us a visual basis for discussion.

In short, the 5¢ off-cover copy (Figure 1), twice illustrated by Hart in previous *Chronicles*, and the 10¢ on-cover copy (Figures 2 and 3) that Perry discovered (not pictured in either Hart article) are the ones of which most 1847 students are aware.

There is one other straddle-margin 5¢ stamp, and it is on a cover. This is shown in Figure 5. The stamp went undetected for many years because a critical portion of the margin was folded under the stamp. When the stamp was removed from the cover and unfolded, it was discovered that the margin included a small portion of a stamp from the adjacent left pane, making the stamp a legitimate straddle-pane variety. The stamp was then hinged back into place, unfolded, on its cover.

In the mid-1990s, I purchased both the 10¢ cover that Perry discovered (Figure 2) and the 5¢ cover (Figure 5) from Malcolm Brown. I never learned the origin of the 5¢ cover. I already owned the 5¢ off-cover copy that I had purchased years before at auction. These three currently comprise the known universe of 1847 straddle-margin stamps. If a reader is aware of another qualifying copy, please contact me and I will write it up and illustrate it in a future 1847 section.

The Importance of Perry's Discovery

Why was the discovery of the 10¢ straddle pane on cover so important? Until its discovery, collectors generally believed that the plates printing the 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 stamps

Figure 5. On this cover the left margin was folded under the stamp, hiding the fact that the stamp was a straddle-pane copy. The stamp was subsequently removed from the cover and hinged into place unfolded. Superimposed on the cover is an enlargement of the stamp, which shows clearly that this is a right pane example, with a 7.15 mm center margin and a substantial part of the frameline of the adjacent stamp.

consisted of 100 images in a 10x10 format. This was reported by Luff in *The Postage Stamps of the United States* and believed to be true by Carroll Chase and many others.[4] Luff reported an affadavit attesting to the destruction of a 10x10 plate. Chase and others believed the affidavit because there was no evidence to refute it. Perry's discovery of the 10¢ straddle-margin cover led inevitably to the conclusion that the 10¢ 1847 stamp was printed from a plate consisting of two adjoining panes aligned left and right. This discovery enabled Perry to plate every one of the 200 positions of the 10¢ 1847, one of the most significant achievements in philatelic scholarship, and a feat his contemporaries thought could never be accomplished. It also put into play the idea that probably other plates from the classic U.S. stamp period might have been laid down a similar fashion, even though they were printed by different vendors.

Perry's articles on his plating were published from 1924 through 1926. Chase's tome on the plating of the 3¢ 1851, *The 3¢ Stamp of the United States 1851-1857 Issue*, was published in 1929. And Stanley B. Ashbrook's monumental work, *The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857*, was published in 1938. Whether Perry's watershed articles in the *Collectors Club Philatelist* provided plate layout information that inspired Chase or Ashbrook is not certain, but it appears that his completion of the 10¢ plating and its subsequent publication did beat the others to market.

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PLATE POSITION DETERMINED FOR "SPLIT BUTTON" FLAW

ROB LUND

The appearance at the recent APS stamp show in Richmond of an unused block of 12 of the perforated 3¢ dull red Washington stamp of 1857 (Scott 26) has revealed the plate position of a well-documented variety called the split button flaw. The discovery block of 12 is shown in Figure 1. The flaw, which appears on the lower left stamp in the block, is shown greatly enlarged in Figure 2.

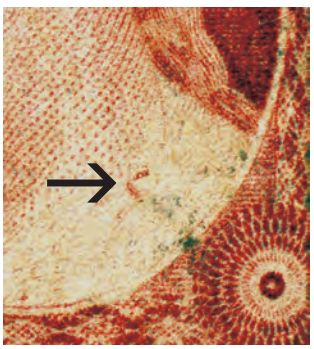

Figure 1. Above, Scott 26, the recently discovered block of 12 from Plate 9, positions 66-89R9L. The bottom left stamp in the block (86R9L) shows the flaw in the toga button. Figure 2, at left, shows a portion of the bottom left stamp in Figure 1, greatly enlarged, with contrast enhanced to show the split button flaw.

With the help of Richard Celler's ongoing Plate 9 reconstruction research, it was possible to attribute the block to Plate 9, late state, positions 66-69/76-79/86-89R9L. Thus the plate position of the split button flaw is 86R9L, designating Position 86 from the right pane of Plate 9, late state.

Figure 3. Position 86R9E, from the same position on the early state of the plate, also showing the split button flaw.

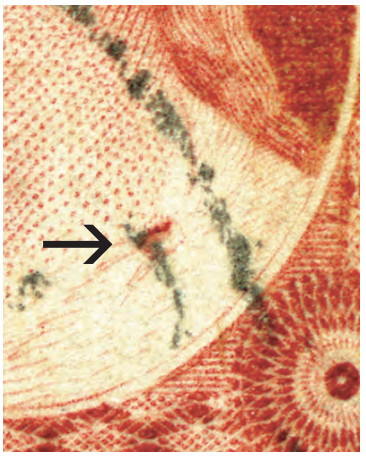

Figure 4. A portion of the Figure 3 stamp, enlarged, with contrast enhanced to show the split button flaw.

The flaw also occurs on the early state of Plate 9, and is now plateable as position 86R9E. Figure 3 shows a used single stamp from this position. The flaw area from this stamp is shown greatly enlarged in Figure 4.

Plate 9 was the first of a group of Type 3 plates (200 subjects each, arranged in two 10x10 panes) created to print perforated stamps (Scott 26), starting in mid-September 1857. These plates differ from the two Scott 26A Type 4 plates (plate numbers 10 and 11) created a few months earlier, in that they have continuous side frame lines extending the entire height of the plate, instead of side frame lines that stop between each stamp. After Plate 9 became worn, around December 1858, all 200 positions were reentered with the transfer roller giving rise to the two states of the plate. Stamps from the original plate are said to show the "early" state and stamps from the reentered plate are said to show the "late" state.

The split button flaw is well described in the literature. It was discussed (but not illustrated) in the "Plate Varieties in General" chapter in the original 1929 edition of Carroll Chase's book, *The 3 Cent Stamp of the United States 1851-1857 Issue* (page 62) and in the 1942 revised edition (page 66), where Chase described the flaw as follows:

> **The plate flaw, split button. This consists of a heavy diagonal line of color about 1/2 mm. long, running from northeast to southwest directly on the button on the tunic. From the fifth or ninth row.**

A mat showing this flaw was included in one of the first photographic illustrations ever to appear in the *Chronicle*. This was in an article in *Chronicle* 6 (December, 1949) entitled "The 3¢ 1857–What to Look for in the Perforated Issue." The author was Richard McP. Cabeen, RA 19, and the photo plates supporting his article reprinted material that had appeared in a Cabeen article in *The Stamp Specialist* (#4) in 1940. Specifically, the split button flaw was illustration 26 in Cabeen's flaw chart "B."

The split button flaw was also shown (as flaw #70) in Robert Hegland's composite drawing published in *Chronicle* 105 (February 1980), page 30.

Plate 9 contains a number of irregular frame lines that can help identify and plate its stamps. In 1959 Chase reported that he had been able to reconstruct 88 of the 200 positions of Plate 9 (in either of the two states). Three-cent specialists have continued with the Chase plating since then. Approximately 130 of the 200 positions have now been plated.

Figure 5. Block of 4 from positions 86-97R9E. The top left stamp is from the split button flaw position, 86R9E, but it lacks any sign of the flaw, proving that the flaw became part of the design during the period when the early plate was in use.

Interestingly, there's a block of four (positions 86-87/96-97R9E) in the Plate 9 reconstruction on which position 86R9E, the flaw stamp, does not show the split button flaw. Shown in Figure 5, this block leads to the inescapable conclusion that the damage to the toga button must have occurred some time after the printing of early-state stamps had commenced, but before the plate was reentered.

Plate 9 material continues to surface. In 2009 a block of 24 from plate 9 (a vertical 4x6 block, positions 12-65R9E) appeared in a German auction. Multiples like this are invaluable in helping to further the plate reconstruction. Other additional multiples have been identified recently as well. With the cooperation of specialists and the appearance of more Plate 9 material, it's possible to hope that some day the reconstruction of Plate 9 in both early and late states will be completed.

I would like to thank Richard Celler for years of support, and both Celler and Elliot Omiya for help with this article. ■

DEMONETIZATION OF THE 1851-60 ISSUES

GARY W. GRANZOW

As skies darken in the Southern heavens, President James Buchanan (shown on a campaign cover in Figure 1) takes his last act as one of the worst presidents in United States history. In his farewell address to Congress, December 3, 1860, he stresses that states have no right or legal basis to secede from the United States. Yet in typical Buchanan muddled thinking, he declares that the federal government has no basis to prevent such action. With that final stroke of genius, he leaves office and the country faces the bloodiest conflict in its history.

The first spilling of blood occurred on April 19, 1861 when a mob of secessionists stoned to death four Union troops in Baltimore.[1] The troops did not open fire. As one Southern state after another severed the ties binding the United States together as a great nation, swift action was needed by the Lincoln administration to marshal and preserve the rapidly dwindling funds in the U. S. treasury. The first income tax was enacted on August 5, 1861. In the same month, the Post Office Department demonetized all stamps and postal stationery of the 1851-1860 issue and made their future use illegal. Only one other stamp issue has been demonetized: the 1847 5¢ and 10¢ stamps. There has never been a satisfactory explanation of why the 1847 Issue was demonetized. In the instance of the 1851-60 issue there is no question why they were rendered illegal. This was to prevent thousands of dollars of Union property from falling into the hands of secessionists. Demonetization also produced a desired side-benefit in disruption of communications in the South for a short period of time.

Figure 1. Campaign cover showing James Buchanan, 15th U.S. President.

The plan for replacement and recall of the old stamps was originally organized on a zone-by-zone basis with each zone comprising several states. In practice, the plan soon broke down for lack of enough stamps. No well-defined plan emerged in its place. Large cities in the eastern half of the country received their new stamps first. A year passed before some cities in the west received theirs.[2] As soon as postmasters received the new 1861 issue, they were directed to advertise in the local newspapers that new stamps were available. After the six days given to exchange the old stamps for the new ones, old stamps previously purchased became worthless and use of the new 1861 stamps was required. Postage was to be paid by the sender of a letter at the post office window or by the recipient if the letter was mailed outside the post office. Correcting for inflation, the cost of sending a 3¢ letter in 1861 was 71¢ in today's money.[3] An example of the required notice by advertisement follows, quoted from *The Beaver Dam Herald*, Beaver Dam, Wisconsin:[4]

Post Office Notice

I am prepared to exchange stamps and stamped envelopes of the new style for an equivalent amount of the old issue during a period of six days from the date of this notice, and after that the latter will not thereafter be received in payment of postage on letters sent from this office.

E. Elwell, P. M.
Beaver Dam Wis.
Aug. 23, 1861

Manuscript Marks

The most common marking used to strike through an illegal attempt to use an 1851-60 stamp was a manuscript "Old Stamps." Examples are shown in Figures 2 and 3. Figure 2 shows a cover from New Lisbon (now Lisbon), Ohio which received 1861 stamps at the end of August, 1861.[5] The cover was franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1851 stamp, which the postmaster marked "Old Stamp." In the same handwriting, the cover was marked "Due 3." Figure 3 shows an old stamp and a new stamp on a piece from Newtown, Pennsylvania, which received new stamps on October 29, 1861.[6] On this piece the demonetized stamp

Figure 2. Attempted use of a demonetized 1851 3¢ stamp, on a cover from New Lisbon, Ohio. Courtesy of Rob Lund.

Figure 3. Piece of cover from Newton, Pennsylvania, showing attempted use of a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp, canceled in pen: "Old Stamps/not recognized."

Figure 4. A valid 3¢ 1861 stamp pasted over a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp, on a cover from South Reading, Massachusetts.

was marked "Old Stamp not recognized" and the due postage was subsequently paid with a 3¢ 1861 stamp.

Paste-overs

In a few cities, the most direct way of dealing with the regulations was simply to paste the new issue on top of the old. Figure 4 shows an example of this practice, on a cover sent from South Reading, Massachusetts. This technique must not have been used very often as I have seen only two or three other examples in the last 30 years.

Handstamps

Most authors are of the opinion that only three cities made handstamps to indicate that old stamps would not be recognized: Chicago, Illinois, and Harrisburg and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. However, the New Orleans handstamp reading "ILLEGAL STAMP"[7] should perhaps be included with the other three. The Harrisburg mark is the rarest. Figure 5 shows a cover bearing two strikes of this single straight line marking along with a "DUE 3" marking. Harrisburg received its new stamps on August 19, 1861.[8] The Harrisburg double-circle marking appears to say "SEP 28".

Figure 5. Two strikes of the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, "OLD STAMPS NOT RECOGNIZED" marking, on a cover franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp.

Figure 6. Chicago "OLD STAMPS/Not recognized" and "HELD FOR POSTAGE" on a cover dated August 20 [1861] and franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp.

According to the *Chicago Tribune* old stamps became valueless in Chicago on August 27, 1861. The cover in Figure 6 was posted soon after, on August 30, 1861. Chicago handled the demonetized stamp covers a little differently from other offices. Letters with old stamps were advertised in the *Chicago Tribune*. If no one came to the post office to pay for replacement stamps within about a week, the unclaimed covers were sent to the Dead Letter Office (DLO). A blue Chicago postmark on the back of the Figure 6 cover, dated September 9, indicates the date it was sent to the DLO. The black "DUE 3" in circle was applied at the DLO and the cover was put back in the mail in Washington and forwarded to the addressee.

