

The Chronicle

of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues



Unlisted in Scott, this 1848 3¢ Boston Parcel Post stamp has been known since the 19th century. Only three copies are recorded and this example (on the sole recorded cover) is the first time any of them has been illustrated in color. In our Carriers and Independent Mails section, Bruce Mosher tells how the Boston Parcel Post operation evolved into the better-known Boston Penny Post.

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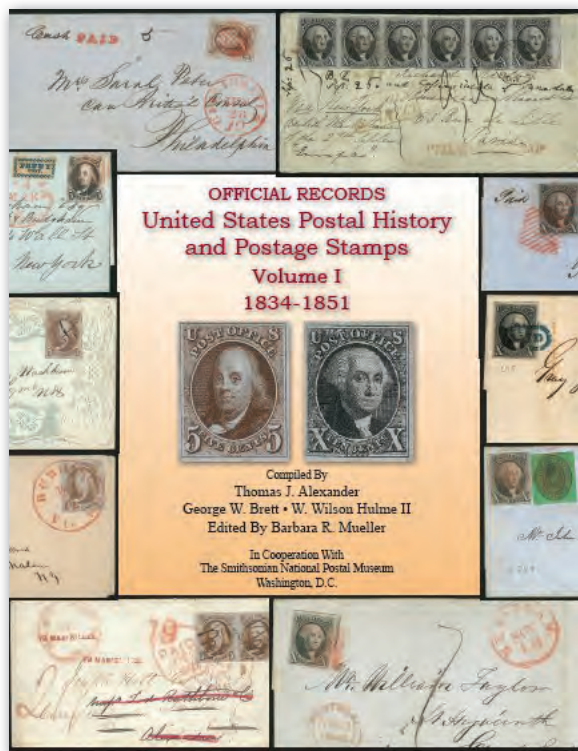
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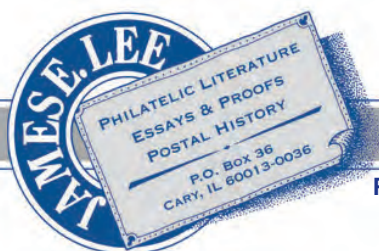
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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

MICHAEL LAURENCE

IN THIS ISSUE

In the 1861 section of our previous issue (*Chronicle* 235, August 2012), Section Editor Michael McClung published an attempt (which we believe was a first) to present true-to-life images showing the various challenging colors that are known on the 3¢ 1861 stamp. His article promised a follow-up report after comparing the printed *Chronicle* images with the real-life stamps. That comparison has now been made, and the results are very encouraging. See McClung's brief analysis on pages 335-336.

In a broad survey article in our Foreign Mails section (starting on page 344), David D'Alessandris looks at letter-post correspondence between the United States and Newfoundland (both ways) from its pre-stamp beginnings up to Universal Postal Union. In the course of his sweeping analysis, D'Alessandris presents some fascinating and colorful covers, and explains postal markings and handling practices that until now have mystified many collectors.

Cover censuses are a tool whose research usefulness is just beginning to be appreciated. In an important article in our 1847 section (page 317), Mark Scheuer, a newcomer to these pages, revisits the Hart-Alexander 1847 cover-census data in the age of the internet. Scheuer's article reaches some remarkable conclusions and asks some tough questions.

Our Carriers and Independent Mails section this issue, beginning on page 304, features Bruce Mosher's analysis of the fascinating evolution of a parcel-post delivery business launched by James Patterson in Boston in 1848. Along the way the firm issued stamps; an example is featured on our cover this issue. The 3¢ Boston Parcel Post stamp has been known since the 19th century, but only three copies are recorded and this the first time one of them has been illustrated in color. The author speculates plausibly that other denominations once existed. Mosher is another newcomer to these pages, but he is well known to our Society. His soaring *Catalog of Private Express Labels and Stamps* was awarded our Chase Cup in 2002.

Pointing Hand postmarks have long fascinated collectors, including James W. Milgram, editor of our Stampless section, who first wrote on this subject 35 years ago and returns to it again ("Pointing Hand Postmarks on U.S. Stampless Covers," pages 290-302) with a comprehensive update. Milgram's article includes a tabular listing of known markings and illustrations of many of the most interesting covers.

Three short articles in this issue reveal new discoveries. In our 1851 section (page 329), Gordon Eubanks presents a newly found 3¢ Chicago perforated 1851 stamp on a cover from Boston and provides a persuasive explanation of how this occurred. In our Essays and Proofs section (page 337), James Lee identifies a new die state for the 12¢ 1869 small-numeral essay; this discovery will surely create a new listing in the Scott specialized catalog. And in our Officials section, pages 342-43, William Steven Birmingham (another *Chronicle* newcomer) examines a 3¢ Post Office stamp from plate 40, a plate long known to have been used, but heretofore not proved on an issued stamp.

Few works of philatelic literature have been longer anticipated than Fred Gregory's book on the early postal history of Hawaii. This book is now out (three volumes in a slip-case), and according to Charles Snee, who reviews it on page 375, it was worth the wait.

We conclude on a sad note: Richard B. Graham, dean of United States postal historians, contributor to these pages for half a century and a very dear friend, passed away in July. An obituary tribute appears on page 379. ■

POINTING HAND POSTMARKS ON U.S. STAMPLESS COVERS

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

This is the second time I have written about this topic. The first was many years ago in the *Postal History Journal*.¹ The subject there too was pointing hand markings on stampless covers. Since then I have recorded a number of new examples and after 35 years it seems appropriate to revisit the subject.

Humans naturally point when they are talking, using the index finger of the dominant hand. The purpose of the gesture is to add emphasis to what is being said. Finger-pointing is also used in giving orders and providing directions. Still, it comes as something of a surprise that a number of American cities and towns used the pointing hand in their postal markings.

The pointing hand is a form of fancy auxiliary marking. In a recent *Congress Book*, Mark Schwartz described the Salem, Massachusetts, pointing hand with PAID as the earliest American pictorial postmark.² In the stampless era the pointing hand is found attached to other auxiliary markings, but it is most often seen with “PAID.”

After the Civil War the pointing hand acquired a second significance—to indicate the return address on undeliverable letters. I will show a representative example at the conclusion of this article, but my focus here is on the earlier uses of the pointing hand, as they are typically found on stampless covers.

My previous article on this subject listed 16 towns that used the pointing hand on stampless covers, mostly as part of a “PAID” handstamp. This list is updated and greatly expanded in Table 1 (page 299), with added citations from Schwartz and other sources. The table lists the towns alphabetically, presents descriptive and chronological information about the pointing hand markings, and indicates a photo reference where appropriate. The covers themselves are discussed alphabetically within several categories in the text that follows.

Pointing hand with PAID

The earliest use of the pointing hand in postal markings was to call attention to the word “PAID.” In the stampless era, when most letters were sent collect, prepayment was unusual enough to justify calling special attention to it.

Figure 1 shows an 1839 folded lettersheet from Brooklyn, Connecticut, to Lyme Plain, New Hampshire, along with enlargements of the pointing hand marking and of the elaborate letterhead on the lettersheet. The letter within is datelined June 22, 1839. This cover was sent prepaid at the rate of 18³/₄¢ for a single sheet sent a distance between 150 and 400 miles. The sender noted the prepayment when he addressed the letter (manuscript “Paid” at top) and the Brooklyn postmaster affirmed it with a strike of his pointing hand with PAID postmark, here in a color not listed in the current stampless cover catalog.³ This is quite an attractive example of a pointing hand and PAID in an arc format.



Figure 1. At top: Small pointing hand and PAID in arc on cover from “BROOKLYN, CON. JUNE 26” (1839) with manuscript “Paid” and “18¾” rate marking. The pointing hand marking is shown enlarged above. At left is the exquisite lithographed cachet from the letterhead within, memorializing abolitionist martyr Elijah P. Lovejoy, the minister-printer who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob at Alton, Illinois, in 1837.

A notable feature of this cover is the lettersheet itself, which bears an exquisite and detailed illustration memorializing Elijah P. Lovejoy, the abolitionist minister-printer who was murdered by a pro-slavery mob in Alton, Illinois, in 1837. Afterwards he was hailed as a martyr to the abolitionist cause. The illustration is headed “LOVEJOY, The first MARTYR to American LIBERTY.”

As noted, the pointing hand was mostly used in conjunction with a handstamped PAID postmark. The cover in Figure 2, posted December 25, 1826, shows one of two types used at Fayette, North Carolina. The cover is addressed to Cheraw, S.C. It was originally rated at 12½¢ prepaid (for a distance of 80-150 miles) and then rerated to 10¢ (30-80 miles). The PAID marking on this cover shows the finger pointing away from the PAID. On the other Fayette type, not shown, the finger points toward the PAID. The “33” at upper left probably indicates the post office box number to which the prepaid postage was charged.

Figure 3 shows a cover from Hamden, Maine, with a double-oval town mark dated “AUG 30” (1831) and a very nice pointing hand and PAID. Addressed to Frankfort, Maine, this may be a prepaid way cover, handed to a mail carrier along his route, with the manuscript notation at the bottom (“Mail Carrier Paid”) indicating that the 1¢ way fee was paid

to the carrier in addition to the 6¢ prepayment for a letter traveling less than 30 miles.

The town that used the pointing hand with PAID for the longest period of time was Hartford, Connecticut. I have seen examples from 1822 to 1851. In addition to appearing on stampless covers, the Hartford pointing hand with PAID marking can be found on covers bearing the early stamps. Over its long lifetime, elements of the marking were changed as they became damaged or worn out. Figure 4 shows an 1822 cover from Hartford to Mid-



Figure 2. PAID with a hand pointing directly at the rate marking. Cover posted at "FAYETTE N.C. DEC 25" (1826) with manuscript "12½" rate marking revalued to "10." The "33" at upper left probably indicates the post office box number to which the prepaid postage was charged.



Figure 3. Pointing hand with PAID on a cover with a double-oval marking from "HAMDEN MAINE AUG. 30" (1831). Addressed to Frankfort, Maine, this may be a prepaid way cover, handed to a mail carrier along his route.

dletown, Connecticut, with a sharp early impression of the pointing hand highlighting the manuscript “6” rating notation. Inset at lower left in the Figure 4 illustration are markings from two other Hartford covers: a blue type from 1847 (at bottom left) and my personal



Figure 4. Pointing hand and PAID on an 1822 cover from Hartford to Middletown, Connecticut, with the pointing hand highlighting the manuscript “6” rating notation. Inset at lower left are markings from two other Hartford covers: a blue type from 1847 (at bottom left) and a long-fingered version from a cover posted in 1838. Hartford used various pointing hand markings for almost 30 years.

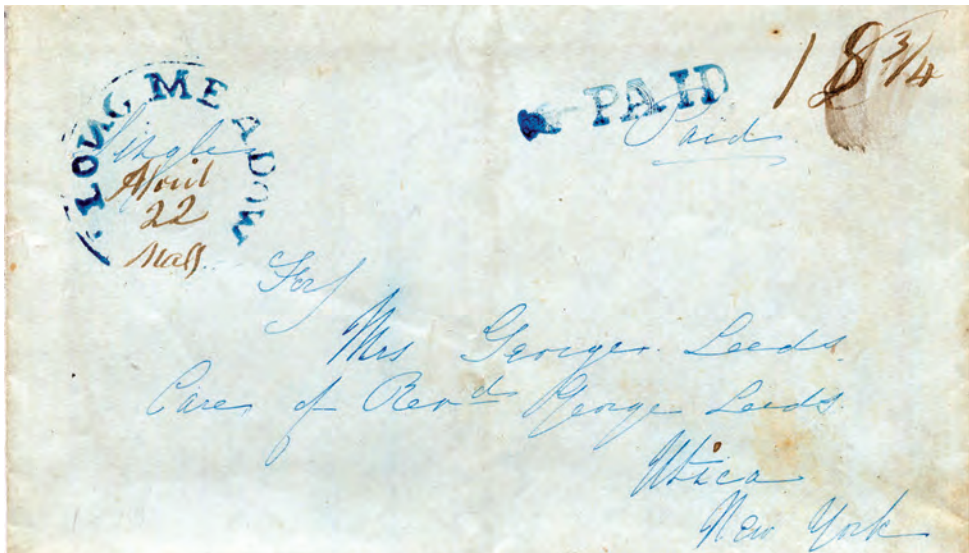


Figure 5. Pointing hand with PAID highlighting the rating marking on a cover from Long Meadow, Massachusetts. Addressed to Utica, New York, this cover was originally rated at $12\frac{1}{2}\text{¢}$ prepaid (for a distance of 80-150 miles) and then updated to $18\frac{3}{4}\text{¢}$.

favorite, which I call “the long finger,” from a cover posted in 1838.

A blue pointing hand with PAID marking from Long Meadow, Massachusetts, is shown in Figure 5. Note the primitive nature of the circular datestamp. The “N” is improperly carved, and neither the date nor the state name are included in the marking; the postmaster had to add this information in manuscript. Addressed to Utica, New York, this cover was originally rated at 12½¢ prepaid (for a distance of 80-150 miles) and then uprated to 18¾¢. The year date for this cover is not known; other covers date these markings from the early 1840s.



Figure 6. Pointing hand with PAID in a large gentle arc, struck in magenta at “NORTHAMPTON MSS.” May 19 [1838] with 6¢ prepaid. Inset at upper left is another strike of the same marking, in red, from a cover posted at Northampton in 1832.



Figure 7. Small pointing hand with PAID on an 1834 cover Penn Yan to Lyons, New York. This cover was prepaid 20¢, for two times the 10¢ rate for a distance between 30 and 80 miles. As with the Long Meadow cover in Figure 5, the Penn Yan circular datestamp is very crude, apparently fabricated from elements of newspaper type.



Figure 8. Pointing hand marking used at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, perhaps the most detailed of the markings of this type. This cover was postmarked December 18 (1830) and sent to nearby Economy, Pennsylvania, with 6¢ postage prepaid. The manuscript endorsement at upper left indicates the prepayment was charged to a box account.

Perhaps best known after the Hartford pointing hands are the large bold arc markings from Northampton, Massachusetts. Figure 6 shows a very pretty cover to Springfield, on which both the circular datestamp and the pointing hand with PAID are struck in magenta. This cover is dated May 19 (1838) with 6¢ prepaid. Inset at upper left is another strike of the same marking, this time in red, from a cover posted at Northampton in 1832. Most examples of this marking are not so clearly struck.

In Figure 7 is a small pointing hand with PAID on an 1834 cover from Penn Yan to Lyons, New York. At lower left, the cover is endorsed “single, paid No. 100,” instructing that postage be charged to a post office box account. But it was actually a double-rate cover and so rated, “20”—for two times the 10¢ rate for a distance between 30 and 80 miles. As with the Long Meadow cover in Figure 5, the Penn Yan circular datestamp is very crude, apparently fabricated from individual elements of newspaper type.

The pointing hand marking used at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is perhaps the most elaborately detailed of any of the markings of this type. Figure 8 shows a well-struck example on a cover postmarked December 18 (1830) and sent to nearby Economy, Pennsylvania, with 6¢ postage prepaid. As with the covers in Figures 2 and 7, the prepaid postage was charged to a box account (per the endorsement at upper left).

Rochester, New York, employed a variety of postmarks during the stampless era and among these are several types of ovals seen with several different pointing hand with “paid” markings. The word “paid” was usually enclosed within a rectangular frame and sometimes appears in italics.

Figure 9 shows an 1828 cover from Rochester to Albany, New York, struck with a Rochester oval and prepaid 18¾¢ for a distance between 150 and 400 miles. Two other pointing hand markings used at Rochester during this period are shown inset at left. The marking at top left is a framed marking similar to that on the Figure 9 cover, except here the PAID is italicized. This is taken from an 1826 cover that bears a fancy Rochester oval



Figure 9. Rochester, New York, pointing hand and PAID, enclosed in a rectangle. This 1828 cover from Rochester to Albany was prepaid $18\frac{3}{4}\text{¢}$ for a distance between 150 and 400 miles. Two other pointing hand markings used at Rochester are shown inset at left. At top (from an 1826 cover that bears a fancy oval handstamp) is another framed marking but with PAID italicized. The inset marking beneath it, with PAID italicized but unframed, is taken from an 1824 Rochester cover.



Figure 10. The earliest known pointing hand postmark, on an April 2, 1796 cover from Salem, Massachusetts, to Norwich, Connecticut. The hand and PAID call attention to the fact that $12\frac{1}{2}\text{¢}$ postage was prepaid.

handstamp. The inset marking beneath it, which is unframed, is taken from a Rochester cover with a single dotted oval marking dating from 1824. Clearly there are at least three different Rochester pointing hand with PAID markings.

Pointing hand marking, city and type	Usage	Reference
Brooklyn, Conn., with arc PAID, blue, black	1839-40	Figure 1
Chelsea, Mass., "Forwarded" with two pointing hands, orange	1850s	Figure 13
Concord, N.H., with PAID, red	1832	
Enfield, Mass., with PAID, black	1830	
Essex, Vt., tiny hand in cds points to "E", black, red	1846-48	Figure 12
Fayette, N.C., PAID with hand, two types (different directions), red	1826	Figure 2
Fayetteville, N.C., with PAID, red	1837	
Hallowell, Maine, hand points to FORWARDED, red	1838	Figure 14
Hampden, Maine, with separate but aligned PAID, red	1831	Figure 3
Hartford, Conn., several types of PAID, various colors	1822-51	Figure 4
Long Meadow, Mass., with PAID, magenta, blue	1843-45	Figure 5
Manlius, N.Y., with PAID, blue	1828-30	
New Milford, Conn., MISSENT, hand points to "New", black	1850s	Figure 15
Northampton, Mass., large arc with PAID, red, magenta	1832-38	Figure 6
Penn Yan, N.Y., with PAID, red	1834	Figure 7
Pittsburgh, Penn., with PAID, black	1830	Figure 8
Rochester, N.Y., several types with PAID, red	1824-28	Figure 9
Saco, Maine, two hands point to REGISTERED, black	1855	Figure 16
Salem, Mass., several types with PAID, black, red	1796-1811	Figure 10
South Lee, Mass., with PAID, black	1853	
Stapleton, N.Y., hand with "5", black	1850	
Tuscaloosa, Ala., with PAID, with FREE, red	1832-34	
Vinton, Iowa, hand with "3" used for forwarding, black	1850s	
West Alburgh, Vt., small hand points to "WEST", blue	1845-51	
York, Maine, with PAID, red, black	1840s	
York, Penn., with PAID, with FREE, red	1834-37	Figure 11

Table 1. Handstamped postmarks with pointing hands as found on U.S. stampless covers. The first column designates the town and describes the pointing hand marking. The second column lists the dates of use. The third column provides reference to covers discussed in the accompanying article.

The markings from Salem, Massachusetts, are by far the earliest pointing hand with PAID markings. Reference to Table 1 will show that the Salem markings, as a group, pre-date all others by a decade or more. The earliest Salem marking is struck on an April 2, 1796 cover from Salem to Norwich, Connecticut. Now in the Schwartz collection, this is shown in Figure 10. In his *Congress Book* article, Schwartz identified four types, one in black and the rest in red.⁴ My previous article presented as the earliest example a drawing of a Salem cover from 1797, but the Figure 10 cover is clearly an earlier example.

The fanciest postmark to accompany a pointing hand is the allegorical female figure from York, Pennsylvania. The cover in Figure 11 shows this marking on a cover from York to nearby Columbia, Pennsylvania, posted June 6, 1827. The pointing hand with PAID calls attention to the prepayment, in this case 12¢, for a double-rated cover carried a distance under 30 miles. I don't have a listing of covers bearing the York fancy marking, but its use with a pointing hand is definitely uncommon. This is the only example I have seen. Additionally, York was one of just two towns that used a pointing hand with FREE marking.



Figure 11. Red pointing hand with PAID applied at York, Pennsylvania, along with the fancy York townmark showing an allegorical female figure, dated June 26, (1827). The inset pointing hand with FREE marking is taken from another York cover (with an ordinary circular datestamp) sent to a Congressman in 1834.



Figure 12. Highly unusual "ESSEX Vt." townmark with an integral hand pointing to the "E" in "Essex." There is no other circular datestamp like this in the entire canon of stampless postmarks. Cover posted in 1847, with 5¢ collected from recipient.

An example is shown inset, taken from an 1834 cover sent from York (with a more ordinary circular datestamp) to a Congressman in Washington.

Essex, Vermont, pointing hand within circular datestamp

In a category by itself is the circular datestamp used at Essex, Vermont, in the late 1840s. Figure 12 shows a cover with this highly unusual pointing hand marking. The cover

was sent from Essex to Bakersfield, Vermont, on September 25, 1847, a few years after the rate reductions effective 1 July 1845. Essex struck this cover with its handstamped “5”, indicating the postage (for a half-ounce letter sent a distance under 300 miles) to be collected from the recipient. Most unusual is the circular datestamp with a tiny pointing hand, within the circular frame, pointing to the “E” in “Essex.” Throughout the stampless era, there’s no other circular datestamp like this. This is the smallest pointing hand known in a postal marking and this Essex circular datestamp is the only recorded instance in which the pointing hand appears within a circular datestamp.

Pointing hand as part of an auxiliary marking

In addition to the uses with PAID, some towns used the pointing hand with auxiliary markings such as FORWARDED or REGISTERED. Most of the markings discussed below are from the stampless era. A few overlap into the stamp era.



Figure 13. “Forwarded” between two pointing hands, along with “MISSENT”, applied sometime in the late 1850s at Chelsea, Massachusetts, to a free-franked cover addressed to Chelsea, Vermont.

Figure 13 shows a free-franked cover sent from Lewiston, Maine. The year date is not present, but the cover bears the franking signature of Anson Burlingame, who was a Republican congressman from Massachusetts between 1855 and 1861. Addressed to Chelsea, Vermont, the cover was missent to Chelsea, Massachusetts. There it received the red “CHELSEA MASS. AUG 31” circular datestamp, the straightline MISSENT” and the auxiliary marking “Forwarded” with pointing hands on either end.

An earlier forwarded handstamp with pointing hand is the tiny marking from Hallowell, Maine, that appears at upper left in the cover shown in Figure 14. This cover originated in Rio de Janeiro in the fall of 1838. It arrived New York October 27 and was rated for 20¾¢ collection—2¢ ship fee plus 18¾¢ postage (for a distance of 150-400 miles) from New York to Hallowell. There it received the tiny FORWARDED with pointing hand. It was then sent on to Portland with an additional 10¢ postage required (for 30-80 miles). This was summed as 30¾¢ to be collected from the addressee at Portland.

When a cover was missent, there was no additional forwarding charge. The stamped envelope in Figure 15 originated in White Oak, Pennsylvania and was addressed to New

Milford, Pennsylvania. It was missent to New Milford, Connecticut (a small town in Litchfield County) and there received the bold circular “MIS-SENT AND FORWARDED NEW MILFORD CT” marking. Interestingly, the pointing hand in this marking calls attention to the “NEW” in “NEW MILFORD,” to distinguish it from the older and larger Connecticut town of Milford, in New Haven County. The Nesbitt indicium dates this cover from 1853 or later, but this marking is known on stampless covers too.



Figure 14. Tiny pointing hand with **FORWARDED**, applied at Hallowell, Maine, to an 1838 ship letter via New York that originated in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. From Hallowell this cover was forwarded to Portland with the ship fee of 2¢ plus 18¾¢ and 10¢ domestic postage totalled to 30¾¢ to be collected from the addressee.



Figure 15. “MIS-SENT AND FORWARDED NEW-MILFORD CT” with hand pointing to “NEW”—emphasizing that New Milford is not the older and larger Connecticut town of Milford. This 3¢ Nesbitt envelope was posted at White Oak, Pennsylvania, April 16 (1855), addressed to New Milford, Pennsylvania.

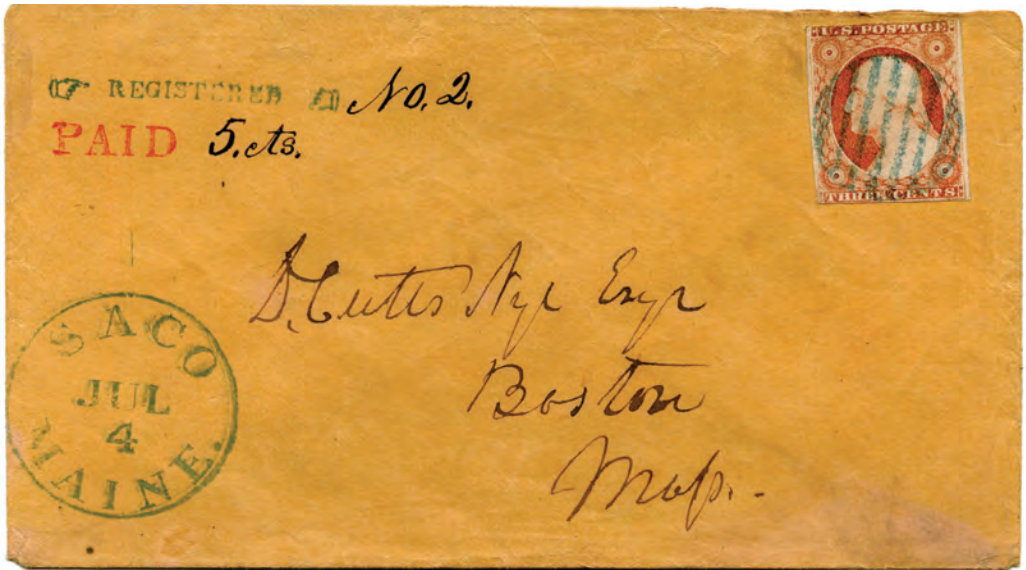


Figure 16. “REGISTERED” between two pointing hands, applied at Saco, Maine, on July 4, 1855, just days after the commencement of official registration with a 5¢ fee. This Saco marking is the only combination of a registered marking with a pointing hand.

Only one registered postmark shows a pointing hand. This is the blue “REGISTERED” straightline marking from Saco, Maine. Figure 16 shows a cover from Saco to Boston, postmarked JUL 4, just days after the commencement (July 1, 1855) of official registration with a 5¢ fee. The new fee is indicated by the “PAID” with “5.cts” noted in manuscript.



Figure 17. Successor to the stampless pointing hands was the large pointing hand used to call attention to the return address on undeliverable letters. These markings and this practice continue to the present day. This 3¢ Reay envelope, from the early 1870s, was found to be undeliverable in New York City and returned to its sender.

Note that the “REGISTERED” marking is highlighted by two pointing hands, one inverted. This is similar to the arrangement of the hands on the Chelsea marking in Figure 13.

Conclusion: pointing hand to indicate return to sender

Stampless covers did not bear return addresses. Even after the development of the envelope in the late 1840s and into the 1850s, return addresses were seldom used. But after the great expansion of letter correspondence during the Civil War, which was accompanied by a huge growth in undeliverable letters, the Post Office Department made an effort to get the public to include a return address. This way, when a letter proved undeliverable for one reason or another, it could be returned to the sender without going through the costly and labor-intensive dead letter process. Return addresses on mailed envelopes became commonplace during the post Civil War era, and the practice continues to the present.

The handstamped postal markings that developed to indicate that a letter was to be returned to its sender were pointing hands, but much larger than their predecessors. The earliest one seems to have been a pictorial pointing hand (with no text) from New York City. New York soon replaced this with the typical “Returned to Writer” pointing hand as seen on the cover in Figure 17. By the 1880s many towns all over the country were using these special pointing hand postmarks to highlight the return address on undeliverable mail. The 3¢ Reay envelope in Figure 17, from the early 1870s, is from the large correspondence of a Newburgh, New York, lawyer, who sent out letters seeking information on behalf of his clients. Many of these were returned to him as undeliverable, and he retained them unopened in his files.

Nowadays the large pointing hand is a commonly used postal marking found on all types of mail.

