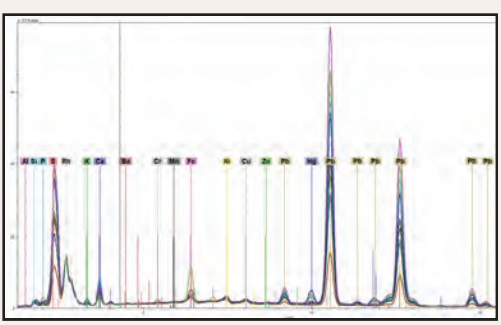
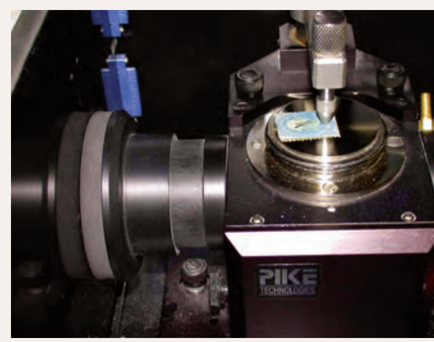
SPECIAL TECHNOLOGY ISSUE

The Chronicle

of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues





In our 1847 section, Wade E. Saadi uses X-Ray fluorescence analysis to show that the pigment in the 5¢ 1847 stamps, despite the wide variety of shades and printings, was always based on lead, rather than iron oxide.

In our 1861 section, Harry G. Brittain uses infrared absorption spectroscopy (among other techniques) to analyze the chemical composition of the ink and paper of the 1¢ 1861 stamps.

August 2013 Volume 65, No. 3 Whole No. 239

THE CHRONICLE August 2013 (No. 239)

Hindenburg Crash Cover with Piece of Skin
Sold for $10,500

#315 Plate Block
Sold for $4,250

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United States Inverts

15¢ 1869 Pictorial
The Lichtenstein Copy
With original gum and in sound condition
The finest known example of the 15¢ 1869 Invert
Ex Lichtenstein, Hind, Brigham, Phillips, Lilly, Ishikawa and "Lafayette"

30¢ 1869 Pictorial
The Worthington Copy
With part original gum and in sound condition
The finest known example of the 30¢ 1869 Invert in unused condition
Ex Worthington and "Lafayette"

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THE EDITOR'S PAGE
MICHAEL LAURENCE

SPECIAL TECHNOLOGY QUARTERLY

We're definitely not *The Economist*, but the *Chronicle* is nonetheless capable of creating a special technology quarterly. Our cover highlights two articles within this issue that illustrate the current state of the art in document authentication. Both use high-tech equipment to debunk ancient speculations about the chemical make-up of the ink that printed two popular classic United States stamps.

In "Putting the Ink to the Paper" in our 1847 section (page 244), Wade Saadi, with assistance from Tom Lera of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum (NPM), uses various analytical devices to show that the ink that printed the 5¢ 1847 stamps (no matter what shade or printing) was always lead-based. Iron oxide, once thought to be the source of some or perhaps many of the 5¢ 1847 shades, was never involved.

In "Forensic Analysis: Composition of Ink and Paper of the 1¢ 1861 Stamp" (in our 1861 section, page 264), Harry S. Brittain shows that the blue pigment used for this stamp was always and exclusively Prussian blue, softened by two whiteners. The paper was rag-based, mostly cotton fibers, and the sizing was rosin, never alum.

In addition to being an accomplished philatelist, Brittain has three degrees in physical chemistry and has spent a lifetime in academia and in the pharmaceutical industry investigating matters like this. He is currently Institute Director at the Center for Pharmaceutical Physics, whose instruments he used in his 1¢ 1861 study (along with a little help from NPM). We expect this work will serve as a primer on the use of infrared absorption spectroscopy in philately.

Two other articles in this issue also owe their existence to high technology, in that their research has been dependent on various on-line search tools and Google's digitized books. Our 1847 section leads off (page 236) with "More on the Turner Correspondence," a collaborative effort from Gordon Eubanks, Burkhard Krumm and Mark Scheuer that sheds new light on an 1847 correspondence that until now has been known primarily for the artful placement of some of its stamps. Using various detective techniques, the three authors succeeded in year-dating most of the Turner covers, which enabled other insights and facilitated some remarkable discoveries about the author of the letters and most of all about their recipient, Elizabeth Emerson Turner.

The title of James A. Allen's article in our 1851 section (page 255) asks a timely question: "Bisected 1¢, 3¢ and 12¢ 1851 stamps: When were they legal?" In the process of developing his answer (which, in a word, is "never"), Allen presents previously unpublished Post Office documents and a slew of contemporary newspaper reports, unearthed through digital search techniques that were unavailable just a few years ago.

And there's more. In our Stampless section starting on page 211, James W. Milgram writes definitively on the markings and the practice of charging postage to post-office box accounts; on page 298, Milgram also reviews a major new catalog of western express franks and markings. In our Officials section (page 273), Lester C. Lanphear III discusses covers bearing Official stamps to Foreign destinations during the 1877-84 era; the article includes a census listing of all known covers. In our Foreign Mails section (page 293), David D'Alessandris explains why retaliatory rate covers between the United States and

(Concluded on page 287)

"CHARGE" AND "CHARGED" MARKINGS: BILLING POSTAL CHARGES TO A BOX-HOLDER'S ACCOUNT

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Introduction

I do not know when personal boxes within post offices were first devised, but they appear to have existed since the early years of the 19th century. Diane DeBlois cited one Thomas Brown as claiming he originated the idea while a clerk at the Richmond, Virginia, post office in 1810.[1] But other references show that New York had 144 private mail boxes in 1804. There is evidence that certain post offices had boxes as early as 1800; boxes were considered a threat to the compensation afforded to private carriers who delivered mail for a 2¢ fee. Alvin Harlow wrote that New York had 900 such boxes in 1825.[2] I have not seen any reference to personal post office boxes in the 18th century.

Post office boxes, frequently no more than pigeonholes, were rented to post office patrons, with the rent retained by the postmaster who owned them. Postmasters were responsible for their costs and maintenance. There is no provision or regulation involving personal post office boxes in the early Post Office Department laws and regulations. Nonetheless, rent for such boxes appears to have been charged quarterly to patrons of specific post offices. At a later date, some offices billed patrons monthly.

These post office boxes must be differentiated from the post office letter boxes—which the British call pillar boxes—used to collect mail deposited by the public. Red cylindrical Royal Mail letter boxes are familiar sights to tourists in England. These large boxes can be traced back to the 1650s in France and Belgium and existed in other European countries at later dates. Such letter boxes were owned by the various postal services.

During the early days of stampless mail, in order to send and receive letters and newspapers, you had to wait in line at a post office until you could receive personal service from a postmaster or his assistant. This is similar to what patrons encounter in a modern supermarket as they wait for personal service at the delicatessen counter.

Somewhere a postmaster (or one of his patrons) got the idea that outgoing letters on which the postage was to be prepaid could be charged against the personal account the postal patron established when he rented his post office box. In fact, this practice was illegal. In the 1832 *Postal Laws and Regulations (PL&R)*, Chapter 5, Section 63 states very clearly: "You are not authorized in any case to give credit for postage." In this same *PL&R*, Chapter 13 deals with "Box Letters"—but this was a term for what are more commonly called drop letters, sent and received at the same post office. There was a 1¢ postage charge on such letters at this time and earlier.[3] The prohibition on giving credit for postage is repeated in Chapter 23, Section 172 of the 1847 *PL&R*.

Regulations notwithstanding, it is clear from the evidence of many surviving covers that from the 1830s up until 1855 (when stamps were required on all mail), many patrons, at many different post offices, charged outgoing prepaid letters against their post office box accounts.[4] Charge to box usage appears to have been common at most larger post offices. Not only do surviving covers bear evidence of this practice, but quarterly or monthly invoices and receipts also survive, sent by postmasters to patrons showing postage charged to their individual box accounts. Specific examples are presented below. Charging to a box was obviously a choice available to many individual postal patrons and firms.

The 1843 *PL&R* acknowledged this situation, called for an accounting, and stipulated that box rental revenues over $3,000 annually should accrue to the Post Office Department, not to the individual postmasters. Section 202 of the Act of May 18, 1842 provided:

> **[I]n addition to returns now required of postmasters at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans, and the other several cities of the Union, each and every year hereafter, to render a quarter-yearly account to the Postmaster General…of all emoluments or sums by them respectively received for boxes, or pigeonholes, or other receptacles for letters or papers, and by them charged for to individuals, or for the delivery of letters or papers at or from any other place in either of said cities…and if, from such accounting, it shall appear that the net amount received by either of the postmasters at either of such cities, for such boxes, and pigeon-holes, and other receptacles for letters and papers….shall exceed three thousand dollars in any one year, such excess shall be paid to the Postmaster General for the use and purposes of the Post Office Department…"**

This regulation of course applied only to the largest post offices, those with hundreds of boxes and substantial box-rental revenue. The upper and lower portions of an 1858 listing of 52 such cities, as published in Executive Document 97 from the House of Representatives in 1858, is shown in Figure 1. New York City topped the listing with $25,572 in box-rental revenue; San Francisco was number two with $18,110. By this time the $3,000 ceiling had been lowered: All box-rental revenue over $2,000 went to the treasury. But

Exhibit of box rents collected at the principal post offices in the United States for the year ending June 30, 1857; and of the amounts received by postmasters therefrom in addition to their compensation derived from commissions on postages set forth in the Biennial Register of the Secretary of State; also of the amounts paid into the treasury after deducting expenses, and the amounts received by postmasters as aforesaid.

Post offices.	Box receipts.	Expenses.	Received by postmasters.	Paid into treasury.
Albany, New York	$2,004 01	....	$2,000 00	$4 01
Auburn, New York	445 63	....	445 63	....
Boston, Massachusetts	9,872 07	....	2,000 00	7,872 07
Baltimore, Maryland	3,454 17	....	2,000 00	1,454 17
Buffalo, New York	3,572 42	....	2,000 00	1,572 42
Bangor, Maine	977 50	$8 48	969 02	....
San Francisco, California	18,110 44	....	2,000 00	16,110 44
Sacramento, California	5,414 00	....	2,000 00	3,414 00
Stockton, California	1,156 59	....	1,156 59	....
Troy, New York	1,152 00	....	1,152 00	....
Toledo, Ohio	1,406 50	....	1,406 50	....
Trenton, New Jersey	656 92	....	656 92	....
Wheeling, Virginia	790 40	....	790 40	....
Washington, Dist. of Columbia	1,945 59	....	1,945 59	....

Figure 1. Sections of a congressional document from 1858 detailing annual post office box-rental revenues at various post offices.

ownership of the boxes for the most part remained in the hands of the postmasters. The *Postal Guide* of April 1875 discussed this specifically:

> **The Post Office Department neither owns, erects, nor repairs letter boxes in post offices, except when the building is owned by the United States. Any postmaster may put up boxes in his office. These boxes are his private property, but the revenues thereof must be accounted for to the Department.**

Manuscript post office charge to box markings

Paid letters that show evidence of being charged to a post office box account are very common. Stampless covers with a manuscript "paid" applied in the handwriting of the sender, and which also bear PAID postal markings, are numerous. While some of these letters were certainly charged to a box account, there is no way of verifying this. In any in-

Figure 2. Manuscript charge to box markings are common. This montage shows representative covers, with the charge notations encircled in green. The texts read as follows: 1. "Paid 53," indicating a charge to that box number; 2. "Double Paid"; 3. "Pd. I.A.G.G."; 4. "Ch Box 30"; 5. "Paid Ch E. Yates" and 6. "Charge postage single to my a/c B.M.M."

stance, it could be that the writer wanted to designate, in a batch of letters bound for the post office, those letters to be prepaid. A letter without a "paid" notation would be sent due.

However, many letters show markings written by senders that indisputably indicate that the postage was to be charged to a box account. Figure 2 shows a montage of six such covers, with the salient manuscript notations encircled in green. The charge notations are as follows. 1. "Paid 53," indicating a charge to that box number; 2. "Double Paid" (this could be one of the ambiguous markings discussed in the previous paragraph); 3. "Pd. I.A.G.G."; 4. "Ch Box 30"; 5. "Paid Ch E. Yates" and 6. "Charge postage single to my a/c B.M.M." This last example is about as specific as it gets.

Cover examples

Figure 3 is an example of the way fee being charged to a post office box account. Note the handwritten “R.M. pd Single” at lower left, in the same bold script as the address. The Figure 3 cover bears no town postmark but the postmaster applied manuscript postmarks “Dec 15,” “way,” “Paid,” and “11.” The letter within is dated 1832. This cover was charged to the sender’s post office account but given to a mail carrier rather than dropped off at the post office. Thus the postmaster charged a way fee of 1¢ and added that to the regular letter postage that was charged, 10¢ for a distance of 30-80 miles. A similar cover (not shown) exists in the same handwriting and with a charge to box marking, sent to the same address. Not a way cover, this is postmarked “Middleburgh June 1th” (1832) with “Paid” and “10.” In both cases the recipient was Richard Van Rensselaer, a member of Albany’s founding family.

Figure 3. This 1832 cover to Albany shows the way fee being charged to a post office box account. The prepaid postage totaling 11¢ (for a letter traveling 30 to 80 miles plus the 1¢ way fee) was charged to the box account of “R.M.” at Middleburgh, New York.

Some of the largest charges to post office box accounts involve prepaid covers that traveled via the government Express Mail of 1836-1839. Figure 4 shows a cover from New Orleans to New York City on which 75¢ postage was charged to Box 779 in New Orleans. This would be triple the 25¢ rate for an express letter traveling over 400 miles. The postmarks are “NEW ORLEANS La. SEP 5” (1837), “PAID” and “75”. This cover predates the time when prepayment of express mail postage was required.

Figure 5 shows an equally interesting express mail cover, sent from Washington, D.C. to St. Louis, with a charge to box endorsement applied by the Executive Department of the federal government. The cover is routed “Express Mail” at upper left and the bold manuscript notation at upper right reads “Charge Indian Affrs. C. A. Harris.” The postmarks are two handstamps—“WASHINGTON CITY D.C. MAR 15” (1838) and “PAID”—and a manuscript “75, ” again for triple the 25¢ rate for an express letter traveling over 400 miles. Normally such a cover would have been sent as a free frank, but free mail was prohibited under the Express Mail regulations. By this time all Express Mail letters had to be prepaid. This letter was carried over the mid-western and far-western branches of the express; the latter service existed for only six months. Prior to November 1, 1837, this cover could have been sent unpaid.

Figure 4. Express Mail letter to New York City with 75¢ postage (triple the 25¢ rate for a distance over 400 miles) charged to box 779 at New Orleans, September 5, 1837.

Figure 5. Express Mail letter with red "WASHINGTON CITY D.C. Mar 15" [1838], "PAID" and "75," sent to St. Louis over the mid-western and far-western branches of the express, with postage charged to the account of the Indian Affairs Department.

Figure 6 shows a turned cover with both uses on the same side of the address sheet. The initial use, showing a charge to a box for the prepaid double rate, was sent by a law firm in Waterford, New York, to a deputy sheriff at Seneca Falls, New York. The manuscript notation "Paid K.S./2" at lower left (subsequently scratched out) indicates the postage was charged to a box account in Waterford. The original postmarks were "WATERFORD N.Y. MAY 24" (1843), "PAID" and "37½." The "2" could indicate a box number, but since the

Figure 6. Turned cover with both uses on same side of the address sheet. The initial mailing, a double rate from Waterford, New York, was charged to a box account ("Paid K.S./2", subsequently scratched out, at lower left). The second use (upside down) shows the unpaid single rate returning part of the original document to the sender.

Figure 7. Stampless cover with "ALFRED MAINE JANY 1," "PAID" in box and "5" in circle, from the 1845-1851 rate period. The sender noted "Paid 5" in addition to "Ch E.S.S."—an abbreviated message requesting the postmaster to charge the postage to a specific box account. The three red Alfred markings are all quite distinctive.

letter consisted of two sheets, could also indicate the double rate (2 x 18¾¢ for a distance of 150-400 miles).

The second use (upside down on the address sheet in Figure 6) was rated as an unpaid single letter. The sheriff kept one sheet of the mailing and returned the other to the sending law firm, certifying that he had served the document on two defendants in a legal case. The circular datestamp for the second use reads "SENECA FALLS, MAY 27" and the returned missive was rated "18¾" postage due for an unpaid single-rate letter.

The cover in Figure 7 does not fit into the previous types of charge to box uses because there is no mention of a specific post office box number. However, in small towns some patrons were well known to the postmaster. This cover shows only the notation (at

Figure 8. Sent on the third day of the new 1851 rates, this letter was incorrectly rated "5" due, then corrected to the new rate with the oval "PAID 3". The instruction to charge the account of a post office box holder is very specific: "Charge Drawer No. 75."

upper right) "Ch E. S.S." but the "Paid 5" is in the same flowery handwriting as the address. The postal markings are "ALFRED MAINE. JANY 1" (with fancy decorations within the circle), "PAID" in a box and "5" in a large circle, all rather distinctive postmarks. The 5¢ charge for prepaid postage dates this cover between 1846 to 1851. Another cover, not illustrated, bears the notation "ch to act. Mid. Beckwith" on a letter addressed to sender's mother in Litchfield, Connecticut. The postmarks are a blue "ANNAPOLIS Md. APR 18" and "PAID 3" in arch. This would have been the Annapolis, Maryland, post office account of a midshipman at the United States Naval Academy.

The cover in Figure 8 was sent from Detroit, addressed to the treasurer of the Michigan Central Railroad Company in Boston, shortly after the rate change of July 1, 1851, when prepaid letters were charged 3¢ and unpaid letters were charged 5¢. This cover bears a blue "DETROIT Mich JUL 3" circular datestamp and "5" in a small oval, over which was struck a larger dark blue "PAID 3" in an oval. The "5" was obviously applied in error, and the postmaster corrected it with the darker "PAID 3". The manuscript notation at upper left reads "Charge Drawer No. 75."

Bills for post office boxes

As was mentioned in the introduction, invoices sent to postal patrons for the rental of post office boxes are another source of information about post office box accounts. I can only speak from the experience gained from the post office bills that I have seen; other bills are illustrated in DeBlois' article cited earlier. A bill from Petersburg, Virginia, for "postage on Letters and Papers, including Box," from the second quarter of 1821, indicates that G. A. Russel was charged $19.90 against his box account. This is shown in Figure 9. A second bill, for the fourth quarter of 1821, totaled $43.46. Note that the postmaster charged 5 percent interest on the unpaid balance. This is very significant because few letters as early as 1821 show charging to box accounts as documented by notations on the letters. It is entirely possible that most of the unpaid postage represented postage due on letters received.

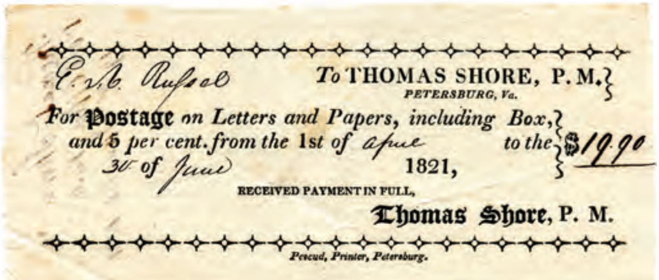

Figure 9. Receipted invoice for payment of a post office bill from Petersburg, Virginia, for the second quarter of 1821, showing that almost $20 in postage was charged to this customer's post office box account.

Figure 10. Receipted quarterly post office bills for Box 207, New Bedford, Massachusetts, from the years 1841, 1846, and 1853, showing ever decreasing sums for charged postage. This is a very small sampling, but it suggests how dramatically postal charges diminished during this era of postal reform. The actual box rental was 25¢ per quarter.

In other words, there is no evidence from the invoices that charged postage represented prepaid letters sent out by the box holder.

I own a set of 110 paid invoices for the account of the Marine Bank, post office box 207, at New Bedford, Massachusetts, between 1841 and 1853. These were listed in my *American Philatelist* article cited earlier. This office sent monthly bills until 1851 when the frequency of billing was changed to quarterly. Examples from 1841, 1846 and 1853 are shown in Figure 10. The amounts invoiced in the five earliest bills are $11.70, $13.68, $11.06, $12.74 and $17.62 (monthly). The box rent was 25¢ each quarter. However, as the years passed the amount invoiced diminished. Five consecutive bills from 1846 showed amounts of $2.81, $5.04, $2.96, $4.02 and $5.14. Note from Figure 10 that the postmaster used the month stamp and the straightline PAID handstamp from his postmarking set. The last five invoices, which are quarterly bills except the first which is monthly, show amounts totaling $.27, $.95, $1.38, $1.20 and $.35. Thus we see from this one sequence of invoices that a diminishing amount of postage was charged to this account during the years 1841-1853, an era when postal charges were steadily shrinking.

The invoice shown in Figure 11, from the post office at Burlington, Vermont, shows no entry for letter postage for the 1843 quarter in question. This box holder, "Hyde & Peck," must have sent all letters unpaid or prepaid in cash. He was charged 23¢ for newspaper postage and 25¢ for box rental. A "Quarterly Bill" from the Providence, Rhode Island, post office for Box No. 97 for the month of December, 1848, lists postage as $7.14, newspapers (quarterly) $1.75 and box rent of 50¢, all due January 1, 1849. Newspaper postage

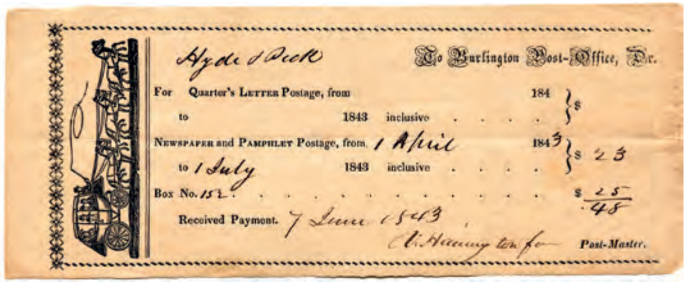
Hyde & Peck — To Burlington Post-Office, Dr.
For Quarter's Letter Postage, from 184 } $
to 1843 inclusive . . . .
Newspaper and Pamphlet Postage, from 1 April 1843 } $ 23
to 1 July 1843 inclusive . . . .
Box No. 152 . . . . $ 25 / .48
Received Payment. 7 June 1843
Post-Master.

Figure 11. This illustrated post office receipt from Burlington, Vermont, shows that that on 7 June 1843 the local firm of "Hyde & Peck" paid quarterly box rental of 25¢ and prepaid newspaper postage of 23¢.


Patterson & Clark — HANOVER, MAR 1, 1859
TO HANOVER POST-OFFICE—DR.
For Pamphlet and Letter Postage, from JAN 1 to JUL 1, 1859 - $
Newspaper Postage, from do. to do.
Box No. 54 in advance, - - - 25
Received Payment, S. W. Cobb, P. M.

Figure 12. Receipted post office bill from Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1859, showing no charged postage. Stamps were required on all mail by this date. Quarterly box rental remained 25¢.

was paid in advance. A bill from Vergennes, Vermont, dated April 1, 1851, invoices Mr. A.W. Hoyt "Postage for Quarter ending April 1, 1851, $2.48". An 1856 invoice from Bath, New York describes only postage for the quarter, at $3.72.

Figure 12 illustrates an invoice from the Hanover, New Hampshire post office in 1859. This shows no entry for charged postage. By this time postage stamps were required on all letters, so one should not expect postage to be charged. An even later invoice, from Taunton, Massachusetts, lists only 6¢ cents for "Postages" for the first quarter of 1863. Another bill from the Albany, New York, post office, dated December 22, 1867, lists "For Letter Postage up to," "For Newspaper ditto" and "For Drawer ditto." The "up to" in the Letter Postage line is crossed out and "Stamps, $15.00" has been added. So in this case the box holder charged his purchase of postage stamps against his box account. It should be noted that most of the post office bills described here are actually receipts for payment, signed by the postmaster or marked "PAID".

This sampling of a few invoices suggests that the practice of charging postage to the box account peaked in the years 1820-45, with the amount of charged postage decreasing during the early years of postal reform (1845-1850) and then diminishing almost to nothing after stamps were required. However, the practice of charging postage was widespread during the Paid 3 stampless period, so we should not generalize too much from this limited sampling of post office bills. As will be shown subsequently in this article, the postage billed on these invoices could represent both sent mail and received mail.