New York, a Special Case

The practice of the New York City post office differed significantly from that of other cities. Some ads in New York newspapers indicated that the exchange period was taken seriously (see for example, the *New York Times* for September 16, 1861). However, this turned out not to be true. Though large shipments of the new stamps were received on August 26 and September 1, they fell well short of the number required to be exchanged in only six days. Tracy Simpson wrote: "Curiously, the New York post office was uncooperative. It duly advertized the new stamps and the 6-day exchange period, but no cover has been found that shows non-recognition of old stamps at New York."[9]

Richard Graham wrote in *Linn's*: "New York City didn't formally make its final exchange of new stamps for some time…Nor did the New York City post office ever use an 'old stamps not recognized' handstamp. According to documentation of that period, a huge volume of new stamps would have been required to make the exchange all at once in New York City, but the supply of new stamps wasn't adequate."[10]

Thus there was no "exchange period" in New York City. Morris Fortgang made an extensive study of the city's reaction to demonetization and concluded that the postmaster responsible for implementation of the plan explicitly allowed use of demonetized stamps. Further, Fortgang spent a lifetime searching for an example of a New York cover franked with the old stamp that had not been accepted for postage. Don L. Evans described how the search was finally ended by the discovery by John Kohlhepp of the cover shown in Figure 7. This was originally postmarked July 19, 1862 and franked with an obsolete 3¢ cent 1857 stamp and a current 1¢ 1861 stamp (to pay the carrier fee to the post office).[11] For this attempted use of a demonetized stamp, the cover received a "HELD FOR POSTAGE" handstamp struck by the New York City post office. A held-for-postage notice was then sent to the addressee who was instructed to send 2¢ in cash or postage stamps to the New York post office. On July 28, 1862 this payment arrived and two additional 1¢ stamps were applied, nearly hiding the "HELD FOR POSTAGE" handstamp, and the letter was allowed on its way.[12] Evans reported this was "obviously" a mistake as "by assessing additional postage in the amount of 2¢, the postal clerk erred and gave credit for the 1¢ 1861 that had been affixed to pay the carrier fee," although others believe this letter was handled correctly.

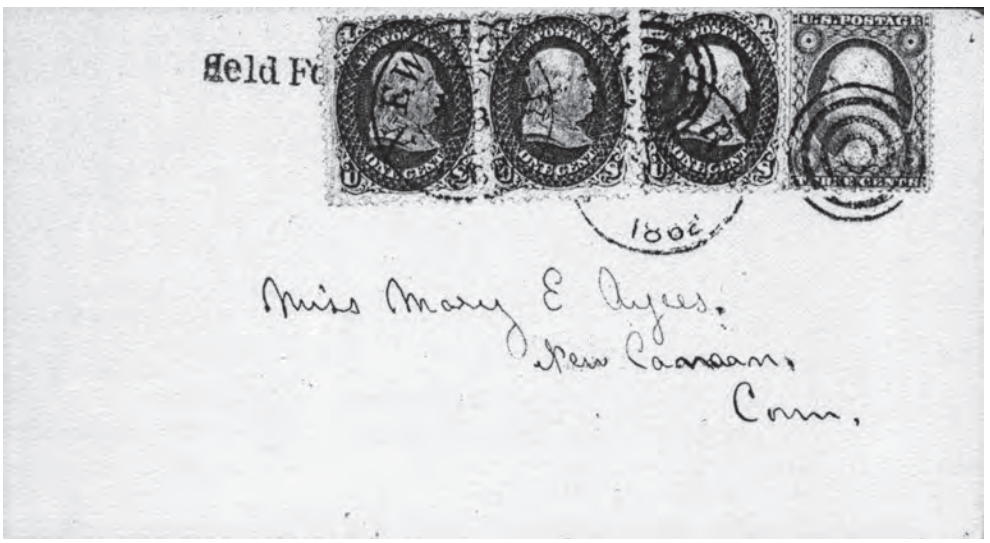

Figure 7. New York City's "HELD FOR POSTAGE" marking, partially obscured by 1¢ stamps applied after the demonetized 3¢ 1857 was not recognized.

Figure 8 (above). This is the only reported cover bearing a full strike of the New York City's "HELD FOR POSTAGE" marking on a cover originally franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp. Figure 9 (right) shows the reverse of the Figure 8 cover, with backflap in closed position showing the "Held For Postage" marking.

Evans reported that this is the only example of a New York City cover showing non-recognition of demonetized postage. However a colorful patriotic cover has recently come to light bearing a full strike of the New York "HELD FOR POSTAGE" handstamp. The cover is shown with backflap unfolded in Figure 8. A portion of the back of the envelope, with the flap in place, is shown in Figure 9. As Figure 8 shows, the cover was originally franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp, with proper postage subsequently paid by a 3¢ 1861 stamp. Unfortunately, the cover bears no indication of the year in which it was posted. The strike on the reverse indicates the cover was mailed and held for postage on May 9. The postmark on the face shows it was released into the mails on May 16. Thus the earliest it could have been mailed would have been May 9, 1862. The patriotic envelope suggests 1862 usage, but that is not definitive.

Philadelphia–Some Confusion

According to Elliot Perry, Philadelphia first published a notice of the arrival of the 1861 stamped envelopes on August 8, 1861.[13] Only a five-day exchange period was given after which the old envelopes would no longer be accepted. Some confusion has resulted because the new postage stamps were advertised on Monday, August 19, though they probably arrived on Sunday, August 18. In any event, the exchange period for stamps extended six days from August 19 through Saturday, August 24, 1861. The following notice appeared in the Philadelphia post office and several newspapers:[14]

> **POST OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA**
> **August 19, 1861**
>
> **NOTICE: – The public is hereby notified that the new UNITED STATES POSTAGE STAMPS are now ready and are for sale at this office. Those having any of the OLD ISSUE are requested to call and have them exchanged for the new one of the same denomination, within SIX DAYS from of this notice, as after that date they will not be recognized in payment of postage at this office.…"**
>
> **C. A. Walborn, P. M.**

Figure 10 illustrates the Philadelphia "OLD STAMPS NOT RECOGNIZED" handstamp on a cover franked with a 3¢ 1857 stamp that was mailed September 15, 1864. The cover also shows a "Due 6" marking imposing the penalty discussed below.

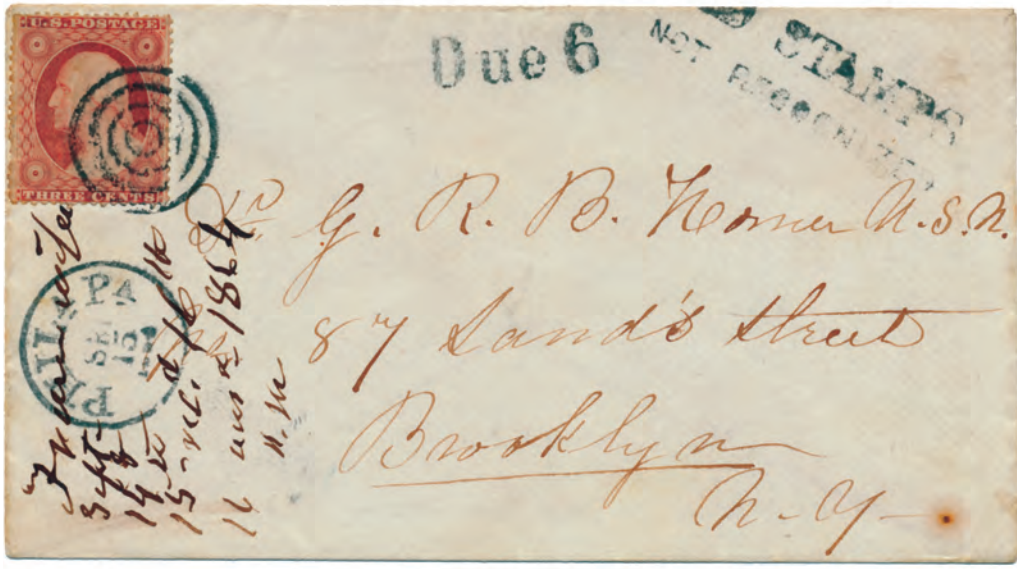

Figure 10. Philadelphia's "OLD STAMPS NOT RECOGNIZED" marking on an 1864 cover to Brooklyn franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp.

Penalty Period

Congress passed a comprehensive act on March 3, 1863 making many changes to postal regulations. It became effective July 1, 1863. Among other things it imposed a new penalty for attempted use of postage of the 1851-1860 issue and for all other unpaid and part-paid mail. The fee charged for unpaid letters was equal to double the correct prepaid rate; for part-paid mail, the charge was double the unpaid amount. The penalty applied to regular postage rates on letter mail, to all printed matter and to all third-class mail. The previous practice of sending "Held for Postage" notice to the addressee was abolished. Carrier fees were also abolished.[15] An example of the double-the-rate penalty is the cover illustrated in Figure 10. Exceptions to the penalty were properly endorsed soldiers letters

Figure 11. Letter from a wounded soldier, not endorsed as a Soldier's letter and franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp, rated 6¢ due reflecting a 3¢ penalty.

(see below), newspapers to subscribers, ship mail, steamship mail, free-franked mail, advertising fees, registry and forwarding charges. The penalty period ended May 1, 1865.

Soldier's Letters

Among the problems soldiers faced in the field was the lack of funds. This was because they received no pay for quite some time after entering the armed services. Furthermore, camp life was not friendly to postage stamps; they could easily become unusable. As part of the mustering act, Congress added a provision approved July 22, 1861: "And be it further enacted, that all letters written by soldiers in the service of the United States may be transmitted through the mails without prepayment of postage under such regulations as the Post Office may prescribe, the postage thereon to be paid by the recipient."[16]

At first the Post Office required endorsement by the company adjutant identifying the mail as a soldier's letter and identifying the unit. As this was often not practical, this regulation was soon changed to allow any officer of the soldier's company to endorse an envelope. Figure 11 is a letter from a wounded soldier, dated June 2, 1864, the second day of the battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia, and franked with an obsolete 3¢ 1857 stamp. The "due 6" required the addressee, in this case the soldier's wife, to pay the price of a new 3¢ stamp plus a penalty of 3¢. The contents explain why an officer was not available to endorse the envelope. The officers in Collins' company were all killed or badly wounded. The battle continued until the 12th with heavy losses on both sides and no clear victor.

June 2, 1864
Camp in the field at cold springs, Va.
Dear Wife,
I hardly know how or what to write, but as the reg't has been engaged in general with the whole corps and our reg't lost pretty heavy I must write the colonel is killed and it is reported that the major is killed also, Lt. Munson was shot through in three different places but did not die at the time, but died. Corp. Coolidge is also reported killed, Corp. Myron E. Howard is wounded in the left leg quite severe, Stephen Good, in the left groin and leg bad flesh wound, Addison Inman in the right shoulder severe, O McAthy in right shoulder and left leg below the knee, Charles Stratton in the left leg above the knee, Byron Stratton in the head, slight, Asel C. Drake in rist slight, Wm. O. Mack in the head slight, Meinson W. Bussell in the left hands

and rist quite bad, Josephus B. Scott in the left thigh, these are of my company, there was a good share of officers killed and wounded. Friday (3rd) our division made another charge this morn but our reg't has not lost so bad as before, have not brought in any wounded from our company. They was successful and took in some reb batteries, but have not got the particulars yet. I was not able to help care for the wounded much yesterday but felt better this afternoon and have worked with them… we are 8 miles from Richmond, have not heard from home yet. Shall be glad if I ever do you may guess…
You must excuse me for not writing any more so good by for this time, yours in love from your affectionate husband
Asa L. Collins.

If Collins' 1864 letter had been endorsed, it could have been sent without postage and his wife would have paid 3¢. Instead, the letter cost a total of 9¢: 3¢ paid for the old stamp, 3¢ for the new one and a 3¢ penalty. That's $2.07 in today's money. Other than raising revenue for the war, it is difficult to see the justification for such a penalty as late as July 1, 1863 when the risk of turning in large sums of the 1851-1860 stamps by the Confederacy seems small. Even use of old stamps by Northerners must have been small considering the rarity of the surviving covers. Thus the only persons punished were the recipients.

Drop Letters

Drop letters are letters that are handled by one post office. There are several ways that letters may be delivered in this fashion. The sender may stop at the post office and leave an addressed envelope for the addressee to pick up. This is similar to general delivery today. Another method is by use of a to-the-mails carrier. A most interesting and scarce drop-letter usage occurred when the sender handed the letter to a steamboat captain on board a boat that did not have a mail delivery contract with the U. S. Post Office. In this case, the captain would receive a fee when he delivered the letter to the post office of the next port of call where it would be held as a drop letter for the addressee. Captains' fees and the drop-letter postage varied throughout the 1860s. One method that has been suggested for recognizing a drop letter (though not infallible) is when the postmark carries the same town name as the addressee with no other address indicated. Another is when the cover is addressed to the "post office" rather than a street address.[17] The Act of March 3, 1851, Ch. XX, provided:

Figure 12. Demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp on an 1864 drop letter to New Orleans, rated "due 4" for the 2¢ drop rate plus a 2¢ penalty.

Figure 13. Very late use of a demonetized 1857 stamp. The stamp counted for nothing but the penalty period had ended, so only the 2¢ drop rate was due.

"And all drop letters, or letters placed in any post office, not for transmission, but for delivery only, shall be charged with postage at the rate of one cent each;…" By act effective July 1, 1863, the drop letter fee was increased to 2¢.

New Orleans was taken by Admiral Farragut in April, 1862 and U.S. postage laws came into effect. Two covers provide interesting and rare examples of the use of New Orleans "Drop Letter" markings, in combination with demonetized stamps, after the city returned to Union hands.

Figure 12 illustrates a cover mailed from New Orleans during the penalty period. It is franked with an obsolete 3¢ 1857 stamp and shows an October 14, 1864 handstamp. The drop fee of 2¢ was charged along with the penalty of 2¢; hence, the "DUE 4" handstamp.

The cover shown in Figure 13 is a very late use of an obsolete 3¢ 1857 stamp. Although the cover bears no year date, this small circular New Orleans postmark is not known used before 1865.[18] The penalty period ended by act of Congress effective May 1, 1865. Thus it would appear that this letter was posted after that date. The "DUE 2" marking presumably reflects the drop letter rate of 1865 without penalty.

The change from one stamp supplier to another or one design to another is always full of interest. But none can be more interesting, from the perspective of both the stamps themselves and their role in American history, than the story of the demonetization of the 1851-61 issue.

