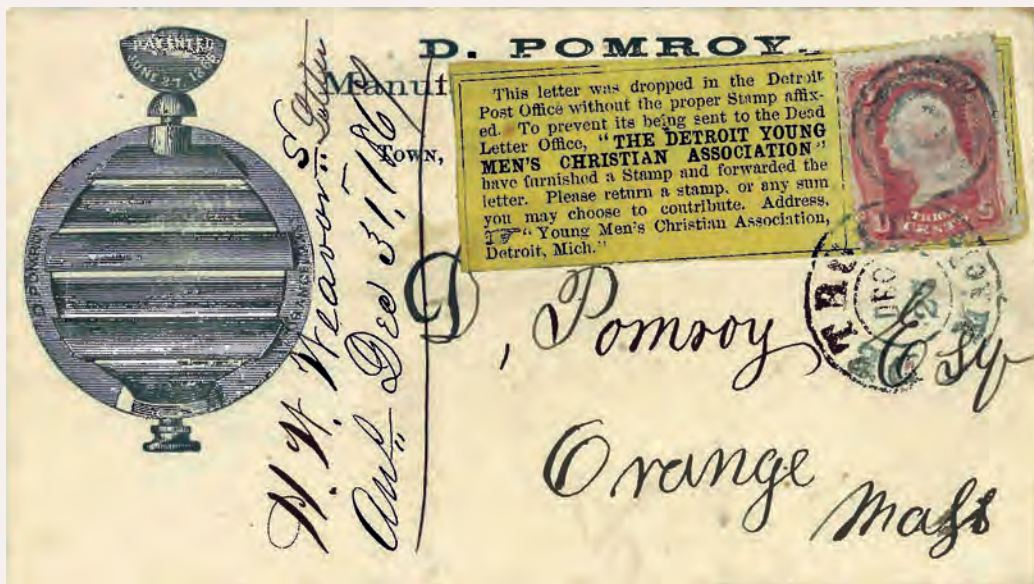


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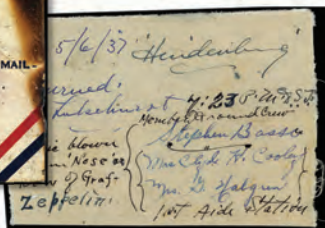
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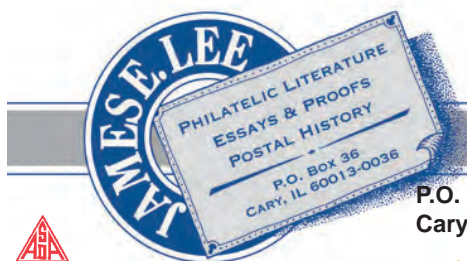
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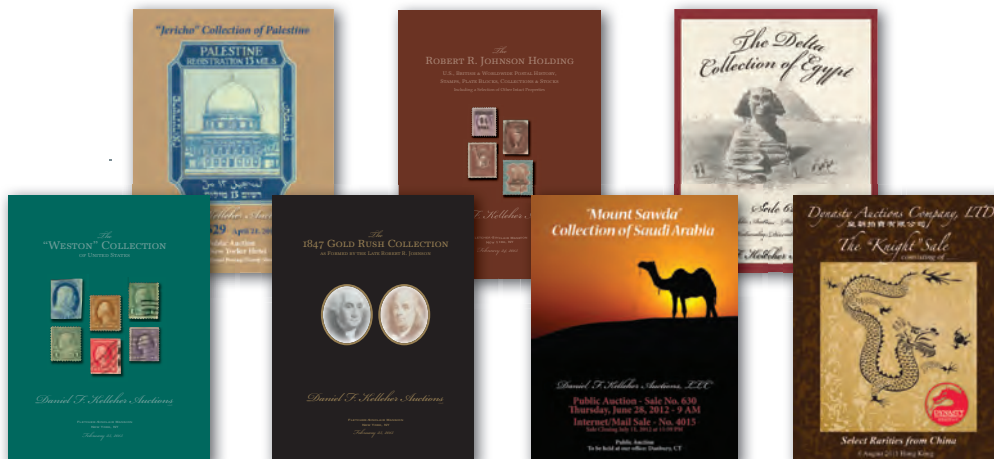
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IN THIS ISSUE: THE LAST WORD?

Collectors sometimes think a work of philatelic scholarship should represent the last word on the subject it discusses. But this is rarely the case. Scholarship is open and endless. We're very proud of our scholarship in the *Chronicle*, but often what we publish is not the last word but the first—or the second, or the third. Two very different articles in this issue exemplify this. Both were sparked by previous *Chronicle* articles by one author.

Back in 2001, in *Chronicle* 189, Irvin L. Heimburger published a provocative little article whose title posed a question: "Three 1869 15¢ Frame Types: Are They in Proper Sequence?" In *Chronicle* 233, Heimburger approached the same subject with another short article and another question: "Why Three 15¢ Stamp Types but Only Two Die Proofs?"

Questions cry out to be answered, and those articles (and others) prompted more investigation, by Route Agent Charles Neyhart. Some of Neyhart's research is summarized in his "1869 15¢ Dies" in our Essays and Proofs section this issue (page 175). But this isn't the last word either. You can be certain there's more to come on this interesting subject.

Just a year ago, in *Chronicle* 234, Heimburger turned from dies to postal history, with a listing of 1869 covers bearing Good Samaritan labels. Heimburger's article illustrated some of the more colorful of these covers and provided brief background on how their labels were used. In our 1861 section this issue, starting on page 160, Route Agent Daniel M. Knowles expands upon Heimburger's census with a listing of Good Samaritan covers from the decade of the 1860s—and reveals a great deal more. Extensive research into local newspapers, a resource that has become much more accessible in the age of digitization and digital search, enabled Knowles to discover the name and the circumstances of the New Jersey politician who dreamed up the Good Samaritan concept sometime in the late 1850s. Knowles traces the practice through to its demise, after the U.S. Post Office (which had originally supported the activity) slammed the door. We haven't heard the last word on this subject either, but we're getting much closer to a census of known surviving covers.

There's more in this issue as well. In our 1847 section, David D'Alessandris revisits a watershed *Chronicle* article on its 40th anniversary. His "1847 Covers to the Maritime Provinces: an Update" begins on page 135. In our Stampless section (page 114), James W. Milgram takes an extensive look at stampless covers prepaid at the transcontinental rates of 1851-55. Our 1851 section this time features two articles. A short piece by Gordon Eubanks and James A. Allen, starting on page 154, examines a twice-forwarded cover bearing three 3¢ orange-brown 1851 stamps from three different plates. And another article by Milgram (page 156) looks at various handstamped postal markings that were used at Fort Laramie (now Wyoming, then unorganized territory) in 1852.

Writing in our Foreign Mails section (page 183), Heinrich Conzelmann presents new information, much of it based on research done in German archives, about the handling and marking of insufficiently paid Bremen Mail covers during the 1847-53 era. And in our Officials section (page 181), Lester C. Lanphear III provides a show-and-tell about the only known cover franked with the Official stamps of two different government departments.

Our problem cover in the previous issue, a 3¢ Star Die envelope from Nashville, prompted more response, and more substantial information, than editor Greg Sutherland has ever before received. Read all about it, and ponder our problem cover for the current issue, in our Cover Corner section, page 197. ■

**PREPAID STAMPLESS COVERS
SHOWING 1851-55 TRANSCONTINENTAL RATES**

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Introduction

From the earliest colonial days it was common practice to send letters unpaid with the addressee paying the postage. With the advent of postage stamps in 1847 it became possible to require postage to be prepaid. The act of 3 March 1851 established different rates for paid and unpaid mail, a first step toward requiring that all mail be prepaid.

July 1, 1851 to April 1, 1855 was the transitional period. For distances up to 3,000 miles, the domestic letter rate during these four years was 3¢ per half ounce for prepaid mail and 5¢ cents per half ounce for mail sent postage due. For distances over 3,000 miles—which basically meant mail sent between the coasts—the rates were 6¢ for prepaid mail and 10¢ for mail sent postage due. Prepayment by stamps, while increasingly common, was not yet a requirement. Letters could still be prepaid in cash.

This article will show examples of stampless covers that prepay the transcontinental rate of 6¢ per half ounce. The covers shown in this article have been selected to demonstrate the various types of markings and uses that can be found, but the article is not intended as a comprehensive listing of the many different 6¢ rate markings that were employed during this era.

Earlier prepaid 6¢ rates

It is important to note that there were earlier 6¢ rates. Under the act of 9 April 1815, 6¢ was the domestic rate for a letter carried 30 miles or less. While such letters were most commonly sent postage due, there are plenty of covers showing a cash prepayment of 6¢. Rates on stampless covers during the 1825-45 period were for the most part handwritten. But one type of handstamp, the attached rate marking device of the 1830s, can show handstamped 6¢ rates, both paid and unpaid. Figure 1 shows a cover posted in 1832 from Whites-town, New York, to nearby to Rome. A “6” and “PAID” are attached to the Whitestown circular datestamp.

A handful of other towns used handstamped rate markings for the 6, 10, 12½, 18¾, and 25¢ rates of the 1825-45 period. Such markings became obsolete in 1845 when the uniform 5¢ and 10¢ rates were introduced. Figure 2 shows an example from one town, Versailles, Kentucky, that used large handstamped rate markings for the five different rates. Posted in 1833, the cover in Figure 2 shows “PAID” and “6” struck in red-brown ink. This red-brown ink can have a violet hue. Such markings from Versailles also exist in blue and black inks. The black is not listed, but that’s an error in the stampless cover catalog.

East to west single 6¢ rate

Before discussing transcontinental covers, it needs to be stated here that the transcontinental covers described in this article did not travel overland between the east coast and California. During the period under discussion, letters were dispatched by steamship from

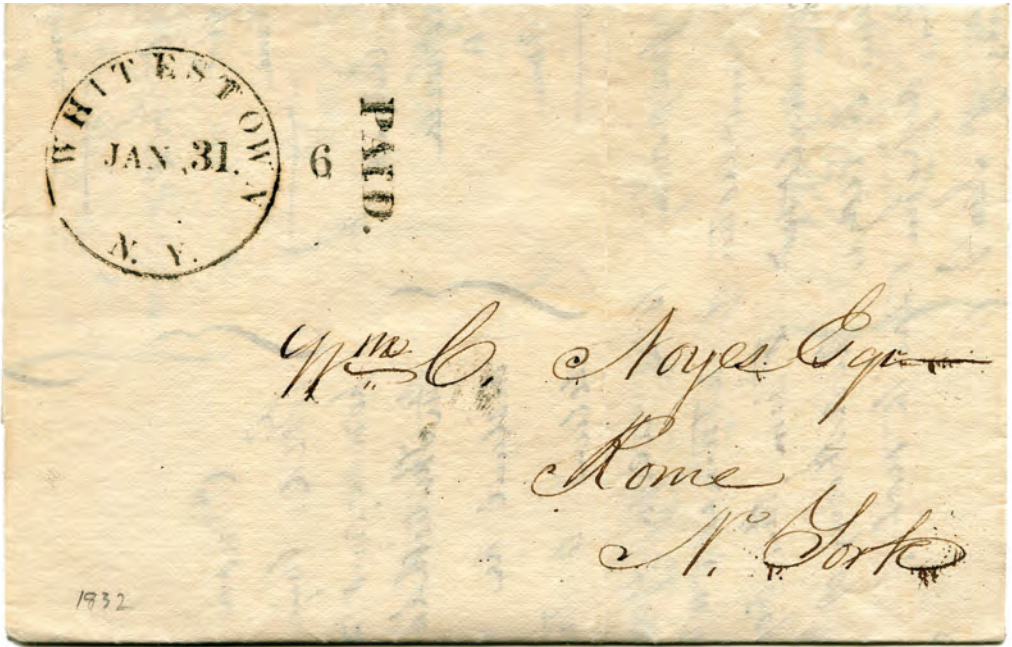


Figure 1. Not a transcontinental cover, but a prepaid 6 marking nonetheless: 1832 cover with “WHITESTOWN N.Y. JAN 31” with attached “6” and vertical “PAID,” all struck from the same handstamp, on a cover to nearby Rome, N.Y.



Figure 2. Another early “PAID” and “6,” here on a tiny 1833 cover from “VERSAILLES KY APR 4”, sent to nearby Jesamine City, Kentucky. During this era, Versailles used a number of oversized handstamped rate markings like this one, in several different colors.

New York to Panama and then by a second steamship from the Pacific side of Panama to San Francisco. West-to-east covers took the same route in reverse. The steamship lines had mail contracts and the mail they carried received no special postmarks at New York or San Francisco.

Single-rated east-to-west covers could be prepaid with two 3¢ stamps, but these are not the subject of this article. Prepaid stampless east-to-west covers, often envelopes during this period, were commonly rated “Paid 6” in manuscript. Both the town mark and the auxiliary rate markings could be handwritten, or the town mark could be handstamped with the rate marking applied in manuscript. Also, the “PAID” could be handstamped or hand-



Figure 3. Embossed lady's envelope with the transcontinental rate expressed by a handstamped "PAID" and manuscript "6". The county-named circular datestamp is unusual.



Figure 4. Transcontinental cover from Bennington, Vermont, to Foster's Bar, California, with "PAID" handstamped in blue and "Paid 6 cts" handwritten to the right.

written. An additional feature of these covers is that many of them were saved by California pioneers who were destined to go on to historical distinction. While the covers were ultimately dispersed to collectors, their contents are now preserved in various archives.

Figure 3 shows an embossed lady's envelope illustrating the typical handstamped "PAID" with manuscript "6". An unusual feature here is that the large town marking shows the county name too: "CAMPBELL'S MILLS, CON./WINDHAM CO./23 APR". A manuscript notation at the bottom of the envelope, in a different handwriting, directs the cover "by Express from San Francisco or Sacramento," but there is no indication what express company took the cover from the post office at San Francisco and carried it to the addressed town of "Yreka City."



Figure 5. Transcontinental cover from 1852 with a red “DETROIT Mich. OCT 19” circular datestamp and a matching “PAID 6” in an octagonal frame.

Figure 4 shows a transcontinental use from Bennington, Vermont, with “PAID” handstamped in blue and “Paid 6 cts” handwritten to the right. A very unusual feature is the printed address: “Chauncey P. Olds, Esq., Foster’s Bar, Yuba County, Cal.”

Handstamped “PAID 6” markings

The more interesting covers (in my view) have handstamped “PAID 6” markings. These were usually created for larger cities, but some smaller towns also employed such handstamps. Figure 5 shows an 1852 stampless cover with a red “DETROIT Mich. OCT 19” circular datestamp and a matching “PAID 6” in an octagonal frame. There’s also a faint manuscript “6” to the right of the octagonal handstamp. The addressee, John Meussdorffer, was a Bavarian-born hatter who walked from St. Louis to San Francisco in 1849 and became one of the city’s pioneer businessmen. His J. C. Meussdorffer Hat Manufacturing Company built branches all over the west coast and lasted into the 20th century. An archive of business letters to Meussdorffer survives in the California State Library.

A similar marking from New Orleans—“PAID 6” as a single handstamp—is shown in Figure 6. This cover bears a matching red “NEW ORLEANS La. OCT 6” circular datestamp (year not known) and is addressed to “Amos P. Catlin Esq.” at Mormon Island, California. Catlin was a New York lawyer who went out to the mines in 1849. He subsequently entered politics and as a state senator wrote the law that made Sacramento the capital of California.

The cover in Figure 7 also shows a red handstamped “PAID 6” but this cover, sent from Trenton (“TRENTON N.J. SEP 1”) to Woodville, New Jersey, a distance of about 30 miles, is anything but transcontinental. It represents a double domestic rate—but it’s highly likely that this handstamped “PAID 6” in a circle was used for covers to California too.

More commonly the “PAID” and the “6” were two separate handstamps. Figure 8 shows a cover to San Francisco with “DUXBURY Mass. MAY 2”, “PAID” and “6”. The manuscript “Paid 6” may have been written by the sender.

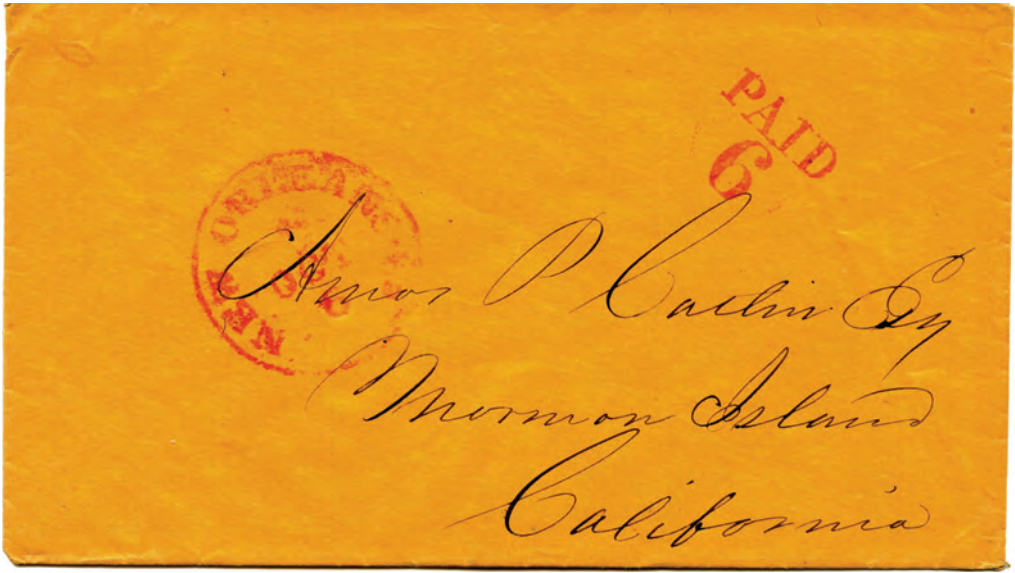


Figure 6. Red “NEW ORLEANS La. OCT 6” with separate handstamp “PAID 6” in two lines, on a cover sent to Mormon Island, California.



Figure 7. Blue “TRENTON N.J. SEP 1” with red “PAID 6” on a cover to Woodville, New Jersey. This is a local use on a double-weight 3¢ letter-rate cover, but the rate handstamp was probably created for use on transcontinental covers.

Figure 9 shows the same array of markings on a cover from Fishkill, New York, a small town then, with the circular datestamp and separate “PAID” and “6” handstamps all struck in blue. The addressee, Gilbert A. Grant, was another east-coast lawyer who went west in 1849. He was elected to the California state senate (as a Republican) in 1858.

Figure 10 shows a cover with “BIG STREAM POINT, N.Y. NOV 6” (1852) with arc “PAID” and a separate “6”. When this cover reached San Francisco it was forwarded to the addressee in Marysville, Yuba County, in accordance with directions written on cover

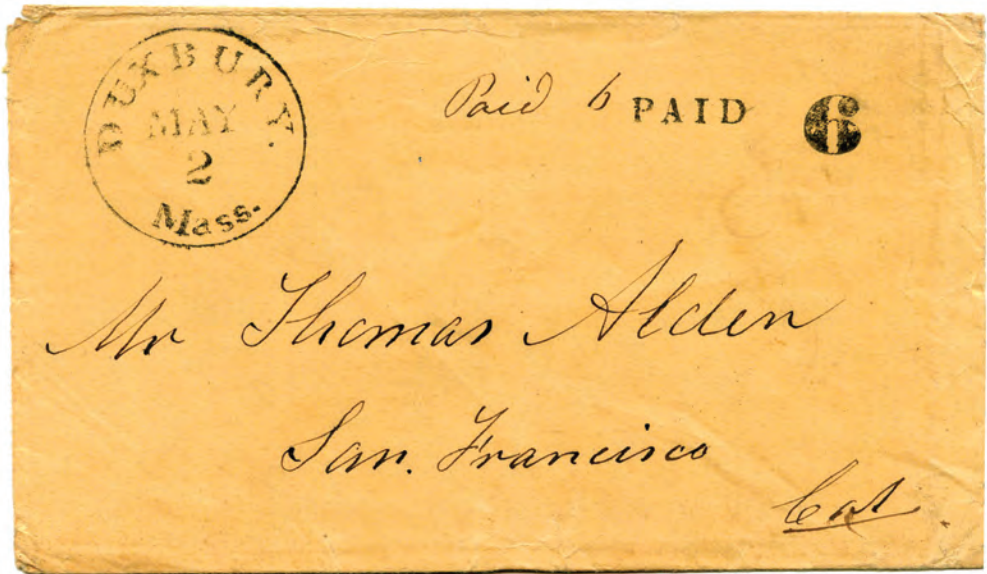


Figure 8. Handstamped “6” with separate handstamped “PAID” and “DUXBURY, Mass. MAY 2” on a cover addressed to San Francisco. The manuscript “Paid 6” may have been written by the sender.



Figure 9. Handstamped “6” with separate handstamped “PAID” and circular date-stamp (“FISHKILL N.Y. MAY 27”) all in matching blue, on a cover to San Francisco.

“To be forwarded by Everts & Co. Express to Onion Valley.” The cover was struck with the blue oval “EVERT SNELL & Cos./FEATHER RIVER/EXPRESS” and the pencil “1.50” at top right represents the express company charge. The addressee, Jesse H. Shuart, was yet another California pioneer. He went west in 1849, mined for a while, and then took up farming in Onion Valley, Calaveras County (where this letter reached him). Much of his

correspondence now reposes in the Western Americana Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale.

A few towns prepared integral rate markings with the 6¢ rate. Two examples are shown in Figure 11. The full cover in Figure 11 was sent to San Francisco in 1854, post-



Figure 10. Cover from “BIG STREAM POINT, N.Y. NOV 6” (1852) with arc “PAID” and a separate “6”, sent to San Francisco and forwarded via express to the addressee in Marysville, Yuba County.



Figure 11. New York City used an integral-rate marking to express the prepaid trans-continental rate. An example is shown here (“NEW YORK/ PAID 6/ FEB 6”) on an 1854 cover to San Francisco. Inset at top left is a similar integral rate marking from New Orleans, clipped electronically from an 1852 folded letter, also sent to San Francisco.



Figure 12. Integral-rate marking on a cover from Syracuse, New York (“SYRACUSE N.Y. MAY 20 6 PAID”), to Mormon Island, California, which also bears the fancy “PAID” in shield marking used at Syracuse during this era.

marked with a red “NEW YORK PAID 6 FEB 6.” The name of the ship *Georgia*, which carried the cover to Panama, is written to the left of the address. The addressee is Daniel Gibbs & Co., whose warehouse (now restored) still stands at the intersection of Front and Vallejo Streets in San Francisco’s Embarcadero area. Inset at top left in Figure 11 is a similar integral paid 6 marking from New Orleans, clipped electronically from an 1852 folded letter, also sent to San Francisco.

More unusual is the cover in Figure 12, addressed to “Mormon Island, Sacramento County, Upper Cal,” which shows an integral paid 6 circular datestamp used at Syracuse (“SYRACUSE N.Y. MAY 20 6 PAID”) and also bears the fancy “PAID” in shield marking used at Syracuse during this era.

Doubled “3” markings

In towns that did not have “Paid 6” markings, two “Paid 3” markings were sometimes used. The two covers overlapped in Figure 13 provide examples, both very cute. The lower cover, sent from West Swanzey, New Hampshire, to Columbia, California, shows two strikes of a red encircled paid 3 marking, obviously indicating that 6¢ was prepaid. The upper cover, sent from Bennington, Vermont, to Foster’s Bar, in Yuba County, California (compare with Figure 4), shows double strikes of a similar marking, this time in blue.

A variation of this treatment—two strikes of a “3” with separate “PAID”—is shown on the cover in Figure 14. This cover was sent from Ohio (“AKRON OHIO./JUL5”) to Sacramento in 1852 and the markings are struck in a vivid greenish blue. Note the docketing at lower left: “Answered the 22nd of September in Portland.” The addressee, Henry Yesler, was a millwright from Massillon, Ohio, who emigrated to California in 1851 and briefly worked the goldfields near Sacramento. Perceiving a demand for wood, he moved up to Washington Territory, borrowed money to build a steam-powered sawmill, and soon became a millionaire. He is regarded as the economic father of the city of Seattle, of which he was twice mayor.



Figure 13. Overlapped covers from Bennington, Vermont, and West Swanzy, New Hampshire, both showing double strikes of a "PAID 3" in circle, used (in the absence of a paid 6 marking) to indicate prepayment of the 6¢ transcontinental rate.



Figure 14. Here the 6¢ transcontinental rate is indicated by two strikes of a "3" with separate "PAID". Sent in 1852 from Akron ("AKRON OHIO./JUL5") to Sacramento.

Finally there are covers that show revalued markings. Figure 15 shows an 1852 cover from Kalamazoo, Michigan, to Sacramento (“KALAMAZOO Mic. DEC 9”) which was first struck, erroneously, with a two-line “PAID 3”. This was obliterated by a separate “6,” which was then struck again for clarity.

Also addressed to Sacramento, the cover in Figure 16 with “LOCKPORT ILL JUN 15” was first marked with a “PAID 3” in arch format. This was obliterated by a stamp killer grid. Then separate “PAID” and “6” handstamps were applied to indicate the correct



Figure 15. 1852 cover from Kalamazoo, Michigan (“KALAMAZOO Mic. DEC 9”), to Sacramento, initially struck erroneously with a two-line “PAID 3”. The “3” was then corrected with two strikes of “6” to show the proper rate.



