## The Chronicle 



After 160 years, a bisected use of the 141851 stamp has come to light. The story of the discovery and authentication of this cover-on which the bisected stamp pays a previously unrecognized in-state circular rate-is told in our 1851 section.

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## THE EDITOR'S PAGE

## IN THIS ISSUE

This Chronicle announces some remarkable discoveries and is rich in information that should help collectors better understand what's in their albums-or what isn't.

Starting at the beginning, our Stampless section this issue contains a major article from Timothy P. O’Connor, who has spent decades studying colonial covers, including substantial archival sleuthing in antiquarian and historical societies on the east coast. Starting on page 10, O'Connor's article on covers carried under the Neale Patent (1693-1707) presents information never before published in the philatelic literature, including the full text of the Massachusetts postal legislation, established under the Neale Patent, that was a template for early postal legislation in other colonies. In the process, O'Connor presents cover images showing what he believes to be the earliest Rhode Island postmark, the earliest Connecticut townmark, the earliest New York townmark, and the earliest rating marking on a colonial cover (applied at New York on a cover to Boston dated 26 January 1700).

In our 1847 section (page 25), section editor Wade E. Saadi takes full advantage of the Chronicle's high-resolution color-printing capability to present precision enlargements of exemplary stamps from all five $5 申 1847$ printings. Saadi's thesis is that stamps from the five different printings can be differentiated by a close examination of fine lines in the design and variance in their relative color value. This is an article we could not have published a decade ago because we were then unable to print the essential color images.

The biggest news this issue is showcased on our cover: the discovery, after 160 years, of a bisected use of the 1 \& 1851 stamp, paying an all-but-unknown half-cent circular rate. In a highly personal article in our 1851 section (beginning on page 37) Roland H. Cipolla II tells how the cover was discovered, how he came to acquire it, how he knew about the unusual rate it represents, and how the cover was authenticated-including elaborate forensics employing high-tech analytical devices at the Smithsonian National Postal Museum.

In our 1861 section, starting on page 48, section editor Michael C. McClung expands on pioneering work done by the late Richard Graham, presenting a broad survey of Union occupation postmarks. The tabular data accompanying McClung's article lists, describes and illustrates postal markings from 50 Union-occupied towns in the Confederacy. In almost all instances, the markings are illustrated lifesize and in color. Additionally, the tables include dating information and a first attempt at assessing the scarcity of the markings.

And there's more: In our Western section (page 71) Steven Walske provides background on an unusual Pony Express cover that was recently reunited with the letter it originally carried. Our Officials section (page 77) contains an article by Lester C. Lanphear III explaining late uses of Official stamps and envelopes. And in our Foreign Mails section, Stephen B. Pacetti describes a newly discovered part-paid British Mail cover, bringing to six the number of these scarce items from the early days of the first U.S.-British postal treaty.

This issue concludes with reviews of four recent publications: Gary W. Granzow's new book on line-engraved security printing is reviewed by Charles Snee, and three recent stamp catalogs are reviewed by yours truly.

## NEALE PATENT MAIL, 1693-1707

TIMOTHY P. O'CONNOR, M.D.

## Introduction

This is the second report in what I call the Early Postal History Project, a research undertaking that hopes to shed light on the earliest mail in what was to become the United States, examining how the colonial post began as well as illustrating routes and markings. ${ }^{1}$ This report focuses on the initial efforts to develop a postal network connecting various British colonies. Some earlier efforts, like Boston's in 1639, identified a safe location where mail, incoming and outgoing, was most likely to be handled safely and with dispatch. That was the start. This is what came next.

## Background

While the Neale Patent would be the first attempt at a multi-colony postal system, the decades that preceded it were not devoid of postal efforts. In 1661, Governor Calvert of Maryland petitioned the Board of Trade in London for help regulating or arranging "the conveyance of all letters concern[ing] state and public affairs." ${ }^{2}$ Sometimes commerce was the driving force, such as the Boston Merchant's Post of the 1660s. In other cases, the Royal Governors Lovelace in 1672, Winthrop in 1675, and Dongan in 1684, in their attempts to link Boston, Hartford, and New York, seemed to have been motivated by military concerns. Laws were passed in Pennsylvania in 1683 pertaining to a weekly post. In Connecticut in 1689, the Colonial Legislature published a list of allowable charges for post riders' reimbursement. In May 1669, the Province of New Hampshire appointed a post rider: ${ }^{3}$

> John Knight of Charleston is appointed a post for the country's service as occasion may be, and all innkeepers and ferrymen are ordered to further said Knight in his journeying with necessary provision for himself, and horse and, with speedy transportation, the accompt whereof under the hand of said Knight is to be accepted, and paid by the Treasurer; and said Knight is empowered to press horse, or horses with furniture, so often as the necessity of the public affairs shall require it, with persons convenient to manage them.

A rationale for the New Hampshire effort is revealed in a law passed in July of 1690 when the New Hampshire Legislature "Voted that a post for speedy intelligence be maintained between this place and Road Island for a full discovery of the motions of the French or privateers on those coasts." ${ }^{4}$

Thus we see by many lines of evidence that mail was moving along the northeastern seaboard and that postal routes already existed in the late 1680s. At the same time (and quite probably totally unrelated) the Crown developed an interest in postal patents as a source of income. In 1688, the Crown established postal rates to Jamaica, and in 1692, Thomas Neale was granted a postal patent for the American Colonies.

Neale (1641-1699) was a member of Parliament for 30 years and held the official position of Master of the Mint and the Transfer Office. He was a speculator and an entrepreneur, who would die penniless after making two fortunes. In 1692, the Crown granted Neale a 21-year patent licensing him to initiate a postal service in North America: "To erect, settle, and establish within the chief parts of their Majesty's colonies and plantations in America,
an office or offices for receiving and dispatching letters and packets, and to receive, send, and deliver the same under such rates and sums of monies as the planters shall agree to give, and to hold and enjoy the same for a term of 21 years."

Neale's official duties and other investments kept him in England, so he enlisted Andrew Hamilton, a Scotsman and former Royal Governor of East and West Jersey, to promulgate his plan.

Interestingly, it is reported that Hamilton was recommended to Neale by William Dockwra, who also had his experiences with postal endeavors. ${ }^{5}$ Hamilton successfully negotiated with a number of local governments and laws were passed: New York on November 11, 1692, Pennsylvania on June 1, 1693, New Hampshire on June 5, 1693, Massachusetts on June 9, 1693, and Connecticut in May of 1694. An exhaustive search of Rhode Island records does not disclose any negotiations with Hamilton or his representatives. Nor are there records of Rhode Island laws enacted to encourage a post office. The earliest mention is found in a Resolve from the "General Assembly Held at Newport, May 1, 1695," which notes that certain ferrymen were trying to delay and charge the post. The Resolve enacts that all ferrymen will pass the rider and stage free and with "expedition for the General Good of ourselves and other collonyes." ${ }^{36}$ Agreement could not be reached with Virginia and as a result, the Neale Patent Post has a distinctly northern flavor.

Hamilton appears to have provided a template for the colonial postal laws. The New York, Connecticut and New Hampshire Laws (or portions that survive) are nearly identical. The Massachusetts provincial law is the most detailed available and is presented here in its entirety. ${ }^{7}$ In this and subsequent quotations from Colonial legislation, I have preserved the spelling as it appears in the source document.

## AN ACT ENCOURAGING A POST-OFFICE.


#### Abstract

Whereas Their Most Excellent Majesties, by their letters patents under the great seal of England, bearing date the seventeenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety-one, have given unto Thomas Neale, Esq., his executors, administrators and assigns, full power and authority to erect, settle and establish within the chief ports of their said majesties' colonies and plantations in America, an office or offices for the receiving and dispatching of letters and pacquets, and to receive, send and deliver the same under such rates and summs of money as the planters shall agree to give, \&c., to hold and enjoy the same for the term of twenty-one years, with such powers and clauses as are necessary on that behalf; as by the said letters patents, relation being thereunto had, may more fully and at large appear; and whereas, Andrew Hamilton, Esq., is deputed and constituted to govern and manage the said general post-office for and throughout all their majesties' plantations and colonies in the main land or continent of America, and the islands adjacent thereunto, pursuant to the directions of the said letters patents; and whereas he, said Andrew Hamilton, hath made application to His Excellency and Council and Represeatatives, convened in general assembly, that they would ascertain and establish such rates and summs of money upon letters and pacquets that shafl be received and dispatched by the said officer or officers ;-


For the effectual encouragement of the said general post-office, and for the quicker maintenance of mutual correspondence amongst all the neighbouring colonies and plantations aforesaid, and that trade and commerce may be the better preserved,-

Be it, therefore, enacted by the Governour, Council and Representatives convened in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same,
[SECT. 1.] That there be from henceforth a general letter-office erected and established in some convenient place within the town of Boston, from whence all letters and pacquets whatsoever may be, with speed and expedition, sent into any part of the neighbouring colonies and plantations on the main land and continent of America, or unto any of their majesties' kingdoms and dominions beyond the seas; at which said office all returns and answers may be likewise received; and that one master of the said general letter-office shall, from time to time, be appointed by the said Andrew Hamilton, which said master of the office or his servant, or agent, and no other person or persons whatsoever, shall, from time to time, have the receiving, taking up, ordering, dispatching, sending post, or with speed, and delivering of letters and pacquets, whatsoever, which shall, from time to time, be sent to and from all and every the adjacent colonies and plantations on the main land and continent of America, or any other their majesties' kingdoms and dominions beyond the seas, where he, the said postmaster-gen-
eral, shall settle or cause to be settled, posts, or running messengers, for that purpose; except such letters of merchants and masters which shall be sent by any masters of any ships, boat, or other vessels of merchandize, or by any other person employed by them for the carriage of such letters aforesaid, according to the respective directions; and also except letters to be sent by any private friend or friends, in their way of journey or travail, or by any messenger or messengers sent on purpose for or concerning the private affairs of any person and persons.

## And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,

[SECT. 2.] That it shall and may be lawful to and for the postmaster-general aforesaid, and his deputy and deputies by him thereunto sufficiently authorized, to demand, have, receive and take for the portage and conveyance of all such letters which he shall so convey, carry or send post as aforesaid, according to the several rates and summs of current money of this province hereafter mentioned, nor to exceed the same; that is to say, for the port of every single letter from Europe, the West Indies, or other parts beyond the seas, twopence; and all letters are to be accounted single though they contain bills of lading, gazetts, invoyces, \&c.: and for each pacquet of letters from the places aforesaid, fourpence; and a pacquet shall be accounted three letters at the least: and for the port of every single letter from Rhode Island to Boston, or from Boston to Rhode Island, sixpence; and so in proportion to the greatness and quantity of letters: and for the port of each single letter from the post road in Connecticut colony to Boston, nine-pence; and so in proportion as aforesaid: and for the port of each single letter from the city of New York, twelvepence; and so in proportion as aforesaid: and for the port of each single letter from the provinces of East or West Jersey, or Pennsylvania, fifteen pence; and so in proportion as aforesaid: and for the port of each single letter from Maryland or Virginia, two shillings each single letter; and so in proportion as aforesaid: and for the port of each single letter from Salem, threepence; from Ipswich, Newbury, or other places eastward of Salem, within this province, fourpence; and from Piscataqua, sixpence; and so in proportion as aforesaid. And if any letters or pacquets shall lie and remain in the office uncalled for, by the space of forty-eight hours, the postmaster then sending them forth to the respective houses of the persons to whom they arc directed, shall have and receive one penny more for each letter or pacquet.

And for the more effectual encouragement of the said general post-office, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
[SECT. 3.] That all such persons as shall be employed by the postmaster-general in the several stages within this province, shall and may pass and repass all and every ferry within this province, at any time during the continuance of this act in force, without paying any rate or sum of money, either for his own or his horse's passage.

## And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,

[SECT. 4.] That no person or persons whatsoever, or bodys politick or corporate, other than the postmaster-general aforesaid, shall presume to carry, recarry, or deliver letters for hire, other than as before excepted, or to set up or employ any foot-post, horse-post or pacquetboat, whatsoever for the carrying, conveying, and recarrying of any letters or pacquets, by sea or land, within this province, or shall provide and maintain horses and furniture for the equipping of any persons riding post, with a guide and horn, as is usual in their majesties' realm of England, upon the pain of forfeiting the sum of forty pounds, currant money of this province, for every several offence against the tenor of this present act; to be sued and recovered in any court of record within this province, by bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoyn, protection or wager of law shall be allowed: one half of the said forfeiture to their majesties, towards the support of the government of this province, and the contingent charges thereof; the other half to the post master-general, who shall sue and prosecute for the same.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
[SECT. 5.] That all letters and pacquets that, by any master of any ship or vessel, or any of his company, or any passenger[s] therein, shall or may be brought to this port of Boston (other than such letters as are before excepted), shall, by such master, passenger or other person, be forthwith delivered to the postmaster of Boston, for the time being, or unto his servants or agents, by him or them to be delivered according to the several and respective directions of the same; the said postmaster or his servants paying to the master of any such ship or vessel so delivering in his letters, a halfpenny for every letter or pacquet.

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
[SECT. 6.] That the postmaster-general, his officers or servants, shall continue constant posts for the carriage of letters to the several places and stages above mentioned; and shall seasonably and faithfully deliver forth the letters, according to the intent of this act, upon pain of forfeiture for every omission five pounds, to be recovered as aforesaid, and to be disposed the one half to their majesties, as aforesaid, the other half to the party aggrieved who shall sue for the same.
[SECT. 7.] That the said postmaster, his agents or servants, upon the coming in of every post, do mark every letter with a print, to show the day of the month, and year when every letter came in.

And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
[SECT. 8.] That if any ferryman within this their majesties' province shall at any time neglect, refuse or delay the conveying, over his or their ferry, any postman or his horse, he shall forfeit the sume of five pounds, to be recovered and disposed as the penalty before by this act laid upon such as shall set up any post or pacquet boat.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
[SECT. 9.] That all letters of publick concernment for their majesties' service, from time to time and at all times, shall be received, dispatched away, and delivered with all possible speed, according to the respective directions thereon, free of all charge, and without demanding or receiving any money or pay for the same, any thing herein before contained notwithstanding: provided, that this act, nor any thing therein contained, shall continue in force any longer than three years from and after the publication thereof, any thing herein to the contrary notwithstanding.
[Passed June 9; published June 17, 1693.]
By closely reading the Massachusetts legislation it is possible to deduce the major outline of the legislative template that Hamilton provided to the various colonies. The Preamble establishes Hamilton's bona fides as directly descending from the Crown through Neale's 21 -year patent. The post office established under the patent will have a mail monopoly and each colony will set its own rates.

Section 1 delineates that the Massachusetts post office will be in Boston, and that Andrew Hamilton will appoint the Postmaster. The Postmaster and his agents will be solely responsible for mail transportation, excepting ship captains who are required to turn their mail in to the post office. Previously a convenience, the role of the ship captain is now formalized.

Section 2 itemizes rates based on distance travelled. Packets of three or more letters are to be double rated. The postmaster is empowered to deliver "letters uncalled for" after 48 hours, with 1 penny allowed for this service. Thus local delivery was enabled.

Section 3 grants post riders free passage across the many toll roads and toll ferries then in operation. Section 4 fully defines the mail monopoly and expresses the penalties to be imposed upon those who might violate it. Section 5 specifies the duties of ship captains and establishes their fees. Section 6 is the penalty clause for postmasters failing to carry out their duty. A similar clause appears in the New Hampshire law and expressly states that the tasks shall be carried out "seasonably and faithfully." It's unclear if this was a common colonial phrase meant to eliminate winter "time outs" or harvest-season delays, or just boilerplate encouraging delivery in a timely fashion.

Section 7, requiring markings on every letter received into the post, is the legal initiation of postal markings in America. Section 8 outlines the penalties for those troublesome ferrymen and Section 9 establishes free carriage for letters on public service.

Ultimately, The British Lords Commissioner for Trade did not ratify the Massachusetts law. I speculate that the law seemed to make the postmaster too accountable to the colony, thus undermining the perquisites of the British Postmaster General. But Hamilton accepted the Massachusetts law and the system was inaugurated. Later, he seemed to ignore the lack of a ratification and never returned to the Massachusetts provincial body for a rewrite.

As the original patent allowed each very independent colony to set "such rates and sums of money as the planters shall agree," the greatest variation between the laws appears in the rates, even though all of the laws were based on the template provided by Hamilton.

Because we are able to show specific examples, we call attention to a portion of the

New York colonial law that charged 9 pence for sending a letter from Boston to New York whereas Massachusetts colony charged 12 pence for sending a letter from New York to Boston. The rate portions of the New York law appear below. ${ }^{8}$

Post of every Single Letter to or from Europe the west Indies or else where to and from beyond the Sea's, nine pence Currant mony aforesaid, and Soe in proportion to the greatness or or Quantity of Said Letters and for the Post of Every Letter from Boston to New York or from Maryland to New York nine pence currant mony aforesaid, and Soe in proportion as aforesaid, and for the post of every Single Letter from Virginia to New York twelve pence currant mony aforesaid, and So in proportion as aforesaid, and for the post of every Single Letter to or from any place not exceeding eighty miles distance from New York, four pence halfe penny currant mony aforesaid.

The Pennsylvania colony, under the Duke of York, passed a law with rates identical to the Massachusettts act in 1693. However, in 1697, with the colony now under the control of William Penn, and after re-evaluating the balance sheet, new rates were enacted. The salient portions of the 1693 and 1697 Pennsylvania laws are as follows: ${ }^{9}$
[1693] All forreign Letters from Europe, the West Indies or any part beyond the seas, two pence, each Single Letter, which is to be accompted such, although it contain bills of Lading, Invoyces, Gazets \&c. and for each packet of Letters four pence. And if packets or Letter packets or Letters Lye at the office uncalled for, the space of forty-eight hours, The post master then sending them forth to the respective houses of the persons to whom they are directed, one penny more for every such letter or packet. And for all forreign Letters outward bound that Shall be delivered into the post office, two pence each letter or packet. The port or Inland Letters to or from New York to Philadelphia, four pence half penny.

To or from Philadelphia to Connecticute nine pence
To or from Philadelphia to Rhode Islande twelve pence
To and from Philadelphia to Boston, fifteen pence
To and from Philadelphia to the Eastern parts of New England beyond Boston, nineteen pence

To \& from Philadelphia to Lewis, Mary'Land \& Virginia nine peace.
To and from every place within Eighty miles of Philadelphia four pence half penny.
[1697] LAW FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT OF THE POST OFFICE
Whereas, in the year 1693, a General Post office was by law erected at the request of Andrew Hamilton at Philadelphia, By which Law a Rate was put upon all Letters.

And whereas, the charge of the said office hath much exceeded the Postage, and being sensible of the benefit of the said office to trade $\&$ Commerce $\&$ to the Province $\&$ Territories in General, if it be Continued, And of the great Loss that will happen to both if it should happen to fail for want of encouragement,

Be It therefore E nacted by the Authoritie aforesaid, That it shall \& may be lawfull for the sd. Andrew Hamilton or some other that shall be appointed by the King to be Post Mr General in these parts, and his and their Deputies in that office to Demand, receive \& take for the postage of all Letters so conveyed or sent post as aforesaid, according to, and not exceeding the rates following, viz: for all forreign Letters from Europe, the West Indies, or any part beyond the seas, whether single-letters or packetts, four pence.

And for all forreign Letters outward bound that hall be Delivered into the office, two pence each letter or packett.

And for all Inland Letters to or from New York to Philadelphia, eight pence.
To or from Philadelphia to Connecticut, one shilling
To or from Philadelphia to Rhode Island or Boston, eighteen pence
To or from Philadelphia to the eastward parts of New England, beyond Boston two shillings.

To or from anie place within eightie miles of Philadelphia, six pence.
Having displayed rate tables with significant variations among colonies and within the same colony at different times, an explanatory note seems appropriate. The genesis of the differences relates to the original patent document, in which the Crown empowers the colonists to send letters "under such rates and sums of money as the planters shall agree." Money in the New World was a source of discord between the plantations and the Crown. English merchants wanted their debts paid in full. Metal coinage became over-valued in the
mid-17th century and the colonies resorted to the creation of commodity money backed by wealthy citizens, church organizations, or even the colony itself. These emissions came to be called "currant mony" ("current money" in modern spelling). The value of current money was unique to each colonial body depending upon the backers. An additional complexity was that in order to encourage use of current money the colonies would offer discounts for the settling of debts. Apparent variations in postal rates are thus due in large part to differences between each colony's currency and their fluctuations in value.

The Neale Patent was never profitable. Continuing losses and increasing debt forced Hamilton to return to England in 1700 to appeal to the Crown for increased support. Neale had died in 1699 and his patent was transferred to Hamilton and another early backer, Robert West. No further support was forthcoming from the Crown, and Hamilton’s renewed efforts, upon his return to America, did not meet with sufficient success to continue to fund what was clearly a losing proposition. For all intents and purposes, the Neale Patent ended in 1707.