Handstamped and printed charge to box markings

A very small number of businesses and private individuals created handstamped box markings.[5] Those markings that appear on stampless covers are listed in Table 1 (next four pages) with illustrations of the markings shown opposite the data. The markings are listed alphabetically by the name of the town in which they were applied (which is rarely mentioned in the markings). The tabular data shows the text of the marking, a description of the marking (its size in millimeters and color information), and date information. The number in the Reference column ("REF") is keyed to the illustration on the opposite page.

With the exception of the 1807 listing from Providence, which might not be a box marking, all the listed handstamped charge to box markings are from the 1840s and 1850s.

TOWN	TEXT OF MARKING	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REF
Albany, N.Y.	CHARGE CANAL DEP'T	fancy scroll, 20x21, blue	1850s	1
Albany, N.Y.	CITY BANK PAID ALBANY	oval, 15x12, black	1853	2
Albany, N.Y.	PAID E C & Co. BOX 100.	circle, 19, black	1850	3
Albany, N.Y.	CHARGE E.C. & Co. BOX 100.	circle, 18, black	1852	4
Albany, N.Y.	MECHANICS & FARMERS BANK PAID	double circle, 21, red, blue	1851-52	5
Albany, N.Y.	Paid, 71, B. P. J.	straight line, 33x3½, red	1852	6
Albany, N.Y.	PAID. G.W.PLATT POSTMASTER ASSEMBLY	fancy scroll, 27x25, red	1853	7
Boston, Mass.	CHG. H.W. & Co.	straight line, 45x6, red	1840	8
Boston, Mass.	PAID GROCERS BANK	oval, 35x24, red	1849	9
Boston, Mass.	PAID AT THE BANK OF N. AMERICA	double oval, 35x23, red	1850s	10
Boston, Mass.	PAID, T.L. ROBINSON & CO. BOSTON.	printed double oval, 30x20, black	1850s	11
Boston, Mass.	ADJUTANT GENERAL'S Office, MASS.	shield in fancy frame, 28x31, red and black	1855	12
Brooklyn, NY	P.K.WEITZEL BROOKLYN	oval, 25½x16, black	1852	13
Buffalo, N.Y.	DRAWER C PAID	double circle, 18, red	1850	14
Buffalo, N.Y.	PAID/PATCHIN/ BANK	octagon, 23x8, blue	1851	-
Catskill, N.Y.	PAID 34	2 straight lines, 8x5, red	1850	15
Chambersburg, Penn.	Whig Office: CHAMBERSBURG, PA., Circulation, 2,200. Paid 3 cts.	printed cornercard, 45x40, red	1854	16
Charleston, S.C.	CHARGE BOX 625 H & CO.	straight line, 37x3½, blue	1858	17
Chicago, Ill.	GEO. SMITH & CO., CHICAGO, PAID	double circle, 20, blue	1850s	18
Cincinnati, Ohio	CHARGE CITY INS. COMP.	double oval, 29x23, black	1850s	19
Cleveland, Ohio	PAID CHARGE WEDDELL HOUSE	oval, 21x16, blue, black	1850s	20
Columbus, Ohio	Charge C. Ins. Co.	negative lettering, 16x13, red	1845	21
Columbus, Ohio	CHARGE C. INS. CO	rectangle with fleuron, 15x13, red, black	1840s	22
Columbus, Ohio	CH. City Bk.	fancy frame, 19x12½, red, black	1848	23
Columbus, Ohio	CHARGE TREAS. STATE	rectangle, 15x16, red	1853	24

Table 1. Handstamped charge-to-box markings found on stampless covers. These markings were created by mailers and applied to outbound covers to indicate that the local postmaster was to prepay postage and charge the mailer's box account.

1

2

3

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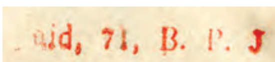
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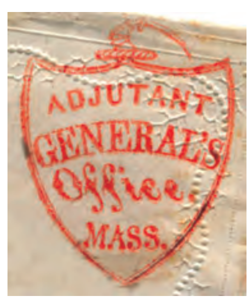

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TOWN	TEXT OF MARKING	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REF
Corning, N.Y.	CHARGE W. & T.	circle with star, 20½, black	1853	25
Geneva, N.Y.	DDH, also PAID 3 in circle	oval, red, 24x17	1853	26
Hartford, Ct.	PAID. CONN. RIVER BANK	triple oval, 28x18, red	1852	27
Indianapolis, Ind.	Chg S. & B. several styles exist	printed fancy script, 16x5,	1857	28
Meridian, Ct.	PAID/ M. B'K	rectangle , 16x9½, red	1853	29
New York, N.Y.	ASTOR/ HOUSE/ PAID	circle, 27, red	1844	-
New York, N.Y.	AMERICAN LEGAL ASSOCIATION. matching separate PAID	oval, 50x30, red	1850s	30
New York, N.Y.	CYRUS W. FIELD & Co., NEW-YORK can have additional Paid	oval, 33x18, blue, red	1850-52	31
New York, N.Y.	LAW MAGAZINE OFFICE separate PAID	oval, 43x24, red	1853	32
New York, N.Y.	PAID AMERICAN BIBLE UNION NEW-YORK	oval, 47x33, red	1854	33
New York, N.Y.	CROTON MILLS PAID	printed and illustrated, 30x21, blue, black	1855	34
Newburgh, N.Y.	PAID BOX 33	straight line, 21x4, red	1846	-
Providence, R.I.	J B W, matching PAID	straight line, 25x7, red	1807	35
Providence, R.I.	LXXXV can have PAID in black	fancy banner, 18x9, red	1850s	36
Richmond, Va.	CIRCULAR— Charge Auditor's Office.	printed straight line, 47x2	1854	37
Rochester, N.Y.	PAID/POWERS BANKING HOUSE/ ROCHESTER, N.Y.	oval, 39x25½, black	1855	38
Springfield, Mass.	PAID WESTERN BANK	2 straight lines, 23x8, red	1850	39
Tivoli, N.Y.	Paid/Charge/9th Brigade, 3d Division, N.Y.S.T.	printed 2 lines, black	1853	40
Unknown	Paid—Charge	printed straight line, 22x3	1850s	41
Washington, D.C.	SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.	double oval with fleuron, 31x18½, red	1840s	42
Watertown, N.Y.	Chg. B.R. B'k	oval, 20x9, red	1845	-

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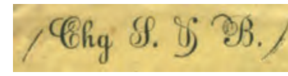

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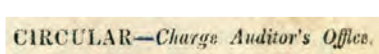

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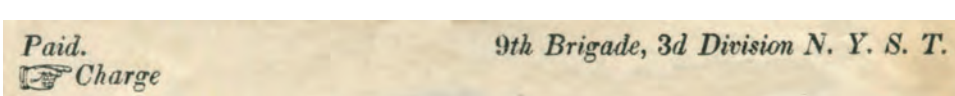

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Figure 13. "CHARGE CANAL DEP'T" framed in a blue scroll, indicating prepayment was to be charged to a branch of the New York state government. The year date of this cover is not known, but the PAID and 3 handstamps indicate the 1851-55 era, when stamps were available but not yet required and postage could still be prepaid in cash.

In addition to these handstamped markings, there are a small number of printed markings; these are also included in Table 1.

Figure 13 shows an attractive example of a handstamped charge to box marking from Albany, New York. This indicates that postage was to be charged against an account maintained by the Canal Department of the New York state government. The wording of the marking leaves no doubt as to its significance on this cover. The PAID and 3 handstamps indicate the 1851-55 era, when stamps were available but not yet required; prepayment could still be made in cash. Charge to box uses with Paid 3 stampless markings are common from many cities and towns during this transitional period. The postal markings on the Figure 13 cover are the same as would have been applied to an envelope presented at the post office by a patron who prepaid the postage in cash.

Figure 14 depicts a cover with a cornercard of the Weddell House in Cleveland, Ohio. The small black oval handstamped marking at upper right—"PAID, CHARGE WEDDELL HOUSE"—leaves little doubt. This marking indicated that the postmaster was to charge this letter against the account of the hotel. The patron would have settled separately with the hotel and was saved the necessity of going to the post office personally to mail the letter. This oval charge marking is known both in black and blue, and three different cornercard envelope types from the hotel have been recorded. Again, the Cleveland integral "3 PAID" indicates the transitional 1851-55 era.

Charge to box handstamps exist on covers franked with 1847 stamps. Figure 15 shows a cover with a 5¢ 1847 stamp with red grid and a red "SPRINGFIELD Ms SEP 14" circular datestamp. The cover also shows a double straightline "PAID WESTERN BANK" applied above the stamp in a different shade of red. This marking also exists on stampless covers and is listed as such in Table 1. In the case of Figure 15, the postmaster applied a stamp to pay the postage instead of using a handstamped stampless marking. This cover has a certificate of authenticity from the Philatelic Foundation.

This brings us to a marking well-known to collectors of 1847 stamps, the red (sometimes blue) ovals of the Cyrus W. Field Company. Most exhibition collectors present this

Figure 14. Envelope with ornately illustrated corner cachet for Weddell House, a Cleveland hotel. The black oval "PAID CHARGE WEDDELL HOUSE" instructed the Cleveland postmaster to prepay the cover and charge the hotel account. As in Figure 13, the Cleveland integral "3 PAID" indicates the cover dates from the transitional 1851-55 era.

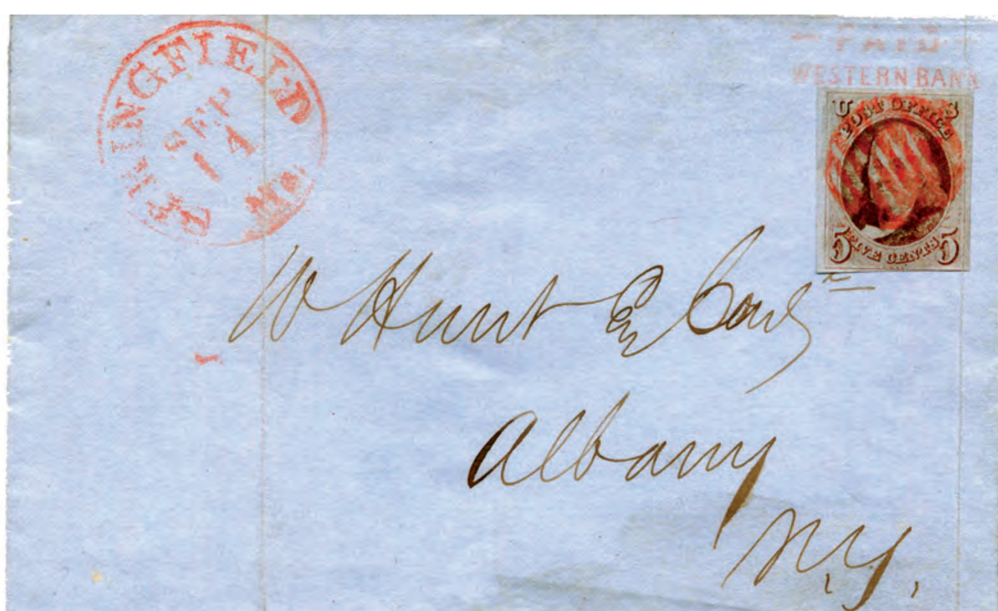

Figure 15. Charge to box marking on a 5¢ 1847 cover. Note the faint handstamp "PAID WESTERN BANK" struck just above the stamp. Instead of using a stampless marking, the Springfield postmaster applied a 5¢ 1847 stamp and debited the bank's account.

marking as a handstamped corner advertising cachet. I believe that this is wrong, at least in some cases, when the double-oval marking ("CYRUS W. FIELD & Co./NEW-YORK") is intended to alert the New York post office to prepay the postage and charge it to the

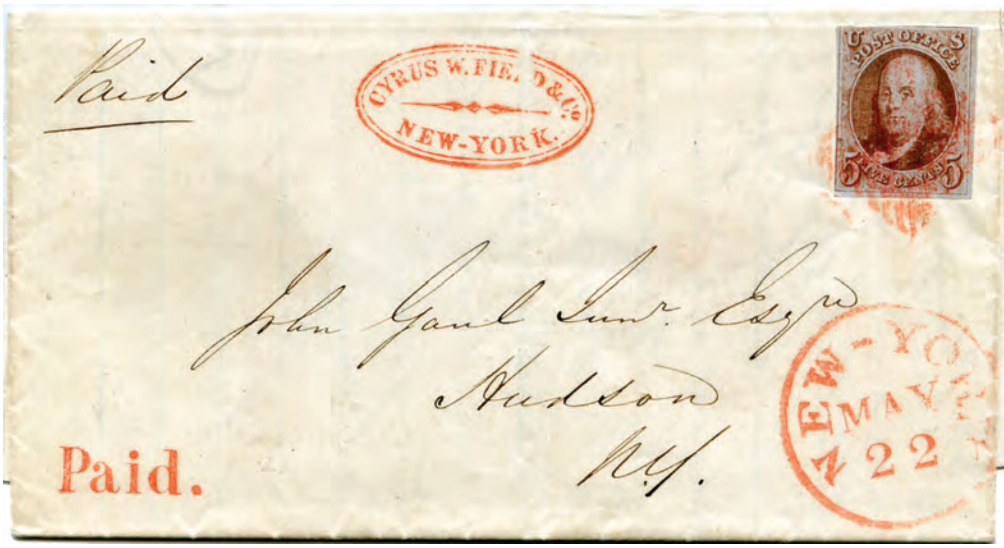

Figure 16. Red double oval "CYRUS W. FIELD & CO." with matching red "Paid." The period on the "Paid." distinguishes this as a privately created marking. The New York postmaster affixed the 5¢ 1847 stamp and charged the box account of the Field firm.

Figure 17. Printed bankruptcy notice from 1843, with attached printed address leaf. Note that the words "Single" and "Paid" were printed as part of the preprinted address. It seems reasonable to assume this was part of a larger mailing and that the Albany post office charged all these letters to a box account. Postal markings are the red "ALBANY N.Y. MAY 5" and "PAID" and the manuscript "10" indicating the 30 to 80 mile rate.

company's account. Figure 16 is an example. This cover shows the company oval in red, but it also shows a distinct "Paid." in the same color ink at lower left corner. The cover bears a "NEW-YORK MAY 22" circular datestamp and the 5¢ 1847 is tied by the common red square grid killer. I believe the private "Paid." marking is linked to the oval company marking and that both markings are charge to box markings. I have never seen this oval, either in red or blue, on an unpaid stampless cover. A cover with the 3¢ orange brown stamp (Scott 10) dated January 19, has the same red markings of the Field firm and the

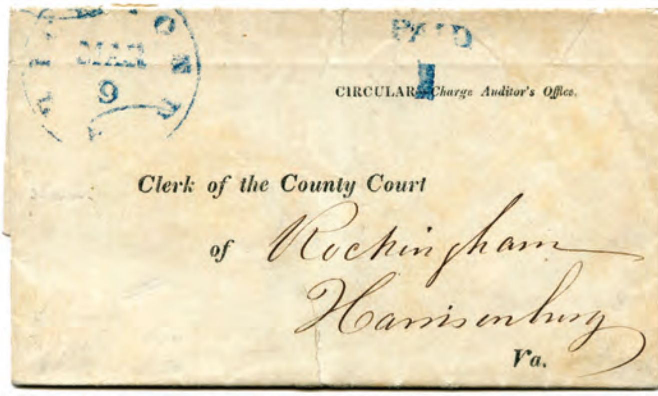

Figure 18. Partially printed address with printed "CIRCULAR Charge Auditor's Office," a very specific charge to box designation. Postmarked blue "RICHMOND Va. MAR 9" and "PAID 1".

Figure 19. Addressed to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, this 1854 publisher's envelope bears the printed corner cachet of a political newspaper. The "Paid 3 cts." in the corner imprint indicates this is a charge to box notation. Blue "CHAMBERSBURG Pa. MAR 1" (1854) and "PAID 3".

same "Paid." handstamp; also a manuscript "Paid" in the same handwriting as the address. The placement of the red oval on the Figure 16 cover, at top center above the address, is not a position that would have been used for a return address. Many prepaid covers from the 1850s may have been charged to a box account, but they lack the markings to confirm this. And it is worth noting that handstamped box markings with both box numbers and the initials of the box holder have been seen from Canada from the 1850s.

Printed charge to box markings

Figure 17 shows an 1843 printed notice about a bankruptcy case, sent from Albany to Little Falls, New York. Both the message within and common portions of the address ("Single," "Paid," "County of" and "State of") were printed simultaneously. If this represents a charge to box use, it is the earliest preprinted example. It seems reasonable to assume this was part of a larger mailing and that the Albany post office charged all these letters to a box account.

The cover in Figure 18 is a printed notice sent at the 1¢ circular rate. The postal markings are the "RICHMOND Va. MAR 9" [1854] circular datestamp and "PAID 1". Portions of the address are preprinted as is the directive at upper right, which reads "CIRCULAR—Charge Auditor's Office." There is no doubt that this indicates a specific box account. What is unusual about this cover is the specific language about the postage charge. Other covers exist with a simple printed "Paid."

Another unusual cover with printed reference to paid postage is the cover in Figure 19. This 1854 publisher's envelope bears a printed red corner cachet: "Whig Office: CHAMBERSBURG, PA. Circulation 2,200 Paid 3 cts." The "Paid 3 cts" notation in this imprint renders it a printed charge to box notation. There are a small number of similar printed circulars with the paid postage rate printed on the front. These are all charge to box uses. They can also be considered as a form of precanceled envelope.

Figure 20. Illustrated printed charge to box marking from Croton Flour Mills, here in black, although blue is more common. This circular is unaddressed and never passed through the mails. An enlargement of the ornamental imprint ("CROTON MILLS PAID" surrounding a sheaf of wheat) is shown at left. Courtesy of Arnold Selengut.

One of the most spectacular of these is the ornamental "CROTON MILLS PAID" imprint that appears on circulars distributed by Croton Mills, a flour mill established in 1843 at 203 Cherry Street in lower Manhattan. An example of the circular is shown in the black and white photo in Figure 20, provided by Arnold Selengut. An enlarged color view of the Croton Mills imprint from this circular, unquestionably a charge to box marking, is also shown. This example is unusual because it is printed in black; most are blue. The Figure 20 circular is unaddressed and never passed through the mails. Examples with postal markings show that 3¢ postage was paid.

Registration charged to box

Examples of charge to box mail after 1855 are unusual, because by then stamps were required to pay postage. However, extra fees such as the registration fee could be charged to a box account. A number of registered covers survive that show such usage. Two are shown here. The first, presented in Figure 21, is a 3¢ 1853 entire envelope with a blue "CHARLESTON S.C. NOV 15 PAID" circular datestamp. The label affixed to the upper left corner reads "REGISTERED/FROM HAVILAND, HARRAL & CO., DRUGGISTS." The postmaster wrote the registered number ("987") right on the label. Official registration

Figure 21. This 3¢ entire envelope bears a privately created "REGISTERED" label to which the postmaster added the registry number ("987"). Per the manuscript endorsement at top center, the registration fee of 5¢ was charged to box 426. Blue "CHARLESTON S.C. MAY 13 PAID"; the year date is uncertain, but it must be 1856 or soon after.

began in 1855 with a 5¢ fee to be paid in cash. Per the manuscript directive at top center on the envelope ("chge Box no 426") the registration fee for this letter was charged to a post office box. On the back flap of the envelope is an embossed advertisement for the same druggist with a Charleston street address. To justify printing a special label, the Haviland, Harral firm must have sent out registered letters fairly frequently. But this is the only known example of this label; in fact, it is the only known example of any private registered label from the classic period.

The second registered cover, shown in Figure 22, is also very unusual, but here both the postage and the registered fee were charged to a box account. The sender, a merchant firm in Wetumpka, Alabama, wrote "Register & chg Box [?]." The box number is covered by the stamp. Since the stamp is *over* this notation, the stamp had to have been applied later. The postmark is blue double circle "WETUMPKA ALA JAN 25 1861". This is an independent statehood usage of this postmark, from the period after Alabama seceded from the Union, and prior to its joining the Confederacy. The cover has an authentation certificate of the Confederate Stamp Alliance verifying this. To the right of the corner cachet is the number "6" which would be the registration number. So the box holder was charged 3¢ for the stamp and 5¢ for the registration fee. At the left is written "Encd $15.00".

Not shown here but worth notice is a cover franked with a 3¢ 1861 stamp, posted at Kingston, Rhode Island, on November 14, 1865. This bears a sender's notation "Register & ch 80" and a manuscript registration number ("No. 7") in a different handwriting. Since this cover dates from the era when the registration fee was 20¢ (payment required in cash), that amount would have been charged against the boxholder's account.

Inbound postage charged to recipient's box account: the "charged" uses

The uses discussed so far involve outgoing mail sent prepaid, with the postage charged to the mailer's post office box account. This was by far the most common type.

Figure 22. Perforated 3¢ Washington stamp on a registered cover from Wetumpka, Alabama, postmarked January 25, 1861, with both the stamp and the 5¢ registration fee charged to a box account. This is an independent state use, from the time after Alabama seceded from the Union but before it joined the Confederate States.

But there is second and much scarcer category of charge to box mail. This involves incoming mail that was received unpaid. Some postal patrons arranged with their postmasters that incoming unpaid letters were to be charged to the recipient's post office box account. Differing from the charge to box markings in the first category, which were all private

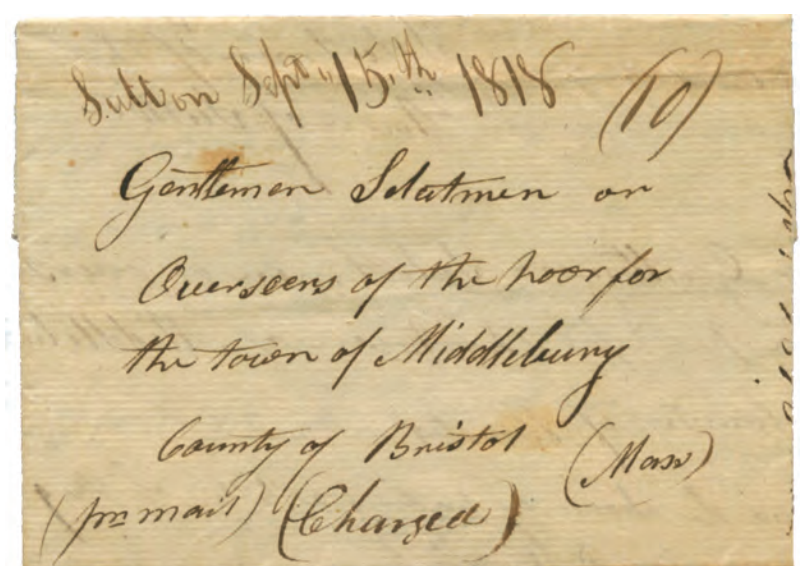

Figure 23. This cover shows a very early example of incoming postage charged to a box account. "Sutton Sept 15th 1818" with "10" due postage addressed to Middlebury, Mass. The Middlebury postmaster noted "(Charged)" in a different handwriting from the address.

markings, charged markings of this second category were postal markings, invariably applied by a postmaster. The typical abbreviated form for the first category (prepaid outgoing mail) was "chg". The abbreviated form for the second category (unpaid incoming letters) was "chd" (indicating "charged"), in the past tense. This can be confusing.

Almost all "charged" uses are designated by manuscript notations. The earliest I have seen appears on the cover in Figure 23, sent from Sutton to Middlebury, Massachusetts on September 15, 1818. Note the "Charged" below the address, which I believe was applied by the Middlebury postmaster to indicate a charge to the account of the local Overseers of the Poor. Note also the parenthetical notation at lower left: "poor mail". I have a similar cover, not illustrated, with red handstamped "E. BRIDGEWATER MASS. FEB 22" [1819] and a manuscript "6" sent to "Commissioners of the Poor, Middleborough, County of Plymouth" with "(Charged)" in manuscript across the top of the cover.

Figure 24 shows a very interesting cover on which the postage charged was the forwarding fee to another address. The letter is an 1841 printed circular with no writing inside. But in 1841 circulars had to pay regular postage. The letter was sent paid from New York City to Plainfield, Connecticut. There a forwarding notation was applied with the new address at Central Village. But instead of the usual due charge for forwarding, the cover is marked "Paid fd 6" with a blue manuscript "Chgd" demonstrating that the additional postage was charged to the post office box account of the addressee, a business firm. This is the only cover of which I am aware where a "charged" notation appears on a cover that also shows postage prepaid. No doubt the addressee company arranged with the postmaster at Plainfield to forward mail with a charge to their Plainfield box account. The contents of this cover are an early piece of junk mail, a printed message claiming a new method of producing synthetic olive oil from lard.