Figure 16. This cover from “LOCKPORT ILL. JUN 15” to Sacramento was initially marked with a “PAID 3” in arch format. This marking was obliterated by a killer grid and the cover was re-rated with separate “PAID” and “6” handstamps to indicate the correct transcontinental rate.

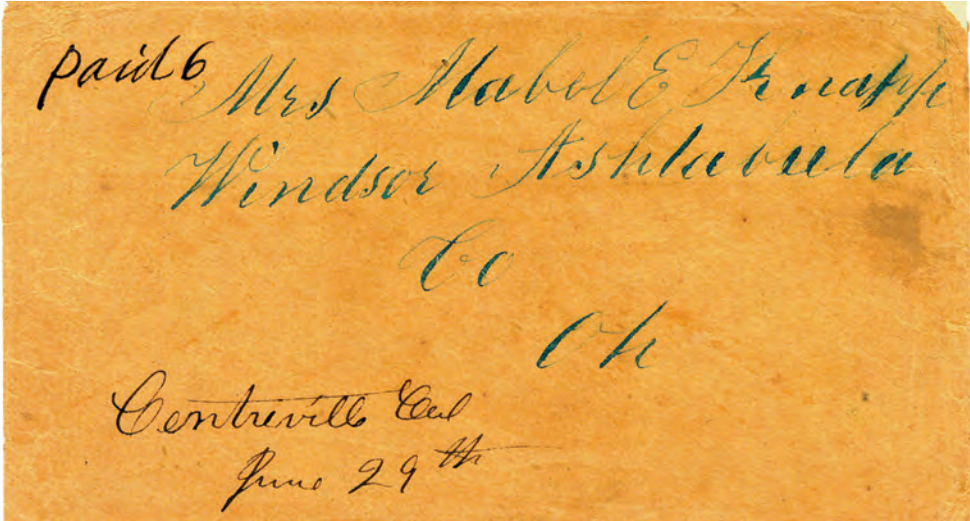


Figure 17. On this west-to-east cover at the 6¢ rate, all the markings are expressed in manuscript: “Centreville, Cal. Jun 29th” and “paid 6” to Windsor, Ohio.



Figure 18. From the same correspondence as Figure 17, this cover shows “MOUNTAIN SPRINGS, CAL. MAR 22” and a separate matching “PAID.” The transcontinental “6” rate is expressed in manuscript.

transcontinental rate. Note that even though both these covers originated in the midwest, they had to travel east to New York City to board the Panama steamers to take them to California. Letter mail did not routinely cross the country by land until the late 1850s, well after the 6¢ transcontinental rate had run its course.

West to east single 6¢ rate

There are more east-to-west postmarks than west-to-east, for the simple reason that there were fewer towns in the west. But the same type of postmark combinations can be found on eastbound covers.

Figure 17 shows an envelope, addressed to Windsor, Ohio, on which all the postmark

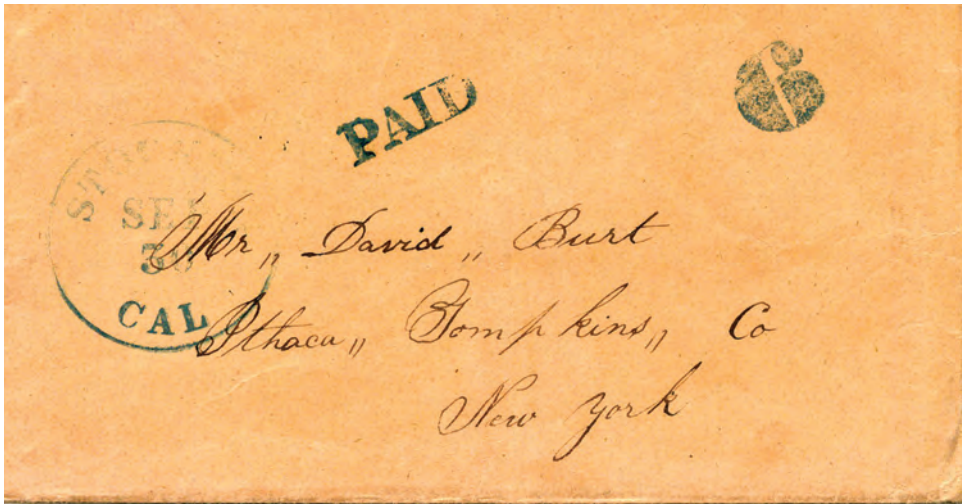


Figure 19. "STOCKTON CAL. SEP 30" with a separate "PAID" and an unusual "6," all in blue, on a transcontinental-rate cover to Ithaca, New York.



Figure 20. Oval postmark from "WEAVERVILLE CAL." with manuscript dating "Dec 12" and separate handstamped "PAID" and "6," on a cover to Jefferson City, Missouri. Despite the destination, this cover traveled via Panama and New York City.

information is expressed in manuscript: "Centreville Cal Jun 29th" and (at upper left) "Paid 6." From the same correspondence, Figure 18 shows the dramatic balloon "MOUNTAIN SPRINGS CAL. MAR 22" with matching "PAID" and a manuscript "6".

Separate handstamps for the "PAID" and "6" are shown from Stockton and Weaverville in Figures 19 and 20. The Figure 19 cover, from Stockton, is addressed to Ithaca, New York and shows a very unusual handstamped "6". The cover from Weaverville in Figure 20, with a distinctive oval townmark, went to Jefferson City, Missouri, in 1854. Jefferson City is midway between St. Louis and Kansas City, but this cover still had to journey via San Francisco and Panama to New York before heading westward to its destination.

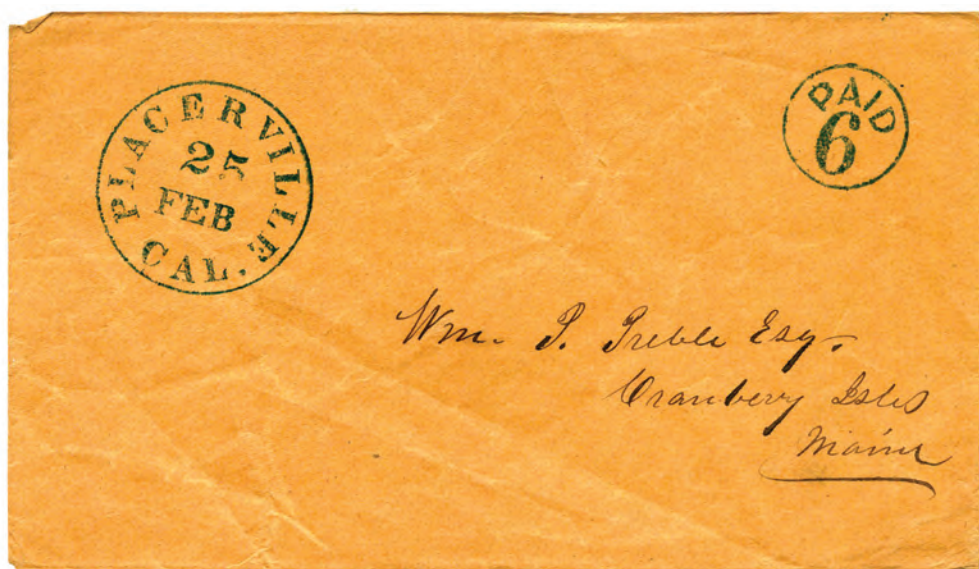


Figure 21. West-to-east single rate cover from “PLACERVILLE CAL. 25 FEB.” with circular “PAID 6” to Cranberry Isles, Maine.



Figure 22. Sacramento used the only fancy 6 rating mark, with shading to suggest three dimensions. With matching “PAID”, this cover was posted at “SACRAMENTO CITY CAL. 31 DEC” (1851) and sent to Caledonia, Missouri.

The cover in Figure 21 bears a handsome “PLACERVILLE CAL. 25 FEB” in blue and a matching encircled “PAID 6”. The cover is addressed to “Cranberry Isles, Maine,” in what is now the Acadia National Park region,

Sacramento at first used a separate straightline “PAID” with a fancy “6” marking, as shown on the 1851 cover in Figure 22, addressed to Caledonia, Missouri. This Sacramento numeral “6”, shaded so as to suggest three dimensions, is the only fancy “6” rating mark that I have seen on transcontinental stampless covers. The circular datestamp reads “SACRAMENTO CITY Cal. 31 DEC”.

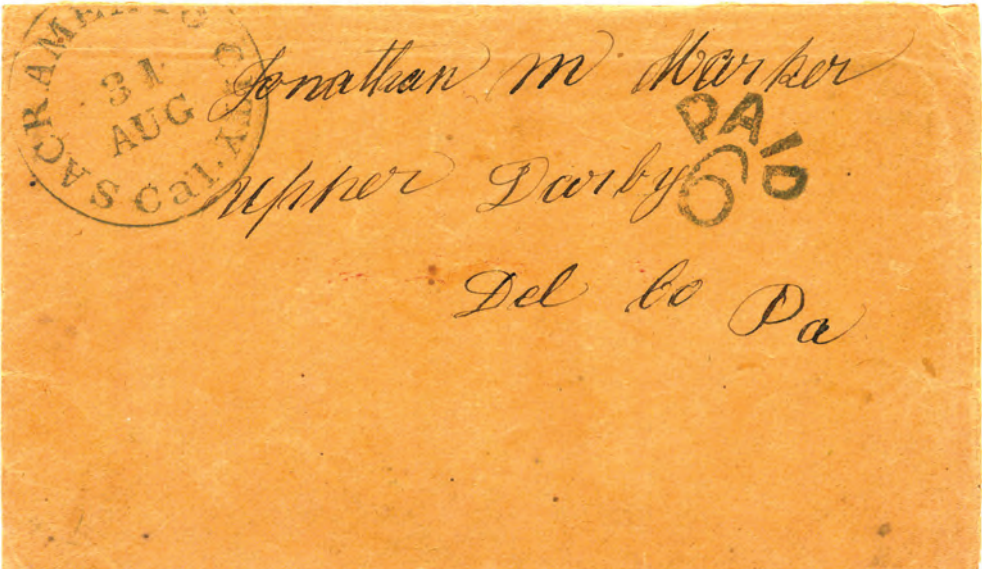


Figure 23. The very unusual “PAID 6” on this cover from Sacramento to Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, has the letters curved around the numeral. The circular datestamp reads SACRAMENTO CITY Cal. 31 AUG,” year not known.



Figure 24. San Francisco was one of a few California towns to use an integral PAID 6 marking. The strike on this cover (“SAN FRANCISCO CAL/PAID 6”) is blue, but this marking can also be found in red and black inks.

Figure 23 shows the same Sacramento circular datestamp, in this case “SACRAMENTO CITY Cal. 31 AUG” on a cover to Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, but on this cover the prepayment is indicated by a very unusual “PAID 6” with the letters curved around the top of the numeral.

Only a handful of California towns used integral rate markings on transcontinental stampless covers. Figure 24 shows a cover from San Francisco to Albany, New York, on which the San Francisco marking contains “PAID 6” within the circular datestamp. In addition to the blue strike shown here, this marking is also found in red and in black.

East to west double rate (12¢)

Only a few towns prepared handstamped 12 markings for the double rate. A nice circular “PAID 12” with “NEWPORT R.I. AUG 18” addressed to San Francisco is shown in Figure 25.

A very rare unlisted use with the small town postmark “MONMOUTH ME. APR 17” is shown in Figure 26 with separate “PAID” and “12” handstamps.

Probably the most common 12 handstamp is the one from Boston shown in Figure 27. This cover has red “BOSTON Mass JUL 3”, “PAID” and “12” handstamps. (On reverse



Figure 25. Sent to San Francisco from Newport, (“NEWPORT R.I. AUG 18”) this cover shows a circled “PAID 12” marking to indicate the double prepaid rate.



Figure 26. On this cover from Monmouth, Maine, to Columbia, California, the double transcontinental rate is handstamped with a separate “PAID” and smaller “12”.



Figure 27. Double rate east-to-west cover forwarded within California. The markings of the originating office are in red: “BOSTON Ms JUL 3,” with matching “12” for the double rate and “PAID” to show prepayment. San Francisco’s markings are in black: the “SAN FRANCISCO 14 AUG” circular datestamp and the “5” corrected to “10” to reflect the unpaid charge for a double-rate letter from San Francisco to Sonora.



Figure 28. From early in the rate period, 1851 or 1852, this double-rate west-to-east cover from San Francisco to New York shows a crude “Pd 12” and “SAN FRANCISCO CAL. 1 AUG.” The “Pd 12” marking is very rare.

is a notation to “Charge Box H,” a reference to a Boston post office box account.) When the cover reached San Francisco it was forwarded to Sonora. The postal clerk originally marked it “5” but then realized his mistake. He crossed out the “5” and rerated the cover to “10”, the correct double rate for an unpaid letter traveling less than 3,000 miles.

West to east double 12¢ rate

San Francisco used at least two separate postal markings for the prepaid double rate to the East Coast rate. Figure 28 shows a very rare crude “Pd 12” in black with “SAN FRANCISCO CAL. 1 AUG”. The year date is not evident but this must be early in this rate period, either 1851 or 1852. The red manuscript “12” was presumably applied in New York, the destination.



Figure 29. Double-rate west-to-east covers: At top, blue “SAN FRANCISCO CAL. 1 OCT” with “PAID” and “12” to Albany, New York. Below, blue “STOCKTON CAL APR 15” and an attractive “PAID 12” in circle on cover to Jacksonville, Illinois.

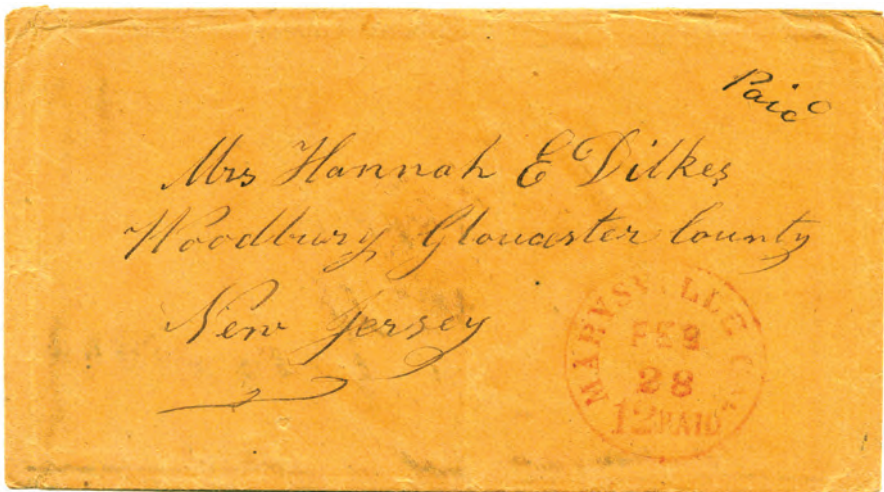


Figure 30. Marysville, California, created an integral-rate marking for double-weight transcontinental covers. The marking (“MARYSVILLE CAL. FEB 28 12 PAID”) is here struck on a cover addressed to Woodbury, New Jersey.

Figure 29 shows, overlapped, two covers from later in this era. The cover at top, addressed to Albany, New York, shows blue “SAN FRANCISCO CAL. 1 OCT”, “PAID” and “12” as three separate handstamps. The attractive cover at bottom, sent to Jacksonville, Illinois, shows a blue “STOCKTON CAL. APR 15” and matching “PAID 12” in circle. This Stockton “PAID 12” is one of the most appealing of the paid 12 rating marks. The addressee, Newton Bateman, was a prominent Illinois educator who was for many years president of Knox College.

Our final illustration, Figure 30, shows an integral PAID 12 from Marysville, California (“MARYSVILLE CAL. FEB 28 12 PAID”) on a cover to Woodbury, New Jersey. This must be a very scarce marking. Marysville also used an integral PAID 6 marking between 1853 and 1855.

As noted, the covers shown here were selected to demonstrate the many types of usages that can be found at the prepaid 6¢ transcontinental rate. One could write a similar article about unpaid 10¢-rated covers, but the covers are not as varied. Double-rate covers (rated at 20¢) also exist from large cities. ■

ADDENDUM: POINTING HAND MARKINGS

As happens all too frequently, while my recent article on pointing hand postmarks on stampless covers was being printed (*Chronicle* 236, pp. 290-302), a long-missing marking from Concord, New Hampshire, showed up in a Kelleher auction (October, 2012). I had listed this marking in the tabular data accompanying my article, but could not then provide an illustration. So here it is now, shown as Figure 1, a very pretty item—two excellent strikes of Concord’s finely detailed pointing-hand-with-paid marking on an 1831 cover prepaid 18¾¢ for the 150-400 mile rate between Concord and Schenectady. Did I get the cover? Alas, no. I submitted what I thought was a strong bid, but someone else was bolder.

At the APS show in Louisville, I secured a scan of the Enfield, Mass., pointing hand from 1830. As with Figure 1, this marking was listed but not illustrated in my article. An image of the Enfield cover is presented in Figure 2. The date is March 12, 1830, and the cover is rated for a prepayment of 10¢ for a distance of 30 to 80 miles. This Enfield marking may be unique. It is the smallest pointing hand I have seen and one of very few to appear on a cover bearing a straightline town marking. The Massachusetts town of Enfield no longer exists; in the late 1930s it was submerged beneath the Quabbin Reservoir.



Figure 1. Two crisp strikes of a marking showing a very finely detailed pointing hand, with “PAID”, along with an oval “CONCORD N.H. OCT 29” on an 1831 cover from Concord to Schenectady.



Figure 2. Tiny pointing hand plus “PAID” on a cover from Enfield, Mass., dated March 12 [1830] and rated for a prepayment of 10¢ for carriage to Oxford, Mass.

Also for this same article, two corrections: (1) I failed to list a pointing-hand marking from York C.H., South Carolina. This is listed in the current stampless cover catalog but I missed it. Route agent Harvey Teal called this to my attention. The catalog listing is in black, but the example in Teal’s collection, on the 1829 cover to New Haven shown in Figure 3, is boldly struck in red. And (2) my information regarding pointing-hand PAID markings from North Carolina was garbled. I listed two different markings used at Fayette, N.C. and one other used at Fayetteville, N.C. But “Fayette” was an abbreviation for the Fayetteville post office, used in markings from that town in early years. Only one postmark with the pointing hand leading away from PAID was used at Fayetteville and it appears with each type of circular datestamp. An example used with the earlier, abbreviated circular datestamp was shown in Figure 2 of my article (*Chronicle* 236, pg. 292). Thanks to Richard Winter for providing this information.—J.M. ■



Figure 3. Pointing hand marking from York Court House, South Carolina, on a cover posted Jan. 11, 1829, and sent to New Haven, Connecticut. Image courtesy of Harvey Teal.

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Mittineague Mass, "Union" Incised Star (Skinner-Eno ST-C 15). One of the finest known strikes of this rare cancel, Ex-Eno. **Realized \$3,738.**



"Louisville & St. Louis Mail Route", Well struck fancy blue shield ties 3c (11A) on cover to Boston. Extremely Fine cover and strike. **Realized \$3,738.**



Eagle Mills NY, "Bare Foot", bold strike ties 2¢ green (213), A Very Fine and scarce example of this fancy cancel. **Realized \$2,415.**



New York NY, "Seeing Eye" on Hanover Fire Ins. patriotic corner card. **Realized \$4,600.**



1847, 10¢ black (Scott 2) A striking GEM quality stamp with oversized margins and fabulous rich color, a tremendous showpiece. **Realized \$3,304.**



1847, 5¢ dark brown An extraordinary example of the dark brown color variety, large perfectly balanced margins. **Realized \$1,298.**



Granger, Ind., "G" in Hand, clear bold strike ties 1¢ ultramarine, 2¢ brown (156, 157) on cover to Adrian Mich., ex. Baker. **Realized \$1,265.**



1890, 6¢ brown red (Scott 224), bottom left corner margin single, o.g., never hinged, fantastic showpiece, simply spectacular. **Realized \$1,840.**



1895 Boston "Eagle & Thunderbolts" Machine Cancel. **Realized \$2,300.**



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1847 COVERS TO THE MARITIME PROVINCES: AN UPDATE

DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

Forty years ago this month, in *Chronicle* 78 (May 1973), Creighton C. Hart published an article titled "1847 Covers to the Maritime Provinces." This article updates Hart's work. While Hart's article is still a solid piece of research, he appears to have made a significant error in declaring as fakes two 1847-issue mixed-franking covers to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The Maritime Provinces were not part of Canada during the period of use of the 1847 stamps. In fact, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia did not confederate with Canada until July 1, 1867. Prince Edward Island did not confederate with Canada until July 1, 1873. Newfoundland, which confederated with Canada on March 31, 1949, is not one of the Maritime Provinces. Rather, Newfoundland is considered to be part of Atlantic Canada. Hart noted that there were no 1847 covers reported to Newfoundland, and none have turned up in the last 40 years.

Although Canada is the most common foreign destination for covers bearing the 1847 stamps, mail to the Maritimes is far less common. Thomas Alexander's *The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census* lists 732 foreign-destination covers, with 414 of those covers (57 percent) addressed to Canada. Thus, there are more 1847 covers to Canada than to all other foreign destinations combined. However, Alexander lists only 40 covers to Nova Scotia, 11 covers to New Brunswick, and three covers to Prince Edward Island. (Hart had listed 25, 8 and three.) After eliminating some duplicates and fakes from the Alexander listing, and adding newly reported material, this article increases the listing slightly, though it does not change the relative scarcity of the covers. The current listing, presented in tabular form as Appendix A at the conclusion of this article, consists of 42 covers to Nova Scotia, 13 to New Brunswick and three to Prince Edward Island.¹

In addition to being less common, covers to the Maritime Province covers enjoy greater collector demand than covers to Canada, because covers to the Maritime Provinces travelled by various routes: by land, by non-contract ship, and by Cunard Line packet. By contrast, Hart noted that all the 1847 covers to Canada were sent by land. (This was not entirely correct as some letters were sent by inland waterways, such as the Lake Champlain mail route.) Hart also noted that during the period of the 1847 stamps, the Maritime Provinces were the only foreign destinations to which it was possible to send letters by land or by sea.

One key distinction between mail to the Maritime Provinces and mail to Canada is that the United States did not enter into a postal agreement with the Maritime Provinces until July 6, 1851—six days after the 1847 stamps were demonetized. Thus, unlike 1847 covers to Canada, it was not possible to pay a through rate to the Maritime Provinces with 1847 stamps. This results in a greater abundance of interesting postal markings.

Another difference between the Maritime Provinces and Canada is that 1847 stamps were not widely used from the Maritimes. Only four genuine covers bearing 1847 stamps are recorded *from* the Maritime Provinces. These are listed in Appendix B at the conclusion of this article. A likely explanation for this relative scarcity is that Canadians were accustomed to prepaying United States postage on letters to England sent via the United States. However, mail from the Maritime Provinces to England was invariably sent via Halifax,

and thus did not pass through the United States postal system. Similarly, stampless mail to the United States was rarely prepaid from the Maritime Provinces.

Land mail

New Brunswick is the only Maritime Province to share a land border with the United States. Land mail from the United States was sent through New Brunswick to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. The primary exchange office for mail sent by land between the United States and the Maritime Provinces was Robbinston, Maine, which exchanged with St. Andrews, New Brunswick. These offices, located on opposite sides of the St. Croix River, began exchanging mail with the establishment of the St. Andrews office in 1818. Prior to this date, all mail was exchanged by private ship, with the exception of letters carried by the monthly Falmouth packets. There was a second land-mail exchange office during the 1847 issue period: Houlton, Maine, exchanged with Woodstock, New Brunswick. However, no 1847 covers are recorded that passed through the Houlton exchange office.

Land-mail covers to the Maritime Provinces could be sent paid or unpaid, and were charged based upon the distance to the Robbinston exchange office. The Maritime Provinces charged their ordinary inland postage from the exchange office to destination. The Maritime Province inland rates were based upon distance. The rates expressed in British pounds sterling (stg.) and New Brunswick currency (cy.) were as follows: Up to 60 miles—4d stg. (4½d cy.); 61 to 100 miles—6d stg. (7d cy.); 101 to 200 miles—8d stg. (9d cy.); 201 to 300 miles—10d stg. (11½ cy.); 301 to 400 miles—1s stg. (1s1½d cy.); 401 to 500 miles—1s2d stg. (1s4d cy.).

The land-mail rate in the United States was 5¢ for distances under 300 miles and 10¢ for distances over 300 miles. Figure 1 is a land-mail cover to Wallace, Nova Scotia, on which a 10¢ 1847 stamp prepays the rate for a distance over 300 miles to Robbinston, Maine. The cover originated in Philadelphia on June 20, 1850, and is endorsed at upper left



Figure 1. June 20, 1850, cover from Philadelphia sent by the land mail route to Nova Scotia. The 10¢ 1847 stamp paid domestic postage to the exchange office in Robbinston, Maine. The recipient was charged 1 shilling 1½ pence currency for postage from St. Andrews, New Brunswick, to Wallace, Nova Scotia. Image courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.

“paid to [the] lines” signifying that the United States postage was paid to the border. Note the endorsement below the stamp: “mail via Robbinstown [sic] Maine.”