## Examples of Neale Patent mail

The letter in Figure 1 is datelined January 26, 1699/1700 (1700). ${ }^{10}$ The significant item on this cover is the manuscript rate marking, " 12 d ", written beneath "Boston." Per the Neale Patent, twelve pence was the single rate for a letter traveling from New York to Boston, paid in Boston. This is the earliest rate marking that I have identified on a colonial cover. Based on an examination of hundreds of early marked letters, I can say that in all instances, the markings were applied at the time when the letter entered the post. Accordingly, I believe that this is a New York rating. The marking is 10 millimeters high.

The Figure 1 cover is addressed to Abraham DePeyster (1657-1728), a wealthy New York merchant who had been mayor of New York from 1691 to 1694. The letter within, written in Old Dutch by Johan Brunyl, politely enquires about the health of Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont, who at the time was governor or New York, Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, and was then in Boston. DePeyster was in Boston with him as a member of Bellomont's governing council. DePeyster was said to be "on terms of particular intimacy with Lord Bellomont, who relied much on his advice during his governorship." ${ }^{11}$ When Bellomont died in 1700, DePeyster briefly held the title of governor since the vice governor was out of the country at that time.


Figure 1. New York to Boston, datelined January 26, 1699/1700, with manuscript rate marking "12d" (beneath "Boston"). Per the Neale Patent, twelve pence was the single rate for a letter traveling from New York to Boston, paid in Boston. This is the earliest rate marking the author has identified on a colonial cover. (New-York Historical Society.)

Figure 2. Double-rate letter (2 times 6 pence) from New York to Connecticut (probably New London), contents dated February 19, 1699/1700. The "12d" manuscript marking, in what appears to be a reddish ink, is slightly different from the "12d" marking on the Figure 1 cover, but the letter entered the post in New York and the marking was presumably applied there. (Massachusetts Historical Society.)


Figure 2 illustrates a double-rated cover from New York to Connecticut (2 times 6 pence). At this point in time Governor Winthrop of Connecticut was in New London. The New York law specified that the single rate to anywhere in Connecticut was 6 d and that a "pacquet" was double or 12d. The content within is dated February 19, 1699/1700 (1700). This was presumably the top letter of a packet. The " 12 d " manuscript marking, in what appears to be a reddish ink, measures $11 \times 13 \mathrm{~mm}$. This marking is slightly different from the "12d" marking on the Figure 1 cover, but the letter entered the post in New York so I believe it should be attributed to that city. (The last line of the address panel is the word "These" and is combined with the initial "For" or "to" in other cases and is shorthand for "To... addressee's name... these most humbly present"-a formal and highly stylized colonial appellation. Another format which is common is "To...presents".)

The "Major General Winthrop" to whom the letter is addressed is Fitz-John Winthrop, who was born March 14, 1637/8 (1638) in Ipswich, Massachusetts, and was the son of John Winthrop II. (A common practice in this era was to use the appellation "Fitz" as a way of distinguishing John, the son of John.) Fitz-John Winthrop had an illustrious career as magistrate, a captain in Cromwell's army, New London representative to the General Court of Connecticut, Sergeant Major of Long Island, and Governor of the Colony of Connecticut between 1698 and 1707.

The letter within, from a cousin, John Morris, sheds light on postal practices of the day. Morris respectfully reports the arrival of a boat at the harbor of New York. "I received yours, in hopes to have made you a present of some newes, but since I cannot now any longer give credit to the rumors (ie that the ship might actually sail again) and that my reason tells me it very improbable for any vessel to have risked there considering the severity of the weather we have had of late, and the great quantity of ice with which our river has been blockaded, I assure myself that this way but a report and thought fit to let your honor know of it." Apparently, he has been reduced to sending his letter overland due to the severity of the winter preventing a sailing vessel from leaving New York. A ship letter would have been much less expensive. Morris' letter goes on to be very obsequious in inquiring of the governor's health and ends with an offer to be the governor's agent in Jamaica to "receive Your Honor's commands and anything that I shall be capable of serving you in."

Figures 3-5, from the opening years of the 18th century, are letters from Boston to New York, sent to Abraham DePeyster by his brother, Johanas DePeyster. The letters are


Figure 3. Boston to New York, internally dated June 30, 1702, with manuscript "B" (for "Boston"), without a rate notation, at lower left. Letters without rates are common in colonial times and payment of the proper sum must be presumed. (New-York Historical Society.)


Figure 4. Boston to New York, same correspondence as Figure 3, dated July 26, 1703, with manuscript "B.9d" at lower left, indicating a collection of 9 pence in New York's "currant mong." (New-York Historical Society.)


Figure 5. Boston to New York, same correspondence as Figures 3 and 4, dated June 9, 1703, showing a double-rate collection of 18 pence in New York money. Note that the manuscript " B " is similarly ornamented and is 12 mm tall on all three covers (Figures 3-5). (New-York Historical Society.)
written in Old Dutch and the subject appears to be business and inventories. The address panels illustrate various Boston postal markings.

Figure 3, internally dated June 30, 1702, bears a manuscript "B" without a rate mark at lower left on the address panel. Letters without rates are common in colonial times and the payment of a proper sum is presumed. For another example, see Figure 6 below.

Figure 4, dated July 26, 1703, shows a manuscript "B.9d" at lower left on the address panel, indicating a collection of 9 pence in New York "currant mony."

Figure 5, dated June 9, 1703, shows a double rate of 18 pence in New York money. It is very common for the colonial 8 to be lying on its side. Sometimes it will even look like an "S" on its side. ${ }^{12}$ Note that the manuscript "B" is similarly ornamented; it is 12 mm tall on all three covers.

Figure 6, sent from London, addressed to Fitz-John Winthrop as governor of Connecticut and datelined March 25, 1703, was sent by Henry Ashurst, Winthrop’s agent in London and a man who would rise to be Clerk of the City of London. The letter is unrated but presumably the ship's captain received a payment. The marking ("B.sh.") is identical to the first Boston ship marking, listed by Blake and Davis as BPM 1 and 2. On the Figure 6 cover this marking measures 11 by 18 mm .

As with others, the letter within speaks of postal difficulties. Ashurst explains that he received Winthrop’s letter of July 29, 1702, "which is the sole letter I have had from you these 6 months". He encloses copies of letters to Winthrop which he wrote in March and June of 1702 "since all my letters seem to miscarry." He reassures Winthrop that he has not been negligent in managing his affairs. It was common in this age for letters to be sent in duplicate or even triplicate, and occasionally notations to this effect have been confused with rating marks.

Ashurst was a dissenter and joined the New England Company in England where he


Figure 6. London, England, to Connecticut, addressed to Fitz-John Winthrop as governor of Connecticut and datelined March 25, 1703. The letter is unrated but presumably the ship's captain received a payment. The marking ("B.sh."), below "Gouvernour," is identical to the first Boston ship marking listed by Blake-Davis as Boston postmarks numbers 1 and 2. (Massachusetts Historical Society.)
was economically, politically, and religiously allied with the Winthrops. He died in 1705 at the age of 36 .

Figure 7 is an iconic letter for devotees of colonial postal history. Originally reported by Blake and Davis as Boston postal marking (number 3, 4, and 5 in their text on Boston postal markings), it is datelined "Dorchester in Carolina, June 5, 1704." While crude Xerox and other photocopied images might lead one to believe that this is a Boston marking, the clear photograph in Figure 7 reveals for the first time that this is in fact the " $R$ " of Newport, Rhode Island. This then becomes the earliest known Rhode Island postal marking. The ship


Figure 7. From "Dorchester in Carolina" to "Barnstable in New England," this 1704 cover was long thought to bear a Boston postal marking. But this image, believed to be the first clear color photo of this cover ever published, reveals that the marking (at lower left) is in fact the " $R$ " of Newport, Rhode Island. The notation "Rsh 6d" indicates a ship letter charged a total of 6 pence. This is the earliest known Rhode Island postal marking. (Massachusetts Historical Society.)


Figure 8. Sent from New London, Connecticut, to Boston, dated July 7, 1706, this cover is especially interesting because it shows two rate markings. One 6 -pence marking stands alone (below "Esq") and was presumably applied at Boston. The other 6d marking is part of the "NL" marking (for "New London") at lower right. This is the earliest recorded town marking from Connecticut. (Massachusetts Historical Society.)
notation "RSH 6d" indicates that the ship captain received a fee for the carriage of the letter and that the recipient was charged a total of 6 pence.

The letter is addressed "To ye Honble Thomas Hinckley, Esq, At Barnstable in N. England." Hinckley was twice governor of Plymouth Colony (1681-86, 1689-92), concluding his term when Plymouth Colony became incorporated into the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1692. He died in Barnstable, on Cape Cod, in 1705 at the age of 88. The Figure 7 letter was penned by Joseph and Abigail Lord and commiserated over the news of the death of Abigail's mother, who was Hinckley's wife. Joseph Lord was ordained a minister in Dorchester, Massachusetts and led a group of parishioners to the Ashley River in South Carolina where he founded Dorchester, Carolina, in 1695. His arrival was intended to challenge an Anabaptist sect which had earlier colonized the other shore of the Ashley.

Figure 8 shows the address panel of a letter from Fitz-John Winthrop to Waitstill Winthrop, his brother. A cover from the other side of this correspondence, from Waitstill to Fitz-John, was illustrated and discussed in the article in Chronicle 232. The Figure 8 letter was written at New London, Connecticut, on July 7, 1706, and sent to Boston. This cover is especially interesting because it shows two rate markings, a 6-pence standing alone (below "Esq"), and a 6-pence following the New London ("NL") marking. Presumably, one of those markings was applied in Boston and another in Connecticut; the "d" (for pence) symbols are obviously very different. The "NL" on this cover is the earliest recorded town marking from Connecticut.

The letter from one brother to another is complimentary and joyous over the return to health of a cousin, who benefited from a packet of "rubila" that Wait Winthrop had provided


Figure 9. Albany, New York to Connecticut, datelined July 9, 1705, addressed to the governing council of Connecticut, probably meeting at Hartford. The 8pence rate, presumably applied at New York City, may include the usual 6 pence charged to Connecticut and a 2-pence charge to transport the letter from Albany to New York. This is the earliest recorded New York town marking. (Massachusetts Historical Society.)
to the cousin, who was afflicted with an "agueish apoplexy." ${ }^{13}$ The letter also discusses a shipment of 2,000 pounds of wool and the price being sought.

The cover in Figure 9 is datelined July 9, 1705. It is from Colonel Philip Schuyler in Albany, New York, and is addressed to "The Council in Connecticut" which probably was meeting at Hartford. The 8-pence rate may include the usual 6 pence charged to Connecticut and a 2-pence charge to transport the letter from Albany to New York. At this point in time, there was no direct route between Albany and Hartford. This is the earliest New York town marking that I have identified.

For more than a decade, Philip Schuyler was charged with monitoring the Indian population, and Albany had long been established as the embarkation and contact point for such ventures. In his letter Schuyler writes "Gentlemen, I did receive yours of January 16, 17045 about a month hence, not much sooner, and the reason you did not hear from me was not the want of yours, but I had no information to give, all being quiet. The principal Sachems of the 2 castles next to Mount Reall in Canada did come down the river with me in order to confirm a peace and to stop all inroads upon the English for the future which is done. They are Mohague Indians that fell away to the French....I have likewise sent a belt to the Onogungoe Indians which they have received and promised an answer which has not come yet....I am at great charges in affecting these public services, and although providence has cast them upon me, yet whoever reaps of the benefit ought in equity and good confidence to contribute to that charge. You do well to be always ready in a posture of defense."

Figure 10 presents images of the markings discussed in this article, electronically cropped from the covers on which they appear. The number designating the marking corresponds to the cover's Figure number in the text.

## COLONIAL POSTAL MARKINGS DISCUSSED IN THIS ARTICLE



1. "12d" applied at New York, on a cover to Boston datelined January 26, 1699/1700 (1700). This is the earliest rate marking the author has identified on a colonial cover.
2. "12d" applied at New York on a double-rate letter (2 times 6 pence) to Connecticut dated February 19, 1699/1700.

3. Boston "B", on a cover from Boston to New York, internally dated June 30, 1702. Letters without rates are common in colonial times; proper postage was still collected.

4. "B. 9d" on a cover from Boston to New York dated July 26, 1703. Applied at Boston, this rating indicated a collecton of 9 pence in New York's "currant mong."

5. "B. 18d", applied at Boston on a dou-ble-rate cover to New York (2x9d) dated June 9, 1703, showing a double-rate collection of 18 pence in New York money.

6. "B. sh." for "Boston ship" on a letter from London to to Connecticut, datelined March 25, 1703. The letter is unrated but presumably the ship captain received a payment.

7. "R sh Gd" on a cover from Dorchester, Carolina to Barnstable, Mass., datelined June 5, 1704. Not a Boston marking, this is actually the "R" of Newport, R.I., the earliest known Rhode Island postal marking.

8. Two bd rate markings on a cover from New London, Connecticut, to Boston, dated July 7, 1706. The " $6 d$ " marking at upper left was presumably applied at Boston. The other Gd rate marking is part of the "NL6" marking (applied at New London) at lower right. This is the earliest recorded Connecticut town marking.

9. "NY 8" on a cover from Albany to Connecticut, datelined July 9, 1705. The 8-pence rating was presumably applied at New York City. This is the earliest New York town marking that the author has identified.

Figure 10. Manuscript postal markings from the era of the Neale Patent. The markings are clipped electronically from the covers illustrated with this article. The number of the marking coincides with the Figure number of the illustrated cover. These are some of the earliest postal markings of the Colonial period.

## Conclusion

This report includes the first publication of the complete Neale Patent in the philatelic literature. The Neale Patent law is of major importance as one of the earliest attempts to establish legislation common to all the colonies. Previously, success in this arena was very limited, as Puritans, Catholics, Quakers and various Protestant sects did not often find much to agree upon. Additionally, the Neale Patent is the first and only law to establish the common use of each colony's current money for postal expenses. Subsequent laws were in Sterling. Future laws would have rates based on weight and distance.

Further, this report brings forward the earliest recorded town markings of Rhode Island, New York, and Connecticut. The rate markings of New York, Massachusetts and Rhode Island are also the earliest known. The covers and conclusions presented here are the result of substantial archival research in antiquarian and historical societies in New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Archival sources in other states may contain additional important examples.

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## Endnotes

1. The first effort was incorporated into "Use of the Franking Privilege in New England 1699-1707, The Earliest Proof of a Durable Post" by O’Connor and Schwartz, Chronicle 232 (November 2011), pp. 305-311. This dealt with the topic of free mail sent under Section 9 of the Neale Patent.
2. Calendar of State Papers, America and the West Indies, April 17, 1661, item 72. This resource is a compilation of the records of the Board of Trade, and the Board of Plantations. It includes correspondence between the Boards and Colonial Governors, orders, grants and other information, 1574-1738.
3. Laws of New Hampshire, Province Period, pg. 405.
4. Op. cit., pg. 431.
5. In 1680, William Dockwra, a merchant, organized a penny post in London. The premise was very simple: Letters would be delivered anywhere in London for one penny. It was so successful that the government took control and incorporated it into the General Post Office in 1692.
6. The Charter and the Acts of His Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in America, 1719, pg. 33.
7. Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, Province Laws of Massachusetts, 1693. 1st session. Chapter 3, pp. 115-117.
8. The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 293-296.
9. Duke of Yorke's Laws 1676-1682, pp. 224-25 and 262-63.
10. The Julian calendar was in use worldwide but it had been losing days for centuries, requiring "leap years." Finally in 1582 Pope Gregory reset the calendar by skipping 11 days. This new Gregorian calendar was accepted by all Roman Catholic countries immediately, but England refused and colonial America followed British tradition. The Gregorian year ended on December 31 and the Julian year on March 24. Accordingly dates in January, February and much of March were commonly written as 1699/1700, Julian/Gregorian. This practice ended in 1752.
11. The Life and Administration of Richard, Earl of Bellomont, pg. 58.
12. Reading Early American Handwriting, pg. 34.
13. When John Winthrop Jr. (1606-1676) arrived in America (1631), he brought a "barrel of books" about science. He became a medical practitioner, alchemist and the only colonial member of the Royal Society in London upon its inception in 1662. His sons Wait and Fitz John continued their father's pharmaceutical tradition. Rubila was a mixture of nitre and antimony, and a favorite remedy of colonial society. See Books in the Wilderness-The Winthrop Collection at the New York Society Library, by Margaret Mather Byard (1999). ■

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# THE FIVE PRINTINGS OF THE FIVE-CENT 1847 STAMP AND THE IMPRESSIONS THEY LEFT BEHIND 

WADE E. SAADI

This article is a synopsis of my in-depth analysis of the five printings of the 5¢ 1847 stamp, which I have studied since 1985. My primary focus has been on the printing impression, studying the wear of the fine lines of the engraving on the individual stamps. I have found that the wear of these fine lines is the most accurate gauge to help determine which of the five printings a $5 \phi 1847$ stamp belongs to. The $5 \phi$ plate wore considerably during its use and the impressions from the various printings show the progressive result of that wear.

The printing ink was the culprit that caused the plate abrasion. The pigments used in formulating the inks for the $5 \$$ stamp were comprised of elements that were abrasive to the plate. Contemporary brown inks contained oxides of various metals ${ }^{1}$, which wore down the fine lines of the engraved plate through the several thousand impressions and the repeated, inconsistent wiping of the plate after each impression. In contrast, the $10 \$$ plate shows almost no wear. The ink was not abrasive and fewer impressions were made.

For the $5 \$$ stamp, examination of the various impressions, along with an assessment of the stamps' shades, especially on covers where the date can be determined, enables fairly accurate differentiation. ${ }^{2}$ In essence, the extent of the plate wear "dates" each impression, and through careful inspection and much practice, it's possible to assign stamps to their proper printing with relative certainty, whether the stamps are on cover or off.

To properly examine these engraved details, you can use a 10 -power loupe, ${ }^{3}$ but even better is a 15 -power stereo microscope. The main essentials for proper inspection are a large-diameter magnifying lens and a lot of consistent available light.

Figure 1 shows a sketch of the frame of the $5 \mathbb{1} 1847$ stamp, with the main design elements (discussed in the text and the illustrations that follow) indicated by blue arrows. Some of the lines in the sketch have been strengthened for emphasis. The horizontal shading lines are the 100 -plus fine lines that run the width of the design, except through the oval and the lettering. The acanthus leaves are the leafy engraved elements that along with the horizontal shading lines form the background on which the numerals and letters are overlain. The trifoliate elements are the two tulip-shaped designs that flank the central oval on both sides. The crosshatching is the grid of horizontal and vertical lines inside the oval around Franklin's portrait. The four frame lines-top, bottom, left and right-contain the design.

## The deliveries

The firm of Rawdon, Wright, Hatch \& Edson, headquartered in New York, was the printer of the $5 ¢$ and $10 ¢ 1847$ stamps. Between mid-1847 and late 1850 the firm received from the Post Office Department five separate printing orders for $5 申 1847$ stamps. (Four of these orders included requests for quantities the $10 \$ 1847$ stamp as well.) A chronology of the five printings, based on archival records, is presented in Table 1. This shows the date each order was issued, the date the order was received by the printer, and the date on which the stamps were ready at the printer. From this information can be calculated the number of days required to produce each order. The significance of this information will be discussed


Figure 1. Sketch of the frame of the $5 \$ 1847$ stamp, with design elements indicated by blue arrows. The horizontal shading lines are the 100 -plus fine lines that run the width of the design, except through the oval and the lettering. The acanthus leaves are the leafy engraved elements that along with the horizontal shading lines form the background for the numerals and letters. The trifoliate elements are the two tulip-shaped designs flanking the oval. The crosshatching is the grid of horizontal and vertical lines inside the oval around Franklin's portrait. The four frame lines contain the design.
below. Table 2 shows the quantities for each printing. This represents the number of stamps ordered and delivered, although some orders were not filled exactly.

The data in Tables 1 and 2 were furnished to me by Thomas Alexander in a private communication on October 1, 2007. This information was subsequently published in The Travers Papers. ${ }^{4}$ Alexander told me that George Brett had assembled this data during research for the Travers book.

Previous research by Carroll Chase, Stanley Ashbrook, Creighton Hart and Calvet Hahn relied mostly on dated covers (in concert with the dates of shipments as shown in Table 1) to determine from which of the five printings a stamp belongs. But such attribution can only be absolute until the second delivery. After the second delivery, mixing of sheets could have occurred at the printer or at the post offices. Additionally, a patron might have purchased first-printing stamps in the summer of 1847 and used them continuously for the next four years. In essence, a cover dated June 1851 (last month of use for the 1847 issue) could be franked with a $5 申$ stamp from any of the five printings.