Figure 24. An early piece of junk mail, this printed circular with red "NEW-YORK AUG 3" (1841) predates circular postal rates. It was originally sent prepaid, with "PAID" and manuscript "12½", to Plainfield, Connecticut. From there it was redirected to Central Village, with forwarding postage charged to the addressee's box account in Plainfield. The Plainfield postmaster used blue ink to differentiate the "Chgd" marking.

Figure 25. "LEXINGTON Va. MAR 3"(1850) and "5" in yellow-orange ink to Wilmington, Virginia. The manuscript "chd" under the address is a postal marking, indicating the 5¢ postage due was charged to the recipient's box account. The initials at lower left might appear to be those of the sender, but they cannot represent an outbound charge to box indicator since the "5" handstamp clearly indicates this letter was sent unpaid.

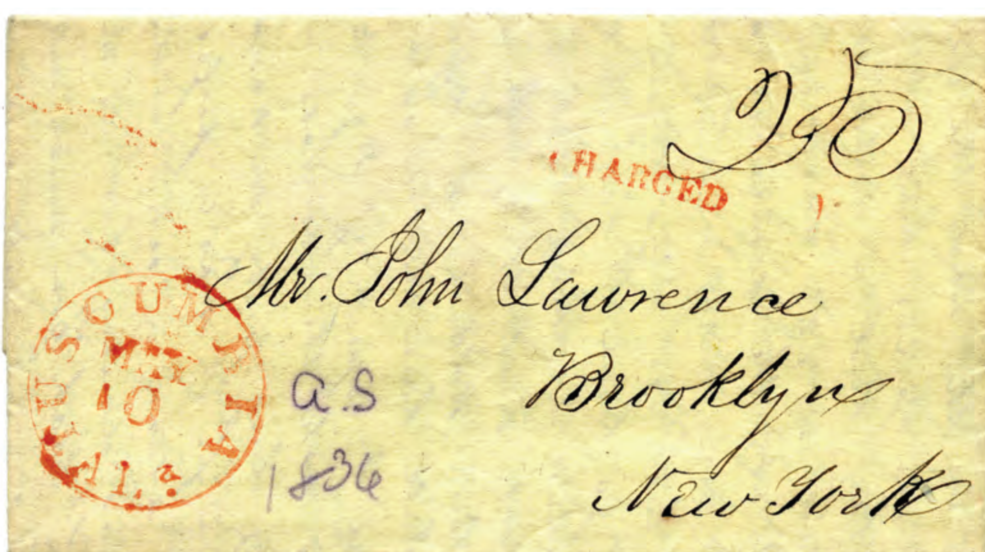

Figure 26. Cover to Brooklyn, New York, from "TUSCUMBIA Ala. MAY 10" (1836) with 25¢ postage due for the over 400 mile rate. At Brooklyn the cover was handstamped "CHARGED" to indicate that the due postage had been debited to the addressee's box account. Remarkably, this is the only recorded handstamped "CHARGED" marking.

Figure 25 shows a very unusual yellow "LEXINGTON Va. MAR 3" (1850) and matching "5". At the very bottom is "Chd". Note that charged notations may be small; they are frequently overlooked. A very late appearance of "chd" appears on a 3¢ 1861 cover (not shown) with a "DUE 6" representing overweight unpaid postage at the penalty rate of 1863.

But the latest marking I know of showing use of a charge account is from 1973, on a cover shown to me by Warren Bower. This cover bears a two-line handstamp "POSTAGE DUE PAID/FROM CHARGE ACCOUNT." While this differs slightly from the uses discussed in this article, the principle of charging postage is the same.

Occasionally, charged incoming letters bear the postal marking "Chg" without the "d". An example is an 1835 cover with "FITCHBURGH, MASS. JUL 2" and manuscript "10" representing unpaid postage. Across the top of the cover the postmaster wrote "Chg July 3."

Handstamped charged markings

Only one handstamped "CHARGED" postmark has been reported, a red 25x4 millimeter straightline used at Brooklyn, New York in 1836. Figure 26 shows an example on an incoming unpaid cover from Tuscumbia, Alabama, rated for 25¢ postage due and "CHARGED" to the addressee's box account. I have seen four examples of this handstamp. There is also a cover addressed to New York with a similar handstamp, but I do not think New York used a "CHARGED" postmark.

Confederate States uses

Though the practice appears to have all but ceased in federal territory by 1861, both charge and charged uses were revived in the Confederate States of America, possibly because of the scarcity of small change and hard currency. Manuscript charge to box markings are seen occasionally on many types of Confederate covers. Figure 27 shows a nice cover to New Orleans, from the famous Carroll Hoy correspondence, struck with the bold "PAID 5" straightline woodcut marking from Canton, Mississippi. A handwritten "Chge Box 36" appears at upper left.

An example on an official government envelope is shown in Figure 28. This envelope bears the imprint "Confederate States of America, Subsistence Department." The Richmond circular datestamp reads "JUN 25 1861" and the cover is marked with a Richmond "PAID 10" in circle postmark. At top center is the directive to "Charge Box 655."

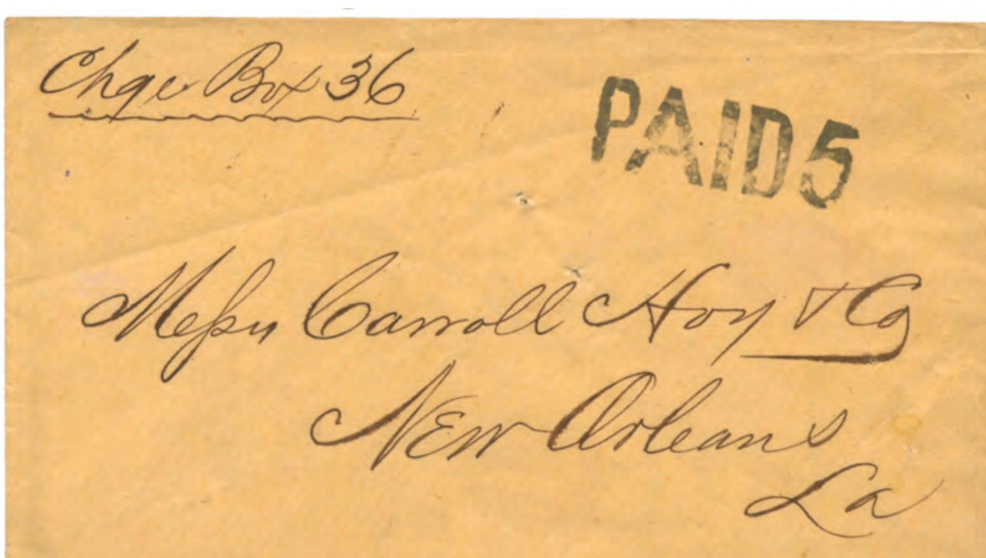

Figure 27. This Confederate charge to box cover lacks a town marking, but the bold "PAID 5" woodcut handstamp is from Canton, Mississippi. Per the manuscript notation at upper left, "Chge Box 36," the postage was charged to the sender's box account.

Figure 28. Confederate States of America official imprinted envelope of the "Subsistence Department," sent from Richmond with manuscript charge directive "Charge Box 655."

Figure 29. At upper left on this cover is one of few handstamped charge to box markings from the Confederacy, a straight-line "CHARGE 64" with unusual shaded lettering, used at Winnsborough, South Carolina. The 5¢ rating dates this cover from 1862.

There are even a handstamped Confederate charge to box markings. A cover showing one example, addressed to Fort Mills, South Carolina, is illustrated in Figure 29. The postmarks are "WINNSBOROUGH S.C. 10 JAN," "PAID" and "5" so the cover must date from 1862. Note at upper left the red straightline "CHARGE 64" in shaded letters with the additional manuscript initials "W.R.R." I have seen another example from this same correspondence.

The last marking in this discussion is also one of the most unusual. This is a black shield handstamp used at the Jackson, Mississippi, post office: "CHARGED TO BOX".[6] Fewer than five strikes of this marking have been recorded. An example is shown in Figure

Figure 30. "CHARGED TO BOX" in a shield with "DROP 2 CENTS" in a circle, both on a Confederate cover from 1862, dropped at the post office in Jackson, Mississippi, and addressed to Governor John Pettis.

30, on a cover, with a circular "DROP 2 CENTS" marking, addressed to the governor of Mississippi. This is the only "CHARGED" handstamped Confederate marking known and this is the best-struck example. The original letter, dated August 3, 1862, was written to Governor John Pettus.

I would be very interested in learning of additional charge to box markings.

Endnotes

1. DeBlois, Diane, "Post Office Call & Lock Boxes," *P.S., A Quarterly Journal of Postal History,* No. 19 (1983), pp. 39-60.
2. Harlow, Alvin F., *Old Post Bags*, New York and London, 1928, pp. 397-398.
3. *Postal Laws and Regulations,* 1832, pg. 43.
4. Milgram, James W. ,"Charge It to My Post Office Account," *American Philatelist*, 89 (1975), pp. 613-629; 91 (1977) pp. 715-717. Hahn, Calvet M., "Uncle Sam's Charge Account Postal System," *Society of Philatelic Americans Journal,* 40 (1978), pp. 727-741.
5. Milgram, James W., "Postage Charged to Post Office Box Accounts," *Chronicle* 138 (1988), pp. 90-98.
6. Milgram, James W., "Charged to Post Office Box Accounts," *Chronicle* (1990), pp. 99-101. Parks, William S., "Handstamped 'Charged to Box' Marking from Jackson, Mississippi," *Confederate Philatelist*, July-August, 1981, pp. 105-107. Kressman, F.W., Jr., "More on 'Charged to Box' Shield," *Confederate Philatelist,* March-April, 1982, pp. 51-52. ■

THE 1847 PERIOD
WADE E. SAADI, EDITOR

MORE ON THE TURNER CORRESPONDENCE

GORDON EUBANKS, BURKHARD KRUMM AND MARK SCHEUER

In *Chronicle* 224 (November 2009) Gordon Eubanks examined the 52 covers then known from the Turner correspondence, a large find of 1847 covers from St. Louis to Boston, addressed to a Miss E.E. Turner. In his article, Eubanks made some speculative observations. First, because stamps were used on these letters at a time when prepaid postage was not required, Eubanks suggested that the mail might have originated from a suitor. Second, the distinctive overlapping of multiple stamps, apparently unique to this correspondence, seemed to have been applied by the sender. Third, the dates of the correspondence (between April 14, 1850 and June 17, 1851, and possibly extending beyond), might suggest some significance for the correspondents' relationship. Eubanks' article concluded with a request for additional information about the covers, the circumstances of the original find, and especially Miss Turner and her family.

In *Chronicle* 236 (November 2012), Mark Scheuer presented his update of Thomas Alexander's *The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census.* The updated listing, now containing nearly 7,500 scans, shows no non-Turner examples of covers showing overlapping 1847 stamps. The Post Office Department frowned upon this practice, because it could have concealed the use of previously cancelled stamps. Scheuer asked readers to submit scans of additional covers, particularly those unlisted in the Alexander census.

Route Agent Burkhard Krumm responded by sending a scan of the Turner cover shown in Figure 1. This was lot 37 in the Daniel F. Kelleher sale of April 19, 2012. In sub-

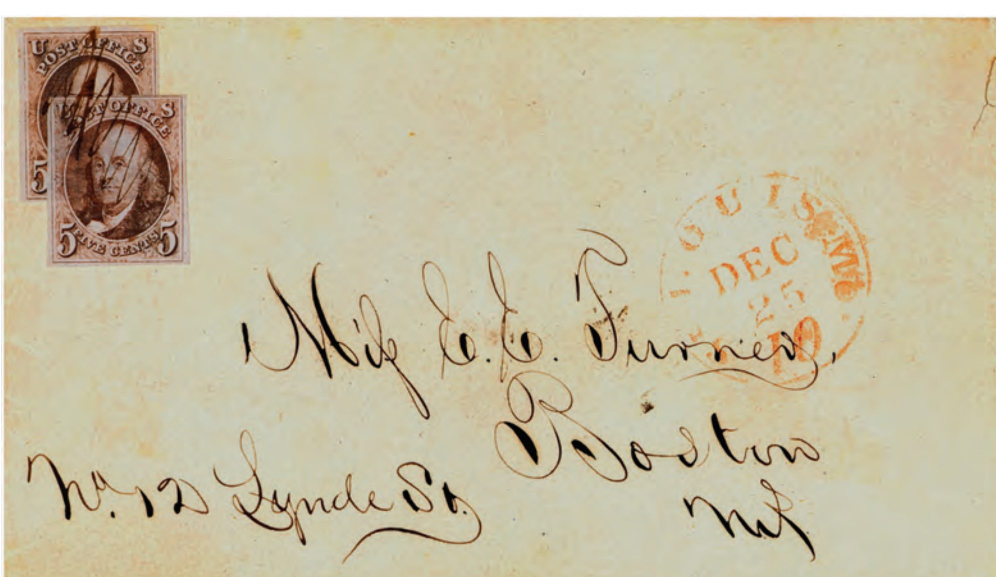

Figure 1. Burkhard Krumm's E.E. Turner cover. The artfully overlapped 5¢ 1847 stamps are one of the hallmarks of this correspondence. The "St. LOUIS" integral-10 circular datestamp, the left-slanting handwriting and the highly specific street address all contributed to the successful year-dating of this and many other covers from this find.

Figure 2. Enlargement of the circular datestamp from the Figure 1 cover, showing the town name as "St. LOUIS". In early November 1850, this marking was superceded by a similar marking with "SAINT" instead of "St." (See cover in Figure 3.) The changeover in marking devices was a useful tool in helping apply year-dates to many of the Turner covers.

mitting the cover, Krumm posed a question: If the Turner correspondence is believed to have run from April 14, 1850 to June 17, 1851, and the Saint Louis post office changed their integral 10 circular datestamp from "St. LOUIS" to "SAINT LOUIS" on or about November 8, 1850, shouldn't the cover in Figure 1 be dated December 25, 1849?[1] If so, Krumm noted, this would make it the earliest known cover in the Turner correspondence.

Figure 2 shows an enhanced enlargement of the St. Louis circular datestamp from the Figure 1 cover. The town name is clearly abbreviated "St. Louis." Figure 3 shows a Turner cover that dates from June 17, 1851 (see below). In the circular datestamp on this cover, the town name is spelled out as "Saint Louis."

To answer Krumm's question, Scheuer reviewed all of the dated Saint Louis cover scans in his digitized 1847 cover database. The "St." townmark appears on all covers dated prior to 8 November 1850 and the "SAINT" townmark appears on all covers after this date. Many of the covers have confirming datelines or docketing year dates. Thus, Krumm's December 25 cover in Figure 1 must date from 1849 or earlier.

Figure 3. Another E.E. Turner cover with artfully overlapping stamps similar to Figure 1. This shows the integral 10 circular datestamp (with "SAINT LOUIS" spelled out) that replaced the marking in Figure 2. This cover must have been posted on June 17, 1851.

Cover data

Scheuer then reviewed 35 of the 56 now-known Turner covers in his database. After all, if the "St/SAINT" indicator places Krumm's cover in 1849, couldn't the same tool be applied to help year-date other covers in the correspondence? Perhaps the Figure 1 cover is not the earliest in the correspondence.

The examination showed that most, but not all, of the year-dated covers in the census were properly placed in 1850 or 1851 according to the "St/SAINT" indicator. For example, the cover in Figure 3, from June 17, 1851, shows the later ("SAINT LOUIS") datestamp. This cover was part of lot 30 in Siegel sale 937, held June 16, 2007.

Many of the undated covers in Alexander's book could also be dated using the townmark technique and the assumption that the earliest Turner cover dates from April 14, 1850. Alexander did not make this assumption. There was understandable doubt about year dat-

Date	Value	Arrangement	CDS	Address	Note	Reference
10-Jun-xx	10¢	single		Boston		ex. Hart
8-Sep-**49**	10¢	single	A	Boston	1, L	PF 171,178
17-Sep-**49**	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	A	Boston	2, R	895 RAS 55
25-Sep-**49**	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	A	Boston	2, R	PF 276,115
xx-Oct-xx	5¢	2 overlap		Boston		
xx-Nov-xx	10¢	single		Boston		
3-Dec-49	10¢	single	A	Boston	L	
25-Dec-**49**	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	A	Boston	1, L	Figure 1
31-Dec-**49**	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	A	Boston	1, L	1041 RAS 152
29-Jan-**50**	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	A	Boston	1, L	743 RAS 8
4-Feb-50	**5¢**	2 diagonal overlap	A	Boston	1, R	122 Shreves 24
11-Mar-**50**	10¢	single	A	South Boston	3, R	Rumsey #25
25-Mar-**50**	10¢	single	A	South Boston	3, R	PF 396,125
1-Apr-**50**	10¢	single	A	(South) Boston	3, R	656 RAS 131
8-Apr-**50**	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	A	South Boston	3, R	1023 RAS 2238
22-Apr-50	10¢	single	A	South Boston	R	1023 RAS 2240
13-May-50	10¢	single	A	**South** Boston	R	346 Bennett 573
16-Sep-50	10¢	single		South Boston		
24-Sep-50	10¢	? Overlap		South Boston		
26-Sep-50	**10¢**	single	A	South Boston	R	629 Kelleher 38
7-Oct-**50**	10¢	single	A	South Boston	L	906 RAS 1515
13-Oct-**50**	10¢	single	A	South Boston	R	622 Kelleher 3858
11-Nov-50	5¢	4 sideways overlap	B	South Boston	R	800 RAS 220
18-Nov-50	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	PF 200,205
26-Nov-**50**	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	PF 454,810
2-Dec-50	10¢	single		South Boston		

Table 1. The 56 1847 covers currently recorded from the St. Louis-to-Boston correspondence addressed to Miss E.E. Turner. Boldface indicates new information. In the CDS column, A="St. LOUIS" townmark, B="SAINT LOUIS" townmark. Notes: 1=street address of "12 Lynde St."; 2="Rear of 12 Lynde St."; 3="c/o J. Turner"; L=handwriting in address slants left; R=handwriting in address slants right.

ing since the "St." townmark was used in 1849 and earlier.

In examining the scans of the Turner covers, other differences also became apparent. First, there are four different addresses for Miss Turner: 12 Lynde St. in Boston; rear of 12 Lynde St. in Boston; c/o J. Turner in South Boston; and just plain South Boston. Second, the writer addressed a few covers with a left-hand slant (Figure 1 is an example) and most with a right-hand slant (as in Figure 3). The authors used this data to apply year dates to the covers and arrange them in chronological order. This information is presented in Table 1, which represents an expansion, an updating and (in some cases) a rearrangement of data originally presented by Eubanks in *Chronicle* 224.

Note that all these covers required at least 10¢ in postage, the minimum rate during this era for a letter travelling over 300 miles. Most of the Turner covers were franked with single 10¢ 1847 stamps, but some were franked with multiple 5¢ 1847 stamps. The distinc-

Date	Value	Arrangement	CDS	Address	Note	Reference
10-Dec-50	10¢	single		South Boston		
16-Dec-**50**	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	PF 363,890
19-Dec-50	10¢	single		South Boston		
24-Dec-50	10¢	2 diagonal overlap	B	South Boston	R	Pictured in Alexander
24-Dec-xx	10¢	2 diagonal overlap		South Boston		duplicate entry?
xx-Dec-50	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	Feldman 5-82 15590
6-Jan-51	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	PF 206,799
13-Jan-**51**	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	1041 RAS 153
20-Jan-51	10¢	single		South Boston		
27-Jan-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
3-Feb-**51**	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	**PF 324,143**
13-Feb-xx	5¢	2 diagonal overlap		South Boston		address not clear
17-Feb-51	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	875 RAS 754
25-Feb-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
17-Mar-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
30-Mar-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
31-Mar-**51**	10¢	single	B	South Boston	R	1041 RAS 273
14-Apr-5**1**	10¢	single	B	**South** Boston	R	Figure 4
21-Apr-51	5¢	2 sideways overlap	B	South Boston	R	Pictured in Alexander
28-Apr-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
12-May-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
22-May-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
25-May-xx	10¢	single		South Boston		
26-May-51	10¢	single		South Boston		
2-Jun-51	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	B	South Boston	R	PF 404,867
10-Jun-**51**	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	B	South Boston	R	264 RAS 60
16-Jun-51	5¢	?? overlap		South Boston		
17-Jun-51	5¢	2 diagonal overlap	B	South Boston	R	Figure 3
24-Jun-**51**	5¢	vertical pair	B	South Boston	R	Figure 5
1-Jul-xx	5¢	vertical pair	B	South Boston	R	210 RAS 56

Figure 4. A 10¢ 1847 cover from the Turner correspondence, "SAINT" postmark, sold in a 1989 Siegel sale and more recently on eBay. Image courtesy of Alex Haimann.

tive overlapping of the stamps on some of these 5¢ covers (and on at least one multiple-rate cover franked with 10¢ stamps) has long attracted collector attention.

The covers in Table 1 are presented on chronological order. Following the pattern of Eubanks' original article, the "Value" column indicates which 1847 denomination was used and the "Arrangement" column indicates the number of stamps and how they were affixed. Information presented in **boldface** represents new data. The "CDS" column indicates which St. Louis circular datestamp appears on the cover (A is "St. Louis" and B is "Saint Louis"). The "Notes" column presents details relating to how the cover is addressed.

To create the tabular data, the covers were first separated by the postmark. Those with the earlier "St. LOUIS" marking were assigned to pre-November 8, 1850 dates and those with the later "SAINT LOUIS" marking were assigned to post-November 8, 1850 dates. This immediately enabled assigning better year-dates to many of the covers. As an example, we observed that the 10¢ cover shown in Figure 4, with an April 14 "SAINT LOUIS" integral 10 postmark, must be attributed to 1851 rather than 1850, as it appeared in the listing in *Chronicle* 224. Therefore, this is not the earliest cover in the correspondence. Similarly, the cover shown in Figure 5, with a "SAINT LOUIS" postmark dated June 24, franked with a vertical pair of 5¢ stamps, must also date from 1851, extending the end of the correspondence at least another week. This cover is in Eubank's exhibition collection.

Attributing all the covers with "St. LOUIS" postmarks to 1850 left the addresses disorganized. With Boston and South Boston being geographically contiguous, it is possible that Miss Turner lived at both simultaneously, but a more logical sequence is that she started at 12 Lynde Street in Boston and then moved back home with her father, J. Turner in South Boston, sometime between February 4, 1850 and March 11, 1850. After a few months in South Boston, the writer may have felt that she was now well enough known there to eliminate the need to send letters in care of her father. Year-dating several covers back into 1849 eliminated what otherwise were frequent relocations of Miss Turner.

Many of the covers could not be definitively year-dated due to a lack of visual representation. In those cases, we relied on the Alexander address description (Boston vs. South Boston), correcting one instance (the May 13 cover) where the Alexander data gave a Bos-

Figure 5. The latest known cover in the Turner correspondence, from the Eubanks collection. The authors' research shows this cover was posted on June 24, 1851.

ton address but the cover clearly shows South Boston. (This cover was lot 573 in Matthew Bennett's sale 346, held on Sept. 13, 2012.)

A cover dated April 1 was also misidentified. Sold as lot 131 in Siegel sale 656 (December 17, 1985), this cover was described as being addressed to Massachusetts. It is listed in Alexander as addressed to Boston. The catalog illustration, typical of auction catalog photographs from this era, shows only part of the cover. It does not show the full address but does show the earlier St. LOUIS town postmark and addressing "care of J. Turner, Esq." This cover must have been sent to South Boston in 1850 and fits in well with the other three covers addressed in care of Miss Turner's father.

The reworked cover listing reveals some interesting information. More than ten covers have been dated earlier than April 14, 1850 with the earliest clearly identified cover now being September 8, 1849. This cover can be seen on the Philatelic Foundation website (Certificate 171,178). Three more covers, all addressed to Boston, may also be 1849 uses. They have been placed accordingly in the table but the year-dates remain unknown (indicated by "xx"), as Alexander listed them, until scans can be found. The June 10 cover may turn out to be the earliest in the correspondence, but this is doubtful. The gap between this and the other covers in the correspondence seems too large. When this cover resurfaces, the address (Boston vs. South Boston) will tell us whether the cover dates from 1849 or 1850.