Endnotes

1. Milgram, James W., “The Pointing Hand,” *Postal History Journal*, Whole Number 46, June 1977, pp. 9-15.
2. Schwartz, Mark, “The Salem ‘Pointing Hand PAID’ handstamps: American’s first pictorial postal markings,” 77th *American Philatelic Congress Book*, 2011, pp. 129-136.
3. Phillips, David G., *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, 1997, Vol.1.
4. Schwartz, *op. cit.* ■

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**JAMES PATTERSON'S MANAGERIAL JOURNEY:
FROM PARCEL POST TO PENNY POST**

BRUCE H. MOSHER

Introduction

On January 1, 1913, the U.S. Post Office Department inaugurated a nationwide parcel post system. But almost 65 years previously, a privately owned local parcel delivery business had commenced in Boston, Massachusetts. Known as the Boston Parcel Post, this organization began delivering packages in Boston proper (and nearby Charlestown and Roxbury) during April 1848. The proprietor was James H. Patterson, a New Hampshire native who after an early career as a New York merchant had worked in London and France before establishing himself in Boston in 1848. The parcel delivery service he founded is unknown to many philatelists today. Surviving stamps (which are not listed in the Scott specialized catalog) are very rare. Denominations that probably once existed have never been found.

Boston Parcel Post broadsides

The organization of the Boston Parcel Post is quite thoroughly explained in a broadside announcement that Patterson issued on April 2, 1848, from his chief office at 23 Sudbury Street in Boston. The left half of this 164-year-old prospectus is illustrated in Figure 1. The opening paragraph describes the mission and heritage of the organization:

This establishment is organized upon the system of the London Parcel Delivery, and will go into operation on Wednesday, the 12th of April. Its object is the transmission and delivery of small bundles and parcels under 50 pounds weight.

Patterson issued at least two slightly different broadsides to announce his Boston Parcel Post service. Both of these documents are dated "April 2d, 1848" at the bottom, but it is very doubtful that both were published on that same day. The broadsides are printed on one side only and are now vertically folded in half, which also may have been the contemporary format for distribution and use. What appears to be the earlier version exists on gray paper and measures 15.2 by 11.4 inches. The later version, printed on light blue paper, measures 15.3 by 12.5 inches. The light blue version is shown in Figure 1.

Several differences exist in the text of the two broadsides, reflecting early changes in the new firm's business plans. The first change, detailed in the contrasting texts reproduced in Figure 2, occurred in the daily departure schedule for the firm's pickup and delivery carts. Initially set at 8:00 a.m., 1:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m., the daily departures were delayed to noon, 4:00 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. It would seem that Patterson quickly found that starting the carting rounds early in the day did not coordinate well with the arrival of parcels dropped off by customers for delivery.

Perhaps speedy feedback from the readers of the first version of the prospectus brought this incompatibility to Patterson's attention and caused a hasty revision to his broadside announcement. These textual differences are one reason why it's unlikely both versions were issued simultaneously.

BOSTON PARCEL POST.

*Reference, by permission, to the Hon. L. S. Cushing, No. 93, Pinckney Street.
Benjamin F. Hallet, Esq., No. 20, Court Street.
G. L. Stearns, Esq., corner of Water and Congress Streets.
Loring, Abbot & Porter, No. 27, Water Street.*

This establishment is organized upon the system of the London Parcel Delivery, and will go into operation on WEDNESDAY, the 12th of April. Its object is the transmission and delivery of small bundles and parcels under 50 pounds weight.

1st.—In all parts of Boston proper, Charlestown and Roxbury. 2d.—From Charlestown to Boston and Roxbury. 3d.—From Roxbury to Boston and Charlestown, three times daily, at 12, A. M., at 4, P. M., and at 7½, P. M., at the following rates:—

Parcels weighing less than 1 pound,	- - - - -	3 cents.
" " 1 pound and less than 3 pounds,	- - - - -	5 "
" " 3 " " " 10 "	- - - - -	7 "
" " 10 " " " 25 "	- - - - -	10 "
" " 25 " " " 50 "	- - - - -	12½ "

Receiving Houses are established at respectable stores in all parts of the three cities, where parcels can be left for the carts, with perfect safety. Each family, and all traders, upon examination of the list, will find one within a few doors of their own residences. Any parcel, or package, found in any one of these Sub-Offices, when the carts go their rounds, at 10 o'clock, A. M., will be delivered, as it is directed, soon after 12 o'clock, M.; if there at 2, P. M., it will be delivered soon after 4, P. M.; if there at 6, P. M., it will be sent out at 7½, P. M. But any Parcel sent to the Chief Office, 23 Sudbury Street, only five minutes before the starting of the carts, viz. at 12, M., at 4, P. M., and at 7½, P. M., will be delivered within the hour following. Prepayment is optional with the sender, but it will save much time in the delivery.

A strong force will be employed, consisting at first of six carts, with a driver and attendant or guard, and fresh horses three times every day; and the business shall be conducted with care, despatch, and punctuality, and with security to its patrons.

Close, weather-proof carts have been made for the service, in the interior of which compartments are provided for the safe carriage of goods liable to breakage, or injury from rain, bruising, pressing, or crowding.

For the convenience of Hatters, straps are attached to the roofs of the carts inside, upon which Hats can be hung by the rim, and safely conveyed to any part at a charge of only 3 cents each.

Milliner's and Dressmaker's goods, being of light weight, can be sent home for 3 or 5 cents, generally, and be neither soiled nor crushed.

Boots and Shoes, will be taken, by this conveyance, at the same low rates.

Merchant Tailors, can avail themselves of this establishment, much to their convenience.

Proprietors of large retail stores, who will engage for a small number of parcels weekly, shall have the carts call at their stores three times per day, as at the receiving houses, much to their convenience, and to economy in porter's wages.

The public generally will find great convenience in being able to return, direct, articles borrowed, such as cloaks, shawls, books, and possibly, umbrellas.

Letters, if PREPAID at the receiving houses, will be taken and delivered with the same promptitude and safety, as a parcel of merchandise, and at the same hours.

A receiving house will be established, by permission, at each Railroad Depot, where passengers arriving with Carpet Bags, Parcels, &c., which they do not wish to take with them about the city, can deposit them, relying always upon their safe and speedy delivery. Gummed Labels will be there furnished, with pen and ink, to address the Parcels.

Should any one have occasion to complain of the non-delivery of a parcel, by applying at the Chief Office, it shall be traced out, the mistake rectified, or the Parcel paid for if lost.

It shall be the great object of those in the service of the Parcel Post, to win the confidence and patronage of the public, by care and courtesy, despatch and punctuality. Any well-founded complaint of rudeness or incivility in those employed, will be corrected by dismissal.

The carts run to South Boston, but not to Chelsea or East Boston.

N. B. The carts will call at Dwellings, Stores, or Shops, for Parcels, Trunks, &c., without an extra charge, if word is left at the Receiving Houses.

J. H. PATTERSON.
No. 23, Sudbury Street

Boston, April 2d, 1848.

R. B. BETTINGSON, " Banker Hill & Green, " J. C. THOMAS,

RAL DISTRICT.

- Cor. Summer & South Sts., *Druggist.*
- CO, " Merchants Row & North
Market St., *Boots & Shoes.*
- O, 36 Cornhill, *Fancy Goods.*
- 7 School Street, *Books & Toys.*
- 198 Washington St., *Teas.*
- 5 Essex St., near Washington, *Boots & Shoes.*
- Cor. Union & Hanover Sts., *Teas.*
- 124 State st., opp. Broad, *Stationer.*

ORTH-END.

- Cor. Commercial & Fleet Sts., *Boots & Shoes.*
- " Commercial & Richmond, *Boots & Shoes.*
- " Endicott & Thatcher Sts., *Grocer.*
- " Ann & Cross Sts., "
- 34 Blackstone St., "
- ER, Cor. Cross & Charlestown Sts., *Apothecary.*
- " Merrimac & Saubrey, *Grocer.*
- Merrimac, opp. Lancaster St., *Stationer.*

OUTH-END.

- Cor. Washington & Pleasant, *Grocers.*
- " Washington & Carney, "
- " Oak & Tyler Sts., "
- " Harvard & Hudson Sts., "
- " Kneeland & Albany Sts., "
- " Essex & Lincoln Sts., "

WEST-END.

- Cor. Green & Lynde Sts., *Boots & Shoes.*
- 1 Cambridge St., *Provisions.*
- N, Cor. Cambridge & Chamber, *Apothecary.*
- " Cambridge & Battolph, *Boots & Shoes.*
- " Vine & Blossom Sts., *Provisions.*
- " Spring & Poplar Sts., *Grocer.*
- 77 Chamber, opp. Poplar St., "
- Cor. Leverett & Minor Sts., "
- Leverett St., opp. the Jail, "

Y DISTRICT.

- Mount Pleasant, Roxbury, *Grocers.*
- Guild's Buildings, " *Apothecary.*
- R, Cor. Canton & Suffolk Sts. *Druggists.*

LESTOWN.

- Cor. Washington & Austin, *Grocers.*
- 1 City Hall, cor. Bow St., "
- Cor. Chelsea & Chestnut Sts., *Provisions.*
- 82 Main St., *Hat Store.*

Figure 1. Left side and partial right side of James Patterson's 1848 broadside prospectus outlining plans for the Boston Parcel Post. Two versions exist, both dated April 2, 1848. This blue-paper version seems the later of the two. Courtesy William Sammis.

Both broadsides contain the same schedule of delivery fees, as follows: Parcels under one pound were charged 3¢; 1-3 pounds, 5¢; 3-10 pounds, 7¢; 10-25 pounds, 10¢; 25-50 pounds, 12.5¢.

The cart schedule modifications required revisions in how the firm planned to service packages that were on hand at its designated "Receiving Houses." Details are presented in the two excerpts shown in Figure 3.

1st.—In all parts of Boston proper, Charlestown and Roxbury. 2d.—From Charlestown to Boston and Roxbury. 3d.—From Roxbury to Boston and Charlestown, three times daily, at 8, A. M., at 1, P. M., and at 6, P. M., at the following rates:—

1st.—In all parts of Boston proper, Charlestown and Roxbury. 2d.—From Charlestown to Boston and Roxbury. 3d.—From Roxbury to Boston and Charlestown, three times daily, at 12, A. M., at 4, P. M., and at 7½, P. M., at the following rates:—

Figure 2. Excerpts from Patterson's prospectus showing changes in daily pick-up and delivery schedules. The earlier version of the broadside (gray paper) is at top.

Receiving Houses are established at respectable stores in all parts of the three cities, where parcels can be left for the carts, with perfect safety. Each family, and all traders, upon examination of the list, will find one within a few doors of their own residences. Any parcel, or package, found in any one of these Sub-Offices, when the carts go their rounds, at 11 o'clock, A. M., will be delivered, as it is directed, soon after 1 o'clock, P. M.; if there at 4, P. M., it will be delivered soon after 6, P. M.; if there at 8, P. M., it will be sent out early next morning. But any Parcel sent to the Chief Office, 23 Sudbury Street, only five minutes before the starting of the carts, viz: at 8, A. M., at 1, P. M., and at 6, P. M., will be delivered within the hour following. Prepayment is optional with the sender, but it will save much time in the delivery.

Receiving Houses are established at respectable stores in all parts of the three cities, where parcels can be left for the carts, with perfect safety. Each family, and all traders, upon examination of the list, will find one within a few doors of their own residences. Any parcel, or package, found in any one of these Sub-Offices, when the carts go their rounds, at 10 o'clock, A. M., will be delivered, as it is directed, soon after 12 o'clock, M.; if there at 2, P. M., it will be delivered soon after 4, P. M.; if there at 6, P. M., it will be sent out at 7½, P. M. But any Parcel sent to the Chief Office, 23 Sudbury Street, only five minutes before the starting of the carts, viz. at 12, M., at 4, P. M., and at 7½, P. M., will be delivered within the hour following. Prepayment is optional with the sender, but it will save much time in the delivery.

Figure 3. Excerpts from Patterson's prospectus showing modifications in parcel drop-off service and daily schedules. The earlier version (gray paper) is at top.

RECEIVING HOUSES IN THE CENTRAL DISTRICT.

J. W. CARTER & BRO.,	17 & 19 Water St.,	<i>Grocers.</i>	WM. B. UPHAM,	Cor. Summer & South Sts.,	<i>Druggist.</i>
J. GILBERT & CO.,	Cor. Tremont & Bromfield St.,	"	JAS. E. TIRRELL & CO.,	" Merchants Row & North	
JOHN S. FARLOW,	" Federal & High Sts.,	"		Market St.,	<i>Boots & Shoes.</i>
ISAAC P. WOODSON,	" Quincy Place, High St.,	<i>Provisions.</i>	CHAS. F. BRAY & CO.,	36 Cornhill,	<i>Fancy Goods.</i>
HOOGS & BERRY,	11 Bedford, near Washington,	"	H. G. CALENDER,	7 School Street,	<i>Books & Toys.</i>
EDWARD COLMAN,	Cor. Bedford & Kingston Sts.,	<i>Grocer.</i>	CHINA TEA STORE,	198 Washington St.,	<i>Teas.</i>
WILLIAM SABIN,	" Milk & Batterymarch,	<i>Barber.</i>	SILAS SWETT,	5 Essex St., near Washington,	<i>Boots & Shoes.</i>
SUB-OFFICE,	Bee Office, 7 State St., near Washington.		CHINA TEA STORE,	Cor. Union & Hanover Sts.,	<i>Teas.</i>

RECEIVING HOUSES IN THE CENTRAL DISTRICT.

J. W. CARTER & BRO.,	17 & 19 Water St.,	<i>Grocers.</i>	WM. B. UPHAM,	Cor. Summer & South Sts.,	<i>Druggist.</i>
J. GILBERT & CO.,	Cor. Tremont & Bromfield St.,	"	JAS. E. TIRRELL & CO.,	" Merchants Row & North	
JOHN S. FARLOW,	" Federal & High Sts.,	"		Market St.,	<i>Boots & Shoes.</i>
ISAAC P. WOODSON,	" Quincy Place, High St.,	<i>Provisions.</i>	CHAS. F. BRAY & CO.,	36 Cornhill,	<i>Fancy Goods.</i>
HOOGS & BERRY,	11 Bedford, near Washington,	"	H. G. CALENDER,	7 School Street,	<i>Books & Toys.</i>
EDWARD COLMAN,	Cor. Bedford & Kingston Sts.,	<i>Grocer.</i>	CHINA TEA STORE,	198 Washington St.,	<i>Teas.</i>
WILLIAM SABIN,	" Milk & Batterymarch,	<i>Barber.</i>	SILAS SWETT,	5 Essex St., near Washington,	<i>Boots & Shoes.</i>
SUB-OFFICE,	Bee Office, 7 State St., near Washington.		CHINA TEA STORE,	Cor. Union & Hanover Sts.,	<i>Teas.</i>
SEED & FLOWER STORE,	Tremont Temple, Tremont Street.		OLIVER HOLMAN,	124 State st., opp. Broad,	<i>Stationer.</i>
GILLIARD & WEST,	Federal near Milk St.,	<i>Barbers.</i>			

Figure 4. Excerpts from Patterson's prospectus showing changes in "Receiving Houses" listed for the central district of Boston. The earlier version (gray paper) is at top.

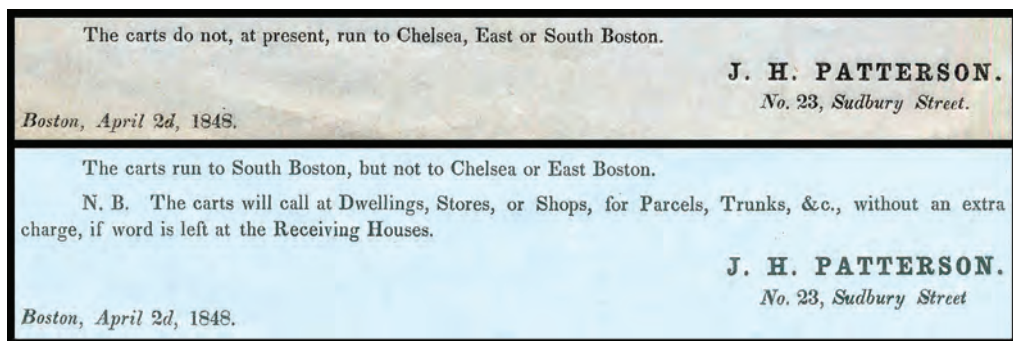


Figure 5. Concluding statements on the left side of each broadside. The earlier version (gray paper) is at top.

Receiving houses were scattered throughout the communities served. Customer parcels could be dropped at the receiving houses for subsequent pickup and delivery. The majority of these “houses” were local businesses, whose owners had agreed to accept and safely host dropped packages until the Parcel Post’s cart drivers retrieved them for transport to their addressed destinations.

The original receiving houses and their addresses are listed on the right side of both broadsides. Figures 1 and 4 show partial examples. The Boston Parcel Post also planned to establish a receiving facility at railroad depots within the communities served. The revenue sharing arrangement between Patterson and the receiving house proprietors is not specified, but surely existed.

Receiving houses must have been added and deleted rather frequently during the business lifetime of the Boston Parcel Post. An example is shown in Figure 4, which reveals that three extra houses were added in the Central District, as documented in the second (blue) version at bottom. A total of 75 receiving houses are listed in the first version of the broadside and 79 appear in the second version. These additional listings meant the blue version of the broadside contained more lines of text, explaining why it is slightly taller. These changes are another reason why simultaneous issuance of both versions seems unlikely.

The other differences between the two broadsides occur at the bottom of each version. These are illustrated in Figure 5. The initial announcement excluded service in the town of South Boston, but that area was added in the second version. Also, Patterson must have realized he had overlooked potential business from customer requests for parcel pick-ups, so a postscript was added in the second version declaring that the carts will make pick-ups at no extra charge. This provides an additional reason to conclude the broadsides were issued consecutively rather than simultaneously.

The balance of the text on the left sides of both broadsides appears to be identical. On the right side, one additional receiving house is listed under the Roxbury District in the second version, along with the Central District differences shown in Figure 4. There are no receiving houses listed for South Boston on either broadside. It seems that Patterson revised the text but didn’t make the effort to change the date on the revised version. Perhaps printing the second version on a different paper color (light blue instead of gray) was his (or his printer’s) feeble attempt to identify the modified edition.

Scarcity of stamps and covers

The Boston Parcel Post issued a 3¢ stamp for prepayment of the fee to deliver a letter or the smallest package. An example, from an old black-and-white photo, is shown in Figure 6. The rate schedule suggests other denominations (5¢, 7¢, 10¢ and 12½¢) might have existed, but this is speculation. Higher denominations have never been reported.

Figure 6. Black-and-white photo of the 3¢ green Boston Parcel Post stamp. The cancellation is a red crayon cross. Only three examples of this stamp are recorded. Higher denominations likely existed, but have never been reported.



Figure 7. Lifesized image of the sole recorded cover from the Boston Parcel Post. Ex-Sloane and Kane, courtesy William Sammis.

This 3¢ stamp has been known to philately for more than a century,¹ but examples are very scarce. I can account for only three. The 3¢ stamp is printed in black on dull blue-green paper and its design measures 56 by 30 millimeters. If stamps other than the 3¢ denomination were issued (as I strongly suspect) they probably exhibited a similar appearance, with their respective values printed appropriately. Since the higher value stamps (if they existed) would have been used on packages weighing between one and fifty pounds, they were probably discarded when the wrappers were removed. Thus it seems plausible that possible higher value stamps were discarded and destroyed.

The only reported cover from the Boston Parcel Post is the envelope shown in Figure 7. This was initially reported by George B. Sloane in 1936.² As can be seen, the cover bears a large fragment of a Boston Penny Post 3¢ stamp. This truncated stamp is printed on blue-green paper and like the stamp from the old photo in Figure 6, is canceled with crossing red crayon lines. The cover is addressed to “Dr. J. K. Palmer, 41 Salem St., Boston.” Patter-son’s broadsides stipulated that letters must be prepaid at the Receiving House of deposit in order to be delivered. The affixed 3¢ stamp verifies compliance for this cover.

Sloane’s unpublished notes refer to a third example of this stamp: “Boston Parcel



Figure 8. The message enclosed in the Figure 7 cover, requesting delivery of six bottles of tonic water. Courtesy William Sammis.

Post, blue label. John Boker has a single off cover with traces of eras[ur]e & red crayon canc. I bought it for him at a Siegel auction (Burger material), June 1953, \$28.00." Despite the description as "blue label," I believe this is another example of the 3¢ stamp on blue-green paper.

An ordering note from Daniel Henchman was enclosed within the Figure 7 cover. Shown as Figure 8, the note is dated August 9, 1848, and contains a short manuscript message: "Will Dr Palmer send up 1/2 doz bottles Tonic Wine of Quinine + Iron for D. Henchman." This paper note was tri-folded to fit inside the cover.

Daniel Henchman was a Boston druggist who owned an apothecary at the corner of Cambridge and Chambers Streets in the West End section of Boston. Henchman's business was also a receiving house for Boston Parcel Post and is specifically named in the right half of Patterson's April 2 broadsides. Because of his involvement with Patterson's system, it is very understandable that Henchman would have used the Boston Parcel Post to have his order delivered to Dr. Palmer. It is likely the Boston Parcel Post transported the six ordered bottles to Henchman and charged him appropriately for the delivery. Henchman's payment may have been carried by the Post in a return letter to Dr. Palmer.

From contemporary newspaper accounts that extolled the Boston Parcel Post's popularity and success, it seems probable that many New Englanders used its delivery service during its short business life. Yet to my knowledge, only a single stamp-bearing cover and two off-cover 3¢ stamps from this company have been reported in the philatelic press. The company's patrons during 1848 and 1849, like the rest of the population, were not engaged in saving philatelic artifacts.

Advertising the Boston Parcel Post

Prior to the date of Patterson's broadsides, advertisements outlining his plans were published in the *Boston Daily Atlas* (beginning around March 4, 1848), in the *Boston Evening Transcript* (beginning March 6, 1848) and probably in other Boston publications as well. Patterson was attempting to tell all possible users about his forthcoming venture.

BOSTON PARCEL POST,
UPON THE SYSTEM OF THE LONDON PAR-
CELS DELIVERY.

THE OBJECT OF THIS ESTABLISHMENT is the delivery of small parcels and bundles, under 50 lbs weight, in all parts of Boston, Charlestown and Roxbury, with despatch, punctuality and security. The following will be the rate of charges:—

Parcels weighing less than 1 pound.....	3 cents.
.. .. 1 lb. and less than 3 pounds.....	5 ..
.. .. 3 lb. 10	7 ..
.. .. 10 lb. 25	10 ..
.. .. 25 lb. 50	12 1/2 cts.

The cities of Boston, Charlestown and Roxbury are divided into eight districts. One hundred receiving houses are selected, at which all parcels to be sent from their immediate neighborhood can be deposited. The carts, one for each district, will go their rounds three times each day, delivering parcels, as addressed, and collecting from the various receiving houses the parcels deposited there, to take them to the chief office for distribution; from this office the carts will start three times daily: at 8 A. M., 1 P. M. and 6 P. M.

Closed or covered carts are provided, of the best construction for safety and security, and a driver and guard employed to each cart. The carts will have compartments for parcels of a perishable nature, or liable to injury from bruising, pressing or crowding.

A receiving house will be established, by permission, at each Railroad Depot, where passengers arriving with Carpet Bags, Parcels, &c which they do not wish to take with them about the city, can deposit them, relying always upon their safe and speedy delivery.

Proprietors of large retail stores who will engage for a small number of parcels weekly, shall have the carts call at their stores three times per day, thus making them their own receivers, much to their convenience, and to economy in porters' wages.

The public generally will find great convenience in being able to return direct, articles borrowed, such as cloaks, shawls, books, and possibly even umbrellas.

Handsome signs will be placed at each of the receiving houses, that the neighborhoods need be at no loss as to their locality.

This establishment will go into operation the first week in April. Chief Office, 23 Southbury street.

mh4-8&Wlm

J. H. PATTERSON.

Figure 9. The earliest advertisement promoting the Boston Parcel Post, a precursor to the Figure 1 broadside. From the March 4, 1848 edition of the *Boston Daily Atlas*.

The earliest ad identified so far, from a microfilm copy of the March 4, 1848 issue of the *Boston Daily Atlas*, is shown in Figure 9. The content of this ad is a precursor of the information released 29 days later in Patterson's April 2 broadsides. While the Figure 9 ad predicts eight independent districts to be serviced, the broadside suggests that only six were initially deployed. Also, the ad predicts 100 receiving houses while only 75 or 79 locations are listed in the broadsides. Other attributes of the Boston Parcel Post system touted in the pre-startup ads closely parallel the broadside documents except for (1) erroneously predicting initial operations during the first week in April (scheduled for April 12 per the broadsides) and (2) lack of any indication of service to South Boston.

Patterson planned to employ six delivery carts with a driver and attendant (sometimes referred to as a "guard") and to provide fresh horses for each cart three times a day. One cart

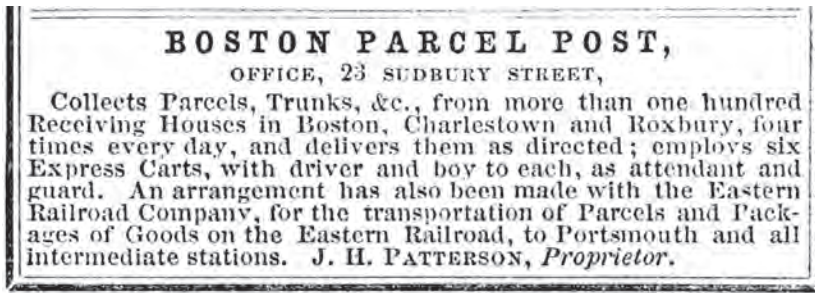


Figure 10. Advertisement published circa September 1848, five months after the Boston Parcel Post began business. The operation seems to be prospering: Daily collections had been increased from three to four. From the 1849 edition of the *Boston Almanac*.

and driver was assigned to each of six service districts, identified as follows: (1) Central District of Boston (18 receiving houses are listed in the second broadside); (2) North-End District of Boston (16 houses); (3) South End District of Boston (13 houses); (4) West End District of Boston (18 houses); (5) town of Roxbury (6 houses); and (6) town of Charlestown (8 houses). Each cart began the round trip through its assigned service district from the Chief Office at 23 Sudbury Street.

A subsequent and much shorter advertisement for the Boston Parcel Post appeared in the 1849 *Boston Almanac*. This is reproduced in Figure 10.³ This ad appeared approximately five months after the Boston Parcel Post began operations and provides some updated information concerning the evolution of the business. The quantity of 100 Receiving Houses was cited once again and Parcel Post service was identified at one railroad depot—the Eastern Railroad Company. The ad reveals that daily collections and deliveries were now four times a day, versus the three times described previously. Interestingly, in this ad Patterson’s pick-up and delivery vehicles were now referred to as “Express Carts.” The publication date for the 1849 *Boston Almanac* appears to be around September 1848, based on a notation on page 91: “Revised and corrected September 1848, by George Adams.” Otherwise, no specific publication date was found within the pages of the 1849 *Boston Almanac* I examined.

Transition to Penny Post Service

The Boston Parcel Post appears to have operated as a dependable and productive business for the remainder of 1848. But other events were soon to intrude. Sometime in early 1849, a strong aspiration developed within the Post Office Department in Washington to organize a new penny post letter-delivery system in Boston and other large cities. The historical record is a little vague in this regard. The Boston Post Office is known to have operated several penny post routes in 1848, but these posts may not have functioned as efficiently or over a broad enough area as the POD desired. Or perhaps other unsatisfactory service characteristics caused the POD to begin seeking a replacement.

Stanley Ashbrook summarized Boston’s penny post situation during this era as follows: Letter carrier service was provided at the Boston Post Office as early as 1837, when there were four “penny posts,” i.e., postmen who were paid by a fee on each letter they delivered.⁴ This service may have been continuous from that date with two or more carriers, but the records that have been found indicate several gaps between 1840 and 1846. In 1847 there were six penny posts; eight are mentioned in 1848.