The six pages of color plates that follow, Figures 2-7, present greatly enlarged images

Table 1. Chronological details of the five printings of 1847 stamps

| Printing <br> number | Date of Order | Receipt of order <br> by printer | Stamps ready <br> at printer | Days to <br> produce |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1}$ | June 1, 1847 | June 3, 1847 | June 26, 1847 | 23 |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | March 13, 1848 | March 15, 1848 | April 10, 1848 (est) | 26 |
| $\mathbf{3}$ | March 19, 1849 | March 20, 1849 | April 19, 1849 | 26 |
| $\mathbf{4}$ | February 4, 1850 | February 5, 1850 | March 18, 1850* | 41 |
| $\mathbf{5}$ | December 7, 1850 | December 9, 1850 | January 24, 1851 | 45 |

*This date is estimated based on an April 8, 1850 Post Office Department letter. Longer preparation time for the fourth printing is based on the assumption that the $5 \Phi$ plate was cleaned prior to the fourth printing.
of 5¢ 1847 stamps from each of the five printings along with captioned information describing individual characteristics of each printing type. This should enable collectors, armed with proper magnification tools, to at least make a beginning attempt at differentiating the various printings of individual 5\$ 1847 stamps.

In my opinion, there is a discernable difference between the last sheet of the first printing and the first sheet of the second printing, and a difference between the last sheet of the second printing and the first sheet of the third printing. This might be attributable to way the plates were stored between printings. Perhaps they were protectively coated in wax, varnish or oil to prevent them from rusting. If so, subsequent removal of the protective coating might have prevented the fine lines in the plate from holding ink in the same quantity as before. The opposite could also apply. If the plates were not coated during storage, and sustained mild oxidation or rust as a consequence, subsequent removal of this corrosion might also have contributed to plate wear between printings. To express it another way: I strongly believe there was not a linear deterioration of the plate across the first three printings; rather, there was a jagged, stair-step deterioration, probably attributable to the manner in which the plates were stored between the printings.

A few words about color value: Color value is best defined as the relative lightness or darkness of a color. In the case of the $5 \$ 1847$ stamps, this comparative lightness or darkness is not caused by differences in ink composition, but rather by the amount of ink an engraved line on the plate was able to hold. The deepest lines in the engraving, the crosshatched lines,

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Printing number | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 ¢}$ |
| $\mathbf{1}$ | 600,000 | 200,000 |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | 800,000 | 250,000 |
| $\mathbf{3}$ | $1,000,000$ | 300,000 |
| $\mathbf{4}$ | $1,000,000$ | 300,000 |
| $\mathbf{5}$ | $1,000,000$ | 0 |
| Totals | $4,400,000$ | $1,050,000$ |

Table 2. Stamp quantities created in each printing. This represents the number of stamps ordered and delivered; some orders were not filled exactly.

FIRST PRINTING


Figure 2. First Printing. The impressions are the finest, with a proof-like appearance. All horizontal shading lines, trifoliate lines and acanthus leaves show clearly. Frame lines are almost always strong and unbroken. First-printing impressions richly and fully reveal the state of the art in line engraving from their era. The color value of the printing ink (relative darkness of the color) is consistent on all engraved lines. This is especially evident in a comparison between the crosshatching in the oval and the horizontal shading lines. The shades from this printing include many deep and rich colors; examples are coveted because of the richness of hue and the sharpness of the lines. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Grayish Browns, Browns, Red Browns, Dark Browns and Black Browns.

## SECOND PRINTING



Figure 3. Second Printing. Most lines are clear and well delineated. The horizontal shading lines, acanthus leaves and the trifoliate lines are of noticeably lighter intensity, but clear and unbroken, because the plate wear affected these parts of the design first. Frame lines are almost always unbroken, but may show a few weak spots, making the lines appear uneven. This printing yielded excellent impressions, sometimes difficult to distinguish from the first, but always less strong. There is a little color-value change between the crosshatching in the oval and the horizontal shading lines. Shades from this printing include deep and rich colors, but most are less concentrated and intense. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Grayish Browns, Browns, Red Browns and Dark Browns.

## THIRD PRINTING, WORN PLATE



Figure 4. Third Printing, Worn Plate. Two very different types of impressions were produced from the third printing: worn-plate images and dirty-plate images. Plate wear is noticeable in comparison with impressions from the first and second printings, but impressions from the third printing seem to show more than just plate wear. These are the poorest of all the $5 ¢ 1847$ impressions. In both the worn-plate and dirty-plate impressions, the difference in color values, between the fine lines and heavy lines of engraving, are the most distinct of any of the printings. On the worn-plate impression above, most lines are very light and some are barely discernible. Frame lines appear fine and sometimes broken. Background horizontal shading and acanthus lines are hardly visible. Trifoliate lines are abbreviated, showing in only the deepest parts of the engraving.

## THIRD PRINTING, DIRTY PLATE



Figure 5. Third Printing, Dirty Plate. Dirty-plate stamps from the third printing exhibit the same characteristics as as worn-plate stamps (see Figure 4), except the ink is unevenly distributed, yielding blotched and mottled printings, likely caused by the over-application of ink in an attempt to achieve better impressions. While the fine lines are sometimes more visible than on the worn-plate stamps, the deeper lines of crosshatching are caked with ink. These are terrible impressions, yet they are hard to find, since most copies were probably discarded years ago—either by the printer before delivery to the Post Office Department or subsequently by collectors-as inferior copies. The shades from the third printing, both worn-plate and dirty-plate varieties, are mostly in the Red Brown and Brown family, with occasional occurrences of Orange Browns and Grayish Browns.

## FOURTH PRINTING



Figure 6. The plate was acid etched before the fourth printing in an attempt to enhance the impression and clean the dirty plate. While this helped to strengthen medium to deep lines, it also gave them a soft or fuzzy appearance. Frame lines are mostly complete but not distinct, almost fuzzy. Background horizontal shading, acanthus leaves and trifoliate lines are usually visible, but also soft or fuzzy. Impressions are much better than those from the worn plate of the third printing. Color value variance between the fine lines and the crosshatching is similar to the second printing; there is a small amount of value change. Coloration of the shades from the fourth printing and fifth printing are different from previous printings, probably due to different ink pigments. While many of the shade groups are similar, orange or yellow seems to be more present. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Brown Oranges, Red Browns and Dark Browns.

## FIFTH PRINTING



Figure 7. Fifth Printing. Lines are less distinct than on the fourth printing, exhibiting a fuzzier appearance. Frame lines are mostly complete but less distinct than the fourth printing. Background horizontal shading and trifoliate lines are barely visible and extremely soft. The acanthus leaves are barely visible. The color-value difference between the horizontal shading lines and the crosshatching is quite noticeable. All shades from the fifth printing contain orange pigments. During the fifth printing, the printer requested the die from the Post Office Department. The plate was reworked and certain positions were re-entered. That accounts for the extra time required to produce this printing (see Table 1). While many of the shade groups are similar to the fourth printing, orange or yellow seem to be more present. The seldom-seen Red Orange shade appears only in the fifth printing. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Brown Oranges and Orange/Red Orange.
were capable of holding far more ink than the shallower horizontal shading lines would accommodate. Hence, the color-value difference between the well-inked crosshatched lines and the poorly-inked horizontal shading lines is significant, as seen in the third, fourth and fifth printings. In the instance of the first and second printings, the horizontal shading lines have the same approximate color value as the crosshatched lines. For subsequent printings, the differences are progressively more pronounced. These differences in color value are a key determinant in assigning a $5 \mathbb{\$}$ stamp to its proper printing. As noted, these differences are best observed under substantial magnification.

## First printing

The impressions from the first printing (an example is shown in Figure 2) are the finest; they have almost a proof-like appearance. All the horizontal shading lines, trifoliate lines and acanthus leaves show clearly. Frame lines are almost always strong and unbroken. The color value (relative darkness of the color) of the printing ink is consistent on all the engraved lines. This is best revealed in a magnified comparison between the crosshatching in the oval and the horizontal shading lines. The shades from this printing include many deep and rich colors. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Grayish Browns, Browns, Red Browns, Dark Browns and Black Browns.

## Second printing

Most lines on stamps from the second printing (Figure 3) are clear and well delineated. The intensity of the impressions may be lighter than on first-printing stamps, but they are still complete and distinct. The horizontal shading lines, acanthus leaves and the trifoliate lines are of noticeably lighter intensity, but clear and unbroken. (Plate wear affected these portions of the image first.) Frame lines are almost always unbroken, but may show a few weak spots, making the lines appear uneven. The second printing yielded excellent impressions, sometimes difficult to distinguish from the first, but almost always less strong. There is a little change in color value between the crosshatching in the oval and the horizontal shading lines.

The shades from this printing include some deep and rich colors, but most are less concentrated and intense. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Grayish Browns, Browns, Red Browns and Dark Browns.

## Third printing

There are two very different types of impressions from the third printing: worn-plate impressions and dirty-plate impressions. This is not a very inspiring printing, to say the least. We know the plate was wearing, as seen by a comparison of the differences between the first and second printings, but the third printing seems to have involved more than just plate wear. As mentioned previously, it is possible the plate was oiled or varnished after the second printing to prevent corrosion, and that this protective coating was not adequately removed prior to the third printing. Other causes might relate to ink formulation or low printing temperatures, in addition to the predictable plate wear. Impressions from the third printing are the poorest of all the 5¢ 1847 impressions. In both the worn-plate and dirtyplate varieties, the color-value differences between the fine lines and heavy lines of engraving are the most distinct of any of the five printings.

## Third printing: Worn-plate impressions

On worn-plate impressions from the third printing (Figure 4), most lines are very light and some are barely discernible. Frame lines appear fine and sometimes they are broken. Background horizontal shading and acanthus lines are hardly visible. Trifoliate lines are
abbreviated, showing in only the deepest parts of the engraving.

## Third printing: Dirty-plate impressions

Dirty-plate impressions from the third printing (Figure 5) have the same characteristics as the worn-plate varieties, only the ink is unevenly distributed, yielding blotched and mottled printings, likely caused by the over-application of ink in an attempt to produce better impressions. While the fine lines are sometimes more visible than on the worn-plate stamps, the deeper lines of crosshatching are caked with ink. These are terrible impressions, yet examples are hard to find. Most copies were probably discarded years ago, either by the printer or subsequently by collectors, as being inferior examples. The shades from the third printing are mostly in the Red Brown and Brown family, with occasional occurrences of Orange Browns and Grayish Browns.

## Fourth printing

After the third printing, the $5 \$ 1847$ plate was basically useless. It is generally accepted that the plate was acid etched before the fourth printing to enhance the impression and to clean the dirty plate. The intention was to deepen the lines of the plate, thereby allowing them to hold more ink. But in the process the engraved lines were widened twice as much as they were deepened, since the acid ate away at the left and right sides simultaneously as it ate away at the bottom. While this helped to strengthen medium to deep lines, it gave them a soft or fuzzy appearance. Frame lines on stamps from the fourth printing (Figure 6) are mostly complete but not distinct, almost fuzzy. Background horizontal shading, acanthus leaves and foliate lines are usually visible but soft or fuzzy. Impressions are much better than those from the worn plate of the third printing. Color-value variance between the fine lines and the crosshatching is similar to the second printing; there is a small amount of value change.

The coloration of the shades from the fourth (and fifth) printings are different from previous printings, probably due to the use of different ink pigments. While many of the shade groups are similar, orange or yellow seems to be more present in the last two printings. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Brown Oranges, Red Browns and Dark Browns.

## Fifth printing

Lines on fifth-printing stamps (Figure 7) are less distinct than the lines on fourthprinting stamps, and they exhibit a fuzzier appearance. Frame lines are mostly complete but less distinct than on the stamps of the fourth printing. Background horizontal shading and trifoliate lines are barely visible and extremely soft. The acanthus leaves are barely visible. The color value difference between the horizontal shading lines and the crosshatching is noticeable. All shades from the fifth printing contain orange pigments.

Stamps from this printing do not exist in the same quantity as those from the earlier printings, and hence are very scarce, since the majority of this printing was destroyed by the post office after the 1847 stamps were demonetized in July, 1851. Over $680,0005 \$$ stamps were destroyed by order of the Postmaster General. It is believed that the majority of them were from the $1,000,000 \mathrm{stamps}$ created in the fifth printing. ${ }^{5}$ As an aside, during the fifth printing, the printer requested that the Post Office Department return them the die. The plate was reworked and certain positions on the plate were reentered. That accounts for the extra time needed to produce this printing (see Table 1). While many of the shade groups in the fourth and fifth printings are similar, orange or yellow seems to be more present in the fifth. The seldom-seen Red Orange shade is introduced here. Major shade classes are Orange Browns, Brown Oranges and the Orange/Red Orange.

## Conclusion

The study of these impressions and their subsequent assignment into one the five printings is both art and science. A novice collector who is unfamiliar with the 1847 issue is unlikely to be able to use this article to successfully assign an individual stamp to a specific printing. But with practice and time, the task becomes less challenging. As with so many other aspects of our hobby, experience is essential. But with the right tools and the use of the guidelines presented here, much of the mystique is removed and the task actually becomes enjoyable. This reminds me of the answer to the question "How do I get to Carnegie Hall?" Practice, practice, practice.

## Endnotes

1. To my knowledge, the chemical makeup of the pigments used to print the $5 \$ 1847$ stamps has not been determined by scientific testing. I hope to take examples of the five printings to the Smithsonian National Postal Museum and test them, using equipment designed to analyze ink composition.
2. Clarification of the word "shade" is in order. All five printings have "Orange Brown" shades. However, when comparing the "Orange Brown" shades among the different printings, the colors are different. The differences are especially profound between the earlier printings (first and second) and the later printings (fourth and fifth).
3. The Zeiss Optics D36 pocket magnifier (9X) is an excellent choice; the Bausch \& Lomb Hastings Loupe (10X) works well also.
4. The Travers Papers, by Thomas J. Alexander, 2011, pp. 391-392. Arthur Travers was Chief Clerk in the 3rd Assistant Postmaster's Office in 1909-10, who assembled thousands of pieces of historical correspondence between the Post Office and its suppliers, vendors and others.
5. Ibid., pg. 393.


## THE 1851-61 PERIOD

## DISCOVERY: BISECTED USE OF ONE-CENT 1851 STAMP

## ROLAND H. CIPOLLA II

## Introduction

This article tells the story of the discovery and authentication of a heretofore unknown item—a bisected 1\$ 1851 stamp on cover. In the process it documents a postal rate that was previously unknown to almost everyone (even though it spanned a period of more than ten years) and never mentioned in the philatelic literature. Since the rate was not known, it's understandable that collectors never looked for it. Few people go looking for something they don't know exists.

The background of the cover discovery is as follows: In the spring of 2007 a brief posting appeared on Richard Frajola's chat board (http://www.philamercury.com/board. php ) asking viewers for their opinions on a strange cover that appeared to be franked with a diagonal half of a 1\& 1851 stamp. The cover is shown in Figure 1. Though I was a minority of one at that point, my gut reaction told me the cover was good, because I knew there existed a reasonable explanation for this very unusual use. The importance of the cover was thus quite clear to me.

I quickly contacted Frajola and asked him to get details of how and where the cover was found and what it would take for me to acquire it. One day later both questions were answered and I purchased the cover-"as is" and sight unseen. When I received it a week


Figure 1. Diagonal half of a 1\$ 1851 stamp, Type 4, tied by a "NEW HAVEN CONN JUL 29" circular datestamp to a printed circular. internally dated 1853 and addressed to Hartford. In the absence of a cancellation tie over the bisected edge of the stamp, establishing the genuineness of this cover posed substantial challenges.
later, I knew that my original instinct about the cover had been correct. The franking represented a half-cent in-state circular rate that had never been seen before.

The cover is a printed circular, part of a solicitation sent out periodically by Alfred J. Work, a New Haven entrepreneur seeking veterans of the Revolution, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War (and their widows) who might be entitled to land grants from the United States government. The New Haven circular datestamp is dated "JUL 29" and the printed contents are year-dated 1853. The cover is addressed to Julia A. Goff, in Hartford.

How did I know this rate existed? The answer is simple and relates to something very important in our hobby: mentoring. Between 1974 and 1982, I built and exhibited a collection of the United States 1\$ 1851 stamp, Scott numbers 5-9. Living in New England between 1978 and 1982, I was blessed to have Mortimer Nienken, a resident of New York City, as my mentor. Mort was the preeminent expert on the $1 \$ 1851 \mathrm{stamp}$ and a major force in the formative years of the Classics Society. I specifically remember a three-hour lunch we had in (I believe) 1979, and another occasion at Mort's home, where we were discussing covers that were considered to be "out of the ordinary." The subject was two incredible covers that Mort owned, sent from Cuba to Quebec in the summer of 1851. Each cover bears a bisected 12\$ stamp and a strip of four 1\$ 1851 stamps from Plate 1 Early, making up the $10 \$$ cross-border rate. Mort said to me: "Ron, you are a lot younger than I am. Keep your eyes open because there has to be a bisected use of the 1 \$ stamp out there somewhere." This was the first time I became aware that such an item might exist.

## Legislation establishing the half-cent rate

Commencing 1 July 1851, new postal rates went into effect and new stamps were issued to accommodate the new rates. In addition to the letter rates that are well known to collectors of classic U.S. covers, new graduated postage rates were established for printed sheets and newspapers. The reductions were dramatic, lowering the rate on single pieces traveling under 500 miles from $3 \Phi$ to $1 \$$. In addition, incrementally higher rates were established for newspapers and printed sheets traveling distances over 500 miles; $2 ¢$ for 5011,500 miles, $3 \Phi$ for $1,501-2,500$ miles, $4 \Phi$ for $2,501-3,500$ miles and $5 \Phi$ for over 3,500 miles. All printed matter required prepayment.

Postmasters and publishers found this complex graduated rate structure to be confusing and excessive. Fourteen months later, on 30 August 1852, Congress amended the 1851 postal act, effective 1 October 1852, by establishing a standard rate for all single printed sheets (with a single message) and newspapers. The rate was just 14 regardless of distance-with one minor exception hidden within the body of the legislation and shown italicized in the quotation below.

Thirty-second Congress, Sess. I, Ch. 97, 981852.

CHAP. XCVIII - An Act to amend the Act entitled "An Act to reduce and modify the Rates of Postage in the United States, and for other Purposes," passed March third, eighteen hundred and fifty-one.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the thirtieth day of September, eighteen hundred and fifty-two, the postage upon all printed matter passing through the mail of the United States, instead of the rates now charged, shall be as follows, to wit: Each newspaper, periodical, unsealed circular or other article of printed matter, not exceeding three ounces in weight, shall be sent to any part of the United States for one cent, and for every additional ounce, or fraction of an ounce, one cent additional shall be charged;.... Newspapers and periodicals, not weighing over one ounce and a half, when circulated in the State where published, shall be charged one half of the rates before mentioned.
Thus was created probably the least known and most obscure postal rate of the 19th century; a half-cent rate ("one half of the rates before mentioned") for newspapers and periodicals, including what postal historians call circulars, mailed to addresses within the state where the item was published.

The 1852 half-cent rate is not a short lived or little-used rate. Quite the contrary, the rate would surely have been used within each state on thousands of pieces of printed matter each month. Yet in more than 160 years since the establishment of the half-cent circular rate, only this one example has so far surfaced. If there were potentially so many items created, why only one surviving example?

Virtually all the printed matter produced in the first half of the 19th century is what we call ephemera-something usually made of paper, with limited time value, which was quickly discarded. Of the tens of millions of newspapers and printed matter sent through the mails annually in the 1850s, only a tiny handful survive today. Paper was used for wrapping, heating homes, personal hygiene and more importantly, during the Civil War, thousands of paper drives raised money to fund soldier's hospitals.

## Bisects and their acceptance

In conjunction with the 1\$ 1851 stamp (Scott 5, 5A, 7 and 8A), two other stamps were issued on 1 July 1851: the orange-brown 3\$ stamp (10) and the black 12¢ stamp (17). Both the $3 \$$ and $12 \$$ stamps are known in bisect form. The $12 \$ 1851$ stamp is relatively common as a bisect, on covers franked to pay the $6 \mathbb{C}$ transcontinental rate or (less frequently) on covers paying double the $3 \notin$ letter rate. The bisected $3 \$ 1851$ stamp is a rarity with only around half a dozen legitimate examples known. Three-cent bisects were used (and accepted) to pay a $1 \$$ printed-matter rate or in lieu of a $1 \$$ stamp to make up a $10 \$$ rate. But until now, not a single example of a bisected 14 1851 stamp has been discovered.

Respecting the acceptance of bisection, the bisected $3 \Phi$ and $12 \Phi$ uses were generally accepted until the fall of 1853 . Prevailing postal acts did not address the issue of bisection. The Post Office Department did not issue a memorandum specifically outlawing the use of bisected stamps until 10 November 1853, almost four months after the cover in Figure 1 was posted. This famous Post Office circular (quoted by Thomas Alexander in Chronicle 75 , page 121) stated "If the stamp be cut off, or separated from the envelope on which it was made, the legal value of both is destroyed; neither does the law authorize the use of parts of postage stamp in prepayment of postage." It is therefore quite reasonable that prior to this announcement, in July 1853, both the sending post office (New Haven) and the receiving post office (Hartford) honored the use of half of a $1 \phi$ stamp.

## Provenance

So I knew the rate existed and the bisection seemed to pay it, but there was still a lot of work to do to authenticate the legitimacy of the cover. Learning how and where the cover was discovered was the first hurdle. The following excerpts are from a letter, dated June 23,2012 , provided by the person from whom I purchased the cover. Specific names have been edited out.