Scans are missing for those listings with blanks in the "CDS" column in Table 1, so the year-dating of these covers is somewhat suspect. All of the missing covers after February 4 and before July 1 may be either 1850 or 1851 uses.

There appears to be a large gap of missing covers from the summer of 1850. The three May 18xx covers in Alexander do little to fill this gap. The July 1, 18xx cover would fit in the middle of this gap if it was an 1850 use or it would extend the end date of the correspondence if it was posted in 1851. Since covers bearing 1847 stamps are known dated July 1, 1851 (the first day of demonetization) and beyond, we are not quick to place this cover in 1850. Today's collectors much appreciate demonetized covers, so if the July 1 cover turns out to be an 1851 use, it would be a very valuable cover.

In searching through the on-line archive of early catalogs on the Robert A. Siegel website ("RAS" in the table), we ran across the cover that was lot 56 in Siegel's sale 210 (May 21-22, 1958). This was the Emmerson Krug collection, one of the great early survey collections of classic United States covers. The photograph shows just part of the cover, but it's clearly from the Turner correspondence, with a vertical pair of 5¢ 1847 stamps and a "SAINT LOUIS" postmark, addressed to South Boston. The datestamp is too faint to make out the month and the date seems to be single number that only shows the lower portion of a 1, 4, or 7. This may be the July 1 (1851) cover or a new addition to the table.

Who was E. E. Turner and who wrote the letters to her? Was he a suitor? And why did the letters stop in June of 1851? Answers to these questions appeared quite serendipitously. Scheuer was searching the internet for details about the correspondence and ran across an on-line index to *The Lowell Offering,* a magazine written and published by working women between 1840 and 1845 and known in its day as "the mill-girls' magazine." The index was created by Judith Ranta.[2] Numerous essays in *The Lowell Offerring* were attributed to an Elizabeth Emerson Turner and the index mentioned she was married to a Charles Sawyer. This might be our Miss E. E. Turner, but she definitely wasn't married in the early 1840s. As it turned out the marriage information had been inserted by by Ms. Ranta based on information current around 1900, so the year of Miss Turner's marriage did not necessarily conflict with the 1849-1851 dates of the covers.

Further searching on the name "Charles Sawyer" turned up a book, *In Memoriam: Charles B. Sawyer and Elizabeth E.T. Sawyer*, that provided definitive answers. The book was written by Charles Adrian Sawyer, son of the memorialized couple, in 1902. Copies were found on eBay and Amazon and a scan of the entire book was located on Google.

In the book, Charles Adrian Sawyer wrote of his father: "During the six or seven years that Mr. Sawyer was in business in Boston, there was laid the foundation of the career of the future successful merchant. His fine business ability was destined to be displayed in larger fields and with greater resources. Like many young men at that time and since, his thought turned to the West as the best field for opportunity and progress. He therefore came west in 1846 and settled first at St. Louis, accepting a position as an accountant with the firm of Pettes, Chickering & Co., dealers in general merchandise. He remained with the firm until 1853, when he returned to Boston temporarily."[3]

This looked very promising. Charles was settled in St. Louis in 1846 having come from Boston. He very well could be the author of the letters. The book continues: "On the last day of July 1851, Mr. Sawyer was married in Boston to Elizabeth Emerson Turner, and returning to St. Louis, that city became their home for a few years, with another brief residence in Boston, until their removal to Chicago.[4]

Now we had our confirmation. Elizabeth Emerson (E. E.) Turner lived in Boston and the letters stopped in June or July of 1851 because she and her correspondent were wed, whereupon she moved with him to St. Louis.

The book describes Charles Bailey Sawyer as a devout and charitable man. He was a merchant in Chicago until the great fire of 1871 ended that business. But by then he had become a banker and a land developer. He died a wealthy man on January 6, 1896, at the age of 76. His picture in later years, from the memorial book, is shown in Figure 6.

Elizabeth Emerson Turner was born on August 27, 1822, in Lyme, N.H. Starting at the age of 11, she worked in the spinning room of a Lowell mill and her parents ran a boarding-house for mill girls. Later, she got involved with the First Universalist Church, whose Pastor, Rev. Abel Charles Thomas, helped launch *The Lowell Offering*, the first periodical in America written entirely by women. As a young woman in her early 20s, possibly by then no longer a mill girl, Elizabeth frequently contributed essays to this publication.

Charles and Elizabeth were married for 45 years. Elizabeth, shown in old age in Figure 6, outlived Charles. She died on February 13, 1900, in her substantial Pasadena, California home, where the Sawyers spent their winters, a long way from the Lowell mills.

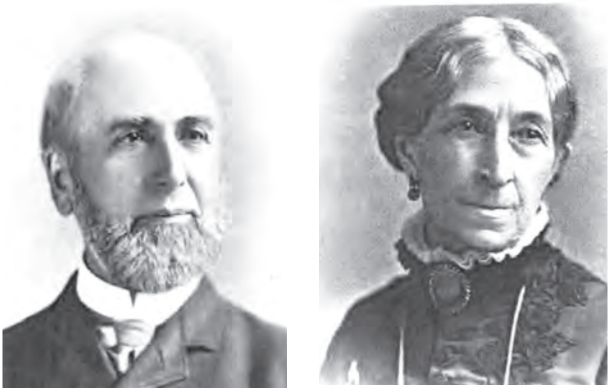

Figure 6. Charles Bailey Sawyer (1819-1896) wrote the 56 known covers to Miss E.E. Turner while the two were courting. Elizabeth Emerson Turner Sawyer (1822-1900), to whom the covers were addressed, started work as a mill-girl in Lowell, Massachusetts at the age of 11 and subsequently contributed essays to the first American periodical written and published entirely by women.

Elizabeth continued to write throughout her life and many of her poems are published in her son's memorial book.

The book mentions that Elizabeth's father, Jacob, after reversals in New Hampshire, moved the family to Lowell in 1833 and to Boston in 1848. We do not know if the entire family resided at 12 Lynde Street in Boston or whether Elizabeth lived there alone. If she lived with her family in Boston, why weren't the earlier letters endorsed c/o her father?

And we can only speculate about the gap in the letters from the summer of 1850. A plausible explanation is that Charles was visiting Elizabeth in Boston. People spending time together don't exchange letters. The left and right slanting writing on the covers remains unexplained. The left-slanting covers are predominantly the earlier ones, with the October 7, 1850 cover being the last one noted. Right-slanting writing appears throughout the correspondence. Likewise, the use of overlapping 5¢ stamps did not occur on the last two covers in the list. Perhaps a postal clerk had informed Charles that the post office frowned on this arrangement.

Despite the unanswered questions remaining about this correspondence, the answers we have developed are very satisfying. A correspondence that has long fascinated collectors because of the artful placement of its stamps has now taken on additional significance. The E.E. Turner correspondence survived early trips across the country, the Chicago fire, and many decades in collector hands. Now we know that these covers are artifacts of a long and successful marriage, a remunerative business career, an unsung literary life, and a journey from the looms of Lowell to the palm strands of Pasadena. What more could we ask?

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1. Thomas J. Alexander, *The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census*, pg. 291; David G. Phillips, *American Stampless Cover Catalog, Volume 1,* Fourth edition (1985), pg. 206.
2. http://library.uml.edu/clh/Offering.htm (last viewed 15 May 2013).
3. Charles Adrian Sawyer, *In Memoriam: Charles B. Sawyer and Elizabeth E. T. Sawyer,"* Chicago, 1902, pg. 8.
4. *Ibid.*, pg. 10. ■

PUTTING THE INK TO THE PAPER

WADE E. SAADI

Collectors have long been intrigued by the panoply of shades found on the 5¢ 1847 stamp. In the February *Chronicle*, I discussed the five different printings of this stamp, with a focus on the printing impressions. In this article, I will address the various shades and the likely pigments that were used to print them. The colors range from the lightest, red orange and brown orange on one end, to the darkest, black brown and fuscous black on the other. I have recorded a total of 27 major shade classifications, and almost 100 more minor varieties. Even the pedestrian red brown shade has over a dozen and a half variants.

Major shades and their varieties are presented herewith, all grouped by printing.[1] Note that many of these shades occur on stamps from more than one printing. Major shades are shown in **boldface**, followed by their subordinate varieties. A single asterisk (*) indicates a shade that is difficult to find; a double asterisk (**) indicates a shade that is very difficult to find. The numbers (#1-#15) are keyed to the accompanying illustrations, which are discussed further below.

First Printing (delivered to post offices 1 July 1847–13 March 13 1848)

Orange Browns: Orange Brown (#10),* Dark Orange Brown,* Very Bright Orange Brown,** Bright Orange Brown,** Deep Orange Brown,** Very Deep Orange Brown

Red Browns: Red Brown, Deep Red Brown, Reddish Brown, Bright Red Brown, Dark Red Brown (#8)

Browns: Brown, Russet Brown, Deep Brown, Dark Pecan Brown

Dark Browns: Dark Brown, Chestnut Brown,* Deep Chestnut Brown,* Dark Chestnut Brown,* Bister,* Seal Brown,** Walnut Brown**

Gray Browns: Grayish Brown,* Dark Grayish Brown,* Grayish Brown (red tint)**

Black Browns: Chocolate Brown,* Deep Chocolate Brown,* Dark Chocolate Brown,** Blackish Brown (#1),** Deep Blackish Brown,** Fuscous Brown (#2),** Fuscous Black (#3),** Deep Olive Brown**

Second Printing (delivered 13 March 1848–19 March 1849)

Browns: Brown, Pale Brown, Deep Brown

Dark Browns: Dark Brown, Sepia (#7)*

Gray Browns: Gray Brown (#5),* Deep Grayish Brown,* Gray Brown (red tint)**

Orange Browns: Orange Brown (#11),* Dark Orange Brown**

Red Browns: Red Brown (#6, #9), Dark Red Brown (#4),* Deep Red Brown*

Third Printing (delivered 19 March 1849–14 February 1850)

Red Browns: Red Brown, Light Red Brown, Reddish Brown, Pale Red Brown, Dark Reddish Brown, Bright Reddish Brown*

Dark Brown: Dark Brown, Very Dark Brown

Browns: Brown, Pale Brown, Bright Brown

Gray Brown: Gray Brown,* Gray Brown (red tint),** Purple Brown**

Orange Brown: Orange Brown,* Dull Orange Brown*

Dirty Plate Impressions: Red Brown,* Dark Red Brown*

Worn Plate Impressions: Pale Red Brown

Fourth Printing (delivered 14 February 1850–7 December 1850)

Red Browns: Red Brown, Reddish Brown, Dark Reddish Brown, Pale Red Brown, Cinnamon Brown**

Gray Browns: Dull Gray Brown,* Gray Brown (dark red tint)**

Browns: Very Pale Brown, Pale Brown, Light Brown, Yellowish Brown**

Dark Browns: Dark Brown, Van Dyke Brown,* Olive Brown*

Brown Oranges: Brown Orange,* Stressed Brown Orange,* Dark Brown Orange**

Orange Browns: Orange Brown,* Oxidized Orange Brown,* Bright Orange Brown,* Deep Orange Brown,** Dark Orange Brown**

Fifth Printing (delivered 7 December 1850—30 June 1851)

Oranges: Orange,** Bright Orange,** Deep Orange,** Red Orange (#14, #15),** Dark Red Orange**

Orange Browns: Orange Brown (#12),* Pale Orange Brown,* Bright Orange Brown,** Deep Orange Brown

Brown Oranges: Brown Orange (#13),* Oxidized Brown Orange,* Bright Brown Orange,** Deep Brown Orange,** Dark Brown Orange**

The multiplicity of 5¢ 1847 shades probably resulted from inconsistent mixing of the pigments. As frequently as daily, the pressman would prepare the ink by mixing the various pigments with spirits and oils. This was an art, not a science. If any of many factors varied, the result could be variation in color: 1. The supplier of pigments had to maintain consistency in the ingredients supplied; 2. The ingredients had to be mixed thoroughly by the pressman before adding to the ink blend; 3. The measurement of each pigment had to be exact; 4. Before each press run, the ink had to be thoroughly remixed; 5. The amount of moisture in the paper had to be constant (these were "wet" printings where the paper was pre-moistened to allow the ink to transfer and adhere to the paper); and 6. The amount of ink applied to the plate had to be consistent, as did the wiping of the ink across the plate surface. All this was made even more complicated because depth of the engraved lines in the plate varied during its use. The deeper the engraved line, the more ink it would hold and the darker would be the apparent value of the color. There are probably other contributing factors as well, but the six variables listed above set the table to explain most of the reasons for the color variations.

Another cause for the varieties of shades, often postulated by collectors and students, was that the printers changed the pigments over the life of the five printings (from 1847 through 1851). Carroll Chase and many others thought different iron oxides were the basis for the inks. I was among those who held this opinion, reasoning iron oxide (rust in essence) is a red-brown color, and cheap. Some believed chromium-based pigments were used to produce the late-printing orange red and orange browns, providing the yellow necessary for those hues. Mercury-based pigments had also been hypothesized, because compounds of mercury are mostly red (with some yellow ones as well).

So what are the compositions of the 5¢ 1847 inks? Enter the Smithsonian National Postal Museum (NPM). Thomas Lera, the Blount Research Chair for the NPM, has assembled a formidable scientific analytical research lab over the last few years. What better place to start the investigation?

I asked Gordon Eubanks to allow me to borrow the "color wheel" page (Figure 1) from his Champion of Champions exhibit of the 1847 issue. This shows a broad and representative range of colors on the 5¢ 1847 stamps. Eubanks graciously consented and I was off to the NPM. Needless to say, the different processes, used there to determine the elemental composition of the inks, are non-destructive.

The Eubanks color wheel contains 15 very nice stamps showing some of the many shade varieties that can be found on the 5¢ 1847 stamp. For convenience in identification and discussion, we numbered the stamps #1-15. Enlargements of the 15 individual stamps, along with the arbitrary ID number, are shown in Figure 2. The broad range of shades is clearly visible.

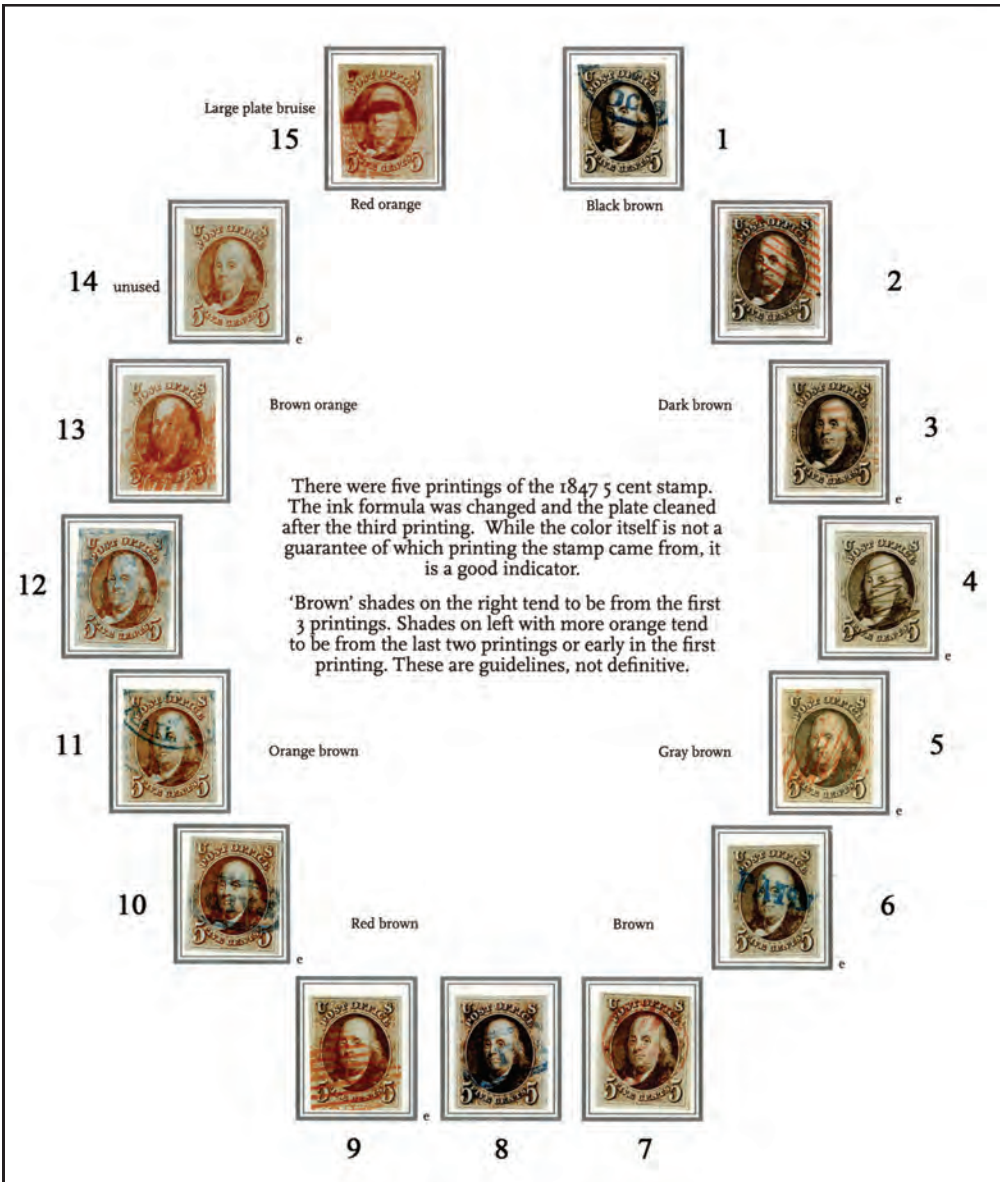

Figure 1 (above). This page from Gordon Eubanks' award-winning exhibit of the U.S. 1847 issue contains 5¢ 1847 stamps in a broad and representative range of shades, which were examined on sophisticated (and non-destructive) electronic devices at the Smithsonian National Postal Museum. For convenience in identification and discussion, the stamps were numbered #1-15. In Figure 2 (at right), the 15 stamps from the Figure 1 album page are shown enlarged. The numbers are keyed to the color descriptions in the text. The wide range of shades is clearly evident.

#1

#2

#3

#4

#5

#6

#7

#8

#9

#10

#11

#12

#13

#14

#15

After removing the stamps from their exhibit page, Lera and I examined each stamp using two different pieces of equipment; the Bruker X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) analyzer[2] and the Foster+Freeman Video Spectral Comparator-6000 (VSC-6000).[3] The XRF employs X-Ray fluorescence (refraction, passing through a sample) to identify the elements that comprise that sample. X-Rays bombard the elemental electron shells of the atoms in the sample, dislodging electrons and releasing energy. The detector reads those energy levels, which are unique to each chemical element. Without getting into scientific detail that is beyond the scope of this article, suffice to say that only elements with an atomic number higher than 11 can be identified by the detector using this process. The 11 lightest elements, including carbon, are not distinguishable using this process.[4]

The result from the XRF was quite a surprise. Figure 3 shows the composite peaks for the 15 samples. The predominant elements were lead (Pb) and sulfur (S). Iron (Fe) was found only in minute quantities except for one stamp (#8), where the lead content was also among the highest. As is evident in Figure 2, this was the darkest of all the samples and likely has the largest concentration of ink on it, hence the higher readings. The rhodium (Rh), trace nickel (Ni) and trace copper (Cu) peaks are caused by the tube that produces the X-Rays; the read-outs for those elements are normal with this process. The stamps that bear red cancels (#3, #5, #7, #9 and #13) showed some mercury (Hg), but this is attributable to the vermillion (also known as cinnabar or Mercuric Sulfide—HgS) used to formulate the canceling ink. The calcium (Ca) probably indicates calcium carbonate, a common paper filler. Note that lead (Pb) has several peaks which are characteristic, since it is a predominant element and can lose electrons from various shells.

Since the XRF can identify only elements in the samples and not the compounds those elements may comprise, we must look for the likely candidates. We know lead and sulfur are present in large quantities, but in what forms are uncertain. Table 1 presents a list of various compounds that are used as pigments in paint and ink. These were found in a 500-page reference book, *The Pigment Compendium*.[5]

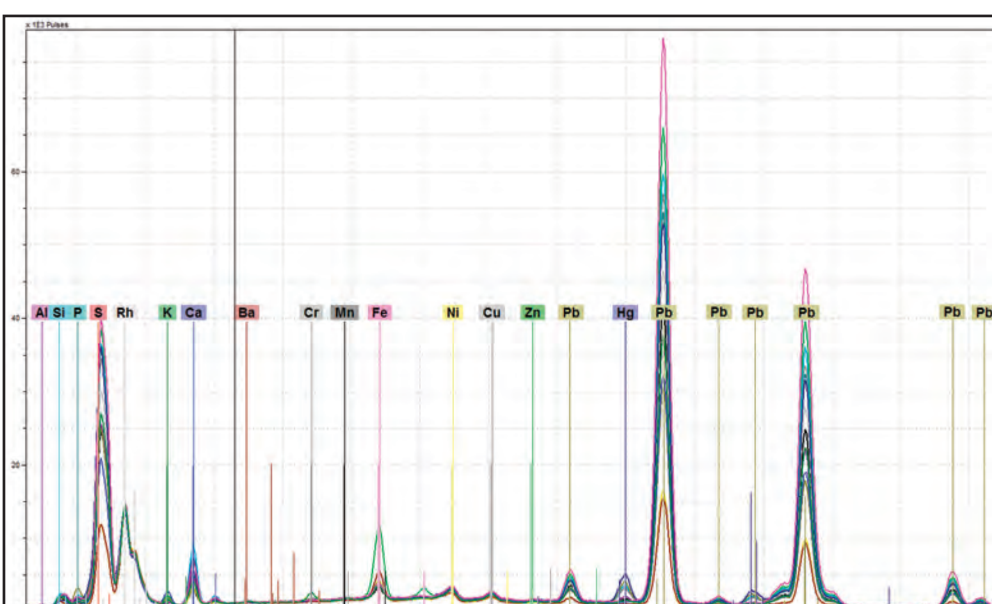

Figure 3. Results of the X-Ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis of the 15 subject stamps. The composite peaks are quite similar. The predominant elements were lead (Pb) and sulfur (S). Iron (Fe) was found only in minute quantities, except for one stamp (#8).

Chemical Name	Formula	Common Name	Color
Lead Oxide	PbO	Litharge	Yellow
Lead Oxide	Pb_3O_4	Red Lead	Red
Lead Oxide	PbO_2	Plattnerite	Brown
Lead Sulfate	$PbSO_4$	White Lead	White
Lead Sulfite	$PbSO_3$	White Lead	White
Lead Sulfide	PbS	Galena	Dark Gray
Iron Oxide	Fe_3O_4	Iron Oxide Black	Black
Iron Sulfide	FeS	Ferrous Sulfide, Black Iron Sulfide	Black
Carbon	C	Lamp Black, Graphite	Black

Table 1. Common lead and sulfur compounds traditionally used as pigments in paint and ink. The data shows the chemical name of the compound, its chemical formula, its common name and the color it can be used to create.

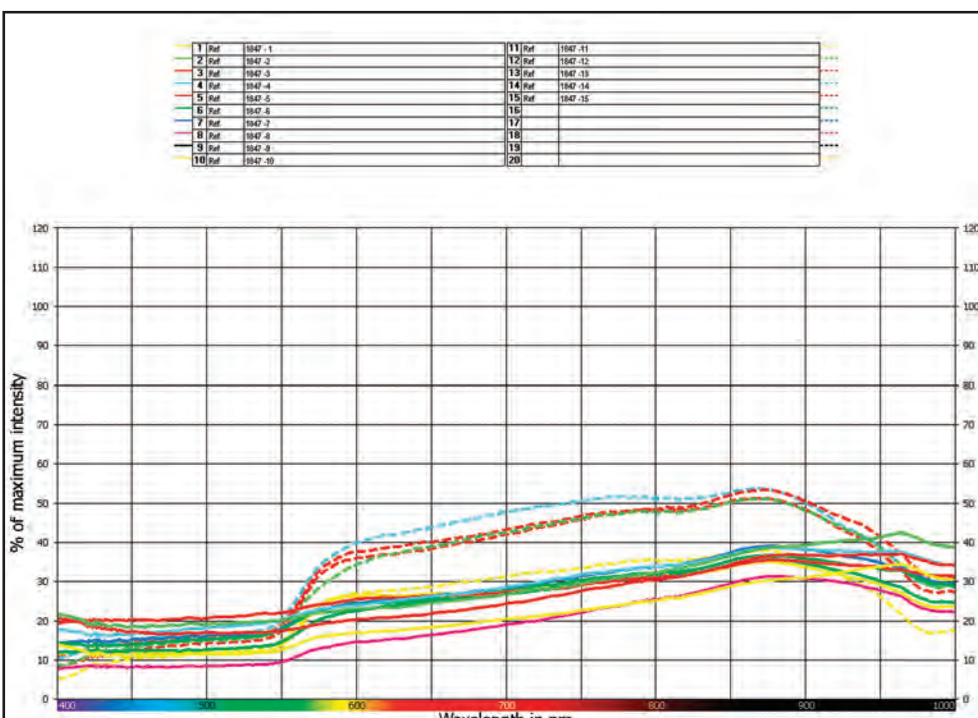

Figure 4. Results of the analysis of the 15 stamps on the Visual Spectral Comparator (VSC-6000), which uses reflected light to determine color and luminescence of the sample. The data at top relates individual lines to specific stamps. The grouping of dotted lines represent stamps #12-#15 (brown oranges and red oranges), which seem to have their own path and are thus shown to be more luminescent than the others.