The following notice (from the *Boston Daily Times* of March 5, 1849) suggests a reorganization of the carrier service in Boston and a reduction in the carrier fee from 2¢ to

1¢. Such a system was implemented in several other cities early in 1849 under instructions from the Postmaster General:

“POST OFFICE NOTICE—MR. JAMES H. PATTERSON and his carriers have been appointed by the Postmaster General to the service of Letter Delivery in Boston, have been duly sworn and have given bonds for the faithful discharge of their duties. All others who may undertake any part of said duties are entirely unconnected with the Post Office Department and can only be considered as the private messenger of those who employ them.

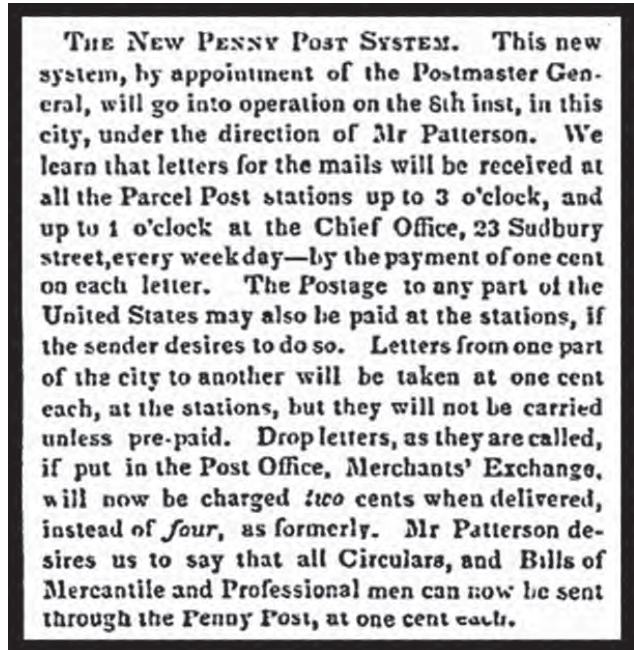
**Nathaniel Greene, P. M.,
Boston, Feb. 28, 1849.**

Certainly this announcement indicates that Postmaster General Cave Johnson had decided in early 1849 to appoint James Patterson and his Boston Parcel Post organization to become the new Boston Penny Post carriers. We do not know if Patterson applied or lobbied for this position. Perhaps he just happened to be the right man (with the necessary resources in hand) at the right time. Patterson was not unemployed, nor was his parcel post business doing poorly, when he was selected to run the Boston Penny Post.

One of the earliest announcements of Patterson’s appointment appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript* for 6 February 1849. This news article is reproduced in Figure 11.

A previous article in this same publication had explained that the receiving houses of Patterson’s Parcel Post establishment would be made post office sub-stations to facilitate

Figure 11. One of the earliest news announcements of Patterson’s appointment as head of the new Boston Penny Post. From the February 6, 1849 edition of the *Boston Evening Transcript*.



THE NEW PENNY POST SYSTEM. This new system, by appointment of the Postmaster General, will go into operation on the 6th inst, in this city, under the direction of Mr Patterson. We learn that letters for the mails will be received at all the Parcel Post stations up to 3 o'clock, and up to 1 o'clock at the Chief Office, 23 Sudbury street, every weekday—by the payment of one cent on each letter. The Postage to any part of the United States may also be paid at the stations, if the sender desires to do so. Letters from one part of the city to another will be taken at one cent each, at the stations, but they will not be carried unless pre-paid. Drop letters, as they are called, if put in the Post Office, Merchants' Exchange, will now be charged *two* cents when delivered, instead of *four*, as formerly. Mr Patterson desires us to say that all Circulars, and Bills of Mercantile and Professional men can now be sent through the Penny Post, at one cent each.

the new Penny Post.⁵ A later post office notice, reproduced in Figure 12, stated that 19 receiving houses plus the chief office would become sub post offices, including newly identified locations in South Boston and East Boston.⁶ The new South and East Boston locations may also have been employed as additional receiving houses for the Boston Parcel Post because there was no initial service into those two regions. The reduction to 19 established sub-stations proclaimed in the Figure 12 notice suggests the Boston post office found the 75–100 existing receiving houses too many to convert to post office sub-stations. On the other hand, this Notice may only have contained a partial listing of the post office sub-stations it would ultimately authorize for use in the Boston Penny Post system. Note also in Figure 12 the paragraph headed “N.B.”: “The red boxes known as ‘Towle’s City Despatch’ have no connection with the Post Office.” This suggests that Towle’s may be the “private

POST OFFICE NOTICE. The following Sub Post Offices have been established in Boston, where letters may be left up to 2 o'clock for each day's mail. Delivery at the Post Office, certain. Charge, one cent. Letters from one part of the city to another, sent from these offices three times daily, at one cent each, prepaid in all cases.

Postage on letters to any port, at home or abroad, can be prepaid here if it is desired. Penny Post tickets for sale at all the offices.

N. B. The red boxes known as "Towle's City Despatch" have no connection with the Post Office.

NATHANIEL GREENE, P. M.

SUB OFFICES.

C. A. Callender, 7 School street.
 China Tea Store, 19s Washington street.
 White & Ferguson, cor Washington st and Hayward place.
 K. P. Summers, cor Kneeland and Washington sts.
 Gilbert & Knight, cor Tremont and Pleasant sts.
 China Tea Store, cor Lincoln and Beach sts.
 J. Farlow, cor Federal and High sts.
 F. G. Whiston, 69 Broad street.
 Anson Battles, cor Pinckney and West Cedar sts.
 D. Henschman, cor Cambridge and Chamber sts.
 C. H. Atwood, cor Green and Leverett sts.
 John Wingate, cor Hanover and Prince sts.
 Fulson & Melzar, cor Canton and Suffolk sts.
 H. D. Wakefield, 733 Washington st.
 H. W. Lincoln, 631 Washington st.
 Benjamin McKendry, 52 Merrimac st.
 James E. Stevenson, 96 Salem, near Prince st.
 S. Gill & Co, Broadway, near C. st. South Boston.
 G. H. Plummer, Maverick square, East Boston.
 At the Parcel Post Office, 23 Sudbury st.
 Letters will be received until half past 3 o'clock.

JAMES H. PATTERSON,
 By appointment of the Post Master General,
 mh 15 1c Letter Carrier for the City of Boston.

Figure 12. Post office notice stating that 19 receiving houses plus the chief office of the Boston Parcel Post would become sub post offices for the Boston Penny Post system. From the *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 16, 1849.

messenger" service referred to in Nathaniel Greene's post office notice quoted above.

The new Penny Post business was conducted from Patterson's principal office at 23 Sudbury Street, which also became host to the new Letter Carriers' office. This is confirmed in the announcement presented in Figure 13, from the July 1849 *Boston Directory*, which was published during the tenure of William Hayden, who succeeded Greene as Boston postmaster on May 14, 1849. Further, it appears that all six of the original Boston Parcel Post routes would be utilized in the delivery of Penny Post letters. So beginning on February 8, 1849, James Patterson and his Boston Parcel Post carriers found themselves engaged in two simultaneous, somewhat inter-related, occupations.

Demise of the Boston Parcel Post

The dual leadership responsibilities must have weighed heavily on Patterson. As early as February 21, 1849 (see Figure 14) he advertised to sell his package delivery business, since he did not have adequate time to devote to the Boston Parcel Post. ("...[T]he proprietor not having time to devote to its proper superintendence, would be glad to dispose of it....") This ad was published less than two weeks after his Penny Post assignment became official and ran continuously in the *Boston Evening Transcript* (and possibly other Boston newspapers) for the next two weeks. This advertisement certainly indicates that Patterson was committed to performing his new job as Superintendent of the Boston Penny Post and he no longer wanted to continue the parcel delivery business. Unfortunately, responses to

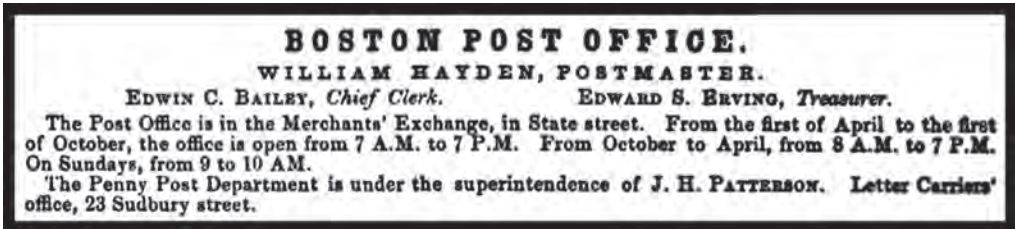


Figure 13. Notice confirming that Patterson’s principal office at 23 Sudbury Street, headquarters of the Boston Parcel Post, also hosted the new Letter Carriers’ office. From the July 1849 *Boston Directory*.

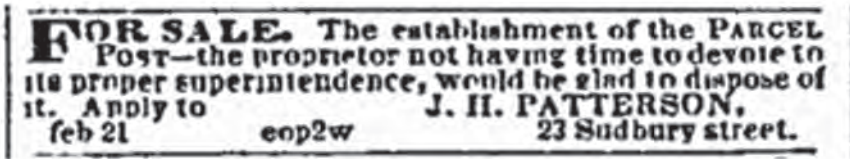


Figure 14. Patterson’s “For Sale” ad, seeking a buyer for the Boston Parcel Post operation, “the proprietor not having time to devote to its proper maintenance.” From the *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 21, 1849.

Patterson’s offer to sell his establishment are unknown, so we must use other historical information to deduce what happened next.

One of the first bits of circumstantial evidence is a reference in the 1849 *Boston Directory*: “Boston Parcel Post – J.H. Patterson, 23 Sudbury.”⁷ Assuming this citation was correct around the July 1849 publication date of this almanac, it appears that during the intervening four months, Patterson was unsuccessful in selling the Boston Parcel Post.

This July 1849 almanac listing is the last recorded acknowledgement of this business that has been uncovered so far. No further mention of the Boston Parcel Post was found in the 1850 *Boston Almanac* (printed in September 1849) or in any accessible Boston newspapers or city directories that were published in October 1849 or later. Also of evidentiary interest is an advertisement in a Boston newspaper, dated October 10, 1849, paid by a real estate and money broker firm doing business at 23 Sudbury Street. This further suggests that the parcel post organization was gone by that date.

Thus it appears that the Boston Parcel Post folded during August of 1849. Patterson was most probably still the proprietor during that summer and, frustrated by his inability to sell the business, surgically ended its existence so he could concentrate on his Penny Post responsibilities. No references have been found that shed further light on the termination date of the Boston Parcel Post establishment or whether anyone else continued the business after Patterson’s disassociation with it.

As noted above, the Boston Penny Post (i.e., the Letter Carriers’ office) was located at 23 Sudbury Street when it was initiated in February 1849. Prior to September 1849, no record of operation from any other address has been found. In September 1849 appeared a notice in the 1850 *Boston Almanac*, clearly stating that the Penny Post’s Letter Carriers’ office had moved to 24 Merchants’ Exchange (on State Street), the same facility that housed the Boston Post Office.⁸ This announcement is shown in Figure 15. This information strongly suggests that Patterson’s “Letter Carriers’ office of the Penny Post” was relocated from Sudbury Street during August 1849. It then seems reasonable to speculate that the relocation provided a convenient opportunity for Patterson to shut down his Boston Parcel Post business.

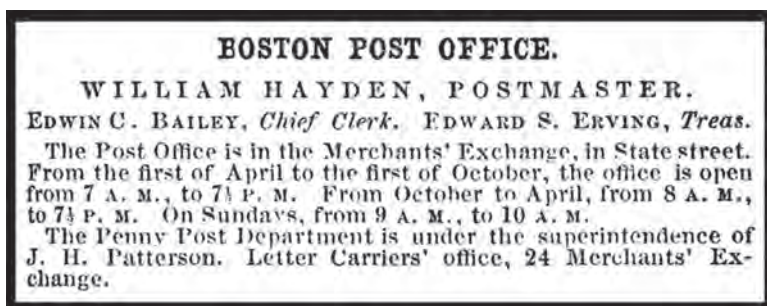


Figure 15. Notice in the 1850 *Boston Almanac*, published in September 1849, indicating that by the autumn of 1849, the Boston Penny Post letter carriers' office had moved to 24 Merchants' Exchange, the facility that housed the Boston Post Office..

Biographical Notes on James H. Patterson

James H. Patterson was born on November 8, 1807 in Nashua, New Hampshire. He married Isabella Graham Gates of New York City on November 20, 1833 (sometimes reported as November 24, 1834). In the 1830s he was employed as a merchant in the city of New York. He subsequently moved to Europe and lived chiefly in London, Havre and Paris for approximately six years. In 1848 he returned to the United States and took up residence in Boston. Later he moved to Longwood, Massachusetts. Patterson served as superintendent of the Boston letter carrier service from 1849 until 1858. He died in the Longwood section of Boston on October 17, 1875.⁹

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to John Bowman and William Sammis for their indispensable help in researching the history of the Boston Parcel Post and the Boston Penny Post.

Endnotes

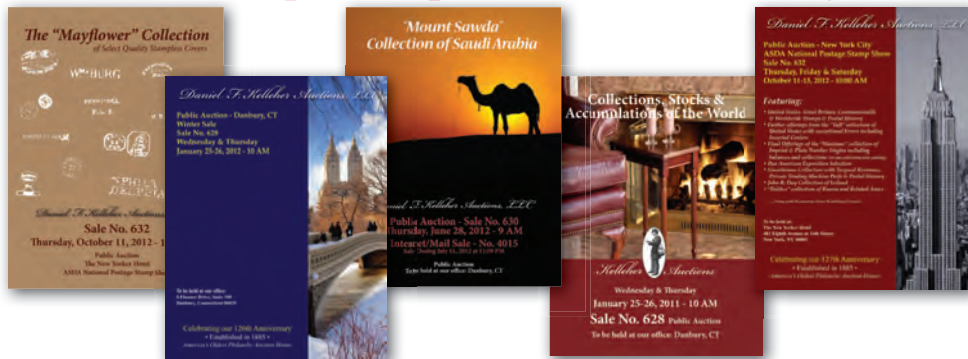
1. *American Journal of Philately*, April 1, 1896, pg. 174.
2. "U.S. Varieties" column, *Stamps*, Nov. 23, 1936.
3. S. N. Dickinson, *The Boston Almanac for the year 1849*, pg. 203.
4. Stanley B. Ashbrook, *The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857*, Vol. 2, 1938, pg. 151.
5. "Boston Penny Post." *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 27, 1849.
6. *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 16, 1849.
7. George Adams, *Boston Directory*, July 1849, pg. 366.
8. Coolidge & Wiley, *Boston Almanac for the Year 1850*, pg. 149. The statement that dates this publication appears on pg. 55: "Revised and corrected, September, 1849, by George Adams, publisher of *Boston Directory*."
9. Seth Chandler, *History of the Town of Shirley*, Massachusetts, 1883, pg. 592; Avis Stearns Van Wagenen, *Stearns Genealogy and Memoirs*, 1901, pg. 104; Ashbrook, *op. cit.*, pg. 151. ■



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UPDATING THE CENSUS OF 1847 STAMPS ON COVER

MARK SCHEUER, RA 4289

Introduction

In 1970, Creighton C. Hart and Susan M. McDonald published a listing of 1,828 covers bearing the U.S. 10¢ stamp of 1847 (Scott 2). They also left unpublished a listing of about 4,500 covers with the U.S. 5¢ 1847 stamp. Thomas J. Alexander took over this census in 1992. In 2001 he published *The United States Issue of 1847: A Cover Census*, which doubled the number of documented covers to 9,429 5¢ covers, 3,483 10¢ covers and 49 covers bearing both stamps.¹

Alexander also recorded 319 covers that are not genuine, usually because a stamp that had been removed from one cover was added to another to increase its value. In the 1847 era, prepayment of postage was not required and about 90 percent of the letters back then were sent stampless. So there has always been large supply of covers available for “improvement.” A few shady dealers found receptive buyers of such fakes back in the 1940s and 1950s, just as there are eBay buyers for such material today.

In announcing the coming publication of Alexander’s listing in 1993, Jerome Wagschal noted “It will be interesting to see how many [covers] surface after the census is published.”² Over the past 11 years since Alexander published his census, the number of recorded covers has continued to grow. Many auction lots are described as “not listed in Alexander.” My records, when combined with Alexander’s, document 10,439 5¢ covers, 3,805 10¢ covers and 47 combination covers, not counting 368 covers that are considered fake. I have images of 6,951 covers, about 47 percent of the total, of which 1,359 covers (approximately 20 percent) are not listed in Alexander. If this percentage is applied to Alexander’s entire listing, after subtracting for duplication, about 11,960 5¢ covers and 4,200 10¢ covers should exist.

Early census efforts

Carroll Chase in the 1916 and 1917 issues of *The Philatelic Gazette*³ (volumes 6 and 7) serialized an excellent history of the 1847 issue. His text alludes to detailed listings of covers but there is no evidence that Chase conducted a formal census.

Elliott Perry also gave estimates of existing covers in his *Pat Paragraphs* booklets, but again, there is no evidence that he made any detailed listings. Instead, his comments about the quantity of existing covers seem to be based on his extensive experiences as a dealer in postal history. For example, on page 62 of the compendium of *Pat Paragraphs*,⁴ Perry lists 20 5¢ 1847 covers for sale. Many of these can be found in Alexander’s listings. But a cover from Norfolk, Virginia, addressed to Major General Winfield Scott, is not listed. This wonderful piece of American history could have been purchased from Perry for \$5!

The first comprehensive listings of 1847 covers to be published was a series of articles written by Hart in the *Chronicle*, starting in 1965 and continuing through 1983. Hart was for many years the editor of the 1847 section of the *Chronicle*. He documented the then-known stamp-bearing covers posted from July 1847 through June 1851, from many (but not all) of the states of the union as well as several major cities.

Mail to: C.C. Hart 911 Commerce Bldg. K.C., Mo. 64106	10¢ 1847 COVER ONLY	Date in Postmark	Mo.	Day	18	<small>(Yr. date is from dateline of letter or from docketed date BUT ONLY if evident)</small>		
	Town in Postmark	State			TO Town	State		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Single - <input type="checkbox"/> 2 - <input type="checkbox"/> pr. - - - Color of pmk <input type="checkbox"/> red - <input type="checkbox"/> blue - <input type="checkbox"/> black - <input type="checkbox"/> Other							
	<input type="checkbox"/> Folded letter - <input type="checkbox"/> env. - <input type="checkbox"/> front only - - - <input type="checkbox"/> tied or <input type="checkbox"/> not tied							
	Owner or Auction						Date listed	19

The back of this tab may be used for additional data describing the cancellation on the stamp and other postal markings.

Figure 1. Cover data card from the Hart-McDonald *Directory of 1847 Covers*. In the pre-Xerox era, written descriptions provided the essential elements of a cover census.

Hart and McDonald published their *Directory of 10¢ 1847 Covers* in 1970.⁵ In this publication the covers are listed in chronological order. Although no illustrations are provided, the authors note that about one third of the covers were documented by color slides and another third by other forms of illustration. Their method of data collection was interesting. The book contains detachable cards to be filled in by cover owners providing basic descriptive information about the cover and its source. An example of one of the cards is shown in Figure 1. The book also listed covers in museum holdings. Images of many of these covers are available today at the National Postal Museum website.⁶

Hart started his census of 1847 covers in 1955 and continued into the 1990s before handing off his research to Alexander, who published his census of both stamps in 2001. Alexander's publisher was the Classics Society and his book is still available from this Society to this day. In the Alexander book, covers are categorized by state of origin; within each state they are listed in chronological order by town of origin. The book contains about 200 photographs and includes comprehensive summaries for each state, as well as additional chapters on railway and waterway uses, 10¢ bisect covers and 5¢+10¢ combination covers. Notes containing additional details for each cover, including Philatelic Foundation certificate numbers, are very helpful in matching the Alexander listings to illustrations encountered in auction sales.

The author's personal interest

I became interested in 1847 stamps on cover in the late 1990s. Content on the internet was rapidly expanding and articles on stamps were readily available. Auction houses started putting their catalogs online with detailed images of stamps and covers. Like Hart, I wondered how many 1847 covers existed and started to count them. I copied cover images from auction listings along with lot descriptions and prices realized.

I first purchased the published work of Hart and McDonald and compared my records with their listing. I entered their listings into a computer spreadsheet to use as a checklist and soon found that more than half of the 10¢ covers I had recorded were not included in the Hart-McDonald census. A few years later I bought the Alexander book. The listings there were very extensive and I was soon searching this compendium to see if covers in my record were included. After a few evenings thumbing through this 980-page book, I realized that searching for covers individually took far too much time. So I added the Alexander listings to my spreadsheet. That way entries could be sorted and filtered easily.

After collecting images off the internet for a while, I started seeing repeats of scans in newer auction catalogs. Covers were frequently resold, or if not originally sold then reoffered a few months later. Locating records of each cover in my database was still time consuming. Improvements were needed.

Following the example of the Scott catalog, I numbered each cover in Alexander's listing. In my record for each cover I noted the "Alexander" number or assigned a new number if the cover was not listed. Use of a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to record my census data had several advantages over any printed format. Filtering is much more flexible and can be done on any items in the data record. For example, when searching for a

listing, I could find all covers addressed to Smythe in New York City, even if I don't know the city of origin or the date on which cover was mailed. Further, with some programming, it was easy to create the ability to scan my records, look for an individual item, and open an image of the cover. Visually checking a cover image against my records now took only a few seconds.

Sources of scans

Auction catalogs prior to the 1960s are almost useless for compiling a census. Few illustrations are available and descriptions are vague. By the late 1980s catalogs started getting better. The major auction houses, such as Siegel, Bennett and Christie's, were providing more detailed descriptions, although covers were usually overlapped in the catalog photographs to save space. It was rare to find an illustration that shows the stamp, the circular datestamp, and the address in their entirety.

As auction catalogs started appearing on the internet, digital images began showing full scans of covers. Sometimes, cover backs and enclosures were also illustrated. Ebay and then Bidstart became good sources of images. Dealers such as Stanley Piller and Mystic began selling online and presenting good scans of covers.

Recently two additional sources of illustrations have become available. The Siegel auction firm has begun presenting digital copies of their earlier sales on their website. While many of the images have overlapping problems, there are still hundreds of suitable images available for census-taking. Also, the Philatelic Foundation has been putting their certificates online. While this project is still not complete, the PF has already posted over 300,000 images of stamps and covers, including many 1847 items. The PF certificate numbers in Alexander's notes can help locate images for many of the covers listed in his book.

Another source of cover images is PhilaMercury, run by Richard Frajola. This on-line site presents nearly 19,000 cover images and descriptions of both U.S. and foreign covers. Additionally, Frajola has put all of his sales catalogs from the 1980s and 1990s online. These catalogs also have the overlapping cover problem, but they contain many useful images. PhilaMercury also has posted several exhibits and the complete text and images of Stanley Ashbrook's *Special Service*, another good source of cover images.

Finally, the American Philatelic Research Library, under the direction of librarian Tara Murray, has been a wonderful source of journals, auction catalogs, exhibits and other reference materials.

Getting an accurate cover count

We will never have an complete count of 1847 covers. New discoveries are still being made. Some covers are still locked in old attic trunks and boxes in barns, warehouses and basements. Other unlisted covers reside in dormant collections that have been off the market for many decades. But even for covers currently on the market, there are several problems that affect the count. Some covers are hard to interpret and have been described in multiple ways, leading to duplication. Missing information can also lead to duplicate listings. Finally, no single person, no matter how dedicated, can search all the auction records and museum holdings. A wider level of participation and data sharing is needed.

The problem of interpretation

Covers that are 160 years old can be hard to decipher. Postmarks were sometimes poorly inked and hard to read. Several months have similar abbreviations, such as Jan, Jun, and Jul—or Mar and May. Is the day 23 or 28? What about the addressee? Misspellings are common and spelling was not consistent in the 19th century. Script J's and I's look similar. So do T's and F's. The Whalen correspondence, for example, has covers addressed to E. S. Whelen (29), E. S. Whelan (2), E. S. Whelen & Co. (85), E. S. Whelan & Co. (2), E. S.

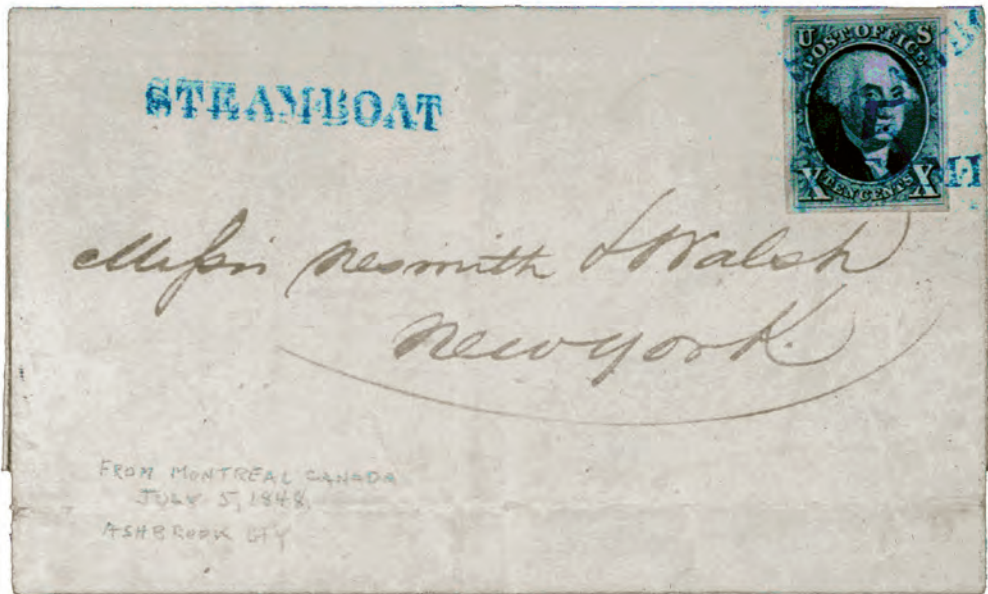


Figure 2. June 5, 1848, 10¢ 1847 cover from Montreal to New York City, with straight-line “STEAMBOAT” marking. Because of its ambiguities, this cover is listed twice in the Alexander census book. (PhilaMercury cover # 16463.)

Whelen Co. (1) and E. Whelen (1).

In compiling my census I was torn between recording precisely what was written on the cover and correcting the spelling to facilitate comprehensive searches. I finally decided to maintain misspellings in the addressee name to help identify specific covers from existing scans; but I adjusted differences in town and state names. This helps in counting all covers from Connecticut without worrying about “Conn.” or “Ct.” abbreviations.

Year dates pose another problem. In the United States, circular datestamps used during the 1847 period never contain year dates. Folded letters sometimes contain internal datelines that are reported in one auction catalog but not in another. Sometimes a cover is identified as 1848 in one sale listing and 1849 in another. Other times the color of the stamp identifies an early or late printing. An 1851 printing cannot appear (legitimately) on an earlier cover, but an 1847 printing could have been used on an 1851 cover. Docketing can help, especially if covers are serially numbered, as are those addressed to Mrs. R. N. Swift in North Fairhaven, Massachusetts and to Miss Catharine McKie in South Easton, New York. Docketed dates can be problematic: does the docketing represent the date written, the date mailed, the date answered or the date filed? All are found on different covers.

The problem of duplication

Hart’s method of data collection, developed before the era of the Xerox machine and dependent on written description, had a major flaw. One owner of a cover could have provided a description and then sold the cover. The new owner might then send another description, reading a May date as March and adding 1849 as the year from an internal dateline. In the absence of images, one cover could easily result in two different listings.