The squiggle at top center is the Maritime Province rate marking indicating 1 shilling 1½ pence currency (1 shilling stg.) due from the recipient, representing postage for the distance of 301 to 400 miles between St. Andrews, New Brunswick and Wallace, Nova Scotia. On land-mail covers and private-ship letters, the postage due is always marked in currency. Packet letters, depending on the date, may be rated in sterling or in currency.

Non-contract ship letters

Only two non-contract ship letters to the Maritime Provinces are recorded franked by 1847 stamps. In addition, there is one non-contract ship letter from the Maritimes to the United States. All three of these letters were carried on the coastal steamboats operating between Boston and Saint John, New Brunswick. The private ship letters to the Maritime Provinces, one to Nova Scotia and one to Prince Edward Island, both entered the Maritime Province mails at Saint John. The cover from the Maritimes, almost certainly from Saint John, entered the mails at Eastport.

Scheduled steamboat service from Boston to Saint John began in the 1830s, and by the mid-1840s, express companies were carrying mail and packages on the steamboats.² Beginning in September 1845, the United States Post Office authorized route agents, referred to as Steamboat Letter Carriers, to operate on the Boston to Saint John steamboats. However, they were only authorized to operate on the domestic portion of the route, that is, between Boston and Eastport, Maine. The Steamboat Letter Carriers were eventually authorized to operate to Saint John; but that did not occur until 1853, long after the 1847 stamps had been replaced by the 1851 issue.

Precisely how these private ship letters to the Maritime Provinces were handled in the United States postal system remains unclear. The letters were transported by the United States postal system, but then left the postal system to be carried by a non-contract ship to Saint John, where they entered the New Brunswick post office as ship letters. There are no endorsements on the letters requesting this routing. In addition to the stamp-bearing covers, there are at least five stampless covers that followed this unusual routing.³ Like the two 1847 covers described below, the majority of the stampless covers have route-agent origin markings. Thus, it may be these were loose letters that the route agents handed off to the Steamboat Letter Carriers at the docks in Boston. As many of the Steamboat Letter Carriers were also expressmen, they may have carried the letters to Saint John against post office procedure as a favor to the other route agents.

Figure 2 is one of the two recorded private ship letters franked with 1847 stamps and sent to the Maritime Provinces. The cover is a folded outer letter sheet with no contents, so the origin is unknown. A Whitehall, New York, “STEAM•BOAT” route agent marking is struck at top center, indicating that the letter originated somewhere along the Lake Champlain mail route between St. John, Lower Canada and Whitehall, New York.⁴ A vertical pair of 5¢ 1847 stamps pays the rate for a distance over 300 miles from origin to Eastport, Maine. At Eastport, the cover was transferred to another steamboat to Saint John.⁵ At Saint John, the letter was marked as an incoming ship letter, and rated 1 shilling 4d cy. for carriage to Pictou, Nova Scotia. The rating was comprised of 11½d cy. for a distance of 201-300 miles from Saint John to Pictou, plus a 4½d cy. ship-letter fee.

Cunard Line packet

The most interesting of the covers to the Maritime Provinces are those carried by the Cunard Line to Halifax. Beginning in 1840, the Cunard Line began transatlantic service between Liverpool and Boston, stopping in Halifax in both directions. While the Cunard transatlantic service is well known, the service between Halifax and the United States was



Figure 2. This July 9, 1849, cover originated on the Lake Champlain mail route, with a Whitehall, New York “STEAM-BOAT” route-agent marking. The pair of 5¢ 1847 stamps paid the domestic letter rate to Eastport, Maine. The letter was carried out of the mails from Eastport to Saint John, New Brunswick, where it was treated as an incoming ship letter, and rated 1 shilling 4d cy. for carriage to Pictou, Nova Scotia.



Figure 3. October 13, 1847, cover from Baltimore sent by the Cunard Line packet route to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The 10¢ 1847 stamp paid the domestic postage to the packet port in Boston. The recipient was charged 1 shilling sterling packet postage. Image courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.

never covered by the United States–United Kingdom postal treaty, and was not listed in any official postal publications during the lifetime of the 1847 stamps. In fact, the route was not listed in the *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* until August, 1863,⁶ and was not listed in the *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America* until the 1866 edition.⁷ This lack of published information is critical to understanding the controversial combination covers to Nova Scotia discussed below.

In January 1848, the Cunard Line began operating a second transatlantic route be-

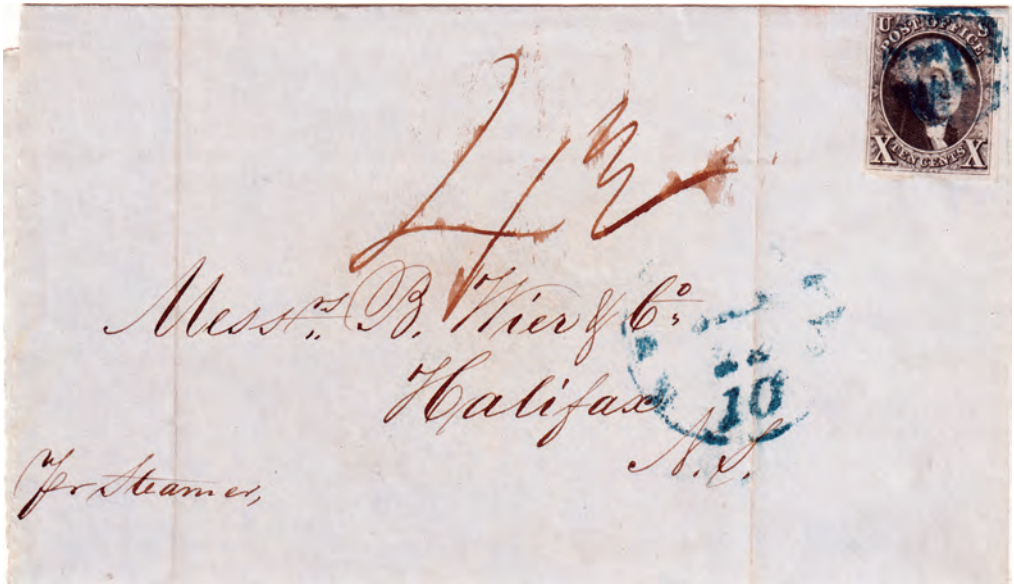


Figure 4. January 22, 1850, cover from Philadelphia sent by the Cunard Line packet route to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The 10¢ 1847 stamp overpaid the domestic postage to New York. The recipient was charged 4½d cy. (4d stg.) packet postage.

tween Liverpool and New York. Like the Liverpool to Boston route, the Liverpool to New York steamers stopped en route in both directions in Halifax. However, by September 1850, Cunard stopped calling at Halifax on the Liverpool to New York route, probably to increase the speed of the crossing to better compete with United States steamship lines.

As noted, the Cunard packet mail to Halifax was never covered by the postal treaty with the United Kingdom. Thus, the postage rates on Cunard-line covers from the United States consisted of three parts: ordinary United States inland postage to the departure port (New York or Boston); British packet postage; and any inland Nova Scotia postage on letters addressed beyond Halifax. The British packet postage, always paid by the recipient in Nova Scotia, was 1 shilling sterling prior to September 20, 1849. Figure 3 is an example of a packet cover sent during the 1 shilling sterling rate period. The 10¢ 1847 stamp pays the domestic postage for the distance (over 300) miles from Baltimore to Boston. The cover was posted October 13, 1847, and arrived in Boston in time for the October 16 sailing of the Cunard Line *Hibernia*. The cover was rated 1 shilling sterling due for the packet postage. Being addressed to Halifax, it was not charged Nova Scotia inland postage.

Beginning on September 20, 1849, Great Britain reduced the packet postage charged on letters from Halifax to the United States to 4d stg. (4½d cy.). As these mails were not covered by the treaty between the United States and the United Kingdom, this change did not require modification of the postal treaty. Figure 4 is a cover sent after the reduction in the packet rate. The cover originated in Philadelphia on January 22, 1850. The 10¢ 1847 stamp overpays the 5¢ rate for the distance (under 300 miles) to New York. The sender may have thought the next Cunard packet was departing from Boston, which would require 10¢ postage for a distance over 300 miles; or he may have prepaid the cover for overland carriage to the exchange office, in case the letter missed the sailing of the *Canada* from New York on January 23 (the following day).

The cover reached New York in time for the January 23, 1850 sailing of the Cunard Line *Canada*, and arrived in Halifax on January 26, 1850. The cover was rated 4½d currency [4d sterling] packet postage and there was no Nova Scotia inland postage as the letter

was addressed to Halifax. During the 1 shilling rate period, the amount due was expressed in sterling; however, during the 4d rate period, the amount due was expressed in currency. A possible explanation is that covers to Great Britain and covers to Halifax were both charged the same amount during the 1 shilling rate period. Thus, it was easy for the postal clerk to mark 1 shilling on each letter, regardless of destination. During the 4d rate period, letters to Great Britain and Halifax were charged different rates, and the postal clerks may have conformed to the Maritime Province convention of expressing postage due in currency.

New Brunswick

There are 13 1847 covers recorded to New Brunswick. There are also three covers recorded from New Brunswick to the United States. (At least one other 1847 cover from New Brunswick has a bad opinion from the Philatelic Foundation; faked covers are not included in the accompanying listings.) Of the 13 covers to New Brunswick, three are known to be cover fronts only. The fronts are all part of the same correspondence addressed to Henry Gilbert in Saint John, New Brunswick. There is a fourth cover addressed to Henry Gilbert, dated February 1, unknown year, that is also likely a front, since no year date is reported. The Maritime Provinces routinely struck transit markings, including year dates, on all mail, so the year date for covers to the Maritime Provinces is normally readily determinable. There are seven reported 5¢ covers to New Brunswick, including the two cover fronts. Another cover, not listed here, has lost its stamps over the years.⁸ There are six 10¢ covers reported; at least one and more likely two of these are fronts only.

Addressed to St. George, New Brunswick, Figure 5 is the only reported 5¢ rate land-mail cover to the Maritime Provinces. Given Robbinston's location in eastern Maine, the 300-mile rate boundary fell just south of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The major commercial centers were all more than 300 miles from the Robbinston exchange office and thus required 10¢ postage. The cover in Figure 5 entered the mails at Eastport, Maine on July



Figure 5. July 14, 1848, cover from Eastport, Maine, sent by land to St. George, New Brunswick. The 5¢ 1847 paid the domestic postage to Robbinston, Maine. The recipient was charged 4½d cy. for postage from St. Andrews to St. George.



Figure 6. April 5 “U. S. EXPRESS MAIL N.Y.” origin marking on cover front sent by land to Saint John, New Brunswick. The 5¢ 1847 stamp underpaid the domestic postage to Robbinston, Maine, and the cover was marked “5 Due.” But the recipient paid only the normal 7d postage from St. Andrews to Saint John.

14, 1848, with a 5¢ brown 1847 stamp paying the 5¢ rate to Robbinston. The cover was rated 4½d cy. due for a distance up to 60 miles from the St. Andrews exchange office to St. George.

Figure 6 is the only other land-mail cover with 5¢ postage, rather than 10¢. This cover front has a “U.S. Express Mail N.Y.” route-agent origin marking, dated April 5. The year is not known. The 5¢ dark brown 1847 partially pays the 10¢ rate to Robbinston, Maine. The cover was rated “5 Due” in manuscript, but this deficiency was not collected in New Brunswick, as the cover was rated 7d cy. due to Saint John, New Brunswick, the ordinary postage for a distance of 61-100 miles. In describing this cover, Hart stated that there was no way to collect the 5¢ due.⁹ However, during this period, letters from the United States could be sent paid to the lines, or entirely unpaid.¹⁰ There is no logical reason why the New Brunswick post office would be able to collect the entire amount of United States postage due on a letter, but be unable to collect partial postage due.

Figure 7 is another interesting land-mail cover, discussed but not illustrated by Hart. It is a part-printed circular originating in Liverpool, United Kingdom, January 1, 1848, and carried out of the mails on the Cunard Line *Cambria* to New York. At New York, a forwarder applied the 10¢ 1847 stamp to pay the land-mail rate for a distance over 300 miles to the Robbinston exchange office. After crossing to St. Andrews, the cover was rated 7d cy. due for the distance (between 61 and 100 miles) from St. Andrews to Saint John.

Figure 8 is an interesting cover, originating in the Maritime Provinces and sent via the United States to Upper Canada, with U.S. postage applied at the point of origin. The precise origin is unknown, but it was almost certainly Saint John, New Brunswick, or one of the nearby towns. At this time there was scheduled steamship service between Saint John and Eastport, Maine, on the *Maid of Erin*. The Figure 8 cover entered the mails at Eastport, Maine on September 10, 1850, franked with a 10¢ 1847 stamp. At Eastport it was rated 2¢



Figure 7. January 20, 1848, cover originating in Liverpool and carried privately on the Cunard packet to New York City, where a forwarder applied the 10¢ 1847 stamp, which paid U.S. domestic postage to the exchange office at Robbinston, Maine. The letter was carried by land to Saint John, New Brunswick, where the recipient was charged 7d cy. for postage from St. Andrews to Saint John.



Figure 8. September 10, 1850, cover likely originating in Saint John, New Brunswick, and addressed to "Hamilton, Canada West." The cover entered the mails as a ship letter at Eastport, Maine. Image courtesy of Siegel Auction Galleries.

due as a ship letter. The 10¢ stamp paid the U.S. domestic letter rate (for a distance over 300 miles) to the lines at Lewiston, New York, which exchanged with Queenston, Upper Canada. At Queenston, the cover was rated 4½d cy. due for a distance of up to 60 miles from Queenston to Hamilton. Note the amount due does not include the 2¢ ship-letter fee.

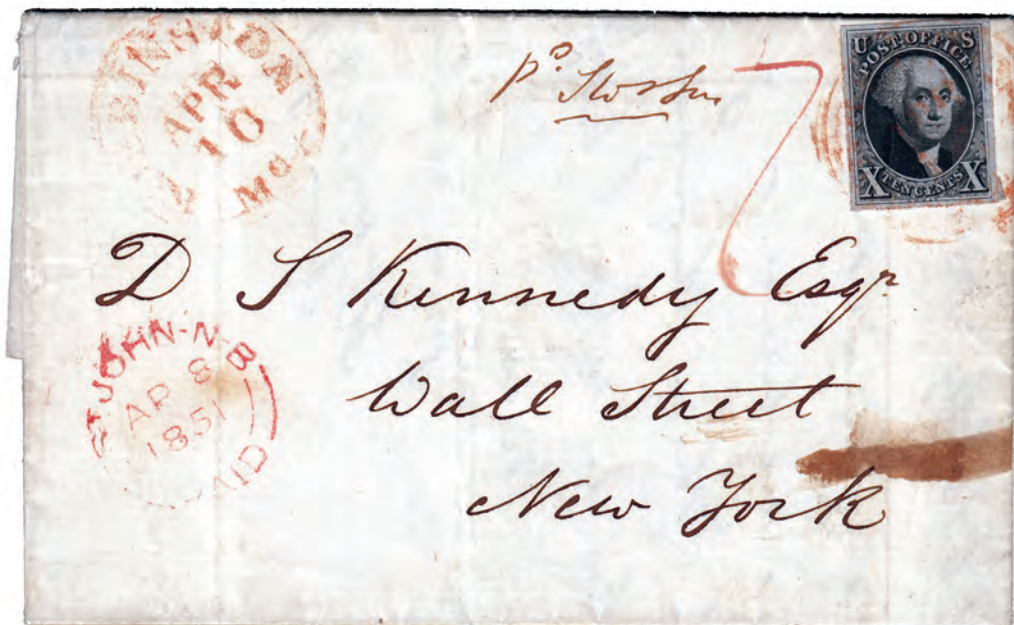


Figure 9. April 8, 1851, cover from Saint John, New Brunswick sent by land to New York. The sender prepaid the 7d postage from Saint John to St. Andrews, and also affixed the 10¢ 1847 stamp, which paid the U.S. postage from Robbinston, Maine, to New York City. From the William H. Gross Collection, image courtesy of Charles Shreve.

Alexander lists three other covers originating in Saint John, New Brunswick, but one of these has a negative opinion from the Philatelic Foundation and is not included in the accompanying listing. Figure 8 is not one of the three Saint John covers listed by Alexander; rather, it is listed as originating at Eastport, Maine, which is where it entered the government mails.

Figure 9 is one of the few reported 1847 covers that originated in the Maritime Province postal system. With the 10c 1847 stamp already affixed, this cover was mailed at Saint John on April 8, 1851 and was prepaid 7d (in cash) for the 61-100 mile distance to St. Andrews, New Brunswick. The 10¢ 1847 was not cancelled in Saint John, but at Robbinston, Maine where it was accepted as payment of the 10¢ rate for the distance (over 300 miles) to New York. Notably, this cover was mailed just after the effective date for the U.S. postal treaty with Canada. Had the cover originated in Canada, rather than New Brunswick, the 10¢ stamp would have paid the cover to destination, rather than only paying the United States portion of the postage.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia was the most populous of the Maritime Provinces during the lifetime of the 1847 stamps, and not surprisingly has the most reported covers, 42 in all. There are 15 reported 5¢ 1847 covers to Nova Scotia of which 12 covers were sent by Cunard packet, two were sent by land mail and one cover (Figure 2 above) was sent by private ship.

There are 23 reported covers to Nova Scotia franked with 10¢ 1847 stamps. Of these covers, 11 were sent by land mail and 11 were sent by Cunard packet. One cover in the listing lacks sufficient information to determine the route. There are two double-rate covers reported to Nova Scotia, one sent by land and one sent by Cunard Line packet. These are the only double-rate 1847 covers reported to the Maritime Provinces.

There are also four 5¢-plus-10¢ combination covers to Nova Scotia, all of which were

sent by Cunard Line packet. And there is one 1847 cover reported from Nova Scotia, a 10¢ bisect cover. Finally it is worth mentioning two 1847 covers sent from Nova Scotia to St. Catherines, Canada West, but with the 1847 stamps applied in the United States.¹¹ One cover was carried outside the mails or “bootlegged” by a passenger on a Cunard packet. The passenger affixed two 5¢ 1847 stamps and mailed the letter at Boston. The other cover was mailed from Halifax to a forwarding agent in Boston. The forwarding agent applied a vertical pair of 5¢ 1847s and posted the cover at Boston. These two covers are not included in the census of covers accompanying this article

The Cunard packet covers can be further categorized by rate and whether the covers were sent from Boston or New York. Although the 1847 stamps were available for use on the Boston packets for roughly 16 months longer than the New York packets (48 months versus 32 months), for some reason Boston packet covers greatly outnumber New York packet covers (19 from Boston versus seven from New York). Table 1 illustrates the relative scarcity of the Cunard packet covers, based upon available information. Unfortunately,

Port and rate	5¢ Covers	10¢ Covers	5¢+10¢ Combination
Boston 1/- packet rate	4	6	1
Boston 4½d packet rate	5	2	1
New York 1/- packet rate	0	2	2
New York 4½d packet rate	2	1	0
Unknown	1	0	0

Table 1. Relative scarcity of 1847 covers to the Maritime Provinces via Cunard packet, based upon available information.

transit marking information is not recorded for many of the covers, so the information may be incorrect if a letter missed its intended sailing.

Figure 10 is a cover that originated at Baltimore, Maryland on February 3, 1850. The pair of 5¢ red brown 1847 stamps pays the 10¢ rate for a distance over 300 miles to Boston. The cover was sent by the Cunard Line *Niagara* which departed Boston on February 6, 1850, and arrived in Halifax two days later, on February 8, 1850. The cover was rated 4½d cy. (4d stg.) due for the packet postage. Since the cover was addressed to Halifax, no Nova Scotia inland postage was collected.

Between June 27, 1848 and January 4, 1849, as part of a rate dispute with England, the United States required prepayment of American packet postage of 24¢ on letters sent by British packet. This was the “retaliatory rate” and it applied to mail carried to Halifax. Retaliatory-rate covers to and from Halifax are rare because correspondents could avoid the retaliatory charge by sending their letters overland.

Figure 11 is one of the two recorded retaliatory-rate covers to Nova Scotia. This cover originated in Baltimore (with a BALTIMORE RR route agent marking) and then was postmarked at New York on August 22, 1848. The cover was prepaid 35¢ with a strip of three 5¢ 1847 stamps and a pair of 10¢ stamps, representing a 1¢ overpayment of the required 34¢ postage: the 24¢ retaliatory rate plus 10¢ inland postage from Baltimore to Boston. At Halifax, the cover was rated 1 shilling due, representing the British packet postage for carriage on the Cunard *Acadia*.

The cover in Figure 10 is one of the nine recorded covers sent from Baltimore to Robert Noble in Halifax. Two of the Noble-correspondence covers are franked with a pair of 5¢



Figure 10. February 3, 1850, cover from Baltimore sent by Cunard Line packet to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The pair of 5¢ 1847 stamps paid the domestic postage to Boston. The recipient was charged 4½d cy. (4d stg.) packet postage.



Figure 11. August 22, 1848, cover postmarked New York City, but originating in Baltimore, sent by Cunard Line packet to Halifax, Nova Scotia, during the retaliatory-rate period. The strip of 3 5¢ 1847 stamps and the two 10¢ 1847 stamps overpaid by 1¢ the 24¢ retaliatory charge, plus 10¢ domestic postage from Baltimore to Boston. The recipient was charged 1 shilling (sterling) packet postage. From the William H. Gross Collection, image courtesy of Charles Shreve.



Figure 12. September 18, 1849, cover from Baltimore sent by Cunard Line packet to Halifax. The pair of 10¢ 1847s and 5¢ 1847 attempt to prepay the cover at the 24¢ treaty rate to Great Britain. The stamps paid only the domestic postage to Boston and the recipient was charged 4½d cy. packet postage.

1847s, four are franked with 10¢ 1847s, and three are combination covers franked with a pair of 10¢ stamps and a 5¢ stamp, making a total of 25¢ postage.

Figure 12 is one of these Noble combination covers. It originated in Baltimore on September 18, 1849, and is endorsed for the Cunard *Niagara*, which departed New York on September 19, 1849. However, it missed that sailing and was carried on the Cunard *Europa* from Boston on September 26. These combination covers were previously declared fake, but two of the three now have good Philatelic Foundation certificates. While the franking does not pay the correct rate, the covers are genuine.

Susan McDonald first called these covers into question in a 1971 article in the *Postal History Journal*.¹² In that article, McDonald expressed her opinion that the 10¢ stamps did not originate on the May 28, 1849 Noble cover illustrated in Brookman,¹³ and the September 18, 1849 Noble cover (Figure 12). McDonald correctly noted that the postage to New York was only 5¢, and based upon that fact concluded that the pair of 10¢ 1847s had been added.¹⁴ Hart repeated McDonald's conclusion in his article on 1847 covers to the Maritime Provinces, and in a separate 1980 article on "The Noble 1847 Covers."¹⁵ In both articles, Hart noted the distinguished pedigree of the covers, including ownership by Ackerman, Gibson, Hollowbush, Seybold, Ward and Wood. We can now add the Eubanks and Gross collections to that list.

In addition to noting the incorrect rate, Hart also posited that the Noble correspondent in Baltimore, Thomas R. Matthews, was a sizable business and "well informed about mail [as] clearly evident from the specific instructions written on the covers about Cunard steamers whether departing from New York or Boston. It seems improbable that such a large and important firm as Thomas R. Matthews & Co. would overpay the 5¢ postage rate from Baltimore to New York twice by 20¢."¹⁶ Hart additionally noted that the covers were not retaliatory-rate covers (such as Figure 11), since they were posted four and eight months after the retaliatory rate had ended.¹⁷ Hart's analysis ignored the confusion regarding the Cunard Line rates to Halifax.

As noted earlier, the Cunard Line rates to Halifax were not widely known, were not listed in the *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* until 1863, and were not listed in the Postal Laws and Regulations until the 1866 edition. Moreover, the Cunard packet rates to Halifax, after the implementation of the U.S.–U.K. postal treaty, were illogical. Letters destined for the same Cunard steamer paid different postage based upon the destination. A letter to England could be paid 24¢ to destination, but a letter to be carried on the same Cunard steamer to Halifax, in a British Province, could only be paid to the port. Moreover, letters carried pursuant to the British open mail provisions of the United Kingdom treaty were charged a uniform 5¢ inland postage regardless of the distance to the port of debarkation, while letters to Halifax, not covered by the British open mail provisions, were still liable to charges of 5¢ or 10¢ depending upon the distance to the port. Letters from Halifax were also subject to confusion. At the start of the treaty period, letters arriving at Boston or New York from the United Kingdom were rated 1 shilling (24¢) to destination. However, letters arriving from Halifax, which were carried on the same ship (but a much shorter distance) were prepaid the same 1 shilling packet postage, but were charged ordinary inland postage of 5¢ or 10¢ to destination. Given these illogical rates, it is no surprise that there was confusion.

Further evidence is provided by the cover in Figure 13. This is a stampless cover from Baltimore to Newfoundland from February 1849, carried by the Cunard Line to Halifax where it was transferred to a Cunard feeder route to Newfoundland. Like the Noble combination covers, mailed from the same Baltimore post office, this cover attempted to prepay a nonexistent 1 shilling (24¢) rate. While Hart thought it improbable that a firm in Baltimore would overpay the Cunard rate, here is a cover on which the post office at Baltimore made a similar rating error, overpaying the proper rate by 19¢. This stampless cover was posted a few months earlier in 1849 than the Noble covers (February versus May and September), but it affirms that there was much confusion, at least at the Baltimore post office, regarding the correct rates for Cunard covers routed via Halifax.