Endnotes

1. *The American Almanac of American History,* edited by Arthur M Schlesinger, Jr. (Putnam's, N.Y., 1983), pg. 279.
2. Thomas Alexander, *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings 1851-61*, Second Edition, (U. S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., Columbus, Ohio, 1979), pg. 395.
3. www.westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi
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6. *Ibid*., pg. 140.
7. Richard Graham, "Demonetization of U. S. 1857-1860 stamps," *Linn's Stamp News*, October 25, 1993, pp. 28-29.
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9. Tracy Simpson, *U. S. Perforation Centennial, 1857-1957* (American Philatelic Society, 1957), pg. 116.
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13. Perry, *op. cit*., pg. 139.
14. Perry, *op. cit*., pg. 97.
15. Michael C. McClung, "The 1863–1865 Penalty Period," *Chronicle* 214, May 2007, pp. 119-123.
16. Richard Graham, "Civil War: Soldiers letters and Naval Letters," *Linn's Stamp News*, Sidney, Ohio, September 6, 1999, pg. 18.
17. Vernon R. Morris Jr., "What is a 'Drop Letter' and a 'Drop Dead Letter'?", *Chronicle* 199, August 2003, pg. 180.
18. McClung, *op. cit*., pg. 123. ■

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EMERGENCY FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR SURTAX ON U.S.-SWISS MAIL

HARLAN F. STONE

Introduction

In his comprehensive new book on 10¢ 1869 covers, Michael Laurence presents a mystery, involving four covers from the United States to Switzerland, that he was unable to resolve:

"Four covers from the summer of 1870, properly prepaid at the 10¢ rate, show red manuscript Swiss due markings of '30'….These covers should have been delivered with no Swiss due charges but obviously they weren't….The four covers emanate from a very narrow time-frame: New York departures of July 27, July 30 and August 3. They probably represent a clerical error that was soon corrected. Perhaps the regular clerk was on holiday. But the Franco-Prussian War had just broken out, so there's the possibility these markings depict some war-related disruption of mail service that we don't yet understand."[1]

Clerical errors are always a possibility, but Laurence's suspicion about the Franco-Prussian War is the correct explanation. In a recent article in *The Collectors Club Philatelist* I discussed this situation from the perspective of westbound covers originating in Switzerland.[2] The Laurence book had not yet been published, and I was unaware that eastbound covers existed that could shed more light on this very interesting set of circumstances.

Background

The essential background is as follows: After France declared war on 19 July 1870, German forces entered the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, using their Baden territory as a staging area for troops and supplies. This mass of German activity in Baden obstructed the normal mail route from Switzerland to the United States via the railroad north through the Saar Basin, Cologne and Aachen, then east across Belgium to the port of Ostend and onward to Great Britain, where such mail would board the transatlantic steamships to Boston or New York.

Under the U.S.-Swiss Convention effective 1 April 1868, mail between the two countries was sent in closed bags between exchange offices at Basel and New York City. The initial rate under this treaty was 15¢ per ½ ounce in the United States and 80 centimes per 15 grams in Switzerland. Effective 1 May 1870, seven weeks before the outbreak of the war, this rate was reduced to 10¢ in the United States and 50c in Switzerland.[3]

Responding to the war disruptions, Switzerland organized an alternative temporary route, westbound across France to England. This went from the Basel exchange office northwest through Paris, crossing the Channel to England from the French port of Calais. On covers from Switzerland to the United States, the temporary Swiss rate for this emergency service was 80c per 15 grams, 30c higher than the 50c rate by the treaty-mandated German-Belgian route.

This emergency rate, quickly announced in Switzerland, was in effect for about three weeks. Once the Germans had advanced into French territory and started sieges of several French towns, the area around the Baden rail route was clear enough for the forwarding of Swiss mail on the traditional route. The map in Figure 6 (page 78) shows both routes.

The effective dates for the emergency surtax are fuzzy at the edges. Earlier researchers have maintained different dates. The Swiss postal historian Richard Schaefer has published the dates August 1-19.[4] Raymond Pittier, a French specialist on Alsace postal history, has noted that Swiss Postal Decree No. 99 announced the higher rate on 1 August 1870; but he has reported that the normal 50c rate resumed one day earlier, with the reestablishment of the rail route through Baden.[5]

The same German troop movements forced a similar change in the handling of the Swiss mail to and from Great Britain. British authors Jane and Michael Moubray, citing official notices in the British postal archive, have written that the decision to send this mail through France was made by July 30, but an announcement in Great Britain was not issued until August 8, and postal authorities did not consider it safe to return to the German route until August 22.[6]

The late date of the British announcement suggests that these emergency route and rate changes came and went too quickly for international postal authorities to issue timely public notices. Respecting westbound covers, Richard Winter mentioned the emergency increase in the second volume of his *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*, observing that "there is no indication that the rate from the United States changed during this short period."[7] The four 10¢ 1869 covers to Switzerland that perplexed Laurence provide further evidence that news of the emergency surtax had not reached the New York exchange office before the emergency route across France was closed.

Swiss Covers

Fewer than a dozen Swiss covers are recorded showing carriage over this short-lived emergency route. Figure 1 shows a cover from Château d'Oex, Switzerland, to Roslyn, New York, posted on 31 July 1870, paying the emergency rate. The cover is franked with 80c in Swiss postage, paid by Sitting Helvetia stamps, two green 25c stamps (Scott 55)

Figure 1. Colorful cover from Switzerland to Roslyn, New York, then forwarded to Hanover, New Hampshire, with the addition of a 3¢ Bank Note stamp. Posted in Switzerland on 31 July 1870, this cover shows the short-lived emergency surtax, reflecting the disruptions of the Franco-Prussian War, that was effective for about three weeks during August 1870. The treaty rate at this time was 50 Swiss centimes, but this cover is franked at the emergency rate of 80c. (Author's collection.)

Figure 2. Another 80-centime cover, posted 8 August 1870 and franked with a different array of stamps, from Vevey, Switzerland, to New Orleans. (Author's collection.)

and one 30c ultramarine stamp (56). The Basel exchange office marking on reverse is not clearly struck, but seems to indicate August 1. This cover must have crossed the Atlantic on the Cunard steamship *Samaria*, departing Queenstown August 3 and arriving Boston August 14. The red New York exchange office marking is dated August 15. With the addition of the 3¢ Bank Note stamp, the cover was redirected from Roslyn (August 17 circular datestamp) to Hanover, New Hampshire, where it was received (per docketing in the upper left corner) August 20.

Figure 2 shows another emergency-rate cover franked with 80c Swiss postage. On this cover the postage is paid by three green 25c stamps and a brown 5c stamp (43). Addressed to New Orleans, this cover was posted at Vevey, Switzerland, on 8 August 1870, and received five strikes of the circular marking indicating Swiss carriage via the Geneva-Sion railway line. The Basel backstamp clearly reads 8 August 1870. This cover must have crossed the Atlantic on the Cunard steamship *Scotia*, departing Queenstown August 14 and arriving New York August 23. The docketing notation at lower left indicates it was sent onward (presumably in another envelope) from New Orleans to Brattleboro, Vermont, on August 28.

While the covers in Figures 1 and 2 show the 30c emergency surtax, it could have been that both senders were unaware the treaty rate had been reduced from 80c to 50c. In that case, by franking the covers at the higher previous rate, they serendipitously prepaid the emergency rate. This is unlikely, however, because covers to foreign destinations were almost invariably franked at the post office, and the post offices were presumably aware of the normal 50c rate and the higher surtax rate.

The cover in Figure 3 clearly and unarguably shows the application of the emergency surtax. Addressed to Napa, California, this cover was posted at Geneva on 11 August 1870, properly franked—with three 10c carmine stamps (Scott 53) and a 20c orange stamp (45)—to pay the 50c treaty rate. The Basel exchange office marking on reverse reads 11 August 1870. At Basel the cover received three straightline handstamps: "VIA FRANKREICH," "AFFR[ANCHISSEMENT].INSUF[FISANT]." and "Taxe manquante (6) cents" with the 6¢ U.S. collect charge (equal to 30c) written in blue crayon. There can be no question, from these markings, that the cover was rerouted via France and that it was declared to be insuf-

Figure 3. Clear evidence of the 30-centime emergency surtax: A cover from Geneva, Switzerland, to Napa, California, posted 11 August 1870, and prepaid for the 50c treaty rate. The Basel handstamps "VIA FRANKREICH," "AFFR.INSUF." and "Taxe manquante (6) cents" show assessment of the surtax. Six cents U.S. was equivalent to 30c Swiss. (Author's collection.)

ficiently prepaid in the amount of 30c.

This cover presumably crossed the Atlantic along with the Figure 2 cover, on the Cunard steamship *Scotia*, departing Queenstown August 14 and arriving New York August 23. The New York depreciated-currency marking shows 13¢ due in U.S. notes. This is the sum of the 6¢ underpayment, a 5¢ penalty and a 2¢ premium for converting payment in coin to depreciated greenbacks. This is the only Swiss cover so far recorded that shows the emergency surtax assessed in this manner.

U.S. Covers

The four 10¢ 1869 covers in the Laurence census, mentioned earlier, were all accepted at New York as fully prepaying the then-current 10¢ treaty rate to Switzerland. All reached Basel during the August period in which the cited researchers agree the emergency rate was in effect. Recognizing an opportunity to increase Swiss postal revenue, the Basel mail clerks did not hesitate to collect the difference between the 10¢ (50c) treaty rate and the 15¢ (80c) emergency rate. As was standard practice with insufficiently prepaid correspondence, they marked the 30c deficiency across each cover front in bold red-orange crayon.

Figure 4 shows an example. This cover was once owned by Lester Downing, a highly-regarded student of postal history whose collection was sold by the Siegel firm in September 1974. The current location of the cover is not known. Laurence made a color slide of this cover prior to the Downing sale and the Figure 4 image is a scan from that slide. Addressed to Lucerne and franked with a single 10¢ 1869 stamp properly prepaying the treaty rate, the cover was posted at East Eden, Maine, on 1 August 1870. The "New York Paid All Br. Transit" marking, appropriate for treaty-rate covers sent to European destinations in closed bags via England, is dated August 3. This indicates transatlantic carriage via the Cunard steamship *Cuba*, which departed New York on that date and arrived Queenstown August 12. The cover presumably bears a Basel backstamp dated around August 15, but that information is not available. The red-orange "30" across the front indicates that the

Figure 4. 10¢ 1869 cover from East Eden, Maine, to Lucerne, Switzerland, posted on 1 August 1870, properly prepaying the 10¢ treaty rate. At Basel this cover was rated for 30 Swiss centimes postage due (bold red-orange crayon marking across address), reflecting the short-lived emergency surtax that was never announced in the United States. (Ex Lester Downing collection.)

sum of 30c—the amount of the emergency surtax—was collected from the recipient.

Figure 5 shows a cover from the Jeffrey Forster collection, representing the same rate and franking, posted at Bolinas, California, on 18 July 1870. The cover is addressed to Giumaglio, Canton Ticino, Switzerland. On this cover the New York "Br. Transit" exchange office marking is dated July 30, suggesting transatlantic carriage by the Inman Line steamer

Figure 5. 10¢ 1869 cover posted 18 July 1870, from Bolinas, California, to Giumaglio, Canton Ticino, Switzerland. As with Figure 4, this cover, which was properly prepaid per the U.S.-Swiss treaty, was assessed 30 Swiss centimes postage due. Four 10¢ 1869 covers, departing New York July 27, July 30 and August 3, are recorded showing this unusual war-related surtax. (Jeffrey Forster collection.)

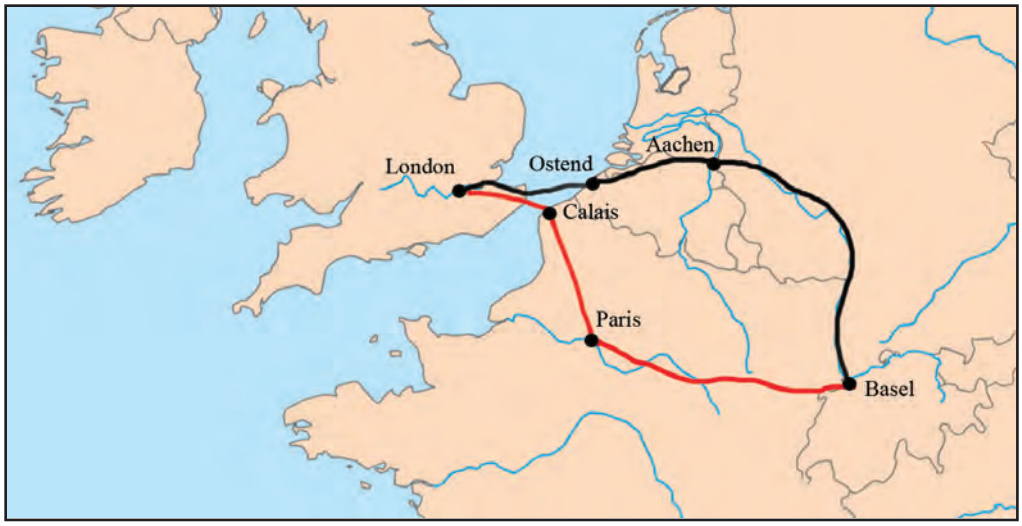

Figure 6. Map showing the conventional route (black) and the alternative emergency route (red) that was used for U.S.-Swiss mails for a few weeks in August, 1870, due to disruptions caused by the Franco-Prussian War.

City of Paris, which departed New York on that day and arrived Queenstown August 9. Oddly, the Figure 5 cover bears no Basel backstamp, but the reverse does show a Locarno receiving mark clearly dated 13 VIII 70, the Swiss way of indicating 13 August 1870. Note the bold red-orange crayon "30" across the cover front, evidence that on this cover, too, the emergency surtax was assessed and collected from the recipient.

As noted in the quotation at the outset, the Laurence census lists four 10¢ 1869 covers to Switzerland showing this 30c collection, representing New York departures of July 27, July 30 and August 3, getting them to Basel precisely within the August window during which the emergency surtax was assessed. Since by this time the 1869 stamps were being replaced by the Bank Note stamps, Laurence speculated that additional covers with 10¢ Bank Note stamps may exist from this emergency route period, unrecognized for the significance of Swiss 30c due markings. These are highly desirable disruption-of-war artifacts, worth looking for. The map in Figure 6 shows the two routes discussed here. The conventional route is shown in black and the emergency alternative route is shown in red.

Endnotes

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3. Richard F. Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail, Volume 2*, 2009, pg. 983.
4. Richard Schaefer, *1459-1907 Swiss Letter Mail to Foreign Countries*, 1995, pp. 315 and 399. Page 315 mistakenly says January 1 instead of August 1.
5. Raymond Pittier, "Le courier détourné 1870-1871," *Schweizer Briefmarken Zeitung*, October 1996, pg. 559.
6. Jane and Michael Moubray, *British Letter Mail to Overseas Destinations, 1840-1875*, 1992, pg. 126. ■

OFFICIALS AT THE CENTENNIAL INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

LESTER C. LANPHEAR III

In 1876, the United States celebrated the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. An international exhibition was staged in Philadelphia from May to November of 1876. United States Official stamps are connected to this exhibition in two different ways.