> Ron, I purchased the bisect cover several years ago from a retired coin dealer in the upper midwest who had been in business since right after World War II. Over the decades of running his business he purchased many estates and collections....and would always set aside any postal history items he found, since his main areas of knowledge were stamps and coins, and he just didn't want to deal with postal history....After he more or less retired he started to let me go through the many dozens of cartons of covers he had accumulated in the prior decades. This carried on for several years. The postal history was a conglomeration of everything from countless thousands of dollar covers up to high-end material. One would occasionally run across US \#1s on cover...I even bought a Virginia City Pony Express cover. When I put the bisect cover aside he looked at it and said "too bad it wasn't tied or it would be a great item." So basically that's the story....

The key element of the discovery is the chance finding of the bisect cover within a large holding assembled over a 50 -year period. Of note is the coin dealer's comment, forged by decades of experience: "too bad it wasn't tied or it would be a great item." This comment offers an insight into the potential mind-set of a person who might set out to fabri-
cate such an item. Surely the faker would have been aware of the tying standard and would have fabricated the cover accordingly. Also, the odds are slim to none that a faker would just happen to use a piece of printed matter that was mailed within the state of publication, the only way the rate could be valid. Finally, it is logical to assume that the potential faker would then seek out financial reward for his work.

## Authentication process: the hypothesis

A cancel that ties the bisection is the gold standard for authenticating bisect covers. To prove that the Figure 1 cover is genuine, it seemed best to test the hypothesis that the cover was not genuine, but manufactured. First an intense physical examination of the cover would be done. Specifics would include checking for internal writing, repairs, and pencil notations on the reverse, surface patina on the front and back, edge toning, cuts in the blue paper near the circular datestamp and date of use. Importantly there might be evidence to back up the story of the coin dealer that he "would always set aside any postal history found."

The next step would be to look for visible or chemical evidence of any sort of tinkering. Visible light and multiple wavelengths of ultraviolet and infrared light could check the edges of the stamp, the paper around the stamp, and the overall surface of the cover to see if there were varying textures, tones or flourescence. If so this would be evidence that the diagonal cut had been made at a different time than the cuts on the other two sides of the stamp.

It was also necessary to test for the possibility of additional chemical components within the area that the other half of the stamp might have been (I call this area "the bisect triangle" on the cover). Testing not only the surface of the paper but also within the paper is important to detect any traces of gum (organic material) that might be present if the stamp had been modified. Another, similar approach would be to determine if there might be any difference in the elements (inorganic material) present at the different test points.

## Physical examination

As noted, the printed content of the cover is a solicitation to war veterans and their widows advising them of their land-grant rights. The cover was mailed on 29 July 1853 from New Haven to Hartford, wholly within the state of Connecticut, with a diagonal half of a 1¢ 1851 stamp (Type 4) struck with a black New Haven circular datestamp and no additional markings. The lack of additional markings indicates that both the sending post office and the receiving post office accepted the bisect franking as applied; no additional money was due for postage or penalties. The circular has some internal separations along some of the folds, but no repairs. There is no indication of cuts in the paper where the diagonal edge of the stamp lies or anywhere else. The surface patina on the front is very consistent. There is some toning on the reverse which is complete and consistent.

Throughout the 20th century, advanced collectors regularly made pencil notations on the reverse of covers, recording when and where the item was acquired, cost, rates, authentication, and other observations. But on this cover there are no notations. Less advanced collectors were often just happy to have the cover and saw no reason to write on it. Such a collector would often mount covers using stamp hinges. The coin dealer who found this cover said he"removed the covers from collections and set them aside." Consistent with the dealer's statement there are, on the reverse of the Figure 1 cover, aged traces of gum and shadows of four large stamp hinges, the sort of hinges generally used before 1950. The dealer's story held.

## Video spectral comparator

On 10 August 2010 optical examination was performed on the VSC 6000 device at


Figure 2. Stamp portion of the Figure 1 cover, photographed on the video spectral c omparator device (VSC 6000) at the Smithsonian National Postal Museum in Washington, D.C. This photo was taken in the visual range of the light spectrum with extreme side-lighting from the left, to highlight the edge of the bisection and the area of the cover directly beneath the bisected edge. There is no evidence to suggest that the bisection was performed after a whole stamp had been applied to the cover.
the Smithsonian National Postal Museum in Washington, D.C. The VSC 6000 (the initials stand for "video spectral comparator") is a complex digital imaging system specifically designed for detecting irregularities on altered and counterfeit documents. The device is equipped with a high-resolution color camera and zoom lens, a range of viewing filters, and multiple illumination sources. Using the VSC 6000, the Figure 1 cover was examined under various forms of illumination, from ultraviolet through visible to infrared wavelengths. No evidence of tinkering was detected in any of these examinations.

The photos in Figure 2 and Figure 3 are just two examples from many photographic studies the VSC 6000 device created of the stamp and the cover under various lighting conditions. Figure 2 shows the stamp photographed in the visual range of the light spectrum with extreme side-lighting from the left, to highlight the edge of the bisection and the area of the cover directly beneath the bisected edge. There is no evidence to suggest that the bisection was performed after a whole stamp had been applied to the cover.

Figure 3 shows the same portion of the cover, photographed under ultraviolet light at a wavelength of 254 nanometers. The white halo around all three edges is consistent with the observation that the stamp has not been altered since it was originally applied to the cover as a bisected stamp. Photos were made of this same portion of the cover at several different ultraviolet wavelengths. Similar results were achieved in every instance.

Besides broad-area lighting, the VSC 6000 can focus a tiny beam of specific light onto a targeted portion of the item being examined. The illustration in Figure 4 shows a portion of the worksheet that was used to isolate and define target areas on the cover. Pencil


Figure 3. Same portion of the cover as shown in Figure 2, here photographed on the VSC 6000 under ultraviolet light at a wavelength of 254 nanometers. The white halo around all three edges is consistent with the observation that the stamp has not been altered since it was originally applied to the cover as a bisected stamp. Similar results were achieved at other ultraviolet wavelengths.
lines point to the various spots on the cover that were selected for intense examination.
The test was done first on four spots on the blue cover paper around the three sides of the stamp. If there were differences in sizing, surface abrasion or other visual characteristics between the bisect triangle (the area that would have been covered by the stamp if the cover began with a whole stamp that was subsequently cut down) the sample from that portion of the cover would create a response line quite different from the others. But the results, charted in Figure 5, were all consistently similar, again indicating no tinkering. The top cluster of lines in Figure 5, which include a fifth summary line, shows readings at various wavelengths from the four spots around the stamp.

This same technique was used to examine the black ink of the New Haven circular datestamp, one point of examination on the stamp and another on the cover away from the stamp. The results from this test are shown in the bottom cluster of lines in Figure 5. Again, the lines are consistent. This means the ink on and off the stamp is identical.

## Other tests

Tests were also done using an X-ray flourescence (XFR) analyzer (the Brucker Tracer III) and infrared spectroscopy, using a Fourier transform infrared (FTIR) spectrometer. These tests were performed at the National Postal Museum on May 22, 2012.

Infrared spectroscopy deals with the infrared region of the electromagnetic spectrum, light with a longer wavelength and lower frequency than visible light. As with all spectroscopic techniques, it can be used in a non-destructive way to identify elements and chemicals. It is very useful in the forensic examination of potential document alteration.


Figure 4. The VSC 6000 can focus a tiny beam of specific light onto a targeted portion of the item being examined. On this worksheet used to define target areas on the cover. pencil lines point to locations on the cover that were selected for intense examination.


Figure 5. Results of the tests defined on the Figure 4 worksheet. The striking parallel nature of these various lines indicates that the stamp and the paper area around it have not been altered and that the cancellation ink on the stamp and on the cover are identical.


Figure 6. Locations selected for testing on the NPM's X-ray flourescence (XFR) analyzer (the Brucker Tracer III). Two spots (1 and 2) were selected in the bisect area, the part of the cover would have been covered by the stamp if the cover began with a whole stamp that was subsequently cut down. One spot (3) was selected from an uninked portion of the cover within the circular datestamp and one spot (4) was selected from a portion of the cover away from both the stamp and the postmark. Figure 7 (below) shows the results, identical curves from all four locations. The small graph at bottom shows all four graphs overlain.



Figure 8. The four
Figure 6 sample points were also used for infrared spectroscopy, using the NPM's Fourier transform infrared (FTIR) spectrometer. The FTIR analysis, depicted in the four closely parallel graphs above, indicates no extra elements or organic compounds (such as gum residue or cleaning fluids) were found in sampling different locations around the stamp. All four reading points exhibit identical curves.

Figure 6 shows the four individual spots used for testing on both these devices. Two spots (numbered 1 and 2) were selected in the bisect triangle, the part of the cover that would have been covered by the stamp if the cover began with a whole stamp that was subsequently cut down. One spot (numbered 3) was selected from an uninked portion of the cover within the circular datestamp. And one spot (numbered 4) was selected from a portion of the cover away from both the stamp and the postmark.

In XFR analysis, an excitation source sends a beam of X-rays with various energies to the sample under examination. The sample absorbs and emits the X-rays to the detector. The detector senses each impinging X-ray and sends electrical pulses to a data-collection and analyzing system that categorizes each X-ray by its energy and displays them visually on a computer screen.

Results of the XRF analysis are shown in Figure 7. The spectra from all four locations examined are precisely the same. The top two graphs in Figure 7 are from the two locations within the bisect triangle, the next two graphs are from the outside locations. The small graph at bottom shows all four graphs overlain. The spectrum shows one or more peaks for each element present and the similarity of the curves indicates no extra elements were encountered in sampling the different positions on the cover. All four reading points exhibit identical curves.

In FTIR analysis, an infrared beam is emitted onto the sample. The machine interprets the infrared absorption spectrum and the chemical bonds in various molecules can be determined. FTIR spectra of pure compounds are generally unique, a molecular fingerprint. While organic compounds have very rich, detailed spectra, inorganic compounds are usually much simpler.

The sample points used in the FTIR tests were the same four points designated in Figure 6. The results were also the same. The FTIR analysis, shown in Figure 8, indicates that there are no extra elements or organic compounds (such as gum residue or cleaning fluids) found in sampling different positions on the cover. All four reading points exhibit identical curves.

## Conclusion

None of the tests produced any evidence that either the cover or the stamp exhibit characteristics consistent with modification or fabrication. Government postal laws confirm that the half-cent circular rate for this origin and destination is proper for the period. The cover is a genuine use of a 1\$ 1851 Type IV stamp (Scott 9), mailed on July 29, 1853, traveling wholly within a single state and exhibiting the correct half-cent rate required for such a piece. The Philatelic Foundation concurred in this analysis. Its certificate number 507,181, issued on 23 October 2012, described the cover as follows:

> Catalog No. 9var, 1ć blue 1852, upper right diagonal half, on 1853 printed "General Land and Pension Agency" information sheet to Hartford; "New Haven Conn. JUL 29" pmk, paying the $\mathbf{1 8 5 2}$ rate which called for printed matter "circulated in the state where published" to be charged one half the $1 \mathbf{d}$ rate.

Having described the cover, the Foundation opined that "it is a genuine usage."

## Epilog

The author wishes to thank the National Postal Museum, their staff and especially Tom Lera, Research Chair at the NPM, for making the testing equipment available and providing time and guidance throughout the analytical process. Without the help of Lera and the dedicated NPM staff, authenticating this cover would have been a near-impossible task.

There is an old adage in working with collectibles. If you see something you've never seen before or don't understand, and the object induces a very strong positive gut feeling, you should quickly ask yourself two questions. First, "If I buy the piece and it proves to be worthless, will the money loss irreparably harm me?" And second, "If I fail to act on my positive gut reaction, how badly will I feel if later the item proves to be genuine and I recognize that an extraordinary discovery has slipped through my hands?" If the financial risk is bearable and the possibility of an extraordinary discovery exists, then roll the dice!

There exists a very similar opportunity today. The postal rate between 3 March 1825 and 30 June 1851, for a small pamphlet weighing less than one ounce, was two and a half cents-exactly half of a 5\$ 1847 stamp, which was current from 1 July 1847 through 30 June 1851. There could very well be an example of this rate—paid by a bisected 5\$ 1847 stamp-hiding out there somewhere. Trust your gut and the next great find just might be yours.

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THE 1861-69 PERIOD

UNION OCCUPATION MAIL<br>MICHAEL C. McCLUNG

During the American Civil War, as Federal troops moved into the South and occupied southern towns, they sometimes reopened the post offices for the benefit of the occupying soldiers and sailors. Use of these post offices was restricted to the military. Civilian use was not allowed except for government contractors, foreign consuls, prisoner-of-war mail and a few others. Occupation mail can be identified as having southern postmarks, Civil War dates and U.S. franking.

Union Occupation Post Offices in the Seceded States

| Town | Occupation Period | Dates Of Occupation Post Office | Postmark <br> Description | Postmark Usage | Ref. | Rar. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Athens, Tenn. | 12/63-eow | 1/65-eow | ms | 4/65-eow | Pl. 1 | R |
| Beaufort, N.C. | 4/25/62-eow | 9/62-eow | 26 mm dcds | 9/62-eow | Pl. 1 |  |
| Beaufort, S.C. | 11/9/6-eow | 1/1/63-eow | sl in circle | 1/63 | Pl. 1 | R |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 1/63-eow | Fig. 16 |  |
| Chattanooga, Tenn. | 9/19/63-eow | 12/9/63-eow | sl type 1 (blue) | 12/9-12/21/63 | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | sl type 2 (blue) | 12/22-12/31/63 | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | sl type 2 (black) | 12/25/63 only |  | R |
|  |  |  | sl. type 3 (blue) | 1/1/64-1/17/64 | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | 28.5 mm dcds (blue) | 1/17/63-1/31/63 | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | same (black) | 2/1/64-eow | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 3/65-eow | Pl. 1 |  |
| City Point, Va. | 5/5/64-eow | 1/1/65-eow | 24 mm cds | 1/65-eow | Pl. 1 | R |
| Clarksville, Tenn. | 4/62-eow* | 7/3/62-eow** | 30 mm cds | 4/63-12/63 | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | 34 mm cds | 4/63-8/64 | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | 28.5 mm dcds | 8/64-eow |  | R |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 8/64 only | Pl. 1 | R |
| Columbia, Tenn. | 4/62-eow* | 4/62-eow** | 26 mm dcds | 4/62-7/62 | Pl. 1 |  |
|  |  |  | 28.5 mm dcds | 9/64-11/64 | Fig. 3 | R |
| Conyersville, Tenn. | 2/62-eow* | 7/63 or 7/ 64 | ms | 7/63 or 7/64 | Pl. 1 | R |

Notes and nomenclature: "eow" = end of war (usually the summer of 1865, but the date varied from place to place, depending on when the last of the combat troops departed; "ms" = manuscript; "sl" = straightline; "cds" = circular datestamp; "dcds" = double-circle datestamp; * = Occupied intermittently during the war. ** = Occupation post office open intermittently during the war. Reference column ("Ref.") refers to markings illustrated in the accompanying text and plates. Rarity column ("Rar.") indicates scarcity of the marking. " $R$ " indicates postmarks that are rare (five or fewer reported); " S " indicates postmarks that are scarce (6-15 reported).

## PLATE 1



Athens, Tenn.


Beaufort, S.C.


Beaufort, N.C.


Chattanooga, Tenn.

Beaufort, S.C.


Chattanooga, Tenn.


Chattanooga, Tenn.


Chattanooga, Tenn.



Conyersville, Tenn.


Columbia, Tenn.


Clarksville, Tenn.


Columbia, Tenn.

In Chronicle 51 (December 1965) the late Richard B. Graham wrote about his interest in the study of Federal occupation mail. The objectives of his study were: to list all the occupation post offices opened in the seceded states during the war along with their dates of opening and closing; to list all the occupation postmasters along with their dates of appointment and service; and to list all the postmarks from the occupation offices along with their dates of use.

Graham began ("To start the ball rolling..." as he said) by listing 30 occupation post offices from the seceded states plus a few from West Virginia and restored Virginia. He published his later findings in dozens of subsequent issues of the Chronicle, and he continued this study all his life. Some years after the 1965 article, he introduced me to this area of postal history, and I was immediately intrigued. Since then, this has been one of my primary collecting interests. Over the years I spent many enjoyable afternoons sitting at Mr. Graham's dining-room table, comparing covers and related material.

The purpose of this article is to keep the ball rolling. The accompanying tabular data lists 50 occupation post offices with dates of operation and occupation. Every postmark known from these offices is listed and described, along with dates of use. Many of the

| Town | Occupation Period | Dates Of Occupation Post Office | Postmark <br> Description | Postmark Usage | Ref. | Rar. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cumberland Gap, Tenn. | 6/18/62-eow* | 7/1/62-8/11/62 | ms | 7/1/62-7/14/62 | Fig. 1 | S |
|  |  |  | 32 mm cds | 7/15/62-8/11/62 | Pl. 2 |  |
| Donaldsonville, La. | 10/27/62-eow* | 6/12/63-6/64 | 29 mm cds | 6/63-6/64 | Pl. 2 | S |
| Eastville, Va. | 12/61-11/62 | 7/62-11/62 | 30 mm cds | 7/62-11/62 | Pl. 2 | S |
|  |  |  | 35 mm cds | 7/62-11/62 | Pl. 2 | S |
| El Paso, Texas | 9/62-eow | 4/63-eow | 26 mm cds | 1/65-eow | Pl. 2 | R |
| Fernandina, Fla. | 3/4/62-eow | 4/27/63-2/27/65 | 30 mm dcds | 10/63-eow | Pl. 2 |  |
| Fort Jefferson, Fla. | throughout | 10/28/61-eow | $32 \times 35 \mathrm{~mm}$ dsl | 12/61-eow |  |  |
|  |  |  | same (red) | 12/64 only | Pl. 2 | R |
| Fort Pickens, Fla. | 1/10/61-eow | 5/30/61-5/9/62 | ms | 7/61 |  | R |
|  |  |  | 26 mm cds (brown) | 1/62 only |  | R |
|  |  |  | same | 2/62-5/62 | Pl. 2 | S |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 6/62 | Pl. 2 | R |
| Fort Smith, Ark. | 9/63-eow | 2/11/64-eow | sl | 9/64-12/64 | Fig. 2 | S |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 1/65-eow | Pl. 2 | S |
| Franklin, Tenn. | 2/28/62-eow* | 4/18/62-eow** | 26 mm cds | 6/62-7/62 | Pl. 2 | R |
|  |  |  | 32 mm cds | 3/63-12/63 | Pl. 2 |  |
|  |  |  | 30 mm dcds | 3/63-12/63 | Pl. 2 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 1/65-eow |  | S |
| Gallatin, Tenn. | 2/28/62-eow* | 2/21/62 - eow** | 26 mm dcds | 7/62-12/64 | Pl. 2 |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 1/65-eow | Pl. 2 | R |
| Jacksonville, Fla. | 3/12/62-eow* | 4/20/64-eow | ms | early 4/64 |  | R |
|  |  |  | typeset arc | late 4/64 | Pl. 2 | R |
|  |  |  | 30 mm dcds | 5/64-12/64 | Pl. 2 |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds (blue) | 1/65-eow | Pl. 2 |  |
| Key West, Fla. | throughout | 5/7/61-eow | 32 mm cds | prewar-1/64 | Pl. 3 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 2/64 only | Pl. 2 | S |
|  |  |  | 30.5 mm dcds | 5/64-eow | - |  |



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markings are illustrated in the marking plates opposite the data tables. In addition, a considerable amount of research work has also been done, identifying the occupation postmasters and their dates of service, but that is a subject for another discussion. I am hoping that readers of this article will supply additional information to extend the date ranges or report new occupation post offices or new postmarks. Also, the tables include a first attempt to make an assessment of the scarcity of these markings. In the "Rarity" column (abbreviated "Rar.") "R" (for "rare") indicates five or fewer examples known and "S" (for "scarce") indicates six to fifteen examples known. This is a beginning attempt, certainly open to revision. I will welcome any information that can help in this regard.