I wrote a program to identify possible duplicates in the Alexander listings. I looked for pairs of covers with the same month, day, town from, state from, town to, state to, and addressee—but with different years, usually with one being 18xx and the other being 1847 through 1851. A total of 361 pairs were found. Some of them represent two separate covers, as identified in Alexander’s notes. But many, surely 300 or more, are duplicate listings. But



Figures 3 and 4. Two 5¢ 1847 covers sent from New York City to Philadelphia on May 11, 1849. Both have the same stamp, same origin, same addressee and same circular datestamp. But they are obviously two different covers. (Figure 3, at left, from Rumsey sale 30 lot 341; Figure 4 from Siegel sale 784 lot 2022.)

without images to compare, it is impossible to know if the two covers are really different.

Figure 2 is a cover that originated in Montreal, Canada, traveled outside the mail by steamboat and entered the mails in New York City. The image comes from PhilaMercury (#16463). Alexander shows two different entries that both seem to describe this cover: (1) July 5, 1848 from NYC to NYC and (2) July 5, 1848 (in the Waterways category) from Steamboat/Steamship to New York City. These are the only two listings in the Alexander census for covers addressed to Nesmith & Walsh. It seems highly likely that both listings refer to this one cover.

The problem of omission

Missing listings can occur if two or more covers have identical dates and were sent to the same addressee. Figures 3 and 4 show two covers sent from New York City to Philadelphia on May 11, 1849. Both are addressed to E. I. Etting & Bro. The first cover was in Schuyler Rumsey's sale 30, lot 341. The second cover was offered in Siegel's sale 784, lot 2022 and in Siegel's sale 810, lot 1094 (not illustrated). The Siegel description refers to a 1979 PF certificate.

Alexander lists two May 1848 covers from New York City to Philadelphia that may relate to these covers: (1) May 11, 1848 to E. I. Etting & Bro. and (2) May 15, 1848 to E. J. Etting & Bro.

However, the cover in Figure 4 was clearly not mailed on May 15 and Alexander makes no mention of a PF certificate in his notes. So, is the date of the second Alexander listing incorrect or is there a third cover that was mailed on May 15? By the way, is the addressee "E. I. Etting" or "E. J. Etting"? Alexander lists seven different spellings for this addressee, including a 10¢ cover posted April 7, 1848 at Savannah, addressed to E. F. Etting & Brothers.

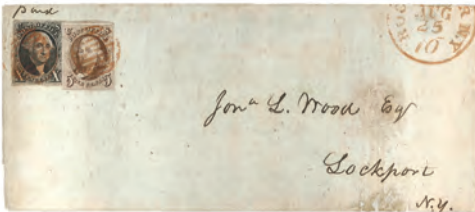
Sometimes the problem of missing covers comes from familiarity. I stared at the images of the two covers shown in Figures 5 and 6 for quite a while before realizing these are two different covers. The first cover is from Siegel sale 1016 (lot 907) and was mailed on February 8, 1851. It is not listed in Alexander but was described in the Siegel catalog as having a 1997 BPA certificate. The second cover was mailed one day later, on February 9, 1851. I recently found this cover on the Philatelic Foundation website,⁷ where the PF certificate number is shown at the bottom.

Sometimes covers are simply miscategorized

Figures 7 and 8 are two well-known covers. Both were mailed from Rochester to Lockport, New York, addressed to Jonathan L. Wood (or Woods). Figure 7 was posted on August 25 (year unknown) and Figure 8 was posted on September 6 (year unknown). The



Figures 5 and 6. Two eerily similar 10¢ 1847 covers, posted in February, 1851. Not only are origin, destination and dates similar, but so is the placement of the markings and the stamps—as is the handwriting. But again, these are two different covers. (Figure 5, at left, from Siegel sale 1016, lot 907; Figure 6, posted one day later, from the website of the Philatelic Foundation.)



Figures 7 and 8. Two well-known combination covers, both from Rochester to Lockport, New York, addressed to Jonathan L. Wood(s). Figure 7 is properly listed in Alexander as originating at Rochester; Figure 8 is erroneously listed as having originated in New York. (Figure 7, at left, from Siegel sale 811, lot 31; Figure 8 from the recent Mirsky sale, Siegel 1023, lot 2225.)

Figure 7 cover is properly listed under Rochester, New York. This cover has a 1950 PF certificate and was sold in Siegel sale 811, lot 31 and earlier in sale 579, lot 25. The Figure 8 cover is listed in Alexander, but as having originated in New York City. This scan comes from the Mirsky sale (Siegel 1023), where the cover was lot 2225. This cover was previously in the Rohloff sale (Siegel 512, lot 140) but was not illustrated there.

What is a cover?

When compiling a census, it isn't always clear what to include or exclude. How much of a cover needs to be present to be counted? Hart recognized the need to include cover fronts, but are the following items actually "covers"? You decide.

Figure 9 is a piece of a cover, dated July 14 (year unknown) from Louisville to an unknown addressee. This is listed in Alexander as having PF certificate 210354. Figure 10 was sent from New York City to Philadelphia on February 13, 1849, probably addressed to Curtis & Hand. This was in Harmer sale 2953 (lot 14) and Siegel sale 1023 (lot 2126). Figure 11 was sent May 25 (year unknown) from Boston to an unknown addressee. As the illustration shows, this has PF certificate 207604. Figure 12 was sent July 12 (year unknown) from Keesville, New York, to an unknown addressee (Apfelbaum sale R209). Alexander lists Figures 9 through 11 along with another dozen or so similar items. Figure 12 is not listed; in fact, 5¢ stamps on cover pieces are generally not listed.

Dealing with fakes

Organizations such as the Philatelic Foundation are helping the marketplace by put-



Figures 9-12. When does a piece become a cover? Figure 9 (above) is a 10¢ 1847 stamp tied to a cover-sized piece with a clear Louisville circular datestamp, lacking an address. Figure 10 (top right) is a 5¢ 1847 with a New York cds tied to a smaller piece, which happens to contain enough information to deduce the address. Figure 11 (bottom left) is a 10¢ 1847 stamp on a small piece that contains a legible Boston circular datestamp but no address. Figure 12 (bottom right), is an even smaller piece, on which a 5¢ 1847 stamp is tied by a circular datestamp from Keesville, New York. The items shown in Figures 9-11 are listed in the Alexander census. The small piece shown in Figure 12 is not.



ting their certificates online. The Professional Stamp Experts (PSE) has also made available images of items they have evaluated, although convenient search tools on their website are lacking.⁸ These certificates can help prevent collectors from buying fraudulent items.

What's new in the past 11 Years?

As stated in the introduction, I now have 6,951 images of the 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 stamps on cover and 1,384 of them are not listed in Alexander. Twenty-five of the non-listed covers are fakes. They are not included in the count but are contained in the database. Non-listed covers represent about 20 percent of my records.

Table 1 gives a state-by-state tabulation of the genuine covers in my database, including the counts made by Hart, Alexander and me. The column headed "Chr #" contains the whole number of the *Chronicle* issue in which Hart's original estimates first appeared. Table 2 provides similar information for selected cities.

Recent PF evaluations have reversed the "genuine" status of some covers. This makes it appear that some listings (such as 5¢ covers from Canada) have decreased. Two combination covers from Philadelphia deemed not genuine in Ashbrook's *Special Service* were included in Alexander's listings as genuine. Such adjustments affect the numbers by a very small amount here and there, but still cause some differences between Alexander's count and mine. As far as I know, all of Alexander's listings are included in my census.

A similar decrease is found in covers from Binghamton, New York, which are well known for fake herringbone-cancelled covers (18 5¢ fakes, seven 10¢ fakes). Alexander lists two genuine 10¢ covers from Binghamton: one to Baltimore dated February 23 (year unknown) addressed to R. K. Hawley, which now has an unfavorable certificate (PF 138148)

Table 1. Update to 1847 Cover Census (data by state)

STATE	5¢ 1847 covers				10¢ 1847 covers			Combin.	
	Hart	Chr. #	Alex.	Now	Hart	Alex.	Now	Alex.	Now
Alabama			93	104		93	101	3	3
Arkansas	1	51	1	1	3	4	4		
California			3	3		1	2		
Canada			46	44		34	35		
Connecticut			394	446		44	46		
Delaware	13	46	39	40	1	1	1		
Dist of Columbia	16	52	65	74	10	34	37		
Florida	11	53	23	23	16	52	53		
Georgia	17	55	42	44	22	53	58	0	1
Illinois			103	109		50	52		
Indiana			42	46		22	23		
Indian Terr	2	72	2	2	5	7	7		
Iowa	7	68	13	14	0	1	1		
Kentucky			100	108		117	125		
Louisiana			102	112		84	87	2	2
Maine			103	111		67	68		
Maryland	353	112	550	609	87	151	173	5	5
Massachusetts			1141	1300		206	229	3	3
Michigan	28	47	99	104	10	35	36	1	1
Minnesota Terr	1	61	0	0	0	1	1		
Mississippi	4	60	9	10	9	19	20		
Missouri	57	70	117	125	106	195	205		
New Hampshire	39	56	114	122	10	18	18		
New Jersey			84	84		7	7		
New Mexico			1	1		0	0		
New York	1794	101	2787	3132	718	1040	1167	18	20
North Carolina			48	49		22	23		
Ohio			319	344		181	204	1	1
Oregon Terr			0	0		1	1		
Panama	0	58	0	0	7	10	10		
Pennsylvania	870	118	1422	1585	227	325	366	4	2
Railroads			712	759		289	312	2	2
Rhode Island			135	153		15	14		
South Carolina			62	66		76	80	3	3
Tennessee			26	28		36	37		
Texas	4	48	6	6	5	11	11		
Vermont			229	235		18	18		
Virginia			175	194		59	61		
Waterways			60	69		44	45		
Wisconsin	19	62,65	32	34	21	33	34		
Unknown			130	149		27	33	7	4
Total			9429	10439	1828	3483	3805	49	47
Net Change				1010			322		-2

Table 1. Update to 1847 cover census by state. "Hart" columns show number of covers discussed by Creighton Hart in his original *Chronicle* articles (identified in "Chr. #" column). "Alex" columns show number of covers recorded by Thomas Alexander in his 2001 census book. "Now" columns show current cover count. "Combin" = combination covers. Boldfaced pairings indicate an increase of 10 or more covers.

and the other dated June 6 (year unknown) to Cadiz, Ohio, addressed to Rev. C. I. Holmes. The latter cover has not been submitted to the PF and bears a John A. Fox guarantee on the back. Since Fox is known to have faked Binghamton covers, it is probably safe to say that there are no genuine 10¢ 1847 covers with the Binghamton herringbone.

The biggest increases are in covers from Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania. Maryland, Missouri and Virginia show modest increases. Cell pairings with an increase of ten or more are shown in bold type in both tables.

The totals for Alexander's and my listings are taken directly from the tabular data presented in Table 1. The total of Hart's listings is from his 1970 directory and not his individual *Chronicle* articles, which did not include all known covers. This allows a direct comparison of known covers in 1970, 2001, and 2012. Not surprisingly, the largest number of increases comes from cities already known to have the most covers. Data for selected individual cities is presented in Table 2. The 19 cities listed in Table 2 account for 69 percent of the increase in 5¢ covers and 79 percent of the increase in 10¢ covers.

Table 2. Update to 1847 Cover Census (selected cities)

CITY	5c 1847 covers				10c 1847 covers			Combin.	
	Hart	Chr.#	Alex.	Now	Hart	Alex.	Now	Alex.	Now
Albany, NY	53	96	114	130	3	19	20		
Baltimore, Md			501	558		143	164	5	5
Binghamton, NY	25	95	48	48	0	2	1?		
Boston, Ma			854	980		177	198	2	2
Buffalo, NY	50	96	84	86	22	44	49	3	3
Chicago, IL	31	59	71	73	8	28	29		
Cincinnati, Oh			92	98		122	136		
Lockport, NY	17	96	22	25	2	6	8		
New Haven, Ct			164	185		37	38		
New Orleans, La			97	106		75	78	2	2
New York, NY	1147	101	1791	2012	601	868	982	9	10
Philadelphia, Pa			1169	1305		270	309	4	2
Providence, RI			120	137		8	7		
Richmond, Va			86	97		26	26		
Rochester, NY	49	96	71	83	15	21	23	1	2
St Louis, Mo			117	124		194	204		
Troy, NY	104	96	176	210	12	13	15		
USExpr (Boston)			75	78		223	244		
Utica, NY	54	96	85	103	4	5	5		
Totals			5737	6438		2281	2535		
Net Change				701			254		

Table 2. Update to 1847 cover census data for selected cities. "Hart" columns show number of covers discussed by Creighton Hart in his original *Chronicle* articles (identified in "Chr. #" column). "Alex" columns show number of covers recorded in Alexander's 2001 census book. "Now" columns show current cover count. "Combin" = combination covers. Boldface pairings indicate an increase of 10 or more.

The added covers appear to represent a general increase of the existing distribution as a whole, probably due to covers from specialized collections coming onto the market after being hidden away for decades. There have been some new discoveries, most notably the Clymer find (Harmer sale 2998) and the recently reported Dexter find (*Chronicle* 232) and Manning and Steele find (*Chronicle* 231). Each of these consisted of 10 covers or fewer, so they do not appreciably affect the overall distribution of the 1,359 new listings.

For bisect covers, much fancied by collectors, extensively expertized and well illustrated as individual auction lots, the number doesn't change at all. Alexander listed 127 10¢ bisect covers, and that same number holds today.

Estimating duplicates and existing totals

It's likely that about 400 duplicates are included in Alexander's census, based on the unlikelihood that two separate covers were mailed from the same location to the same addressee on the same date but in different years. Since there are three times as many 5¢ covers as 10¢ covers, I estimate that there are 300 duplicates of 5¢ covers and 100 duplicates of 10¢ covers in the Alexander census.

For the 5¢ covers, Alexander lists 9,585 examples. I have identified 3,777 of these along with 1,054 not in his census, or 21.8% of the total of 4,831 covers for which I have images. Applying this percentage to the overall Alexander listing yields 12,260 5¢ covers. Reducing this by 300 to account for the likely duplicates in the listings, we can estimate that approximately 11,960 5¢ 1847 covers are now in the philatelic marketplace.

Applying the same logic to the 10¢ covers, Alexander lists 3,629 examples of which I have found images for 1,781 and an additional 330 not listed, or 15.6% of the total of 2,110 cover images. Applying this percentage to all of Alexander's listings produces 4,300 10¢ covers. Finally, we reduce this to 4,200 covers to eliminate the estimate of duplication in the listings.⁹

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Where do we go from here?

In order to decide how to proceed, we need to consider what is going on in the philatelic community as a whole. In the last 40 years, technology has changed but cover-census reporting has not kept pace. Digitization and electronic versions are rarely used and many census efforts remain unpublished. Researchers seldom work together and owners of material only hear about these efforts by word of mouth.

Examples from other stamp issues

Many other stamp issues have their own census compilers. Frank J. Levi, Jr. compiled cover records for most 19th century United States stamps, but his work (consisting of cuttings from auction catalogs) remains unpublished and likely unpublishable. Philip T. Wall and Jeremiah Farrington collected data on the New York postmaster provisional stamp of 1845 and handed off this work to Donald Shearer, according to an article on the Robert A. Siegel website.¹⁰ These unpublished efforts offer limited benefit to the stamp community as a whole.

Recent published cover censuses by Jerome Wagshal (on the scarce 1¢ 1851 stamp, Scott 5),¹¹ by Michael Laurence (on the 10¢ 1869 stamp, Scott 116),¹² and documents on the Siegel website, provide listings for other issues. These resources have provided valuable information, but all suffer from the same problem. They represent “closed” research efforts, usually published in book format, which makes updating very difficult. The available material, on the other hand, is always “open.” The inevitable new discoveries immediately make published listings obsolete.

A completely opposite approach was taken by Frajola with his website PhilaMercury.¹³ Here, cover owners can submit any cover to an online “census.” Basic cover information is provided along with high resolution scans for any and (seemingly) all issues of stamps, both foreign and domestic. The site provides a valuable resource for research but does not provide a comprehensive census database for any single issue.

Lessons learned

Alexander’s listings, while extremely useful, are in need of revision. Not only have over 1,350 new entries been found, but better scans have helped identify hundreds of names and addresses that are missing from the published listing. Date changes and year identification have affected many other listings. A revised edition could certainly be created, but would it be useful?

Every year computer memory becomes cheaper and data storage devices grow larger. My 5¢ 1847 cover files take up 2.41 gigabytes on my hard drive and the 10¢ cover files use another 1.25 GB. The entire census and image references, including illustrations, fit easily on a single disk. This is a big improvement over a printed book, allowing for quick searches, better research, and easy updates as new finds appear, duplicates are weeded out and corrections made.

At some point in the not-too-distant future, the entire census should be made available online, in a manner that allows cover owners to submit corrections and additions quickly, without jeopardizing the integrity of the larger database. The database should include a scan for every entry in the census (a proven, effective way to eliminate duplicate listing) and should accommodate group participation, to create a more comprehensive and accurate census with quicker updates, similar to PhilaMercury, but with some form of oversight to correct errors in entries and provide consistent information across the entire census.

Finally, we must decide what information to include or exclude, to help keep the census data most useful to the most users. One of many questions to be answered: Should dated stamps on pieces of covers, with no addresses, be included?

An offer to readers

For Society members who are interested in obtaining an electronic copy of my census and all its individual records, I make the following offer. I will send you a single DVD containing my Excel spreadsheet and Word image files for \$5 (to cover the cost of burning the DVD and postage). This makes a great addition to Alexander's book. To use this disk you will need some version of Microsoft Excel and Microsoft Word on your personal computer. I work with the 2003 version of Microsoft Office but I will test everything to assure it works with the 2007 version.

In return I ask that you provide feedback: Corrections and (if possible) additional scans of covers that I lack or covers that are poorly represented in my files. When I update the database, I will contact you directly and offer any later version at the same terms. If you send me scans of your covers, let me know if you want acknowledgement of your submissions in the records. Please write to me, Mark Scheuer, 3760 Ridge Road, Williamson, NY 14589. My email address is mscheue1@rochester.rr.com.

Acknowledgements

The following collectors have helped with my efforts: Van Koppersmith, Gordon Eubanks, and Internet dealer "1847 Stamps & Covers." I must also recognize continuing contributions by the Philatelic Foundation and the auction firms of Robert A. Siegel, Matthew Bennett and Schuyler Rumsey. The American Philatelic Research Library was very helpful in providing reference material that I personally scanned.

Endnotes

1. From the Introduction of Alexander, Thomas J., *The United States Issue of 1847: A Cover Census*, U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 2001, pp. x-xv.
2. Wagshal, Jerome, "Coming: A Massive Census of 1847 Covers," *Chronicle* 159, pg. 177.
3. *The Philatelic Gazette*, Nassau Stamp Company, Volumes 1-8. Digitized online at Google Books.
4. Perry, Elliot, *Pat Paragraphs*, compiled and arranged by George T. Turner and Thomas E. Stanton, Bureau Issues Association, 1981, pp. 23-62.
5. Hart, Creighton C. and McDonald, Susan M., *Directory of 10-cent 1847 Covers*, Reserve Plan, Inc, Kansas City, Mo., 1970
6. The Smithsonian database of the U.S. collection is available at <http://arago.si.edu/>. When the Miller collection from the New York Public Library was on display at the National Postam Museum, many of its 1847 covers were added to this database.
7. The PF certificates can be found at <http://pfsearch.org/pfsearch/>. The PF descriptions, which do not always include the Scott catalog number, make searching somewhat difficult, but the accompanying search tools are fairly comprehensive. Once PF gets all its certificates online, the site will be very useful for philatelic research.
8. The PSE website has a certificate verification tool at <http://www.psestamp.com/cert/>. A certificate number (if known) can be entered and an image (if available) is displayed. Searches for any given stamp issue are difficult, if not impossible.
9. These numbers, and those in Table 1, are not quite in complete agreement because some of covers in Alexander's census previously considered genuine have been found to be non-genuine by the PF over the past 11 years.
10. The Siegel census is available at <http://siegelauctions.com/dynamic/census.php> and contains links to documents of numerous issues, some of which have been published in the Siegel auction catalogs.
11. *The Wagshal Census of 7RIE* (Scott #5), compiled by Jerome S. Wagshal and edited by Mary Wagshal and Scott R. Trepel, is available on Siegel's website. Every item in the census is illustrated but some recent discoveries are missing.
12. Laurence, Michael, *Ten-Cent 1869 Covers: A Postal Historical Survey*, Collectors Club of Chicago, 2010. Every cover is numbered and referenced to an auction listing or similar image source.
13. PhilaMercury (www.PhilaMercury.com) is "an online image and description database for United States covers that is free, open-access and non-commercial." On June 1, 2012, a search of the 1847 issue found 258 5¢ and 140 10¢ covers out of 18,530 covers posted on the site. ■

**DISCOVERY:
CHICAGO PRIVATE PERFORATION USED AT BOSTON
GORDON EUBANKS**

This article updates information about Chicago Perforations used on cover. These private perforations, applied to 1¢ and 3¢ stamps of 1851, have been the subject of extensive scholarship published by Jerome Wagshal (*Chronicle* 130) and by Wilson Hulme (*Chronicle* 174 and 175). Wagshal's research identified that the stamps were perforated in Chicago on a machine developed by a clever dentist named Elijah Hadley. Hulme greatly expanded on this, correcting important points and providing a detailed census of surviving Chicago Perf stamps and covers.

This article discusses the discovery of two new covers bearing Chicago Perforations. Both covers are part of the correspondence of a traveling businessman, J.C. Baker, writing to his wife, Lon Baker, in Fisherville, Tennessee. We don't know Baker's full name. Only his initials, and usually only his first initial, appear in the correspondence. As discussed more thoroughly below, one of the covers originated in Boston.

The Baker letters appeared in an auction last year as part of an old-time holding. The owners and the auction house seem to have been unaware of the significance of the covers. The Boston cover was described and sold as an ordinary 1857 perforated stamp on cover.

The correspondence indicates that Baker arrived in Chicago on 18 July 1856, a Friday, and promptly wrote to his wife. Figure 1 shows the cover that carried that letter. Baker was most likely staying at the Tremont House in Chicago; the Figure 1 envelope bears an



Figure 1. 3¢ 1851 stamp with Chicago Perforations on a newly discovered cover from Chicago to Fisherville, Tennessee, posted July 18, 1856. In the letter within, J.C. Baker tells his wife he's on his way to Boston, and will write her again when he gets there.

embossed oval advertisement for this hotel on the back flap. Tremont House was a leading hotel in Chicago at that time. In Hulme's article in *Chronicle* 175, his Figure 24 shows another Tremont House cover, dated May 22, 1857, with the same embossed advertisement on the back flap, also franked with a 3¢ Chicago Perf. Hulme also shows that the Tremont House was less than half a block from the office of Hadley, the man who developed the



Figure 2. Fulfilling the promise he made in the letter carried in the Figure 1 cover, Baker wrote his wife from Boston on July 21, franking his folded lettersheet with a 3¢ Chicago Perf stamp that he bought with him from Chicago. This is the third Chicago Perf cover known used outside of Chicago, and the only cover with a simple explanation for the use of stamp.



Figure 3. Enlargements of the Chicago Perf stamps, electronically cropped from the covers in Figures 1 and 2. The stamp mailed in Chicago is shown at left, the stamp mailed at Boston is at right. The characteristic 12½-gauge perforations are evident on both.

machine that created the Chicago perforations. It seems highly likely that the hotel obtained the Chicago Perf stamps from Hadley and that Baker got them from the hotel, but there is no conclusive proof of this.

Whatever the source, Baker definitely obtained some of these privately perforated 3¢ stamps and applied one to the Tremont House envelope he mailed from Chicago. Near the end of the enclosed letter he informs his wife that he will leave the next morning on the train to Boston, "...expecting to reach Boston Sunday night when I will write you again."

Arriving in Boston, Baker fulfilled his promise. He wrote to his wife Monday morning and franked his folded letter with another Chicago Perforated 3¢ 1851 stamp. Figure 2 shows the front of the letter.

The enlarged images in Figure 3 show (at left) the stamp on the Figure 1 cover and (at right) the stamp on the Figure 2 cover. In both cases, details of the Chicago perforations are clearly evident. Both stamps plate from the right side of the right pane of Plate 6: the Chicago stamp is 29R6 and the Boston stamp is 68R6. The apparent color differences in Figure 3 are an effect of differences in the scans from which the images are reproduced. In real life, the two stamps are quite similar in color.

The Figure 2 cover represents the third recorded non-Chicago use of a Chicago Perforated stamp, and the only one with a simple explanation of how the stamp came to be used outside of Chicago. The two other non-Chicago uses are a cover from New York City postmarked 23 May 1856 and a cover from Rosedale, Wisconsin, postmarked 31 January, 1856 (or 1857). Thanks to Richard Celler and Robin Lund for valuable assistance in plating the stamps. ■

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COLORS IN PRINT: FOLLOW-UP

MICHAEL C. McCLUNG

In the previous issue (*Chronicle* 235, August 2012), we published in this section an article on the pink shades of the 3¢ 1861 postage stamp, using our recently acquired ability to print *Chronicle* images in color. One of our objectives was to determine how closely we could come to matching the color of the printed images to the colors of the actual stamps. The article contained 25 images of 3¢ 1861 stamps showing various shades.

I was pleasantly surprised with the results. The reason I was surprised was that my first attempts to create accurate scanned color images, using my scanner and my computer, were quite unsatisfactory. So I experimented with other scanner/computer combinations on devices that belonged to friends and family. I finally I found that my daughter's HP scanner, linked to a Macintosh computer, produced remarkable results without requiring any color editing.

Another source of concern was my knowing how many times the image files would be opened, closed, and transferred to other equipment before finally being printed. From my daughter's scanner and computer the images were emailed to my computer where they were copied to a disc and sent to the Editor-in-Chief, who matched text with artwork and laid out the pages on his computer. Then the completed *Chronicle* edition was copied to another disk and sent to the printer, who copied the images again before producing the finished product. Each transfer of the images could have brought about a slight change in color.

In spite of these misgivings, I still felt confident that we could show the slight differences between similar stamp shades. Also we were able to get prepublication proofs from the printer and make some adjustments, so we became even more certain of what to expect. When I received my copy of the printed *Chronicle*, I was very encouraged by what I saw.

The next step was to match the images on the *Chronicle* pages to the actual stamps they depicted. This was done both in natural and artificial light and with input from others, both philatelists and non-collectors. The consensus was that we had a very close match with all of the shades.

While "very close" does not mean perfection, I believe we were able to convey what each of the shades looks like. That was the objective of the experiment. To be more specific, the images had a tiny bit more red in them, but not enough that I could edit it out. And the color of the images was a little more intense. These differences could only be detected with side by side comparison, so I would say this was a mission accomplished.

One drawback in trying to use the *Chronicle* as a color guide is that the *Chronicle* is printed on glossy paper and the stamps are not, and sometimes the glare can be distracting. Also, when comparing actual stamps with the printed stamp images, one must adjust for

the light intensity differential. While viewing stamps and images side by side, one experiences the ambient light, whatever the sources, but in the printed image, the ambient light is intensified by the light acquired from the scanner. This adds a little additional brightness to the images, but it does not seem to affect color perception.

Going forward, I believe we have opportunities to present shade studies, in the pages of the *Chronicle*, for other stamps from the classic era. Let's see if we can have similar success using the same techniques to compare shades of blue, green or brown stamps. Who is next?

Something to keep an eye on is the affect of aging on the colors on the printed pages. We know that stamps can fade or change if subjected to certain environmental conditions, and perhaps images on *Chronicle* pages can too. Hopefully some of our members are skilled at techniques that could be used to simulate aging in a short period of time. This might help us better understand how long the printed images can be used effectively as tools.