The first connection was the inclusion of Official special printings (with "Specimen" overprints) in a display of all United States stamps. The special printings of 1875 had been specifically prepared with the Centennial Exhibition in mind. Unfortunately, no special printing stamps were used on mail from the exhibition, even though they would have been valid for postage when used by government officials. But fortunately for philately, officials serving at the exhibition did send mail with Official stamps from Philadelphia.

A number of examples of imprinted envelopes, prepared for the Centennial Exhibition, were posted by Interior and Treasury employees.[1] One cover has survived franked with Navy stamps, and there is one Interior cover posted from New Haven. There are also imprinted envelopes for the Centennial Exhibition posted by government employees working on the exhibition in Washington, D.C.[2]

Only two official covers have survived that were posted at the exhibition post office and struck with the special "Centennial" postmark. The first, shown in Figure 1, is a 3¢ Department of the Interior stamp on an elaborate envelope produced specifically for the Centennial Exhibition. This cover is canceled with a circular datestamp dated 17 August

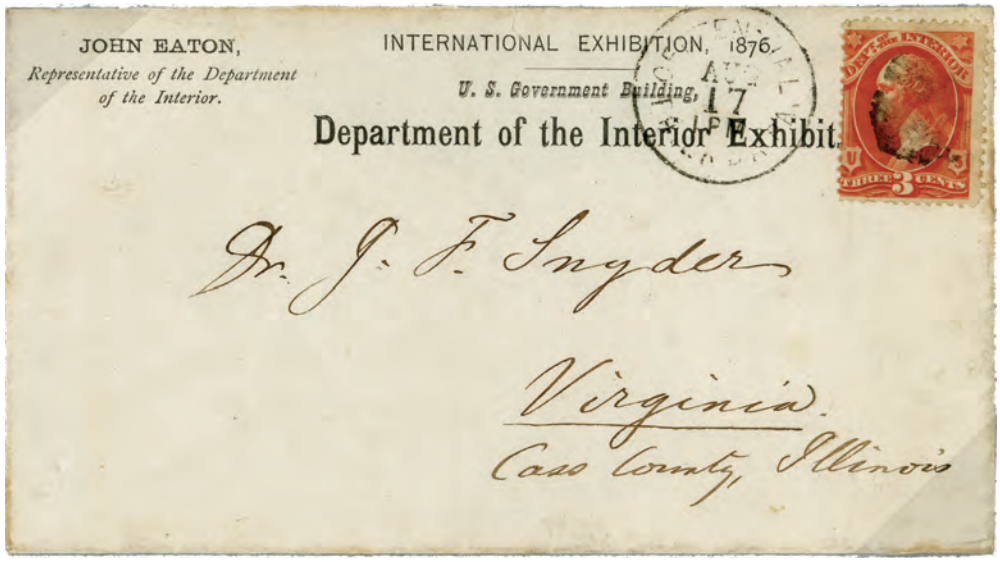

Figure 1. 3¢ Interior stamp, used on a Department of Interior 1876 Centennial Exhibition envelope and posted at the Centennial Station.

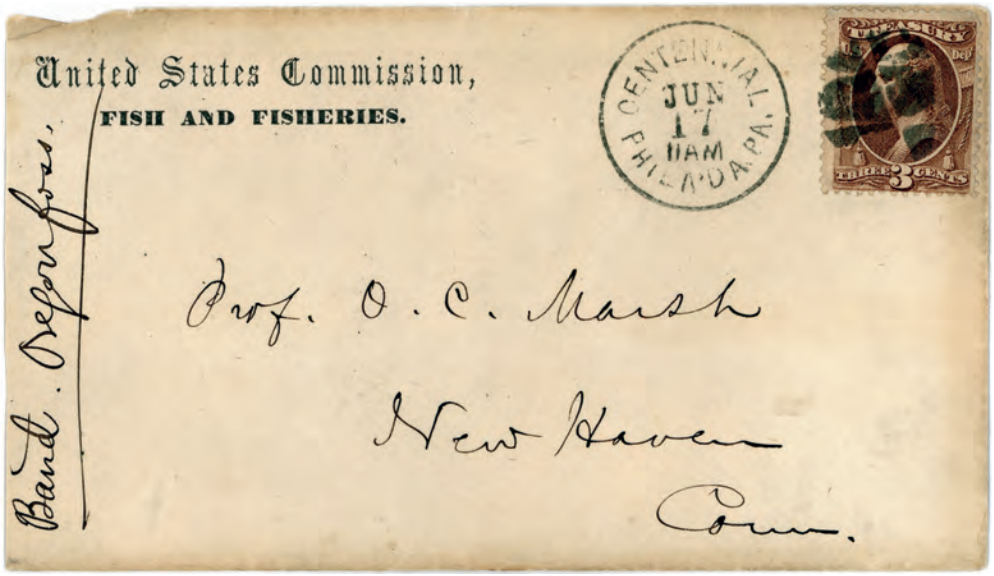

Figure 2. 3¢ Treasury stamp, used on a Fish and Fisheries envelope posted at the Centennial Station.

(1876), identified as P76-02 in William Bomar's book on exposition postmarks.[3] John Eaton, Jr., whose name is printed in the upper left of the envelope, was the Commissioner of Education at the time this envelope was posted.[4] The commissioner was the head of the National Bureau of Education within the Department of Interior. Eaton served in this position from 1870 to 1886 and in 1870 changed the name of the organization from the Office of Education to the Bureau of Education. During the Civil War, Eaton had served as a General in the Union Army. The letter was sent to Dr. J. F. Snyder, who is known for interviewing, in the 1870s, men who served in Abraham Lincoln's Illinois militia company during the Black Hawk War. Snyder was later president of the Illinois State Historical Society.[5]

The second cover, shown in Figure 2, is a 3¢ Department of Treasury stamp on a Fish and Fisheries Commission envelope.[6] This cover is canceled with a circular datestamp dated 17 June (1876), the same marking that appears on the Figure 1 cover. The cover in Figure 2 is addressed to Professor Othniel C. Marsh, a famous paleontologist on the faculty at Yale. Marsh conducted four field trips in the 1870s and discovered 80 new dinosaur species. A dinosaur species, the "Othnielosaurus," was named after Marsh.[7]

Endnotes

1. Lanphear, Lester C. III, "1873 to 1897: The Smithsonian Institution and the United States Fish and Fisheries Commission," *Chronicle* 215 (August, 2007), pg. 226.
2. *Ibid*., pg. 229.
3. William J. Bomar, *Postal Markings and Postal History of United States Expositions*, pg. 40. Third edition, revised and updated by David Savadge, 2007 (CD only).
4. Web site: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Eaton_(General). Last viewed 12-3-2010.
5. Web site: www.il.ngb.army.mil/Museum/HistPeople/Lincoln.aspx. Last viewed 12-3-2010.
6. Lanphear, *op. cit*., pp. 225-237.
7. Web sites: www.peabody.yale.edu/archives/marshstory.html; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Othniel_Charles_Marsh; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Othnielosaurus. Last viewed 12-3-2010. ■

THE FIRST OVERLAND CONTRACT MAIL ROUTES SERVING SALT LAKE CITY

STEVEN WALSKE

The United States established a post office at Salt Lake City as a part of the vast California Territory on January 18, 1849.[1] Unfortunately for the residents of Salt Lake City, the U.S. Post Office did not establish any contract postal routes connecting Salt Lake City with Missouri or California until August 1850.

Prior to August 1850, private Mormon expresses were established to carry the mails eastbound to and from the Missouri River and westbound to and from California. Without alternatives to forward the mail, the Salt Lake City postmaster contracted periodically with these Mormon expressmen to carry post office mail on a trip-by-trip basis. Compensation per trip was typically the amount of the postage on the letters carried.

The letter in Figure 1 is datelined "Great Salt Lake City July 6th 1849." It was posted on July 16, 1849 at the Salt Lake, California, post office, where it was rated for 10¢ U.S. postage due for the greater than 300 miles distance to Massachusetts.[2] It was carried by Almond Babbitt's Mormon Express under a trip contract with the Salt Lake City post office. The express left on July 27 and arrived at Kanesville, Iowa,[3] on September 3, 1849.

Babbitt carried private mail along with the post office mail. Figure 2 shows an example of a private express letter carried on the same July 1849 trip. This letter was picked up by Babbitt on his way from Salt Lake to the Missouri River. The letter writer notes that "I expect Mr. Babbitt along with the Mormon mails." This letter entered the U.S. mails at

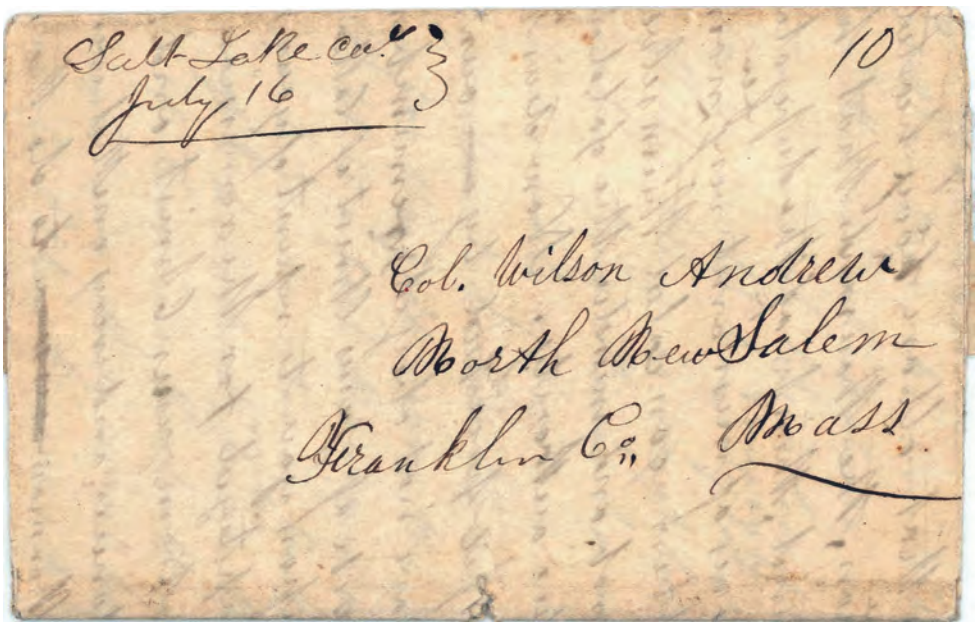

Figure 1. Letter posted July 16, 1849 at "Salt Lake Cal." and carried by Mormon expressman Almond Babbitt to Kanesville, Iowa.

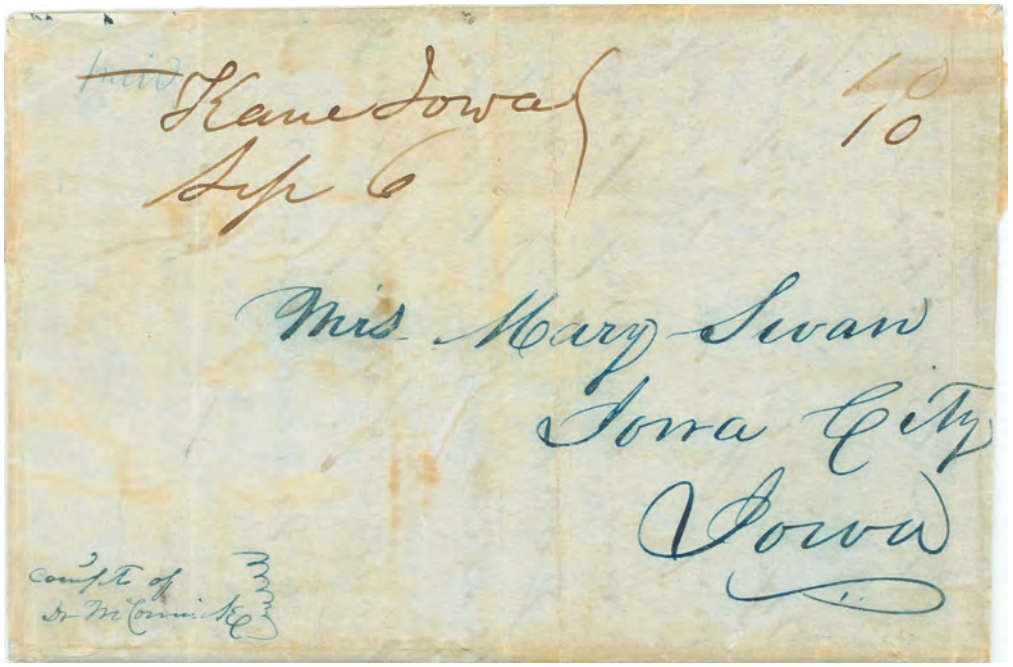

Figure 2. Letter datelined July 27, 1849, near South Pass, Wyoming, carried privately by Almond Babbitt to Kanesville, Iowa.

the Kanesville, Iowa, post office on September 6, where it was rated 10¢ due because the distance between its point of origin and Iowa City was greater than 300 miles.

Similarly, Mormon expresses carried mail between Utah and California post offices prior to the May 1851 establishment of a post office contract mail route. Mail carried by these expresses is virtually unknown, since there were very few Mormon correspondents in California. Figure 3 shows an August 1850 letter sent from Sacramento to Salt Lake City. Note that the cover is addressed "To the Postmaster or Mr. Brigham Young."

This cover, without contents, was posted at Sacramento on August 12, 1850 with 12½¢ postage due for a distance less than 3,000 miles. The date can be pinpointed to 1850 by two factors. First, the 12½¢ rate was superseded on July 1, 1851, and this type of Sacramento postmark was not introduced until April 1850.[4] Since there was no contract mail route to Salt Lake City, the Sacramento postmaster made a trip contract with the Mormon expressman, Amasa Lyman, to carry the Figure 3 letter to Salt Lake City. Lyman left Sacramento sometime in August, and arrived in Salt Lake City in September 1850.[5] This was one of three recorded Mormon expresses from California in 1849-50.[6]

On July 1, 1850, the U.S. Post Office accepted a bid from a group headed by Samuel Woodson for a monthly mail service between Salt Lake City and Independence, Missouri. Trips on this contract route #4965 were to depart on the first of each month from each terminus,[7] and to take 30 days via the Platte River Road and South Pass. First trips were on August 1, 1850 from Independence and September 11, 1850 from Salt Lake City. Figure 4 shows a letter carried on the third contract trip from Salt Lake City.

This letter was posted in "Salt Lake, Deseret"[8] on November 19, 1850 and rated for 10 cents postage due for greater than 300 miles to Iowa. The letter left on November 22, and was carried under Woodson's contract to Independence.