It is likely that the pigments listed in Table 1, when mixed in the proper proportions, could produce any of the 5¢ 1847 shades that exist. I added carbon (C) to the list of possible pigments because it was used to print the 10¢ 1847 stamp, even though the XRF is unable to identify carbon, of which the atomic number is 6.

This is a first step in the scientific analysis of the ink composition of the 5¢ 1847 stamps. Further testing can be done to ascertain the lead compounds that comprise each of the different color inks.

The VSC-6000 uses reflected light (reflection-bounced off a sample) to determine color and luminescence of the sample. It can measure and map the color coordinates onto a chart for comparison of samples. The 15 samples were analyzed by this digital imaging system and the results are shown in Figure 4. Visible light is between 400 nanometers (nm) and 700 nm, shown on the x-axis. Violet is at 400nm through red at 700mn. The y-axis shows luminosity or brightness. Samples #1 through #11 track similarly, but #12 through #15 form their own group and track separately between 600nm and 950nm. These are the Brown Oranges and the Red Oranges, which are shown to be more luminescent than the others.

Conclusion

The inks used to print the 5¢ 1847 stamps were all lead based, regardless of when they were printed or delivered. The luminosity of the Brown Oranges and the Red Oranges is greater than the other shades. It is likely the late printing of the Orange Brown would be in this small group too, but as there was no sample of this shade to test, this is just conjecture.

Endnotes

1. Wade E. Saadi, "The 5¢ and 10¢ Stamps of 1847—The First General Issue of the United States, Part II," *The American Philatelist*, April 1997; "The Five Printings of the Five-Cent 1847 Stamp and the Impressions They Left Behind," *Chronicle* 237.
2. http://www.bruker.com/products. Last viewed 5-13-2013.
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5. Nicholas Eastaugh, Valentine Walsh, Tracey Chaplin and Ruth Siddall, *The Pigment Compendium*, Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, England, 2004. ■

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BISECTED 1¢, 3¢ AND 12¢ 1851 STAMPS: WHEN WERE THEY LEGAL?

JAMES A. ALLEN

Bisected stamps or partial stamps used as postage on mail have always received attention. Because of a variety of uses and some eye-catching covers, it is arguable that bisected stamps of the 1851 series have received the most attention over the years. Cutting stamps into two, three or four pieces and applying them to effectively create new stamps or denominations has generally interested collectors and does have a certain air of creativity about it. Recently, the discovery of a 1¢ 1851 bisect on cover,[1] currently the only recognized example, has brought bisects back into the news. I will use the word "bisect" when referring to partial stamps used to represent payments of postage on cover. A wide range of denominations and uses has been created this way. This article sheds some additional light on these curious collectibles, by reviewing a variety of historical documents and revealing previously unpublished information concerning the use of bisects, including opinions and communications from the Post Office Department.

Thomas J. Alexander previously created a census and reviewed the then-known 12¢ covers, which are the most common of all the 1851 bisects.[2] Alexander listed over 100 12¢ bisects on covers or cover fronts, nearly all believed to be authentic and carried through the mails, whether the stamps were accepted for payment or not. The vast majority (70

Figure 1. Early use of a bisected 12¢ 1851 stamp, on a cover sent from New York to Providence in 1851. The bisected 12¢ stamp was accepted as payment of two times the 3¢ letter rate. This cover entered the mails via Kenyon's Express, which served as a letter office for delivery to the express-mail train to Boston.

percent) of these originated in San Francisco or passed through that post office. Only four 12¢ bisects are recorded with 1851 year dates. Three of these are from New York City, the earliest being August 23, 1851.

About 75 percent of all covers bearing bisected 1851 stamps were allowed to pass through the mails with the bisected stamp accepted as prepayment. Postmasters were enforcers of the law as they knew it and understood it. We all know from common experience that enforcement of the law does not always equate to the law.

In addition to the San Francisco uses, east-coast and cross-border covers exist. Figure 1 shows a bisected 12¢ stamp on a cover from New York to Providence. This is an 1851 use with the bisected 12¢ stamp accepted for payment of two times the 3¢ letter rate (the folded cover shown contained a separate enclosure). This cover entered the mails via Kenyon's Express, which served as a letter office accepting mail for delivery to the express mail train from New York to Boston.

About 25 percent of the covers with bisected 12¢ stamps were not accepted for one reason or another at the receiving post offices. Such covers were typically marked with some form of postage due 10 marking. Figure 2 shows such a use, on a cover sent from San Francisco to Samuel B. Morse in Germantown, Pennsylvania. The bisected 12¢ was not accepted for payment. The cover was marked with "10" (due), representing the unpaid transcontinental rate.

Most of these bisect covers likely originated at post offices (where most letters would be franked) rather than having been created by individual mailers. I continue to expand and validate the Alexander census listing for 12¢ imperforated and perforated bisects. The listing has added 27 covers in 24 years, but that is beyond the scope of this article.

The 3¢ bisects of the 1851 period have been reviewed by Stanley Piller and David T. Beals III.[3] The number of 3¢ bisects on cover, 16 at present count, is significantly less than the number of 10¢ 1847 bisects or 12¢ 1851 bisects. All recorded 3¢ bisect covers apparently passed through the mails successfully. Those cover details, too, are beyond the scope of this article.

Figure 2. Bisected 12¢ 1851 stamp on a cover from San Francisco, addressed to artist-inventor Samuel B. Morse. On this cover the bisected stamp was not accepted for payment of the 6¢ prepaid transcontinental rate. The cover was marked for a collection of 10¢ at Philadelphia, indicating postage due for the unpaid transcontinental rate.

Figure 3. Bisected 3¢ 1851 stamp, tied at Jackson, Mississippi with dark green circular datestamp, on a wrapper to New Orleans, apparently accepted as paying the 1¢ circular rate. Courtesy of Gordon Eubanks.

Figure 3, from the Gordon Eubanks collection, shows a bisected 3¢ 1851 stamp, on a wrapper from Jackson, Mississippi, to New Orleans, apparently accepted for payment of the 1¢ circular rate. The stamp is a Type II in the rose red color. The green cancellation is icing on this cake.

Until the recently announced discovery of the 1¢ bisect by Cipolla, nothing has been published regarding the use of partial 1¢ stamps on covers in the mails.

The reasons most often given for bisecting the stamps were shortages of stamps, which were known to have occurred on the west coast. Consequently, partial stamps were used to substitute for other stamps or combinations: bisects of 12¢ stamps substituted for pairs of 3¢ stamps in paying the 6¢ transcontinental rate; and parts of 3¢ stamps substituted for 1¢ or 2¢ stamps. No logical or historical reasons have been advanced for the use of the bisected stamps out of New York or other non-west coast areas. The information and analyses that follow, based on a review of historical documents and newspapers of the era (many of which were not readily available until recently), sheds light on the question of the legality of bisected stamps.

Background

First, a little background to set the stage for what will follow. Article 1, Section 8 of the United States Constitution established the service concept of the mail, including post offices and post roads. Congress had exclusive jurisdiction over all such matters and delegated much of its authority to the Postmaster General (PMG) by statute. By the 1850s a considerable number of rules and regulations specified the role of the PMG, what responsibilities and vested powers he had, how he would administer the system, and how business was to be conducted within the Post Office Department (POD) and throughout the mail system. Many of the mandated powers were carried over from earlier acts of Congress, such as the acts of 1825, 1836, 1847 and 1851, being updated as time passed. Such mandated statutory powers are considered exclusive to the POD and the PMG. Besides his numerous political powers, the PMG wielded tremendous influence by interpreting the laws of the office and issuing further instructions to the deputy postmasters when deemed necessary.

The compilation of laws and detailed regulations governing the Post Office Department are contained in the published texts of the Postal Laws & Regulations, commonly called the PL&R, which were revised and distributed periodically.[4]

Between 23 July 1850 and 13 March 1859 the POD was served by four PMGs: Nathan Hall from 23 July 1850 until 31 August 1852, when Samuel Hubbard took over, until 7 March 1853 when James Campbell took over, and until 6 March 1857 when Aaron Brown took over. While one might think opinions and rulings would change a lot because of such turnover in the top office, the First Assistant PMG Selah R. Hobbie had been around since 1829 and served as First Assistant PMG until 1854. Third Assistant PMG John Marron had been appointed in 1830 and would stay on until near his death in 1859. As the chief operational administrators, they provided administrative and interpretative continuity over this long period of time. Stamps were considered "accountable paper" and were the responsibility of the Third Assistant PMG. Besides these administrators, the deputy postmasters were provided with all the rules and laws and were expected (indeed, required according to the PMG) to read, understand, and follow them in the execution of their duties. In effect, the local or deputy postmasters were officers of the POD with myriad legal and fiduciary responsibilities. Postmasters were to enforce the rules for the mails both leaving and entering their offices.

When discussing or writing about bisects, the most common reference given by philatelic authors for the formal disallowance of bisects (or pieces of stamps as postage) is a frequently-mentioned "Post Office Department circular dated 10 Nov 1853." Most authors have assumed or written that bisects were illegal after this announcement and legal before it. A search on any article concerning the 1851 bisects will eventually lead to a mention of this circular.

A search for the original reference led me to *Baker's U. S. Classics,* a book published by the Classics Society in 1985, compiling the Baker brothers' earlier columns in *Stamps* magazine. According to this source the circular read, "If the stamp be cut out, or separated from the envelope on which it was made, the legal value of both is destroyed; neither does the law authorize the use of parts of postage stamps in the payment of postage."[5] This quote is used in Alexander's census article mentioned above and appears to be extracted from the Baker column in the 27 October 1962 issue of *Stamps*. Unfortunately, the original source for this oft-quoted pronouncement, always said to be an official source, cannot be found. This would-be "regulation" is not recorded in the official 1855 or 1857 PL&R compilations. If this official announcement exists, I would like to know its source. But as it turns out, this is a relatively late reference to the interpretation that bisection is not allowed.

Communications from the POD

What follows are the results of searches for communications from the POD, and assumed communications from the POD, concerning bisects used in this period. Where possible, I have included the related statement of law or regulation that was in effect that the POD indicated or might have relied upon for its pronouncements.

Below is a response from John Marron, Third Assistant PMG, to the postmaster of Newburyport, Massachusetts, dated December 10, 1851.[6] This is the earliest pronouncement regarding bisects that I have been able to locate. It explains the position of the POD, which is basically that "bisectors" were likely trying to defraud the POD by reusing partially cancelled stamps. The answer declares that "halves or other important parts of postage stamps will not be recognized." If there was any other interpretation of the law regarding the legality of bisects, this opinion settled it at this time, because the PMG (Nathan Hall) had that power to do just that. There is no evidence this understanding was broadly communicated, but that was not a requirement of the law. Existing statutes were to "speak for themselves" and postmasters were expected to ask questions if they didn't understand the rules. Note that Marron asked the Newburyport postmaster to report other PMs who were allowing the practice of bisection.

P.O. Department
December 10 1851
Sir:

I am directed by the Postmaster General to say that halves or other important parts of postage stamps will not be recognized in prepayment of the postage on any letter or packet passing in our mails, and that letters bearing such parts of stamps must in all cases be treated as unpaid letters.

The use of parts of stamps is probably confined to those persons who think it no derogation from their moral standing to preserve imperfectly cancelled stamps for the purpose of using again those parts of them which have not been defaced. Please report the Postmasters which send to you letters bearing half stamps.

Respectfully &c

J Marron
(Third Asst. P.M. General.)
Postmaster, Newburyport Mass

Another request was received from the postmaster of Shelby, Ohio.[7] Note that in this letter (in which the original spelling has been preserved) the use of a bisected 1¢ stamp was also questioned. To my knowledge, this is the first instance of documentation about a 1¢ bisect for the period. Additionally, another inquiry is made about the bisect of a 12¢ pair. James Campbell is the PMG at this time.

Shelby Richland Co. Ohio Aug 15th 53
Third Assistant P. M. General

Sir:

Their has a question arisen in my office and I wish some instruction on the subject it is this their was a latter Came to this office with what I suppose to be a twelve cent stamp cut in two the leter was mail at Sacramento Calafornia and was marked as unpaid on the leter and the Post bill. Now the question I want your decision on is whether the half stamp is Equal to Six cts and that I marke it as overcharged or whether I should Collect it as bein unpaid. I hear Send you a penny Stamp but in the same manner as the above Discribed. You wil do me a favor by answering this soon.

Yours Truly

Harrison Mickey PM

Another postmaster letter in the POD files,[8] concerning the use of bisects from California, asked PMG John Marron for approval to reject such items:

Post Office
Crown Point Essex Co N Y
September 20th 1853

Sir:

I have in this office a letter mailed at Union City, Cal., Aug 11, 1853—entered on the Post Bills prepaid by stamps on which there is only the half of a twelve cent stamp, cut into two pieces diagonally, one of which is attached to the letter—I have also recd letters and papers entered as prepaid in the same way by fractional stamps.

I have decided that such fractional stamps are not proper to pay postage, & that for aught that appears the original stamp might have been cancelled—

I will be obliged if you will inform me if I am correct in this view I have taken of the subject—

Respectfully Your Obt Sevnt
C. Fenton P. M.

Hon John Marron
3d asst. P. M. General
Washington, D.C.

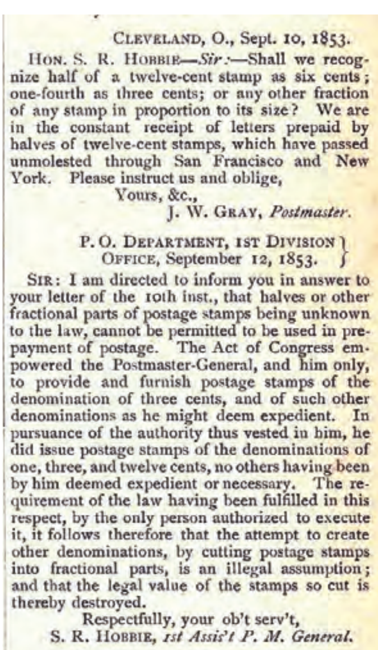
Unfortunately, the specific responses to these last two inquiries are not available in the archives. This is the last reference to bisected stamps that has been recorded or has been discovered in the National Postal Museum, the Travers Papers, or the National Archives for the period 1851-1861.

The following references were retrieved from various newspaper archives. It is interesting to note the variation of restatements, emphasis or interpretation of the disallowance of partial stamps as they made their way through the newspapers. It is impossible to know the original sources of input for these notices. For those who sometimes wonder why certain covers just "don't seem to obey all the rules they should have," these accounts do give some insight into how communications about postal rules and the mails were conducted at the time.

Starting on 30 August 1853 the *Sandusky Register* records a short article on "Fraud in Postage Stamps." This story was taken from an earlier article in the *Oswego Palladium* (not available for searching) that recounts a postmaster having witnessed fraud by people piecing together parts of used postage stamps, in this case 3¢ stamps, and using them as whole stamps, or cutting "shilling stamps into halves to be used as sixpence." According to the article, the postmaster wrote to the POD and received the following reply:

> **The act of Congress empowered the Postmaster General, and him only, to provide and furnish postage stamps of the denomination of three cents, and of such other denomination as he might deem expedient. In pursuance of the authority thus invested in him, he did issue postage stamps of the denominations of one, three, and twelve cents, no others having by him deemed expedient. The requirement of the law having been fulfilled in this respect by the only person authorized to execute it, it follows, therefore, that the attempt to create other denominations, by cutting stamps into fractional parts, is an illegal assumption, and the legal value of the stamps so cut is destroyed.**

From this we know that some of the rulings were making their way to the newspapers before 1 September 1853. This POD position is consistent with and merely a restatement of the existing act of 3 March 1847, which gave the Postmaster General the (exclusive) authority to prepare postage stamps and "that it shall not be lawful for any deputy postmaster to prepare, use, or dispose of any postage stamps not authorized by and received from the Postmaster General."[9]



CLEVELAND, O., Sept. 10, 1853.

HON. S. R. HOBBIE—*Sir:*—Shall we recognize half of a twelve-cent stamp as six cents; one-fourth as three cents; or any other fraction of any stamp in proportion to its size? We are in the constant receipt of letters prepaid by halves of twelve-cent stamps, which have passed unmolested through San Francisco and New York. Please instruct us and oblige,

Yours, &c.,

J. W. GRAY, *Postmaster.*

P. O. DEPARTMENT, 1ST DIVISION OFFICE, September 12, 1853.

SIR: I am directed to inform you in answer to your letter of the 10th inst., that halves or other fractional parts of postage stamps being unknown to the law, cannot be permitted to be used in prepayment of postage. The Act of Congress empowered the Postmaster-General, and him only, to provide and furnish postage stamps of the denomination of three cents, and of such other denominations as he might deem expedient. In pursuance of the authority thus vested in him, he did issue postage stamps of the denominations of one, three, and twelve cents, no others having been by him deemed expedient or necessary. The requirement of the law having been fulfilled in this respect, by the only person authorized to execute it, it follows therefore that the attempt to create other denominations, by cutting postage stamps into fractional parts, is an illegal assumption; and that the legal value of the stamps so cut is thereby destroyed.

Respectfully, your ob't serv't,

S. R. HOBBIE, *1st Assis't P. M. General.*

Figure 4. Article from the 1880s, reproducing official POD correspondence from 1853.

Section 3 of the act of 3 March 1851 provided for the specific stamps to be provided as needed. Logically, bisects, creating new denominations (which can only be authorized by Congress and the PMG) would not be an authorized act, and, hence, would not be legal. Moreover, the response stated that the value of the stamps would be destroyed by cutting them into pieces.

The correspondence reproduced in Figure 4 was extracted from a story concerning the "division of higher values (of postage stamps) into parts to make lower denominations (of postage stamps)" a practice that apparently was coming into vogue again in the mid-1880s, when the article was published.[10] It reproduces an exchange of letters said to have taken place in 1853.

The 12 September 1853 response from First Assistant PMG Hobbie, presented in Figure 4, is the only notification regarding bisects, bearing the imprimatur of the POD, that I have been able to locate. This is likely the source of the basic references to the disallowance of bisects and has likely been modified by various authors over the years, given the absence of evidence available in the POD PL&R compilations. Hobbie's letter addresses stamp-issuing authority, stamp denominations, cutting stamps into fractional parts, and fundamental issue of legality, all on the basis of existing laws. The exchange adds nothing new, but reaffirms the existing laws and authority. Notice that the letter is from Ohio, and the postmaster mentions letters received at his office from San Francisco and New York.

In the fall of 1853, notifications about bisection start appearing in a range of newspapers. In the selection presented below, it is interesting to note the variations in the communications and their emphasis. I assume that many editors and postmasters were involved in these submissions.

On September 17, 1853, the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, reported on page 1 a succinct version of the Hobbie letter (Figure 4), repeating the concept that to create bisects is an "illegal assumption."

The September 19, 1853, edition of the *Alexandria Gazette* of Alexandria, Virginia, reported on page 2: "The Postmaster General has decided against the legality of cutting postage stamps into fractional parts. The stamps must be used as a whole as issued by the Department. Otherwise, they will not be recognized as of any value."

On September 21, 1853, the *Charleston Courier* of Charleston, South Carolina, restated the Hobbie letter, adding "Fractional portions of postage stamps cut for the purpose of making the proper amount of postage appear on the face of a letter, are not considered legal by the Post Office Department."

The *Pittsfield Sun* of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, reported on Sept 22, 1853 that "The Postmaster General has decided that half of a 12 cent Stamp, placed upon letters for double postage, is not to be regarded as payment."

The September 25, 1853, edition of the *Times-Picayune* of New Orleans, Louisiana, published an abbreviated but complete summary of the points in the Hobbie letter.

On September 27, 1853, the *Easton* (Maryland) *Star* published on page 2 a brief notice as follows: "Postage Stamps. – The practice of cutting twelve cent stamps into halves and quarters in order to obtain six cent and three cent stamps, is declared by the Post Office Department illegal, and that stamps so cut are worthless." This is the first and only direct reference to quadrisection. Given the rarity of artifacts of this practice, one wonders what caused the paper to address the issue at all.

On October 26, 1853, a California newspaper, the *Daily Democratic State Journal*, published in Sacramento, ran a notice directly quoting from the Hobbie letter. It is logical to conclude that a copy of the letter (or newspapers quoting it) could have been mailed to California from the east coast. Complaints about the lack of stamps in various California post offices were still prevalent in the fall of 1853, as evidenced by articles in the *Sacramento Daily Union* dated 24 October and 17 November, 1853. It is obvious that a lot more than just "shortages" were occurring in the California post offices, but an exploration of this subject is definitely beyond the scope of this article.

Other than the citations mentioned, searches of the Boston area, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and many other cities in Pennsylvania, for the 1852-1854 time period, yielded no notices of interest. I find this surprising, given that the big cities often published such announcements first. They likely exist, but are just difficult to locate.

Both the 1855 *Postal Laws and Regulations* (Sec. 294 of Chapter XXXII, pg. 38) and the 1857 *Postal Laws and Regulations,* (Sec. 335 of Chapter XXXI , pg. 84) state: "A letter bearing a stamp, cut or separated from a stamped envelope, cannot be sent through the mail as a prepaid letter. Stamps so cut or separated from stamped envelopes lose their legal value." While one can easily interpret this as applying to government entire envelopes only, I believe this may be the source of some of the confusion as to the often-quoted original reference.

By the mid 1850s, the use of bisects slowed but did not stop, as the Alexander and Piller data show. Three certified bisects of the perforated 12¢ stamp of 1857 are known on cover. Not until the 1876 *Post Laws & Regulations* were any of these issues directly addressed again. Under General Rules, pg. 557, the 1876 PL&R states clearly: "Fractional parts of postage stamps will not be recognized in prepayment of postage."

Of course, that didn't stop the use of bisects. They would occasionally be created well into the 20th century, many of them passing through the postal system unimpeded, making them no more "legal" than the bisects of the early 1851 issues that also went unchallenged.

Summary and conclusions

The POD addressed the use of bisects as early as December 10, 1851, stating that "halves or other important parts of stamps would not be recognized." Whether communicated broadly or not, that opinion established the postage stamp law with respect to bisects under the PMG's authority dating back over several acts of Congress. For the next few years, this opinion was repeated to other postmasters an unknown number of times. Nothing really new was stated over that time. The POD repeated the concept of the exclusive statutory authority of the PMG in setting postage-stamp denominations. In this viewpoint, bisecting or cutting of stamps was merely a route to achieve new denominations of stamps, a violation of existing statutes.

Initially, it appears the POD was as much concerned about possible fraudulent reuse of postage stamps by bisection as they were about the activity being unauthorized by statute. California did have shortages of certain postage stamps and relative excesses of others (such as the 12¢), which may have prompted their creative use of bisects, but this is likely a simplistic view of what was happening in California post offices at the time. No explanations, save creative impulse, can be offered to explain the use of bisects on the east coast, given that such uses were among the earliest examples of bisection.

The earliest formal explanation of law relevant to bisects, published under the imprimatur of the POD, is dated September 12, 1853. Additionally, a new and sole reference to a bisected 1¢ stamp by a postmaster was discovered, dated August 15, 1853.

Going back to the initial question ("The 1851 bisects, when were they legal?") the answer simply stated from the POD perspective was "Never. Statutes never authorized the creation of bisects so their use could not be assumed." Acceptance by postmasters was based on a lack of understanding of the law and incorrect assumptions.