Figure 13. February 5, 1849, stampless cover from Baltimore to Newfoundland, sent by Cunard Line packet via Halifax. Like Figure 12, this cover is rated in an attempt to prepay the 24¢ treaty rate to Great Britain. Courtesy Harmers International Inc.



Figure 14. February 7, 1851 cover from Boston sent by land to New Brunswick and then by ice boat to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. The pair of 5¢ 1847 stamps paid the domestic postage to the exchange office at Robbinston, Maine. The recipient was charged 1 shilling 1½d cy. for postage from St. Andrews, New Brunswick to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.



Figure 15. Picture post card illustrating ice boats crossing the Northumberland Strait to Prince Edward Island. Note the two-part harnesses used by the crew, allowing them to pull the ice boats like pack animals, but also serving as a safety rope in the event of a fall through the ice.

Prince Edward Island

Only three 1847 covers are reported to Prince Edward Island: one 5¢ cover sent by land, and two 10¢ covers, one sent by land and one sent by private ship. Figure 14 is a February 7, 1851 cover from Boston to Charlottetown. The horizontal pair of 5¢ 1847 stamps pays the rate for a distance over 300 miles to the exchange office at Robbinston, Maine. After exchange, the cover was rated 1 shilling 1½d cy. due for the distance of 301 to 400 miles from St. Andrews, New Brunswick, to Charlottetown.

The interesting aspect of this cover is that it is a winter mail cover to Prince Edward Island. The Northumberland Strait, separating Prince Edward Island from the mainland, was all but impassable for much of the winter due to strong tides that created jagged ice piled into hummocks, combined with broken ice and open water. As it was impossible to carry the mails across the strait by boat, foot, or dog sled, the mails were carried by special ice boats with runners and metal-clad bows. This allowed the boat to be pulled across the ice, and then lowered into the water to be paddled or sailed across open stretches. When ice again blocked the route, the boat could be pulled from the water and dragged across the ice on its runners. Two-part harnesses were attached to the sides of the boat for the crew. There was a shoulder harness for pulling the boat, and a waist harness that worked like a safety rope in case a crew member fell through the ice. The transit markings on the back of the Figure 14 cover indicate that it was carried by ice-boat on the “capex route” rather than by steamer.¹⁸ Figure 15 is a picture post card illustrating the winter service, carrying both mail and passengers, across the Northumberland Strait. The harnesses attached to crewman are evident on the boat at left.

Conclusion

Hart’s pioneering *Chronicle* article 40 years ago, while it made a few errors, was fundamentally sound and a substantial beginning, listing 36 covers to the Maritime Provinces. Alexander’s listing increased Hart’s listing to 54. The current record of covers (58 in all) bearing 1847 stamps to the Maritime Provinces, along with the four covers from the Maritimes, is presented as Appendix A and Appendix B immediately below. The covers are arranged chronologically. The “BNA” column presents the British North American due markings that appear on the covers, and the “Reference” column in most instances will lead the interested reader to an image of the cover cited. Collectively, these covers illustrate a wealth of routes, rates, frankings and markings that make them very appealing, both to postal historians and to collectors who fancy the United States 1847 stamps.

Appendix A: 1847 covers to the Maritime Provinces

Date	Origin/Destination	Stamps	BNA	Reference
Jul 30, 1847	Philadelphia, PA/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	1/-	RAS sale 743, lot 114
Aug 13, 1847	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/-	PFC 33,573
Aug 25, 1847	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	1/-	RAS sale 1041, lot 281
Sep 30, 1847	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/1½	PFC 149,061
Oct 13, 1847	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/-	Figure 3
Oct 16, 1847	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/-	
Dec 3, 1847	Boston, MA/St. John, NB	(2)5¢	7d	RAS sale 1023, lot 2479
Jan 20, 1848	New York, NY/St. John, NB	10¢	7d	Figure 7
Feb 2, 1848	New York, NY/Lower Horton, NS	10¢	9d	PFC 433,814
Feb 18, 1848	New York, NY/Arichat, CB, NS	10¢	1/6	PFC 240,729
Feb 24, 1848	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	(2) 10¢	2/-	Kaufmann sale 79, lot 152
Feb 29, 1848	New York, NY/Halifax, NS	(2) 10¢	2/3	double 1/1½ rate

Date	Origin/Destination	Stamps	BNA	Reference
Mar 8, 1848	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/-	PFC 483,984
Mar 21, 1848	Fredericksburg, VA/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	1/1½	Chronicle 78, pg. 81
May 1, 1848	NY&PhilaRR/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/1½	Apparently sent overland
Jun 25, 1848	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/-	RAS sale 1041, lot 282
Jul 14, 1848	Eastport, ME/St. George, NB	5¢	4½d	Figure 5
Aug 15, 1848	USExpMail Boston/Pictou, NS	(3)10¢	1/8½	PFC 149,382
Aug 22, 1848	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	(3)5c+(2)10c	1/-	Figure 11
Oct 5, 1848	New York, NY/St. John, NB	(2)5¢	7d	RAS sale 1041, lot 280
Feb 10, 1849	New York, NY/St. John, NB	10¢	7d	MBI sale 346, lot 601
Apr 18, 1849	Boston, MA/Halifax, NS	5¢	1/-	PFC 323,657
May 10, 1849	Boston, MA/Charlottetown, PEI	10¢	1/4	St. John NB ship letter
May 24, 1849	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	5¢+(2)10¢		
May 28, 1849	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	5¢+(2)10¢	1/-	PFC 142,604
Jun 4, 1849	Philadelphia, PA/Halifax, NS	5¢		One stamp missing
Jun 16, 1849	USExpMail, NY/Miramichi, NB	(2)5¢	9d	Frajola sale 15, lot 405
Jun 20, 1849	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	?	
Jul 9, 1849	Whitehall, NY/Pictou, NS	(2)5¢	1/4	Figure 2
Aug 30, 1849	USExpMail, NY/Londonderry, NS	10¢	1/1½	Ceres sale 134, lot 4722
Sep 18, 1849	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	5¢+(2)10¢	4½d	Figure 12
Sep 23, 1849	Fredericksburg, VA/Halifax, NS	10¢	4½d	
Oct 17, 1849	USExpMail, NY/Londonderry, NS	(2)5¢		
Nov 8, 1849	New York/Yarmouth, NS	10¢	1/1½	
Jan 22, 1850	Philadelphia, PA/Halifax, NS	10¢	4½d	Figure 4
Jan 31, 1850	New York, NY/Sackville, NB	10¢	9d	
Feb 3, 1850	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	4½d	Figure 10
May 7, 1850	Philadelphia, PA/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	4½d	PFC 169,024
May 8, 1850	USExpMail, NY/St. John, NB	10¢	7d	RAS sale 1023, lot 2480
May 11, 1850	USExpMail, NY/St. John, NB	(2)5¢	7d	RAS sale 210, lot 90
Jun 20, 1850	Philadelphia, PA/Wallace, NS	10¢	1/1½	Figure 1
Jun 26, 1850	?/Pictou, NS	5¢		
Jul 2, 1850	Philadelphia, PA/Halifax, NS	5¢	4½d	
Jul 6, 1850	Fredericksburg, VA/Halifax, NS	5¢	4½d	MBI sale 277, lot 343
Jul 22, 1850	Boston, MA/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/1½	
Sep 15, 1850	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	4½d	RAS sale 958, lot 519
Sep 28, 1850	New York, NY/Yarmouth, NS	10¢	1/1½	RAS sale 1041, lot 283
Feb 7, 1851	Boston, MA/Charlottetown, PEI	(2)5¢	1/1½	Figure 14
Apr 7, 1851	Boston, MA/Charlottetown, PEI	10¢	1/1½	Alexander pg. 238
Apr 27, 1851	Baltimore, MD/Halifax, NS	10¢	4½d	
May 26, 1851	Philadelphia, PA/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	4½d	
Jun 6, 1851	New York, NY/Halifax, NS	10¢	1/1½	Philamercury #3181
Feb 1, 18??	New York, NY/St. John, NB	10¢	7d	Probably a front
Apr 5, 18??	USExpMail, NY/St. John, NB	5¢ Due 5¢	7d	Figure 6
Sep 23, 18??	USExpMail, NY/St. John, NB	(2)5¢	7d	RAS sale 906, lot 1504

Date	Origin/Destination	Stamps	BNA	Reference
Oct 12, 18??	Philadelphia, PA/Amherst, NS	10¢		PFC 83,653
Oct 14, 18??	USExpMail, NY/St. John, NB	10¢	7d	cover front
Oct 25, 18??	New Orleans, LA/Halifax, NS	(2)5¢	4½d	Feldman sale 508, lot 383

Appendix B: 1847 covers from the Maritime Provinces

Date	Origin/Destination	Stamps	BNA	Reference
Aug 17, 1847	St. John, NB/New York, NY	10¢	?	ms Paid to the lines
Sep 10, 1850	St. John, NB/Hamilton, CW	10¢	4½d	Figure 8
Apr 8, 1851	St. John, NB/New York, NY	10¢	7d	Figure 9
Jun 28, 1851	Halifax, NS/New York, NY	10¢ bisect	?	Left vertical bisect

Endnotes

1. The cover census information in this article has been compared against the 1847 cover database maintained by Mark Scheuer, with no discrepancies observed. See Mark Scheuer, "Updating the Census of 1847 Stamps on Cover," *Chronicle* 236 (Nov. 2012) pp. 317-28.
2. For a description of the steamboat service, see David D'Alessandris, "Boston to St. John Steamboat Mail," *Chronicle* 201 (February 2004), pp. 8-20; *Chronicle* 202, pp. 109-16; and *Chronicle* 203, pp. 167-86.
3. *Ibid.*, pg.115 (illustrating a similar stampless cover).
4. Hugh V. Feldman, *U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Water (Star Routes 1824-1875)*, Collectors Club of Chicago, 2008, pp. 226-28.
5. Prior to 1853, for tax reasons, the steamboat companies regularly transferred passengers and cargo between steamships in Eastport. For additional information see D'Alessandris, *Chronicle* 201, pg. 11.
6. *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant*, (Collectors Club of Chicago, 1975) pg. 137.
7. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America: 1866*, (Holland, Michigan, Theron Wierenga, 1981), Regulations, section 260.
8. The Alexander census lists a January 8, 1848 cover from Boston, addressed to C&W Adams, Saint John, New Brunswick, with a single 5¢ stamp. Creighton Hart's article in *Chronicle* 78 listed that cover with two 5¢ stamps. A January 8, 1849 cover from Boston to C&W Adams, Saint John, New Brunswick, obviously missing two 5¢ 1847 stamps, recently sold on eBay. This cover, which can be seen in its current form at Richard Frajola's Philamercury website (<http://www.philamercury.com/covers.php?id=20407>) is not included in the tabular listing that accompanies this article.
9. Creighton C. Hart, *op. cit.*, *Chronicle* 78.
10. C. M. Jephcott, V. G. Greene and John H. M. Young, *The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1754-1867* (Sissons Publications Ltd. 1964), pg. 234.
11. Susan M. McDonald "Remember that Time is Money: Two Unusual Covers with U.S. 1847 Stamps," *The Congress Book 1973*, American Philatelic Congress. These two covers were recently sold in Siegel sale 1041 as lots 284 and 285.
12. Susan M. McDonald, "Cunard Packet Mail Between Nova Scotia and the United States," *Postal History Journal* No. 29 (Sept. 1971), pp. 2-14.
13. Lester G. Brookman, *The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century: Vol. I, 1847-1857* (North Miami, Florida: David G. Phillips Publishing Co., 1989), pg. 33.
14. McDonald, "Cunard Packet Mail," pg. 14.
15. Creighton C. Hart, "The Noble 1847 Covers," *Chronicle* 105, pp. 20-23.
16. Hart, "1847 Covers to the Maritime Provinces," *Chronicle* 78, pp. 82-83.
17. Hart, "The Noble 1847 Covers," pg. 22.
18. For additional information, See David D'Alessandris, "Winter Mail Between the United States and Prince Edward Island," *American Stamp Dealer & Collector*, July-August 2010, pp. 48-50. ■



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**3¢ 1851 STAMPS FROM THREE DIFFERENT PLATES
ON A TWICE-FORWARDED COVER**

GORDON EUBANKS AND JAMES A. ALLEN

The folded address sheet shown in Figure 1 uses three orange-brown 3¢ Washington imperforate stamps, each from a different plate, and each paying proper postage for the under-3000-mile rate on the three legs that the letter traveled. In each case the letter was forwarded by what appears to be business partners of the addressee, Virginia planter James Cathcart Johnston (1782-1865). This informal business network was a powerful aid in moving the mail.



Figure 1. Three orange-brown 3¢ Washington imperforate stamps, each from a different plate, and each paying proper postage for the under-3000-mile rate on the three legs that the letter traveled. Originating at Halifax, Virginia, the cover was first sent to Baltimore, Maryland, and from there it was redirected to Edenton, North Carolina. The year is almost certainly 1851.

The letter originated in Halifax, Virginia. A single 3¢ stamp was applied (on the far right) and the letter was mailed. This stamp plates from position 62R1E. The postmaster applied the blue-green Halifax circular datestamp at upper left, canceled the stamp in pen and sent the letter to its original address, in Baltimore. No content is available and there are no other markings on the address sheet.

In Baltimore, the banking house of John Williams & Sons apparently accepted the letter. They crossed out the “care of”, the “Baltimore” and “M. D.” and wrote to the left “Care Hardy Bro., Norfolk, Va.” The middle stamp was applied and in due course canceled by the Baltimore post office with a standard black grid. This stamp plates from position 27L2E. The postmaster did not apply the Baltimore town postmark as the regulations required. It appears that the Baltimore postmaster also crossed out the already-pen-canceled stamp at the right to indicate that the stamp to the left was paying for the forwarding postage.

The Hardy Brothers were ship owners and merchants engaged in the West India trade out of Norfolk. They accepted the letter and redirected it to Edenton, North Carolina, crossing out the Norfolk address and boldly writing “Edenton No. Ca.” under the original address. The third stamp, farther left, was applied at Norfolk, and the cover was postmarked with two strikes of the Norfolk circular datestamp dated “OCT 29.” This third stamp plates from the intermediate state of Plate 1, Position 72R1I. The letter was sent to Edenton where it was finally delivered to James Johnston.

This letter was handled by three post offices and forwarded twice. This is almost certainly an 1851 use, given the very sharp, early impressions of the stamps, and given that almost no orange-brown stamps are recorded used later than July, 1852. In this era, forwarding with stamps saved 4¢. If the letter had been sent onward unpaid, the recipient would have been charged 5¢ for each of the two subsequent legs.

All three stamps are orange brown and from different plates. It is unlikely that James Johnston had staged stamps for this situation. It is much more likely that business partners along the way took on the task of moving the letter forward. This reflects how the relationships between businesses aided in communications during this period in history, allowing letters to catch up with traveling professionals. ■

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FORT LARAMIE: HANDSTAMPED POSTAL MARKINGS FROM 1852

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

The use of handstamped numeral rate cancellations commenced in earnest in 1845 when the postal rates were simplified and reduced to just two rates for single letters, 5¢ and 10¢. Virtually all cities and most large towns employed handstamps for rate marking during this period. Many unusual types exist. Effective July 1, 1851, the rate for a distance of less than 3,000 miles was reduced again, this time to only 3¢ if the letter was prepaid. There was a penalty for unpaid letters, creating an unpaid 5¢ rate. This two-tiered rate structure was an attempt to induce the public to prepay their mail. The use of stamps was a convenience, but it was not yet compulsory; letters could still be prepaid in cash.

Mailers who affixed stamps did not have to wait in a post office window line to have a clerk apply handstamps. Letter boxes were available in most of the larger cities. Mailers could also charge postage against the post office box account that many individuals and businesses kept for receiving incoming mail. Postage fees and box rents were collected quarterly at first and then monthly at larger towns. Outgoing mail that was charged to a box account did not usually receive stamps; a “PAID 3” marking could do the job. Thus, after July 1, 1851, handstamped “PAID 3” and mute “5” markings can be found from most larger towns. Less commonly, separate “3” and “PAID” handstamps were used.

This writer has long been intrigued by the cover in Figure 1, which shows a negative “5” struck in the center of a circular “FT. LARAMIE O R” handstamp. The cover also has a separate date stamp, a crude “Jun 15”.

This cover came to light a few years ago with the sale of the collection of Floyd E. Risvold (Spink, January 27-29, 2010). For many years there was speculation that the negative numeral “5” was an integral part of the circular handstamp. But a second cover in the Risvold sale showed the same negative “5” as a separate handstamped rating mark. The cover also showed the Ft. Laramie, O.R. circular marking with an empty center and no date.



Figure 1. “FT LARAMIE O R” (in present-day Wyoming) with separate negative “5” struck in the center and “JUN 15” as a separate handstamp, on an 1852 cover to Kalamazoo, Michigan. The “O R” stands for “Oregon Route.” Illustration from the Spink catalog (January 27, 2010) for the sale of the Floyd Risvold collection.

In the Risvold sale the two covers sold as one lot (lot 442) for a hammer price of \$8,500.

Fort Laramie (in present-day Wyoming) was then located in unorganized territory. The "O.R." in the marking signifies "Oregon Route." Other covers from Fort Kearny in the Risvold collection showed the same O.R. abbreviation and one 1848 cover showed "Or-



Figure 2. "Ft. KEARNY O R" in mortised eagle handstamp without date, two strikes, one on 3¢ 1851 stamp also tied by a "June 22/52" manuscript date cancellation. Illustration from the Spink catalog (January 27, 2010) for the sale of the Floyd Risvold collection.



Figure 3. "FT LARAMIE O R", an indistinct strike, with separate negative "3", "PAID" in box and "Jun 15". Compare with the markings on the cover in Figure 1. The letter within is year-dated 1852.

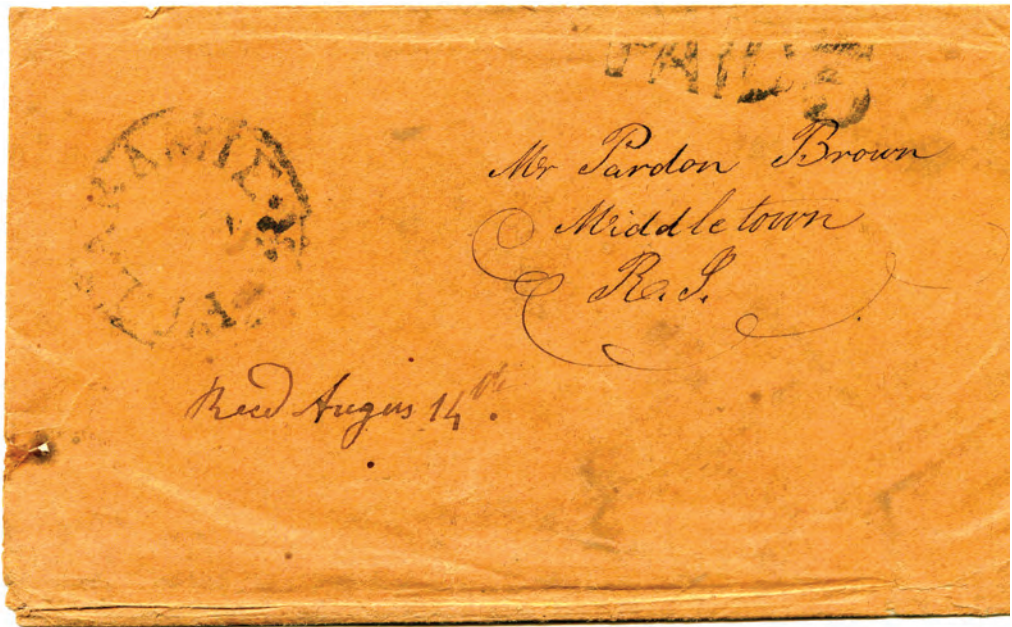


Figure 4. “FT LARAMIE O R” undated handstamp with separate straightline “PAID 3”, on an 1852 cover to Middleton, Rhode Island, from the Pardon Brown correspondence.

egon Route” written out in manuscript. These postmarks were applied before the gold rush and continued in use on early gold rush letters.

Also from the Risvold collection was the cover shown in Figure 2. This bears two strikes of the fancy eagle ornamented mortised “Ft KEARNY O.R.” marking. Back in 2004-05, I published a two-part article in the *Chronicle*, surveying these fascinating marking types and illustrating one of the devices.¹ The marking on the Figure 2 cover was listed in that article as G1. Note that the cover in Figure 2 is dated in manuscript “June 22/52”. It is believed that the other Fort Laramie O.R. markings also date from 1852. The Figure 2 cover was lot 437 in the Risvold sale and achieved a hammer price of \$11,000.

A newly reported full letter from Fort Laramie, dated June 14, 1852, is shown in Figure 3. This is a stampless cover with two unlisted markings: “PAID” within a box and a negative “3” which is comparable to the negative “5” on the cover in Figure 1. The Figure 3

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cover also bears an indistinct partial strike of the circular “FT. LARAMIE O R” handstamp and also the same crude “Jun 15” that is struck the cover in Figure 1. These negative numeral cancellations are the earliest known uses of fancy rate cancels from a western origin. The letter within the folded cover in Figure 3 definitively establishes the year date of these markings as 1852.

I wrote about another Ft. Laramie O.R. cover in *Western Express* more than 20 years ago, but the illustration was so dark that the markings did not show clearly.² That cover, from the Pardon Brown correspondence, is shown in Figure 4. This was written by one of Brown’s sons while he was crossing the country overland in 1852. The marking on this cover shows a different “PAID 3” as a single crude handstamp, typographically similar to the “Jun 15” markings in Figures 1 and 3. The date of receipt in August suggests that this rate marking was made shortly after the negative “3” shown in Figure 3, which is more difficult to read. Thus these Fort Laramie covers demonstrate five handmade auxiliary handstamps: the “Jun 15” datestamp, the negative “5”, the negative “3”, the boxed “PAID” and the “PAID 3”.

Endnotes

1. Milgram, James W., “Ornamented Mortised Handstamps,” *Chronicle* 204, pp. 247-54 and 205, pp. 10-32.
2. Milgram, James W.; Gamett, James; and Reinhardt, D. Anson, “The Brown Correspondence of Early Nevada Letters, Part 1,” *Western Express* 40, pp. 3-18 (1990). ■

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GOOD SAMARITAN (CHARITY) LABELS IN THE 1860s: WHO CREATED THEM, WHERE AND WHY?

DANIEL M. KNOWLES, M.D.

Introduction

It is well known that during the 1860s individuals and charitable organizations developed the practice of supplying needed postage for letters that had been deposited improperly franked in United States post offices. This allowed such letters to be mailed to their intended recipients instead of being directed to the Dead Letter Office (DLO). The postmasters in these offices allowed those individuals and organizations to place a privately-produced label on the cover, encouraging the recipient to send remuneration or a contribution in acknowledgement of their charitable act.

For this reason, these labels are commonly referred to as Good Samaritan or charity labels. Philatelists have been aware of them for many years. Elliott Perry described and illustrated ten covers bearing such labels, which he termed “postage-supplied labels,” in a 1955 *American Philatelist* article.¹ Ken Lawrence mentioned them in articles in the mid 1990s.^{2,3,4} John Hotchner more recently discussed them in *Linn’s Stamp News*.⁵ However, the individuals responsible for creating these labels have not been identified, and their motivation for developing this practice has been unclear. A full census of covers bearing Good Samaritan labels has never been compiled. Irvin Heimburger made a beginning in *Chronicle* 234,⁶ in an article that provided a census of Good Samaritan covers franked with 1869 stamps.

Heimburger’s article stimulated me to create this first published census of Good Samaritan covers from the 1860s. Together with Heimburger’s listing of 15 Good Samaritan covers bearing 1869 stamps, this constitutes at least the beginning of a more complete census. The 17 covers I record (no doubt others exist) are listed alphabetically by post office of origin in Table 1. Seven of the covers lack a specific year date. The tabular data includes the postmark date, the original franking, the added stamp(s), the label source and reference information that will lead to an image of the cover. For convenience in discussion, I have numbered the covers 1 through 17. Eleven of the 17 covers reside in my collection; one was in the Herzog collection,⁷ and the remaining five covers appeared in various Siegel auctions.

These 17 covers originated in 13 different cities and towns across the United States, evidence that this practice was widespread by the last half of the 1860s. Seven of the 17 labels, originating in six different cities, were provided by the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). Similarly, Heimburger reported that seven of his 15 1869-period covers bore YMCA labels originating in five different cities.⁸ So it’s clear that many local YMCA offices engaged in this activity. Also, four of the 17 covers in my 1860s census (and four of the 15 covers in Heimburger’s 1869 census), bore labels addressed from Box 582, Newark, New Jersey. The holder of Newark Box 582 obviously engaged in this practice frequently and for many years.

The obvious questions are: Who initiated this practice and when? Who was responsible for the most frequently encountered label, from Box 582, Newark, N.J.? Who else created Good Samaritan labels? What motivated these individuals to provide free postage for the benefit of others? When, why, and to what extent did the YMCA and other organizations become involved? When and why did the practice stop? A review of the philatelic literature, the commentary by philatelists on Richard Frajola's PhilaMercury website, a search of Robert A. Siegel auction catalogs and a search of newspapers of the period provided factual information and insights.