Within the context of this article, occupation post offices are those that were opened during wartime, within states that successfully seceded from the Union. "During wartime" means after the firing on Fort Sumter (12 April 1861) and before the end of the war, a date that varied by location according to when Federal combat troops left the area and when civilian postmasters were appointed, usually early in the summer of 1865. Some post offices made it just under the wire to qualify as occupation offices. Examples are Richmond, Virginia, which opened on 5 April 1865, and Mobile, Alabama, which opened on 18 April 1865. Some occupation post offices closed before the war ended, but most continued until the end of the war ("eow" in the tables).

| Town | Occupation Period | Dates Of Occupation Post Office | Postmark <br> Description | Postmark Usage | Ref. | Rar. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Knoxville, Tenn. | 9/2/63-eow | 12/15/62-eow | 28.5 mm dcds | 12/63-eow | Pl. 3 |  |
| Lebanon, Tenn. | 3/62-eow* | 4/17/62-eow** | 32 mm cds | mid 62 or 63 |  | R |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 1/65-eow | Pl. 3 | R |
| Little Rock, Ark. | 9/15/63-eow | 10/64-eow | 28.5 mm dcds | 10/64-eow | Pl. 3 |  |
| Loudon, Tenn. | 10/63-eow | 4/13/64-11/64 | 30.5 mm dcds | 4/64-11/64 | Pl. 3 |  |
| Manassas, Va. | 6/62-eow* | 6/8/62-8/20/62 | 32.5 mm cds | 6/62-8/62 | Fig. 10 | S |
| Memphis, Tenn. | 6/6/62-eow | 7/62-eow | 26 mm dcds | 7/62-12/63 | Pl. 3 |  |
|  |  |  | 27 mm dcds | 8/63-eow |  |  |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 6/64 only | Pl. 3 | R |
|  |  |  | 26.5 mm dcds | 1/64-eow | Fig. 15 |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 10/64-eow | Pl. 3 |  |
| Mitchellville, Tenn. | 2/62-eow | 12/1/1962 | ms | 12/62 | Pl. 3 | R |
| Mobile, Ala. | 4/12/65-eow | 4/18/65-eow | 26 mm dcds | 4/18/65-5/14/65 |  | R |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 5/15/65-eow | Pl. 3 |  |
| Murfreesboro, Tenn. | 3/18/62-eow* | 4/21/62-eow** | 33 mm cds | early 5/62 only | Pl. 3 | R |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 5/62-eow | Pl. 3 |  |
| Nashville, Tenn. | 2/23/63-eow | 3/20/62-eow | 31 mm cds (blue) | 3/62 only | Pl. 3 |  |
|  |  |  | same (black) | 3/63 only |  | S |
|  |  |  | 26 mm cds (blue) | 4/62-8/62 | Pl. 3 |  |
|  |  |  | same (black) | 9/62-3/63 | Fig. 19 |  |
|  |  |  | 32 mm cds (big N) | 3/63 only | Pl. 3 | S |
|  |  |  | 32 mm cds (blue) | 2/63-6/63 | Fig. 6 |  |
|  |  |  | 30.5 mm dcds | 7/63-eow | Fig. 18 |  |
|  |  |  | 28.5 mm dcds | 4/64-eow | Pl. 3 |  |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 4/3/64-4/9/64 |  |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 10/64-eow | Pl. 3 |  |
|  |  |  | same (larger letters) | 4/65-eow | Pl. 3 |  |



Nashville, Tenn., varieties


Occupation post offices fall into three categories: (1) those that were part of the Confederate postal system prior to Union occupation (most are in this category); (2) those that were opened for the benefit of the military in places where there had previously not been post offices (examples are Ship Island, Mississippi and Fort Jefferson, Florida); and (3) those that were located within a seceded state but were always under Federal control (Key West is an example).

Occupation start and end dates in the tables are mostly based on known history, although some towns were occupied intermittently during the stated period. Dates of operation for occupation post offices are mostly based on official records, but the dates in those records sometimes vary widely from the actual dates when postmasters began marking mail. In the absence of official records, postmaster appointment dates have been used, as well as dates (gleaned from other sources) when postmasters or special mail agents began handling the mail.

The tables list only those offices from which wartime covers have been reported. The U.S. Mail and Post Office Assistant and the post office guides of the era list a few other possible offices, but cover evidence from these offices has not yet been seen. The postmark listings and their dates of use are the result of many years of collecting, as well as studying the writings of Graham, George N. Malpass, James W. Milgram and others.

| Town | Occupation Period | Dates Of Occupation Post Office | Postmark <br> Description | Postmark Usage | Ref. | Rar. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Natchez, Miss. | 5/1/62-eow | 4/64-eow | 28.5 mm dcds | 4/64-eow | Fig. 13 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 7/64-eow | Pl. 4 |  |
| New Bern, N.C. | 3/14/62-eow | 11/23/62-eow | 27 mm dcds | 11/2362-12/8/62 | Pl. 4 | S |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 12/8/62-eow | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 30 mm dcds | 1/63-eow | Fig. 20 |  |
|  |  |  | 28 mm dcds | 1/64-eow | Fig. 12 |  |
| New Orleans, La. | 4/25/62-eow | 5/5/62-eow | 26 mm dcds | 6/62-12/63 | Fig. 17 |  |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 7/62-12/62 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 28.5 mm dcds | 1/64-eow | Fig. 11 |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 4/65-eow | Pl. 4 |  |
| Norfolk, Va | 5/10/62-eow | 5/15/62-eow | 32 mm cds, 3 PAID | 5/62 | Fig. 8 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 5/62-9/62 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 30 mm cds | 10/62-1/63 | Fig. 9 |  |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 2/63-6/63 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 30 mm dcds (blue) | 6/63-1/64 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | same (black) | 1/64-2/65 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 3/65-eow | Pl. 4 |  |
| Pensacola, Fla. | 5/9/62-eow | 5/9/62-eow | $26 \mathrm{~mm} \mathrm{dcds} \mathrm{(FLO)}$ | 6/62-3/65 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds (FLA) | 4/65-eow | Pl. 4 |  |
| Port Royal, S.C. | 11/7/61-eow | 12/1/61-eow | 32 mm cds | 12/61-mid 1/62 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | mid 1/62-10/64 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 28 mm cds | 2/62-6/62 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | 28.5 mm dcds | 3/64-eow | Fig. 13 |  |
| Portsmouth, Va. | 5/10/62-eow | 6/63-eow | 26 mm dcds | 6/63-7/63 | Pl. 4 |  |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 8/63-3/65 |  |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds (blue) | 4/65-eow |  |  |
| Pungoteague, Va. | 12/61-11/62 | 7/62-11/62 | 35 mm cds | 7/62-11/62 | Fig. 7 | R |



Natchez, Miss.


New Bern, N.C.

PLATE 4


Natchez, Miss.


New Bern, N.C.


New Orleans, La.


Norfolk, Va.


Pensacola, Fla.


New Orleans, La.


New Orleans, La.


Norfolk, Va.


Norfolk, Va.


Pungoteague, Va.


New Bern, N.C.


New Bern, N.C.


Norfolk, Va.


Norfolk, Va.


Portsmouth, Va.


Because the counties that form West Virginia did not successfully secede from the Union, mail from those places is not included in this article, even though some of these towns had Confederate post offices. The postal history of West Virginia in the Civil War is a fascinating subject; it could easily stand alone. Also, the Virginia counties that contained Alexandria (Alexandria County) and Old Point Comfort (Elizabeth City County) did not secede, so mail from those towns is not included here. These two counties, along with the West Virginia counties prior to statehood, made up the unofficial state of Restored Virginia, which was recognized as a state of the Union by President Lincoln in 1861. It had a governor as well as representation in the United States Congress. When West Virginia became a state on 20 June 1863, the capital of Restored Virginia was moved from Wheeling to Alexandria. Confederate post offices also existed in Kentucky, Indian Territory and New Mexico Territory. There is a question whether the United States post offices that supplanted these Confederate offices became occupation post offices or merely returned to civilian control. This is another interesting area of study, but such offices are not included in the tabular data presented here.

## Examples of occupation covers

Figure 1 shows a cover with the manuscript postmark of Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, dated 5 July 1862. When Federal troops occupied Cumberland Gap in June 1862, John Newley, a prewar postmaster for this town, opened the occupation office on his own initiative and began handling mail for the soldiers. He applied manuscript postmarks for about two weeks before he acquired a circular datestamp. I have recorded eight occupation post

| Town | Occupation Period | Dates Of Occupation Post Office | Postmark <br> Description | Postmark Usage | Ref. | Rar. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Richmond, Va. | 4/3/65-eow | 4/5/65-7/7/65 | 23 mm cds | 5/65-eow | Pl. 5 | S |
| St. Augustine, Fla. | 3/15/62-eow | 5/7/62-eow | 26 mm cds | 4/62-1/64 | Pl. 5 |  |
|  |  |  | 29.5 mm dcds | 1/63-5/64 | Pl. 5 | R |
| Savannah, Ga. | 12/20/64-eow | 12/31/64-eow | 23 mm cds | 1/65-eow | Pl. 5 | S |
| Shelbyville, Tenn. | 3/62-eow* | 6/62-eow** | 26 mm dcds | 6/62-7/62 | Fig. 5 | R |
|  |  |  | ms | 8/63 only | Pl. 5 | S |
|  |  |  | 30.5 mm dcds | 2/64-eow | Pl. 5 |  |
|  |  |  | 28.5 mm dcds | 2/64-eow | Pl. 5 |  |
| Ship Island, Miss. | 12/1/61-eow | 3/20/62-5/11/62 | ms | 3/20/62-5/11/62 | Pl. 5 |  |
|  |  |  | sl | 3/27/62-6/6/62 | Pl. 5 |  |
|  |  |  | 32 mm cds | 4/30/62-6/11/62 | Pl. 5 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 6/62 |  | R |
| Thibodeaux, La. | 10/27/62-eow* | 11/64-eow | 28.5 mm dcds | 11/64-eow | Pl. 5 |  |
| Tullahoma, Tenn. | 7/3/63-eow* | 1/65-eow | 30 mm dcds | 1/65-eow | Pl. 5 | R |
| Vicksburg, Miss. | 7/5/63-eow | 7/5/63-eow | 26 mm cds | 7/63-eow | Pl. 5 |  |
|  |  |  | 23 mm cds | 3/65-eow |  |  |
| Warrenton, Va. | 6/62-eow* | 1/65-eow | 25 mm cds | 1/65-eow | Fig. 4 | R |
| Washington, N.C. | 3/62-4/30/64* | 9/62-4/30/64** | ms | 8/62 | Pl. 5 | R |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 6/63-9/63 | Pl. 5 | S |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 2/64-4/30/64 | Pl. 5 | S |
| Winchester, Va | 3/12/62-eow * | 3/12/62-eow** | 30 mm cds | 6/4/62-9/2/62 | Pl. 5 |  |
|  |  |  | 26 mm dcds | 12/62-eow |  |  |
|  |  |  | same (blue) | 1863 | Pl. 5 | S |
|  |  |  | arc (fragment?) | ? |  | R |

## PLATE 5




Ship Island, Miss.


Thibodeaux, La.


St. Augustine, Fla.


St. Augustine, Fla.



Washington, N.C. (60\%)


Washington, N.C. Washington, N.C.


Warrenton, Va.


Figure 1. During Federal occupation, Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, used manuscript postmarks for about two weeks before a circular datestamp became available.


Figure 2. Rare straightline occupation marking from Fort Smith, Arkansas, dated 6 September 1864 on a $3 \phi 1861$ cover that was missent to Springfield, Missouri, before being properly routed to Little York, Missouri.
offices that used manuscript postmarks. These were usually employed while the postmasters were awaiting handstamps, and some are rare.

Figure 2 shows another interesting style of postmark. This is the straightline marking from Fort Smith, Arkansas, here dated 6 September 1864. Straightline devices were locally made from printer's type and were used until government-issue handstamps arrived. I have recorded five occupation offices that used this type of "provisional" postmark. Some are quite rare and others are more plentiful, but all are popular. The Figure 2 cover was missent to Springfield, Missouri, before being properly routed to Little York, Missouri.


Figure 3. This $3 \$ 1861$ cover, posted at occupied Columbia, Tennessee, on 24 September 1864, would appear to be a commonplace cover, but only two examples of this 28.5 millimeter double-circle Columbia marking are known.


Figure 4. Another rare occupation postmark, here on a cover sent from Warrenton, Virginia, on 1 February (1865) to City Point, Virginia, another occupation post office.

Addressed to Sullivan County, New York, the Figure 3 cover looks rather ordinary, with a Columbia, Tennessee 28.5 millimeter double circular datestamp (dcds) dated 24 September 1864, but this is one of only two covers I have been able to record showing this postmark.

The cover in Figure 4 also bears a rare occupation postmark. This is the 25 mm circular datestamp (cds) from Warrenton, Virginia, here dated 1 February (1865). Interestingly, the cover is addressed to an officer at City Point, Virginia, another occupation post office. The history of the officer's regiment, 96th New York Volunteers, tells us that the only Feb-


Figure 5. Rare 26 millimeter double circular datestamp from occupied Shelbyville, Tennessee, on a Buell patriotic cover sent to Tecumseh, Michigan, on June 11, 1862.


Figure 6. A locally-made circular datestamp was used in occupied Nashville for a few months in 1863. This satirical cover supporting Winfield Scott is postmarked "FEB 25."
ruary in which the 96th was at City Point was in 1865. Year dates of occupation covers can be determined from a variety of sources: postmarks, docketing, enclosures, regimental histories, known correspondences and other historical information.

The patriotic cover in Figure 5 depicts General Don Carlos Buell, commander of the Army of the Ohio, which invaded Tennessee in February 1862 and occupied Nashville along with some of the surrounding towns. This cover, from Shelbyville, one of the surrounding towns, is struck with the $26-\mathrm{mm}$ government-issue dcds (dated 11 June 1862), which is the most common postmark style found on United States mail from 1862. However, I have recorded only two examples from the Shelbyville occupation post office.


Figure 7. Scarce pre-war postmark, used during Union occupation of Pungoteague, Virginia, here dated 9 September (1862) on a J.A. Howells cover with a patriotic poem, addressed to Pennsylvania.

Figure 6 shows another patriotic cover, this one a satirical cartoon, bearing a 32-mm blue cds from Nashville dated 25 February (1863). This postmark was used from February through June 1863 and was probably locally made. It certainly does not resemble any concurrent government-issue markings. The odd reference to soup in the satirical cachet relates to Union General Winfield Scott, who years earlier from a camp in the Mexican war had begun a report to War Secretary Marcy as follows: "At about 6 PM, as I sat down to take a hasty plate of soup..." The Polk administration, no fans of Scott, leaked this to the press and (doubtless because of Scott's bulk) the phrase followed him for the rest of his career. Here the context is favorable, as an allegorical young America chops up rebel turtles (with fish, turkeys and other fowl waiting their turn in the background) for Scott's delectation.

Figure 7 shows a J.A. Howells cover with a patriotic poem and the $35-\mathrm{mm}$ prewar cds of Pungoteague, Virginia, here dated 9 September (1862). Pungoteague is located on the Delmarva Peninsula where there had been some Confederate activity early in the war. When southern troops evacuated the peninsula in late 1861, federal forces occupied the area and established post offices at Eastville and Pungoteague. These offices operated from July through November 1862, handling just a small amount of mail.

Another style of prewar postmark is used on the patriotic occupation cover pictured in Figure 8. This is Norfolk, Virginia, integral "3 PAID" marking, representing a type of marking that was originally created for the era when single letter postage was $3 ¢$ (up to 3,000 miles) and could be prepaid in cash. This period began on 1 July 1851 and ended on 1 April 1855, when prepayment by stamps became compulsory. The handstamp on the Figure 8 cover was probably found in the Norfolk post office by a special agent of the Post Office Department shortly after Norfolk was occupied by Federal troops on 10 May 1862. The date on this 32-mm postmark appears to be 17 May, so it could be that it was used until government-issue hand stamps arrived around 24 May 1862, although it could have been used at other times as needed.

Figure 9 shows a more period-correct occupation postmark from Norfolk. It is the 30mm dcds, dated 16 June 1864, on a hand-decorated envelope from the 3rd New York Regiment. If this was made in camp, it was created by a soldier with a lot of time on his hands. More likely it was made by the addressee and given to the soldier before left for the war.


Figure 8. Another style of prewar postmark used on the patriotic occupation cover: Norfolk, Virginia, blue integral "3 PAID" marking, dated 17 May (1862) on a patriotic cover sent to Cherry Creek, New York.


Figure 9. Norfolk, Virginia, 30-millimeter double circular datestamp dated 16 June 1864, struck on a hand-decorated soldier's envelope from the 3rd New York Regiment, addressed to Rome, New York. This elaborately ornamented cover was probably made by the addressee and given to the sender before he left home.

The cover in Figure 10, also from Virginia, and also a soldier's letter, is postmarked Manassas, Va., 26 June 1862, with a bold "DUE 3" inverted at lower left. The site of two important battles, Manassas had an occupation post office for about two months during the summer of 1862. The letter was rated "DUE 3" because soldiers (not officers) were permitted to send mail without prepayment of postage but with postage due to be collected from


Figure 10. Soldier's letter postmarked Manassas, Virginia, 26 June 1862, with a bold "DUE 3" inverted at lower left. This patriotic cover was not properly certified by an officer, but passed through the mails anyway, with postage collected from the recipient.


Figure 11. $3 \$ 1861$ stamp on a recycled printed form from New Orleans, posted 16 March 1864. The occupation postmark is the $\mathbf{2 8 . 5}$-millimeter double circular datestamp.
the recipient. These letters were supposed to be certified by an officer, but occasionally they were put into the mail without certification, as was this one.

As the war progressed there was a severe paper shortage in the South, which resulted in homemade envelopes constructed from whatever sheets of paper were available. Such adversity covers were usually of Confederate origin, but the cover in Figure 11, with the $28.5-\mathrm{mm}$ double-circle postmark of Union-occupied New Orleans, dated 16 March 1864, is made from a printed form headed "THE OATH OF THE EXPORTER."


Figure 12. Another adversity cover, here fabricated from wallpaper, sent from New Bern, North Carolina, on 15 June 1865. The cover is addressed to a Confederate prisoner of war at Camp Hoffman, Point Lookout, Maryland. The occupation postmark is New Bern's 28 -millimeter double circular datestamp.


Figure 13. This cover involved three occupation post offices and bears markings from two of them. Addressed to Beaufort, South Carolina, it was posted at Natchez ( 28.5 millimeter dcds) on August 21, 1864, and was initially missent to Port Royal.

Another Union adversity cover is shown in Figure 12. This is made from wallpaper and was postmarked ( 28 mm dcds) at New Bern, North Carolina, on 18 June (1865). The cover is addressed to a Confederate prisoner of war, Elza Riley, at Camp Hoffman, Point Lookout, Maryland "care of Major Braddy" (sic). Historical records reveal that Riley signed his oath of allegiance the day before the cover was mailed, and Major Brady, the Provost Marshall, was in the process of shutting down the prison at that time.

Figure 13 shows an interesting cover that involves three different occupation post offices. It was mailed from Natchez, Mississippi, on 21 August 1864, addressed to Beaufort, South Carolina. Before reaching Beaufort it was missent to Port Royal, South Carolina, a third occupation office.

The cover in Figure 14 also began its journey along the Mississippi River. The 26-mm New Orleans dcds is dated 17 March 1863 and the docketing notation at upper left reads,

Figure 14. Docketed at Baton Rouge, this cover to Boston was sent by military despatch boat to New Orleans. The 26-millimeter dcds from occupied New Orleans is dated March 17, 1863.


## Clerk of Court of Common Pleas,



Figure 15. This quadruple-rate cover, posted at Memphis and franked with a $12 \$ 1861$ stamp, carried election information (most likely votes for Abraham Lincoln) from the 53rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry to Pomeroy, in Meigs County, Ohio. The Memphis occupation postmark is a 26.5 -millimeter double circular datestamp dated 17 October (1864).
"Baton Rouge La March 15, 63." Baton Rouge, about 75 miles upriver from New Orleans, was occupied through most of the war but did not have an occupation post office. This letter was sent by military dispatch boat to New Orleans and entered the mails there. This cover demonstrates that occupation post offices, relatively few and scattered widely across the South, often served encampments that were quite a distance away.

In 1863, the Ohio Legislature voted to allow federal soldiers from Ohio to use absentee ballots in elections. The completed ballots were to be sent, by regiment, to the clerks of court of the counties where the regiments mustered in. The cover in Figure 15, posted at Memphis and franked with a 12\$ 1861 stamp, represents a quadruple $3 \Phi$ rate ( $11 / 2-2$ ounces) and carried election returns from the 53rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry to Pomeroy, in Meigs County, Ohio. The Memphis postmark is a 26.5 mm dcds dated 17 October (1864). This envelope surely contained votes for Abraham Lincoln.


Figure 16. This wrapper, franked with two $1 \$ 1861$ stamps, probably carried a transient newspaper, for which the rate after 1 July 1863 was $2 \Phi$ per four ounces. The postmark, dated 16 August 1863, is the 26 -millimeter double circular datestamp from occupied Beaufort, South Carolina.


Figure 17. Most unusual from an occupied post office: an unsealed envelope posted at the circular rate. The Black Jack stamp is well tied by a 26 -millimeter double circular datestamp from New Orleans dated 8 August 1863.

The covers in Figures 16, 17 and 18 show three unusual 2 \& rates from occupation post offices. Figure 16 is a wrapper franked with two $1 \& 1861$ stamps that probably carried a transient newspaper; if so the rate was $2 \$$ per 4 ounces after 1 July 1863 . The wrapper bears a 26 mm dcds from Beaufort, South Carolina, dated 16 August 1863.

Franked with a $2 \$$ Blackjack stamp, Figure 17 is an unsealed circular, for which the rate was $2 \Phi$ per three sheets after 1 July 1863. The stamp is well tied by a 26 mm dcds from New Orleans, dated 8 August 1863.