On April 11, 1851, James Goggin, Special Agent for the U.S. Post Office in California, awarded contract route #5066 to Absalom Woodward and George Chorpenning.[9] This contract called for monthly trips between San Francisco and Salt Lake City from May 1,

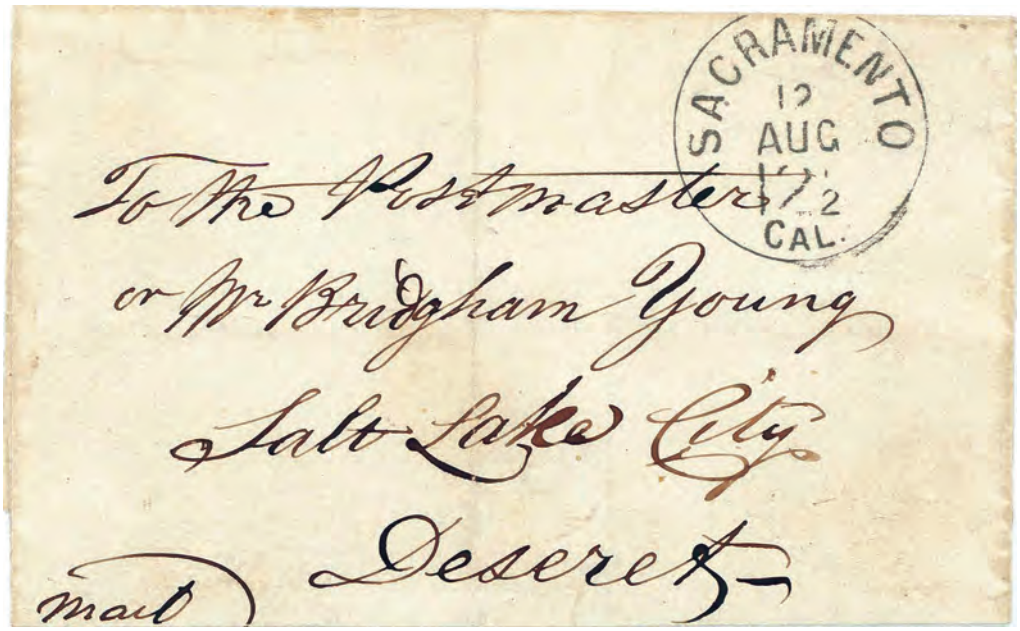

Figure 3. Letter posted August 12, 1850, at Sacramento, California, and carried by a Mormon expressman to Salt Lake City.

1851 to June 30, 1854. Trips were to leave on the first of each month and take 30 days via the California Trail and the Carson Valley crossing of the Sierra Nevadas.

Route #5066 was designed to connect with route #4965 between Salt Lake City and Independence, Missouri, to create a composite contract overland route between California and the East. Nonetheless, the default transcontinental contract mail route was by steamships between San Francisco and New York via Panama, and virtually all mail was carried on the default route.

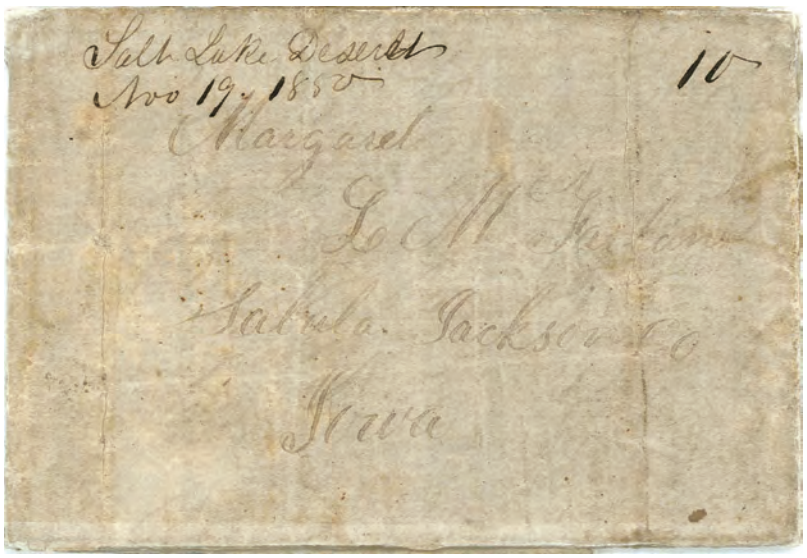

Figure 4. Letter posted November 19, 1850 at Salt Lake City (State of Deseret) and carried in the contract mails via Independence, Missouri to Sabula, Iowa.

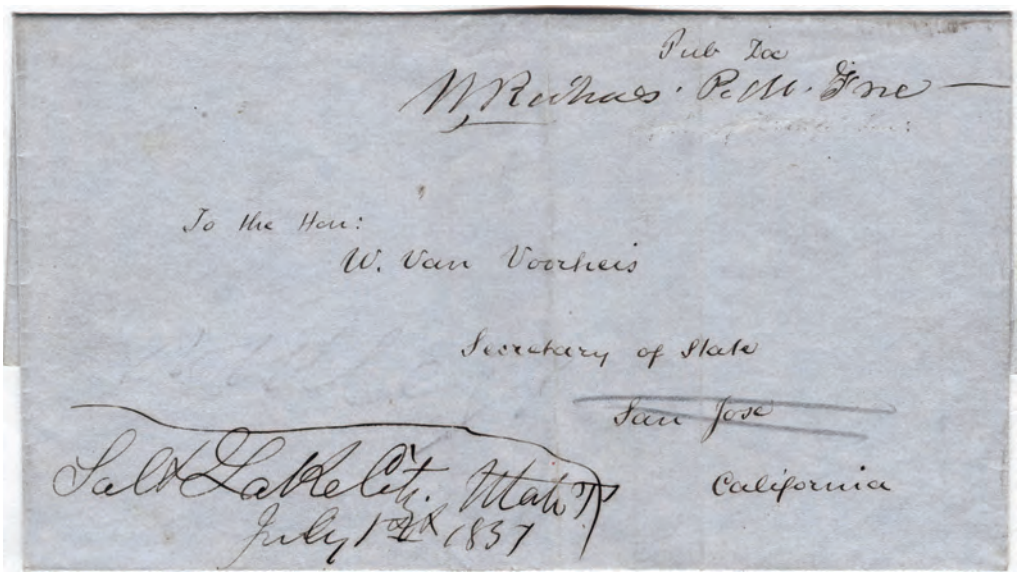

Figure 5. Letter posted July 1, 1851 at Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, and carried by George Chorpenning to Sacramento.

Chorpenning's first trips under his new postal route contract left on May 3, 1851 from Sacramento and on July 1, 1851 from Salt Lake City. Figure 5 illustrates a letter carried on Chorpenning's first westbound trip.

Addressed to the Seceretary of the State of California at San Jose, this letter left Salt Lake City on Chorpenning's July 1 scheduled departure date, and took about 33 days to reach Sacramento. The Sacramento postmaster, aware that the state government had moved to Vallejo, crossed out San Jose and directed the cover to Vallejo, where it was docketed as received on August 4th. Since this letter was sent under the postmaster's free frank ("Pub Doc W Richards PM SLC"), no postal charges were assessed. Willard Richards was postmaster of Salt Lake City from 1850 until his death on March 11, 1854.

Figure 6 shows an interesting May 1851 letter that was directed to Chorpenning's second eastbound trip by the San Francisco postmaster. This letter, without contents, is from a known correspondence that originated in Hawaii or farther west. Several other covers from the same sender carry Honolulu postmarks. This letter was most likely sent under cover on the ship *Cheerful,* which left Honolulu on May 1, 1851 and arrived in San Francisco on June 1. The twice-monthly Pacific Mail Steamship Company sailing for Panama had left

Map showing the connections between Salt Lake City and the Missouri River via the Platte River Road, and between Salt Lake City and California via the California Trail.

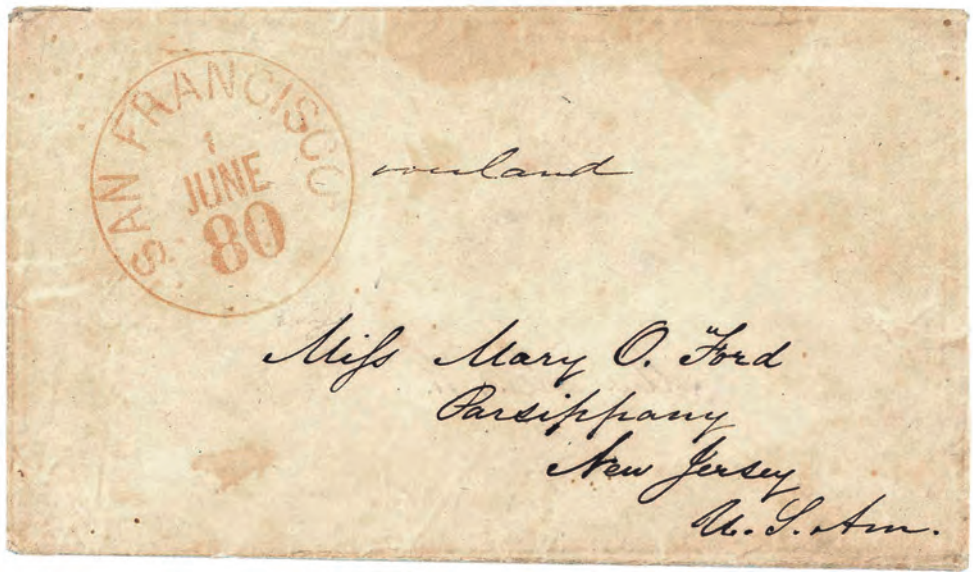

Figure 6. Letter sent from Honolulu in May 1851 and carried overland to New Jersey via Salt Lake City.

the day before, so the San Francisco postmaster was faced with a choice of holding the letter for two weeks until the next steamship departure or sending it immediately on the Chorpenning/Woodson composite overland route via Salt Lake City. He opted for the latter, and endorsed the letter "overland" after rating it for a double-weight 80¢ due.

Absalom Woodward left Sacramento with the mail on June 2 (a day after the scheduled departure), and arrived in Salt Lake City on July 2. The Woodson contract mail trip from Salt Lake City to Missouri undoubtedly waited for this mail, and left on July 2. That mail arrived in Independence, Missouri, on July 24, and this letter reached New Jersey around July 30. Had the San Francisco postmaster held the letter until the next PMSC sailing to Panama (on June 14), the letter would have arrived in New York on July 20, and thus would have reached its destination about 10 days earlier.

These six stampless covers are somewhat nondescript in appearance, but a little research uncovers an interesting postal history to each of them. In postal history, beauty is often much deeper than skin-deep.

Endnotes

1. Les Whall, *The Salt Lake City Post Office (1849-1869),* (Crabtree Press; Salt Lake City, 1982).
2. Since the rates between the east and California were 40¢ per half ounce, this letter was technically under-rated, since Salt Lake City was a part of California at the time.
3. Kanesville, or Kane, Iowa became Council Bluffs in 1852.
4. William Tatham, "Early Sacramento Circular Date Stamps, Apr 1850–Jun 1851," *Western Express*, Volume 59, No. 2, Whole No. 232 (June 2009), pp. 29-34.
5. Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell, Man of God, Son of Thunder*, (University of Utah Press; Salt Lake City, 1966).
6. Daniel Y. Meschter, "The First Transmountain Mail Route Contracts, The Central Route, 1850-1862," *La Posta: A Journal of American Postal History*, July 1995, pp. 39-50.
7. Daniel Y. Meschter, "The First Transmountain Mail Route Contracts, 1850-1862. Part II," *La Posta*, September 1995, pp 47-59.
8. In 1849, the Mormon government in Salt Lake City had proposed that the territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada mountains be added to the United States as the State of Deseret. This provisional state existed for about two years but was never recognized by the U.S. government. The U.S. initially considered combining the states of California and Deseret, but instead created Utah Territory in September 1850.
9. Daniel Y. Meschter, "The First Transmountain Mail Route Contracts, 1850-1862. Part III," *La Posta*, January 1996, pp. 19-35. ■

NOTA BENE: NEW BRUNSWICK AND NORTH BRITAIN ARE BOTH ABBREVIATED "NB"

DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

Generally abbreviated "N.B.," *Nota Bene* is a Latin phrase meaning "note well." In modern use, it is a signal to the reader to pay particular attention to some detail. Ironically, the abbreviation for nota bene, N.B., was, at one time, the postal abbreviation for two destinations: New Brunswick and North Britain (Scotland). Postal clerks had to exercise particular care in routing letters addressed to "NB" to ensure they went to the correct destination.

New Brunswick was an independent British province until Canadian confederation on July 1, 1867. Mail addressed to the Province of New Brunswick would typically be addressed to a particular city, followed by the abbreviation NB. To prevent confusion, some correspondents would add BNA or British North America to the address, to emphasize that the letter was destined for the NB in North America, rather than the NB in Europe. North Britain was frequently used to refer to postal addresses in Scotland through the 19th century. The term North Britain dates back to the early 17th century and continued into the early 20th century. However, in popular use, the term North Britain was not limited to Scotland and could refer to Northern England as well.

The potential for misrouting letters addressed to NB is demonstrated by a pair of folded letters, both mailed from New Orleans in 1852. The first cover, Figure 1, postmarked February 24, was addressed to St. Andrews, NB [New Brunswick], but mistakenly was routed to St. Andrews, North Britain, despite the endorsement "via Robinstown ME."

Figure 1. February 24, 1852 folded letter from New Orleans to St. Andrews, New Brunswick, mistakenly routed to St. Andrews, North Britain (Scotland), returned to New York and redirected to New Brunswick.

Figure 2. Reverse of the Figure 1 cover, showing various handstamps and a manuscript notation "Art: 4" indicating the letter-bill article in which Great Britain claimed credit for missent letters from the United States.

Robbinston, Maine, was a United States exchange office located across the St. Croix River from St. Andrews, New Brunswick. There would be no reason to send transatlantic mail via Robbinston, Maine.