Overall, I believe this experiment was very successful. We wanted to determine if we could reproduce stamp colors on the printed page, and I believe we did. We have also received some suggestions about using other forms of modern light-detecting technology to determine stamp shades. This was not one of our objectives in writing the color article, but it is an important avenue to consider for further study. Thanks to everyone who sent feedback and suggestions. ■

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**DISCOVERY:
EARLIER DIE STATE OF THE 12¢ 1869 SMALL-NUMERAL ESSAY**

JAMES E. LEE

Small-numeral essays exist for many of the 1869 stamps. Late in the production process, the Post Office Department requested the National Bank Note Company to enlarge the numerals, presumably to ease the burden on mail-handlers by making the stamp denominations bolder and thus easier to read.

For the 12¢ 1869 stamp, several different small-numeral essay types exist. There are line-engraved essays, typographed essays and lithographed essays.

For the small-numeral line-engraved essay listed as 117-E1 in Scott's *Specialized Catalogue of United State Stamps & Covers* (and described there as "Design as issued but with smaller value numerals"), die and plate essays are known in many different colors. Printing plates were made up from the essay designs and some were even perforated. An example of a perforated plate essay for the 12¢ 1869 stamp is shown at left in Figure 1, adjacent to a nice fat copy of the issued stamp. The only design difference between the two is the larger numerals on the issued stamp.



Figure 1. Like many of the 1869 stamps, the 12¢ value exists, in essay form, in a design that shows smaller numerals. Shown here at left is an example of the small-numeral 12¢ essay (printed on stamp paper, gummed and perforated). At right is a full-margin example of the issued stamp. The only design difference is the size of the numerals.



Figure 2. 12¢ 1869 small-numeral die essay, black ink on India paper mounted on card, greatly enlarged. This newly identified item represents a preliminary and incomplete state of the die. There are many subtle differences between this and the completed die (shown opposite as Figure 3). The most notable differences involve the scrolled value tablet. Note, above the “12”, that there is a dashed line and two solid lines. On the completed design in Figure 3, another line has been added, above the dashed line. Lines have also been added to the left edge of the value scroll.

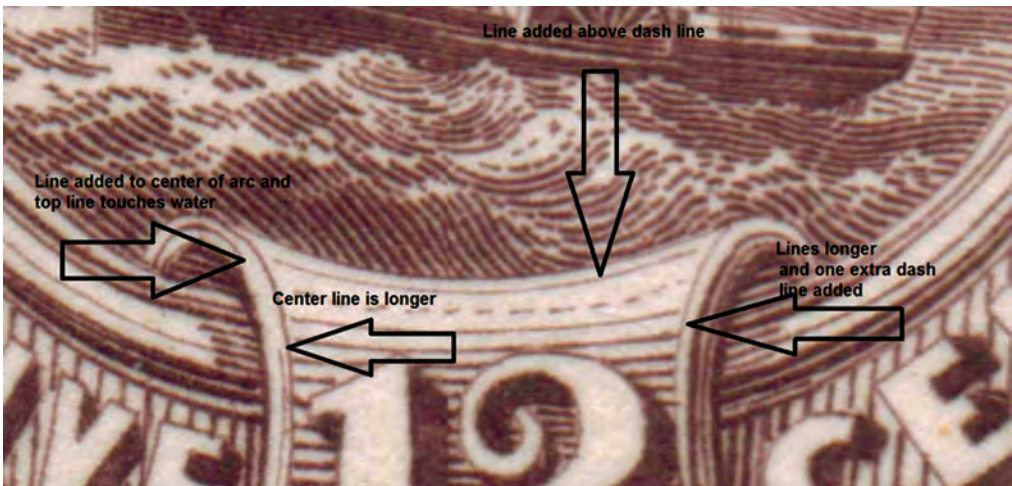
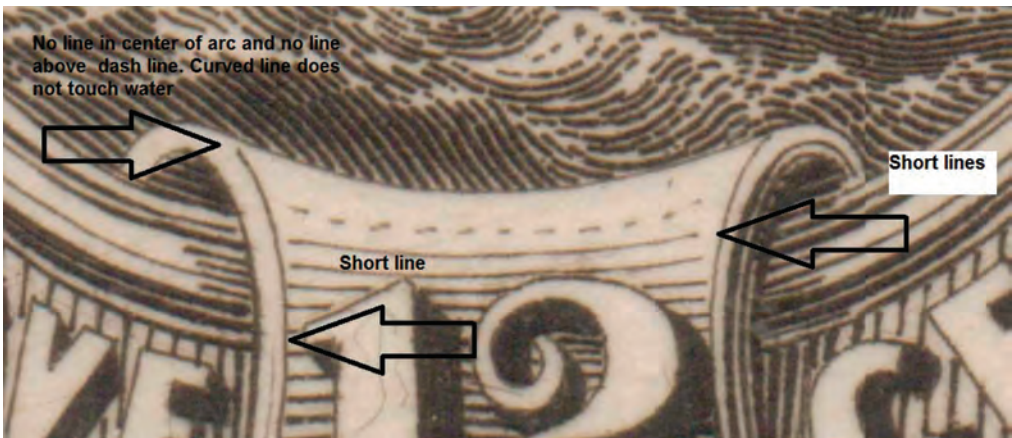
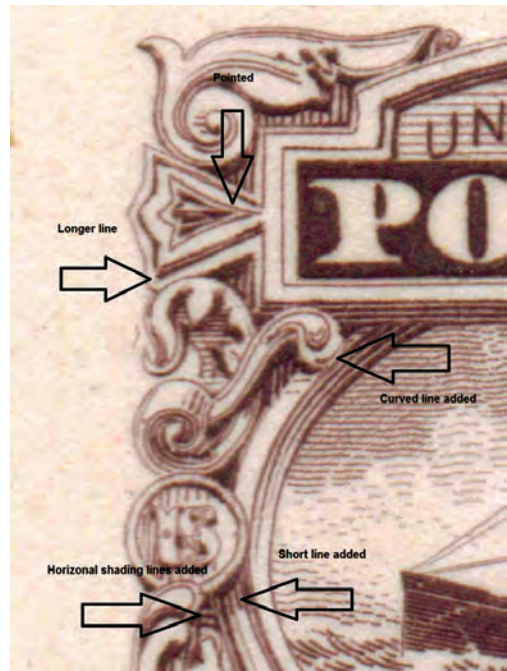
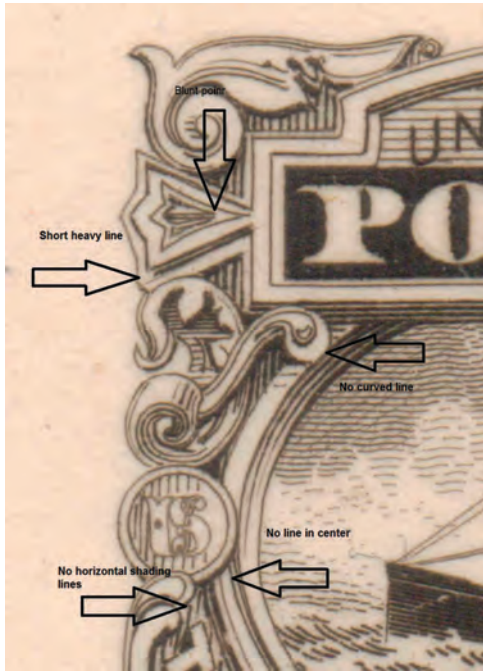
Until now, it has been thought that the small-numeral 117-E1 essay design existed in just one die state. But recently a member of this Society sent me scans that unarguably indicate the existence of an earlier, less complete die. The enlargements in Figures 2 and 3 should show this clearly. Figure 2 shows the incomplete die, which represents an earlier state than Figure 3, which shows the completed die. The incomplete die in Figure 2 was pulled in black ink, imprinted on India paper and mounted on card. The finished die in Figure 3 was pulled in dull violet ink, also on India paper mounted on card. Contrast has been enhanced in both enlargements to maximize the visibility of design detail.



Figure 3. Greatly enlarged, this is the 12¢ 1869 small-numeral die essay listed in the Scott specialized catalog as 117-E1. The example shown here is printed in dull violet ink on India paper mounted on card. Note the triangular element to the left of the “UNITED STATES POSTAGE” tablet. This contains an object that looks like an arrowhead. In the incomplete design (Figure 2), the lines in this arrowhead are poorly defined and the tip of the arrow is blunt. In the finished design, above, the lines are bolder and the tip is sharp.

There are at least ten subtle differences between the two die states, none of which really changes the appearance of the final design. The most easily visible difference occurs in the scrolled value tablet, above the numeral “12”. In the incomplete die in Figure 2, the upper part of the value tablet (below the vignette), shows a line of 11 dashes, with an empty white space above.

In the completed die, Figure 3, an additional solid line has been added in the white space at the top of the scrolled tablet. Also, the dashes have been lengthened and an extra dash has been added at right.



The other differences are so subtle that they might escape notice. They are also difficult to reproduce in print. The enlargements in the images on the page opposite show most of the differences. At top are enlargements of the upper left corner of the two dies, with arrows and text superimposed. To the left of the "POSTAGE" tablet is a triangular ornament that contains a design shaped like an arrowhead. In the early state of the die (at left), the lines forming this arrowhead are light and the head of the arrow is blunt. In the final state of the die (at right), the lines have been strengthened and the arrowhead shows a sharp point. Also, the line below this triangular ornament has been lengthened and strengthened.

In the ornament below the "P" in "POSTAGE", the finished die shows a highlighting mark (in the form of a short, curved line, rather like a teardrop) that is not present in the earlier die state.

Shading lines, both horizontal and vertical, have been added to the final die below the small circular "US" ornament left of the vignette frame; these shading lines are not present in the early state of the die.

The two horizontal images at the bottom of the page opposite show a portion of the design just below the vignette. The upper image, from the early state of the die, shows the top of the scrolled value tablet, above the numeral "12". In the completed die (lower image), a shading line has been added, above the dashed line; as mentioned earlier, this is totally absent from the early die state (upper image). Also, an extra dash has been added and the lines below the dashed line have been strengthened and extended at right. Work has also been done on the left edge of the curved value tablet: the curved vertical shading line has been lengthened, and the outline of this left edge has been strengthened and extended at top.

Having studied these minute changes, you have to ask yourself: Why? The following answer to that question is pure speculation on my part. The 12¢ 1869 stamp was designed by James Macdonough, secretary and designer for the National Bank Note Company and a leader of the firm for many years. James Smillie, a well-known artist in his day, engraved the vignette. Work on the frame and letter engraving fell to George W. Thurber.

As students of stamp essays and proofs, we tend to focus on the narrow body of work the engravers produced to earn their livings. We seldom take into account that many of these engravers were artists in their own right, producing countless works of art in different media outside the security printing workplace.

I can imagine that Thurber pulled the Figure 2 proof toward the end of the long die-engraving process. Almost all work-in-process proofs were (like Figure 2) pulled in black ink on India paper backed by cardboard. Like all good artists, I think Thurber saw a chance to put some finishing touches on his work, from an artistic perspective, and took advantage of it. It's difficult to imagine some technocrat from the Post Office Department suggesting these minute changes.

We'll probably never know for certain why these changes were made. But at the very least, we have an item that should generate a new catalog listing. This newly identified essay should precede 117-E1 in the catalog.

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OFFICIALS

ALAN C. CAMPBELL, EDITOR

REDISCOVERY: THE 3¢ POST OFFICE PLATE NO. 40

WILLIAM STEVEN BIRMINGHAM

When the Official stamps were being prepared, there was a rush to get them all available on time. They were approved on March 3, 1873 and they had to be ready for use by July 1. This took place during a period of technological upheaval, with new ink pigments and the increasing use of steam-powered equipment, which had the potential to produce many things more efficiently.¹

For the 3¢ Post Office stamp, two 100-subject plates, numbered 36 and 40, were made for use on an experimental steam-driven press. These plates saw very little use, creating only 2,400 stamp sheets between them. Stamps that can be positively identified as coming from these two plates have proven elusive. They have been highly subject to misidentification. On 3¢ Post Office panes printed from Plate 140, the plate numbers were separated by the perforations, leaving single stamps with just the number “40” showing in the margin or selvage. These have frequently been wrongly attributed to Plate 40. Also plates 30 and 41 were recut after initial use and stamps from the early states of these plates were for some time mistakenly believed to have been printed from plates 36 and 40.²

I recently bought the stamp shown in Figure 1. This is a 3¢ Post Office with a partial plate number at the top. I will look at three aspects that prove this is a plate number 40 and thus that the stamp comes from Plate 40.

First, on Official stamps the full plate number is always preceded by a script “No” (indicating “number”) followed by a period and then the numerals of the plate number in a serif font (see Figure 2).

The Figure 1 stamp shows a tiny fragment of the lower edge of the script “No” and a period afterwards. The digits that follow are the base of the vertical column of a serified numeral followed by the round bottom of a second numeral. Both are placed more or less above the center of the stamp beneath. The plates used for the 3¢ Post Office were numbers 30, 36, 40, 41, 140 and 141.³ From this selection of numbers, the only possible plate numbers for the Figure 1 stamp are 40 or 140.

Figure 2 shows top plate number strips, left (top) and right (bottom) for Plate 140. When you examine these plate strips, you will notice that in both cases, the “No . 1” is wholly contained on the stamp to the left and the number “40” falls over the vertical perforations that divide the stamps beneath. There is no way the number captured on the Figure



Figure 1, 3¢ Post Office stamp with partial plate number captured at top. The question is: What number is it?



Figure 2, Top left and right plate strips from Plate 140, overlapped here to save space, showing the position of the plate numbers. Courtesy of Lester C. Lanphear III.

1 stamp is from plate 140, because the two-digit numeral appears above the center of the stamp. Since it can't come from Plate 140, the Figure 1 stamp must show a partial plate number from Plate 40.

Second, the Figure 1 stamp includes what appears to be a left position dot at 9 o'clock, just inside the oval frame, and the central "3" is either not recut at all or slightly less recut than the late state of Plate 41. According to the studies of Robert H. Davis in 1932, only two of the 3¢ Post Office plates show a guide dot at left. These are plate numbers 40 and 41. Davis also states that only three of the plates were not recut, these are plates numbered 36, 40, and 141. According to this handy matrix, the only stamps that show both these characteristics come from Plate 40. (Davis was apparently not aware of the early state of Plate 41, but of course this stamp can't be from that plate because of the captured plate number.) Davis' confident assertions suggest that at the time of his research, plate number multiples of all six plates were intact and available to him.⁴

Third, the Figure 1 stamp exhibits ink blobs attached to the outside edges of the central numeral. These blobs were caused by a combination of the ink formula and the action of the press itself. They are typical of the Post Office stamps produced on the steam press. George Sayers has published a detailed explanation of this effect, which is beyond the scope of this article.⁵ Knowing this characteristic, and knowing that the only two plates used on the steam presses were numbers 36 and 40, the only number that would work for the Figure 1 stamp is Plate 40.

In conclusion, this copy of the 3¢ Post Office with partial plate number capture is the long-sought proof that plate 40 was used, as Luff stated it was.⁶ The possibility of locating mint plate pieces is minimal, because sheets of Plate 40 would have been used up early in the life of the Official stamps—but used partial plate numbers from the 2,400 printed sheets are a possibility. Good luck in seeking them out.

Endnotes

1. George G. Sayers, "Production Plate Varieties and the Nature of Opaque Inks, with Notes on the Post Office 'Scummy' Printings and the Steam Press Printings of the 2¢ Post Office Stamp," *Chronicle* 224, pp. 310-325.
2. Alfred E. Staibus and George G. Sayers, "The 3¢ Post Office Department Stamp: Double Transfer at Position 4L41 Early and Late, Corrections to the Historical Record," *Chronicle* 209, pp. 57-61.
3. John N. Luff, *The Postage Stamps of the United States*, 1902, pg. 211.
4. Robert H. Davis, "The 3¢ Post Office Its Types and Varieties," *Ward's Philatelic News*, November, 1932, pp. 16-19. I am indebted to Alfred E Staibus for bringing this article to my attention.
5. Sayers, *op. cit.*
6. Luff, *op. cit.*, pg. 211. ■

MAIL BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NEWFOUNDLAND

DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

Newfoundland is a scarce destination for United States mail during the classic philatelic period. While Newfoundland was one of the first places in the New World to be settled, it was rapidly bypassed in economic development by locations with more hospitable climates. Newfoundland remained a viable settlement, primarily as a fishing base with access to the Grand Banks. But generally, Newfoundland remained isolated from commerce. During the classic era, there were numerous attempts to establish better postal communications between Newfoundland and Europe, as well as with mainland North America. However, for much of this period, Newfoundland's sole contact with the outside world was the biweekly Cunard Line feeder route operating between St. Johns, Newfoundland, and Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Newfoundland

Newfoundland is a roughly triangular island, about 250 miles on each side, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. The island is roughly 100 miles from Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, and less than 10 miles at the narrowest point across the Strait of Belle Isle from the mainland. In addition to the island of Newfoundland, the colony also included a sparsely populated portion of the Canadian mainland known as Labrador, located north and east of the Province of Lower Canada, what is now Quebec. Labrador was first included in the colony of Newfoundland following the Treaty of Paris in 1763. However, from 1774 to 1809, Labrador was part of Lower Canada. Since that date, Labrador was part of the Colony of Newfoundland, and remains part of what is now known as the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Although more than 110,000 square miles in area, roughly the size of Nevada, even today Labrador has only around 26,000 residents. The accompanying map shows most of the locations discussed in this article, placed on a map of the region that includes contemporary boundaries.

Newfoundland was known to Europeans before Columbus, and it is believed to have been the site of Viking explorer Leif Ericson's Vineland settlement roughly 1,000 years ago. Archeological evidence exists of a Norse settlement in L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland. Newfoundland was rediscovered by Europeans at the end of the 15th century. The Italian explorer John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto), who sailed on behalf of England, is believed to have landed in Newfoundland in 1497 and 1498, although his exact landing spot in 1497 is unknown, and some historians believe he actually landed in Nova Scotia. Cabot was followed in 1499 and 1500 by the Portuguese explorer João Fernandes Lavrador. Portugal established fishing outposts on Newfoundland around 1521. These outposts were later abandoned.

In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert formally took possession of Newfoundland, based on letters patent issued by Queen Elizabeth. In 1610, Newfoundland became England's first permanent colony in the New World. In 1655, the French established a colony in Plaisance, which was originally a Basque fishing colony. While French control ended following the Siege of Port Royal in 1710 and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French retained seasonal fishing treaty concessions through 1904.¹ The treaties permitted landing and shore rights, including the construction of permanent fishing station structures on what was termed the



Map of the region discussed in this article, showing most of the locations mentioned.

“French Shore.” In addition, France retained the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the south shore of Newfoundland.² Newfoundland remained a British Colony throughout the 19th century. In 1867, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia joined Canada East and Canada West to form the Dominion of Canada. Newfoundland rejected confederation with Canada in 1869. In 1907, Newfoundland attained Dominion status within the British Empire. Newfoundland confederated with Canada effective March 31, 1949. In 2001, the Province of Newfoundland was officially renamed the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Postal history to 1840

The first post office in Newfoundland was approved for St. Johns in 1805 at the request of the Governor, Sir Erasmus Gower, to the Secretary of the General Post Office in London, Francis Freeling.³ While Freeling granted the request to establish a post office, with Simon Solomon as Postmaster, Freeling noted that the post office could not at that time be included in the British postal system.⁴ Thus, this post office was a purely local operation, with no mail routes connecting Newfoundland with the outside world and with no domestic mail routes either. However, the General Post Office in London agreed to provide a bag for letters addressed to Newfoundland. The bag was to be sent by mail packet to Halifax and forwarded by a private sailing vessel.⁵ Additionally, from 1809, the Postmaster at St. Johns was authorized to pay ship captains 1d for each letter delivered to the post office and to charge 2d for each letter delivered from the post office.⁶

Despite the establishment of a post office, the vast majority of the mail to and from Newfoundland continued to be transported out of the mails. Merchants used the St. Johns post office only when it was convenient. The majority of the mail was carried by occasional merchant ships, military couriers, or fishing vessels.⁷ These letters have no Newfoundland postal markings and were carried entirely out of the mails or were deposited as ship letters at the port of arrival.

Most of the Newfoundland mail during this period, not surprisingly, is between Newfoundland and the United Kingdom. More surprising is the large amount of mail between Newfoundland and Portugal. Portuguese fishing interests left a large surviving correspondence between Newfoundland and Oporto, Portugal. Most of the mail is from the archives of the wine and fish import and export merchants, Hunt, Roope, Newman & Co., of Oporto.⁸

Mail from Newfoundland to the United States is uncommon during this period. Letters from any foreign origin to Newfoundland are extremely scarce, likely because of sev-

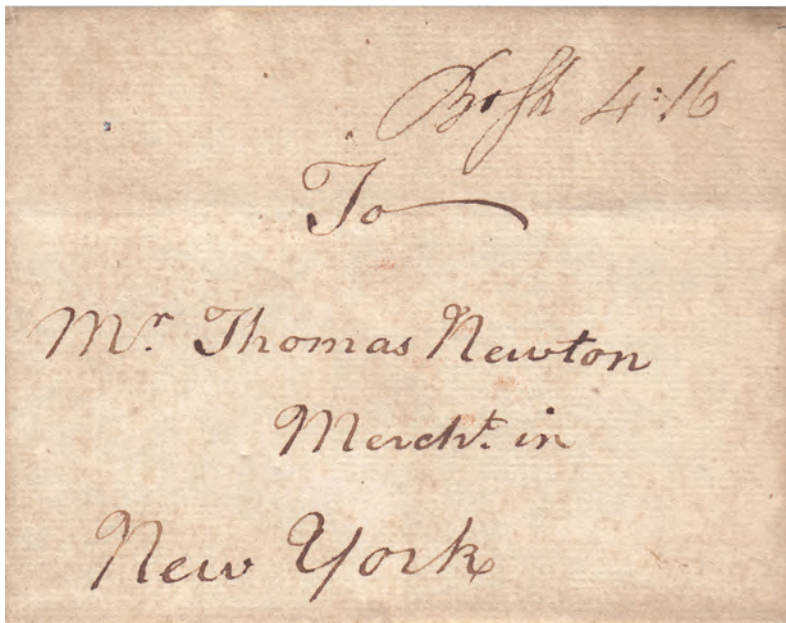


Figure 1. October 28, 1764, from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to New York, carried by a non-contract ship before the establishment of a post office in Newfoundland. Colin D. Lewis collection.

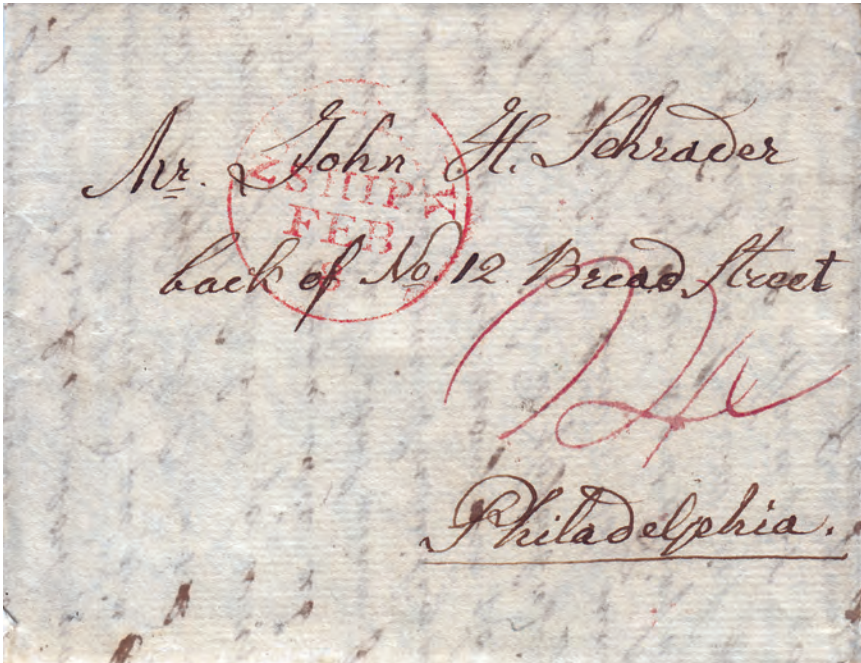


Figure 2. August 20, 1831, from Hopedale, Labrador, carried by a non-contract ship to New York, bypassing the Newfoundland post office. Colin D. Lewis collection.

eral fires that destroyed St. Johns in the 19th century.⁹ In fact, the census of incoming letters prepared by Robert Pratt lists no letters from the United States to Newfoundland during the period before 1840.¹⁰ However, a few covers not known to Pratt, exist.¹¹ One of these, from Boston to Newfoundland, is dated June 1705 and was carried by private ship to Newfoundland. Pratt's listing of outgoing letters does not record any letters from Newfoundland to the United States with Newfoundland postal markings.¹²

Figure 1 is an October 28, 1764, letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to New York, carried by a non-contract ship to Boston. The letter has a manuscript postmark "Bo Sh 4:16" indicating it was a Boston ship letter rated 4 dwt (pennyweight) silver for inland postage from Boston to New York plus 16 grains of silver for the ship letter fee.

Figure 2 shows a similar ship letter to the United States, but dated after the establishment of the post office in St. Johns. The cover, dated August 20, 1831, originated in Hopedale, Labrador. It bypassed the St. Johns post office and was carried by a non-contract ship to New York, where it was rated 20³/₄¢ due: 18³/₄¢ inland postage from New York to Philadelphia plus 2¢ ship letter fee. As there were no postal routes, all mail between Newfoundland and the United States was carried by non-contract ships until 1840.

Postal history during the Cunard Line era: 1840-1867

Two major related events took place in 1840 that dramatically changed Newfoundland's postal relations with the rest of the world. First, the General Post Office in London assumed control of the St. Johns post office.¹³ With the assumption of control by the General Post Office, the crown claimed the exclusive right to the transmission of mails, forcing merchants to use the post office for their correspondence.¹⁴ Second, beginning in July 1840, the British & North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, better known as the Cunard Line, commenced steamship mail sailings between Liverpool and Boston,

stopping in Halifax in each direction. A separate feeder route operating between St. Johns, Newfoundland, and Halifax, connected with the Liverpool to Boston packets at their port call in Halifax. Thus, for the first time, the feeder route provided scheduled mail service from Newfoundland to Halifax and connecting service to the United States and England. While the feeder route to Halifax was a major advance for Newfoundland mails, the islanders still desired direct transatlantic service and made multiple attempts during this period to establish a competing packet service.

St. Johns to Halifax feeder route

The St. Johns to Halifax feeder route was intended to commence with the first transatlantic Cunard Line sailings, but it appears the actual service did not start until a month or two later.¹⁵ By separate contract with the General Post Office, John Tobin of Ireland provided sailing ships operating between St. Johns and Halifax.¹⁶ Tobin's ships included the *Sandwich* and the *Charles Buchan*, and they operated from 1840 through April 1844.¹⁷ The sailing ships would depart Halifax following the arrival of the Cunard Line mail steamer from Liverpool, taking five days during the summer and nine to ten days during the winter months (when the Cunard Line operated on a monthly schedule).¹⁸

In 1844, the steamship *North America*, operated by James Whitney,¹⁹ replaced Tobin's sailing ships and reduced the summer transit time from 5 days to 2½ days.²⁰ The *North America* was replaced by the *Unicorn* in 1846, although sailing packets were used during the winter months through 1849. In 1848, the Cunard Line started service between Liverpool and New York, also stopping in Halifax en route in both directions. However, it appears the feeder route continued to align its schedule only with the Liverpool-to-Boston service. The Cunard Line steamers operating between Liverpool and New York ceased calling at Halifax in 1850.²¹ In 1849, the Cunard Line took over operation with the steamers *Falcon* and *Kestral*. The *Kestral* was soon lost off the coast of Newfoundland and the *Falcon* sank in 1851.²² Cunard was forced to replace the lost steamers with sailing packets until the *Osprey* was transferred from the Halifax-to-Bermuda run to provide service to Newfoundland.²³ Following the transfer of the *Osprey*, a variety of ships were used on the route. With regular steam service, the packets began calling at North Sydney on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, except during the winter months.²⁴ Mails to St. Pierre and Miquelon were normally put off in North Sydney.²⁵ The Cunard Line feeder route to Halifax continued for a short period after the Cunard Line steamers operating between Liverpool and Boston stopped their port calls in Halifax at the end of 1867.