Figure 18, with a pair of $1 \$ 1861$ stamps, is a drop letter, for which the rate was $2 \mathbb{\$}$ per $1 / 2$ oz. after 1 July 1863. The cover bears the 30.5 mm dcds of Nashville, Tennessee, dated 17 August 1863, and it is addressed simply to the Commanding Officer of the 74th Indiana Volunteer Infantry. Apparently, using the occupation post office was the most expedient way to deliver this communication within the large encampment in and around Nashville.


Figure 18. On this cover, the pair of 1¢ 1861 stamps pays the drop-letter rate, which was $\mathbf{2 \$}$ per half ounce after 1 July 1863. The Nashville occupation postmark is the 30.5 -millimeter double circular datestamp, here dated 17 August 1863.


Figure 19. The $\mathbf{2 6}$-millimeter double circular datestamp from occupied Nashville, on a 19 June 1863 cover to Stockton, California, franked at the 10¢ over-the-Rockies rate. Since this rate expired in mid-1863, it is not often found on covers from the occupied south.

The manuscript "O.B." designates for official business.
Before 1 July 1863, the single rate for mail that crossed the Rockies was $10 \$$ per $1 / 2$ oz., and Union mail sent early in the war from the occupied South to the west coast is quite scarce. Figure 19 shows an example, a 3\$ stamped envelope franked with two $3 \$$ stamps and one $1 \$$ stamp, making the $10 \$$ rate to Stockton, California. The postmark, dated 19 June 1863, is the 26 mm dcds from Nashville, Tennessee. Occupation mail sent to California later in the war seems slightly more common. This could be because of the reduction in rate to $3 \Phi$, because of the overall increase in occupation mail, or both.


Figure 20. From occupied New Bern, North Carolina, to the old German state of Hanover. The occupation postmark on this unpaid cover is New Bern's 30 -millimeter double circular datestamp. Image courtesy of Richard Winter.

Another scarce occupation usage is on foreign mail, because the great majority of letters sent from occupation post offices represented soldier mail to family and friends back home in the North. Figure 20, bearing the 30 mm dcds of New Bern, North Carolina, here dated 28 June 1863, shows one such foreign destination, the old German state of Hanover. The manuscript " 15 " represents $15 \$$ single rate to Hanover by Hamburg Convention. The black New York exchange-office marking shows a $5 \phi$ debit to pay the U.S. internal postage, and the blue handstamped " $61 / 2$ " (silbergroshen) expresses the postage due from the addressee, equal to $15 \$$ in U.S. currency. Besides various German states, occupation covers sent to Canada, England, Spain and France have been reported. It is hoped that readers can provide other destinations.

The publication of the data in the accompanying tables attempts to carry on the study that Richard Graham and other postal historians began more than half a century ago. While we have come a long way, the current data is by no means complete. So we are asking for input from readers. Please send images of any covers that might provide evidence of additional occupation offices and/or postmarks as well as postmarks that extend the date ranges presented here, so that the information can be added to the record and appropriate credit can be given. My contact information appears in the masthead page at the front of this Chronicle.


# PONY SERENDIPITY 

STEVEN WALSKE

## The transcontinental Pony Express

The postal history of the 1860-61 Pony Express has been thoroughly researched, most notably in the 2005 The Pony Express, A Postal History. ${ }^{1}$ In summary, that book describes how the Central Overland and California Pikes Peak Express Company (COCPPE) was formed in February 1860 to manage the passenger, express and mail services of the Russell, Majors \& Waddell (RMW) partnership. RMW had been formed in January 1855 to fulfill military supply contracts from Missouri to U.S. Army posts in the West. In 1859, they expanded into express and contract mail service to the booming regions of Colorado, Salt Lake City and California via the central route. In December 1859, the United States Post Office directed that the transcontinental mails be carried overland, rather than by steamship via Panama as had previously been the case. Unfortunately for the COCPPE, the designated default carrier was John Butterfield's Overland Mail Company (OMC), operating along the transcontinental Southern Route with an attractive Post Office subsidy of \$600,000 per year. The map in Figure 1 shows both the central route (in blue and red) and the southern route (in green).


Figure 1. Map showing the two competing transcontinental express routes: the central route is shown in blue and red and the southern route is shown in green.

Not to be deterred, the COCPPE set out to prove the superiority of the central route over the southern route, and thus wrest the contract away from the OMC. In April 1860, they started a much-publicized transcontinental Pony Express along the central route, promising to deliver mail between Missouri and California in the then extraordinary time of ten days. The COCPPE accomplished its goal of establishing the feasibility of the central route, and the outbreak of the Civil War convinced Congress that the daily overland mail contract should be moved to the central route at the impressive subsidy of $\$ 1$ million per year, effective July 1, 1861. Unfortunately, Congress also decided to grant the contract to
the OMC, so the COCPP was relegated to the role of sub-contractor on the eastern portion of the route, shown in blue on the map in Figure 1.

The new daily overland mail contract also stipulated the continuation of the twiceweekly Pony Express, and this service continued until just after the completion of the overland telegraph on October 24, 1861.

## Letters carried by the Pony Express

The Pony Express, A Postal History includes an illustrated census of surviving Pony Express covers which identifies 180 eastbound and 71 westbound covers, for a total of 251. Since 2005, seven eastbound and two westbound covers have been added to the census. ${ }^{2}$ In addition, two previously-identified covers were re-classified into the census, producing a current total of 262 known Pony Express covers. One of the re-classified covers was identified in the book as WX1, and is now included as W57A. The other re-classified cover had been excluded from the census because it had no date information. It was listed as EX1, and is illustrated in Figure 2.


Figure 2. Pony Express envelope addressed to Nat Stein of the Central Overland and California Pikes Peak Express Company (COCPPE) at St. Joseph, Missouri, and endosed "Express Business Free" by Joseph Roberson of the COCPPE. While endorsed "Pony Express," it has no postmarks or dated docketing.

This envelope is endorsed "Pony Express," justifying its inclusion in the census, but carries no postmarks or dated docketing that could place it chronologically in the census. As an "Express Business" letter addressed to the "Office of the C.O.C. \& P.P. Ex. Co.," it was handled by the addressee, so there was no need for a handstamp.

The Figure 2 envelope was sold by Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc. as part of the John Robertson collection in November 2004. ${ }^{3}$ The preceding two Pony Express lots in the sale (W5 and W27 in the census), both dated by beautiful Saint Joseph running pony handstamps, sold for tens of thousands of dollars. But the Figure 2 envelope sold for less than a tenth of that, reflecting the lack of any handstamped Pony Express markings. Nonetheless, it holds interest as one of six known Pony Express letters carried free on COCPPE business. ${ }^{4}$ These are listed in Table 1. Most are endorsed by William H. Russell. A westbound example (W24) with a St. Joseph Running Pony handstamp is shown in Figure 3.

| Census \# | Pony Marking | Ms. Endorsement | Addressee |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| E3 | 30-Apr S.F. Running Pony | Free Finney | Agent at Morrell’s Crossing |
| E110A | "Pony Express" (10-Jul-61) | Free Jo S. Roberson | Nat Stein, Agent at St Joseph |
| W2 | 6-May St. Jo. Running Pony | Free WH Russell | Ben Holliday, San Francisco |
| W14 | 23-Sep St. Jo. Running Pony | Free Jno H Russell | Carter, Agent at Fort Bridger |
| W15A | 30-Sep St. Jo. COCPPE | Free W.H. Russell | Carter, Agent at Fort Bridger |
| W24 | 22-Nov St. Jo. Running Pony | Free WH Russell | Bromley, Agent at South Pass |

Table 1. Census of Company Free Frank Pony Express Covers
Russell, one of the owners of the COCPPE, sent this cover from St. Joseph on November 22, 1860. Russell used his free frank privilege per the manuscript "Free WH Russell" at the upper left, since it involved company business with the COCPPE agent at South Pass, James Bromley. The cover was carried on the westbound Pony Express trip that left St. Joseph on Thursday, November 22.

Russell is credited with developing the idea for the transcontinental Pony Express and he helped run it from April 1860 to June 1861. Bromley was his superintendent for the Pony Express Division III segment between Horse Shoe (just northwest of Fort Laramie) and Salt Lake City.

## The stars align

Early last summer, a well-known dealer in western philately had been in touch with a manuscript dealer, who claimed to have an important letter describing the OMC's first westbound daily overland trip in July 1861. The letter was sent to the philatelist for examination. The heading, which includes the dateline, is shown in Figure 4.


Figure 3. Westbound Pony Express envelope sent on November 22, 1860 from St. Joseph to COCPPE agent J.E. Bromley at South Pass. The cover is endorsed "Free WH Russell" by William Russell of the COCPPE. Image courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.


Figure 4. Dateline of a letter from Joseph Roberson to Nat Stein at St Joseph, Missouri. This letter was recently reunited with the Figure 2 envelope that originally carried it.


Figure 5. Signature on the July 10, 1861 letter from Joseph Roberson to Nat Stein.

The letter was written at Fort Bridger (in today's southwest Wyoming, northeast of Salt Lake City, as can be seen in Figure 1) on July 10, 1861. The transcription is below.

Fort Bridger, July 10, 1861
Dear Stein,
In my last I wrote you that I could do without my packages of newspapers, and read Mr. Clutes. As Mr. C. will go down ahead of me please make me up a separate pkg. - I dislike to trouble you so very very much about these newspapers, but I change my mind so often that it renders it necessary.
I am now in the first regular "Overland." Will be in Zion tomorrow afternoon. Left the Second Class Cars yesterday at Rocky Ridge. Mess. Alvord, Son, Clute and a passenger are my companions.
I will write to you again from the City, and give you my future plains movements. As yet I do not know.
Before leaving, I forgot to tell you that two of the cuts of the Stage Coach and two of the Pony were at the "West" Office. Please get them for fear the job office may be confiscated.
I would write more but the Coach is waiting for me.
Regards to friends. More anon.
Truly Your Friend

## Jo S. Roberson

The signature portion of this letter is shown in Figure 5.
Pony Express trip ET-114 (the first eastbound trip under the new OMC contract) left

Placerville on July 3, 1861 and was due in St. Joseph on July 15. The schedule had the rider passing through Fort Bridger on July 10, and Roberson took advantage of this opportunity to send his letter by pony to St. Joseph. The matching handwriting and the schedule alignment show that this letter and the envelope illustrated in Figure 2 belong together.

By happenstance, the philatelic dealer contacted the owner of the envelope, seeking the whereabouts of the envelope that had originally carried the letter. The connection was made, and the letter and envelope were soon physically reunited-serendipity all around! The envelope in Figure 2 and the letter it originally carried are now classified together as E110A in the census.

## Who are these guys?

The addressee of the letter, Nat Stein, whose photo is shown in Figure 6, began working for the COCPPE on March 1, 1861 as a messenger on the Denver-St. Joseph stagecoach


Figure 6. Contemporary photo of Nat Stein, the COCPPE agent who received the Figure 2 cover. line out of the St. Joseph office. He rose to higher administrative posts in St. Joseph until the spring of 1862 when he became agent in the office at Central City, Colorado. ${ }^{5}$ He stayed with the COCPPE (and its corporate successors) until early 1869, acting as agent in the Denver, Salt Lake City, Virginia City (spring 1863 to October 1865), and Omaha offices.

The writer of the letter, Joseph S. Roberson, started with the Leavenworth \& Pikes Peak Express Company (later absorbed by the COCPPE) in 1859 as an agent on the express service to Colorado, based in Leavenworth, Kansas. He moved to the COCPPE's St. Joseph office, and started the first pony express out of that office in April 1860. He later spent time in Salt Lake City and San Francisco.

Roberson's fellow passengers were associated with the OMC. Colonel E.S. Alvord was the General Superintendent of the OMC, and J.H. Clute was the Superintendent of the eastern portion of the stagecoach line. He had previously (in June 1860) been General Superintendent of the Pony Express.

## The first daily overland stagecoach

The Overland Mail Company contract called for six stagecoach trips per week with mails between Missouri and San Francisco in 20 days each way. The first westbound departure was on Monday, July 1, 1861 from St. Joseph. On that trip, Roberson wrote his letter nine days out of St. Joseph, and expected to be in Salt Lake City on July 11. The mail from that stagecoach arrived in San Francisco on July 18, two days ahead of schedule. Figure 7 shows an eastbound illustrated stagecoach envelope carried in the first month of the new contract. The illustrated cachet gives a contemporary view of stagecoach travel.

## Roberson's letter from Fort Bridger

In his letter, Roberson urged Stein to reclaim the Pony Express and Stagecoach "cuts" from the "West" office. In this context, cuts were the pictorial elements of company printed advertisements, and were probably proprietary. Printing was often done at independent subcontractors, known as job offices. In July 1861, St. Joseph was a hotbed of secessionists who favored union with the Confederate States of America, and the United States was in the


Figure 7. July 18, 1861 cover carried from California to New York by the Overland Mail Company. The cachet provides a contemporary view of the sort of stagecoach that carried mail and travelers during this era.
process of re-establishing control. Roberson's note suggests the fear that Southern-leaning workers at the job shop might jeopardize the safety of the images left on site.

Postal historians infrequently get the opportunity to re-unite long-separated envelopes with their original contents. When that happens, both the envelope and letter are enhanced. In this case, the envelope can now be firmly placed in the Pony Express timeline, while the letter (which had no internal references to the Pony Express) can now be identified as one of those rare missives carried on horseback over 150 years ago.

Thanks to Richard Frajola, Ken Lawrence and Scott Trepel for input on this article.

## Endnotes

1. Frajola, Kramer \& Walske, The Pony Express, A Postal History, (New York: The Philatelic Foundation, 2005).
2. This census is maintained on the PhilaMercury website at http://www.rfrajola.com/ponyHTM/PonyCensus.htm.
3. Sale 887 on November 11, 2004; lot 4239.
4. There are also five covers (E94, W5, W7, W47 and W62) sent free of Pony Express charges under the free frank of Milton Latham, U.S. Senator from California. These, however, did not deal with COCPPE business affairs, and the franks were courtesies extended to Latham, who had been supportive of the COCPPE in Washington, D.C. Several other surviving Latham free-franked covers were not marked as free of Pony Express charges, but may have been sent free as well.
5. Root \& Connelley, The Overland Stage to California, (Topeka, Kansas: Crane \& Co., 1901).


## LATE USES OF OFFICIAL STAMPS AND ENVELOPES LESTER C. LANPHEAR III

This article will discuss the use of Official stamps and envelopes after they were formally discontinued on 5 July 1884. Such uses are recorded from the Interior, Post Office, State, Treasury and War departments.

First we must look at the changes in the postal laws from 1873 to 1884. In 1873 the franking privilege was abolished and Official stamps and envelopes were produced for the various departments in the executive branch of the government. Very quickly efforts were made to eliminate Official stamps and replace them with free mail. The initial efforts focused on books, congressional records and seeds sent by the Department of Agriculture.

On July 1, 1877 the penalty privilege was created for officers of the executive branch in Washington, D.C. only. Then the law was changed to extend the use of penalty-clause mailing to field offices, starting on 1 May 1879. The use of stamps steadily decreased with these changes until 1881, when the Attorney General ruled that field offices could not send penalty-clause mail to private individuals. After this ruling, Official stamps were again provided to the field offices. On 5 July 1884 the penalty privilege was extended to all members of all departments of the executive branch for all mail. At this point the use of Official stamps and envelopes was discontinued.

In looking at John Luff's summary of Official stamps delivered, it is immediately apparent that after 1879 the Interior and War departments continued to acquire large quantities of most values of the Official stamps. The Department of Agriculture requisitioned their standard order for $3 \not \subset$ Official stamps and the Navy Department ordered small quantities of lower value Official stamps. ${ }^{1}$

Some collectors feel that the Official stamps were declared obsolete and therefore were invalid for use by officers of the various departments. Other collectors including myself believe the stamps are still valid for postage today, having never been formally demonetized. In a letter in the National Archives to the Postmaster General from the Third Assistant Postmaster General dated 14 July 1885, the following phrasing was used:

> The issue and use of official postage stamps was discontinued under their section of the Act of July 5 , 1884 . (Gen. Stat. 1st Sess. 48 Cong.,) extending the use of penalty envelopes to all classes of official correspondence.

Understanding the changes in the laws provides a basis for discussion of late uses of United States Official stamps and envelopes from various departments. In general, the field offices were the last users of the stamps and envelopes, mostly for official correspondence to private individuals and on registered mail. Most of the recorded late uses are postal stationery with a few stamp-bearing covers. All recorded late-use covers except one were posted outside Washington, D.C. This is as would be expected.

Very late private-use covers exist for three departments (Interior, Post Office and Treasury), the latest of which dates from 1954. But these are collector-created curiosities and not useful as postal history artifacts; as such, they are outside the scope of this article.

First we will discuss the departments that have few if any late covers. These departments are the Executive office and the departments of Agriculture, Justice and Navy. From the beginning, these departments had minimal Official stamp usage outside of Washington, D.C. In summary, the Executive department requisitioned no Official stamps after 1879. For the Agriculture and Justice departments, no penalty-mail covers with Official stamps, sent to a private individuals, are recorded. For the Navy department, two penalty covers are known franked with Official stamps and mailed to private individuals.

In-period penalty mail covers to private individuals with supplemental Official stamps are recorded for the following departments: Interior, Navy, Post Office, Treasury and War.

The Interior department created a high volume of mail to private individuals, as they carefully followed the Attorney General's 1881 ruling. The Post Office department generated small amounts of mail to private individuals using stamps from its many post offices. The State department used stamps at the despatch agency in New York City, and also to forward diplomatic pouch mail from Washington, D.C. and New York City. The War and Treasury departments generated little mail to private individuals from their field offices; Official stamps were used mostly to pay the $10 \phi$ registry fee.

We will now consider department by department the late-use Official covers that have been recorded.

## Department of the Interior

Several late-use covers are recorded for the Department of the Interior. Figure 1 shows the most unusual of these. This cover was mailed on 28 July 1884 from Olympia, Wash-


Figure 1. Late use of five $2 \phi$ Interior stamps, 29 July 1884, on a cover from Olympia to Melrose, Washington Territory. The penalty imprint paid the letter postage and the stamps paid the $10 \$$ registry fee. (Cover courtesy Alan Campbell.)
ington Territory, addressed to Melrose, Washington Territory. The penalty imprint paid the regular postage and the five $2 \phi$ Interior stamps paid the $10 \phi$ registry fee.

## Post Office Department

As the use of penalty envelopes was extended, there were still thousands of post offices across the land using Official stamps and envelopes. To address this situation, the Third Assistant Postmaster General on 22 April 1879 sent an announcement about the use of penalty mail ("free envelopes"). The following paragraphs are taken from that announcement:


#### Abstract

The stock of post office envelopes now in the hands of postmasters will, until exhausted, continue to be used, as heretofore, by the attachment of official postage stamps; so, also, of ficial stamped envelopes now in the hands of postmasters at Presidential offices will be used, as heretofore, until exhausted.

As soon, however, as such envelopes or the official stamps on hand are about to become exhausted, requisition must be made for a supply of the free envelopes, and the official postage stamps remaining on hand must be returned, registered, to the Department. If the official postage stamps now on hand should become exhausted before the post office envelopes, then the remaining envelopes should be returned to the Department and a supply of free envelopes ordered.




Figure 2. Late use of a $3 申$ Post Office entire envelope, from Chelsea to Lynn, Masschusetts, 19 March 1889.

This makes it clear why few Post Office penalty covers with Official stamps are recorded and why late uses of Post Office stamped envelopes have been seen. Figure 2 illustrates a 3 \& Post Office entire envelope mailed 19 March 1889 from Chelsea to Lynn, Hasachusetts, on official business. The "M.O.B." at upper left signifies money-order business.

## Department of State

Only one cover bearing State Department stamps is recorded used after 5 July 1884. This is the cover in Figure 3, a consular-pouch use with two 1\$ State stamps added. It was mailed from Washington, D.C. on 22 July 1884. The Department of State had been using a penalty clause handstamp on some inbound consular mail up until 21 September 1883, when they switched back to using stamps exclusively. This is the only recorded late use of an Official stamp on cover mailed from Washington, D.C.

## Treasury Department

A most interesting late use is shown in Figure 4. This is a prestamped reply envelope provided by the Treasury during the Official-stamp era for mailing official correspondence back to Washington. It must have reposed in a desk drawer for three decades or so before being recycled by a diligent federal employee in Denver, who changed the printed "Interanal Revenue" address to "Land Office" and mailed the cover to Washington. It has a D.C.


Figure 3. Late use of two $1 \Phi$ Department of State stamps, 22 July 1884, on a cover that traveled to Washington in a diplomatic pouch and entered the mails there. (Lot 3133, Matthew Bennett sale 273.)


Figure 4. Very late use of a $3 \Phi$ Treasury stamp, 11 March 1908, on a prestamped, preaddressed envelope that was recycled by a diligent federal employee. This is the latest official use of any departmental stamp.


Figure 5. Late use of a $3 \$$ War Department stamp (backstamped dated 8 Apr 1885) on a cover from St. Paul, Minnesota to Freeport, Illinois.