Background

The Postal Act of 3 March 1855, effective 1 January 1856, mandated prepayment of postage by postage stamps on all domestic letters. Unpaid letters were to be directed to the DLO.⁹ It was hoped that mandatory prepayment would diminish the number of undeliverable letters, but this proved not to be the case, and the problems of the DLO and of undeliverable letters generally were widely reported in the popular press. Here follow just a few examples. The 12 January 1861 issue of the (New Haven) *Columbian Register* reported "there has been no diminution in the number of dead letters. In fact...they can see no difference between the quantity of dead matter now and in the days when the optional prepayment system was in force."¹⁰ The 16 January 1862 *Farmer's Cabinet* reported that "Of the dead letters last year...nearly one-third had no postage stamps."¹¹ The 23 June 1865

#	Date	Origin	Original Franking	Stamp Added	Source	Reference
1	17 Sept 186?	Chicago, Ill.	Unfranked	3¢ (65)	YMCA	Figure 6
2	? July 186?	Chicago, Ill.	Unfranked	1¢ (63) 2¢ (73)	YMCA	906 RAS 1935
3	12 May 1868	Cleveland, Ohio	Unfranked	3¢ Grill	YMCA	Figure 7
4	27 Dec. 1867	Detroit, Mich.	Unfranked	3¢ (65)	YMCA	Figure 5
5	?	Indianapolis, Ind.	3¢ (26)	3¢ (65)	YMCA	Ex Herzog
6	6 July 1866	Little Rock, Ark.	3¢ (26)	3¢ (65)	GOOD WILL	907 RAS 2524
7	1 June 18??	Manchester, N.H.	Unfranked	3¢ Grill	A.K. Morrill	Figure 11
8	30 Dec 1868	Mobile, Ala.	Unfranked	3¢ Grill	CMS	Figure 9
9	29 Sept 1865	Newark, N.J.	5¢ (R23c)	3¢ (65)	Box 582	825 RAS 1139
10	? Nov 1868	Newark, N.J.	Unfranked	3¢ Grill	Box 582	Figure 1
11	14 Jan 186?	Newark, N.J.	2¢ (R15c)	3¢ (65)	Box 582	Figure 2
12	7 Sept 18??	Newark, N.J.	10¢ (R34c)	3¢ (94)	Box 582	825 RAS 1141
13	? Oct 1867	Owego, N.Y.	Used 3¢ 65	3¢ (65)	YMCA	Figure 4
14	7 July 1866	Quincy, Ill.	Unfranked	3¢ (65)	PO Quincy, Ill	Figure 10
15	24 Feb 1869	San Francisco	Unfranked	3¢ (94)	YMCA	820 RAS 94
16	20 Mar 1869	St. Louis, Mo.	5¢ (R24)	3¢ Grill	GOOD WILL	Figure 3
17	29 July 186?	Toledo, Ohio	Unfranked	3¢ (65)	YMCU	Figure 8

Table 1. Covers from the 1860s bearing Good Samaritan labels. Date column shows the date (per the postmark) on which the cover entered the mails. In the "Label source" column, YMCA=Young Men's Christian Association; CMS=Children's Missionary Society; "YMCU"=Young Men's Christian Union. In the "Reference" column, "906 RAS 1935" indicates Robert A. Siegel auction sale 906, lot 1935.

National American reported that “the number of letters which are now being received by the Dead Letter Office, sent there under the new law which makes pre-payment of postage compulsory, amounts to more than 15,000 per week.”¹² The 25 July 1866 (Baltimore) *Sun* reminded readers that “United States postage stamps should be used in all cases, and not revenue stamps, as is often the case and which goes for nothing when placed on letters.”¹³ The 4 April 1866 *Albany Evening Journal* similarly reminded readers that “The chief causes of missing letters are first, misdirection, and secondly, neglect to stamp them properly. Of the latter...it should be known that a revenue stamp is not recognized on a letter; and a great many letters are deposited with such stamps upon them. These are all sent to the dead letter office.”¹⁴

The letters directed to the DLO represented an enormous burden for the Post Office Department and also resulted in personal and economic losses for senders and recipients. The 26 November 1868 *Farmer’s Cabinet*, picking up information from the Postmaster General’s Report, noted that “During the past year 35,000 letters, enclosing \$142,234, were received at the Dead Letter Office, and nearly 20,000 of them, containing \$130,620, were restored to their owners. But besides these money letters, there were 21,000 dead letters, containing bills of exchange, and other valuable matter appraised at over \$5,000,000; over 49,000 containing photographs, jewelry &c.; and 97,000 containing stamps and articles of small value; nearly all of them were returned to the original writers.”¹⁵ This situation beckoned Good Samaritans to come forward.

Heimbürger stated that the earliest Good Samaritan label known to him was that of Box 582 on an 1859 cover from Newark, N.J. to Havana, Cuba.¹⁶ This cover, which can be viewed as cover #17907 on on Frajola’s PhilaMercury website, is actually the second earliest known use. Elliott Perry illustrated what appears to be the earliest recorded Good Samaritan label in his 1955 *American Philatelist* article.¹⁷ This is a Box 582 label on an unfranked letter which was handstamped “Held for Postage” and postmarked (on the back) at Newark on 19 December 1856. The next day, Saturday, the man responsible for Box 582 supplied a 3¢ 1851 stamp (Scott 11) which was placed on the front. His label was affixed on the back and the stamp was cancelled with a Newark December 20 postmark.

The earliest Good Samaritan cover in my census that was not handled by Box 582 was franked with a demonetized 3¢ 1857 stamp and bears (on reverse) a label signed “GOOD WILL” posted at Little Rock, Arkansas, on 6 July 1866 (cover 6 in Table 1). This was a full decade after Perry’s earliest known Good Samaritan label and seven years after the second earliest known Box 582 use. This strongly suggests that the holder of Newark Box 582 initiated this practice and had the business to himself for some years.

The absence of Box 582 labels recorded between 1859 and 1865 suggests that the practice was halted during the Civil War. I am unaware of examples of any Good Samaritan labels being used to forward soldier’s letters during the Civil War. Indeed, I have been unable to identify a single Good Samaritan label used during the Civil War period. This absence of wartime Good Samaritan uses can be attributed to a combination of factors. First, during the war soldiers and sailors (not officers) had the privilege of sending letters without prepayment, with postage due from the recipient. Second, from 1 July 1863 through 30 April 1865 (the “penalty period”), unpaid and underpaid letters were not sent to the DLO, but were forwarded to their recipients with double the deficit due. And third, charitable organizations and benevolent individuals turned their attention during the war years to activities more directly supporting the war effort.

Marcus L. Ward

Who held Newark, N.J. Post Office Box 582? It was Marcus Lawrence Ward, a successful New Jersey politician. Ward’s role in the Box 582 operation was fully identified in an article entitled “Marcus L. Ward, the Soldier’s Friend” that was published in the 31 Oc-

tober 1865 issue of the *Trenton State Gazette*.¹⁸ This article, supporting Ward's candidacy for political office, is worth quoting in some detail:

One instance which is now well-known to many of his fellow-citizens, will illustrate at once his benevolence and modesty. It is known that the Post Office Department sends all letters not pre-paid with a stamp to the Dead Letter Office. Mr. Ward, learning that many letters thus failed to reach their destination, many years ago directed the postmaster at Newark to affix stamps at his expense to all unpaid letters. A little stamp was affixed in later years, reading as follows:

"This letter was detained in the Post Office at Newark, N.J., on account of the non-payment of postage. One who realizes how important it may be to have letters forwarded immediately, has placed the necessary stamps upon this letter. To repay him, send postage stamps of equal value, addressed to box 582, Newark, N.J."

Mr. Ward continues this to this day, and of course is every year much out of pocket by his benevolent plan. It was a long time before the name of this generous friend was known who was thus saving hundreds of families yearly from sorrow, anxiety and loss, and it was only finally divulged at the peremptory request of the Postmaster General, who had noticed many of the little tickets, which, notwithstanding the pre-payment on the letters they were affixed to, had found their way to Washington. So pleased was he with the incident, that he made the fact, with Mr. Ward's name, public.

The covers shown in Figures 1 and 2 illustrate examples of Ward's label. The cover in Figure 1 (10 in Table 1) was deposited in the Newark post office without postage. There it was handstamped "Held for Postage" and detained. Subsequently the Newark Box 582 label and the grilled 3¢ 1861 stamp were applied—whether by Ward's agent or a Newark postal clerk we know not—and the cover was cancelled at Newark and sent on to its addressee.

The Figure 2 cover (11 in table 1) was also mailed at Newark and also "Held for Postage" because it was improperly franked with a 2¢ revenue stamp (Scott R15c). On this small cover Ward's Box 582 label was affixed to the reverse. As illustrated in Figure 2, the cover has been opened up to show both sides.



Figure 1. This cover was deposited in the Newark, New Jersey, post office without postage. It was handstamped "Held for Postage" and detained. Good Samaritan Marcus L. Ward supplied the proper postage and affixed his "Box 582 Newark N.J." label, whereupon the postmaster postmarked the cover and sent it on to the addressee.



Figure 2. Also mailed at Newark in the late 1860s, this cover (opened up to show both sides) was “Held for Postage” because it was improperly franked with a 2¢ Revenue stamp (Scott R15c). As with the cover in Figure 1, Marcus L. Ward supplied the proper postage and applied his label, to the reverse in this case.

Marcus L. Ward was a Republican Party politician who served as governor of New Jersey during 1866–69 (during which time he was also chairman of the Republican National Committee) and subsequently served a term in the House of Representatives. The newspaper article designating him “The Soldier’s Friend” preceded by just a few days the election that made him governor.

He devoted much of his public life to laboring on behalf of Union veterans and their families, operating Marcus L. Ward’s Office for Soldiers in Room 2 of Newark’s post office building. This obviously placed him in direct physical contact with post office operations. Ward was a delegate to the 1860 Republican National Convention, and while governor of New Jersey helped to establish the New Jersey State Soldier’s Home. An image of Ward, copied from a posting on Wikipedia, is shown nearby.

Why did Marcus Ward initiate the Good Samaritan practice? An earlier article in the *Trenton State Gazette* quoted another article extolling Ward’s “numerous instances of his goodness of heart and generous care for others...at a time when Mr. Ward was not a candidate for any position.” The article describes Ward’s numerous activities, often financial in nature, on behalf of Union soldiers and their families.¹⁹ That he supplied postage anonymously for so long suggests that his motives were largely philanthropic. However, the 29 February 1872 *Alexandria Gazette* quoted an Elizabeth, New Jersey, resident as saying that Ward “became Governor of the State through that course.”²⁰ So, at least some of the public viewed Ward’s generous act of supplying postage as a way to garner favor with voters.



Marcus L. Ward (1812–1884)

Other individuals also engaged in the practice of providing postage for improperly franked letters and affixing labels requesting payment in return for this kindness. Interestingly, most of them employed charitable-sounding pseudonyms. I record a label signed “GOOD WILL” originating in Little Rock, Ark. in 1866 (6 in Table 1), and both Heimburger²¹ and I record “GOOD WILL” labels originating in St. Louis in 1869. Heimburger also recorded labels signed “THOUGHTFUL” from New Orleans and “CHARITY” from Baltimore in 1869.²² I suspect that at least some of these individuals

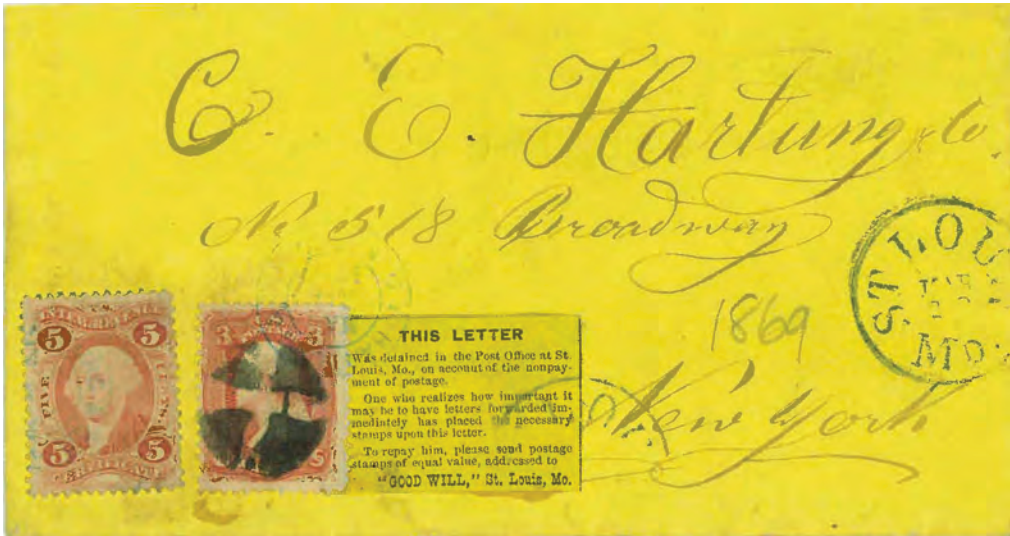


Figure 3. Improperly franked with a 5¢ Revenue stamp (Scott R24), this cover was deposited in the St. Louis post office in March, 1869. Good Samaritan “GOOD WILL” affixed his private label with a 3¢ postage stamp attached and the St. Louis postmaster subsequently postmarked the cover and sent it on to the addressee. The wording on this St. Louis label is identical word for word to the Good Samaritan labels created by Marcus L. Ward (Figures 1 and 2) several years earlier.

were profit-seeking entrepreneurs. However, my searches of local newspapers of this time period failed to unearth any references to these labels or clues as to the identity of the individuals who created them. So, their names and their motives remain unknown.

Figure 3 shows a cover initially franked with a 5¢ Revenue stamp (Scott R24) and mailed at St. Louis in 1869 bearing a label created by “GOOD WILL,” in St. Louis. This cover was illustrated by Perry in his 1955 article.²³ The label reads:

THIS LETTER was detained in the post office at St. Louis, Mo., on account of the nonpayment of postage. One who realizes how important it may be to have letters forwarded immediately has placed the necessary stamps upon this letter. To repay him, please send postage stamps of equal value, addressed to “GOOD WILL”, St. Louis, Mo.

The wording of this “GOOD WILL” label is identical to the wording of Marcus Ward’s Box 582 labels. There is no doubt that this Good Samaritan copied the practice initiated by Marcus Ward several years earlier. Who was “GOOD WILL” and was his rationale for engaging in this activity charitable? We do not know.

S. J. Bestor

However, I have discovered the identity of another individual who participated in this practice, S.J. Bestor of Hartford, Conn. The 23 August 1871 *Providence Evening Press* reported: “S.J. Bestor, of Hartford, each Saturday, pays the postage on all letters held for nonpayment in the post office of that city. They are then forwarded, with the request that the receiver will remit the amount paid, a request usually heeded, and gratefully acknowledged. He also thus advertises his business.”²⁴ The 29 February 1872 *Alexandria Gazette* reported, “S.J. Bestor, an eccentric gentleman of Hartford, Conn., regularly stamps all letters held for postage in that city, attaching to the envelope a printed statement of the fact. The responses he has received would fill a large volume.” The article quotes a self-described burglar who wrote, “Bestor, you’re a gentleman; I am no matter what; but I got a letter you stamped just in time to dodge the beaks and be off. Here’s a stamp, and if I ever happen in Hartford in a

professional way I shan't crack your bin...."²⁵ It appears that Bestor's participation in this practice earned him local attention, reasonable reimbursement, and interesting responses. Perhaps one of Bestor's Good Samaritan labels survives in someone's collection.

Obviously, Bestor got involved in this practice rather late, very likely after learning of this activity by Box 582, the YMCA, and possibly others. Unlike Ward, whose rationale was apparently largely philanthropic, and the YMCA, whose motivation was both charitable and financial, it appears that Bestor's aim was to advertise his various businesses. S.J. Bestor manufactured and sold gold pens and accessories from a salesroom at 245 Main Street in Hartford in 1871.²⁶ In 1872 Bestor advertised himself as a real estate agent at that address²⁷ and he advertised his real estate services out of 240 Main Street in 1874.²⁸ So Bestor went from selling gold pens to selling real estate. Both businesses would benefit from the local attention achieved by supplying postage for unpaid mail. At that time, he was also serving as president of the Connecticut State Poultry Society.²⁹ Therefore, I conclude that Bestor's motivation for participating in this practice was to promote himself as a Good Samaritan in his community and to advertise his businesses. This notion is supported by the existence of other Good Samaritan labels used to advertise businesses and products during this time period. Matt Kewriga posted on PhilaMercury an 1874 cover bearing a Good Samaritan label from New Haven businessman John C. Chapman, which advertised his "flour feed and grain dealer" business. Similarly, Ken Lawrence posted on PhilaMercury a Good Samaritan label from a Philadelphia businessman advertising "Dobbin's Electric Soap."

YMCA labels

The YMCA is the charitable organization most frequently associated with Good Samaritan labels. The earliest YMCA Good Samaritan label that I have recorded dates from 1867 (4 in Table 1), a full decade after Marcus Ward began the practice. Articles describing the practice of supplying postage for unpaid letters by the YMCA began to appear in the nation's newspapers in 1867-68, suggesting that the YMCA began the practice around that time.³⁰ It seems likely that the YMCA got this idea by learning of Marcus L. Ward's activities. This is supported by a *Trenton Gazette* article from late 1869 that reported: "The Young Men's Christian Association of Elizabeth has imitated the generous example of a well-known Newark citizen, in prepaying letters which are dropped into the post-office without a stamp. A number of letters every week accumulate in our post-office, sent generally by poor persons who are not accustomed to correspondence, and who are therefore ignorant of the law requiring the prepayment of postage. In prepaying these letters the Young Men's Christian Association of this city would be doing a work of practical charity."³¹

Was this practice profitable for the YMCA? In mid 1867 the *Springfield Republican* reported as follows:³²

A shrewd Yankee is managing the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association. He takes all letters put in the post-office there without stamps, supplies what are wanted, and sends them on their way, with this little printed label: "This letter was deposited in the Chicago post-office unpaid. Under the rules it would have been sent to the dead letter office. The Young Men's Christian Association have paid the postage. In return for the favor please remit, to aid us in our work, such sum as you can afford. Address—Young Men's Christian Association, No.146 Madison Street, Chicago." Lots of money comes back, sometimes five and ten dollar bills.

At about the same time the *Salt Lake City Telegraph* said of this practice by the Chicago YMCA that "sometimes the sum is quite generous."³³

If these newspaper accounts are accurate, then the YMCA found this to be a profitable enterprise. That would explain the rapid and widespread adoption of the practice by numerous YMCA chapters throughout the United States.

It appears that the public was keenly aware of the YMCA's practice of supplying postage for unstamped letters in anticipation of receiving a contribution. In late 1868 the

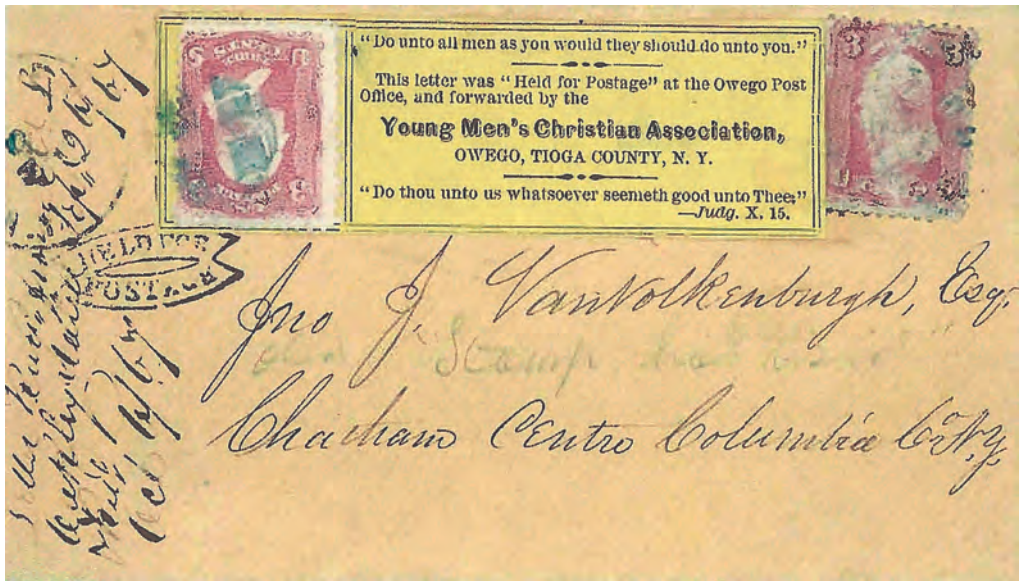


Figure 4. This cover, franked with a previously used and poorly cleaned 3¢ 1861 stamp, was deposited in the Owego, New York, post office where it was “Held for Postage.” The local YMCA affixed its label (including a new 3¢ 1861 stamp). The postmaster then postmarked the cover, canceled the stamp and forwarded the cover to its addressee. While it quotes the bible, this YMCA label does not directly request a contribution.

Cleveland Leader reported that “there is a man in Chicago who is wealthy, and a lawyer of no mean pretensions, who is so penurious that he drops all letters to his friends in the post office without stamps, in order that the agent of the Young Men’s Christian Association will save him the postage.”³⁴

Figures 4 through 7 show four covers bearing Good Samaritan labels prepared by different YMCA chapters. The labels differ in design, printing quality, color and language, strongly suggesting that individual chapters prepared their own labels.

The cover in Figure 4 bears a YMCA label distinct from all other Good Samaritan labels that I have encountered in that it simply quotes the bible and does not directly request remuneration or a contribution. The label reads:

“Do unto all men as you would they should do unto you.” This letter was “Held for Postage” at the Owego Post Office, and forwarded by the Young Men’s Christian Association, OWEGO, TIOGA COUNTY, N.Y. “Do thou unto us whatsoever seemeth good unto Thee.” Judg. X. 15.

The Figure 4 cover is also interesting in that it was initially franked with a previously used and poorly cleaned 3¢ 1861 stamp. Note that the affixed label includes a collar expressly designed to frame the stamp added by the Good Samaritan.

The striking advertising cover in Figure 5, which was originally deposited at the post office without franking, bears the more typical Good Samaritan label requesting remuneration and a contribution. The label, with a 3¢ 1861 stamp attached, reads:

This letter was dropped in the Detroit Post Office without the proper Stamp affixed. To prevent its being sent to the Dead Letter Office, “THE DETROIT YOUNG MEN’S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION” have furnished a Stamp and forwarded the letter. Please return a stamp, or any sum you may choose to contribute. Address, “Young Men’s Christian Association, Detroit, Mich.”

Figure 6, a preprinted envelope that was dropped at the Chicago post office without postage. As with many of these covers, the year date is not certain, but we can infer, from

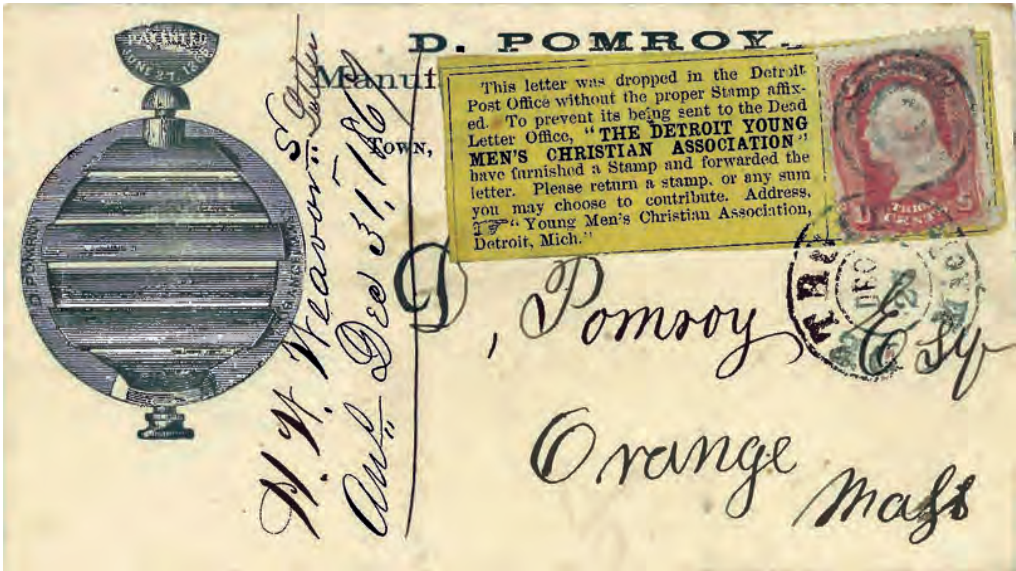


Figure 5. Advertising cover deposited without postage at the Detroit post office. The local YMCA affixed their label, including a 3¢ 1861 stamp. The postmaster subsequently postmarked the cover, canceled the stamp and the label, and sent it on to the addressee. This label asks the recipient to compensate the YMCA with a stamp or a contribution.