Postal rates via Halifax

The postal rates to or from the United States can be complex. Except for a limited number of letters carried in attempts to start a competing packet service to Newfoundland (discussed below), all postal mail to and from Newfoundland was carried by the St. Johns-to-Halifax feeder service. Between the United States and Halifax, mail could be sent by sea or by land.

The total postage on a letter sent by Cunard Line packets via Halifax is composed of three parts: Newfoundland inland postage (if any); packet postage (including any separate charge for the feeder route between Halifax and St. Johns); and United States inland postage. As discussed in more detail below, mails between the United States and Newfoundland were not covered by the postal treaty between the United States and Great Britain. Thus, a letter could not be prepaid to its destination until the postal treaty between the countries that took effect in December 1872.²⁶

During the Cunard Line era, a correspondent in Newfoundland was always responsible for prepaying the packet postage and any inland charge on letters to the United States.

Effective From	U.S. Postage	Cunard Packet Postage	Newfoundland Inland Postage
July 1, 1840	Outgoing: U.S. postage to Boston ^a	4d stg.	No internal mail routes; some internal mail sent as ship letters
Late 1841 or 1842	Incoming: U.S. postage from Boston plus ship letter fee ^a	1 shilling stg. ^b	
February 15, 1849	Outgoing: U.S. postage to Boston	8d stg.: 4d stg. to Halifax plus 4d stg. to Boston) ^c	2½d stg./3d cy.
June 20, 1850	Incoming: U.S. postage from Boston		
July 1, 1851	Outgoing: U.S. postage to port (3¢) Incoming: 5¢ due		
1853/54	Outgoing: U.S. postage to port (5¢) Incoming: 5¢ due	4d stg.	Additional 2¢ on letters to St. Johns, 5¢ to outports
January 1, 1856			
April 6, 1865		8¢	

Table 1. Schematic depiction of Newfoundland packet postage rates, 1840-1867. Notes: a—from June 27, 1848 to January 3, 1849, the retaliatory rate period, an additional 24¢ American packet postage was charged; b—sources differ as to the date of the change, see Endnote 40; c—Pratt alternately gives the date as August 3, 1849 and June 20, 1850, see Endnote 44.

He was equally responsible for paying the packet postage and any Newfoundland inland charge on incoming letters from the United States, which were always sent unpaid. Since there was no postal treaty and thus no mechanism for collecting postage due, a correspondent in the United States could pay only the United States inland postage on both incoming and outgoing letters. It is worth noting that the sea route to Halifax was little known in the United States. In fact, it was not listed in the *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* until August 1863²⁷ and was not listed in the *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America* until the 1866 edition.²⁸

United States rates

The components of the postage rates for packet letters carried by the Cunard Line are summarized in Table 1. The United States postage rates for mail to Newfoundland were the same as the rates on transatlantic letters sent by the Cunard Line to England through February 1849, when the postal treaty between the United States and the United Kingdom took effect. The rates were the ordinary inland postage to Boston (for letters to Newfoundland) and the ordinary inland rate plus a 2¢ ship letter fee for letters from Newfoundland.

Figure 3 is a letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland, postmarked there with a November 1846 crowned circle PAID marking. Since it originated in St. Johns, no Newfoundland inland postage was charged. The letter was originally addressed to New York but the sender revised the address to Philadelphia. The sender paid 1 shilling sterling (stg.) for the packet postage by the *Unicorn* to Halifax and then by the Cunard Line *Acadia* to Boston. From Boston, the letter was sent in a closed mail bag to Philadelphia, where it was rated 12¢ due: 10¢ for a distance over 300 miles from Boston plus 2¢ ship letter fee.



Figure 3. November 1846 cover with St. Johns, Newfoundland, crowned circle PAID marking. One shilling (sterling) packet postage paid for Cunard Line carriage to Boston. Sent in closed mail bag to Philadelphia.

Letters between the United States and Newfoundland were subject to the retaliatory rate charges between June 27, 1848, and January 3, 1849. The United States assessed 24¢ additional postage on prepaid letters arriving on Cunard Line packets and required prepayment of 24¢ additional postage on letters sent. No retaliatory-rate covers to or from Newfoundland are recorded,²⁹ but retaliatory-rate covers from Halifax are well known.

Effective February 1849, the United States and the United Kingdom entered into a postal treaty. However, the treaty did not apply to mails to Newfoundland or the other British North American provinces. Article XIII and XIV of the December 15, 1848, postal treaty with the United Kingdom actually provided for the exchange of mails between the United States and the British North American provinces at a single combined rate.³⁰ However, the articles of execution (May 14, 1849) postponed the implementation of the combined rate for British North American mails until the rates of postage in the various countries could be simplified.³¹ Thus, a letter between the United States and Newfoundland still could not be sent prepaid to its destination.

The United States later attempted to negotiate for the exchange of mail with Newfoundland at the treaty rate as part of the failed attempt to establish a treaty with Nova Scotia in 1852 and 1853. The treaty would have provided for the direct exchange of mail between Boston and Halifax by way of the *Sir John Harvey*. The discussions failed because the United States insisted that mails to Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland be included in the treaty.³² In fact, Nova Scotia Postmaster General Woodgate lined out the provision covering mails for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island before signing a November 12, 1852, draft agreement.³³ Woodgate explained that “there is a Packet Postage between Halifax and Newfound Land which Postage must be secured to Great Britain the mails being carried to and from that Island by British Contract Packets, and over which this Province can exercise no control whatever. To carry out the proposed arrangement it will therefore be necessary for you to enter into a correspondence with the Postmasters General of Newfound Land and Prince Edward Island as I repeat I have no Control over the Postal arrangements of these Colonies.”³⁴ As the Halifax-to-St. Johns packets remained under British control, with the colony required to account for packet postage to London, it remained impossible to pay a letter to its destination.

From the effective date of the treaty with the United Kingdom, through an undetermined date in 1854, letters to and from Newfoundland were liable for the ordinary inland postage, but without a ship letter fee of 2¢ on incoming letters.

The reduction in U.S. internal rates, effective July 1, 1851, caused the U.S. postage on letters to Newfoundland to be reduced. The previous rate structure required 5¢ U.S. postage on letters originating up to 300 miles from the port of debarkation and 10¢ for distances over 300 miles. The new rate was 3¢ for distances up to 3,000 miles from the port.

The United States internal rate on letters to Nova Scotia changed at an undetermined date between June and November 1854.³⁵ With the United States rate reductions effective July 1, 1851, prepaid letters for distances up to 3,000 miles were entitled to a discounted rate of 3¢, while unpaid letters were rated 5¢ due. Since the postal treaty between the United States and Great Britain did not cover mail from the United States to Halifax, a United States sender was required to prepay the United States portion of the postage, so outgoing letters were always rated 3¢, while incoming letters, of necessity unpaid, were rated 5¢. However, at an undetermined date in 1854, the United States charge on letters to Nova Scotia was increased to 5¢.³⁶ The exact date is unknown, but it appears to have been increased to match the British open mail rate. These rates remained in effect though the end of Cunard Line service in 1867.

Although not relevant to the postal history of the mails to Newfoundland, it is worth noting the scarcity of letters to Newfoundland franked with United States postage stamps. There are no covers to Newfoundland recorded franked with 1847 stamps or with imperforate 5¢ or 10¢ stamps of the following series.³⁷ A few covers with 3¢ 1851 imperforate stamps are known.³⁸ A small number of covers with perforated 1857 stamps (generally 5¢ and 10¢) are known. Figure 4 shows a cover from New York, dated April 2, 1861, franked with a 5¢ brown Type II 1860 stamp (Scott 30A), which paid the 5¢ rate equal to the British open mail rate. The manuscript "4" was probably applied at Halifax, and represents 4d stg. packet postage due for carriage by the Cunard Line steamer *Canada* to Halifax and the connecting service to St. Johns, Newfoundland. Stamps of the 1861 issue are a bit easier to find used on covers to Newfoundland.



Figure 4. April 2, 1861, from New York to St. Johns, Newfoundland. The 5¢ brown Type II 1860 stamp paid the 5¢ rate; 4d (sterling) packet postage was due from the recipient.



Figure 5. June 1863 cover from Boston to St. Johns, Newfoundland. The U.S. 5¢ red brown 1862 stamp paid 5¢ rate (equivalent to British open mail rate); 4d (sterling) packet postage was due from the recipient.

Figure 5 shows a cover from Boston, Massachusetts, sent in June 1863, franked with a 5¢ red brown 1862 stamp (75), which paid the 5¢ rate equal to the British open mail rate. The handstamp “4” applied in Halifax again represents 4d stg. packet postage due for carriage by the Cunard Line steamer *Asia* to Halifax and connecting service to St. Johns.

Packet postage rates

The packet postage rates between the United States and Newfoundland initially followed the rates applicable to all British packet services. Pursuant to the postal act of 1765, there was a 4d stg. port-to-port packet charge for single letters “conveyed by Sea from any Port in the British Dominions in America, to any other port within the said Dominions.”³⁹ As the United States had not been a British colony since the Revolutionary War roughly 60 years earlier, the application of this law seems unusual. The rate by packet was increased in late 1841 or 1842 to 1 shilling stg. Sources differ as to the date of the rate change.⁴⁰ During this period, mail between Newfoundland and United States (or Halifax and the United States) was charged the same postage as a letter crossing the Atlantic from Liverpool. The cover shown in Figure 3 illustrated the 1 shilling rate.

On August 3, 1849, the packet rate was reduced from 1 shilling to 4d stg.⁴¹ However, this appears to be the date of the legislative action, and not the effective date of the rate change. For example, the rate reduction did not take effect for mails from Halifax to the United States until September 20, 1849.⁴² Newfoundland apparently did not know of the rate reduction, since the first recorded mention of the rate reduction in Newfoundland was on June 26, 1850.⁴³ However, this was a few days *after* the Newfoundland post began charging an 8d stg. rate.

Effective June 20, 1850, letters between Newfoundland and the United States were charged 8d stg.: 4d stg. for the feeder-line packet from St. Johns to Halifax plus 4d stg. for the packet from Halifax to Boston.⁴⁴ The 8d rate was based on an October 11, 1840, British



Figure 6. September 6, 1854, from St. Johns to New York. The sender paid 8d sterling packet postage in cash: 4d packet postage from St. Johns to Halifax plus 4d from Halifax to Boston. The U.S. internal rate of 5¢ was due from the recipient in New York.

Post Office warrant setting the rate from St. Johns to Halifax at 4d stg., and an 1849 warrant which set the rate from Halifax to New York or Boston at 4d stg.⁴⁵ Figure 6 shows a letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland, postmarked September 6, 1854. Since the cover originated in St. Johns, there is no inland postage and the cover was paid at the 8d stg. combined rate (red crayon “8” at right): 4d stg. packet postage to Halifax and 4d stg. packet postage from Halifax to Boston. It was carried by the *Niagara* to Boston. In Boston, the letter was rated 5¢ due as an unpaid letter.

Effective January 1, 1856, the packet postage rate was reduced to 4d stg. from Newfoundland to any United States port.⁴⁶ Interestingly, this rate reduction had a major effect on the use of Newfoundland’s first pence-issue postage stamps. Months earlier, Newfoundland had initiated the process of ordering its first postage stamps with a Postmaster General special report in July 1855.⁴⁷ Based on the prevailing rates of the day, the colony ordered 8,000 8d stg. postage stamps, intended to pay the postage rate to the United States, and only 5,000 4d stg. stamps, which would pay the rate to Halifax, Nova Scotia.⁴⁸ The Governor of Newfoundland authorized the creation of the stamps in early September 1855. However, because of a variety of errors, including mis-addressing the letter to Perkins Bacon in London and then attempting to order the postage stamps from a vendor authorized to make handstamps (postmarking devices), rather than postage stamps, for the British Post Office, the order was not submitted until April 1856.⁴⁹ Newfoundland’s first postage stamps were not delivered until late November 1856 and were placed on sale January 1, 1857—a year after the postage rate to the United States had been reduced to 4d stg.⁵⁰

The 8d stg. stamp did not pay any single letter rate in effect when the stamps were delivered. Newfoundland Post Office records reveal that only 179 8d stg. stamps were sold in the first two years.⁵¹ If sales of the 8d stamp were to continue at that rate, the Post Office would have had approximately a 90-year supply.⁵² Conversely, the Post Office had sold 3,650 of the 5,000 4d stg. stamps in two years, indicating that the supply would be ex-



Figure 7. February 29, 1860, from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Baltimore. The bisected 8d sterling scarlet vermilion 1857 stamp paid the 4d packet postage. The U.S. internal rate of 5¢ was due in Baltimore.

hausted in less than three years.⁵³ The Newfoundland Post Office failed to order additional 4d stamps in a timely fashion and, beginning in October 1859, resorted to bisecting the 8d stg. stamp to pay the 4d stg. packet postage.⁵⁴ Figure 7 is a cover that originated in St. Johns, Newfoundland, on February 29, 1860. An 8d scarlet vermilion 1857 bisect pays the 4d stg. packet postage via Halifax by the *America*. At Boston, the letter was rated 5¢ due, to be collected from the recipient in Baltimore. No Newfoundland inland postage was paid since the cover originated in St. Johns.

Newfoundland ordered a second printing of 5,000 4d stg. stamps in April 1860.⁵⁵ Although the stamps were supposed to be printed in the same scarlet vermilion color as the 1857 issue, they were instead printed in a different shade, referred to as orange. This was followed in May 1861 by a third printing of 15,000 stamps in the rose shade.⁵⁶ Despite the various printings, the bisect covers are the most common franking on letters to the United States.⁵⁷

Figure 8 shows a November 6, 1862, letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Baltimore with a 4d stg. rose 1861 stamp, which paid the 4d stg. packet postage via Halifax by the *Europa* to Boston. At Boston the letter was rated 5¢ due. Once again, no Newfoundland inland postage was assessed since the cover originated in St. Johns.

Both Figure 7 and Figure 8 are part of the Tucker correspondence, a find of covers addressed to R. & H.R. Tucker in Baltimore. The find was reported to be 129 covers. However, Pratt's census of Newfoundland pence-issue covers lists only 81 covers from the Tucker correspondence.⁵⁸ Obviously, some of the stamps may have been removed from the covers. Even at the 81 covers Pratt recorded (the author has records of a few Tucker covers not included in the Pratt census) the Tucker find is a full two-thirds of the 121 pence-issue covers to the United States Pratt recorded and nearly 30 percent of the 280 total pence-issue covers recorded.⁵⁹ Figure 8 is one of several Tucker-correspondence covers with the



Figure 8. November 6, 1862, from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Baltimore. The 4d (sterling) rose 1861 stamp paid packet postage; 5¢ was due in Baltimore.

address overwritten to read Robert M. Baker. While it was originally thought this was philatelic vandalism that occurred when the correspondence was discovered, perhaps to conceal the origins of or the extent of the find, it now appears that the changes to the address were contemporaneous business notations by the Tucker firm. Robert M. Baker was possibly an employee of the Tucker firm charged with responding to the correspondence with the overwritten addresses.⁶⁰ This conclusion is supported by the fact that the handwriting and ink in the overwritten addresses matches the docketing in Tucker correspondence covers, both with the address overwritten and not overwritten.⁶¹

Newfoundland inland rates

Before 1851, when the colony assumed control of the postal system from the General Post Office in London, there were no internal postal routes. Letters were occasionally dispatched to the outports by contract messengers. These messengers were sometimes permitted to charge 6d for each letter.⁶² Beginning in 1851, the post office established several internal mail routes. The postage rate on these letters was 2½d stg. or 3d Newfoundland currency (cy.). The famous Newfoundland triangle stamp was issued to pay this rate. Figure 9 is one of the rare covers from Newfoundland to the United States that did not originate in St. Johns. This cover was posted at Harbour Grace on January 15, 1861, and was franked with a Newfoundland green 2½d stg./3d cy. triangle stamp of the 1857 issue (Scott 3), which paid the inland postage from Harbour Grace to St. Johns, and a 4d stg. scarlet vermilion stamp (4) which paid the packet postage to Boston, where the cover was rated 5¢ due. The pencil “7 cts” notation intertwined with the red St. Johns transit marking may indicate a 2¢ carrier charge in Philadelphia.

Pratt recorded 18 pence-issue covers with the combined inland and packet rate to the United States prepaid. Of these, 11 are franked with the triangle stamp and a 4d stamp, an 8d bisect, or in one case a pair of 2d stamps. Seven additional covers are franked with a single 6½d stg. stamp.⁶³ Figure 10 shows a November 19, 1863 cover from a way station outside St. Johns to Poughkeepsie, New York, franked with a 6½d stg. rose 1861 stamp



Figure 9. January 15, 1861, from Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, to Philadelphia. The green 3d (currency) 1857 triangle stamp paid inland postage to St. Johns and the 4d (sterling) scarlet vermillion 1857 stamp paid packet postage to Boston; 5¢ was due in Philadelphia. Colin D. Lewis collection.



Figure 10. November 19, 1863, from a way office outside St. Johns to Poughkeepsie, New York. The 6½d (sterling) rose 1861 stamp paid the combined inland and packet rate to New York; 5¢ was due in Poughkeepsie. Colin D. Lewis collection.

(21), which paid the combined packet and inland rate to Poughkeepsie. It was rated 5¢ due in New York.

Figure 11 shows an October 28, 1863, cover from New York franked with a 10¢ yellow-green 1861 stamp. The 10¢ stamp overpaid the 5¢ U.S. rate equal to the British open



Figure 11. October 28, 1863, from New York to Harbor Grace, Newfoundland. The 10¢ yellow-green 1861 stamp overpaid the 5¢ U.S. rate equal to British open mail rate; 4d (sterling) packet postage and 3d (currency) Newfoundland inland postage were due from the recipient.



Figure 12. October 18, 1865, from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Baltimore. The 8¢ packet postage rate was paid by the 4d (sterling) rose 1861 stamp and the 2¢ Newfoundland inland charge was paid by 1d stg. brown violet 1857 stamp; 5¢ was due in Baltimore. Colin D. Lewis collection.

mail rate. At Halifax the cover was rated 4d stg. packet postage due (black handstamped 4) for service by the *Olympus* via Halifax. The blue crayon 3, representing 3d cy. (equal to 2½d stg.) was likely applied in St. Johns and represents the internal postage from St. Johns to Harbor Grace.



Figure 13. June 27, 1866, from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Charlestown, Massachusetts. The 10¢ black 1865 stamp paid 8¢ packet postage plus 2¢ St. Johns post office charge; 5¢ was due in Charlestown.



Figure 14. February 23, 1866, from a Newfoundland way station to New York. The 13¢ orange 1865 stamp paid 8¢ packet postage plus 5¢ Newfoundland inland charge; 5¢ was due in New York.

In 1865, Newfoundland converted to decimal currency. The packet postage payable to Great Britain remained unchanged at 8¢ (4d stg.). However, Newfoundland added a 2¢ (1d stg.) internal charge on letters addressed to St. Johns, for a total of 10¢.⁶⁴ The internal postage of 2½d stg. (3d cy.) was converted to 5¢. Since the additional 2¢ charged in St.



Figure 15. September 14, 1866, from Atlantic City, New Jersey, to Heart's Content, Newfoundland. The 10¢ yellow-green 1861 stamp overpaid the 5¢ rate (equal to the British open mail rate). Due postage of 13¢ consisted of the 8¢ packet postage plus 5¢ Newfoundland inland charge. Michael Perlman collection.

Johns was not payable on letters addressed to the interior, the combined packet and inland postage on these letters was 13¢ (8¢ packet plus 5¢ inland). These rates remained in effect after the Cunard Line suspended service in 1867.

The conversion to pence currency and the implementation of the additional 2¢ charge for letters to St. Johns took effect on April 6, 1865. However, the Newfoundland cents-issue stamps were not available until November 1865. In the interim, the post office treated 5d stg. in stamps as equal to 10¢. Figure 12 shows an October 18, 1865, cover from St. Johns to Baltimore franked with a 4d stg. rose 1861 stamp and a 1d stg. brown violet 1857 stamp, paying the 8¢ (4d stg.) packet postage rate plus the 2¢ Newfoundland inland charge. As always, in Boston the cover was rated 5¢ due.

Figure 13 shows a June 27, 1866, cover franked with a 10¢ black 1865 Newfoundland Prince Albert stamp (Scott 27) that pays the packet postage by the *Cuba* via Halifax and Boston to Charlestown, Massachusetts. The 4d stg. packet postage rate was equivalent to 8¢ and the Newfoundland post office assessed the extra 2¢ (1d stg.) fee on letters to or from St. Johns. At Boston and again at Charlestown, the cover was rated 5¢ due.

Figure 14 shows a similar letter from a Newfoundland way station on February 23, 1866, franked with a 13¢ orange 1865 Fishing Ship stamp (30), which paid the 8¢ (4d stg.) packet postage plus the 5¢ Newfoundland inland charge for an origin beyond St. Johns.

Figure 15 shows a cover from Atlantic City, New Jersey, dated September 14, 1866, franked with a 10¢ yellow-green 1861 stamp, which overpaid the 5¢ rate equal to the British open mail rate to Boston. The cover was sent by the Cunard Line *China* via Halifax and in St. Johns the letter was rated 13¢ due: 8¢ packet postage plus 5¢ Newfoundland inland postage from St. Johns to Heart's Content.

Closed mail to Canada via Boston

Beginning September 22, 1851, it was possible send mail between Canada East or Canada West and Newfoundland by closed mail bag via the United States.⁶⁵ The route was the same as that used for closed mails between Nova Scotia and Canada by way of the Cunard Line. To speed delivery of transatlantic mails between Great Britain and Canada East and Canada West, these mails were sent by rail in closed bags via Boston and New York, rather than overland to Halifax. Although this mail route was developed to speed the



Figure 16. May 4, 1857, from Montreal, Lower Canada, to Harbour Grace, Newfoundland. One shilling (currency) due for closed mail rate via Boston and the Cunard Line.

delivery of Canadian transatlantic mails, it could also be used for interprovincial mail sent by a closed bag from Montreal to Boston by rail and then by Cunard Line steamer from Boston to Halifax. However, these letters were charged a higher rate of postage, because the letter was liable for the British packet postage. While an interprovincial letter sent overland to Nova Scotia was rated 3d cy., an interprovincial letter sent by the closed mail was rated 7½d cy.: 5d cy. (4d stg.) packet postage and 2½d cy. (2d stg.) inland postage. For closed mail to Newfoundland, the rate was 10d stg.: 8d stg. packet postage (the rate was set at the time when the packet postage to the United States was equal to 8d stg.) plus 2d stg. inland postage. When the packet postage to the United States was reduced from 8d stg. to 4d stg. in 1856, the closed-mail rate remained 10d stg. Closed-mail letters from Canada to Newfoundland were rated 1 shilling cy., the equivalent of 10d stg.

Figure 16 is a May 4, 1857 letter sent from Montreal, Lower Canada, to Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, by the closed mail. The letter is endorsed “via Boston” and was rated 1 shilling cy. (10d stg.) due. Since the cover traveled in a closed mail bag, there are no United States postal markings, and the United States did not collect any transit postage. The closed mail rate was finally reduced to 6½d stg. (13¢ Newfoundland currency) effective January 1, 1865, to reflect the reduction in the packet postage rate from 8d stg. to 4d stg., which took effect nine years earlier.⁶⁶ Closed-mail letters from Canada to Newfoundland were rated 12½¢ Canadian currency, the equivalent of 6½d stg.

Land mail to Halifax

In addition to the sea route, correspondents in the United States could send letters to Newfoundland by land. Unlike the sea route, it was possible to send *unpaid* mail to Halifax, Nova Scotia, for transmission to Newfoundland. For mail sent by this route, Newfoundland would account for the postage due to the Maritime Provinces, which would (before July 1851) account for funds due to the United States.

For letters sent by land to Halifax, the analysis is similar to the sea route. However, there may also be separate Maritime Province postage charged. Before the postal arrangements with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1851, letters from the United States could



Figure 17. July 13, 1847, cover sent overland from Baltimore to St. Johns, Newfoundland. 10¢ was paid to the Robbinston, Maine, exchange office; 1 shilling sterling was due for overland postage to Halifax plus 4d sterling packet postage to St. Johns. Image courtesy Harmers International, Inc.

be sent entirely unpaid or paid to the exchange office, which was generally Robbinston, Maine, exchanging with St. Andrews, New Brunswick. The United States inland postage to the exchange office was based on distance. The New Brunswick exchange office would then rate the cover with the postage due from the exchange office to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The distance from St. Andrews to Halifax was 340 miles, so the letters were charged 1 shilling stg. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cy.⁶⁷ If the United States postage was not prepaid, the amount due would be converted to pence and added to the $1\frac{1}{2}$ cy. postage to Halifax.

Figure 17 shows a July 13, 1847, letter from Baltimore to St. Johns. At Baltimore, the letter was prepaid 10¢ for a distance over 300 miles to the border at Robbinston, Maine. From Robbinston, the letter was exchanged with St. Andrews, New Brunswick (across the St. Croix River). At St. Andrews, the cover was rated 1 shilling 4d stg. due: 1 shilling stg. for overland postage for a distance of 301 to 400 miles to Halifax plus 4d stg. packet postage from Halifax to St. Johns.

Figure 18 is a similar cover, sent from New York on December 24, 1846. However, this cover was sent entirely unpaid. The St. Andrews exchange office rated the cover 1 shilling $9\frac{1}{2}$ stg. due. This was the sum of the 10¢ United States postage to Robbinston (converted to $5\frac{1}{2}$ stg.), 1 shilling stg. overland postage from St. Andrews to Halifax, plus the 4d stg. packet postage.

From July 1851, the convention rate to Halifax was 10¢ paid or unpaid, for distances up to 3,000 miles from the exchange office. Since pursuant to the convention there was no accounting between the United States and Nova Scotia (that is, the party collecting the postage kept the postage), there was no need to account for postage due on unpaid letters to Newfoundland. This was reflected in a Newfoundland post office notice from January 1852, noting that land mail to the United States would be charged 4d stg. packet postage plus 6d cy. to the eastern seaboard or central United States or 9d cy. to California or Or-



Figure 18. December 24, 1846, cover sent overland, entirely unpaid, from New York to St. Johns, Newfoundland. The 1 shilling 9½d sterling due consisted of 10¢ (5½d sterling) U.S. postage to Robbinston, Maine; 1 shilling sterling overland postage to Halifax plus 4d sterling packet postage to St. Johns. Image courtesy Harmers International, Inc.

egon.⁶⁸ Figure 19 is an unpaid January 3, 1854, cover from New York City to St. Johns. The 10¢ unpaid convention rate covered the United States and Maritime Province postage from the origin to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Robbinston, Maine, applied the red arced “U. STATES” exchange-office marking. St. Johns struck the 9d stg. due marking, representing the 10¢ convention rate (converted to 5d stg.) plus the 4d stg. packet postage. Nova Scotia’s currency depreciated against the pound sterling in 1851. Both the Figure 18 cover, dated in 1846, and this cover treated 10¢ United States currency as equal to 6d Nova Scotia currency. However, the 1846 cover treated 6d cy. as equal to 5½d stg. while this cover treated 6d cy. as equal to only 5d stg.