I would very much appreciate learning of any additional information that readers might have or may find in the future.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Richard Frajola for his factual contributions to this article, including many of the newspaper references. And thanks to John Barwis for his primary reference to the "Hobbie Letter" and for encouraging me to consolidate what was known into this article.

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FORENSIC ANALYSIS: COMPOSITION OF INK AND PAPER OF THE 1¢ 1861 STAMP

HARRY G. BRITTAIN, PHD, FRSC

The onset of the Civil War caused the Federal government to demonetize all supplies of the existing 1851 and 1857 stamps, and to issue a set of newly designed stamps to be used in the Union States. The Post Office Department awarded a printing contract to the National Bank Note Company of New York, and the new stamps began to appear in August, 1861. The earliest documented off-cover use of the 1¢ Franklin stamp (Scott 63) is August

Figure 1. Scott 63 pair, from the author's collection. The region sampled for ink analysis was from the blue area just below the vignette on the right stamp, and the region sampled for paper analysis was the uncanceled area between the stamps.

17, 1861, and the earliest on-cover use is August 21. Approximately 150,000,000 1¢ stamps were printed using five plates (numbers 9, 10, 22, 25, and 27). The colors of these stamps ranged from pale blue through dark blue.[1] Figure 1 shows a pair of the 1¢ Franklin stamp.

The central design of the stamp was taken from a bust executed by Jean Antoine Houdon. These stamps were used to prepay the drop letter rates for local delivery, the rates for circulars and newspapers, the fee for carrier service (prior to July 1, 1863), book rates, and various third-class rates.

In order to evaluate the composition of inks used to print the 1¢ Franklin stamps of the 1861 series, infrared absorption spectroscopy (coupled with attenuated total reflectance sampling) was used to study the stamp surfaces.[2] Through comparison with appropriate reference standards, the components of the printing ink were identified. In addition, the existence of an interesting product formed by the interaction of a pigment component and dispersing oil was detected.

Primer on infrared absorption spectroscopy

The patterns of intramolecular motion existing in molecules are characterized by repetitious oscillations of atoms about the center of gravity of the molecule, and these correlated motions are termed the vibrational modes of the molecule. The energies required to cause molecules to enter into higher states of molecular motion lie within the range of 400 to 4000 wavenumbers, falling into a region of the electromagnetic spectrum known as the mid-infrared region.

Infrared absorption spectroscopy is a highly useful technique for the physical characterization of solids, and its utility has been amply demonstrated in a wide variety of applications.[3] For many experimental reasons, the acquisition of high-quality infrared absorption spectra appropriate for the characterization of substances is now almost universally performed using Fourier Transform technology, and as a result the technique is referred to as FTIR spectroscopy.

The principles underlying the absorption of infrared energy by molecules can be understood by considering that since every molecule possesses only a finite number of molecular vibrational modes, a molecule can only absorb a finite number of discrete infrared energies. Each of these will correspond to the energy of a particular vibrational mode of the molecule, and the total of these infrared absorptions is termed its absorption spectrum.

While the energy associated with a particular molecular vibrational mode is readily identified from the literature,[4] the exact value of that energy will be strongly influenced by the rest of the molecule whose motions couple into the vibrational mode of interest. As a result, every molecule will have its own characteristic and defining absorption spectrum, and this enables one to use infrared absorption spectroscopy for identity testing. In typical practice, the FTIR spectra of appropriate reference materials are obtained, and these are compared to the spectrum of the unknown sample. When an equivalence in peak energy between reference and sample is obtained, one can be assured that the peak in the sample can be attributed to that of the compound constituting the reference.

Probably the most useful sampling method for obtaining FTIR spectra of stamp surfaces is that of attenuated total reflectance (ATR). To use ATR sampling, one simply clamps the stamp onto the surface of an analyzing crystal to ensure a sufficient degree of optical contact. Infrared radiation is passed through the crystal at an angle that causes the light to undergo total internal reflection, and at each reflection the radiation penetrates a small distance beyond the crystal into the sample. One obtains the FTIR spectrum from analysis of the modification of the incident infrared beam caused by absorbance of the stamp. Because the internal reflectance process does not permit the infrared beam to pass very deeply into the sample, the ATR sampling method enables one to effectively study only the inked layer of a stamp.

In this study, Fourier Transform infrared absorption spectra were obtained at a resolution of 4 wavenumbers (i.e., cm^{-1}) using a Shimadzu model 8400S FTIR spectrometer, with each spectrum being obtained as the average of 40 individual spectra. The data were acquired using the attenuated total reflectance sampling mode, where the samples were clamped against the zinc selenide (ZnSe) crystal of a Pike MIRacle single reflection horizontal ATR sampling accessory. This particular ATR sampling device enables one to study an approximate one square millimeter area of a stamp. The use of the device for forensic stamp analysis is illustrated in Figure 2. In the illustration, the stamp has actually been mounted upside down in order to demonstrate the small spot size (under the tip of the pressure clamp) studied in each measurement.

Studies of the 1¢ 1861 stamp surfaces

While the exact details of ink compositions, and methods for their manufacture, that were used to print postage stamps of the 19th century are not absolutely known, a sufficient body of knowledge does exist and a general discussion of the inks used in intaglio printing is available.[5] Sayers has recently written that mineral pigments were used almost exclusively at this time, and were mixed with at least a drying oil (typically linseed oil), a surfactant (typically a soft soap), and a solvent.[6] This mixture was homogenized through the use of a ball-milling process to produce a colloidal dispersion of ink pigments in the vehicle. Granzow has described the process used by Perkins Bacon to produce print "oil," where the formulators first heated linseed oil and beeswax until slightly burned; then they added soft soap to disperse the pigment, and finally turpentine to thin the oil to a desired viscosity.[7] While most of the turpentine would volatilize during the drying process, the other oil components would remain in the dried ink layer on the surface of the stamp.

Figure 3 contains the FTIR spectrum of the blue ink portion of the Figure 1 pair, along with the FTIR spectrum obtained from the unprinted paper area. It is evident in this illustration that the ink used to print the Scott 63 stamps contains several absorption bands not present in the FTIR spectrum of the paper. The origin of the peaks observed at an energy of approximately 2090 wavenumbers (arrows in Figure 3), which are due to the symmetric stretching mode of a cyano –CN group, are extremely easy to identify as being due to the presence of the blue pigment Prussian blue. This compound has a chemical formula which can be written as $FeK[Fe(CN)_6]$, and is known to exhibit an intense blue color.

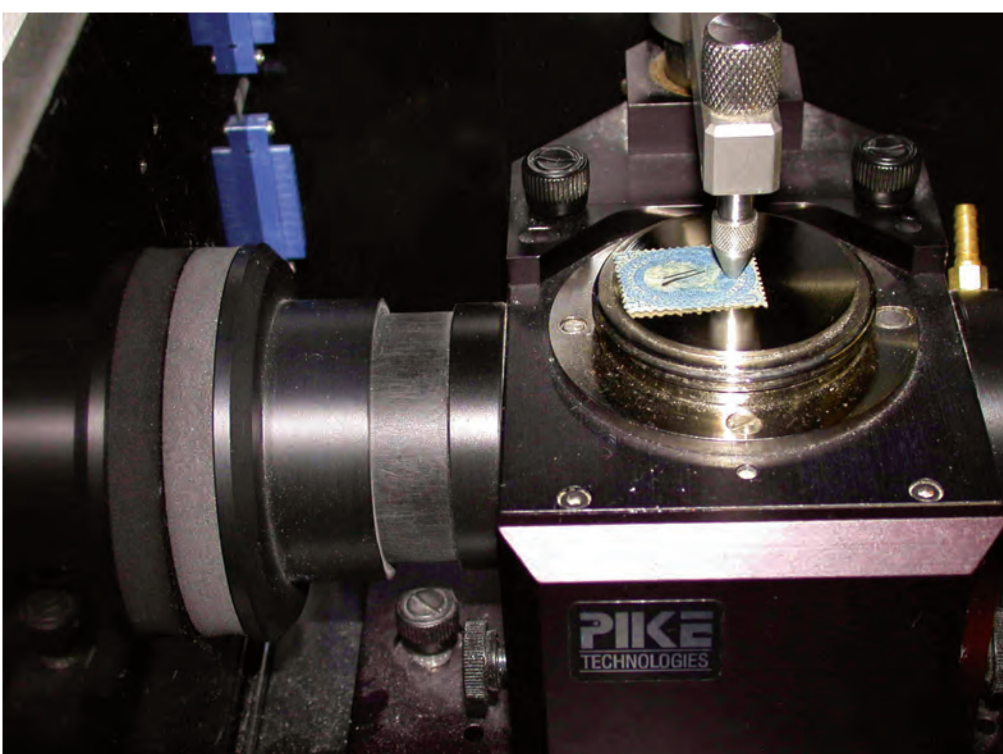

Figure 2. View of the attenuated total reflectance sampling accessory used to obtain FTIR spectra of the portion of stamp surface directly under the pressure clamp. In the illustration, the stamp has actually been mounted upside down in order to demonstrate the small spot size studied in each measurement.

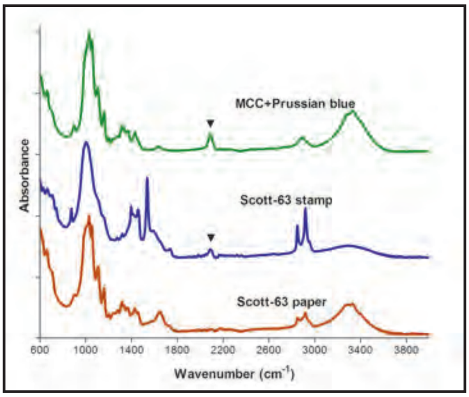

Figure 3. Infrared absorption spectrum for the non-printed region of the Figure 1 pair, the FTIR spectrum of the blue printed region of the pair, and the FTIR spectrum obtained for a 10% physical blend of Prussian blue in microcrystalline cellulose. Arrows mark the position of the diagnostic Prussian blue peak.

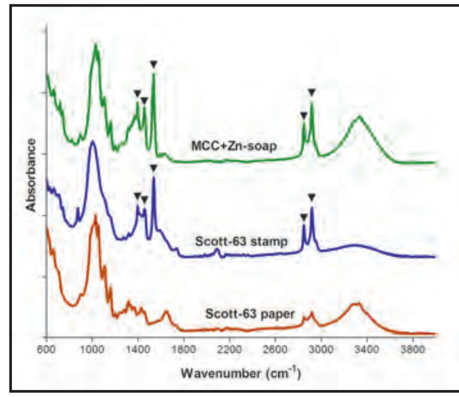

Figure 4. Infrared absorption spectrum for the non-printed paper region of the Figure 1 pair, the FTIR spectrum of the blue printed region, and the FTIR spectrum obtained for a 50% physical blend of zinc soap in microcrystalline cellulose. Arrows mark the positions of the diagnostic zinc soap peaks.

While the presence of Prussian blue in the ink was easily established, the FTIR spectrum of the stamp surfaces contains a number of additional peaks whose origins are not so easily identified. In particular, significant peaks were observed at 872, 1396, 1410, 1456, and 1537 wavenumbers. However, extensive study revealed that many of these peaks could be identified as being due to the presence of either known ink pigments, or with substances used to modify the color of a printing ink.

Initial guidance to the identity of these FTIR peaks was obtained through the use of X-ray fluorescence analysis (XRF).[8] This study demonstrated that among other elements, the surface of the Scott 63 stamp contained large amounts of a zinc compound, suggesting that the ink formulators used zinc oxide as a whitener. However, the situation must be more complicated than that, since zinc oxide itself does not exhibit any significant absorption bands in its FTIR spectrum.

However, it is known that zinc oxide is a basic metal oxide, and it is also known that basic metal oxides will react with surfactants (such as soap) to produce a metal soap product. For example, basic lead oxide has been shown to react with components in linseed oil to yield a lead soap product.[9] This suggested that the zinc oxide component in the ink might undergo a similar reaction with the soap used as a surfactant in the oil component of the ink formulation. To evaluate this possibility, a zinc soap was synthesized by the reaction of hydrated zinc oxide with a water dispersion of Ivory soap. The resulting product was blended into microcrystalline cellulose (MCC, discussed further below). Figure 4 shows the FTIR spectrum of this blend together with the FTIR spectrum of the Scott 63 pair.

It is very clear from Figure 4 that the peaks at 1396, 1456, and 1537 wavenumbers in the FTIR spectrum of the Scott 63 pair have corresponding peaks in the FTIR spectrum of zinc soap blended into MCC at an approximate 50 percent level. In addition, the FTIR spectrum of the MCC zinc soap blend also exhibits strong hydrocarbon absorption bands at the same 2849 and 2916 wavenumbers as observed in the FTIR spectrum of the Scott 63 pair. All these features are designated by small arrows in Figure 4.

While the presence of zinc soap in the ink of the Scott 63 pair permits an assignment of most of the key bands in the FTIR spectrum of the Scott 63 stamp surface, its presence

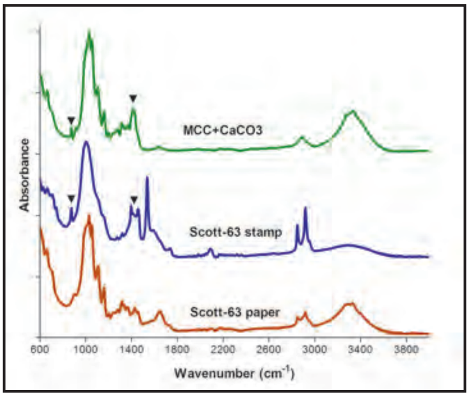

Figure 5. Infrared absorption spectrum for the paper region of the Figure 1 pair, the FTIR spectrum of the blue printed region of the Figure 1 pair, and the FTIR spectrum for a 15 percent blend of calcium carbonate in microcrystalline cellulose. Arrows mark the positions of the diagnostic calcium carbonate peaks.

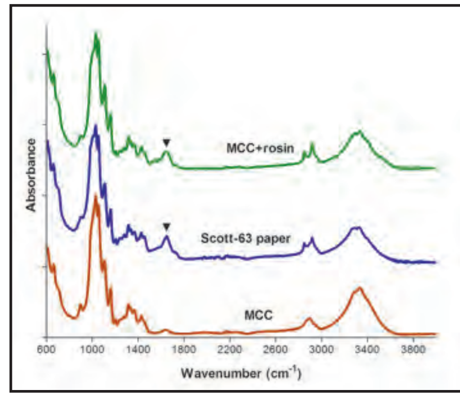

Figure 7. Infrared absorption spectrum of microcrystalline cellulose, the FTIR spectrum obtained for the non-printed region of the Figure 1 pair, and the FTIR spectrum obtained for a 10 percent blend of powdered cherry rosin in microcrystalline cellulose. Arrows mark the diagnostic rosin peaks.

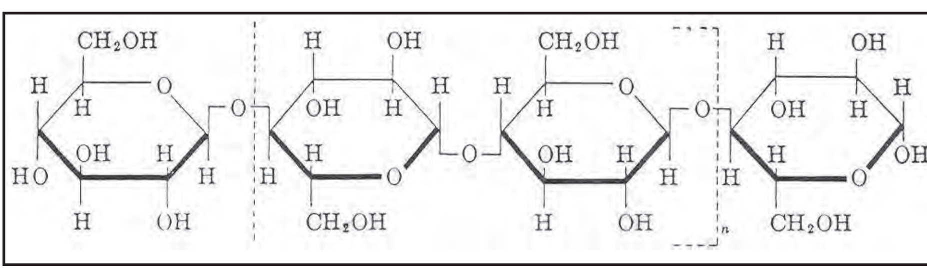

Figure 6. Structure of cellulose. While not explicitly drawn out, the six apices in each ring are meant to denote the presence of carbon atoms.

does not enable an assignment of the peaks at 872 and 1410 wavenumbers. However, the energy of these bands certainly identifies them as being due to the presence of a carbonate compound, and the XRF analysis demonstrated the presence of calcium in the stamp surface. From these observations, it was concluded that the FTIR peaks at 872 and 1410 wavenumbers signify the presence of calcium carbonate in the ink layer on the stamp surface. The comparison of FTIR spectra shown in Figure 5 confirms this assignment.

Study of the paper used in printing of the Scott 63 stamps

In the first half of the 19th century, the predominant source of papermaking fibers was linen and cotton rags. The production of paper from wood pulp was not widespread until later in the century.[10] Collected rags were cleaned as well as could be, cut into small pieces and then placed in kettles where they were heated with chemicals that destroyed any coloring and rendered the pieces into a state where they could be pulverized into the component fibers. These fibers consisted entirely of cellulose,[11] which is essentially nothing more than a long-chain carbohydrate (as shown in Figure 6), formed by the polymerization of glucose units. What is important to note about the structure of cellulose is that each glucose unit contains four hydroxyl (–OH) and a number of hydrocarbon (–CH) bonds.

A very similar process is used today to produce microcrystalline cellulose (MCC), a substance which has found extensive use as a non-active ingredient in pharmaceutical tablet formulations.[12] To make MCC, one starts with purified cotton and treats this with dilute solutions of mineral acids. The intermediate product is purified, filtered, and eventually processed into a dry powdered form. The nature and structure of microcrystalline cellulose has been studied at length, and it has been found that FTIR spectroscopic methods are well suited for the differentiation of cellulose and of cellulose derivatives.[13] The crystalline domains in cellulose have been classified into four main categories,[14] and native cellulose is usually obtained as a mixture of lattice types Iα and Iβ.[15]

Figure 7 contrasts the FTIR spectrum of pharmaceutical grade MCC with the FTIR spectrum obtained from the unprinted region between the stamps illustrated in Figure 1. Since paper and MCC consist largely of cellulose, it is not surprising that the dominant feature in their FTIR spectrum is the broad band at approximately 1025 wavenumbers (which is due to the overlapping bending mode vibrations of the cellulosic hydroxyl vibrational modes). The other dominant feature in the FTIR spectra is the broad absorbance at approximately 3330 wavenumbers, attributable to the stretching mode vibrations of the cellulosic hydroxyl groups. The weaker feature at approximately 2900 wavenumbers is due to the stretching mode vibrations of the cellulosic hydrocarbon groups.

Figure 7 shows that very little difference exists between the FTIR spectrum of the Scott 63 stamp paper and that of MCC. This finding is not surprising considering the similarities in the methods of preparation, and therefore enables the use of MCC as a model compound. A protocol has been developed where in order to prove the existence of a particular chemical compound in the ink of a stamp, one blends a suitable reference compound into MCC and obtains its FTIR spectrum. The presence of this particular compound in the ink of the stamp is verified if the FTIR spectral features characteristic of the reference can be observed in the FTIR spectrum of the stamp.

For example, an absorption band at 1648 wavenumbers is clearly evident in the FTIR spectrum of the stamp paper but is not present in the FTIR spectrum of MCC. The energy of this band identifies it as being due to the presence of neutralized carbonyl groups. In addition, the presence of additional aliphatic hydrocarbon components in the paper is also evident by their characteristic absorption bands at 2849 and 2916 wavenumbers that are due to the symmetric and asymmetric carbon-hydrogen stretching vibrational modes.

After a bit of trial and error, and consultation with the literature, the 1648 wavenumber band was eventually identified as being due to the presence of rosin (a commonly used sizing agent) in the paper. This conclusion was deduced by the equivalence in FTIR spectrum of the Scott 63 paper and the FTIR spectrum obtained for a physical blend of approximately 10% of powdered cherry rosin into MCC (specifically, Avicel grade PH 101). As evident in Figure 7, the equivalence of the FTIR spectrum of the stamp paper and the FTIR spectrum of the MCC/rosin blend is taken as assignment for the 1648 wavenumber feature. It is further to be noted that the addition of rosin to MCC yields the additional hydrocarbon absorption bands 2849 and 2916 wavenumbers.

Conclusion

The forensic analysis of 1¢ blue Benjamin Franklin stamps of the 1861 design has revealed a number of interesting features: The blue pigment in the ink used to print the images on the stamps consisted solely of Prussian blue. The intense blue color of this pigment was softened by the inclusion of two white pigments: primarily zinc oxide, but also with a small amount of calcium carbonate. The surfactant in the processing oil apparently reacted with some of the zinc oxide, producing a zinc soap product. The paper on which the Scott 63 stamps were printed consisted primarily of cellulose that would have been derived from

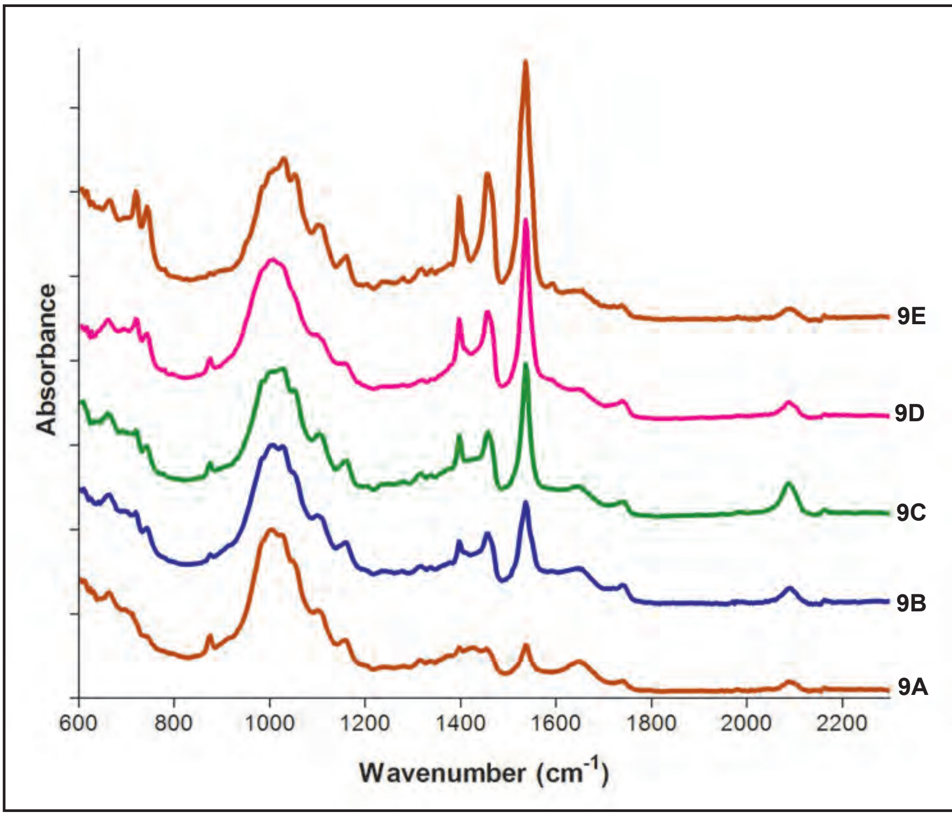

Figure 8. Infrared absorption spectra of the stamps shown in Figures 9A-9E, illustrating the varying proportions of ink components noted among the analyzed stamps.

Figures 9A-9E. 1¢ 1861 stamps of slightly different shades, which correspond to the spectra shown in Figure 8.

cotton fibers. The paper was sized using rosin alone, as no evidence for the presence of alum (another common sizing agent) could be detected.

While the composition of the ink used to print the 1¢ 1861 Franklin stamps is now established, it is important to note that the actual ratios of Prussian blue, calcium carbonate, and zinc soap in the ink were found to vary widely among the stamps studied. Some of the observed variations are illustrated in Figure 8, and the corresponding stamps are shown in figures 9A-9E, demonstrating that each variation in shade has its own specific signature.

The variation in stamp ink composition demonstrated in Figure 8 strongly suggests that a detailed analysis of the intensity patterns in many more stamps might be able to shed additional light on the various printings of the 1¢ 1861 Franklin stamps. For example, Luff lists ten delivery dates during 1861 for these stamps, and yearly totals for the remainder of the printings.[16] This latter aspect of the project is ongoing as more subjects are collected for analysis, and it is anticipated that results will be reported at a later date.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Thomas Lera, Winton M. Blount Chair in Research, of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum, for conducting the X-ray fluorescence analysis on one of the stamps, as well as for his critical reading of this paper prior to publication. I would also like to acknowledge the input of my manuscript review committee, Thomas Lera, John Barwis, Patricia A. Kaufmann and James Allen, for their helpful comments.

Endnotes

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2. The analysis database for the 1¢ 1861 stamps (Scott 63) consisted of the pair shown in Figure 1, and 31 additional single stamps, five of which are shown in Figure 9.

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8. The X-ray fluorescence data were obtained by Thomas Lera, Winton M. Blount Chair in Research, at the Smithsonian National Postal Museum.