Figure 6. Late use of a $3 \Phi$ War Department entire envelope, 1 May 1885, from Pimento, Indiana to Washington, D.C. Note the wheel-of-fortune killer.
backstamp dated 14 March 1908. This cover is the latest recorded legitimate use of an Official stamp.

## War Department

The War Department had a large supply of postal stationery left over which they continued to use. War postal stationery is known with added penalty labels and overprints but it is unknown whether these were sent in by the field offices for conversion to penalty mail envelopes or if existing envelopes were converted at the Government Envelope Agency and
provided to the field. Figure 5 shows a late use of a $3 \phi$ War Department stamp, on a cover from Saint Paul, Minnesota, with a large blue oval backstamp of the "US Pension Office" dated 8 Apr 1885.

Many late uses of War Department stamped envelopes are recorded. An example of one of these is shown in Figure 6. This cover, which probably contained weather information, was postmarked at Pimento, Indiana, on 1 May 1885. The envelope indicium is cancelled by a wheel-of-fortune killer.

## Conclusion

Few late-use Official covers have survived. Most of the surviving examples are War Department envelopes sent from field offices. There are still many surviving sheets of Official stamps, which suggests that the departments had converted to mostly using penalty mail before the exclusive use of penalty envelopes was mandated in 1884.

## Endnote

1. John N. Luff, The Postage Stamps of the United States, 1902 edition, pp. 217-219. $\quad$

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# DISCOVERY: AN EARLIER PART-PAID BRITISH MAIL COVER 

STEPHEN B. PACETTI

In Chronicle 185 (February, 2000), British postal historian Colin Tabeart described at length the unofficial agreement between the postmasters of New York and Liverpool, beginning from the time the 1848 United States-United Kingdom postal convention went into effect in February 1849, to accept certain part-paid letters from these foreign exchange offices, despite the language of the convention that part-paid letters were to be treated as unpaid. He stated in his conclusion on page 69: ${ }^{1}$

> From very early in the treaty period until nearly the end of December 1852 [when the practice was halted], a period of almost four years, an unofficial arrangement existed between the New York and Liverpool postmasters. They treated all letters prepaid at least one full rate but subsequently found to be underpaid, as owing only the difference between full rate(s) paid and the total postage due, under a liberal interpretation...of the postal convention.

In other words, these postmasters believed it unfair to penalize a mailer who had paid at least one full letter rate of $24 \nmid$ or one shilling for a letter weighing up to one-half ounce, if the letter was subsequently found to weigh more.

Although this situation might seem to have been common, it apparently was not, in view of the few reported covers. Tabeart described four such covers known to him. A fifth was discovered and described in Chronicle 200 (November 2003) by Richard F. Winter. ${ }^{2}$ Now, a sixth cover has come to light, which has both postal and social history interest.

Figure 1 shows the front of an envelope containing a six-page letter dated 26 May 1849 to "Doct: George Clymer, U.S. Frigate St. Lawrence, Mssrs Baring Bros \& Co, London." Along the top right of the envelope is an endorsement, "Per Steamer from New York." Along the left side is the manuscript postmark "Morrisville, Pa /May 28 " written by the local postmaster. The word "Paid" was written above the manuscript postmark and "Paid 24 " was written in the upper right corner. This shows that the mailer paid cash for one full rate of $24 ¢$ for a letter weighing up to one-half ounce.

The envelope traveled to the New York foreign-mail exchange office, where it received the large red-orange 19 handstamp in the upper right corner to show a credit to the United Kingdom, pursuant to the new postal convention, of $3 \Phi$ for British inland postage plus 16 for sea postage to England by a British-contract mail ship. Below the 19, the New York exchange office also struck its 5-in-circle handstamp in black to show a $5 \phi$ debit to the United Kingdom for U.S. internal postage. The presence of both these markings on the same cover indicates that when the letter was weighed in New York, it was found to weigh above one-half ounce. The exchange office accepted the $24 \phi$ paid in Morrisville to pay the first half-ounce rate. For the unpaid second half-ounce rate, the U.S. was owed $5 \phi$ by England. ${ }^{3}$

The letter left New York on 30 May 1849 on the Cunard Line steamer Canada, which arrived at Liverpool 12 June 1849. ${ }^{4}$ There, the exchange office struck its black circular AMERICA/LIVERPOOL/JU 12/1849 receiving handstamp on the back of the envelope, which is shown in Figure 2.

The Liverpool office marked the envelope to show that another letter rate of 1 shilling (24\$) was due. Since one rate had already been paid in the U.S., in accordance with


Figure 1. Envelope sent from Morrisville, Pennsylvania on 26 May 1849 to London, with a single rate (24¢) prepaid in cash. New York marked the red 19\$ credit to Britain for the first $1 / 2$ ounce that was prepaid, and the black $5 \phi$ debit to Britain for a second ounce that was not prepaid. Liverpool noted 1 shilling (24¢) prepaid in red and 1 shilling to be collected (with "MORE to PAY") in black.


Figure 2. Reverse of the Figure 1 envelope, showing the Liverpool and London receiving handstamps and detailed notes from the addressee, Dr. George Clymer.
the New York-Liverpool special arrangement, the postal clerk wrote the large reddish " $1 /$ " marking at the right, to show 1 shilling was paid, and another marking in black to the left to show another 1 shilling was due from the addressee. In addition, the clerk struck the black straightline handstamp "MORE to PAY" after the black shilling due marking.

Liverpool sent the letter to London by rail, where it received the red orange $S$ (crown)

| Date | From | To | Reference |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| May 28, 1849 | Morrisville, Pennsylvania | London, England | Figure 1 |
| Nov 1, 1851 | Liverpool, England | Providence, Rhode Island | Chronicle 185 |
| Nov 26, 1851 | St. Leonard's-on-Sea, England | Newport, Rhode Island | Chronicle 200 |
| Dec 13, 1851 | Augusta, Georgia | Belfast, Ireland | Chronicle 185 |
| May 18, 1852 | Irvine, Scotland | New York, New York | Chronicle 185 |
| Dec 1,1852 | Augusta, Georgia | Belfast, Ireland | Chronicle 185 |

Table 1. Chronological summary of six covers now known showing the application of the New York-Liverpool special arrangement regarding part payment.

C/13 JU 13/1849 receiving handstamp on the reverse. Baring Brothers paid the additional 1 shilling postage due.

This cover is now the earliest recorded example that shows the application of the New York-Liverpool special arrangement. It is further proof the arrangement was implemented soon after the convention was implemented. ${ }^{5}$ A chronological summary of the six reported covers is presented in Table 1.

Baring Brothers was a banking business in London that also forwarded mail to U.S. naval personnel serving on ships abroad. As shown by Dr. Clymer's notes on the back of the envelope at the lower left, he received it on board the U.S.S. St. Lawrence at Bremerhaven, June 23 (1849) at 5 p.m. He assigned a number " 12 " to this letter and wrote the initials of his brother (M.W.C.) and his wife, Mary (M.C.), whose letters were enclosed. Oddly, they signed their letters with their initials.

Dr. George Clymer was the grandson and namesake of George Clymer, a veteran of the War of Independence, Pennsylvania's representative to the Continental Congress, and signer of both the Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution. Born in 1805, Dr.


Figure 3. The U.S.S. St. Lawrence, a Navy medical training ship. Dr. Clymer was on board this ship at Bremerhaven when he received the cover discussed in this article.

Clymer spent 37 years in the U.S. Navy as a surgeon, eventually rising to the position of the Navy's medical director and retiring with the rank of commodore. He died 14 April 1881. The writer has record of over 200 Clymer covers.

The St. Lawrence (Figure 3) was a sailing warship that traveled as a medical training vessel for both U.S. and foreign personnel. Many of the Clymer covers are addressed to him on this and other ships as he traveled extensively, training and advising medical personnel and inspecting facilities. Some covers are addressed to him when he was stationed in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere stateside. Other covers are from Dr. Clymer to his wife and family. To the great joy of today's postal historians, they saved almost all of the letter contents and wrote notes on the backs of the envelopes.

Finally, to repeat Tabeart's and Winter's previous requests, if you know of other spe-cial-arrangement covers, please send me a scan (front and back) at sbp57@comcast.net.

## Endnotes

1. Colin Tabeart, "Part-Paid Covers in the British Mail 1849-1852," Chronicle 185, pg. 69.
2. Richard F. Winter, "Another Part-Paid British Mail Cover is Found," Chronicle 200, pp. 308-10.
3. For a full understanding of the U.S.-U.K. Postal Convention of 1848, see Richard F. Winter, Understanding Transatlantic Mail, Volume 1 (Bellefonte, Penn.: American Philatelic Society, 2006), pp. 104-62. For an additional reference useful in understanding how things worked in the early days of the 1848 convention, see Winter's "The Start of the U.S.-British Postal Convention," Chronicle 154, pp. 133-44.
4. Walter Hubbard and Richard F. Winter, North Atlantic Mail Sailings 1840-1875, (Canton, Ohio: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 1988).
5. Tabeart, op. cit., pg. 69.

# EARLY WEST-INDIA RATE STEAMSHIP COVER TREATED AS BRITISH STEAMSHIP LETTER THERON J. WIERENGA 

Section Editor's Note: The following cover was discovered by Theron Wierenga after his book, United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1875, Second Edition, went to press in 2000. Had he seen it earlier, it would have been included in the book because of its importance. This cover pertains to Chapter III ("Steamship Rates of 1845 and 1847") and would have been inserted after Figure 51 on page 42. Previous installments of this update were published in Chronicles 218, 222, 223, 232 and 235.

I saw the cover shown in Figure 1 while attending the Washington 2006 International Exhibition. It is interesting because the New York clerk charged a British steamship letter rate, not a West-India rate. This stampless folded letter originated in Mandeville, Jamaica, and shows a poorly struck town mark of that place in black ink dated February 5, 1850. It was sent to Kingston where a red circular JAMAICA/PAID marking was applied along with a black double straightline JAMAICA/SHIP LETTER. The reverse has a Kingston town mark dated March 1. The red crayon "4/4" rate in the upper right corner represents 4 pence from Mandeville to Kingston and the 4 pence outgoing ship-letter rate for a total prepayment of 8 pence.

This letter was carried from Kingston to New York by the Empire City Line steamship Empire City, which cleared Chagres February 26, 1850, and arrived at Kingston March 1. The Empire City cleared Kingston March 2 and arrived in New York on March 9. ${ }^{1}$ New York applied a red handstamp STEAM/SHIP and 5 in circle rate marking for the United States postage due. The letter took a few days to arrive in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. On the


Figure 1. Stampless folded letter from Mandeville, Jamaica (February 5, 1850) to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. It was sent to Kingston where the red circular JAMAICAIPAID marking was applied along with the double straightline JAMAICAISHIP LETTER. Carried from Kingston to New York by the Empire City Line steamship Empire City, arriving March 9. New York applied a red handstamp STEAM/SHIP and 5 in circle rate marking for U.S. postage due.
left below the town mark the recipient inscribed, "Recd March 12th."
It is not clear why the postage due was 54 . The date of this cover falls just after the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company discontinued stops at New York, the latest being the Thames on January 12, 1850. ${ }^{2}$ For a letter carried into New York by the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, the correct rate would have been $5 ¢$ for inland postage under the United States-British Postal Convention of 1848, which made no distinction based on the distance within the United States. ${ }^{3}$

Under the West-India rate, the cover in Figure 1 would have been rated with 20¢ postage due: $10 \$$ for the West-India rate and $10 \$$ for postage over 300 miles beyond the port of arrival. The New York clerk clearly did not charge the West-India rate. The earliest WestIndia rate the author has recorded on a cover carried by a United States steamship arrived in New York March 25, 1850, on the Crescent City, which left Kingston on March 18. This cover is illustrated in United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1857, Second Edition. ${ }^{4}$ Two weeks after this letter was received, New York began applying the West-India rates to letters from Jamaica.

It appears that the $5 \mathbb{\$}$ on this cover represents a rate held over from previous practice when the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company steamships were stopping at New York.

## Endnotes

1. United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1857, Second Edition (Austin, Texas: USPCS, 2000), pg. 359.
2. Ibid., pg. 385.
3. Ibid., pg. 137.
4. Ibid., pg. 42. ■

## IN REVIEW

## THREE NEW CATALOGS

## REVIEWED BY MICHAEL LAURENCE

Catalogs are one of the special glories of the stamp hobby. By incrementally expanding upon the accumulated knowledge of the collectors and dealers who came before us, catalogs assure that the information in the philatelic canon, both in quantity and in accuracy, is always increasing. No other collecting hobby boasts such continuing life-support.

While we don't usually review them in the pages of the Chronicle, the recent appearance of three catalogs, which in different ways speak to the interests of collectors of classic United States stamps and postal history, provides an opportunity for broad discussion.

At hand is the most recent (2013) edition of the Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps and Covers; the 2012 edition of the Durland Standard Plate Number Catalog, published by the United States Stamp Society; and the new Confederate States of America Catalog and Handbook of Stamps and Postal History, recently published by the Confederate Stamp Alliance.

## Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps and Covers

All three works originated as dealer listings of one sort or another. Each had to transcend mercantile origins before gaining acceptance as a reliable research tool. The history of this evolution would reward analysis, but I touch on it only briefly in this essay. Each catalog labors to provide extensive pricing data, though it strikes me that at this point in their development, the pricing information has become almost vestigal. Scott's editors assiduously avoid the word "price," characterizing their what's-it-worth quotations as "values," a term that oozes vagueness and wiggle-room.

In the minds of the publishers, evaluation is without doubt a major feature in sparking sales of new catalog volumes. And it probably helps (though it may mislead) legions of newcomers who consult the Scott catalog at their local libraries. (Library sales are a major revenue source for Scott and represent a self-perpetuating outreach program that regularly brings new collectors into our hobby.) But my contention is, at least for committed collectors of the sort who read reviews in the back pages of the Chronicle, that pricing data is the least useful and arguably the least accurate of the great wealth of information that these references provide for us. In the 21st century, the primary purpose of any stamp catalog (for the serious collector anyway) is to answer definitively the basic question: "What's out there for me to collect?" The question "What's it worth?" is subordinate and obviously subject to a lot of disagreement.

While the early history of the Scott catalog has been amply documented in the philatelic record, recent developments have been less carefully scrutinized. For the first 12 decades of its existence, beginning in 1867, the Scott catalog was owned or controlled by members of the stamp trade, who tended to regard it more as a promotional tool than as a source of reference information. While stamp values in the marketplace fluctuated, sometimes violently, prices in the catalog tended to go up, never down. During the inflationdriven boom-and-bust of the 1970s and early 80s, this caused values in the Scott catalog to get wildly out of sync with actual stamp prices in the marketplace.

The reference-versus-promotion dilemma was definitively resolved in the early 1980s, when Scott's owners (Jack and Bert Taub, who also owned Stampazine, the Manhattan retail stamp firm) decided to sell the Scott publishing operation. The Taub brothers hired former postmaster general Benjamin Bailar to oversee the divestiture. As the sale process unfolded, there were three serious bidders: Clive Feigenbaum, a British promoter of dubious new-issue stamps; Greg Manning, then a well-known wholesale stamp auctioneer whose reputation would subsequently be diminished by an affiliation with Afinsa, the Ponzi-like Spanish stamp-investment firm, now defunct; and Amos Press Inc., then and now a family-owned publisher based in rural Ohio.

Looking back, it's hard to imagine what might have happened if either Feigenbaum or Manning had acquired the Scott operation. Certainly the Scott catalogs (and perhaps the stamp hobby in general) would not be what they are today. (Full disclosure: I worked many years for Amos Press and was instrumental in inducing Amos to purchase Scott; I will go to my grave believing this was my most significant achievement in a lifetime in philately.)

Upon reflection, perhaps it's not so hard to imagine what might have happened had Scott fallen into other hands. Before it was brought to justice, the Afinsa firm obtained the Brookman Europa catalog and used it to support its Ponzi activities. Earlier, rogue dealer Marc Russo purchased the Minkus catalog and suborned its content by listing (and massively overpricing) "Social Security stamp essays" and other dubious items that he controlled. Their reputations trashed, both catalogs are now defunct.

Once the Scott catalog was in the hands of a responsible publisher staffed by professional journalists, change came fast and furious. Transformation in valuation methodology and the logistics of catalog distribution caused much early brouhaha, now largely forgotten. After a costly and tedious transition from hot-metal to digitized printing, the editorial improvements have been breathtaking and continuing: Full-color illustrations of every stamp, a major section on essays and proofs, wholesale revamping of the coverage of carriers and locals, Confederate postmaster provisionals, booklet panes-the list goes on and on. The only way to appreciate the full magnitude of the Amos achievement is to compare a U.S. specialized catalog from the 1970s to one from today.

In its nine decades of existence, the Scott catalog has benefited from the contributions of three great editors: John Luff in early days, James Hatcher in the mid-century years, and James Kloetzel in the modern era. Previously an auction describer, Kloetzel came to Amos in 1984 and almost immediately moved into the position of editor of the U.S. specialized catalog. Hardworking, knowledgeable and a paragon of personal integrity, Kloetzel is responsible in one way or another for virtually all the improvements in the U.S. specialized catalog that have unfolded under Amos ownership. He retired in 2011, but continues to contribute substantially to the catalog and is listed in the current masthead as "editor emeri-
tus." All of us who collect classic United States stamps and covers owe Kloetzel thanks and felicitations, even accolades.

The Scott specialized catalog has been published annually for almost a century. To enhance sales of a volume whose content necessarily changes only slowly, the current publishers strive to add new categories of information every year. The 2013 U.S. specialized catalog, now under the editorship of Charles Snee, is said to include 7,800 value changes, a relatively modest number given the vast scope of the catalog. For the first time, Scott recognizes the "I" grills on the 1870-71 Bank Note issues (Scott 134-144) as major numbers. These new listings (134A-144A) follow 144. Changes like this, which create additional spaces in the National album, tend to upset one-of-each stamp collectors, but the trade loves them because they generate demand. An accompanying article in the 2013 catalog, written by Ronald A. Burns, a highly-regarded researcher in this area, explains the history behind the categorization of the " H " and " I " grills and establishes the case that the " H " and "I" grills belong to two different families, similar to the different grill types from 1867-68.

The other major editorial enhancement in the 2013 specialized catalog is the addition of a 10 -page section listing and describing postal counterfeits-stamps (and postal stationery) created to defraud the Post Office. This section, which follows Post Office Seals, was put together with the assistance of John M. Hotchner, Richard Drews, Kurt and Joann Lenz and Howard K. Petschel, well-known collectors and students in this field. Each counterfeit is identified by the Scott number assigned to the genuine stamp with the suffix "CF" (for "counterfeit"). The listings are in standard Scott format, and values are provided. In most cases, a genuine example is pictured alongside the counterfeit. Notes explain how to differentiate the two.

A negative about Amos ownership, from the collector standpoint, is that journalism (as opposed to stamp marketing) requires that the publisher profit from the sale of his products. This means a salaried staff and annual review of the entire content, which generates expense and in turn dictates relatively steep book prices. The list price of the 2013 Scott specialized catalog is $\$ 99.99$, though I suspect few customers actually pay that. After the various discounts that seem almost universally available, I would guess the average buyer pays $\$ 75-\$ 80$. That's still not cheap, but for 1,256 three-column pages, jam-packed with useful, accurate and complete information, it's a great bargain.

How useful, accurate and complete? In the aggregate, that's impossible for an individual to assess. The catalog is bigger than any of us. In fact it is bigger than all of us together, because it stands on the shoulders of the legions who came before.

For the one area in which I am genuinely knowledgeable, the 10¢ 1869 stamp, I can declare with some certainty that the listing information presented in the current Scott U.S. specialized catalog is both accurate and complete. Everything listed actually exists, and nothing important exists that is not listed. This same holds true for the various proof and essay varieties of this stamp, which are now extensively listed and illustrated in the back of the book. Amos added the proof-and-essay section soon after it acquired the catalog, sparking a great awakening of collector interest in this area.

I dislike the way the specialized catalog attempts to provide value information for cancellation varieties. For classic U.S. stamps, Scott expresses cancellation values as a premium ("blue $+\$ 5$, red $+\$ 15$ " etc.). In the front matter of the catalog (which is invaluable and worth rereading from time to time) Scott says that these premiums apply to used single stamps off cover. But it seems to me that's not always the case. For the 10\$ 1869 stamp, the premium for a cancel applied in Japan is "+200," which I would say is about right for the Hiogo double-circle cancel (when added to the base price of $\$ 140$ for a used single stamp) but low for the Yokohama single-circle and very low for the scarce Nagasaki "N." Presumably the lowest common denominator prevails.

China is a different story. For the $10 \$ 1869$ stamp, Scott lists a China cancel, but with a dash, which is supposed to indicate insufficient pricing data. I think the dash really means that the cancellation can be found on covers bearing the $10 \$ 1869$ stamp, but is not to be found on loose single stamps. (This would also be the case for St. Thomas, which is listed identically.) The only China cancel that Scott could recognize on the $10 \$ 1869$ stamp would be the "POD US Con Genl" circular datestamp applied at the U.S. consular post office at Shanghai. That marking was invariably struck carefully on the covers so as not to touch the stamps. In fact, the marking is not known on a loose single $10 ¢ 1869$ stamp. To cancel the stamps, the Shanghai consular clerks used distinctive killer devices. These are now well known and fairly common. But for Scott listing purposes they don't count. If they did, they would have to be priced quite cheaply.