There was one minor distinction in the land mail rates for letters between the United States and Newfoundland compared to the Maritime Provinces. For the Maritime Provinces, the postal arrangement set a 10¢ rate for distances up to 3,000 miles from the exchange office (and 15¢ for letters over 3,000 miles).⁶⁹ Even though the United States had not entered into an arrangement with Newfoundland, the United States treated Newfoundland mail as subject to the 15¢ rate for distances over 3,000 miles.⁷⁰ This actually made sense, because the letter could be paid only as far as Halifax, Nova Scotia, which was subject to the 15¢ rate for distances over 3,000 miles. In March 1863, the United States Postmaster General, Montgomery Blair, issued an order setting the rate to Newfoundland at 10¢ for distances up to 2,500 miles from the exchange office and 20¢ for distances over 2,500 miles.⁷¹ The *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* did not pick up this change and simply listed a 10¢ rate.⁷² Starnes indicates that the rate became 10¢ regardless of distance effective July 1, 1864.⁷³ However, Starnes based this rate on the 10¢ blanket steamship rate.⁷⁴ The blanket steamship rate did not apply to Cunard Line packets because the blanket steamship rate excluded letters “from which different rates of postage have been, or shall be, established.”⁷⁵ Additionally, the blanket steamship rate would not apply to land mail to Newfoundland



Figure 19. January 3, 1854, from New York to St. Johns, Newfoundland. The 9d (sterling) due consisted of 5d (sterling) convention rate to Halifax (equal to 10¢ U.S.) plus 4d sterling packet postage. Image courtesy Harmers International, Inc.

because the letters were sent overland between Halifax and the United States and thus were not “forwarded from, or received in, the United States by steamships or other vessels regularly employed in the transportation of the mails.”⁷⁶ The *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* subsequently listed the rate as “10¢ (15¢ over 3,000 miles)” from June 1867 through September 1871.⁷⁷ The only recorded cover to the West Coast during this period is an 1860 letter that was sent by a Cunard Line packet and not by land. It was rated 10¢ due, the ordinary inland rate for distances over 3,000 miles from Boston.⁷⁸

The packet postage on letters from Halifax to St. Johns was 4d stg. from February 1842 through the end of Cunard service.⁷⁹ Thus, from February 1842 through December 1855, the Halifax-to-St. Johns packet postage was lower on letters sent by land to Halifax than on letters sent by Cunard Line packet to Halifax. However, letters sent by land to Halifax were liable for higher land mail charges that more than offset the lower packet postage charge before the postal agreement between the United States and New Brunswick in 1851. Beginning July 1851, the reduction in inland rates made the land route a few cents cheaper,⁸⁰ but only until the packet postage rate between Boston and St. Johns was reduced to 4d stg. in 1856. The Newfoundland inland postage charges are the same for land letters and sea letters.

A small number of letters from Newfoundland to the United States were sent by the land route from Halifax. The reason for this routing is unclear, since the letters were not specially endorsed. It is likely that the post office in Halifax directed letters to the United States by the land route via St. John, New Brunswick, and then by a coastal steamer to Boston when the St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Halifax packet arrived ahead of the scheduled arrival at Halifax of the Liverpool-to-Boston steamer. By using the fast link to Boston via St. John, New Brunswick, the Halifax post office could expedite the delivery of mails to the United States.



Figure 20. March 21, 1865, double-rate cover from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Boston. The 4d stg. rose 1861 stamps paid double-rate packet postage. Sent overland from Halifax to Boston with 20¢ due (double the 10¢ convention rate from Nova Scotia).

Figure 20 shows a March 21, 1865 letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland, bearing a faded pair of 4d stg. rose stamps of the 1861 issue, which paid double the 4d stg. packet postage rate to the United States. The letter was sent by the Cunard Line feeder route to Halifax. Perhaps to expedite the mail, the cover was routed via St. John, New Brunswick, and arrived in Boston on March 30, 1865, a day ahead of the Cunard Line steamer *Asia*. The Boston post office applied the “STEAM” marking and rated the cover 20¢ due, double the 10¢ treaty rate from Nova Scotia. This is the only recorded cover with a pair of the 4d stg. rose, and one of two covers paying the 8d stg. double packet rate.

Attempts at direct packet service

The Cunard Line feeder route between St. Johns and Halifax served Newfoundland well from 1840 to 1867. However, merchants on the island continued to desire direct packet service between Newfoundland and Europe. While the Cunard Line provided an efficient Liverpool, Halifax, and Boston service, it still provided inefficient connecting service to St. Johns. Much as a traveler today would prefer a nonstop flight to his destination, rather than a connection in Chicago or Atlanta, the St. Johns merchants resented having to allow time for their correspondence to connect in Halifax. A stop in St. Johns would add only 104 miles to the sea distance between Halifax and Liverpool. However, the sea distance from St. Johns to Halifax was 568 miles.⁸¹ Thus, the Halifax connection necessarily added significant time to the communications with Europe. These delays were greatly increased on occasions when Cunard was forced to substitute a sailing vessel for one of the steamships on the feeder route. For example in 1851, the St. Johns *Royal Gazette* reported that the mails from London had arrived in Halifax ten days after departing Liverpool, but had taken an additional 11 days from Halifax to St. Johns by the sailing ship *Arrow*.⁸² The papers reported another mail that took 25 days from London to St. Johns.⁸³ While Newfoundland sought a direct steamship line connection with Great Britain, it did not achieve reliable, consistent service until after the Cunard Line suspended its operations to Halifax.

General Screw Steam Shipping Company

With the greater availability of steamships that followed the Crimean War, there was a push for direct steam service to St. Johns. These efforts received additional interest due to plans to connect St. Johns with Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, with an underwater telegraph cable. Boosters of steam service to St. Johns argued that a telegraph transmission station in St. Johns would shave two-and-a-half to three days off transmission times compared to Halifax. The General Screw Steam Company made a single contract-mail sailing with the *Propontis* from Liverpool to St. Johns, continuing to Portland, Maine. One cover, actually a fragment significantly and irregularly reduced at left, is recorded. The cover was postmarked in Liverpool on May 28, 1856. However, the *Propontis* did not depart until June 6, 1856, and arrived in St. Johns on June 20, 1856.⁸⁴ The *Propontis* carried and laid the telegraph cable from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia, returning to Great Britain in August, 1856. Although no covers are recorded from the return trip, it is believed that she carried mails to Britain.⁸⁵ This was the sole sailing for General Screw to Newfoundland.

Liverpool and Portland Screw Steamship Company

In May 1856, around the time of the sailing of the *Propontis*, the Newfoundland House of Assembly passed a resolution calling for direct steam service connecting St. Johns with the United Kingdom and the United States.⁸⁶ While the General Post Office was unwilling to sponsor such service, the Colony's endorsement of steam service led to the formation of the Liverpool and Portland Screw Steamship Company in July 1856. The company proposed to operate the steamships *Cleopatra* and *Khersonese* from Liverpool to Portland with stops in St. Johns and Halifax.⁸⁷ The steamship line planned to connect with the Grand Trunk Railway in Portland for transport of Canadian freight. The initial sailing of the *Cleopatra* was canceled and the *Khersonese* was substituted, departing Liverpool on August 23, 1856. The steamer took 15½ days to reach St. Johns on September 8, 1856. The return trip was similarly slow, resulting in the suspension of service after a single round-trip voyage.⁸⁸ The Liverpool and Portland Screw Steamship Company did not hold a contract to carry mails, and no covers are reported carried on the single sailing.

North Atlantic Steam Navigation Company

In February 1857, the North Atlantic Steam Navigation Company announced plans to operate a monthly service from Liverpool to Portland, calling at St. Johns and Halifax.⁸⁹ The first sailing, operated by the *Circassian*, departed Liverpool on March 19, 1857, and arrived in St. Johns on March 30.⁹⁰ The following sailing was by the *Khersonese*, departing Liverpool on April 4, 1857. However, the steamer broke its shaft on the return voyage, departing Portland on May 2, 1857, and not returning to Liverpool until May 22. The line operated seven-and-a-half roundtrip voyages in 1857, with the *General Williams* and *Antelope* filling in for the *Circassian* and *Khersonese* on the final voyages in August and September.⁹¹ The North Atlantic Steam Navigation Company did not operate under a contract, although it did carry mail. While three covers are recorded as carried by the line, none travelled between Newfoundland and the United States.

Figure 21 is a May 8, 1857, cover carried by the *Khersonese* from St. Johns to Liverpool, where it was rated due at the 6d stg. uniform British rate whether by packet or private ship.⁹² In England the cover was first marked for 8 pence due, the normal incoming ship letter rate from many places, but not Newfoundland. Later, the 8 pence marking was crossed through because it was recognized that the letter was from Newfoundland. The correct postage due of 6 pence was written alongside to the left.

A second cover carried by the line is a May 5, 1857, cover from Liverpool to Halifax, Nova Scotia, carried by the *Circassian*; on this cover a 6d stg rate plus a 1d stg late fee were

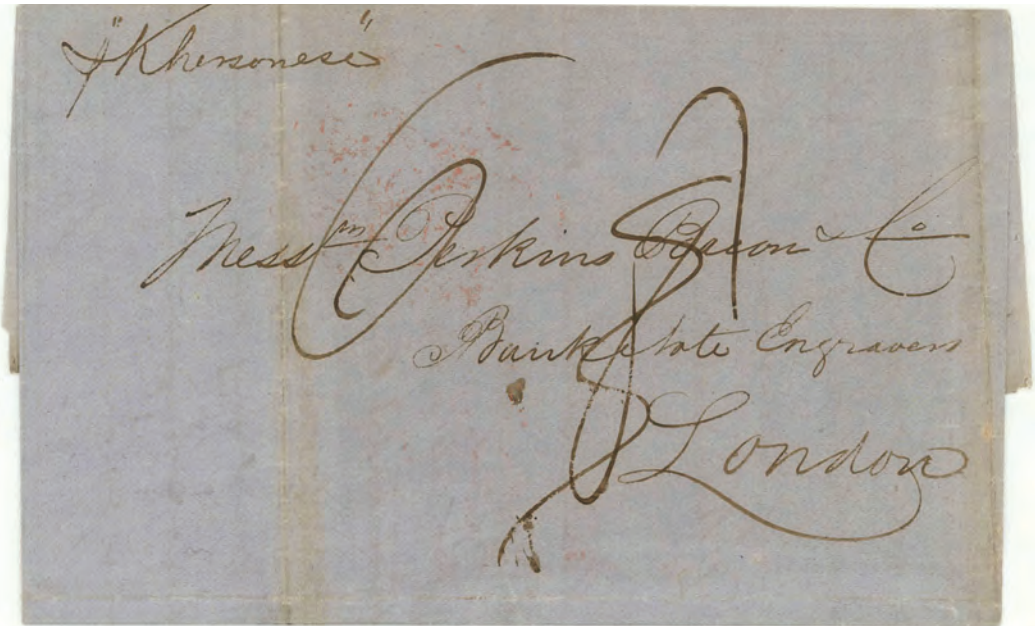


Figure 21. May 8, 1857, cover carried by the North Atlantic Steam Navigation Company *Kheronese* from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Liverpool. The 6d sterling charge represents the uniform British rate whether by packet or private ship.

prepaid and a Liverpool clerk marked a 3d stg. credit to Nova Scotia.⁹³ The third and final recorded cover is a July 5, 1857, outgoing ship letter from Halifax. A 4½d cy. ship letter fee was prepaid and it was carried by the *Kheronese* to Portland. Curiously, the cover has a Portland, Maine, “STEAM” marking, instead of being rated 5¢ due.⁹⁴

Following the mostly successful 1857 navigation season, Newfoundland sought to enter into a contract with the North Atlantic Steam Navigation Company. Negotiations proceeded slowly over the winter of 1857-58. Newfoundland finally entered into an agreement with the company, which by then had changed its name to the North Atlantic Royal Mail Steam Navigation Company in April 1858.⁹⁵ However, when the contract was forwarded to Britain for approval, the approval was not forthcoming.⁹⁶ Service for 1858 had been delayed pending the contact negotiations. The service was ultimately canceled when the British post office did not approve the contract.

The Galway Line

The Atlantic Steam Navigation Company, better known as the Galway Line, began its erratic operation in 1858. Service commenced without a mail contract with the sailing of the *Indian Empire*, which departed Galway, Ireland, on June 19, 1858, to New York, with a stop in Halifax. The *Indian Empire*, in the first of many difficulties for the line, arrived in Halifax with one of its two cylinders inoperable.⁹⁷ The *Prince Albert* followed a month later, again with service to New York via Halifax. The following month, the *Propeller* departed Galway on August 21, 1858, and made the Galway Line’s first port call in St. Johns, before continuing to Boston.⁹⁸ The *Propeller*’s voyage to Boston was intended to be the start of Galway Line service to Boston, operating in addition to the service to New York. However, the *Propeller* returned to Galway in a “sinking condition” and made no further voyages for the Galway Line.⁹⁹ One cover is recorded from this, the only sailing by the *Propeller*. That cover, shown in Figure 22, was carried from St. Johns August 30, 1858, to



Figure 22. August 30, 1858, from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Boston. Carried by *ProPELLer* on the only Galway Line sailing to Boston. The 4d (sterling) contract packet rate was prepaid in cash; 5¢ was due in Boston. Philamercury.com cover census #805.

Boston with the 4d stg. contract packet rate prepaid, even though a mail contract was not yet in effect. The cover was rated 5¢ due in Boston with a Boston Br. Pkt. marking. Again, this is unusual since at this time the Galway Line had no mail contract.

The Galway Line operated ten sailings in 1858. Figure 23 shows a Newfoundland way-office cover that originated outside St. Johns and transited St. Johns on December 6, 1858. The cover is franked with a 3d cy. yellowish green triangle stamp of the 1857 issue, paying the Newfoundland inland postage to St. Johns, and a 4d stg. scarlet vermilion stamp of the 1857 issue, paying the packet postage to New York. The cover was carried by the Galway Line *Pacific* to New York, where it was treated as a ship letter and rated 5¢ due.

In 1858, the Galway Line negotiated a contract with Newfoundland to provide mail service for the Newfoundland mails every four weeks (13 voyages) in 1859.¹⁰⁰ The contract required an aggressive sailing schedule, allowing only seven days from Galway to St. Johns in the summer and eight days in the winter, a schedule the Galway Line was unable to maintain.¹⁰¹ The line changed its name to the Atlantic Royal Mail Steamship Company in early in 1859 to designate its status as contract mail line. The Galway Line lost one ship in 1859, the *Argo*, and had other sailings canceled.¹⁰² Part way through the 1859 contract, the Galway Line negotiated a revised contract with the General Post Office in London for biweekly service starting in June 1860, with the United States terminus to alternate between New York and Boston.¹⁰³ On January 24, 1861, just eight months into the contract, the British Postmaster General suspended the Galway Line's mail contract because of its failure to meet the performance times the contract required.¹⁰⁴ While the line continued to operate during the suspension of the mail contract, it was unable to reorganize its operations to meet the contractual requirements. Accordingly, the British Post Office terminated the Galway Line's mail contract effective May 18, 1861.¹⁰⁵ The line suspended operations with its last departure from Galway on June 5, 1861.

The Galway Line attempted to reorganize its operations, with departures from Liverpool in August 1863. The renewed Galway Line completed only 11 round trips before



Figure 23. December 6, 1858, from a Newfoundland way office to Baltimore. Carried by Galway Line to New York. The yellowish green 3d (currency) 1857 triangle stamp paid Newfoundland inland postage to St. Johns and the 4d (sterling) scarlet vermilion 1857 stamp paid the packet postage to New York; 5¢ was due in Baltimore. Image courtesy of Heinrich-Koehler Auktionshaus.

suspending operations and entering bankruptcy.¹⁰⁶ The mail contract was revived in August 1863, but the line was liquidated in January 1864.

During all three contract periods (first with Newfoundland and then two contracts with Britain), the Galway Line carried Newfoundland mails to the United States. However, as with the Cunard Line, the postal treaty between the United States and Great Britain did not cover mail to and from Newfoundland, so it was impossible to pay a letter to its destination.

Occasional sailings 1864–1867

With the collapse of the Galway Line, there were occasional contract mail sailings to Newfoundland. The most significant were occasional port calls in St. Johns by the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, better known as the Allen Line. Pratt reports that several steamers stopped in St. Johns from 1865 to 1867.¹⁰⁷ However, these sailings are not listed in Hubbard and Winter and the ships identified in Pratt, the *Belgian*, *St. Andrew*, *St. George*, and *St. Patrick*, are not shown in Hubbard and Winter. In addition to the Allen Line steamers, there were a few one-off sailings that are largely irrelevant to the postal history of mails to and from the United States, but are mentioned here for completeness. These sailings included the *Thames* of the British Colonial Steamship Company and the *St. Lawrence*, which made trips to Newfoundland in 1865 and 1866.¹⁰⁸

Postal history from 1868 to 1872 postal treaty

The Cunard Line suspended its port calls in Halifax at the end of 1867. Since the primary mail route from Newfoundland to the rest of the world was by the Cunard Line at Halifax, the announced suspension of this service caused great concern in Newfoundland. Newfoundland initially entered into a six-month contract with the Cunard Line to continue the St. Johns-to-Halifax feeder route.¹⁰⁹ Figure 24 shows an April 1, 1868, mourning cover from Portland, Maine, to Caplin Bay, Newfoundland. A 10¢ yellow-green Washington stamp pays the 10¢ land mail rate to Halifax. From Halifax, the cover was carried by



Figure 24. April 1, 1868, mourning cover from Portland, Maine, to Caplin Bay, Newfoundland. The 10¢ yellow-green stamp paid the land mail rate to Halifax. The 13¢ due postage represents 8¢ packet postage (equal to 4d sterling) plus 5¢ inland postage. Michael Perlman collection.

the Cunard Line feeder route to St. Johns during the emergency six-month contract extension in 1868. Halifax applied the handstamp 4d stg. to indicate the packet postage due. The St. Johns post office converted the 4d stg. to 8¢, added 5¢ inland postage from St. Johns to Caplin Bay, and applied its 13¢ due marking.

From Halifax, mail could be forwarded overland to the United States or by the Liverpool, New York & Philadelphia Steam Ship Company, better known as the Inman Line, which ran packets from Halifax to England. The Newfoundland government eventually negotiated with the Inman Line to provide service to Halifax that would correspond with the Halifax port calls on the Inman Line's service between Liverpool and New York. Although the steamers operated from Liverpool to New York (and for a short period to Boston), only the Halifax-to-Queenstown portion of the run was covered by the mail contract.¹¹⁰ Starting at the end of 1867, the Inman Line service to Halifax replaced the Cunard Line service in carrying the Canadian mails.¹¹¹ The Inman Line feeder route to St. Johns did not commence immediately on the termination of the Cunard Line feeder route at the end of June 1868, so in July 1868 the coastal steamer *Ariel* was pressed into service to fill the gap.¹¹² Beginning at the end of July 1868, the Inman Line took over the St. Johns-to-Halifax route, operating monthly in January through March and every other week during the remainder of the year.¹¹³ The steamer *City of Durham* initially operated the Halifax-to-St. Johns run and was replaced in January 1869 with the *City of Halifax*, which operated the run until January 1872.¹¹⁴ In February 1872, the Inman Line terminated its Halifax-to-Queenstown service.¹¹⁵

Figure 25 is an April 16, 1870, cover from New York, to Harbour Grace, Newfoundland. The cover is franked with a 10¢ 1869 stamp, the only recorded use of that stamp to Newfoundland. Although the treaty rate between the United States and Nova Scotia was reduced to 6¢ for paid letters (10¢ unpaid) in April 1868, the rate to Newfoundland remained 10¢. The cover was initially missent to Havre de Grace, Maryland, where a postal employee drew a pointing hand and added the directional instruction "Newfoundland." The cover was sent overland to Halifax, where the handstamp "4" was applied, representing 4d stg. packet postage from Halifax to St. Johns. The cover was then sent by the Inman Line feeder

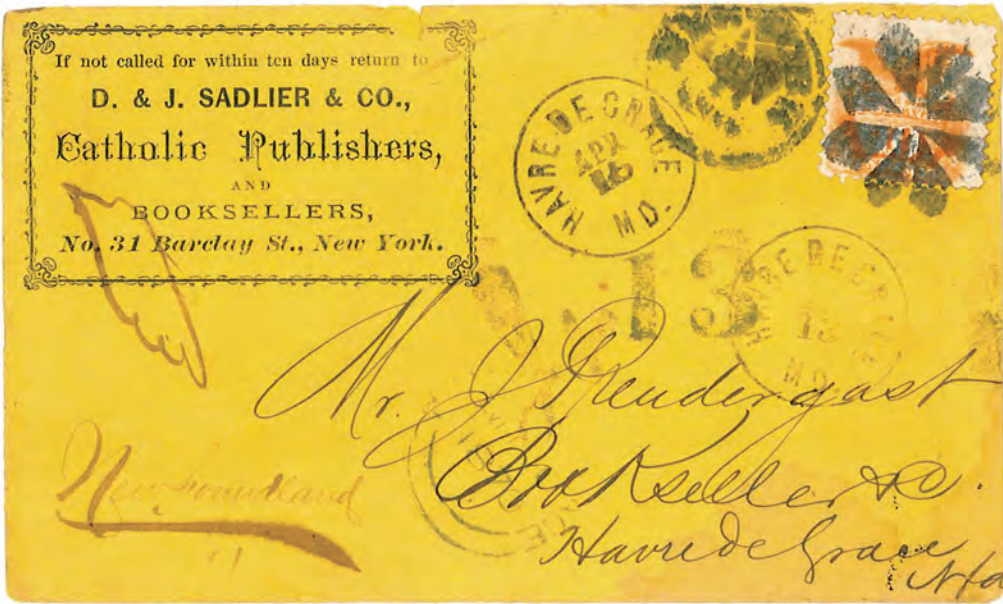


Figure 25. April 16, 1870, from New York to Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, missent to Havre de Grace, Maryland. The 10¢ 1869 stamp paid the land mail rate to Newfoundland. The 13¢ due postage represents 8¢ packet postage (equal to 4d sterling) plus 5¢ inland postage. Image courtesy Jeffrey Forster.

service from Halifax to St. Johns, where the 13¢ postage due handstamp was applied. This was the sum of the 4d stg. packet postage (converted to 8¢) plus 5¢ inland postage from St. Johns to Harbour Grace.

Postal history from 1872 postal treaty to UPU

With the termination of the Inman Line contract for feeder service between St. Johns and Halifax, Newfoundland entered into a contract with the Pictou and Gulf Ports Co. (also known as the Quebec and Gulf Ports Co.) to replace the Inman Line feeder service. However, during the months of May through November, instead of providing service to Halifax, the line operated to Pictou and transported the mails by rail to Halifax.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, the Allen Line replaced the Inman Line on the Halifax-to-Queenstown route.¹¹⁷

With the start of Allen Line service to Halifax, Newfoundland was finally able to negotiate direct transatlantic steamer service to St. Johns. Beginning in October 1872,¹¹⁸ the Allen Line steamers called in St. Johns en route between Halifax and Queenstown during the months of April through December.¹¹⁹ From January through March, mail was again routed to Halifax on a feeder route. The Pictou and Gulf Ports Co. service ended in October 1872 and the feeder route was operated by the *Tiger* under a separate per-sailing-basis contract.¹²⁰

In December 1872, Newfoundland and the United States entered into a postal treaty, with the rate set at 6¢ per letter. This rate was reduced to 5¢ in October 1876.¹²¹ Figure 26 is a letter originating in St. Johns, Newfoundland, on June 9, 1874, addressed to Cheshire, Connecticut. A Newfoundland 6¢ dull rose stamp of the 1870 issue (Scott 35) paid the treaty rate to the destination. Figure 27 is a March 10, 1877 letter from Baltimore, Maryland. The 5¢ Taylor stamp paid the reduced 5¢ treaty rate to St. Johns, Newfoundland. The Allen Line routing remained in effect well after Newfoundland's entry into the Universal Postal Union on January 1, 1879.



Figure 26. June 9, 1874, from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Cheshire, Connecticut. The Newfoundland 6¢ dull rose 1870 stamp paid the treaty rate to destination. Colin D. Lewis collection.



Figure 27. March 10, 1877, from Baltimore, Maryland to St. Johns, Newfoundland. The 5¢ Taylor stamp paid the reduced 5¢ treaty rate to destination.

Conclusion

The postal rates for United States-Newfoundland mails can be confusing because of the lack of a postal treaty until 1872 and because of the complexities in the routes these mails travelled and the way these covers were handled. It is hoped that this article will help readers in interpreting the rates on these very interesting covers.

Endnotes

1. Henk Slabbinck and James R. Taylor, "Mail from the French Shore of Newfoundland" Presented at the meeting of the Royal Philatelic Society of London on January 27, 2011, viewed at http://www.rpsl.org.uk/documents/displays/DISP_20110127_001.pdf.
2. David D'Alessandris, "Mail Between the United States and St. Pierre and Miquelon," *Chronicle* 221, pp. 73-86.
3. Robson Lowe, *The Encyclopaedia of British Empire Postage Stamps 1693-1952, Volume V: Empire in North America* (London: Robson Lowe Ltd., 1973), pg. 428.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Robert H. Pratt, *The Nineteenth Century Postal History of Newfoundland* (New York: The Collectors Club, 1985), pg. 19.
8. Lewis, Colin, "Newfoundland–Oporto mail 1810-1865," *BNA Topics*, No. 501, (Oct.-Dec. 2004), pp. 5-33.
9. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 94.
10. *Ibid.* pp. 94-96.
11. Dr. Dorothy Sanderson and Malcolm B. Montgomery, "*A History of Cross-Border Communication Between Canada and the United States of America 1761-1875*" (British North American Philatelic Society Ltd., 2010), pg. 269; Robert A. Siegel sale 1026, lot 1724 (June 27-28, 2012).
12. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-91.
13. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 53.
14. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pg. 428.
15. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 53.
16. *Ibid.*, pg. 273.
17. *Ibid.*, pg. 270.
18. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pg. 432.
19. The *North America* previously operated on the Boston to St. John, New Brunswick, run. C.M. Jephcott, V.G. Greene and John H.M. Young, *The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1754-1867* (Sissons Publications Ltd. 1964), pp. 186 and 193.
20. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 276-77.
21. Susan M. McDonald, "Cunard Packet Mail Between Nova Scotia and the United States," *Postal History Journal*, No. 29, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Sept. 1971), pp. 2-14.
22. Jephcott, Greene and Young, *op. cit.*, pg. 187.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pg. 432.
25. D'Alessandris, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.
26. Charles J. Starnes, *United States Letter Rates to Foreign Destinations: 1847 to GPU-UPU* (Louisville, Kentucky: Leonard H. Hartman, revised edition 1989), pg. 9.
27. *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* (Chicago: Collectors Club of Chicago, 1975), Vol. 1, pg. 140.
28. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America, 1866* (Holland, Michigan: Theron Wierenga, reprint ed. 1981), Regulations of the Post Office Department, §260, pg. 47.
29. Harmers International, Sale 2 (April 7, 2011), lot 168, contained two covers to Newfoundland rated 24¢ in February and March 1849, after the retaliatory rate period ended. While they may be late assessments of the retaliatory rate charge, they may also be attempts to prepay the British packet postage.
30. Convention Between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the Improvement of the Communication by Post between their respective territories, 16 *U.S. Statutes at Large* pg. 786 (1877).
31. Settlement Details under the Postal Treaty with Great Britain, Article XXIII, 16 *U.S. Statutes at Large* pg. 791 (1877).
32. David D'Alessandris, "The Steamer *Sir John Harvey*," *Chronicle* 207, pp. 225-37.
33. *Ibid.*, pg. 229.
34. Post Office Letters January 1850–November 1853, Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, RG24 Vol. 76, pp. 407-08.
35. Susan M. McDonald, "Cunard Packet Mail Between Nova Scotia and the United States," *Postal History Journal*, No. 30 (January 1972), pg. 28. This author was unable to locate any reference to the change in postage rate in the Postmaster General's Order books at the National Archives and Records Administration.
36. *Ibid.*, pg. 30.
37. Thomas J. Alexander, *The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census* (Austin, Texas: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 2001), pg. 873; Richard C. Frajola and Frederick R. Mayer, *The United States Five Cent Stamp of 1856* (New York: The Collectors Club, 2005), pg. 87.
38. Robert A. Siegel, Sale 847 (May 20, 2002), lot 4431; Sanderson and Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pg. 278.
39. Jephcott, Greene and Young, *op. cit.*, pg. 234, quoting United Kingdom *Statutes*, 5 George III cap. 25, 1765.