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15. Y. Maréchal and H. Chanzy (2000): The hydrogen bond network in I_β cellulose as observed by infrared spectrometry, *Journal of Molecular Structure*, Volume 523, pp. 183-196.

16 J. N. Luff (1902) *The Postage Stamps of the United States,*1981 reprint by Quarterman Publications, Inc., Lawrence, MA, pg. 74. ■

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Charles Shreve Fellow - 2012 Class

Andrew Shaw
YPLF Class of 2011

Tim Hodge
AAPE Fellow - 2012 Class

Bottom Row (Left to Right):
Autumn Hanley
William Raible Fellow - 2013 Class

Katie Vasicek
Schuyler Rumsey Fellow
YPLF Class of 2013

Casey Cook
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U.S. OFFICIAL COVERS TO FOREIGN DESTINATIONS, 1873-1884

LESTER C. LANPHEAR III

Introduction

Foreign destination covers have long fascinated postal historians. Such covers offer a wide range of attractions, from the simple romance of exotic lands to the complex challenge of analyzing rates, routes, and multiple transit markings. Specialist collectors of United States Official stamps have also been intrigued by such covers, but not that many have survived. Official covers that for a time might have been saved in government archives were undoubtedly lost through purging of files. Also, much of the most sensitive and important communication regarding matters of state was sent via diplomatic-pouch mail or by special courier, outside the regular mail-stream. And in 1879, the Universal Postal Union changed its regulations concerning official mail. Starting 1 April 1879, Official stamps were no longer recognized as valid for postage to foreign countries. This had a immediate impact on the use of Official stamps on mail to foreign countries and is reflected in the paucity of surviving covers.

This article presents, for the first time, a census and analysis of all recorded covers, addressed to foreign destinations, franked with 19th century U.S. Official stamps. Penalty-clause covers from the transitional period from Official stamps to penalty envelopes (1877-1884), on which regular-issue stamps pay the foreign postage, are outside the scope of this article.

At this time, I record a total of 126 covers to 21 different countries. These covers are shockingly rare. If one collector could acquire all of them and write them up for exhibit without including duplicates, the result would barely fill three 16-page exhibition frames.

The census data is presented at the conclusion of this article. The covers have been organized by department, and each cover has been given a unique alpha-numeric identifier. As an example, “AF1” designates the first (and in this case the only) foreign-destination cover bearing an Agriculture stamp. This system enables precise and economical identification of individual covers and will allow the census to be expanded as reports of new covers come trickling in. A statistical analysis of these covers and some remarks about their dispersion concludes the article.

For the purposes of this census, the destination of record is the final foreign destination the cover reached. Thus, covers forwarded by the B.F. Stevens dispatch agency in London, or other forwarding agents, are categorized not according to their original foreign address, but by their corrected final forwarded address. For the nine departments, foreign-destination covers are recorded as follows: Agriculture, 1; Executive, 5; Interior, 21; Justice, 0; Navy, 24; Post Office, 6; State, 16; Treasury, 37; and War, 16.

This article discusses each department in turn, illustrating, for each department, one outstanding cover that has not previously been depicted in the literature—a scant body of work, by the way, consisting mostly of passing references in prior articles in this journal. Unless otherwise identified, all the covers illustrated are from the author's collection. Where possible, the text mentions important foreign destination covers that have previously been illustrated in the *Chronicle*. These covers are identified by their census ID number, with a *Chronicle* citation (*i.e.*: "*Chronicle* xxx, pg. xx") indicating where the cover was previously described and illustrated.

Department of Agriculture

Until the recent recovery of the stolen Charles Starnes material and its subsequent sale, there were no recorded Department of Agriculture covers to foreign destinations. Now there is one, a penalty-clause envelope to Toronto, Canada, with a 3¢ Agriculture stamp added. This cover is illustrated in Figure 1. Per the Washington, D.C. circular datestamp, it

Figure 1. 3¢ Agriculture stamp on penalty-clause envelope, sent from Washington, D.C. to Toronto, Canada, on June 6, 1878. Per treaty, the 3¢ domestic postage rate applied.

was posted 6 June 1878. At this time, the U.S.-Canada postal treaty allowed letters between the countries to be treated as domestic mail. Thus, uses with Official stamps were accepted. The treaty did not include any provision for penalty-clause mail, so a 3¢stamp was required on this cover. In 1887, a new Canadian treaty was signed that added a provision for penalty-clause mail. The treaty provided that U.S. official mail with a penalty imprint would be handled as if it were domestic mail, so adhesive postage stamps were no longer required.

Because its main function was to help farmers in the United States, the Department of Agriculture had little reason to contact other agencies around the world. Considering how few Agriculture covers overall are recorded, it's amazing that even one foreign destination cover has survived.

Executive

There are five Executive Office foreign destination covers, addressed to two countries: Great Britain and Italy. The four to Great Britain are all addressed to London. The fifth is shown in Figure 2. This is a cover to Rome, franked a 3¢ Executive stamp (paying the U.S. domestic rate) with the deficient postage collected via two 40 centesimi Italian postage due stamps (Scott J9). The cover was posted at Washington, D.C. on 25 June 1877,

Figure 2. 3¢ Executive stamp on underpaid cover sent to Rome, Italy, on June 25, 1877, with the postal deficiency represented by two 40 centesimi Italian postage due stamps (Scott J9). This is the only recorded Official cover bearing foreign postage due stamps.

addressed to William M. Story, who represented U.S. interests in Italy at the time, although he was not an accredited diplomat. The UPU rate to Italy was 5¢ and the 80 centesimi is equivalent to 4¢, representing double the 2¢ deficiency. This is the only recorded Official cover bearing foreign postage due stamps.

Most of the official business between governments would have been conducted by the Department of State, so the President and his staff would have had very little direct overseas communication. On the other hand, an Executive cover was more likely to be saved by its recipient, since it likely came from the President.

Department of the Interior

The 21 foreign destination covers with Department of the Interior stamps were sent to nine countries: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Dutch East Indies (Java), Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan. Almost half of these covers were sent from the Smithsonian Institution, which exchanged publications and had other contacts with institutions of learning around the world. The Smithsonian was not part of the Department of the Interior, but had a close relationship and purchased Interior stamps for use on its mail.[1] The following covers in the census are from the Smithsonian: IF2, IF3, IF6, IF7, IF9, IF10, IF16, IF17, IF20 and IF21. Among these are two covers (IF10 and IF16) that have a bust of Smithson in an oval as the corner cachet. One Interior cover (IF12, mailed to France) bears an illustrated corner card for the "US Geological and Geographic Survey of the Territories."

On the 21 Interior covers, the highest value stamp is a 10¢, on two covers (IF13 and IF18) paying double UPU rates to France and to Germany. Five of the other departments have covers with higher value stamps.

Figure 3 shows the only recorded example of a foreign-rate Official cover franked to pay the printed matter rate. This is actually a large label, on which a pair of 2¢ Interior stamps pays quadruple the 1¢ UPU printed-matter rate to Austria. Another cover of interest for the Interior Department, a 3¢ pair to Germany from July 1875 (IF15), was illustrated in *Chronicle* 215, page 227.

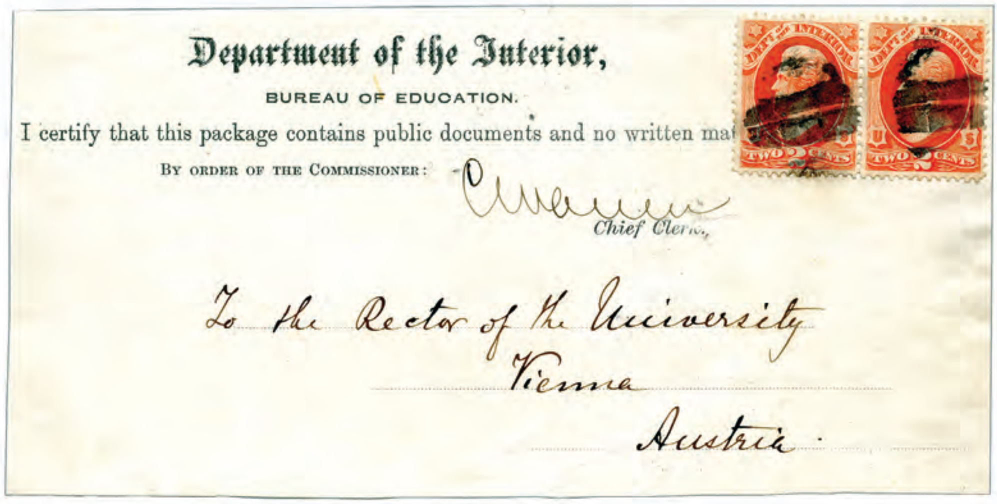


Figure 3. Pair of 2¢ Interior stamps on a large label paying quadruple the 1¢ UPU printed-matter rate to "the Rector of the University" in Vienna, Austria. This is the only recorded example of a foreign-rate Official cover franked at the printed-matter rate.

Department of Justice

At this time, no Department of Justice foreign destination covers from the Official stamp period have been recorded. The nature of this department's business was almost exclusively domestic.

Navy Department

There are 24 Navy Department foreign destination covers, sent to ten different countries: Brazil, Colombia, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Newfoundland, Spain, Turkey and Uruguay. Shown in Figure 4 is a Navy cover with 30¢ and 12¢ stamps paying double the 21¢ treaty rate via British Mail to Brazil. The cover was sent in January 1877 to Commodore C.H.B. Caldwell in Rio de Janeiro. The red 160/2 crayon marking at left shows

Figure 4. 30¢ and 12¢ Navy stamps on a cover from the Caldwell correspondence paying double the 21¢ treaty rate via British mail to Brazil, January 1877. The red 160/2 crayon marking at left indicates the double-rate credit to Britain of 160 centimes (32¢).

the double-rate credit to Britain of 160 centimes (32¢). The equivalent of two international rates (2x 5¢) was retained by the United States. This is one of two covers recorded bearing the 30¢ Navy stamp.

Other covers of interest for the Navy Department, previously illustrated in the *Chronicle*, are the inbound Japanese cover with a 6¢ Navy stamp added at Washington and remailed to Colombia (NF13—see the census data for specific *Chronicle* references) and a 24¢ Navy stamp used on a regular-issue stamped envelope to Uruguay (NF24).

The Navy restationed personnel around the world on short notice and as a courtesy would add supplemental Official postage when forwarding private mail. This census indicates that about 30 percent of surviving Navy covers bear Official stamps added by the Navy Department to ensure that a letter would reach its addressee at a foreign station.

Recently a group of six Navy covers to Commodore Caldwell in Brazil surfaced at Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries. Combined with the two famous ex-Starnes covers (of which Figure 4 is one), we now have a total of eight covers from this correspondence. This is the largest group of foreign destination Official covers from a single correspondence discovery to be offered at public auction. A descendant doing genealogical research discovered from an internet search that the Siegel firm had previously sold the two ex-Starnes covers from the Caldwell correspondence for record prices, and hence consigned the six new covers to Siegel. This new discovery represents 30 percent of the recorded Navy covers to foreign destinations. Without these two groups of covers—forwarded private mail and the Caldwell correspondence—we would be left with a much smaller number of Navy foreign destination covers.

Post Office Department

There are six covers bearing Post Office Department stamps to foreign destinations, sent to three countries: France, Germany and Newfoundland. Shown in Figure 5 is cover mailed in December, 1874, on which a 6¢ Post Office stamp pays the single treaty rate to Newfoundland. A postal employee in New York sent this cover, obviously on official business, to another postal employee in Newfoundland. Other foreign-destination Post Office covers previously illustrated in the *Chronicle* are the 15¢ stamp used on a "Postal Service"

Figure 5. 6¢ Post Office stamp paying the treaty rate to Newfoundland, 1874. This is a scarce destination for any covers sent from the U.S. during the classic era.

entire envelope (Scott UO14) to Paris (PF2) and the cover to France (PF3) franked with a pair of 3¢ Post Office stamps and ten 3¢ Bank Note stamps.

Usage of Post Office stamps to foreign destinations ended early. In 1877, penalty-clause mail quickly replaced stamps since, per new UPU regulations, the Post Office Department could send official correspondence to foreign postal officials using penalty-clause envelopes with no supplemental postage.

Department of State

There are 16 covers, to nine countries, bearing Department of State stamps. The countries are Canada, Colombia, Great Britain, Germany, Hawaii, Mexico, Norway, South Africa and Switzerland. Shown in Figure 6 is the only Departmental mourning cover recorded to a foreign destination. The 10¢ stamp pays double the UPU rate to London, and the cover was posted in December 1881. The mourning border no doubt memorializes President James Garfield, who died in September after having been shot in July. According to Route Agent Joe Crosby, the addressee of this cover, Henry Stevens, was the older brother of B.F. Stevens, who founded and ran for many years the B.F. Stevens "U.S. Despatch" agency in London. The 4 Trafalger Square address was the location of the Stevens family book business and the address of the B.F. Stevens dispatch agency.

Figure 6. 10¢ State Department stamp on a striking legal-size mourning cover paying double the UPU rate to London, posted 19 December, 1881. Image courtesy of Ravi Vora.

Other foreign-destination covers of interest, bearing State Department stamps and previously illustrated in the *Chronicle,* are the stupendous parcel wrapper to Germany (SF9), franked with a $2 State stamp plus 17 30¢ stamps and a 10¢ stamp and the cover from Cleveland to Cape Town, South Africa (SF15), initially franked with a 5¢ Garfield stamp, with a 10¢ State Department stamp added by the New York foreign mail office.

Examination of the census data suggests that the Department of State often did not use diplomatic pouch service for mail to Canada. Official stamps were still valid during the transitional period and not subject to the UPU prohibition due to the U.S. postal treaty with Canada.

Treasury Department

There are 37 covers to foreign destinations franked with Treasury Department stamps, sent to six countries: Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Hawaii, Hong Kong and Japan. Around 60 percent of these covers went to England with the preponderance of them sent to Charles F. Conant in London. From 1877 to 1879, he was in charge of U.S. government financial transactions in London, which included sale of government bonds in Europe.[2]

Shown in Figure 7 is one of the two Official covers to Hawaii. Addressed to the paymaster of a government steamer at Honolulu, this cover (TF33) was posted in Washington on 30 March 1875, franked with a 12¢ Treasury stamp paying double the 6¢ treaty rate to Hawaii. This cover and the cover to Hong Kong (TF34) franked with a pair of 10¢ Treasury pair stamps, both have a Chief Clerk's "Foreign Mail" handstamp with a facsimile signature.

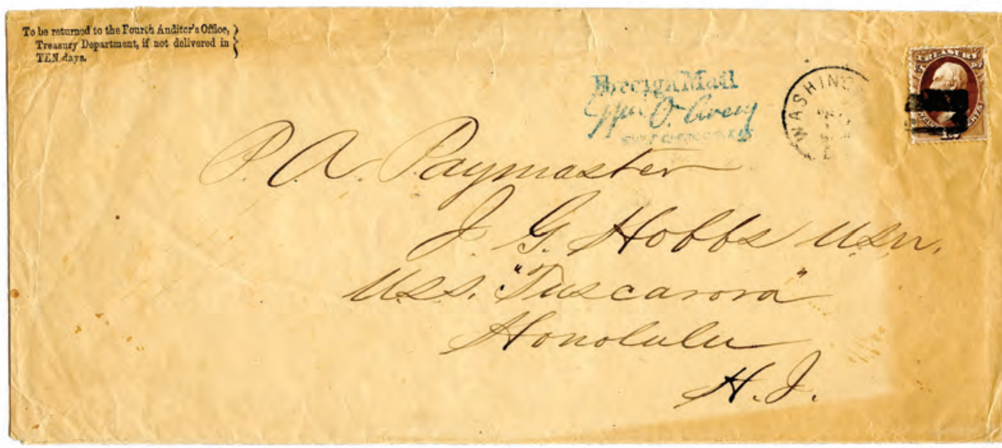


Figure 7. 12¢ Treasury stamp paying double the 6¢ treaty rate to Hawaii, posted at Washington, D.C. in March 1875 and addressed to a U.S. naval vessel. Note the Chief Clerk's "Foreign Mail" handstamp with facsimile signature. Image courtesy of Alan C. Campbell.

Other foreign destination covers with Treasury Department stamps illustrated in the *Chronicle* are a cover to England from May 1875 (TF28) franked with pairs of 2¢ and 10¢ stamps struck with New York Foreign Mail cancellations, and a penalty envelope to Germany from September 1882 (TF32), franked with a 12¢ Treasury stamp and a 15¢ Bank Note stamp. The specific *Chronicle* citations appear in the tabular census data at the conclusion of this article.

War Department

Sixteen covers bearing War Department stamps are recorded to foreign destinations, with seven countries represented: Austria, Canada, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Uruguay. General Sherman wrote to several ladies in Europe using Official stamps instead of regular postage. Sherman's correspondence represents about 30 percent of the surviving foreign-destination covers franked with War Department stamps.

Shown in Figure 8 is a triple combination cover to England. This cover, a 3¢ War Department stamped envelope, bears two 6¢ War Department stamps and a 6¢ Bank Note stamp, sent to London in October 1875. The 5¢ UPU rate to Great Britain went into effect a few months earlier. This franking presumably represents an overpayment of a multiple-rate cover. Because of the similar color and design of the stamps, it is easy to overlook the 6¢ Bank Note stamp on this envelope, which was addressed by General Sherman and mailed from St. Louis, Missouri. This is the only triple-combination Departmental cover recorded.

Summary: Official covers to foreign destinations

The census of recorded official foreign mail yields covers to 21 countries. Here is a summary of the recorded countries, the number of covers for each, and the specific covers,

Figure 8. 3¢ War Department entire envelope with two 6¢ War Department stamps and a 6¢ Bank Note stamp, addressed by General Sherman in St. Louis and sent to England in October 1875. This is the only triple-combination Departmental cover recorded.

identified according to the numerical identifier in the tabular census listing that concludes this article:

Austria (3): IF1, WF1 and WF2; Belgium (2): IF2-IF3; Brazil (10): NF1-NF10; Canada (17): AF1, IF4-IF8, SF1-SF5, SF14, TF1-TF5 and WF3; Colombia (4): NF11-NF13 and SF6; Dutch East Indies (1): IF9; Great Britain (35): EF1-EF4, IF10, NF14, SF7-SF8, TF6-TF30 and WF4-WF6; France (8): IF11-IF13, NF15-NF16, PF1-PF2 and WF7; Germany (11): IF14-IF18, PF3-PF5, SF9, TF31 and TF33; Hawaii (2): SF10 and TF32; Hong Kong (1): TF34; Italy (8): EF5, IF19-IF20, NF17 and WF8-WF11; Japan (8): IF21, NF18-NF19, TF35-TF37 and WF13-WF14; Mexico (2): SF11-SF12; Newfoundland (2): NF20 and PF6; Norway (1): SF13; South Africa (1): SF15; Spain (1): NF21; Switzerland (1): SF16; Turkey (1): NF22; and Uruguay (3): NF23-NF24 and WF16.

Official foreign mail covers over time, 1873-1884

Two regulatory changes affect the population (and thus the survival rate) of covers sent to foreign destinations franked with Official stamps. First, the UPU changed the regulation for mailing official mail. Beginning 1 April 1879, Official stamps were no longer valid for UPU use to foreign countries. Second, the United States had a separate postal treaty with Canada that stated either country could send mail to the other at domestic rates and with the equivalent of domestic handling. The treaty did not include penalty-clause mail, which did not exist when the treaty was signed. Thus covers mailed after April 1, 1879 to Canada could still be franked with Official stamps.

Chart 1 shows the year distribution of the covers in this study, from 1873 to 1884, for those covers for which the year can be determined. The left half of the chart shows the raw data from the census; the right section depicts the same data without the Navy correspondence to Commodore Caldwell in Brazil, Treasury correspondence to Charles F. Conant in London, and covers with Official stamps added by the New York Foreign Office in 1883-

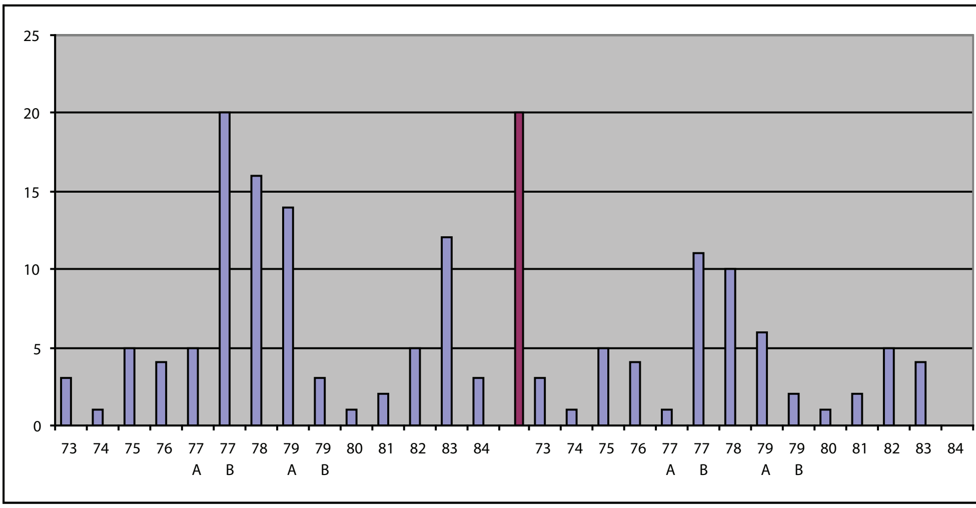


Chart 1. Summary of Official Foreign Destination Covers by Year. The data is presented in two different versions; the presentation at right eliminates major finds.

84. For reasons discussed below, the data in both sections of the chart for the years 1877 and 1879 have been split into two bars, marked “A” and “B”.

The cover count for the Hayes administration (March 1877–March 1881) is affected by the correspondences to Caldwell in Brazil and to Conant in England. But even when those two cover sources are eliminated (data on right), the Hayes administration shows an abundance of foreign-destination covers when compared to the Grant administration (March 1873–March 1877).

The cover count for the Arthur administration (September 1881-July 1884) is impacted by those covers sent in 1883-84 with official stamps added by the New York Foreign Office (NYFO). The NYFO accounts for nine foreign-destination covers in this study. These consisted of underpaid or unstamped covers to State or Navy personnel.

Examining the distribution of the foreign destination covers in Chart 1 left, the years 1877-79 stand out. The number of covers for each of these three years is in double digits, while the covers for all but one other year survive in single digits. The question comes to mind, what event in 1877 caused this sudden increase? President Hayes was inaugurated on 5 March 1877, but it is hard to imagine a change in policy that could have caused use of Official stamps in foreign mails to surge.

The drop in 1879 correlates to the UPU regulatory change described above. Data for the years 1877 and 1879 in the charts have been broken into two parts, labeled A and B. In the two 1877 columns, “A” depicts covers for the Grant administration and “B” for the Hayes administration. The two 1879 columns, both from the Hayes administration, “A” is before the UPU regulatory change and “B” is after.

The breakdown by Presidential administration is as follows: 18 covers from the Grant administration (73-77A), 54 from the Hayes administration (77B-81), most of them from before the UPU restriction; one from the Garfield administration (81); and 21 from the Arthur administration (81-84).

Looking at this data from a different perspective than in a previous article,[3] the author believes some change in policy must have occurred, because all the covers with Official stamps added by the New York Foreign Office date from 1883 and 1884. The use of Official stamps by the foreign office is contrary to the UPU regulations that went into effect on April 1, 1879. It is very strange that the foreign office would cease to abide by the UPU regulations only four years after they were promulgated.

Comparison with penalty-clause mail

It is hard to compare covers bearing Official stamps to foreign destinations with regular-issue foreign-destination covers from the same period, because the reasons for the use of the stamps, and the survival rates of the covers, are so different. In pondering this problem, I realized that there is another category of official mail that can provide a useful comparison: penalty-mail covers to foreign destinations. My penalty-mail records show nearly 200 covers to 35 countries. In examining these for the 1877-1900 era, the following information came to light:

1. Around 60 percent of the covers are from the Post Office department. This does not match the Official stamp period and has been discounted for the rest of this discussion. 2. Because the penalty period is longer, there are more countries represented. 3. The countries with the most covers are England, France and Germany; this is similar to the dispersion of the covers franked with Official stamps. 4. Excluding the Post Office covers, the next departments with large volumes of foreign mail are Interior and Treasury. One immediately notices that the Treasury has a large number of covers to England, just as we see in covers franked with Official stamps. However, with the penalty-clause covers there is only one foreign cover from the Smithsonian. 5. Unlike what we see with the stamp-bearing covers, there is no single source of a group of penalty-clause covers to foreign destinations. 6. There are few Executive penalty-clause covers to foreign destinations.