When the Figure 1 cover was posted at New Orleans, the unpaid letter rate of 24¢ was written in black ink at upper right. Then the letter was sent to New York, where it was handstamped with a 21¢ U.S. debit to Great Britain (perhaps misled by the incorrect rating in New Orleans). The cover was placed on the Collins Line steamship *Baltic* which departed New York on March 6, 1852, and arrived at Liverpool on March 19. Here the cover received an "AMERICA" Liverpool March 19, 1852, exchange-office marking on the reverse, which is shown in Figure 2. Pursuant to the 1848 postal treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the cover was rated 1 shilling postage due (equivalent to 24¢). From Liverpool, the cover was sent to Edinburgh, where it received a March 20, 1852, per the Edinburgh transit marking, also on the reverse. From Edinburgh, the cover was sent to St. Andrews, Scotland. There is a St. Andrews receiving mark with an indistinct March 1852 date on the reverse. The St. Andrews post office quickly realized the cover was not intended for St. Andrews, Scotland, and wrote on the letter, left side, "Not for St. Andrews/ Fife[the county]" and "Try New Brunswick."

The cover was redirected back to New York, with a March 22, 1852, Edinburgh transit marking, and a Liverpool March 23, 1852, exchange office marking. The cover most likely returned to New York on the return sailing of the *Baltic*, which departed Liverpool on March 24, 1852, and arrived in New York on April 5, 1852, nearly a month to the day after the start of its detour. The cover then was sent overland to St. Andrews, New Brunswick, via Robbinston, Maine. To add insult to injury, the cover was rated 1 shilling 5½ pence New Brunswick "currency" postage due (1 shilling 2 pence sterling), representing the rate from Scotland to New Brunswick via the United States, rather than 10¢ as a letter from the United States to New Brunswick normally would be rated.

In 1852, the rate between New Brunswick and Great Britain, via Halifax, was 1 shilling 3 pence currency (1 shilling sterling).[1] When routed via the United States, there was

an additional charge of 2½ pence currency (2d sterling). In 1854, the rate via Halifax was reduced to 7½ pence currency, and the rate via the United States by Cunard Line packet was reduced to 10 pence currency; however, the rate by American packet remained 1 shilling 5½ pence currency.

The cover should not have been assessed additional postage as a result of the post office's misrouting of the cover. Pursuant to the settlement details under the 1848 postal treaty between the United States and Great Britain:[2]

> **ARTICLE XXI: Letters misdirected or missent, or which may require the prepayment of the postage, shall be reciprocally returned without delay through the respective offices of exchange, and credit taken in the letter bill for the amount of postage originally charged upon them....**

In fact, the cover has the manuscript notation "Art: 4." on the reverse (see Figure 2), which refers to article 4 of the letter bill for the Great Britain exchange office mails to the United States, and provides a credit for "Missent, redirected, and returned letters received from the United States."[3] If the cover had been forwarded, it would have been liable for additional postage. The correct postage for a letter from the United States to New Brunswick was 10¢ or 6 pence in New Brunswick currency. Thus, the recipient was overcharged 11½ pence currency or approximately 20¢.

The second cover, Figure 3, postmarked New Orleans, Louisiana, December 27, [1852], was addressed to Greenock NB (North Britain), but mistakenly was routed to New Brunswick (perhaps again being misled by the incorrect rating in New Orleans). The cover shows the New Orleans clerk marked the unpaid letter rate of 10¢ in the upper right corner, the treaty rate to New Brunswick. It passed through the Houlton, Maine, exchange office, where a clerk applied the "U. STATES." in arc exchange-office marking. At the corresponding exchange office in Woodstock, New Brunswick, the 10¢ treaty rate was converted to 6 pence currency and a January 8, 1853, transit marking was applied on the reverse. From Woodstock, New Brunswick, the cover was routed through Fredericton and St. John, New Brunswick. At some point the post office realized the letter was intended for Scotland. While there is no backstamp to indicate either routing through Halifax or handling in the United States, the letter probably was directed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where it was placed

Figure 3. December 27, 1852 folded letter from New Orleans to Greenock, North Britain, mistakenly routed to New Brunswick, and redirected to Scotland via Halifax, Nova Scotia.

onboard the Cunard Line steamship *America* to Liverpool. Apparently, some letters were rerouted through Halifax while others misdirected to New Brunswick were returned to New York to be rerouted from the United States. The *America* departed Halifax on January 23, 1853, and arrived in Liverpool on January 30, 1853. The 6d rate marking was crossed out, and the cover was properly re-rated in the upper left corner, 1 shilling postage due, representing the rate in 1853 and expressed in sterling, from either the United States or New Brunswick. A docketing notation by the recipient on the left side shows the letter was received on 31 January.

These 1852 covers from New Orleans demonstrate the confusion caused by the postal abbreviation NB. The first cover, intended for New Brunswick, was sent incorrectly to Scotland, while the second cover, intended for Scotland was sent first to New Brunswick.

Endnotes

1. C.M. Jephcott, V.G. Greene, and John H.M. Young, *The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 1754–1867* (Toronto: Sisson Publications Limited, 1964), pp. 251–52.
2. U.S. 16 *Statutes at Large*, pg. 791.
3. *Ibid.*, pg. 802 (this offsets the 21¢ credit previously given to the United States in article 1 of the letter bill for the letter's eastbound journey); *Ibid.,* pg. 803. ■

AN 1836 COVER CARRIED BY THE NEW YORK AND CHARLESTON STEAM PACKET COMPANY

THERON J. WIERENGA

The Figure 1 cover piqued my interest when I first saw it. It has a May 21 (1836) Charleston town mark, is addressed to New York and is inscribed in the lower left corner, "Steamer." My first thought was that the earliest regular steamship packet service between New York and Charleston was by Spofford, Tileston and Company, beginning in January 1848 with the steamships *Southerne*r and *Northerner*. Feldman, in his book *U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Water*, concurred.[1]

A little research proved this assumption to be false and showed that James P. Allaire, Charles Morgan and their partners established steam packet service between New York and Charleston as early as 1833. In June 1834 they formed the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Company. Weekly sailings began March 1, 1834, with the *David Brown* and *William Gibbons. Columbia* was added to the line March 21, 1835.[2] *David Brown* and *William Gibbons* often were damaged or detained on this Atlantic route.

On October 10, 1836, *William Gibbons* ran aground and sank near New Inlet, South Carolina. About this time, *David Brown* was sold to a West Indian company. In 1837 the steamers *New York* and *Home* joined *Columbia* on the New York to Charleston route, and *Neptune* was added in 1838. *Home* was lost on her third trip from New York, going ashore near Ocracoke Light off the North Carolina outer banks. She may have been weakened since she went aground leaving New York. Off Cape Hatteras the pounding waves opened her seams and she went aground 25 miles southwest, where she broke up. At least 90 lives were lost, although some sources reported as many as 99.[3]

Most of the steamships of this line were simply too small to stand up to the rigors of this Atlantic coastal route. *William Gibbons* was 294 tons and *Home* was 537 tons. Compare this to Spoffard and Tileston's steamships *Southerner* at 785 tons and *Northerner* at just over 1,100 tons, produced a little over a decade later.

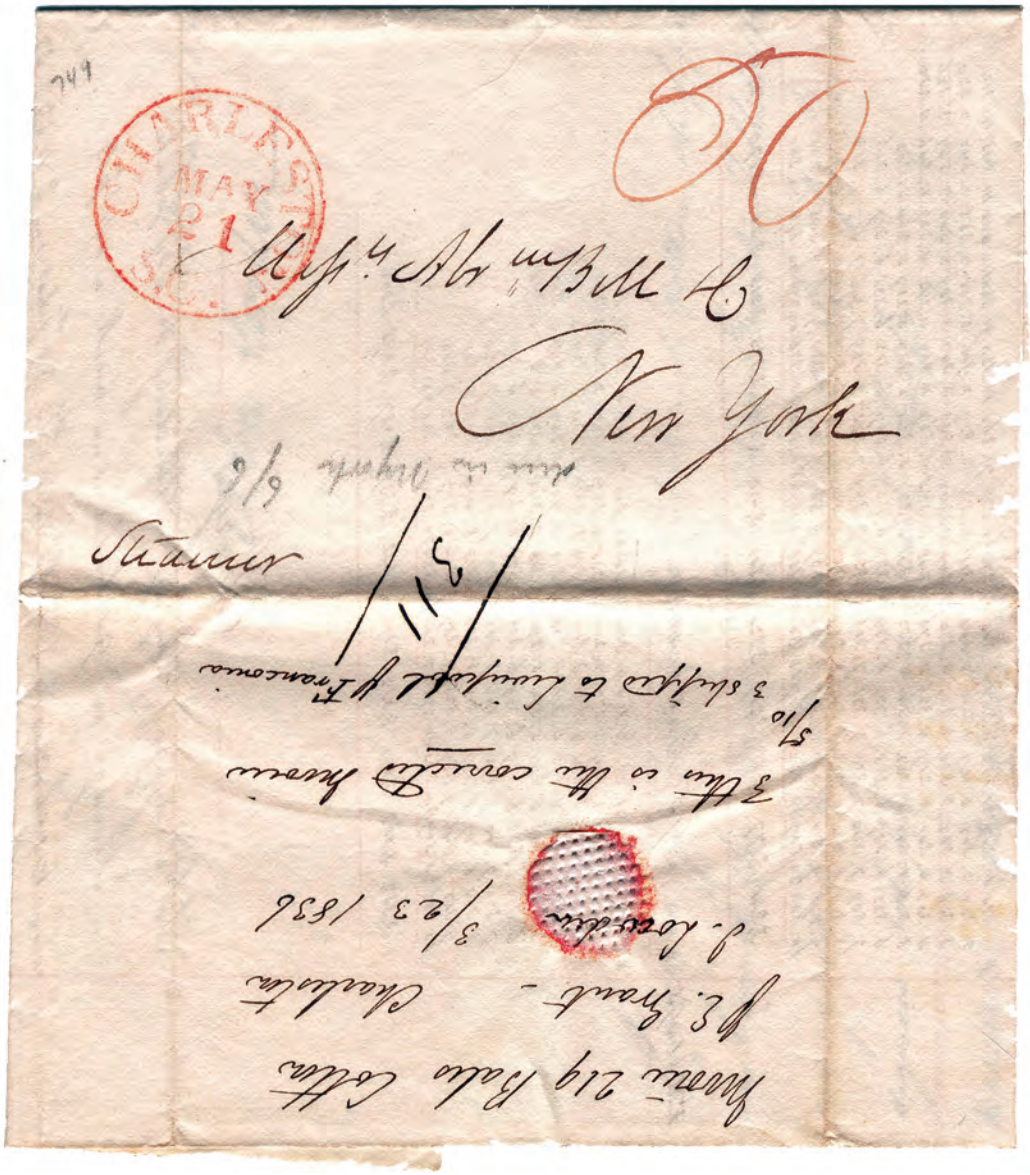

Figure 1. May 21, 1836, folded letter carried by the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Company steamer *Columbia* from Charleston, South Carolina, to New York.

Each Saturday, New York and Charleston Steam Packet steamships left from Pier 3, North River, New York and from May's wharf in Charleston.[4] Through the efforts of Charles Morgan, by 1836 this line had a mail contract for weekly service between New York and Charleston, for which it was compensated $7,200 annually.[5] The Charleston post office bagged mail to be sent on this steamship line for New York and for other post offices routed through New York. New York would do the same at its end of the line. This bagged mail simply bore the usual inland postal rates and had no special postal markings. Collectors can identify carriage on this route only if the letter happened to be endorsed "Steamer" or with the specific steamship's name.

The Figure 1 cover is dated May 21 (1836) and shows a manuscript "50" rate, double the inland rate from Charleston to New York. This date in 1836 was a Saturday, the sched-

MARINE NEWS.

PORT OF CHARLESTON.

HIGH WATER THIS DAY.....11h. 15m.

ARRIVED YESTERDAY

P L brig Planter, Sturges, New York, 6 days. Merchandize, &c.—to W Jones, Herckenwrath & Lowndes, J Preston, Holcombe, Peck & Co. D W Harrison, R Day, Otis & Boutelle, J H Taylor, W Patton, J Robb, McCartney & Gordon, A C Dibble, Dickson, Hillard & Co. Howland & Townsend, N Hart & Son, G B Locke, J T Wells, A McFeeters, C Johnson, J Thompson, S Babcock & Co. J Robinson & Son, Bacot & Gibbs, D Crocker & Co. V Durand & Co. E B Stoddard, W L Porter & Son, Dr Frost, J P Matthews, S Mowry & Co. H W Neville, A H Cohrs, Chandler Marvin & Co. J M Caldwell, J Elder, R L Baker, and Boyces Henry & Walter. 20th inst. off Cape Romain, spoke barque Elizabeth, hence for New Bedford.

Schooner Thomas & Henry, Miles, Lucas' Mill. 140 bbls. Rice—to J Lucas.

Schooner Charleston, Bridges, Ryan's Mill. 404 bbls. Rice—to J Fraser & Co.

Steam packet Columbia, Halsey, New York—left Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock, with a strong South wind which continued during the whole passage. Lat. 37, 34, lon 74, 40, spoke steam packet Wm Gibbons, Spinney, hence for New York.

Figure 2 (left). An extract from the "Marine News" column of the May 21, 1836 *Charleston Mercury*, showing the arrival of the steamship *Columbia* from New York. Figure 3 (below). An extract from "Marine News" column of the May 23, 1836 *Charleston Mercury,* showing departure of the steamship *Columbia* from Charleston for New York.

WENT TO SEA ON SATURDAY.

Line ship Calhoun, O'Neill, New York
Br ship James & Thomas, Carlell, Liverpool
Br brig Norna, Dott, do
Schr Agnes, Swasey, Havana.
Schr Hudson, Clift, New London
Schr Mountain Place, Wilmington, N. C.
Schr Kenduskeag, ——, New York
Schr Cassius, Crosby, Jacksonville, E. F.
Steam Packet Columbia, Halsey, New York.

uled day the Charleston steamship was to clear for New York. Figure 2 shows a portion of the "Marine News" column of the *Charleston Mercury* for Saturday, May 21, 1836. The last paragraph documents the Columbia's arrival the previous day. Figure 3 is a portion of the "Marine News" column for May 23, 1836, which records *Columbia's* departure on May 21. In early 1838, *Columbia* was placed on Morgan's line between New Orleans and Galveston.[6] About this time, or shortly thereafter, the company was dissolved.

Figure 4. Charleston straight-line STEAMBOAT handstamp from a coastal letter.

In the late 1840s and possibly later, Charleston sometimes used a handstamped steamboat marking on coastal mail. This marking apparently was applied to loose letters mailed at or on board the steamship after the normal mail had closed at the post office. Figure 4 shows an example, electronically cropped from a stampless folded letter datelined "New York 5 May 1849." The cover is addressed to New Orleans and inscribed "Chn-Steamer."[7] From the May 8 town mark, this letter was carried by the steamship *Southerner* into Charleston, where it was marked as an incoming steamboat letter and rated 10¢ postage due in New Orleans.