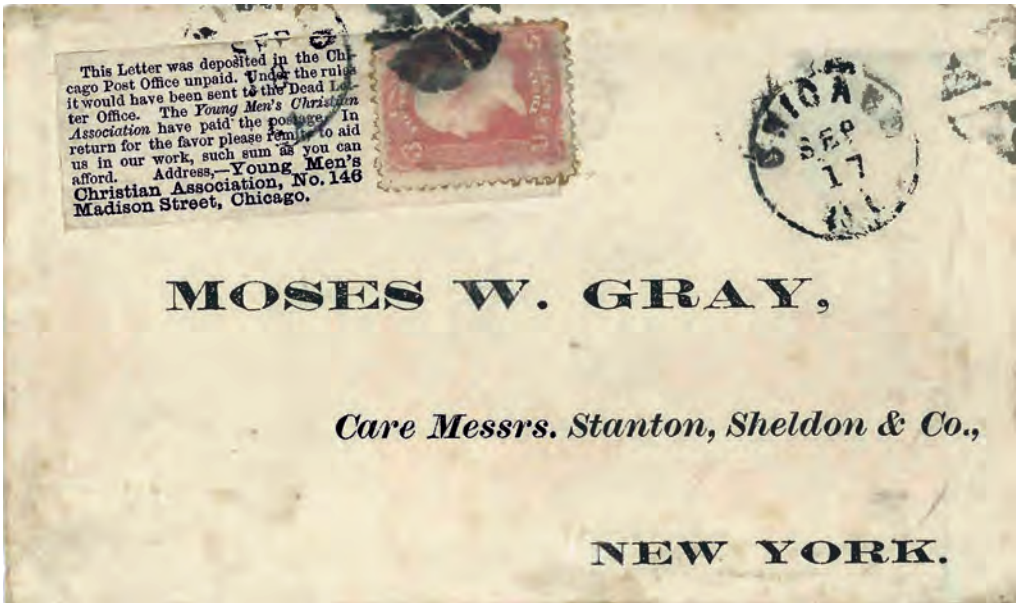


Figure 6. Chicago YMCA label, with 3¢ 1861 stamp affixed, on a preprinted envelope that was originally deposited without postage at the Chicago post office.

the stamp and the YMCA label, that the cover dates from the late 1860s. The cover bears a Chicago YMCA label that reads as follows:

This Letter was deposited in the Chicago Post Office unpaid. Under the rules it would have been sent to the Dead Letter Office. The Young Men's Christian Association have paid the postage. In return for the favor please remit to aid us in our work, such sum as you can afford. Address,—Young Men's Christian Association, No. 146 Madison Street, Chicago.

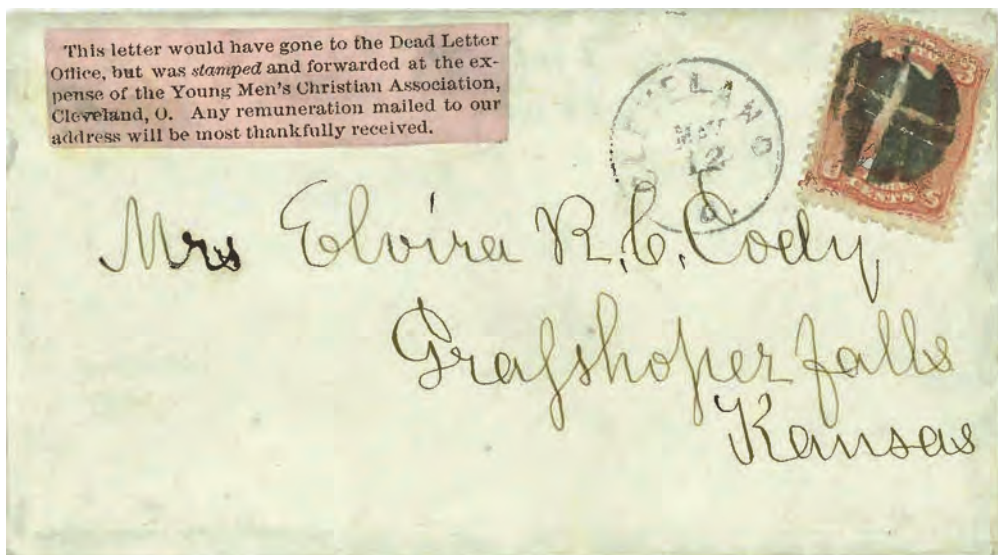


Figure 7. Cleveland YMCA label, with separately affixed 3¢ 1861 stamp, on an 1868 cover originally deposited without postage at the Cleveland post office.

Figure 7 shows a cover with a Cleveland YMCA label. This too was originally dropped at the post office with no franking. This is one of the covers illustrated by Perry in his 1955 *American Philatelist* article.³⁵ The label reads:

This letter would have gone to the Dead Letter Office, but was stamped and forwarded at the expense of the Young Men's Christian Association, Cleveland, O. Any remuneration mailed to our address will be most thankfully received.

Labels from other charitable organizations

In addition to the YMCA, other charitable organizations supplied postage for unpaid letters. Figure 8 shows a cover from Toledo, Ohio, bearing a crudely printed label prepared by the Young Men's Christian Union, which reads: "This letter was detained on account of non-payment of Postage. The Young Men's Christian Union of Toledo, Ohio, forward it to you, having caused the necessary stamp to be affixed."

Figure 9 shows a cover posted at Mobile in late 1868, bearing a label prepared by the Children's Missionary Society. The text of the label reads:

This Letter was dropped into the Postoffice without any stamp, and according to the Regulations, would have been sent to the "Dead Letter Office," but realizing the importance of such letters, we have paid the postage thereon, relying on your generosity to return a liberal compensation. Address CHILDREN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY, P.O. Box 250, Mobile, Ala.

It appears that sometimes, the Good Samaritan had the postmaster collect the remunerations and contributions on his behalf. Figure 10 shows a letter dropped in the Quincy, Illinois, post office without postage stamps, for which a Good Samaritan supplied the postage and affixed a label, directing the recipient to send payment to the post office. Could the postmaster have been the Good Samaritan in this case? We do not know.

The label, also bearing the handwritten signature "Willie," reads:

THIS LETTER Was detained in the Post Office in Quincy, Illinois, on account of the non-payment of postage. One who realizes how important it is to have letters forwarded immediately has placed the necessary postage stamps upon it. To repay him send postage stamps of equal value addressed to P.O., Quincy, Ill.

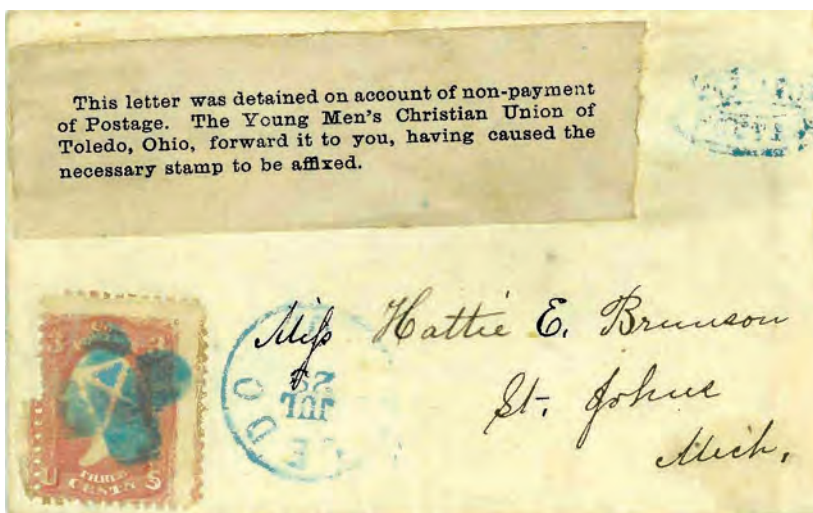


Figure 8. This cover was dropped unfranked in the Toledo, Ohio, post office where it was handstamped "Held for Postage". The Toledo Young Men's Christian Union supplied the correct postage and affixed their label to the cover, which was then sent on to the addressee.

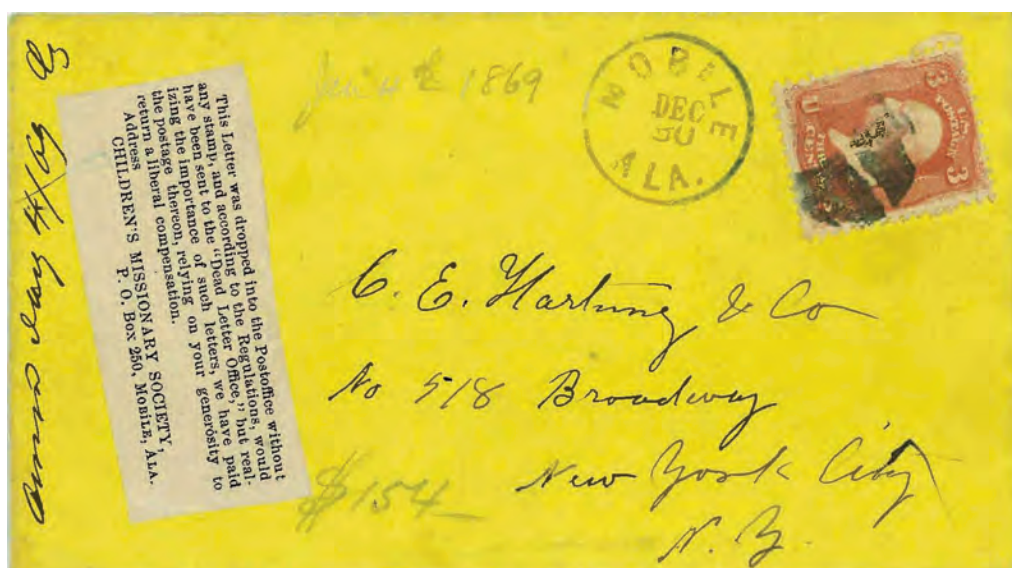


Figure 9. Postage supplied by the Children's Missionary Society of Mobile saved this cover, which was mailed in late 1868, from the Dead Letter Office.

I have found just one Good Samaritan label bearing an individual's name. From Manchester, New Hampshire and addressed to Albany, this cover is shown in Figure 11. The label, to which is affixed a grilled 3¢ 1861 stamp, reads:

Post Office, Manchester, N.H.

The enclosed came into this office without the necessary stamp, and would have been sent to the Dead Letter Office at Washington, with other unmailable matter.

The postage has been paid out of PRIVATE FUNDS, and sent to you, trusting that you, on your part, will contribute something to prevent this fund from diminishing.

Please return this with your reply, Yours truly, A.K. Morrill.

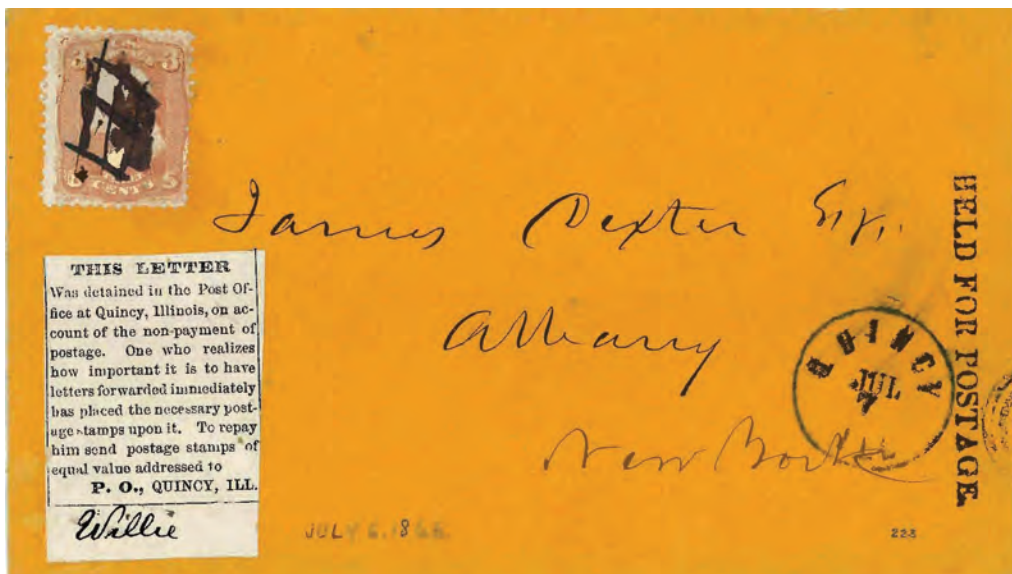


Figure 10. This 1866 cover was deposited without postage in the Quincy, Illinois, post office where it was hand-stamped “Held for Postage” and detained. An anonymous Good Samaritan supplied the postage and affixed his label, hand signed in ink (“Willie”). The wording on this label is almost identical to that of the Box 582 label on the covers in Figures 1 and 2, but asks that payment be sent directly to the post office.



Figure 11. This cover was dropped without postage at the post office in Manchester, New Hampshire. Good Samaritan A. K. Morrill supplied the 3¢ 1861 stamp and affixed his label, enabling this letter to avoid the Dead Letter Office. This is one of the very few Good Samaritan labels from the 1860s that contains an individual’s name.

A.K. Morrill still a mystery

The newspapers of this period carry many articles and citations about numerous Morrills throughout New England, but nothing that I could find about A. K. Morrill or the practice of supplying postage for unfranked mail.

Nonetheless, two possible candidates emerge. A Dr. Alpheus Morrill, living in Concord, N.H., died at age 66 in 1874. His obituary stated that “Dr. Morrill was widely known, with an extensive practice in this city and vicinity. Benevolent in character, he ever manifested deep sympathy with those in affliction, and only the recipients of his many good deeds are cognizant of them.”³⁶ Unfortunately for this research, his middle initial is not listed in any newspaper accounts.

Another candidate is Morrill & Silsby, a printing, bookbinding and stationery company based in Concord, that advertised extensively in the local newspapers during the 1860s and 1870s.³⁷ Could this firm have printed such labels to advertise its business, similar to S.J. Bestor and others? The Morrill initials for this firm are also unknown, so the identity of A.K. Morrill remains a mystery.

How did it end?

So, when did the practice end and why? For the first and most prolific Good Samaritans, Marcus Ward and the YMCA, the motivation was apparently primarily charitable. Both appear to have voluntarily ceased this activity around 1869; only a few YMCA labels are known beyond 1870.

However, Good Samaritans identifying themselves with charitable-sounding pseudonyms such as “GOOD WILL,” “THOUGHTFUL,” “CHARITY,” “CONFUSION” and “SAMARITAN” began to proliferate in the last third of 1860s and continued through the mid-1870s. Matt Kewriga and Ken Lawrence identified Good Samaritan labels used in the mid-1870s to advertise local businesses. So, the focus of this practice may have gradually shifted from charity to profit-seeking and advertising.

In any case, the United States Post Office sounded the death-knell for the Good Samaritans with the issuance of Postage Due stamps on 1 July 1879. Chip Gliedman posted on PhilaMercury an article entitled “Demoralizing Benevolence” which appeared in *The Present Age and Educational Weekly* on 1 June 1882. The article read:

Instances of the harm done by indiscriminate charity are not wanting. Years ago a benevolent individual in Newark, N.J. conceived the idea of authorizing the postmaster of his city to affix stamps to all letters that might be deposited in that office, at his expense. Upon such letters was placed a label notifying the recipient of the facts; and in many instances the stamps were returned to the donor, with thanks. The system becoming known, not a few persons availed themselves of securing free postage, and with the consent of the post office department, the benevolent scheme was initiated in other cities, with results stated in the following official order: “827. The department cannot give permission to any association or individuals to pay postage upon unpaid letters dropped into the mail. The system was tried several years ago, by permission of the Department, at several of the larger post offices, and found to be entirely unsatisfactory. Persons neglected to pay postage upon letters, feeling assured that they would be forwarded without it. In other cases where the postage had been refunded to the party paying it, dunning letters were forwarded by them, bringing complaints from the parties addressed, who charged that the Post Office Department was taking unauthorized liberty with correspondence belonging to others in permitting the inscription asking the return of the unpaid postage to be placed on the envelope. Those persons, among others, induced the Department to withdraw the permission which had been granted for the sake of experiment.”

The “827” citation apparently refers to a section of the May 1882 *Postal Guide*.

Lastly, Ken Lawrence noted that still another order, in the January 1883 *Postal Guide*, urged strict adherence to the 1879 Postal Laws and Regulations barring individuals and organizations from supplying postage for unpaid letters.³⁸ Thus, the use of Good Samaritan labels came to an end, leaving us some interesting and highly collectible covers.

Endnotes

1. Elliot Perry, “Ten Early U.S. Covers that By-passed the Dead Letter Office,” *The American Philatelist*, March 1955, pp. 401-405.
2. Ken Lawrence, “Dead Letters, Labels and Overprinted Envelopes,” *The American Philatelist*, August 1994, pp. 695-697.

3. Ken Lawrence, "Letter Returned and Charity Labels," *The American Philatelist*, April 1995, pp. 309-312.
4. Ken Lawrence, "Labels, Labels and More Labels," *The American Philatelist*, June, 1996, pp. 500-503.
5. John M. Hotchner, "Labels Explain Postage Fixed by Charity," *Linn's Stamp News*, August 20, 2012, pg. 4.
6. Irvin L. Heimburger, "1869 Covers with Good Samaritan Labels," *Chronicle* 234, pp. 136-143.
7. William K. Herzog, "U.S. 1861-1868. Part 1, the 1861-1866 Stamps," exhibition photocopy, U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 1989.
8. Hotchner, *op. cit.*
9. David G. Phillips, *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, Fourth Edition, Vol. 1, pg. 23.
10. "Postal Matters," *Columbian Register*, 12 January 1861.
11. "Letters," *Farmer's Cabinet*, 16 January 1862.
12. "Pro Pay Your Postage," *National American*, 23 June 1865.
13. "Careless Mailing of Letters," *Sun*, 25 July 1866.
14. "Missing Letters," *Albany Evening Journal*, April 1866.
15. "Dead Letters," *Farmer's Cabinet*, 26 November 1868.
16. Heimburger, *op. cit.*
17. Perry, *op. cit.*
18. "Marcus L. Ward, The Soldier's Friend," *Trenton State Gazette*, 31 October 1865.
19. "Disinterested Testimony," *Trenton State Gazette*, 17 August 1865.
20. "How He is Appreciated," *Alexandria Gazette*, 29 February 1872.
21. Heimburger, *op. cit.*
22. Heimburger, *op. cit.*
23. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-405.
24. *Providence Evening Press*, 23 August 1871.
25. "How He is Appreciated," *Alexandria Gazette*, *op. cit.*
26. "Bestor's New Catalog," *Hartford Daily Courant*, 1 Jun 1871.
27. "New Advertisements," *Hartford Daily Courant*, 21 September 1872.
28. "Advertisements," *Springfield Republican*, 2 March 1874.
29. "The State Poultry Convention," *Columbian Register*, November 1871.
30. See, for example, *Springfield Republican*, 12 July 1867; "Charity Begins at Home," *Albany Evening Journal*, 3 September 1867; *Constitution*, 5 February 1868; *Mobile Register*, 15 June 1868.
31. *Trenton State Gazette*, 24 December 1869.
32. *Springfield Republican*, 12 July 1837.
33. *Salt Lake City Daily Telegraph*, 29 May 1867.
34. *Cleveland Leader*, 16 November 1868.
35. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-405.
36. Obituary of Dr. Alpheus Morrill, *New Hampshire Patriot*, 13 May 1874.
37. Advertisements, *New Hampshire Patriot*, 20 February 1861 & 27 February 1878.
38. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, June 1996, pp. 500-503. ■

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1869 15¢ DIES

CHARLES NEYHART

I applaud Irvin L. Heimburger's efforts to unravel the complexity underlying production of the 15¢ 1869 stamps (Type I and Type II) and the Type III reissue.¹ His analysis is sound and nicely illustrated. His research questions are challenging and provocative. Most recently, in *Chronicle* 233, he asks why are there only two die proofs recorded for the three types of the 15¢ design. This is a valid question and one not easily answered. This article offers an extended analysis and aims to clarify the production difficulties encountered by the National Bank Note Company (NBNC).

We know there were problems in printing the 15¢ 1869 stamps, which resulted in some curious production decisions. George Brett worked through this a while back and his analysis forms the basis for this article.² Responsibility for interpretation and explanation, however, rests with this author.

National Bank Note Company dies

The 15¢ 1869 stamp was originally intended to be printed in a single color, and the earliest die showed the complete design. A large die imprint (which Scott designates as 118-E1c) is shown as Figure 1. This is the example that was in the Falk Finkelberg collection. Notably for this discussion, the design shows a uniform band of unprinted space separating the frame and the vignette. This unprinted band was purposeful, serving as an esthetically appropriate separation of the two parts of the design (given that the stamp was to be printed in a single color).



Figure 1. Imprint from the unified die of the 15¢ 1869 stamp as it was originally intended to be printed. This essay is listed in the Scott specialized catalog as 118-E1c. The design shows a uniform band of unprinted space separating the frame and the vignette. From the Falk Finkelberg collection. Image courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries.



Figure 2. The unified 15¢ 1869 die with larger numerals. Transfers from this die were used later to create the separate frame and center dies for bicolor printing. This is Scott 129-E2.

This first die, which I call the unified die, was rejected by the Post Office Department because the denomination numerals were judged too small. Accordingly, a revised unified die was prepared with numerals twice as large (3.0 versus 1.5 millimeters). An enlarged imprint of the stamp portion of this revised unified die is shown in Figure 2. It is important to note that the design on this revised unified die is not the same design as on the Type I, II or III stamps (the latter being the one with which it is most often confused). Scott designates this large-numeral unified design die (which is very scarce) as 129-E2.

The eventual production contract called for the four high-value denominations, including the 15¢ stamp, to be printed in two colors. Thus, the 15¢ design had to be divided into two parts with plates required for each, since the two would be printed separately. NBNC altered transfer rolls made from the revised unified die (Figure 2) and laid down separate frame and center dies. Not unexpectedly, this led to problems in registration between the frames and centers.

Pre-production test printings were unsatisfactory. The band of unprinted white space was no longer esthetically appealing, nor was it necessary to separate the frame and the vignette, since both were now to appear in different colors. Due to persistent misregistration, the unprinted white space actually detracted from the design. Rather than preparing revised dies, NBNC expediently chose to add lines to build up both elements of the design in order to diminish the now-unwanted white space between them.

The important point is that these lines were not added to the dies. Instead, the buildup was done directly on the frame and vignette plates, to every subject individually. After the frames had been transferred to their 100-subject plate, each subject was modified by



Figure 3. Enlarged images of overlapping segments of four Type I four 15¢ 1869 stamps. Surrounding the vignettes, added blue outer lines show clearly. Image courtesy of Irvin L. Heimburger.

adding a series of fine horizontal vignetting registration lines extending toward the open center area and forming a band all around the inside of the frame opening. In his article in *Chronicle* 233, Heimburger illustrated this very well (see especially his Figure 2). Heimburger did not dwell on this, but comparable work was also done on the vignettes. After the vignettes had been transferred to their 100-subject plate, each vignette was modified by adding an outline.

The center design on the revised unified die shows what appears to be a single line, or the effect of such a line, around the vignette, which serves to connect its colored shading lines. This line could have been lightly scored or perhaps is simply an artifact from the ends of the shading lines coalescing into what appears to be a line. See Figure 2.

The work done on the vignette plate added an outline around each individual vignette. This outline, slightly thicker than the original vignette outline, was engraved outside the original vignette. The added outline consists of a straight line across the bottom of the vignette, connecting with short diagonal lines leading to vertical lines at the left and right, and then curved sections leading to a straight horizontal top.

One would naturally expect that the kind of on-plate work described here would exhibit some variability from one position to another, and in fact there is minor variation, even though the engravers very likely used guides for this purpose. There is variation in the lengths and angles of the diagonal lines and some of the diagonals exhibit a rounded shape. The orientation of the outline to the mass of the vignette also varies slightly. While there is consistency of shape, probably only a small proportion of the outlines match seamlessly. This on-plate repetitive work was likely assigned to a lower grade worker.

The enlarged illustrations in Heimburger's Figure 1 (*Chronicle* 233, pg. 56), show points of variation in the blue outer outline. Figure 3, adapted with Heimburger's permission from his *Chronicle* article, shows enlarged images of overlapping segments of four Type I 15¢ 1869 stamps. The added blue outer lines, surrounding the vignettes, show clearly. Subtle differences can be observed.

Thus, the Type I stamps (Scott 118) printed from these plates cannot match the designs on the dies from which they were created.

Not satisfied with the Type I stamps, the Post Office Department wanted a still-closer fit between the frames and centers, much like what was being achieved on the concurrent bicolored 24¢ Signing of the Declaration stamp. In response, NBNC quickly prepared a revised 15¢ frame die by adding a strong border of three horizontal lines at the top of the frame opening, the middle line being thicker, with an enclosed diamond-shaped lozenge at top center. Short vignetting lines, similar to those added to the Type I frame plate, were also added. In this case, though, the lines were diagonal and the band of lines extended across the bottom and up the sides (but not across the top) of the opening in the frame. Notably, these lines were engraved directly onto the modified frame die.

For reasons that are unclear, but probably due again to poor registration even with the revised and more robust frame, it was judged necessary to have the outer outline added to the already transferred Type II centers, again by engraving it individually around each vignette on the new vignette plate, Plate 23.

Thus, the Type II stamps (Scott 119) do not wholly match the design on the dies from which they were created.