40. Compare McDonald, *Postal History Journal*, No. 29, *op. cit.*, pg. 5 (rate change December 5, 1842); Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 83 (rate change February 1, 1842); Allen L. Steinhardt, *The Rates of Postage of Canada 1711-1900, Including Some Rules and Regulations Regarding Rating and Treating of the Mails* (Victoria, B.C.: Postal History Society of Canada, 2011), pg. 83 (rate change October 18, 1841).
41. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 84.
42. Jephcott, Greene and Young, *op. cit.*, pg. 235.
43. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 84.
44. *Ibid.*, pg. 539. Here Pratt gives 20 June 20 1850 as the effective date for the 8d rate from Newfoundland. Pratt alternately gives the date as 3 August 1849. *Ibid.*, pg. 84.
45. *Ibid.*, pg. 539. Colin Tabcart gives the date of the Treasury Warrant as October 11, 1841. Colin Tabcart, *United Kingdom Letter Rates Inland and Overseas 1635 to 1900, Second Edition* (London: HH Sales Limited, 2003), pg. 43.
46. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 539.
47. Robert H. Pratt, *The Pence Issues of Newfoundland, 1857-1866* (Toronto: Vincent G. Green Philatelic Research Foundation, 1982), pg. 10.
48. *Ibid.*, pg. 14. The Postmaster General requested 4,196 4d stg. stamps and 7,050 8d stg. stamps.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
51. *Ibid.*, pg. 27.
52. *Ibid.* Pratt has a mathematical error in the "Years of Supply" calculation in Table 3. For some denominations, he does not account for the fact that "Total Sold Through 1858" represents two years of sales.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, pg. 28.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
56. *Ibid.*, pg. 30.
57. Pratt records forty 8d scarlet vermilion bisect covers to the United States, or roughly one-third of all pence issue covers to the United States. The 4d scarlet vermilion is the next most common with 26 covers, followed by the 4d rose with nine covers recorded. *Ibid.*, pg. 177.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 150 and 177.
60. Colin D. Lewis and Ronald Hansen, "Newfoundland Pence cover mystery (Solved?)," *BNATopics*, Vol. 67 No. 2 (2nd Quarter 2010), pp. 53-57.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Pratt, *Postal History*, *op. cit.*, pg. 74.
63. Pratt, *Pence Issues*, *op. cit.*, pg. 177.
64. Pratt, *Postal History*, *op. cit.*, pg. 540.
65. *Ibid.*, pg. 535.
66. *Ibid.*, pg. 536.
67. Jephcott, Greene and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 and 339.
68. Pratt, *Postal History*, *op. cit.*, pg. 539.
69. Starnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. From August 1864, the rate to New Brunswick was reduced to 10¢ regardless of distance.
70. Charles J. Starnes, "Postal Peculiarities I—U.S. vs. Newfoundland," *Chronicle* 122, pp. 140-41.
71. *Ibid.*, pg. 141.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.* See also Starnes, *United States Letter Rates*, *op. cit.*, pg. 9.
74. Starnes, "Postal Peculiarities I," *op. cit.*, pg. 141, which cited 13 U.S. Statutes at Large 337, §5 (actually §8).
75. 13 U.S. Statutes at Large 337, §8.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Starnes, "Postal Peculiarities I," *op. cit.*, pg. 141.
78. Sanderson and Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pg. 280.
79. Pratt, *Postal History*, *op. cit.*, pg. 83.
80. Beginning in July 1851, the land rate was 10¢ plus 4d stg., for a total of 18¢, while the Cunard route cost 3¢ plus 8d stg., for a total of 19¢. When the United States started charging 5¢ on outgoing letters, the total increased to 21¢.
81. Pratt, *Postal History*, *op. cit.*, pg. 279.
82. *Ibid.*, pg. 285.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-92; Robert H. Pratt, "A historic letter" *BNATopics*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Mar. 1974), pp. 45-46.
85. Pratt, *Postal History*, *op. cit.*, pg. 292.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-93.
87. *Ibid.*, pg. 293.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*, pg. 294.
90. *Ibid.*, pg. 302.

91. *Ibid.*
92. This 6d uniform British rate is based on the August 1, 1854, Treasury Warrant. Tabcart, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 and 51.
93. <http://www.rfracjola.com/mercury/DHE4.pdf>, pg. 103.
94. <http://philamercury.com/covers.php?id=18166> or www.dalessandris.net/pages/shiphalfifax.aspx.
95. Pratt, *Postal History, op. cit.*, pg. 298.
96. *Ibid.*, pg. 299.
97. *Ibid.*, pg. 304.
98. Walter Hubbard and Richard F. Winter, *North Atlantic Mail Sailings 1840-1875* (Canton, Ohio: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 1988), pg. 264.
99. *Ibid.*, pg. 265, note 3.
100. *Ibid.* pp. 264-65; Pratt, *Postal History, op. cit.*, pg. 306.
101. Pratt, *Postal History, op. cit.*, pg. 306.
102. *Ibid.*, pg. 313.
103. Hubbard and Winter, *op. cit.*, pg. 264.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*
107. Pratt, *Postal History, op. cit.*, pg. 346.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 344-45.
110. See Hubbard and Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-26.
111. *Ibid.*
112. Pratt, *Postal History, op. cit.*, pg. 346.
113. *Ibid.*, pg. 347.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 347-50.
115. *Ibid.*, pg. 349.
116. *Ibid.*, pg. 352.
117. *Ibid.*
118. Hubbard and Winter list occasional port calls in St. Johns beginning in October 1872, but indicate that regularly scheduled service commenced in April 1873. Hubbard and Winter, *op. cit.*, pg. 232, note 54.
119. Pratt, *Postal History, op. cit.*, pg. 352.
120. *Ibid.*, pg. 353.
121. Starnes, *United States Letter Rates, op. cit.*, pg. 9. ■

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HAWAII FOREIGN MAIL TO 1870, BY FRED F. GREGORY

REVIEWED BY CHARLES SNEE

In 1948, the Philatelic Foundation published what is widely regarded as the bible of Hawaii philately—*Hawaii: Its Stamps and Postal History*. The leading students and experts of the day, including principal authors Henry Meyer and Frederic Harris, distilled their knowledge into a book of slightly more than 400 pages.

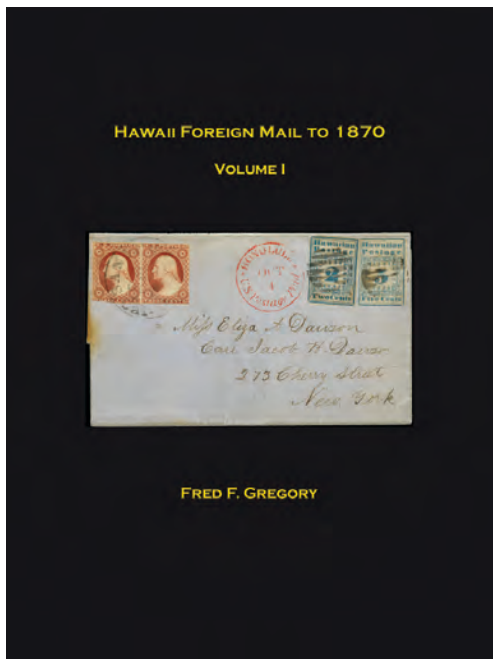
For the next six decades, the beneficiaries of their efforts continued to research, study and gather data. One of them, Fred Gregory, began his pursuit of Hawaii in the late 1970s, when sparks of interest were kindled while on an extended business trip to the archipelago that became the nation's 50th state in 1959.

A series of events, including the 1989 deaths of leading Hawaii experts Edward J. Burns and Wallace R. Beardsley, propelled Gregory into sole possession of the project, begun in 1980, to update the Meyer-Harris book.

After more than 30 years, Gregory's efforts came to fruition at the American Philatelic Society Stampshow held in August in Sacramento, with the publication of *Hawaii Foreign Mail to 1870*, his massive three-volume study of the early postal history of the Kingdom of Hawaii. The PF, publisher of the work, sold every copy on hand at the show; the author, in a colorful Hawaii shirt and lei, was on hand to sign copies and field questions from Hawaii collectors and aficionados.

The first establishment accolades came very quickly, when the book received the literature grand award at the show. This reviewer observed numerous collectors giving the sample copy at the PF table a careful perusal, and comments overheard were uniformly positive.

Initial receptions, of course, are not necessarily a barometer for gauging long-term success. But Gregory's contribution almost certainly will become the gold standard for its subject, a reference work that will be indispensable and regularly consulted.



Hawaii Foreign Mail to 1870, by Fred F. Gregory. Published 2012 by The Philatelic Foundation. Hardbound, 8½ x 11 inch format, three volumes (216, 446 and 380 pp.), numerous illustrations and appendices, detailed bibliography and index; \$195 postpaid in U.S. (through Dec. 31, 2012) from The Philatelic Foundation, 70 W. 40th St., New York, NY 10018.

To appreciate the sweep and scope of Gregory's work, consider this: The Meyer-Harris book devoted approximately 80 pages to Hawaii postal history up to 1870. Not including the numerous detailed appendices, the same period spans almost 800 pages in *Hawaii Foreign Mail to 1870*. And keep in mind that Volume 3 comprises nothing but appendices, the bibliography and index.

The addition of so much to the corpus of Hawaii philatelic scholarship began as a slow, steady slog, with Gregory spending countless hours in philatelic libraries in California, New York City and London to locate, collect and read all of the relevant Hawaii material published in the philatelic press from the 1860s onward. A need to document material outside the better-known collections prompted Gregory to launch his Internet website, *Post Office in Paradise*, in 1999. This providential move, coupled with the advent of eBay, opened the flood gates—"new significant information arrived as an avalanche," writes the author in the preface. In fact, data came so fast that had Gregory written the book a decade ago, it would have required extensive revision already.

Volume 1 begins with a précis of the pre-postal period of Hawaii, followed by a summary of Hawaii history to 1850. Readers unfamiliar with Hawaii philately will find both of these chapters helpful because they provide context that make the ensuing discussions easier to understand.

The earliest postal history sent from Hawaii dates before 1830. These so-called "pioneer" letters, discussed in Chapter 4, exist in small numbers (an appendix provides the salient details of the 83 documented covers), and Gregory points out that a good number of them came to light for the first time while he was writing his book. The earliest of these was sent from Honolulu August 23, 1803, to Santa Barbara, Alta California. Another pioneer letter, sent July 4, 1817, from Honolulu to South Berwick, Maine, holds the distinction of being the earliest documented cover from Hawaii to the United States. It eclipses the earliest such cover pictured in the Meyer-Harris book by almost three years.

Chapters 5-9 explore mail routes up to 1850. Here the various routes—Cape Horn and Cape of Good Hope, the overland routes through Central America (Mexico, specifically), destinations in the Pacific Basin, and mail sent via San Francisco and Panama—are explained. Covers sent via Mexico are notable for the various markings, both private and official, that were applied to them along their journeys. Although just 94 covers are documented (68 from Hawaii, and 26 to Hawaii), Gregory believes that many more await discovery: "One might speculate there are about 500 via-Mexico covers scattered in family files, library archives and philatelic collections."

Article 15 of the 1850 Treaty of Friendship formalized the regulation and exchange of mail between Hawaii and the United States. On October 31, 1850, Henry M. Whitney, a printer who worked for *The Polynesian* newspaper, "was appointed as the person to take charge of the mail to and from San Francisco." He eventually became Honolulu's first postmaster.

Mail was first collected in the paper's letter bag on November 2, and that date, Gregory writes, marks the "beginning of government responsibility for handling mail sent from Hawaii . . ." Among the standout covers illustrated is the only recorded cover from that historic November 2 mail bag, a folded letter sent to Barnstable, Massachusetts.

Chapters 11-15 highlight the development of Hawaii's postal period from the opening of the Honolulu post office on December 21, 1850, which marks the start of the first treaty period, through the second treaty period of July 1, 1851 to May 16, 1855. During these years, the famed Hawaii Missionary stamps made their debut.

Some of the most famous covers bearing these stamps, including the only cover franked with a 2¢ Hawaii Missionary, are illustrated and discussed. Gregory provides only the basics (printing methods, design types) regarding the Missionary stamps and the 1853

5¢ and 10¢ Kamehameha III stamps, the “Boston Engraved” issue. The author plans to concentrate on the stamps themselves in a future publication.

Of particular interest are the excerpts of letters (in Chapter 15) written to *The Polynesian* that shed light on how the Honolulu post office operated. Another very useful section, also in Chapter 15, is titled “Tools for Dating Second Period Covers.” Here Gregory explains that “the primary tools for figuring the year date in this period are the sailing list, the rate mark styles and the postmark styles.” Amassing such data often involves spending hours peering at microfilmed newspaper archives and other sources to obtain sailing dates for the ships that carried the mail during the period in question. I’d wager Gregory can number such hours in the thousands. Five appendices that summarize important subjects such as the pioneer covers and covers bearing the Missionary and Kamehameha III stamps bring the curtain down on Volume 1.

In Volume 2, the third (May 16, 1855, to August 30, 1863) and fourth (August 30, 1863, to June 30, 1870) treaty periods are highlighted. As in Volume 1, numerous covers are used to illustrate the various rates and routings. Scattered throughout are rate summary tables that will be very useful to collectors and dealers wishing to decipher the franking on a particular cover.

Also beneficial are the cover census summaries, which show that the public began to favor paying postage using U.S. stamps during this time. Gregory observes that zeroing in on the year date of a cover becomes easier “after July 1857, when the San Francisco post office began using year-dated postmarks with regularity.” Nonetheless, use of the relevant sailing table is necessary because dated postmarks were sometimes erroneous.

The handling of newspapers and other printed matter, private mail handlers, and mail routes and transportation facilities are addressed in the last three chapters. Although a sizeable amount of printed matter was sent from Hawaii, just seven surviving artifacts are recorded, including only one newspaper wrapper. Unlike letters that often carried news and other information of personal value to the recipient, the postal remnants of printed matter, which carried little or no emotional weight, were almost invariably discarded.

Following the establishment of the Honolulu post office in December 1850, significant amounts of mail moved from Hawaii via private mail-handlers such as ship captains, express companies and forwarders. Covers handled by such entities can be quite tricky to identify, because they typically bear no markings. Surviving covers with forwarder markings are rare: Gregory identifies seven forwarder markings that are documented on just a single cover each. Among the more spectacular of these unique items is a cover bearing a single 5¢ Missionary. This was sent in October 1852 from Honolulu to Portland, Maine, and bears the only recorded example of G.D. Gilman’s rectangular forwarding handstamp.

The evolution of the mail routes and transportation infrastructure during the treaty period is handled in Chapter 20, which closes out Volume 2. Analyzed are the ocean route between Honolulu and San Francisco, the Central American isthmus routes between San Francisco and the East, Pacific Coast routes and North American overland mail routes. Transportation advances during this period dramatically cut the transit time for letters sent from Hawaii. In 1851, Gregory notes, a letter sent from Honolulu to New York City was in transit for 60-75 days. In 1870, following completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869, a letter made the same trip in approximately 20 days.

Volumes 1 and 2 tell the saga of Hawaii’s early postal history, but philatelists and other researchers will likely spend more time with Volume 3, which contains 12 appendices and a detailed bibliography. Chief among these is the appendix listing Hawaii ship arrivals and departures from 1800 to 1870, which spans more than 250 pages and is far and away the most comprehensive compilation of Hawaii sailing data ever published.

Other appendices illustrate the myriad postmarks and other markings that are found

on Hawaii mail up to 1870. The bibliography includes all the important works dealing with Hawaii history, and Hawaii postal and maritime history. Also included are lists of name and unnamed auction sales of Hawaii material.

If you are fortunate enough to work your way through this substantial opus and want to learn the rest of the story, rest easy: *Hawaii Foreign Mail to 1870* is not the author's last word on the subject. Gregory simply refers to it as the launch of a "series" that eventually will incorporate "the rest of the foreign mail story to 14 June 1900, when Hawaii became a formal territory of the United States and lost its status as an independent stamp-issuing country."

Future publications, he says, will focus on "local and interisland postal history to 1900" and "various categories of postal and revenue paper—postage stamps and the rest." So there is much to look forward to. In the mean time, be patient and savor what Gregory has brought forth in this impressive work. ■



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IN MEMORIAM

RICHARD B. GRAHAM, 1922-2012

MICHAEL LAURENCE

Richard B. Graham, “Dick” to his many friends and correspondents, dean of United States postal historians and contributor to this *Chronicle* for half a century, died July 18 in Columbus, Ohio. He was 89 years old. While he had been infirm for the last few years, he was mentally acute until the very end. According to his son Tom, he died while watching a Cincinnati Reds game and recited the score just minutes before he passed away.

Growing up as a farm boy in rural Ohio during the Depression, Dick was a good rifleman and an excellent shot. He was drafted into the Army as a college student and quickly sent (on the *Queen Mary*) to Europe. His brief training had been as a minefield surveyor, but when he was captured with the ill-fated 106th Infantry Division in the Battle of the Bulge, he was operating a machine gun.

Imprisonment marred his health but not his outlook. He subsequently talked little about his wartime experience. Several covers survive, addressed to Infantryman Graham and marked MISSING IN ACTION and RETURN TO SENDER. These surfaced 20 years ago at a mid-western bourse and found their way to Dick and into one of his many war-related postal history collections. After his death, an Ohio funeral home accessed his war record to reveal he had been awarded a Purple Heart and two Bronze Stars. The Purple Heart they knew about, but the valor medals were news even to his family.

Dick finished college after the war (Ohio State School of Engineering), took a hard-metal engineering job, married Doris, an Ohio farm girl, bought a modest house in Columbus and lived there for the rest of his days. He is survived by Doris, his wife of 63 years; two sons, four grandsons and one great-grandson.

Interests in history and research served him well during his engineering career. He retired as Director of Research and Development for the Jeffrey Company, manufacturers of mining equipment. During his early career he traveled extensively (enabling him to nurture philatelic friendships initially sparked through correspondence), developed and patented various mining devices and found time to write and publish a history of the chain—from its origins in ancient Greece to the present day.

Dick started collecting stamps as a member of Captain Tim Healy’s Ivory Stamp Club of the Air, a radio program that helped create millions of young collectors during the Depression. In the 1980s he still had his Captain Tim album, half filled with the familiar packet stamps of the day. If that survives, it belongs in the National Postal Museum.

Early interests in stamps and the Civil War merged into a fascination with Civil War postal history. As a young man Dick wrote an article (on the markings of General Banks’ Division) that was published in Robson Lowe’s British journal *Postal History*, which in the early 1950s was the sole English-language outlet for scholarly articles about covers and



At a stamp show in Denver in 1992, Richard B. Graham was photographed signing the scroll symbolizing his receipt of the highest recognition bestowed by the American Philatelic Society, the Luff Award, in this case for distinguished philatelic research.

postal markings. Lowe declared it the year's best article and awarded Dick the prize—a lifetime subscription to all Lowe publications, which included his journal and his massive encyclopedias, which were just then getting launched. Dick subsequently observed this was the most generous compensation he ever received for philatelic writing.

In the 1960s, when the *Chronicle* was transforming from a mimeographed study-group newsletter into the wide-ranging scholarly quarterly that it is today, Dick was present at the creation. Over the years he served the *Chronicle* in many different roles: as a prolific contributor from the very beginning, as the long-time editor of the 1861 section (and a subsection devoted exclusively to Civil War postal history), and even briefly in the mid-1960s as editor-in-chief.

A typeset listing of Dick's by-lined *Chronicle* articles takes up eight pages and consists of 400 individual entries. Commencing in 1982, he wrote more than 1,000 postal history columns for *Linn's*. His weekly column was widely followed and contributed substantially to the current popularity of postal history as a collecting category. During his 20-plus years as a *Linn's* contributor, Dick never missed a deadline. His meticulous typewritten manuscripts (he never got comfortable with the personal computer) were usually accompanied by photographs (which he made and developed himself), elaborately hand-drawn tracings of markings, and detailed maps.

His published writing generated much correspondence and he responded to written inquiries thoroughly, graciously and unfailingly. Over the years this habit made him many friends. He shared his research and knowledge freely with anyone who sought it out, with no hint of proprietorship and no thought of personal gain.

Never a fan of committees, he ran the Classics Society's book operation almost single-handedly for more than three decades: conceiving and commissioning titles, editing texts, designing pages, overseeing the printing, collecting the sales proceeds and even packing and shipping the books. This operation was anything but collegial; to outsiders, it could appear autocratic. But the books came out, including some wonderful titles: the

Towle-Meyer railroad postmarks book in the 1960s; *Hugh Finlay's Journal* and Mortimer Neinken's magisterial 1¢ 1851 book in the 1970s; *Baker's U.S. Classics* in the 1980s; and James Cole's *Cancellations and Killers of the Banknote Era* in the 1990s.

In addition to creating philatelic books for others, he wrote two himself: *Linn's Postal History Primer*, an introductory handbook based on his *Linn's* columns, and (with Jerry Devol) *Establishment of the First U.S. Government Post Office in the Northwest Territory*.

Dick never exhibited competitively, but his highly individualistic, handwritten album pages (from extensive collections of Federal Civil War postal history and Columbus, Ohio postal history) were occasionally showcased as court-of-honor exhibits at major shows. Over the years he was awarded virtually every prize this Society bestows (and many others, see the accompanying photo): the Perry Cup in 1965, the Chase Cup in 1969, the Ashbrook Cup in 1975, the Brookman/Simpson Cup (twice) in 1979 and 1994, the Distinguished Philatelist Award in 1988, and the McDonald Award in 2005.

Among Dick's less-recognized philatelic contributions are the collectors he recruited into postal history, into this Society and into the pages of this *Chronicle*. My own example is instructive. Sometime in the early 1960s, based on something Dick had published somewhere, I wrote him with a question. He answered and we began to correspond. Correspondence grew into friendship. Dick introduced me to the Classics Society and helped me write my first article for the *Chronicle*. When I moved to Chicago, he introduced me to Paul Rohloff and Ray Vogel, thus fostering my early involvement with the Collectors Club of Chicago. I didn't know it at the time, but these were life-changing events for me. Michael McClung, current editor of our 1861 section, and Richard Winter, recently retired as our Foreign Mails editor, could tell similar stories. So could many others.

Dick had a strong temper and didn't suffer fools gladly, especially in areas where his assiduous research and mastery of detail gave him commanding knowledge. I once sat at the edges of a stamp-show discussion involving Dick and another postal historian, during which a disagreement on a Civil War subject almost evolved into a fistfight. But such episodes were rare. Dick was a gentle, kind and decent man, and a witty conversationalist who could speak entertainingly (including corny jokes) on a huge range of topics.

In his modesty and in his steadfastness; in the simplicity of the life he lived; and in his service to his country, to this Society and to curious collectors everywhere, Dick Graham epitomized the virtues of that fast-diminishing group that has come to be called the Greatest Generation. Among the greatest, Dick was one of the all-time greats. I speak for all whose lives he touched, when I say that we owe him a great debt and will miss him profoundly. His like will not be with us on this earth again. ■

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ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 235

Our problem cover from *Chronicle* 235 is shown as Figure 1. This is a 3¢ Nesbitt envelope (Scott U10) with a perforated 1¢ Franklin stamp, postmarked at Charleston, South Carolina, on March 6, 1860, and addressed to South Santee, South Carolina. The question was: What service or services could have been provided by the Charleston post office to require and additional 1¢ postage?

We received answers for Route Agents John Bowman, Jerry Palazolo and Gerald Johnson. Two of these gentleman (we won't say which) thought the stamp paid for carrier service to the mails, while the third thought this represents a prepaid way cover. The opinion of this section editor is that this is, indeed, a to-the-mails carrier cover, other examples of which are known to exist from Charleston during this period.



Figure 1. Our problem cover from *Chronicle* 235, a 3¢ Nesbitt envelope with a 1¢ perforated Franklin stamp, addressed to South Santee, South Carolina and postmarked March 16, 1860 at Charleston. The question was: What service or services could have been provided by the Charleston post office to require the additional 1¢ postage?

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue is presented in Figure 2. This is an undated, unstamped, commercially prepared envelope postmarked at Lake Providence, Louisiana and addressed to Aspinwall, Navy Bay, New Grenada. The date in the circular datestamp

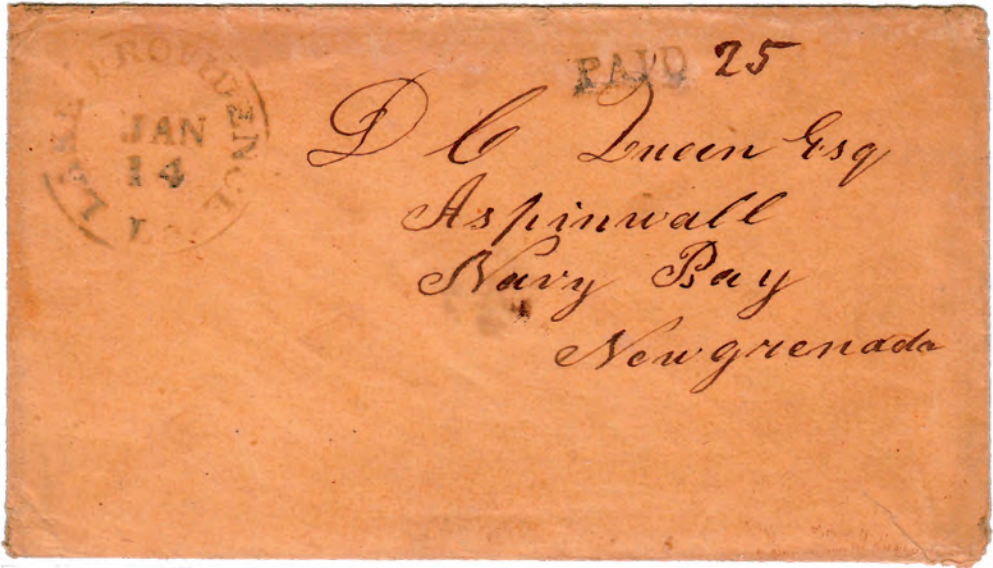


Figure 2. Problem cover for this issue, postmarked at Lake Providence, Louisiana, and addressed to Aspinwall, Navy Bay, New Grenada, with a straightline “PAID” and a black manuscript “25” rate notation. The question is: What rate does this represent and does it sufficiently pay a rate to New Grenada?

is “JAN 14.” No year date is present. The cover bears a black handstamped straightline “PAID” marking and black manuscript “25” rate notation. The questions are: What rate does this represent, and does it sufficiently pay a rate to New Grenada? ■

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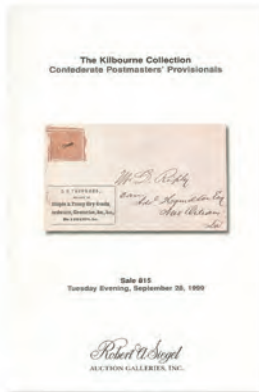
Kapiloff 1992



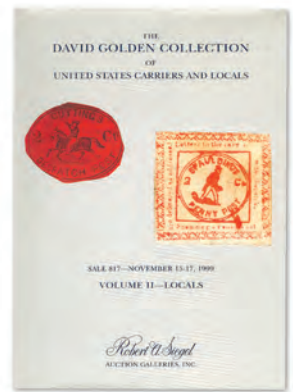
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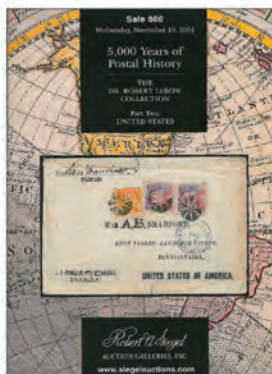
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