It is possible that examples with auxiliary markings, such as this steamboat marking, may exist on letters carried by the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Company. Certainly other examples should exist with manuscript notations like the example in Figure 1 or with the actual steamship name.

Endnotes

1. Feldman, Hugh V., *U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Water (Star Routes 1824–1875)* (Chicago: The Collector's Club of Chicago, 2008), pp. 272-73.
2. Baughman, James P., *Charles Morgan and the Development of Southern Transportation* (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), pp. 12-19.
3. *Ibid*., pp. 17-18; *Charleston Mercury*, October 19, 1837.
4. Baughman, *op. cit*., pg. 15.
5. *United States Official Register, 1836*, pg. 283.
6. Heyl, Eric, *Early American Steamers,* 6 vols., Volume I (Buffalo, NY: the author, 1953), pg. 95.
7. Wierenga, Theron, *United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847 – 1875, Second Edition* (Austin, Texas: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 2000), pg. 97. ■

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THE COVER CORNER
GREG SUTHERLAND, EDITOR

ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 228

Our problem cover in *Chronicle* 228, shown here as Figure 1, was a card mailed from London in late 1895 that was rated for collection of 6¢ postage due, which was paid by the addition of a 5¢ Bank Note postage due stamp and a Bureau of Engraving 1¢ due stamp. The question posed was: Why this was rated as insufficiently paid?

Route Agent Julian Jones came up with the answer: This was a private mailing card, not a postal card. It was franked at the postal card rate (one British penny), but not being eligible for that rate, it was upgraded to the 5¢ letter rate as the rules required. The uprating was done in London, where the black "T" was hand-stamped on the upper middle of the card. Credit for the 1d British (2¢ U.S.) postage was allowed, and the 1½d deficiency (3¢ U.S.) was doubled to make the penalty, resulting in 6¢ due rating, paid by the addressee.

Documentation for uprating to 5¢ can be found in the *U.S. Postal Guide*, 1895, pages 325 and 348: "A private mailing card cannot be regarded as a postal card, even though it be of the same size. Therefore, written or partly written messages on such private cards are chargeable, with postage, at the letter rate."

The intention of the Section Editor was to illustrate both sides of the card, thus making clearer that this was a private message card rather than a postal card. But the Editor-in-Chief pulled a fast one on us, and dropped the reverse-side illustration for space reasons. This made the puzzle more difficult, but not unsolvable, as Route Agent Jones' correct response indicates.

Figure 1. Problem cover from *Chronicle* 228. This is a card mailed from London in late 1895, franked at the postal card rate with a one penny British stamp, but rated "DUE 6 CENTS" in the United states. The question was: Why was this rated as insufficiently prepaid?

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue, shown in Figure 2, is a cover originating in Pontiac, Michigan, addressed to "Long Wittenham, Near Abbington, England," in 1861. A black double-circle "PONTIAC MICH. AUG 20 1861" circular datestamp is struck at left, with a

Figure 2. Problem cover for this issue. Cover posted at Pontiac, Michigan in 1861, postmarked August 20 and rated "PAID 24". The abrasion at upper right suggests that a stamp was removed. The questions are: Can it be determined when the stamp was removed and was there a likely reason for removing it?

dark red hand-stamped "PAID 24" just beneath, and a bright red "DETROIT. AM. PKT. 3 PAID AUG 22" exchange-office credit marking struck partly off the lower right corner of the cover. There's paper-abrasion evidence that a stamp was removed from the upper right corner. The questions are: Can it be determined if the stamp was removed during the mailing process or afterwards? Was there a likely reason for removing the stamp? ■

IN REVIEW

PATRIOTIC ENVELOPES OF THE CIVIL WAR: A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

KEN LAWRENCE

The first thing to know about patriotic envelopes of the Civil War is that Union envelopes were a huge success and Confederate envelopes were an abysmal failure, reflecting the larger realities of the war that spawned them and its outcome. The second thing to know is that our hobby often inverts this relation, so that remnants of commercial, political, and military successes live on as common pedestrian collectibles, while scarcer artifacts of historical failures become reified as revered rarities, and thus are designated "important" in the argot of auctioneers and exhibitors. In that respect, today's collecting culture sometimes distorts and obscures historical insight when it is reflexively invoked as evidence.

Unfortunately, a new book about these envelopes, which has arrived just in time to benefit from the war's sesquicentennial memorial marketing blitz, fails to grasp the first point and to observe adequate caution for the second, but aspires to academic significance by explicating the symbolic meanings of patriotic imprints. According to *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War: The Iconography of Union and Confederate Covers* by Steven R. Boyd, a professor of history at the University of Texas at San Antonio (page 31), "The Confederate and Union patriotic envelopes illustrate a marked parallel in the attitudes and beliefs of men and women—North and South—in 1861." I think they show the opposite. Nevertheless, the book tackles its subject intelligently, and merits a thoughtful response.

I have three summary criticisms of the book. First, I think the differences between Union and Confederate patriotic envelopes are far more important and more culturally revealing than the similarities. Second, the author paid insufficient attention to details of history that became essential ingredients of Union patriotic cachets but are absent from Confederate counterparts. Third, the best aspects of his book are marred by overly parsimonious and careless editing.

Historical Context of Union Patriotic Envelopes

Let me begin with two epigraphs:

Yes we'll rally round the flag, boys, we'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry of Freedom,
We will rally from the hillside, we'll gather from the plain,
Shouting the battle cry of Freedom!
The Union forever! Hurrah, boys, hurrah!
Down with the traitors, up with the stars;
While we rally round the flag, boys, rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry of freedom!

George F. Root
***The Battle Cry of Freedom*, July 1862**

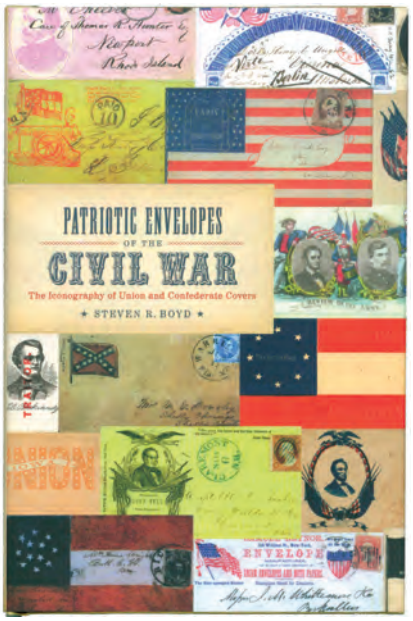
Our mas'rs dey hab lib under de flag, dey got dere wealth under it, and ebryting beautiful for dere chilen. Under it dey hab grind us up, and put us in dere pocket for money. But de fus' minute dey tink dat ole flag mean freedom for we colored people, dey pull it right down and run up de rag ob dere own. But we'll neber desert de ole flag, boys, neber; we hab lib under it for eighteen hundred sixty-two years, and we'll die for it now.

Corporal Prince Lambkin, First South Carolina Volunteers
Camp Saxton (near Beaufort, S.C.), December 1862

Root's song and Lambkin's camp rhetoric lyrically portray sentiments that Union patriotic envelopes projected in their images. The national flag, the most frequently en-

countered Union icon, embodied the cause that stirred the souls of Unionists both North and South. According to the Civil War Preservation Trust: "Public response to 'The Battle Cry of Freedom' was overwhelming. When the sheet music was published in the fall of 1862, 14 printing presses working round the clock were unable to keep up with the demand for copies. Between 500,000 and 700,000 copies were produced."

When Abraham Lincoln assumed office on March 4, 1861, the United States flag had 33 stars, one for every state, including seven that had seceded from the Union. Kansas had already achieved statehood on January 29, and by tradition got its star on the next July 4, making 34. West Virginia became a state on June 20, 1863; the following month number 35 was added. In sequence those were the Union's wartime flags. Nevada was admitted October 31, 1864, not soon enough to add a 36th star until after the war had ended.



***Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War: The Iconography of Union and Confederate Covers*, by Steven R. Boyd. Published in 2010 by LSU Press. Hardbound, 6 x 9 inch format, 192 pages, 24-page color plate, $36.95.**

Every star was precious to Unionists; the stars embodied the E Pluribus Unum principle for which they fought: all the states were essential parts of the nation. In that sense, images of the flag aroused and nurtured the same sentiments as Root's song and the national anthem, so Unionist cultural symbolism was harmonious, mutually reinforcing, and cumulative, even though the Unionist coalition comprised an uneasy alliance of loyal Democrats, Free-Soil Republicans and radical abolitionists. As Professor Boyd told the 2006 Winton M. Blount Symposium on Postal History, "The distribution of tens of thousands of Union patriotic covers through the postal system materially increased the interconnectedness of the nation and enhanced the homogeneity of popular culture, which had profound implications for society in the post-war era."

Popular demand for Union envelopes began within two weeks of the Confederate capture of Fort Sumter. Publishers and stationers marketed them both as keepsakes and as enclosures for mail; millions were purchased, and they are common today. Albums for Civil War patriotic envelopes appeared on the market in the summer or fall of 1861, predating the first stamp albums. Besides flags, shields, cannons, military emblems, allegorical figures, and portraits of leaders, subject matter of envelope prints followed the news, the course of events, and caricatures that appeared in the mass media.

Secessionist firebrand Edmund Ruffin fired the first shot of the Civil War at Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, plunging the country into four years of fratricidal bloodshed. U.S. Army Col. Robert Anderson struck his colors and surrendered the fort to Confederate Brig. Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard on April 14. (I follow the standard account, but the first-shot honor is in dispute. Boyd credits Beauregard [page 24].) Union patriotic envelopes soon featured images of the fort, and of Anderson as the hero of Sumter, usually with other symbolic imagery, inscriptions, or both; more than 30 different prints have been recorded commemorating the initial engagement.

On April 19, secessionist rioters in Baltimore, incited by pro-Confederate politicians including the chief of police, killed three federal soldiers en route to defend Washington

from Confederate attack, mortally wounded another, and injured several others, the first Union martyrs of the war. For patriots, providence could not have crafted a more perfectly poetic script, because that very day was the anniversary of the skirmish on Lexington green in 1775, the first military engagement of the American Revolution, and once again Massachusetts boys were the first to die for the cause. The youngest of them, 17-year-old Luther C. Ladd of Lowell, became the subject of at least two patriotic envelopes, one of which doubled as stationery for his unit, the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers.

Five weeks after the Baltimore massacre, James W. Jackson, proprietor of Marshall House Inn at Alexandria, Virginia, shot Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth to death—the first Union officer killed in the war—after Ellsworth had cut down a Confederate flag flying over Jackson's hotel. Ellsworth, a personal friend of President Lincoln, had organized and led the 11th New York Volunteers ("Fire Zouaves"). He had crossed the Potomac to tear down the rebel banner after Lincoln had spotted it from the White House. Ellsworth and his avenger, Pvt. Francis E. Brownell, who was awarded the Medal of Honor for killing his commander's assailant, became the subjects of more than 100 patriotic envelopes. Following the storybook narrative, Boyd calls Ellsworth "the first Union casualty of the war" (page 90). The historical record and other envelope imprints document earlier Union dead at Baltimore.

Figure 1. This Union patriotic mourning envelope cachet proposed a monument to U.S. Army Major Theodore Winthrop, killed in action at the battle of Big Bethel, Virginia, on June 10, 1861. This was the first significant land battle of the Civil War.

In the May issue of *U.S. Mail and Post Office Assistant*, presumably sent to press well before Ellsworth's martyrdom on May 24, editor-publisher James Holbrook had commented on the large number of letters that "have borne upon their envelopes our national emblem," and the following month he described the all-but-official encouragement they received: "A collection of such envelopes has been made at the New York Post Office, by the Secretary, Capt. Morgan, and it is really a curiosity. They are of every degree of workmanship as far as engraving is concerned—from the finest steel to the coarsest wood—plain and colored, gay and grave, some all love and fervor, and others threatening war and devastation."

On June 10, the first significant land battle of the war at Big Bethel, Virginia, brought the first battlefield deaths to both Union and Confederate armies. Two Union officers killed there—Maj. Theodore Winthrop, who had been an abolitionist writer before the war began, and Lt. John T. Greble—became cachet subjects. Figure 1 shows one that depicts a flag-draped proposed monument to Winthrop, with army camp tents in the background.

Events that inspired more than 4,000 different Union patriotic envelope prints manufactured and sold during the war's first several weeks occurred before the first Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), where today's typical canned Civil War battle narrative usually begins. Going forward, the Union's fortunes of war continued to provide subject matter for these

enterprises, and became a medium through which the public acknowledged its heroes. For example, after Brig. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's troops captured Fort Donelson on February 16, 1862, his portrait became an envelope subject, and his "unconditional surrender" ultimatum became a Union slogan and a punning nickname for U. S. Grant.

Eventually demand for Union patriotic envelopes slackened, as hardship, sacrifice, and war-weariness spread. Still, some printers continued to produce new editions all the way to the end. You won't find most of the historical information summarized here in Boyd's book, but the author has provided a reasonable overview of the rich variety of Union envelopes, making good use of standard philatelic references and our hobby's well-developed schemes for classifying the cachet subjects: *The George Walcott Collection of Used Civil War Patriotic Covers* by Robert Laurence, *Handbook of Civil War Patriotic Envelopes and Postal History* by Robert W. Grant, *The Catalog of Union Civil War Patriotic Covers* by William R. Weiss Jr., *Civil War Patriotic Covers Postally Used Featuring the Collection of Professor Jon E. Bischel* by Nutmeg Stamp Auctions, and *Federal Civil War Postal History* and other books and articles by James W. Milgram.

Boyd claims that patriotic cachets of battle scenes "carefully understate the enormity of the conflict and limit representations of the casualties to sanitized images of men bearing a letter or a woman preparing to offer aide" (page 105). Iconography is his specialty, not mine, but that seems unfair to me. Cachet artists had more area for their images than postage stamp artists, but these were miniature scenes compared to full-page illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* or *Frank Leslie's Weekly* magazines. One does not issue a manifesto on a bumper sticker. I think these envelope artists well understood the potential and the limits of their medium, and skillfully conformed their designs to it.