For the 1875 reissue (Type III), NBNC surprisingly used the Type I frame die, but did not add the horizontal vignetting lines either to the die or to the plate. The improved Type II frame die, which was available, was not used. This seemingly odd choice may be due to the passage of time. With the Type I and Type II frame plates apparently no longer available, the engraving and printing records from 1868-69 would have pointed to the Type I frame die as source of the original 15¢ stamp, despite it not having the vignetting frame lines. Center Plate 23, which was used to print the Type II centers and included the outer outline added by hand to each subject, was used to print the Type III centers. Consequently, the Type III reprint (Scott 129), in perfect register, would exhibit a narrow band of unprinted white space in the center opening, but not as wide as what would have resulted from printing with the early revised unified die.

Figure 4 shows an example of the reissued stamp (Type III), with the vignette centered about as well as it can be. When compared with Figure 2, the revised unified die, the differences in separation are obvious. The revised unified die (Figure 2) shows a uniform and complete band of unprinted white space between the frame and center, whereas the reissued stamp (Figure 4) includes the blue outer outline around the center vignette within that same band.

Essays and proofs

Following longstanding catalog convention, essays printed from the revised unified die are grouped with Type III essays. These essays include all of the overprints, the safety paper prints and the so-called trial color proofs. But essays from the revised unified die are not the same as Type III prints. First, the revised unified die print has a single die as a printing base, whereas the Type III reprint used separate plates for the frame and center, so as to be printed in two colors. In addition, a die essay from the revised unified die does not have the outer outline added around the vignette as does the Type III reprint. Thus, while both prints reveal unprinted white space between the frame and center, that space on the unified die will form a uniform band which is wider than that of the Type III. There will be no variation in this band as there can be (and usually is) on the Type III stamp.

Oddly, essays printed from the original unified die, differentiated only by the size of the numerals of denomination, are grouped in the catalog with the Type I essays.

The current *Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps & Covers* lists 15¢ 1869 Type II and Type III large die proofs from the NBNC dies. But there can be no die proofs for those types because no sets of frame and vignette dies match the issued stamps. (The subsequent small die proofs created by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are beyond the scope of this article and will be addressed at another time.) Thus, the cataloged



Figure 4. Reissued 15¢ 1869 stamp (Type III, Scott 129), with the vignette centered within its frame about as well as it can be. When compared with the unified die shown in Figure 2, the differences in vignette-frame separation are striking. Image courtesy of Smithsonian National Postal Museum.

Type II die proof (which Scott designates as 119P1) and the cataloged Type III die proof (129P1), are both likely India plate proofs cut closely, mounted on India paper and then die sunk on card to simulate a large die proof.³

To get nitpicky, the only die “proofs” of the 15¢ stamp frames and centers are treated in the catalog as essays. The items designated 129-E7a and 128-E8 are proofs of the Type I and Type III frame die; 118-E1a is a proof of the vignette die. Note there is no added outer outline on 118-E1a; in fact, the outer outline around the vignette didn’t exist on NBNC’s 15¢ center die. These “proofs” are what resulted when NBNC initially split apart the revised unified die to create separate frame and vignette dies for bicolor printing. The item designated 119-E1b may also be a proof of the vignette die, but the author has never seen an example. Finally, 119-E1a and 119-E1d are proofs of the revised Type II frame die.

Concluding observations

Printing the 15¢ 1869 stamps followed a tortuous path from the original intention to print them in a single color using a unified die to the eventual decision to print them in

two colors using a multi-plate intaglio printing base. The first bicolor test printings were unacceptable, but instead of preparing revised frame and center dies, NBNC resorted to the expedient of modifying both the frame and center plates. Yet even with these modifications, the Type I stamp design was judged inadequate. Since the 15¢ stamp was already scheduled to be released, the Post Office Department had little choice but to issue it in that form, and while the Type I stamps were being printed and shipped, NBNC was at work redesigning the frame into what became the Type II stamp. This new and more robust frame was still not sufficient to completely solve the misregistration problems and NBNC quickly resorted to performing another modification on the center plate. The time sensitivity of issuing the stamps and the need to manage materials costs were the likely drivers in these decisions.

It is difficult to ignore NBNC's penchant for thrift in evaluating certain decisions made by the company in 1868 and 1869. Yet the Post Office Department routinely tinkered with things without extra compensation. On the other hand, NBNC had a fine stable of up-and-coming engravers and the company may have been willing to accept financially unfavorable changes in exchange for opportunities to season and to showcase their talent.

Endnotes

1. Irvin L. Heimburger, "Why Three 15¢ Stamp Types but Only Two Die Proofs?" *Chronicle* 233 (February, 2012), pp. 56-58; "The Three 1869 15¢ Frame Types: Are They in Proper Sequence?" *Chronicle* 189 (February, 2001), pp. 15-17.
2. See, for example: George W. Brett, "U.S. Postage Stamp Production Dies 1847-1894," *The Congress Book 1989*, pp. 25-29; "The Development of the U.S. 15c 1869 Design Types," *The Essay-Proof Journal* (Fourth Quarter, 1992), pp. 149-56; and "The 1869 Issue and Souvenir Cards from World Columbian Stamp Expo," *The United States Specialist*, (October 1992), pp. 511-14.
3. An example of 119P1 was Lot 389 in Siegel's 2005 Lake Shore sale (sale 890); examples of 129P1 were lots 4021 and 325 in Siegel sales 967 and 1011, respectively. ■

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TREASURY AND WAR COMBINATION USE

LESTER C. LANPHEAR III

Introduction

Back in 1980 I visited Charles Starnes and was privileged to view his incomparable collection of Departmental and penalty-clause covers. I had not been collecting Departmentals very long and was blown away by what I saw. After this meeting Charles shared with me his Departmental cover census data. This included his covers, those of Morrison Waud and cover listings gleaned from various auction catalogs. This became the foundation for my own ongoing census of U.S. Departmental covers.

When the contents of his safe were stolen in 1983, the theft was a huge set-back to philately and to Starnes personally. He remained my mentor in the area of Departmentals even after the theft. At the time he died, in 1993, it was widely assumed that the stolen material was lost forever, though I personally never embraced that assumption.

In the missing collection was one cover that seemed to me to be the biggest loss of all: the only Departmental cover known bearing the stamps of two different departments. Shown in Figure 1, that cover is the subject of this brief article.

Astonishingly, in 2005, the Starnes Officials collection, plus much (but not all) of his other collections, was recovered, after a sharp-eyed collector spied a few of Starnes' foreign-mail covers in an eBay offering. The FBI was called in, the seller disgorged his holding, and the Starnes estate was reopened for the sale (by the Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries) of the recovered material. This cover was lot 3852 in Siegel's sale of the recovered Starnes material, sale 945, held on October 25-26, 2007. I feel very fortunate that I was able to buy the cover.



Figure 1. The only recorded cover bearing Official stamps from more than one department. Posted in Chicago with a 6¢ Treasury stamp. Initially addressed and sent to Santa Fe, then forwarded from Santa Fe to Charleston, and then remailed at Charleston, probably from Fort Moultrie, with the addition of a 6¢ War Department stamp.

Background

The Treasury Department was involved with government funds around the country and corresponded extensively with private individuals and other government employees and organizations. The cover shown in Figure 1 was sent to Captain J. H. Belcher, U.S. Infantry, in Santa Fe, New Mexico. John Hill Belcher was promoted to major quartermaster on 2 July 1883.¹

There was a Fort Marcy in the city of Santa Fe, and it was active from 1846 until 1867, when the garrison surrounded by earthworks was abandoned. From 1867 to 1875, the remaining military personnel were housed in conventional buildings in the city of Santa Fe and designated as “The Post at Santa Fe”. Despite its name, the Post at Santa Fe did not have its own post office; it used the main Santa Fe post office.

Fort Marcy was reactivated in 1875, but even though a post office is mentioned in an 1876 description of the fort, I believe this refers to the Santa Fe post office. In 1876 Santa Fe was described as the headquarters for the Military District of New Mexico.² No War Department stamps or covers are recorded with Fort Marcy cancels, though there are War Department covers from Santa Fe. The massive David T. Beals III collection of military fort covers contained no covers from Fort Marcy, but it did have a couple of covers from Santa Fe.³ There would have been no need for a second dedicated post office in a city whose population in 1890 was 5,982.⁴

The double-weight cover in Figure 1 was sent from the Assistant Treasurer’s Office in Chicago on July 9, year uncertain. When the cover arrived in Santa Fe it was determined that Captain Belcher had removed to Charleston, South Carolina. The cover was forwarded to him there, presumably because he had left a forwarding address at the post office, per the Act of June 12, 1866.⁵ Since the cover was forwarded in Santa Fe the “FORWARDED” handstamp was applied there.

When the cover arrived in Charleston, it was probably delivered to Fort Moultrie. The quartermaster office at the fort determined that Captain Belcher had been reassigned to Salem, Massachusetts. The 6¢ War Department stamp was added by quartermaster personnel in Charleston and the cover was remailed on July 23.

There are no contents surviving in the cover, neither of the two postmarks has a year date, there are no postal markings on the reverse, and there is no docketing to provide a year date. The standard reference on Chicago postal markings indicates the Chicago duplex marking on this cover is type D-1 with a number 4 in the center.⁶ This dates the cover between 1878 and 1883. Type D-1 had no year date in the circular datestamp or between the circular datestamp and the killer.

Even though both stamps on the cover are common, I think this is one of the greatest Departmental postal history covers in existence, since it is the only recorded official cover with stamps from more than one department. It is fortunate for philately that the Starnes Departmental covers were recovered.

Endnotes

1. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Volume 1, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903) pg. 206.
2. Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, *Outline Descriptions of The Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri* (Chicago: Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri, 1876; Fort Collins, Colorado: The Old Army Press, facsimile edition 1972) pp. 167-169.
3. The David T. Beals III Collection of United States Military Posts (Forts), Daniel F Kelleher Co. auction #578, June 20, 1988.
4. *Post Offices in the United States in 1890*, (Battle Creek, Michigan: James D. Bennett, 1973).
5. Anthony S. Wawrukiewicz, *The Forwarding of Mail by the U.S. Post Office Department, 1792-2001*, (Wheeling, Illinois: James E. Lee Publishing, 2001) pp. 21 & 208.
6. Leonard Piszkiwicz, *Chicago Postal Markings and Postal History*, (Cary, Illinois: James E. Lee Publishing, 2006) pp. 54-55. ■

INSUFFICIENTLY PAID LETTERS IN THE U.S.-BREMEN MAIL, 1847–53: THE NEW YORK “DUE” MARKINGS

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The postal arrangement between the United States and Bremen went into effect with the inaugural voyage of the steamer *Washington*, which departed from New York on 1 June 1847.¹ For very comprehensive details about the arrangement and the treatment of letters, refer to Chapter 2 of *Understanding Transatlantic Mail* by Richard F. Winter.² The arrangement was convenient both for the sender and the addressee. It allowed full payment to destination, partial payment to Bremen, or letters could be sent completely unpaid. Although the regulations did not specifically allow Americans to pay letters only to New York, this was allowed in practice. Even after 1 July 1851, when the internal U.S. postage and sea postage were combined into one rate, it was possible to prepay only the U.S. or German part of the postage to Bremen. The 1847 Bremen arrangement is unique in allowing these partial payment options. Many later conventions between the United States and other European countries required payment of the full postage, and any partial payment by the sender was lost.³

The complexity of rates and uses (letters could be sent unpaid, prepaid to New York, prepaid only to Bremen or, in a small fraction of cases, prepaid to destination) may be a major reason why one type of Bremen covers has been overlooked: Insufficiently paid mail. There are not only part-paid letters (on which the postage was paid for a fraction of the distance intentionally), but there are also letters that were prepaid an amount that was insufficient to cover the necessary postage for any allowed portion of the distance to the destination. In later conventions with various countries, such covers are often marked “short paid,” “unzureichend frankirt,” “insufficiently paid,” etc., and they attract special interest from collectors. Insufficiently paid Bremen-mail covers during the 1847-53 period are not easy to distinguish, and they are hard to find.

This article discusses insufficiently paid letters during the period from 1847 to 15 August 1853. The article is based on the author’s German-language article in the *Rundbriefe* of the Deutscher Altbriefsammler-Verein.⁴ New information has been included and recently found short-paid covers have been added.

1847-51 rates

For a better understanding of this subject, some basic information about the arrangement is necessary. The details of the 1847 Bremen arrangement were established in regulations that were agreed upon by the United States and Bremen.⁵ In accordance with the 3 March 1845 act of the U.S. Congress, Article 4 of the regulations defined the U.S. rates as 24¢ U.S. sea postage from New York to Bremen plus U.S. inland postage of 5¢ for distances less than 300 miles from New York and 10¢ for greater distances. On letters originating in New York City, there was no U.S. inland charge. This resulted in total U.S. rates of 24¢, 29¢ or 34¢, depending on the point of origin.

The additional postage rates from Bremen to the various German states (or vice versa) were quite confusing at the beginning of the Bremen Convention, and they underwent subsequent changes. A typical rate from Bremen to Württemberg was 18 kreuzer (kr.), the southern German currency, which was equal to 12¢. A detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this article. Since the German rates were so difficult for Americans to calculate, most letters from the U.S. to Germany were sent unpaid, paid only to New York, or paid as far as Bremen. Article 10 of the Regulations stated that letters paid to their destination had to be marked in red PAID ALL; letters paid only to Bremen had to be marked PAID PART in black.⁶

With the departure of the *Hermann* on 12 July 1851 a new 20¢ rate went into effect (3 March 1851 act of U.S. Congress),⁷ which combined the U.S. internal postage and the sea postage into one rate, regardless of the distance from New York.

German internal (GAPU) rates

In Germany the formation of the German Austrian Postal Union (GAPU) simplified German rates for those states that joined the Convention.⁸ The rates, stated in the kreuzer and silbergroschen (sgr.) equivalents, depended on the distance between sending and receiving office and were divided into three rate zones: 1 sgr. (or 3 kr.) for less than 10 German miles, 2 sgr. (6 kr.) for less than 20 German miles, and 3 sgr. (9 kr.) for greater distances.

One German mile was equal to 7,420 meters or 4.61 statute miles. Therefore, the most common German internal postage from Bremen to German destinations (or vice versa) was at the maximum rate of 3 sgr. or 9 kr.

The typical reason for a short payment was incorrect determination of a letter's weight by the sending office. All the cover examples shown in this article show incorrect postage payment for the weight of the letter. For this reason, we will take a closer look at the weight progression.

1847-51 weight progression

The U.S. weight progression during the era of 24¢ sea postage was established in Article 4 of the regulations.⁹ For the U.S. inland postage, a progression of one rate per ½ ounce applied. A different progression was set for the 24¢ sea postage: Not over ½ ounce, 24¢; over ½ ounce to 1 ounce, 48¢; over 1 ounce to 1½ ounce, 63¢; and 15¢ for each additional ½ ounce or fraction thereof. The total U.S. postage was the sum of inland and sea postage.

1851-53 rates and weight progression

During the period from 1 July 1851 until 15 August 1853, inland and sea postage were combined into one rate and the weight progression was changed. Although section 1 of the act of 3 March 1851 adopted the progression of one rate per ½ ounce during this period,¹⁰ the U.S. applied this progression only to domestic letters and letters to the British North American provinces. It did not apply this progression to mail to and from other foreign countries.¹¹ With the arrival of the steamer *Washington* in Bremerhaven on 11 July 1851, the U.S. postmaster informed Bremen that after 1 July 1851 the U.S. single rate was reduced to 20¢ and the weight progression was changed. Bremen Post Director Bartsch explained the progression as follows:¹²

Single letter not exceeding ½ ounce, 1 rate; exceeding ½ ounce to 1 ounce, 2 rates; exceeding 1 ounce but not 2 ounces, 4 rates; exceeding 2 ounces but not 3 ounces, 6 rates, and so on.

Thus, the British weight progression was implemented for the Bremen mail. With the exception of the single rate, odd rates were not allowed. It is interesting to note that the new rates were not the result of negotiations between the U.S. and Bremen, but the Bremen authorities were simply informed by the U.S. postmaster that new rates had been introduced.

German weight progression (GAPU)

The German weight progression was based on a different weight unit, the loth. One loth was $16\frac{2}{3}$ grams, slightly more than $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce, which is 14.2 grams. The GAPU weight progression was one rate per loth.

Weight	U.S. Postage	GAPU Postage
Up to $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce (= 14.2 grams)	20¢	3 sgr. (= 9 kr.)
$\frac{1}{2}$ ounce–1 loth (= 16.7 grams)	40¢	3 sgr. (= 9 kr.)
1 loth–1 ounce (= 28.4 grams)	40¢	6 sgr. (= 18 kr.)
1 ounce–2 loth (= 33.3 grams)	80¢	6 sgr. (= 18 kr.)
2 loth–3 loth (= 50 grams)	80¢	9 sgr. (= 27 kr.)
3 loth–2 ounce (= 56.7 grams)	80¢	12 sgr. (= 36 kr.)
For every additional ounce add	40¢	
For every additional loth add		3 sgr. (= 9 kr.)

Table 1. Weight progression in effect 1 July 1851–15 August 1853 for covers via Bremen. The different ounce and loth weight units resulted in different progression steps for the 20¢ combined U.S. and sea postage and the GAPU rate. The rates above are for distances (within Germany) greater than 20 German miles, which is typical for these covers.

The different weight units used in the U.S. and the GAPU resulted in small differences in the weight progression of the U.S. and German parts of the postage of a letter. It was possible that a letter with double U.S. postage would be marked as a single German rate. This is suggested by the data in Table 1, which shows the weight progression of the U.S. and German postage for the 3 sgr. (or 9 kr.) zone rate during the period from 1 July 1851 to 15 August 1853, assuming the German destination or the originating state belonged to the GAPU. All but one of the recorded short-paid covers date from this period.

Regulations for short-paid covers

Article 6 of the regulations for the Bremen arrangement defined how short-paid covers were to be treated: “When pre-payment is made at less than the due rate and amount, the balance is to be charged and collected of the receiver at the office of delivery.”¹³ The most important passages of the regulations are repeated in German on the original copy in the Bremen state archive. The German translation is written along the English text and reads: “Wenn die Vorausbezahlung des Portos zu weniger als dem richtigen Behufe gemacht ist, wird das zu wenig bezahlte Porto von dem Empfänger erhoben.” The German translation is given to show that the English and German texts are both very clear: The recipient was to pay only the deficiency.

If article 6 is taken literally, we would expect to find covers in which a short payment of even one cent would reduce the due postage paid by the recipient, but as we will see, this was not the case. To show how short-paid covers were treated, I will first discuss the period after 1 July 1851. The German and U.S. letter rates of this period can easily be calculated using Table 1, and all but one of the letters shown are from this period.

Discussion of covers

Figure 1 is a typical example of a letter with postage intentionally paid only to Bremen. When posted at Brookville, Indiana, on 24 August 1852, it was clearly marked “PAID



Figure 1. Brookville, Indiana, to Schwieberdingen, Württemberg, 24 August 1852, marked “PAID to Bremen 40 cts” for a double-rate letter. New York applied its PAID PART handstamp to indicate the letter was paid only to Bremen. The crayon 1½ at lower left shows the weight in loth.



Figure 2. Short-paid cover from Philadelphia to Württemberg, 23 January 1852. The 5¢ prepayment for U.S. inland postage was not accepted as part payment; New York debited Bremen 20¢. The Hanover post office in Bremen applied AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN 33/9, showing breakdown of the 42 kr. due postage: 33 kr. (= 20¢) U.S. postage plus the 9 kr. German internal rate to Württemberg. (Meyer collection.)

to Bremen 40 cts,” the correct rate for a letter weighing more than ½ ounce. The New York exchange office applied its 27 August datestamp on the reverse and applied its typical PAID PART straightline marking to indicate payment to Bremen. The letter was sent in the Bremen closed mail and carried by the New York and Havre Line steamer *Franklin*, leaving New York on 28 August and debarking mails at Southampton.¹⁴ It arrived in Bremen on 13



Figure 3. Martinsburgh, Iowa, to Dürrmüntz, Württemberg, 18 February 1852. The sender prepaid 20¢ to Bremen but the weight was above ½ ounce. New York accepted prepayment for the first rate and wrote “Due” before the 20 handstamp to debit Bremen the second rate.

September. The marking of the Deutz-Minden traveling office was struck on the reverse on 15 September. In Germany the weight of 1½ loth was marked in red crayon (at lower left) and accordingly 2x9 kr.=18 kr. GAPU internal postage (marked in black crayon and repeated in blue ink) was collected from the recipient in Schwieberdingen, Württemberg.

Figure 2 shows an example of a short-paid cover. On 23 January 1852 the sender in Philadelphia paid 5¢ internal U.S. postage and wrote “Steamer v. Liverpool,” since his intention was to send the letter (to Brackenheim, Württemberg) by a British steamer in the British open mail. However, a New York clerk decided to send the letter in the Bremen mail. The New York clerk used a black numeral handstamp 20 to debit Bremen the 20¢ U.S. postage for a single rate (see Table 1). After arrival, the Stadtpostamt (state post office) in Bremen transferred the letter to the Hanover post office.

The Hanover post office in Bremen converted the 20¢ U.S. debit to 33 kr. and added 9 kr. GAPU postage. This office used its typical accounting marking AMERICA/ÜBER/BREMEN 33/9 to show the breakdown of U.S. and German postage in kreuzer currency. Similar markings exist with different figures for other currencies—including silbergroschen and Hanover gutegroschen (ggr.)—within the GAPU, and also for double-rate letters. The recipient had to pay 42 kr. (as penned in blue ink across the address).

What happened to the 5¢ the sender prepaid? According to article 6 of the regulations, the 5¢ should have been credited toward the 20¢ rate, resulting in a U.S. debit to Bremen of only 15¢. But that was not the case. As explained below, article 6 of the regulations was applied in a different manner.

On first glance, the cover in Figure 3 looks very similar to the letter shown in Figure 2. The Figure 3 cover (an outer letter sheet only) was posted in Martinsburgh, Iowa, on 18 February 1852 and is addressed to Dürrmüntz, Württemberg. The Hanover office in Bremen used the same accounting marking for a single letter and the recipient also paid 42 kr. (plus one additional kreuzer for local delivery). At the lower left, the sender wrote the endorsement “via Liverpool.” In 1852 a substantial part of the Bremen mail was sent in the “Bremen Closed Mail” via Liverpool. These letters were treated the same way as if they were sent to Bremen directly with the Ocean Line steamers. The Collins Line steamer *Pacific* departed New York on 21 February and carried the letter to Liverpool.¹⁵



Figure 4. Beloit, Wisconsin, to Grossbottwar, Württemberg, 16 March 1852. Pre-paid 21¢ for a single rate via British open mail by American packet. New York determined that the weight was above ½ ounce and redirected letter via Bremen, accepting the 21¢ payment for first 20¢ rate to Bremen, and debiting Bremen for the missing second rate by applying the Due 20 handstamp.

There is one strange observation: This cover was prepaid 20¢. The postal clerk in Martinsburgh struck PAID and applied a black manuscript 20 just to the right of it. At the lower left of the cover the manuscript word “Franko” confirmed that the letter was prepaid. Apparently, the cover was prepaid to Bremen and New York should have applied the “PAID PART” marking. What happened? Was it simply a mistake?

The answer can be found by analyzing the cover in Figure 4. This cover was sent from Beloit, Wisconsin, on 16 March 1852 to Grossbottwar, Württemberg. The sender paid 21¢ (as indicated by the vertical PAID marking and 21¢ in black pencil at upper right), intending to pay the 21¢ British open-mail rate for an American packet to England. The 21¢ prepayment was sufficient to cover the 20¢ U.S. postage to Bremen under the Bremen convention and indeed the cover was sent that way. Consequently, the New York PAID PART marking should have been applied. Instead we find the marking Due 20.

The Hanover office in Bremen used the same accounting marking as seen on the covers in Figure 2 and Figure 3, but this time the German part of the postage was corrected. A black crayon 18 was written over the 9 kr. single rate. Apparently the letter’s weight was above 1 loth, so 18 kr. (2x9 kr.) German internal postage for a double-rate letter was due. The weight is confirmed by a red crayon marking 1½ L(oth) to the left of the Due 20 marking. It is a bit difficult to see, since a note in black ink partially covers it.

The accounting marking is not very clear, but the breakdown of postage 33 (kr. U.S. postage)/18 (kr. GAPU postage) is repeated in black pencil in the center of the cover. Accordingly, the addressee in Grossbottwar paid 51 kr.

In contrast to the German double rate, only a single U.S. rate was charged. However, for a weight above 1½ loth (see Table 1) the U.S. also required two rates. There is a simple explanation. The prepaid 21¢ was accepted as a part payment of the 40¢ postage to Bremen, but rounded down to the 20¢ single rate. The missing second rate of 20¢ was debited to Bremen with the Due 20 marking. For short-paid letters, New York used the prefix “Due”



Figure 5. St. Joseph, Missouri, to Tvedestrand, Norway, 17 February 1852. Prepaid 20¢ for a single rate to Bremen. New York determined the weight was above ½ ounce and debited Bremen the missing 20¢ with its Due 20 handstamp. Bremen debited Hamburg 12 sgr. (blue ink) for U.S. and German single-rate postage (less than 1 loth). Hamburg converted 12 sgr. to 16 schillinge. (Snarvold collection.)

attached to the debit to distinguish these letters from common unpaid letters on which only the 20 handstamp was applied.

With this knowledge we go back to Figure 3. A closer look shows that the word “Due” was written in black ink to the left of the 20 debit marking. Again the 20¢ prepayment was accepted and only the second rate debited to Bremen. The weight of the letter was above ½ ounce, but just below 1 loth (see Table 1). Therefore, only the single-rate German internal postage was assessed and the Hanover accounting marking was the same as for unpaid single-rate letters.