Another problem with cancel premiums occurs at the high end of the price range. Again referring to the $10 \$ 1869$, Scott lists an Alaska cancel at a premium of " $+5,000$." Like most lofty values in the specialized catalog, this is based on a specific auction realization. In this case, the reference stamp, in the Elliott Coulter collection, was hammered down for $\$ 4,750$ in 2006 (Siegel sale 911, lot 15). But that very high hammer price reflected not just a scarce cancel but a drop-dead gorgeous underlying stamp: crisp, fresh and perfectly centered with huge margins. An identical premium is attached to a green cancel for similar reasons. I have a nice green town cancel on a $10 \$ 1869$ in my collection, and I guarantee you it's not worth anything close to $\$ 5,000$.

But this is trivial criticism, relative to the immensity and the usefulness of the data in the specialized catalog. I know, because I talk with them, that other specialist collectors, looking at the catalog information in their individual areas of expertise, would make the same observation that I made a moment ago: everything listed actually exists, and nothing important exists that isn't listed. That's really the highest praise one can bestow on a work such as this.

In fact, my biggest criticism of the Scott U.S. specialized catalog relates not to content but to form. I intensely dislike the floppy soft-cover binding. Because of the soft covers, the book doesn't stand upright the way a proper reference work should. Personally, I'd pay more for a hardbound copy, but as a retired collector on a fixed income, I only buy the catalog every few years. No publisher could profit creating a special binding for a market that slim.

## Durland Standard Plate N umber Catalog

The Durland Standard Plate Number Catalog has long been the basic reference source for information about plate numbers and their relative scarcity. The current edition, dated 2012, lists and evaluates plate blocks (or other plate-number multiples where appropriate) and provides much additional plate-number and marginal-inscription information for almost every stamp listed in the Scott U.S. specialized catalog. This includes Confederates, Carriers, overprinted Possessions stamps, even the AMG stamps from World War II. Benefiting from recent dispersals, this latest Durland greatly expands the data on beer stamps-although when compared to the thoroughness of the surrounding coverage, the revenue section remains relatively weak.

Entirely new to the current edition are Bureau precancel plate blocks, including the scarce experimental precancels of 1916, many of which are illustrated. Every illustration in this catalog is in color (mostly life-size or larger), and the images are crisp and colorcorrect. The overall impact is very pleasing. The editor is Wallace Cleland (with a large supporting staff), and the production editor is Leonard Piszkiewicz.

All because of a chance childhood encounter, I might be the only collector alive today who actually knew Clarence Durland, founder of the eponymous catalog. Durland was the
first adult stamp collector I ever met. As a grade-schooler, I lived in Abington, Massachusetts, during the years when Durland ran a mail-order stamp business from that small Plymouth County town. His firm was called the Sterling Stamp Company and his specialty was United States plate blocks. Durland and his wife were active in the local Congregational church, of which I was a member. A daughter or granddaughter, whose name I believe was Mary Jane, was a schoolmate. My youthful interest in stamps, conveyed to Durland via Mary Jane, secured me an invitation to visit him after school in his stamp office, which was a room in his home.

I don't remember much of this visit. To my childish eyes, Durland seemed old and infirm; I never went back. But he treated me kindly. He was pleased to learn that even in elementary school, I had decided to specialize in United States stamps. At the time of my visit, Durland was breaking up panes of the small red 5\$ New York City airmail stamp (Scott C38). This I remember vividly. That stamp was then greatly sought by the kid collectors in my town because it was too new for the packets, it never showed up in the mails, and our local post office didn't have it in stock. Durland gave me a square block of nine, which I soon broke up and traded advantageously.

From this evidence I deduce that our brief encounter took place in the fall of 1948. Durland issued the first edition of his plate-block catalog, hardly more than a price list, in 1950. A few years later, he sold his stamp business (including the plate-block publication) and moved to Peterborough, New Hampshire, where he died in 1958. The Bureau Issues Association (now the United States Stamp Society) acquired the catalog in the early 1980s and has published nine editions since, steadily expanding the scope and quality of a work that, like the Scott catalog, has evolved from a dealer's advertising handout into an important research tool.

For the early postage stamps that the Durland catalog engagingly calls "pre-Bureau issues," plate blocks, strips and even plate-number singles are rare. The catalog presents them all in just eight of its 430 -odd pages. As far as I can tell, the information on these eight pages is an accurate and complete presentation of the current knowledge. As with the Scott catalog, for the stamp I know best, the $10 \Phi$ 1869, the Durland data seem to me to be entirely correct. A single top-margin stamp showing plate number 15 is known (it’s in my collection), and while plate number 16 is recorded from proof examples, it is not known on an issued stamp. Actually, I have a single top-row stamp that seems to me to capture a small portion of a " 16 "; but there's precious little on which to base this pronouncement, and a less-biased observer could legitimately say that the captured elements might just as easily represent bottom bits of another "15."

For the $3 \phi$ Post Office departmental stamp, Scott O49, Durland lists plate number 40 with a dagger symbol, indicating a known plate number that has not yet been reported on a stamp. The research presented by William Steven Birmingham in the Officials section of the November Chronicle (Chronicle 236, pages 342-43) changes that. So in the next edition
of Durland, that provocative dagger will be eliminated.
That's how the best catalogs are created-incrementally, with glacial slowness, one new fact at a time. Like the Scott U.S. specialized catalog that it complements, the Durland catalog accumulates and preserves painstaking research and record-keeping, done in solitude over decades, by legions of collectors and dealers-many of them, like Clarence Durland himself, now forgotten. Such works are the majestic treasure of our hobby, simply invaluable. Kudos to the United States Stamp Society for continuing to improve this catalog, for steadfastly keeping it in print, and for making it available to the collecting public at a very affordable price.

## Confederate States of America Catalog and Handbook of Stamps and Postal History

Collecting the stamps and covers of the Confederate States of America has always involved a special culture and a special following. Ken Lawrence has recently written provocatively about this phenomenon. Confederate collectors have long marched to their own drummer, and the catalog supporting them has reflected their ideosyncrasies. Partly because of this exceptionalism, the catalog under review came into existence through a more halting and circuitous route than Scott or Durland. But it is now at least close to achieving a similar position in the reference pantheon.

In 1929, August Dietz, Sr., a printer who was a student of Confederate stamps (and, critics have charged, an unreconstructed supporter of the Confederate cause), published The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America. Following the success of the Scott U.S. specialized catalog, Dietz published his first actual catalog in 1931. Called the Dietz Specialized Catalog of the Postage Stamps of the Confederate States of America, this work was supplemented in 1932 and then published in revised editions in 1937, 1945, 1959 and 1986. The 1986 version, called the New Dietz Confederate States Cata$\log$ and Handbook, was flawed in key aspects, some of which are discussed below. In 2006, the Confederate Stamp Alliance acquired the rights to this work (and by extension, to its predecessors) and immediately began creating the new catalog, which because of its lengthy and ungainly title I will henceforth refer to as "the CSA catalog."

Because quarter-century intervals separate the last three editions of the CSA catalog, its evolution has not followed the incremental
 gradualism of Scott and Durland. The editors (Patricia A. Kaufmann, Francis J. Crown Jr. and Jerry S. Palazolo) make this clear in their preface: the new CSA catalog "is by no means a simple revision of prior catalogs....It is the result of a major effort to build a new catalog from the ground up." A guiding principle was that items listed in the catalog had to be confirmed by an image. The result is a treasure-trove of color images of stamps and markings, along with a large number of gaps.

At 516 pages, the new catalog is almost twice the size of its 1986 predecessor and features crisp and accurate color illustrations throughout. The 1986 edition contained just eight pages of color, a single signature that was the source of considerable criticism.

Stampless markings are especially important in Confederate philately because so much history unfolded during the months between the withdrawal of U.S. stamps and the first appearance of Confederate adhesives. One of the idiosyncrasies of Confederate philately has been to designate stampless covers (or at least, prepaid stampless covers) as "Handstamped Paids." How this came about I have no idea. It goes back at least to the early Dietz catalogs and possibly earlier. The editors of the 1986 "New Dietz" tried to tip-toe around this taxonomical minefield by creating a new category, "Handstamped Provisionals and Other Markings." But that just made things worse, associating the word "provisional" (which in the philatelic vocabulary implies scarcity) with a slew of common stampless markings.

The new CSA catalog drives a stake into this zombie by calling these what they are: "Stampless Markings." Listing them, in an eye-pleasing two-column format, takes up 200 pages. The markings are arranged alphabetically by state and then alphabetically by town within each state. Where possible, each marking is illustrated by a color photo electronically clipped from a cover, similar to what we've been doing recently in the Chronicle (see for example the marking plates accompanying Michael McClung's article in this issue, starting on page 49).

When a cover wasn't available for photography, the editors of the CSA catalog picked up the tracings used in the previous (1986) catalog. Photos of markings are presented at about 80 percent lifesize. The tracing pick-ups are lifesize. This results in odd and jarring juxtapositions. I would have preferred to see both photos and tracings presented as lifesize images.

This treatment also emphasizes how much work the editors still have before them. After a page-by-page skim-through, I would guess the ratio of photo images to tracings is no better than $50-50$. This implies that half the items listed have not been seen by the current generation of editors. Similarly, within the listing data, an asterisk is used to designate what the editors call "an unsupported listing." There's a disturbing number of these too.

The editors deserve the highest praise for selecting this nomenclature, which clearly separates hearsay from fact. Let's hope their candor brings out supporting covers to diminish the number of tracings and asterisks in the next edition. And let's hope again that the next edition does not require the passage of another quarter-century.

Rebuilding from the ground up extends to the CSA catalog's historical information as well. The editors went back to the original documents, with some startling results. Among other things, the dates of secession and admission to the Confederacy have been revised for six of the 11 Confederate states, with much additional information added-and primary sources cited in every important instance.

The section on the general-issue stamps of the Confederacy and their proofs and essays, almost 50 pages, provides much more information, more accessibly presented, than has ever been previously available on this subject. (The comparable information in the Scott specialized catalog consumes less than four pages.) This stamp section of the new CSA catalog has no special by-line, but a note on the frontispiece page indicates the copyright is owned by Leonard Hartmann. Hartmann has written extensively on these stamps (especially the lithographs) in the pages of the Chronicle and elsewhere.

The presentation of the stamp information includes a useful concordance relating CSA catalog numbers to Scott numbers. Many plate varieties are shown. These are crudely produced stamps, especially the lithographs, but the quality of the catalog illustrations is generally excellent. Caution: These stamps are complicated, and this material is not easy sledding. The CSA 10¢ blue lithographed stamp, as an example, has just one Scott number
(Scott 2) but comprises three different stamp designs produced by at least two different printers, differences that are fleshed out in great detail in the new CSA catalog.

Like Scott, the CSA catalog gives a price premium for special cancellations, but does it in a way that I think is much more effective than the Scott method. The CSA approach is to present the price premium for special cancellations in two different categories-off cover and on-and as a percentage of the base price, rather than a dollar premium. One example: For the basic $10 \$$ blue lithographed Hoyer and Ludwig stamp, which the CSA catalog designates as 2 H , the catalog prices a used stamp at $\$ 250$ and a single on cover at $\$ 450$. Cancellation premiums are then presented as a percentage of the base price in each category. The premium for an express-company cancel on a used single stamp is 200 percent. For an express-company cancel on a cover, the premium is 800 percent. The Scott specialized catalog values the single stamp at $\$ 300$ and the cover at $\$ 475$, with a $\$ 300$ premium for the express-company cancel off cover, and no information to suggest the much greater desirability of the marking on a full cover. The CSA approach, with different premiums for each category, is both more flexible than Scott and more accurate. But I don't want to go very far down this road, because I genuinely believe that pricing does not represent the most important contribution of any of these catalogs.

Almost 70 pages of the CSA catalog are devoted to postmaster provisional stamps and covers, here arranged alphabetically by town in two categories: 3¢ 1861 provisionals (which in a sense aren't Confederate issues at all, since they predate the time the Confederate post office assumed control of the mails and were designed to pay the U.S. $3 \phi$ letter rate) and Confederate provisionals, which were almost always $5 \$$ and $10 \$$ denominations (the basic Confederate rates). The presentation for the adhesive provisionals is straightforward and pleasing. It's good to see listed (in both categories) the adhesives and the lone entire envelope of Madison Court House, Florida. Successfully rehabilitated over the last 20 years by editor Kauffman, these had been excluded from the previous catalogs.

While the adhesive postmaster provisional stamps are easily comprehended by traditional collectors, the handstamped provisional envelopes remain a rats-nest. A scarce handstamped provisional envelope can look very much like a stampless cover, and a common stampless cover can look very much like a handstamped provisional envelope. The editors provide ample cautionary words and frequent caveats, but it seems clear to me, from reading the accompanying notes, that there remains a murky mid-range of covers that are for all practical purposes unattributable, and that a fair number of dubious "legacy provisionals" are still listed. These would never be admitted to the catalog under today's standards, but they can't be excised because they've been accepted forever and are anyway not currently available for examination. Scott has dealt effectively with such legacy issues (exiling the once-hallowed "August issues" to the essays section, for example), but the editors of the CSA catalog still have more work to do.

There's much more in the CSA catalog than I can even mention in a brief review. Six tables present Confederate postal rates in all mailing categories. This information, seven pages in all, is more comprehensive and better presented than anything I've seen elsewhere. The 1986 version had hardly any rate information at all.

In the new CSA catalog, almost every imaginable category of collectible stamps and covers is listed, illustrated, described and (where appropriate) priced. This includes perforated and rouletted varieties, fakes and facsimiles, color cancels, fancy cancels, patriotic covers, college covers, official and semi-official imprints, flag-of-truce covers, the list goes on and on. The catalog is said to contain over 10,000 value entries. At $\$ 125$ this work is the most expensive of the three, but it's the only one that's packaged in a hard binding that enables it to stand upright in a bookcase without slouching over. I have heard (from unreliable sources) that the print run was 1,000 copies of which almost 800 have already been sold. If true, this is good news, because it suggests an updated edition
might follow in a few years. As I've tried to establish in this essay, frequent revision is a prerequisite for a live and useful stamp catalog. Quarter-century intervals don’t work.

If you collect in their areas, all three of these catalogs are well worth buying. If you specialize in the areas they cover, you cannot collect intelligently without them. The richness and diversity of the research they represent, preserved for the ages and constantly improved upon, nourishes all of us and is one of the key buttresses separating stamps, as collectible objects, from beer cans and beanie babies.

## LINE ENGRAVED SECURITY PRINTING: THE METHODS OF PERKINS BACON 1790-1935, BANKNOTES AND POSTAGE STAMPS

## REVIEWED BY CHARLES SNEE

For almost 10 years, Gary Granzow diligently sifted through thousands of pages of correspondence, carefully analyzed patent diagrams and brought his chemist mind to bear on the task of elucidating how British banknote and stamp printer Perkins, Bacon developed its exquisitely complicated methods of line engraving. The result of Granzow’s labors is a substantial and authoritative book, with numerous illustrations and tables, three appen-


Line Engraved Security Printing: the Methods of Perkins Bacon 1790-1935, Banknotes and Postage Stamps, by Gary W. Granzow, London, Royal Philatelic Society, 2012. Hardcover, $81 / 2 \mathrm{x}$ 11 inches; 321 pages. Price (in U.S.) $\$ 110$ plus $\$ 3$ postage, from Leonard Hartmann. dices, a detailed bibliography and an index.

Granzow opens his work with a review of the development of classic line engraving on steel plates, still the most secure means of producing security paper such as banknotes and stamps. Also known as intaglio, line engraving had its beginnings in Italy.

The connection between the methods of Perkins, Bacon and those developed by stamp engravers in the United States began in 1819, when American inventor Jacob Perkins took an experienced team of engravers and machinists to London. Among those who journeyed with Perkins were Asa Spencer, a brilliant engineer, and Charles Toppan, who later founded Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear \& Co., printer of the U.S. 1851 definitive stamps.

Spencer had already developed two engine lathes: one, Granzow writes, "capable of engraving complex patterns that rose engines could not produce," and one "designed to engrave directly on the periphery of transfer rollers as well as other traversing designs on flat dies." Spencer, while he was in England, sold these patents to Jacob Perkins.

Granzow, through careful study of the relevant patents, brings to light for the first time how these complex devices were able to produce the intricate white-line patterns of early 19th-century banknotes and the trelliswork on the dark background of the side frames of the famed Penny Black, Britain's (and the world's) first adhesive postage stamp.

Using his own illustrations, Granzow shows in Chapter 4, titled "Engraving Techniques," that the traditional, four-step sequence of line engraving, the so-called Perkins Process patented in 1819 that is known to most stamp collectors, could not have produced these fine, white lines.

These four steps, Granzow states, are: (1) cut design in master die and harden; (2) transfer from die to softened roller; (3) harden roller and transfer to softened plate; and (4) create finished plate. With the image in reverse, this plate receives ink in the recessed areas, which then transfers when the plate is pressed against paper under great pressure.

In fact, a technique called complex white-line engraving was used to produce the white trelliswork on the Penny Black. The two lathes developed by Spencer made possible this innovative technique, which allowed Perkins, Bacon to superimpose white lines on top of recessed colored lines.

In the early 1820s, knowledge of these methods was brought back to the United States by Toppan, Spencer and others. Unlike in England, the rose engine and straight-line lathe formed the foundation of the engraving techniques that were used to engrave the intricate white-line rosettes and trelliswork seen on the U.S. 3\& 1851 definitive.

Because the rose engine could not engrave effectively on a transfer roll, a modified "two roller" technique was devised. A very useful illustration by Granzow (Figure 63 in his Chapter 4), is essential for understanding his detailed explanation of this ground-breaking process.

In the two-roller method, as Granzow explains, "the design intended not to hold ink [i.e., the white lines of the lathe work, frames and lettering] is never in relief" during the two-roller process. "If it were, it would stand above the surface of the finished plate, making printing impossible." The importance of this observation cannot be overstated, because it corrects a long-standing misconception on the part many philatelic writers: namely that these intricate patterns seen on the $3 \mathbb{\$} 1851$ stamp were the result of Perkins’ original engraving process patented in 1819.

As Granzow emphasized in discussions with this reviewer, these findings represent "all new information developed after studying patents and reading primary sources. It was first necessary to understand how Perkins, Bacon accomplished their much more complex white-line engraving. Then the Toppan method became clear. This is the first time this concept has been published."

Other subjects in the book of relevance to collectors of classic U.S. stamps include: transfer presses (chapter 6), plate hardening (chapter 7), perforations (chapter 10) and softening and hardening of re-entry plates (chapter 12). Overall, this volume deserves space in the library of any serious student of the early line-engraved stamps of the United States.



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## THE COVER CORNER

## ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 236

Our problem cover from Chronicle 236 is shown as Figure 1. This is an undated, unstamped, commercially prepared, orange envelope postmarked at Lake Providence, Louisiana, and addressed to Aspinwall, Navy Bay, New Grenada. The date in the circular datestamp is "JAN 14 " and no year date is present. The cover bears a black handstamped straightline "PAID" marking and a black manuscript " 25 " cents rate notation. The questions were: What rate does this represent, and does it sufficiently pay a rate to New Grenada?


Figure 1. Our problem cover from the previous issue was this stampless envelope sent from Lake Providence, Louisiana, to "Aspinwall, Navy Bay, New Grenada." At Lake Providence, the cover was prepaid with 25\$ postage. The questions were: What rate does this prepayment represent and is the prepayment sufficient?

We received nearly identical answers from Route Agent Geoffrey Lewis and one other Society member who prefers to remain anonymous. The rate paid was $5 ¢$ for a single letter travelling under 300 miles (from Lake Providence to New Orleans) Louisiana and an additional 20\$ steamship rate from New Orleans to Aspinwall, on the Caribbean side of the Panama Isthmus. This would date the cover between 1848 and 1851. Payment of the domestic rate was unnecessary, but overpayments like this were not an uncommon practice.

## PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue is a fairly ordinary looking 3¢ Star Die envelope, with a black manuscript "Paid 3" in the upper right corner, a blue 31-millimeter "NASHVILLE TENN. MAR 20" circular datestamp over the franking, and a circular hand-stamped


Figure 2. Problem cover for this issue: Star Die envelope from Nashville to Mankato, Minnesota, marked "Paid 3" in manuscript and bearing a blue 31-millimeter "NASHVILLE TENN. MAR 20 " circular datestamp and matching blue "PAID 3 " in a circle. The questions are: Can this cover be year-dated, and is there special significance to the use?
"PAID 3" in matching blue at upper middle, addressed to Mankato, Minnesota. The questions posed are: Can this cover be year dated, and is there any special significance to this use? Hint: A close reading of this issue of the Chronicle might yield a helpful clue.

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