Furthermore, at least one Union envelope design used in both North and South does portray the brutality of combat over the legend "Desperate hand to hand encounter over a battery." It is lot 747 in the Walcott sale, lot 1301 in the Bischel sale, and number SC-MB-76 in the Weiss catalog. It appears on page 346 of *The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America* by August Dietz, described by Dietz as "a thrilling battle scene."

Historical Context of Confederate Patriotic Envelopes

Let me again start with contemporary epigraphs:

No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves shall be passed. . . .

The Confederate States may acquire new territory; and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States, lying without the limits of the several States; and may permit them, at such times, and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the Territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such Territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States.

Article I, Section IX, paragraph 4, and Article IV, Section III, paragraph 3, Constitution of the Confederate States of America, March 11, 1861

The new constitution has put at rest, forever, all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution African slavery as it exists amongst us, the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the "rock upon which the old Union would split." He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution, were that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. . . .

Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. This, our new

government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.

Vice President Alexander H. Stephens,
Corner-Stone speech, Savannah, Georgia, March 21, 1861

We are a band of brothers and native to the soil
Fighting for our Liberty, with treasure, blood and toil.
And when our rights were threatened, the cry rose near and far:
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star!
Hurrah! Hurrah!
For Southern rights, hurrah!
Hurrah for the Bonnie Blue Flag that bears a single star.

Harry McCarthy
***The Bonnie Blue Flag*, Spring 1861**

The two excerpts from the Constitution and Stephens's explanation of their fundamental importance represented the only significant points of departure from the federal original. The song, set to an Irish folk melody, was the Confederacy's nearest thing to a flag anthem. If iconography reduces *weltanschauung* to visual shorthand, these, together with celebrated victories, heroes, and martyrs ought to have provided essential themes for designers of Confederate patriotic envelopes.

Professor Boyd writes (page 33), "The creation of the Confederate States of America profoundly transformed the popular culture of the South, as its new flag rapidly supplanted preexisting state and regional symbols with a new national icon." At best that's an overstatement, but I think it is substantially untrue. The Confederacy had three national flags over the course of its four-year history, but the Bonnie Blue Flag that Confederate popular culture cherished was none of the above.

On a more basic level, a definition of patriotism is not as evident as one might assume when that term is applied to the Confederacy. At the outset of the war, patriotism was promoted as meaning loyalty to one's home state, not to any nation. When Robert E. Lee resigned his federal commission, he declared his primary allegiance to Virginia rather than to his country, in effect rejecting any constitutional duty to his commander-in-chief. His April 20, 1861, letter to Gen. Winfield Scott stated, "Save in the defense of my native state shall I ever again draw my sword."

The problem for Confederate leaders was to invent a culture that would secure their political aim of making slavery and white supremacy permanent, yet would retain the allegiance of yeoman freeholders and urban tradesmen who owned no slaves. Images of slavery all but disappeared from Confederate iconography, despite its pride of place in the Confederate Constitution and in Stephens's speech. Tiny slave figures appeared as field hands on one patriotic gummed seal that was used as an envelope cachet; and a verse on another included a reference to slavery. The right of states to autonomous, sovereign government may have been an expedient slogan to facilitate secession, but not to win hoped-for respect and recognition from Lord Palmerston, Louis Napoleon, Leopold I, and Alexander II, let alone to wage war.

Thus in the early days of secession, the Bonnie Blue Flag was a suitable stand-in. Though not an icon on any recorded envelope, that relic of West Florida from 1810—a single large white five-pointed star in the middle of a solid blue banner—flew over the batteries that fired on Fort Sumter, and gave the South its unofficial anthem for the duration.

Early flags that appear as envelope cachets in *Confederate Patriotic Covers and Their Usages* by Benjamin Wishnietsky include the Lone Star Flag of Texas and the Palmetto Flag of South Carolina. Here we meet another problem of definition. Lone Star Flag envelopes predated not only the Confederacy, but even the secession of Texas. Wishnietsky included one mailed at Brazoria, Texas, on December 12, 1860, franked with a U.S. 3¢ Washington stamp of 1857. He called it "possibly the earliest patriotic cover with a Confederate related design."

Most scholars of Union patriotic envelopes are fastidious in avoiding campaign covers and pre-Civil War anti-slavery propaganda covers from inclusion in the patriotic category. If we apply the same standard to Confederate patriotics, we ought to exclude Lone Star Flag covers, and it's possible that South Carolina flag covers existed earlier also.

The seven-star Stars and Bars first flew over Montgomery as the Confederate national flag on March 4, 1861 (page 35), two days before the Confederacy admitted Texas as its seventh state. Stars and Bars flags are by far the most common Confederate patriotic envelope designs. They exist in seven-, eight-, nine-, ten-, eleven-, twelve- and thirteen-star versions, increasing in number as the Confederacy claimed additional states (including Missouri and Kentucky, which never seceded from the Union). But the design itself was a knock-off of the United States flag, with three red and white horizontal stripes instead of thirteen, and with fewer stars on the blue field. It was anathema to secessionist zealots who truly despised the free North, such as Robert Toombs, but was a concession to popular sentiment. On the battlefield its similarity to the federal colors proved a liability, which eventually led the government to replace it in May 1863, thereafter using a series of thirteen-star banners that incorporated the Battle Flag design familiar to today's NASCAR culture.

Figure 2. The first Confederate soldier killed in battle, also at Big Bethel on June 10, achieved iconic recognition only many years after the Civil War ended. The cenotaph on this 1906 post card is dedicated to Private Henry L. Wyatt of North Carolina.

I would have expected these conflicts, problems, and inconsistencies to have been challenging for an author concerned with exploring iconography. They cry out for additional evidence of success or failure in popular culture, but Boyd sees no difficulty (page 34): "Flags—whether state secession flags, the Stars and Bars, or the Confederate Battle Flag—contributed materially to the growth of the Confederate national identity. Evidence from the Confederate patriotic covers reveals the extent to which Davis proved able to achieve, for a time, the popular identification of the people of the South with his administration and the Confederate nation."

Here is where the book lost credibility with me. The minuscule number of surviving Confederate patriotic envelopes is scant evidence of anything, but sometimes an absence of evidence really is evidence of absence. Southern printers would have been just as eager as their Northern counterparts to sell printed envelopes, at least in the beginning. It's true that by 1863, shortages in the South were severe, but by then patriotic fervor was flagging and spending money was short in the North too, so the lopsided difference in production cannot be explained by austerity. Southern archives are stuffed with letters, diaries, and other manuscript material from the Civil War, as well as newspapers and other publications. When paper became scarce, people reused it and substituted wallpaper.

Simply comparing the vast proliferation of Union designs, and the high quality of

their composition, with the pathetically small number of mostly crudely composed Confederate counterparts, ought to count the latter as failure. Union envelopes paid honorable tribute to its army's setbacks and defeats as well as successes; Confederate envelopes omitted even its side's greatest victories. If Boyd really believes the two are comparable, how does his Confederate iconography explain the successful bait-and-switch trick that transformed states' right to independence into nation-building (even claiming to annex two loyal states) while blissful citizens continued to sing The Bonnie Blue Flag?

What might truly comparable iconography have looked like? Take the cachet design shown in Figure 1. This is an average Union example, not an especially inspired design and rendered in drab mourning black. But it honored a gallant Union officer who was killed at Big Bethel. Also killed there on June 10, 1861, was Pvt. Henry L. Wyatt, a member of Col. Daniel Harvey Hill's First North Carolina Volunteer Regiment. Wyatt was the very first Confederate soldier to fall in battle.

Wyatt did eventually receive recognition on a monument erected in the 20th century, as seen on the Figure 2 post card, a similar icon to the Winthrop monument proposed on the cachet in Figure 1. I'm not suggesting that the absence of any particular image proves my case, but the absence of all comparable icons, until the Confederacy became a subject of post-Reconstruction iconography, is striking and significant.

If the reader of Boyd's book was able to suspend disbelief that far, it became even more difficult going forward. Union patriotic envelopes included somewhere between 450 and 500 different caricatures. The Confederacy produced one, the "Hanging Lincoln" cartoon. The Union produced patriotic covers featuring more than 300 military leaders in more than 650 designs. Confederate covers show one military man, Gen. Beauregard, in four variations of a single design. Union patriotic covers depicted each major battle of the war, often in many renditions. Two Confederate designs added the legend "REMEMBER SUMPTER, BETHEL & MANASSAS" (Sumter misspelled on both) to generic dragoon and cannon clip-art cuts and one with a verse that begins "The fight at Manassas was glorious and great" appeared beneath a seven-star Stars and Bars flag as the only representations of specific battles. Putting my skepticism another way, if these covers represent the success of iconography, how might one measure failure?

Next let's try combining the icons. Figure 3 shows a common and widely reproduced Union patriotic envelope. A Zouave soldier with sword drawn in one hand, holding his country's colors in the other, tramples a seven-star Confederate Stars and Bars flag underfoot. Below the pictorial image is a line from *The Star Spangled Banner*. This and many others show simultaneously the North's reverence for the national flag and contempt for the Stars and Bars, iconography at its best, incorporating symbols from both sides. Yet the Confederacy was incapable of a corollary response, in part because its iconic flag design reflected Southern whites' ambivalence toward, not rejection of, the national flag. They may have hated Lincoln and Yankees, but they did not repudiate their national heritage. That's the story that the covers tell. It's a good story, but it's not in Boyd's book.

Lacking an inspirational message that lent itself to a thumbnail sketch, the Confederacy's inventory of iconic images was never large, which is the reason its patriotic covers are scarce, desirable, and expensive today. Collectors appreciate them, and philatelic writers accord them due reverence. But it's a mistake to project that evaluation 150 years back into history.

Patriotic Envelopes by the Numbers

Hugh M. Clark, stamp dealer and editor of the Scott stamp catalogs, owned more than 10,000 different Civil War patriotic envelopes in 109 albums. On June 9 and 10, 1959, Robert A. Siegel sold Clark's collection at public auction with the observation, "it is doubtful that another collection of this magnitude will ever again appear on the auction market."

Figure 3. A common and widely reproduced Union patriotic design shows a Zouave soldier with sword drawn, holding his country's colors and trampling a seven-star Confederate Stars and Bars flag, accompanied by a line from *The Star Spangled Banner.*

I'm not aware of a comparable sale before or since. Siegel lotted the covers in groups and illustrated fewer than 300 of them, but the descriptions are excellent. By my count, 9,860 different envelopes were lotted as Union designs, and 361 as Confederate. Of those, 74 Confederate (mocking caricatures, Magnus "Secesh Generals" sets, and Maryland state seals) should be properly classified as Union envelopes, yielding an adjusted allocation of 9,943 different Union envelopes (646 postally used) and 279 Confederate (9 used).

Even subtracting campaign covers and a handful of others not usually counted as patriotic designs, the Union figure is an undercount, comprising quite a few incomplete numbered sets. The Confederate figure is probably exaggerated, because Siegel included envelopes that are widely considered by today's specialists to be postwar souvenirs. Nevertheless, as the largest statistical sample I've found, it's probably as near to complete as any researcher might discover. (Clark's goal as a collector had been completion.) In that case, the proportions — about three percent Confederate and 97 percent Union — should be reasonable allocations. I think Boyd's estimate (page 80) of "less than two hundred fifty" Confederate designs is about right, but "more than fifteen thousand Union" is too high.

Summing Up

It's a pity that Boyd's publisher, Louisiana State University Press, skimped on this book. Had it been published as a large, richly illustrated coffee-table book, it would be a splendid popular introduction to the subject for everyone. As it is, the color illustrations are tiny, often too small to show the details that the author deems significant, and are grouped into one 24-page signature sandwiched between pages 52 and 53 of the text. The reader's burden is further stretched by putting all the footnotes at the back of the book, so one must constantly flip from text page to illustration page to footnote page and back. On a positive note, the book includes a full bibliography and an index.

Boyd passed up an opportunity to educate readers about the iconic antecedent of one anti-slavery image he illustrated. His figure 4.1 image of an 1840s letterhead, described simply as "Paul Reason's 'AM I NOT A WOMAN AND A SISTER?'," replicated Josiah

Wedgwood's famous 1787 "AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER" medallion of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, but was illustrated with a shackled female slave.

Usually I consider it out of bounds for a reviewer to mention a book's typographical errors, but I'll make an exception for a book about stationery that spells it stationary (pages 8, 22, and 102), all the worse considering that Louisiana State University Press published it. That's one of several indicators that this book may have been cobbled together in haste from an old manuscript without sufficient care. Then again, maybe I'm excessively grumpy because Boyd misspelled my wife's name in his acknowledgments (she's Ellen Peachey). Other mistakes in the book are more substantial: Demonetization of existing postage stamps (page 20) did not occur on June 30, 1861. The Confederate government became responsible for its postal service on June 1, but old U.S. postage was not demonetized until August, when distribution of new stamps and stamped envelopes began. A Texas cover canceled February 7, 1861 (page 33 and figure 2.1), is not a pre-secession use; Texas had seceded on February 1. It's an independent state cover. Wendell Phillips (page 76) was not a United States senator from Pennsylvania; he was a Massachusetts abolitionist.

Buy this book, for yourself and your friends. Despite the nits I've combed here, it's a good introduction to Union patriotic covers for anyone who might be inclined to consider collecting them. It's a good overview of Confederate covers for all of us who lack the means to collect them, showing more designs than you're likely to see in several years' major auction sales. Best of all, the readership of this book will extend far beyond today's circle of dedicated collectors, just as we are entering four years of exceptional opportunity to promote this aspect of what we call "postal history." ■

ADVERTISER INDEX

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Lilly 1967

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Honolulu Advertiser 1995

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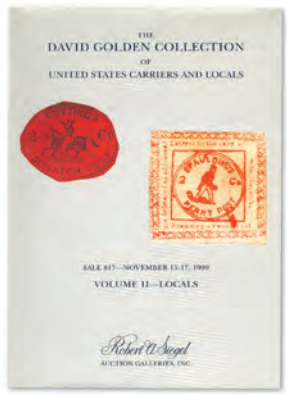
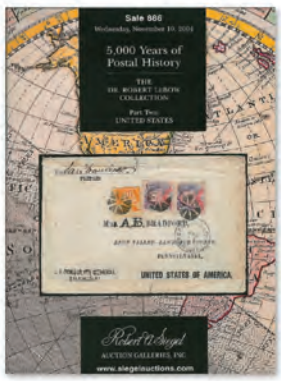
Kilbourne 1999



Golden 1999

Hall 2001



LeBow 2004

Scarsdale 2006

Great collections have one name in common.