The frequency with which short-paid letters with a missing 20¢ rate appeared may have prompted the New York office to introduce the combined Due 20 handstamp. It definitely is a single device, since the strike on the Figure 4 cover shows a partial double impression of the whole marking. Although this is the most common debit for a short-paid cover, to date only two covers with this marking have been recorded.

The second cover is to Norway, a most unusual destination for this period. Shown in Figure 5, this cover, from the Harry Snarvold collection, was posted 17 February 1852 in St. Joseph, Missouri, and is addressed to Tvedestrand, Norway. Per the markings at upper right, the sender paid 20¢ for a single rate. The New York exchange office applied its March 5 datestamp on the back, weighed the letter as above ½ ounce, and debited the missing rate with its Due 20 marking. The letter was sent in a Bremen closed mail carried by the Collins Line steamer *Baltic*, which departed from New York on March 6.¹⁶ The mail arrived in Bremen on March 26 and the Stadtpostamt Bremen sent the letter to Hamburg, where backstamps of the Stadtpostamt Hamburg and the Danish post office in Hamburg, both dated 27 March, were applied. Since letters to Hamburg were among the routes for



Figure 6. Philadelphia to Beilstein, Würtemberg, 28 January 1852. This letter weighed between 1 ounce and 2 loth, requiring four U.S. rates (80¢) and two German rates (18 kr.). Since only one 20¢ rate was prepaid, New York wrote “Due 60” to debit Bremen 60¢. The 2 loth weight was written at lower left in red crayon.

which Bremen was responsible, they were not handed over to the Hanover office in Bremen and do not show the characteristic AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN marking.¹⁷ The 20¢ debit was repeated in the Bremen currency as 20 grote (red crayon). Bremen calculated a debit of 12 sgr. (blue ink, 9 sgr. [= 20 grote] plus 3 sgr. GAPU postage) for a single-rate letter to Hamburg. The Stadtpostamt Hamburg converted this amount to 16 schillinge (red crayon and black ink) and debited it to the Danish office. As with Figure 3, the letter’s weight was above ½ ounce but under 1 loth (see Table 1). On the back a marking 6–95½ was written, indicating the recipient in Norway had to pay a total postage of 95½ skillinge specie. The numeral 6 was an accounting marking, the list number of the letter.

The examples shown in Figures 2-5 are all covers short paid by one rate. The sending office incorrectly determined the weight was below ½ ounce, which the New York exchange office corrected. The cover shown in Figure 6 is the only example recorded with a multiple-rate due marking. This is a small envelope sent from Philadelphia on 28 January 1852 to Beilstein, Würtemberg. The Philadelphia postal clerk struck the red octagonal PHILA./5 Cts./PAID marking, but amended the 5 with black ink to 20, to show that the sender paid the 20¢ single rate to Bremen. The subsequent rating is rather unusual. A New York clerk wrote “Due 60” at upper left. Adding the prepaid 20¢ rate, the total postage to Bremen was 80¢. Bremen confirmed the 60¢ debit as 60 grote in red crayon (center of the cover). The Hanover office in Bremen converted 60 grote to 22½ ggr. (three times the 7½ ggr. single rate), which it wrote in red crayon to the left of its AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN marking. The breakdown of postage in the southern German kreuzer currency was marked in black crayon: 99 (= 22½ ggr.)/18, suggesting that only two German inland rates of 9 kr. were applied. The total amount of 117 kr. (117x in blue ink) = 1 gulden 57 kr. (1f57 in black ink) was collected from the addressee.

Using Table 1, it is easy to determine the weight of the cover. Four U.S. rates to Bremen required a weight of more than 1 ounce—the progression allowed no odd multiple rates. Only two German rates were applied, therefore the weight was not more than 2 loth. There is a small increment between 28.4 grams and 33.3 grams that corresponds with the



Figure 7. Reverse of the Figure 6 cover. A second letter was affixed to the back of the cover with sealing wax, thus accounting for the extra weight.

accounting on this cover. This weight is confirmed by a manuscript 2 in red crayon to the left of the 99/18 marking. The writing is typical for a weight notation and indicates a weight of just 2 loth (33.3 grams) requiring only two German rates.

Since the weight of the cover was much in excess of half an ounce, the reason for the short payment could not be explained as a mistake by the postal clerk in Philadelphia. If we look at the back of the cover (Figure 7) we find that a second item was affixed to the envelope with sealing wax, which was later removed. The typical backstamps are missing since the second item covered (at least partly) the back. A possible explanation for the strange payment by the sender could be that the sender first paid the single rate to Bremen for the small cover and later affixed the second item. He didn't want to pay or was not able to pay the missing three rates of 60¢, which was a lot of money at that time.

These cover examples show that any prepayment to Bremen was accepted so long as a full 20¢ rate (or multiples) was prepaid. Apparently, a prepayment of less than the 20¢ rate was ignored (Figure 2) and a payment in excess of a multiple rate (Figure 4) was reduced to a multiple of 20¢.

However, what happened to letters that were fully prepaid to German destinations that were found to have been rated for an incorrect weight?

Figure 8 is a cover that may provide a hint. The sender posted the letter in Greensburgh, Pennsylvania on 3 February 1852 and prepaid 32¢ for the whole distance to Markgröningen, Württemberg. There is no doubt the letter was prepaid to the destination, since the Greensburgh postal clerk wrote in violet ink "Paid in Full 32." The postage included the obsolete 12¢ rate from Bremen to Württemberg, which had been reduced in September 1851 to 7¢. Therefore a prepayment of 27¢ would have been sufficient.

Instead of crediting Bremen 7¢, New York used its PAID PART marking to indicate that the letter was paid only to Bremen. Since the prepayment was obvious, a mistake was unlikely. Probably New York recognized that the weight of the letter was above ½ ounce and required two rates. This is reasonable, since the writer of the letter mentioned in the text an enclosed letter to a different addressee. The 32¢ prepayment was accepted for the 40¢ postage to Bremen. No accounting with Bremen was necessary in this case. Otherwise New York would have had to credit Bremen the 7¢ German postage and to debit 20¢ for



Figure 8. Greensburgh, Pennsylvania, to Markgröningen, Württemberg, 3 February 1852. Unusually, this cover was prepaid 32¢, which fully paid it to destination. Note the very specific violet marking at upper left: “Paid in Full 32.” This cover likely weighed over ½ ounce but less than 1 loth. New York applied PAID PART and accepted 32¢ prepayment for 40¢ double rate to Bremen.

the missing U.S. rate. In Germany the letter weight was below 1 loth and only 9 kr. GAPU postage was marked. The recipient had to pay 10 kr. (red crayon), since 1 kr. was added for local delivery. This letter was just at or above the ½ ounce weight limit and the sending office caused the short payment.

I have never seen a short-paid Bremen-mail cover from this period with both New York credit and debit markings. Only a very small fraction of the letters during the 1847-53 period was paid to destination and finding a cover that was also short paid a full rate would be almost impossible.¹⁸ I doubt the New York office made arrangements with Bremen as to how to account for such letters. A 27 February 1852 note in the Bremen state archive seems to support this conclusion.¹⁹ After analyzing the letter bill of the mail delivered by the steamship *Washington* on 31 January 1852, Bremen post director Bartsch explained to the Bremen authorities that there was a discrepancy in the accounting made by Bremen or New York, respectively, caused by a different counting of multiple-rate letters. He stated that the difference in postage was insignificant and he assumed that most probably New York treated some multiple letters as single letters. Obviously there were some uncertainties in accounting for such mail. Perhaps New York avoided accounting in these cases and applied the prepayment in the generous manner shown in Figure 8. The appearance of any letter with both a debit and credit marking would disprove this theory.

Short-paid cover from the 24¢ sea-postage period

The only example known to me of a short-paid letter from the 24¢ sea-postage period (prior to 12 July 1851) is shown in Figure 9. This cover (which survives as an outer letter sheet only) was posted in April 1851 at Charleston, South Carolina, and is addressed to Leipzig, Saxony. The sender prepaid 34¢ (blue vertical handstamped PAID marking and blue manuscript 34 at the right) for 10¢ U.S. inland postage and 24¢ sea postage to Bremen. This is confirmed by a note in black ink “post paid/Porto gezahlt” at the lower left corner of the front. New York marked 18 April on the back, weighed the letter as above ½ ounce, and accounted for the missing rate—following the procedure used for the previously discussed



Figure 9. Charleston, South Carolina, to Leipzig, Saxony, April 1851. Prepaid 34¢ (24¢ sea plus 10¢ U.S. inland postage). This cover likely weighed over ½ ounce but less than 1 loth. New York marked “Due 34” debit to Bremen. The Hanover office in Bremen applied 12¾ AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN (12¾ gr. = 34¢).

covers—with “Due 34” in black manuscript at right center. In Germany the letter was still a single rate (not above 1 loth) and the Hanover post office in Bremen applied the 12¾ AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN marking typical for unpaid 34¢ (= 12¾ gr.) single letters. The addressee in Leipzig received the letter on May 8 (arrival marking on back) and had to pay the postage of 20 neugroschen, 9 pfenninge (20 9/10 in red crayon). Although the letter is not year dated, it is possible to determine the date of use.²⁰ The letter was carried by the *Washington* departing New York on 19 April 1851 for Bremen.

Conclusion

These cover examples show how the regulations for the 1847 postal arrangement with Bremen concerning short-paid letters were applied in practice. The typical reason for an insufficient payment of postage by the sender was a wrong determination of the weight of the letter, resulting in a missing multiple rate. During the period from 1 July 1851 to 15 August 1853, any fully prepaid 20¢ U.S. rate was accepted for postage and the missing rates were debited to Bremen.

In contrast to the exact wording of the regulations, which stated that only the missing postage was to be charged to the addressee, the prepayment was reduced to the next lower multiple of the 20¢ rate. This simplified accounting with Bremen. Most probably the accounting of short-paid letters during the 24¢ sea postage period was done in a similar manner, taking into account only full U.S. rates. The only recorded short-paid cover from this period (Figure 9) shows prepayment of a single 34¢ U.S. rate to Bremen and a New York debit for a second rate (since the weight was above ½ ounce), following the same procedure used during the 20¢-rate period.

New York date, reference	Prepaid marking	New York due marking
21 Feb 1852 (Figure 3)		
24 Mar 1852 (Figure 4)		
6 Mar 1852 (Figure 5)		
Jan 1852 (Figure 6)		
18 Apr 1851 (Figure 9)		

Figure 10. Montage of recorded New York “Due” markings, with their associated prepaid markings, as found on short-paid Bremen-mail covers during the 1847-53 period covered by this article.

For unpaid letters, New York used a simple numeral to mark the debit. To distinguish the debit on a short-paid letter, New York affixed the word “Due” in front of the numeral. It was a signal to Bremen that the prepayment was accepted as part of the postage. All the known “Due” markings are presented in the montage in Figure 10, arranged in the order in which they are discussed in this article. The cover in Figure 6 has no New York marking. The markings in Figure 10 have been reduced slightly; some have been rotated or otherwise manipulated to create a clearer presentation.

For the most common underpayment of 20¢, a handstamp Due 20 was used. It appears that the marking was introduced after 21 February 1852 (see Figure 3) but definitely before 5 March 1852 (Figure 4). Since usually a short payment was caused by the sending office’s error in determining the letter’s weight, in many cases the weight could be expected to be just above ½ ounce, thus still below 1 loth. In Germany such letters were single rates; on first glance, if one overlooked the word “Due,” they look like single-rate unpaid letters.

Covers paid to destination are scarce during this period. The Figure 8 cover shows that if a letter was short paid, no separate accounting of the German and U.S. postage was made. In that case, the prepayment most probably was used only for the U.S. part of the postage. On short-paid letters sent in the Prussian Closed Mail (after 31 August 1853) a pre-

payment of every full 30¢ Prussian closed mail rate was accepted as partial payment.²¹ This is similar to the practice described above for the 20¢ U.S. portion of the Bremen-mail rate. However, for accounting, the Prussian Closed Mail rate was divided into German and U.S. parts (for letters to Germany 7¢ for Prussia and 23¢ for the U.S.). Therefore, on short-paid Prussian Closed Mail covers we always find debit and credit markings simultaneously—in contrast to the Bremen-mail cover shown in Figure 8.

It would be nice to find further examples of short-paid covers to confirm these conclusions. To date there is no short-paid Bremen-mail cover known from Germany to the U.S. during the period covered by this article. It would be interesting to see how such covers were treated. Send reports of new items to the author or the editor of this section.

Acknowledgements

The author wants to thank Richard F. Winter for alerting him to Harry Snarvold's cover and for many helpful discussions. Special thanks also to Harry Snarvold, Savedalen, Norway, and Friedrich A. Meyer, Heilbronn, Germany, for allowing use of their covers for this article.

Endnotes

1. Richard F. Winter and Wolfgang Diesner, "The Beginning Period of Bremen Line Mail Service: New Insight into the Bremen Postal Arrangement—1847," *Chronicle* 149, pp. 52-64.
2. Richard F. Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*, Volume 1 (Belleville, Pa.: American Philatelic Society, 2006), Chapter 2, pp. 15-74.
3. For example, according to the U.S.-French Postal Convention of 1857, letters could be sent unpaid or the whole postage had to be prepaid. Any partial payment was lost. See George Hargest, *History of Letter Post Communication Between the United States and Europe 1845-1875*, 2nd Ed. (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman Publications, Inc., 1975), pg. 71.
4. Heinrich Conzelmann, "Unzureichend frankierte Briefe in der 'Bremen Mail' nach dem Postabkommen USA-Bremen von 1847—die 'Due'—Vermerke von New York," *Deutscher Altbriefsammler-Verein e.V., Rundbrief*, Nr. 457 (February 2003), pp. 16-24.
5. Bremen State Archive, File 2-R14a7g14, Part 1: On 18 September 1847, Bremen accepted First Assistant Postmaster General S.R. Hobbie's proposal for the regulations (signed on 13 September 1847 in Bremen), and Bremen put them into effect with the next trip of the steamer *Washington*. The original proposal was translated partly into German. Some points were agreed upon with reservations, e.g. concerning the German postage from Bremen to the different German states.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America*, 1852, reprint ed. (Holland, Michigan: Theron Wierenga, 1980), Post Office Laws, pg. 104.
8. The German Austrian Postal Union (GAPU) convention went into effect on 1 July 1850. Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Saxony and Mecklenburg were members on this date. The other German states subsequently joined the GAPU, e.g. Thurn & Taxis and Baden on 1 May 1851, Hanover on 1 June 1851, Württemberg on 1 September 1851, and Bremen on 1 December 1851.
9. Bremen State Archive, *op. cit.*; *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America*, 1852, *op. cit.*, Post Office Laws, pg. 104.
10. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America*, 1852, *op. cit.*, Post Office Laws, pg. 104.
11. The U.S. act of 3 March 1849 codified the "British" weight progression (no ½ ounce increments after the first ounce) with respect to the U.S.-British Postal Convention, but the U.S. Post Office Department applied this to letters to and from all foreign countries, other than the British North American provinces. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America*, 1852, *op. cit.*, Post Office Laws, pg. 102-03 (and pg. 102 note †) and Regulations for the Government of the Post Office Department, pg. 37 (N.B. after table). As explained above, the United States did not apply this progression under the Bremen Convention during the 24¢ sea-postage period.
12. Bremen State Archive, *op. cit.* After receiving the new rates on the arrival of the steamer *Washington* on 11 July 1851, Bremen Post Director Bartsch made a note in the files on 12 July 1851, which explicitly specified the new 20¢ rate and the progression. He listed every progression step up to 4-5 ounces. No odd multiple rates were allowed.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Walter Hubbard and Richard F. Winter, *North Atlantic Mail Sailings, 1840-75* (Canton, Ohio: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 1988), Appendix IV, pp. 409-14.
15. Hubbard and Winter, *op. cit.*, pg. 411.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Heinrich Conzelmann und Friedrich A. Meyer, "Die Entwicklung der Schiffspost über Bremen bis in die ersten

Jahre nach Abschluss des Postabkommens zwischen Bremen und den USA von 1847, Teil 1," *Deutscher Altbriefsammler-Verein e.V., Rundbrief*, Nr. 452 (December 2001), pp. 271-72.

18. Bremen State Archive, *op. cit.* The composition of the letters that arrived in Bremen on 10 March 1849 in the Bremen Closed Mail on the *Niagara* was: 190 unpaid letters, 379 letters paid to Bremen, and 21 letters paid to destination. Thus, only approximately 4 percent of the letters were paid to destination. In 1851 and 1852, the U.S. post office still recommended prepaying letters only to Bremen. The percentage of letters paid to destination may be increased somewhat, but not significantly.

19. *Ibid.*: 27 February 1852 Report of Bremen Postdirector Bartsch to the Bremen Post-Commission.

20. According to Hubbard and Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87, four different years fit the 18 April New York marking: 1848-1851. However, the letter's 8 May arrival in Leipzig limits the years to 1849 and 1851. The 12¼ AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN marking was used the first time on the arrival of the *Hermann* on 7 May 1849, but is only known to have been applied in black. The color changed to red with the arrival of the next Ocean Line steamer. This establishes the year as 1851.

21. Heinrich Conzelmann, "Part Paid Covers in the Prussian Closed Mail," *Chronicle* 181, pp. 58-67. ■

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ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 237

The problem cover from the previous issue (shown here as Figure 1) was a fairly ordinary looking 3¢ Star Die envelope, addressed to Mankato, Minnesota, 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 “PAID 3” in matching blue at the upper middle. The questions posed were: Can this cover be year dated, and is there any special significance to this use?



Figure 1. Our problem cover from the previous issue was this 3¢ Star Die envelope with a blue 31-millimeter “NASHVILLE TENN. MAR 20” circular datestamp over the franking and a matching circular “PAID 3”, addressed to Mankato, Minnesota. The questions posed were: Can this cover be year dated, and is there any special significance to its use?

We received more responses to this item, and at greater length, than to any other problem cover since I have been the editor of the Cover Corner section. I can’t acknowledge all responses here, but all are appreciated. Here are some of the highlights.

Route Agent Jerry Palazolo responded as follows: “The Nashville circular datestamp is the clue to year-dating this cover. This is a March 20, 1862, use—during the first month of the Federal occupation of Nashville. Depending upon how you look at it you might consider this an adversity use of the Star Die envelope, or an informal ‘Old Stamps Not Recognized.’ The ‘Paid 3’ seems to be in the same handwriting as the address. The ‘PAID/3’ handstamp was applied as proof of a cash payment of 3¢ for postage—the 3¢ envelope having been demonetized by the time it was mailed.

“The key is that this particular Nashville circular datestamp was used from 1852 into 1857 and then retired when Nashville switched to a year-dated CDS. Later, when the Confederates evacuated Nashville, they stripped the post office of everything of value, but apparently left this old marking device behind. It was put back into service on March 13, 1862, when the Nashville post office reopened under Union control. And it was then used about two or three weeks until a new CDS arrived. All Nashville markings from this period are struck in blue ink. In March of 1863 the device saw service again, during the troop surge following the battle of Stone River. That time it was used for about three weeks, but all of those markings were struck in black.

“It’s a nice coincidence that Michael McClung’s article on Union-occupation postmarks was published in the same *Chronicle* as this Nashville problem cover.”

Route Agent Anders Olson responded thus: “Recognised the postmark as Nashville 31 mm 3/62 by comparing it with the article by Michael C. McClung. It is a soldier’s letter but paid, because the sender was an officer. There’s a known correspondence between Capt. John Reed Beatty, Company H of the Second Regiment of Minnesota Infantry and Lauren (Laura) Maxfield, of Mankato, Minnesota. Beatty was surely the sender of this cover.”

Olson traced the movement of Beatty’s regiment for the first three months of 1862, confirming that the regiment moved to Nashville in late February and early March. Olson also located official records establishing that on May 21, 1912, John R. Beatty, then aged 80 and a resident of Mankato, filed a claim for pension under the act of May 11, 1912. The claim affirmed “That he is the identical person who was enrolled at Fort Snelling on the 15th day of July 1861 as a 1st Lieutenant in Co. H 2nd Minnesota Inf. in the service of the United States, in the Civil War, and was Honorably Discharged at Goldsborough So. Car. on the 30th day of March 1865.”

Route Agent James Cate responded as follows: “The cover is a postal stationery stamped envelope, Scott #U26, that was produced in 1860-61 and demonetized in Confederate States on May 31, 1861 and selectively in Union states beginning in September 1861. Tennessee voters approved a referendum to secede from the Union on June 8, 1861.” Along with Bill Caldwell of Chattanooga, Cate conducted an extensive investigation starting with the addressee, Miss Laura E. Maxfield of Mankato, Minnesota. Cate and Caldwell determined that the letter this cover once carried, to a prospective bride from her future husband, was datelined “Camp Cash – Near Nashville, Tennessee – March 18, 1862.” This letter (and many others from this correspondence) currently reposes in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul. This specific letter, four pages long, and the text of most of

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the other letters from this correspondence, was published in 2011 in a book, *Dearest Laura: The Civil War Letters of Captain John Reed Beatty, 1861-1865*. This book was published by Peter Steffens, Capt. Beatty's great-grandson, and is currently available from Amazon in hard-copy or digital format.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue, shown in Figure 2, is a stampless cover from Osnabruck, Hanover to St. Louis, Missouri, sent in 1851. It was rated for a collection of 26¢

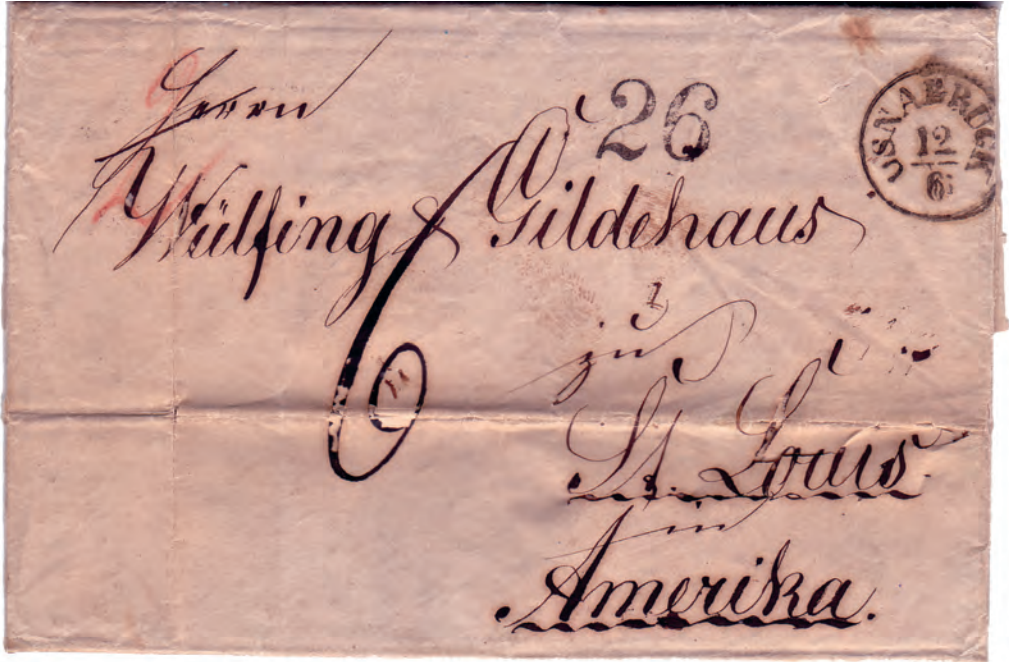


Figure 2. Above, our problem cover for this issue is a stampless cover sent in 1851 (per docketing) from Osnabruck, Hanover, to St. Louis, Missouri. At New York, this cover was rated for a collection of 26¢ from the addressee. Only two postal markings appear on the reverse, and they are shown in the photo at left. The question is: How was this rate determined?

from the addressee, and there is a black manuscript “6” in the middle. A faint orange-red “9” kreuzer (in colored pencil, it looks like a “2”) can be seen in the upper left corner. On the reverse is a black double-line “ST.P.A. BREMEN 2/7” Bremen StadtPost marking, intertwined with a black “NEW-YORK AUG 1” exchange office arrival stamp. These are also shown in Figure 2. Can anyone say how the rate was determined? ■

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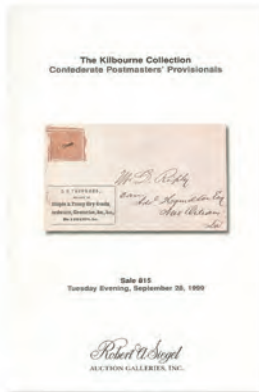
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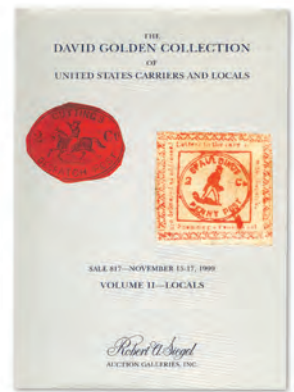
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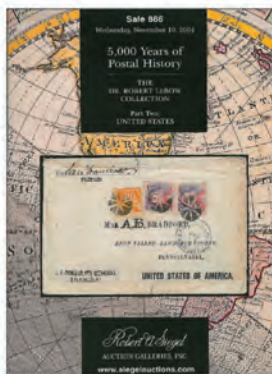
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