Funding stamps for foreign-destination correspondence

In preparing this article I discovered in my research files the transcribed text of a letter that I located at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. more than 20 years ago. I could not find a photostatic copy of the original letter, and I do not believe the original included a designation of the exact archival location, although I was searching through the records of the Third Assistant Postmaster General when I discovered it. Dated 28 November 1879, the letter was sent to John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, from A.D. Hazen, Third Assistant Postmaster General. The subject of the letter was the financing for regular-issue stamps used to pay postage on official covers to foreign countries. The following is the body of this letter:

> **By direction of the Postmaster General, I have the honor to transmit, herewith, an estimate "for ordinary postage stamps, to prepay postage on matter addressed to Postal Union countries, under article 8 of the Universal Postal Union convention, concluded at Paris, France, June 1, 1878."**
>
> **Under Act approved March 3, 1879 (Stats. Vol. 20. pg. 420), the sum of Two Hundred and Fifty dollars ($250) was appropriated for this object, for the quarter ending June 30, 1879; and under Act approved March 3, 1879 (Stats. Vol. 20., pg. 389), the sum of Ten thousand dollars ($10,000.) was appropriated for the current fiscal year "for official postage stamps for the executive departments, as required under Postal Union, to prepay postage on matter addressed to Postal Union countries."**

Using the $10,000 dollar amount cited in the letter, and assuming an average of 5¢ per letter (the UPU foreign rate), we can very roughly estimate that 200,000 letters were part of this process during the year discussed. The actual number of letters would have been somewhat lower, reflecting multiple-rate covers, higher rates to non-UPU countries and higher rates for packages.

The census data for the year 1878 reveals a total of 16 covers bearing Official stamps to foreign destinations, giving a retention rate of 0.008%. If we use the first three months in 1879, just before Official stamp usage to UPU countries was discontinued, we have a retention rate of 0.028%. Both these numbers suggest an extremely low rate of retention when compared to various regular stamps for which cover-census data has been discussed in the *Chronicle* over the past few years.

Conclusion

In other fields of classic U.S. postal history, collectors recognize how the aberrant survival of a single large correspondence can skew census data for foreign-destination covers. Think of the Heard correspondence to Shanghai, or the Davis correspondence to Peru, or the Bissel correspondence to India. The Commodore Caldwell correspondence of Navy covers to Brazil is a similar event. In general, though, the survival rate for Official stamp covers is so abysmally low that it is hard to claim that census data provides an accurate representation of the distribution of Official foreign mail from the 1873-1884 period. Not with only one cover surviving to the entire continent of Africa, and no covers at all to Australia, to China, to Russia or to India, and just one miraculous survivor to Batavia, Java, Dutch East Indies, five years before the explosion of Krakatoa. The recent discovery of six more Caldwell covers to Brazil was an important find, and Official specialists may dream of similar finds coming to light in the future, but this is improbable. Space limitations in the census table prevented the presentation of chains of provenance, but most of the important Official stamp covers to foreign destination have been in prominent collections for many years, even generations.

Notes on the census data

A few remarks are in order to explain the information in the census data that follows on the next four pages. The overall cover listing is by department, in alphabetical order to match the order in the Scott catalog that is familiar to most collectors. Within each department listing, the covers have been grouped alphabetically by the nation of destination. A few of the destinations are national entities that aren't separate countries; they have been listed as such for completeness, but are not counted as one of the 21 country destinations. Parts of Canada not classified as separate countries are British Columbia (IF7) and Nova Scotia (SF14); parts of Great Britain not classified as separate countries are Ireland (WF12) and Scotland (WF15). Covers to the same country have then been listed sequentially by ascending denomination. The column headed "Reference/Notes" contains information that in most cases can lead the interested reader to an image of the cover, a color image if available. Where possible, we have favored references in the *Chronicle* and in the easily-searched and very useful website of the Robert A. Siegel auction firm. Some covers are not in auction catalogs or journal articles and for these we provide other useful identification. Key to abbreviations employed in the Reference/Notes column: BFS=forwarded by B.F. Stevens in London, with handstamp; BN=Bank Note stamp; DCRE: Official stamp added and cover remailed at Washington, D.C. NYFO=Official stamp added by New York Foreign Office; "soft" designates a soft-paper Official stamp. Auction citations follow the economical standard that has developed in recent years; *i.e.*: "1048RAS389" = Robert A. Siegel sale #1048, lot 389.

Acknowledgements

Over the years many people have provided information for this census. Special thanks to Alan C. Campbell, Dan Curtis, Rollin C. Huggins Jr., Robert L. Markovits, Michael Plett, Dennis W. Schmidt, Alfred E. Staubus, Ravi R. Vora and several dealers.

Endnotes

1. Lester C. Lanphear III, "1873 to 1897: The Smithsonian Institution and the United States Fish and Fisheries Commission," *Chronicle* 215 (August 2007), pp. 226-234. This article describes the relationship between the Smithsonian Institution and the Department of the Interior with regards to Official stamps.
2. John Sherman, *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in The House, Senate and Cabinet, An Autobiogrphy*, Volume II (The Werner company, 1895), pg. 706.
3. Lester C. Lanphear III, "Official Stamps Added During Transit in the Mail System," *Chronicle* 205 (February 2005), pp. 48-55.

ID	Date	From/To	Stamps	Reference/Notes
Agriculture				
AF1	6 June 1878	DC/Canada	3¢	Figure 1
Executive				
EF1	29 May 1876	DC/London	2¢+3¢	273MB3036
EF2	14 Mar 1877	DC/London	2-3¢	273MB3040
EF3	30 July 1877	DC/London	6¢	887RAS4167
EF4	23 Apr 1877	DC/London	6¢ pair	273MB3042
EF5	25 June 1877	DC/Italy	3¢+80c Ital dues	Figure 2
Interior				
IF1		?/Austria	2¢ pair	Figure 3
IF2	14 May 1878	DC/Belgium	2¢+3¢	273MB3396
IF3	10 Nov 1877	DC/Belgium	3¢ pair	Author’s collection
IF4	30 Aug 1873	DC/Canada	3¢	280MB1907
IF5	10 May 1877	DC/Canada	3¢	Author’s collection
IF6	7 Jun 1878	DC/Canada	3¢	Author’s collection
IF7	7 Dec 1878	DC/Br. Columbia	3¢ (soft)	Author’s collection
IF8	12 Apr 1881	DC/Canada	3¢ (soft)	Alan Campbell
IF9	18 Oct 1878	DC/Java	strip of 3-3¢+1¢	577RAS250
IF10	14 Dec 1876	DC/London	3¢ pair	304MB1441
IF11	6 Dec 1877	St. Louis/France	2¢+3¢	Author’s collection
IF12	23 Mar 1879	DC/France	2¢+3¢	Alan Campbell
IF13	25 Nov 1878	DC/France	10¢	273MB3402
IF14	20 Jun 187?	DC/Germany	2¢+3¢	40RGK174
IF15	24 Jul 1875	DC/Germany	3¢ pair	*Chronicle* 215, pg. 227
IF16	24 May 1877	DC/Germany	3¢ pair	280MB1908
IF17	27 Apr 187?	DC/Germany	6¢	Private collection
IF18	3 Jun 1878	DC/Germany	10¢	40AZ328
IF19	Oct 187?	DC/Italy	2¢+3¢	297MB3251
IF20	4 Apr 1876	DC/Italy	6¢	301MB1783
IF21	15 Nov 1877	DC/Japan	2-3¢	Private collection
Navy				
NF1	2 Sept 1878	DC/Brazil	1¢+6¢+3¢ BN	273MB3354; DCRE
NF2	16 Mar 1877	DC/Brazil	6¢	1051RAS1581
NF3	15 Oct 1877	DC/Brazil	7¢+3¢ BN	*Chr.* 205, pg. 51; DCRE
NF4	14 May 1878	DC/Brazil	7¢+3¢ BN	273MB3355; DCRE
NF5	23 Jan 1877	DC/Brazil	1¢+2-10¢	1048RAS389
NF6	Jan 1877	DC/Brazil	1¢+2-10¢	1048RAS390
NF7	Mar 1877	DC/Brazil	1¢+2-10¢	1051RAS1580
NF8	27 Jan 1877	DC/Brazil	2-10¢	1051RAS1581
NF9	9 Jan 1877	DC/Brazil	12¢+30¢	Figure 4
NF10	6 Apr 1877	DC/Brazil	12¢+30¢	1048RAS388

ID	Date	From/To	Stamps	Reference/Notes
NF11	16 Dec 187?	NY/Columbia	2-1¢+3¢ BN	301MB1793; DCRE
NF12	5 Dec 187?	VA/Columbia	6¢	Author's record
NF13	5 Nov 1878	Japan/Columbia	6¢+ 5 sen Japan	*Chr.* 205, pg. 52; DCRE
NF14	30 Apr 1883	DC/London	6¢+3¢ BN	Author's record; DCRE
NF15	7 Feb 1879	DC/France	2¢+3¢ BN	301MB1795; DCRE
NF16	23 Jan 1877	DC/France	10¢	*Chronicle* 193, pg. 50
NF17	24 Nov 1875	DC/Italy	2¢+3¢	945RAS3809
NF18	20 Mar 187?	DC/Japan	2¢	273MB3343
NF19	24 Mar 1879	DC/Japan	3¢ strip 4	616RAS825
NF20	20 Aug 1883	Balto/Nwfdland	2¢+5¢(205)	*Chr*. 205, pg. 51; NYFO
NF21	17 Sep 1883	NY/Spain	2¢+3¢ BN	867RAS1363; DCRE
NF22	14 Feb 1882	Annapolis/Turkey	3¢ pair	Author's collection; BFS
NF23	Sep 11 [76?]	DC/Uraguay	24¢	945RAS3813
NF24	2 Apr 1878	NYC/Uruguay	24¢ on U164	*Chronicle* 188, pg. 288
Post Office				
PF1	3 Jun 1879	Boston/France	3¢ on UO7	280MB1916
PF2	26 Jun 1883	DC/France	15¢ on UO14	*Chronicle* 203, pg. 234
PF3	Sep 1876	DC/Germany	2-3¢+10-3¢ BN	*Chronicle* 184, pg. 288
PF4	13 Feb 1879	DC/Germany	6¢ on UO14	Private collection
PF5	15 Apr 1878	DC/Germany	2-2¢+6¢	*Chr.* 203, pg. 230; NYFM
PF6	3 Dec [1874]	NYC/Nwfdland	6¢	Figure 5
State				
SF1	25 Apr 1883	DC/Canada	2¢	945RAS3825
SF2	24 Aug 1883	DC/Canada	6¢	945RAS3835
SF3		DC/Canada	2¢+7¢	Daniels 5-11-53, 249
SF4	29 May 1883	DC/Canada	15¢	728RAS137
SF5	27 May 1878	DC/Canada	24¢	945RAS3845
SF6	19 Mar 1884	NY/Columbia	3¢+2¢ BN	Author's coll; NYFO
SF7	24 Jun 1884	Michigan/London	3¢+2¢ BN	*Chr*. 205, pg. 49; NYFO
SF8	19 Dec 1881	DC/London	10¢	Figure 6
SF9	25 Oct 1882	NYC/Germany	$2+17-30¢+10¢	*Chronicle* 188, pg. 288
SF10	19 Feb	NYC/Hawaii	6¢	*Chronicle* 203, pg. 227
SF11	17 Jun	DC/Mexico	90¢+30¢+6¢	*Chronicle* 202, pg. 149
SF12		DC/Mexico	90¢+30¢+2-10¢	Fox sale 4-15-55, 766
SF13	28 Aug 1883	Phila/Norway	6¢	*Chr*. 205, pg. 54; NYFO
SF14	9 Sep 187?	DC/Nova Scotia	6¢	616RAS840
SF15	11 Dec 1883	Ohio/S. Africa	10¢+5¢ (205)	*Chr*. 203, pg. 232; NYFO
SF16	2 Jun 1884	DC/Switzerland	10¢	966RAS2329; NYFO
Treasury				
TF1	1 July 1873	DC/Canada	3¢	*Chr*. 204, pg. 290; FDC
TF2	30 Aug 1873	DC/Canada	3¢	*Chronicle* 204, pg. 293

ID	Date	From/To	Stamps	Reference/Notes
TF3	3 July 1874	DC/Canada	6¢	Private collection
TF4	—	?/Canada	10¢ block of 4	273MB3198
TF5	11 Apr 1877	DC/Canada	15¢	284MB1111
TF6	unknown	?/London	34-1¢ front	Daniels 5-11-53, 265
TF7	11 Apr 1878	DC/London	3¢ pair	*Chronicle* 215, pg. 233
TF8	23 Jul 1877	DC/London	6¢	Spink-Shr. 4-17-09, 440
TF9	2 Jul	DC/London	6¢	Author's record
TF10	?	DC/London	6¢+6¢	Author's record
TF11	22 Sep 1877	DC/London	6¢ pair	Spink-Shr. 4-17-09, 441
TF12	15 Jan 1878	DC/London	6¢ strip 3	Author's record
TF13	4 Oct	DC/London	6¢ pair	313MB1156
TF14	24 Nov 1877	DC/London	3¢+7¢	273MB3192
TF15	12 Dec 1877	DC/London	3¢+7¢	577RAS387
TF16	23 Mar 1879	DC/London	10¢	Author's record
TF17	1879	DC/London	10¢	Author's rec; RPO mark
TF18	31 Jan 1879	DC/London	10¢	Private collection
TF19	14 Feb 1879	DC/London	10¢	Alan Campbell
TF20	12 Mar 1879	DC/London	10¢	Private collection
TF21	21 Mar 1879	DC/London	10¢	Private collection
TF22	28 Mar 1879	DC/London	10¢	Author's record
TF23	10 May 1878	DC/London	2¢+3¢+10¢	Morganthau 12-5-33, 233
TF24	28 Feb 1879	DC/London	2¢+3¢+10¢	*Chronicle* 147, pg. 191
TF25	28 Jan 1878	DC/London	10¢ pair	*Chronicle* 147, pg. 189
TF26	1878	DC/England	10¢ pair	Author's record
TF27	1879	DC/England	10¢ pair	Author's record
TF28	29 May 1875	NYC/England	2¢ pair+10¢ pair	*Chr.* 203, pg. 230; NYFM
TF29	7 Mar 1879	DC/London	2¢+3¢+10¢ pair	273MB3197
TF30	17 Feb 1879	DC/London	30¢	Private collection
TF31	5 Aug 187?	Ohio/Germany	6¢	273MB3187
TF32	18 Sep 1882	DC/Germany	12¢+15 BN	*Chronicle* 184, pg. 281
TF33	30 Mar 1875	DC/Hawaii	12¢	Figure 7
TF34	10 Dec 187?	DC/Hong Kong	10¢ pair	273MB3195
TF35	16 Aug 1879	DC/Japan	10¢	273MB3194
TF36	28 May 187?	DC/Japan	10¢	280MB1936
TF37	12 Mar 187?	DC/Japan	15¢	273MB3204
War				
WF1	30 Oct 1882	DC/Austria	6¢ (soft)	1003RAS5529
WF2	14 Nov 1882	DC/Austria	6¢ (soft)	*Chronicle* 184, pg. 283
WF3	?	?/Canada	1¢ on WO46	280MB1937
WF4	19 Nov 1880	Wyo./London	2¢+3¢	Author's collection
WF5	30 Oct 1883	DC/England	2-3¢	private collection, NYFO

ID	Date	From/To	Stamps	Reference/Notes
WF6	6 Oct 1875	St. Louis/London	2-6¢+6¢BN, UO51	Figure 8
WF7	12 Mar 1879	DC/France	2¢+3¢	Alan Campbell
WF8	27 Jan 1879	DC/Italy	3¢ on UO51	Private collection
WF9	23 Oct 1876	DC/Italy	6¢ pair on UO51	Alan Campbell
WF10	28 Dec [1875]	St. Louis/Italy	12¢ pair on UO51	1003RAS5513
WF11	8 Feb [1876]	St. Louis/Italy	6¢+12¢ pr on UO51	Private collection
WF12	27 Nov 1883	N.O./Ireland	2-2¢ +1¢ (all soft)	Alan Campbell
WF13	9 May [1876]	DC/Japan	24¢ pair	*Chronicle* 188, pg. 293
WF14	14 Feb [1876]	DC/Japan	6¢+30¢	*Chronicle* 230, pg. 175
WF15	21 Jun 1877	DC/Scotland	10¢	Private collection
WF16	9 Jun 1883	DC/Uraguay	2-3¢ on UO14	284MB1117; NYFO

Abbreviations employed in the Reference/Notes column: BFS=forwarded by BF Stevens in London, with handstamp; BN=Bank Note stamp; DCRE: Official stamp added and cover remailed at Washington, D.C.; NYFM=New York foreign mail cancel on stamps; NYFO=Official stamp added by New York Foreign Office; s=soft paper Official stamp. Auction citations follow the economical standard that has developed in recent years; *i.e.*: "1048RAS389" = Robert A. Siegel sale #1048, lot 389.

(Continued from page 209)

the Canadian maritime provinces are much scarcer than their transatlantic cousins. And in a special feature on page 288, William E. Mooz provides archival data (and many new insights) about the unusual situation that prevailed in the distribution of Newspaper and Periodical stamps during 1894.

Our Cover Corner this issue begins under a new editor, John Wright, who was for many years assistant editor of the feature. As most *Chronicle* readers are by now aware, Greg Sutherland, our long-time Cover Corner editor, passed away in April.

Correction

"Discovery: Bisected Use of One-Cent 1851 Stamp," by Roland H. Cipolla II, published in *Chronicle* 237 (February 2013) contained errors that require correction.

The article prominently referred to a half-cent circular rate that in fact never existed. During the era under discussion there was indeed a half-cent rate for in-state delivery of newspapers, and the article quoted the act of Congress that established it. But this rate applied only to newspapers and periodicals. The article was mistaken when it said (page 38) that the rate included circulars. The caption on the front cover of *Chronicle* 237, which said the stamp pays "a previously unrecognized in-state circular rate" was similarly incorrect.

In addition, there were errors in the captions for the technical illustrations that appeared on pages 44 and 45. The Figure 6 caption should have noted that the four test spots around the bisect stamp were identical for both the FTIR analysis and the X-ray fluorescence analysis; and the captions for Figures 7 and 8 were transposed. Figure 7 showed the output of the FTIR machine and Figure 8 showed the X-ray fluorescence analysis. To make things worse, we misspelled "fluorescence" repeatedly—but at least consistently.

Both the *Chronicle* and the author regret these errors. The cover remains the only certified bisection of a 1¢ 1851 stamp. It sold at a Robert A. Siegel sale in late March for $60,000, a record price for a cover bearing a bisected United States stamp. ■

SPECIAL FEATURE

THE YEAR 1894 AND NEWSPAPER STAMPS

WILLIAM E. MOOZ

The year 1894 turned out to be an interesting year with regard to Newspaper and Periodical stamps, resulting in some relatively rare stamps and difficult challenges for collectors. Two events produced the situation, both the result of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (BEP) winning the printing contract from the American Bank Note Company (ABNC).

To start with, although the BEP won the printing contract, it had no experience in the production of the large quantities of stamps the Post Office Department (POD) required to satisfy the needs of the mail. As a first step that anticipated the stamps that the BEP was to produce, the POD placed an order with ABNC for examples of the various stamps to be printed by the BEP. The portion of that order referring to Newspaper stamps follows, as reported by Luff .[1]

> **On March 7, 1894, the Third Assistant Postmaster General sent to the contractors an order, in the customary form, to deliver to the Post Office Department at Washington the following supplies:**
>
> **25 sheets of blank paper of each three sizes in use, 75 sheets**
> **And a sample sheet of each denomination and kind of stamps now used, thus:**
> **1st. Printed only**
> **2nd. Printed and gummed**
> **3rd. Printed, gummed and perforated.**
> **Newspaper and Periodical stamps: 25 plates, 3 sheets of each**
> **As above, 75 sheets, 100 stamps per sheet**
>
> **The three varieties of printed sheets were, in due time, returned to the Post Office Department. The fully finished sheets were eventually turned into stock and issued to postmasters. The sheets that were merely printed, without being gummed or perforated, were destroyed. What became of the sheets of the second class,—i.e., those which were left imperforate—I am unable to say, except in the case of a half sheet, fifty stamps, of each value of the Newspaper and Periodical stamps. These latter passed from official into private hands. The new owner retained five sets in imperforate condition and had the others perforated—a very unwise act, in my opinion—and offered them for sale.**

The government became aware of what had happened, and seized a set of the newspaper stamps from the half sheets that were to have been sold by the J. Walter Scott Company at a public auction on May 26 and 27, 1897. The government then instituted a lawsuit for 12¢ damages against Scott, and also sued H. F. Colman, a Land Office clerk in Washington, D.C., who had been in possession of the stamps, claiming conversion of government property. This was based on Section 179 of the *U. S. Postal Laws and Regulations,* which provided that "Newspaper and Periodical stamps are never to be sold to any persons, nor loaned to other postmasters."

The government interpreted this as forbidding the private possession of Newspaper and Periodical stamps. To fight this case, the Collectors Club of New York established a fund and hired Leo G. Rosenblatt, a celebrated attorney, to defend the case against the government.

During the trial Colman testified under oath that the imperforate stamps had first been delivered to a Mr. Munce, chief of the stamp department in Washington. Munce then transferred the stamps to Mrs. Munce, who in turn sold them to or exchanged them with Colman.

Colman then delivered them to R. F. Albrecht, whence they then found their way to Scott.

Luff describes the circumstances thus:

> **Following the appearance of these privately perforated stamps in the market there was trouble in official circles. By whom it was started and just what form it took are known only to those behind the curtain. It led to seizure of the stamps, arrest of the holder, action at law, scandal, loss of official position and other disagreeable details, much of which was set forth in the philatelic journals at the time. But the true inwardness of the affair was never made public.**

Although the government made its case in court, the judge ruled against it, mainly because there were several outlets by which private persons could legally obtain Newspaper stamps—including the 1875 special printing program, by which the POD sold Newspaper and Periodical stamps at face value to anyone who wanted them, and the distribution of sets of the stamps to members of the Universal Postal Union with no prohibition on their subsequent fate. Details of the case appear in the March 1, 1897 and May 1, 1898 issues of the *American Journal of Philately*. The stamps that the government had seized were returned to Scott and presumably were auctioned.

These stamps are known as the "Colman" set, after the person implicated in bringing them into the collector market. Because the Colman stamps were not part of any issue to postmasters for regular use, the stamps presently have no Scott number and are not mentioned in the Scott catalogs. They can be mostly identified by the paper, which, as Luff says, is without grain. It is completely white. When looked at through a strong light, it appears almost like waxed paper, because it has no grain or texture. The stamps are also identified by the private perforations, but it is easier to use the paper as the clue. The set is the only set in which the 9¢ denomination was printed by ABNC.[2] Because of the inclusion of this denomination, the set consists of 25 stamps, in contrast to the 1875 and 1879 issues, each of which contains 24 stamps. Expertizing organizations and auction houses have no difficulty identifying these stamps, which is relatively easy to do. Pairs of the $60 denomination of the Colman stamps, in both perforate and imperforate form, are illustrated in Figure 1.

The second event resulted from the changes in design and denominations through the issuance of a new set of Newspaper and Periodical stamps. It had been estimated that the production of this new set would take some six months from the time that BEP received their contract. To enable the BEP to supply Newspaper stamps to postmasters during this interim period, the POD estimated the number and type of stamps that would be required, and ordered these (Scott PR57-79, the 1879 issue) from the ABNC.

Figure 1. A privately perforated pair and an imperforate pair of the highest value denomination of the currently uncatalogued "Colman" set of Newspaper stamps.

	Issue	Scott #	March 1894	June 1894	Sept 1894	Dec 1894	March 1895	June 1895
1¢	1879	PR57	201,100	224,200	45,936			
1¢	1894	PR90			198,164	266,100	105,650	
1¢	1895	PR102/114					157,880	312,350
2¢	1879	PR58	154,650	175,700	11,618			
2¢	1894	PR91			88,682	215,100	89,400	
2¢	1895	PR103/115					147,410	329,500
10¢	1879	PR62	118,885	132,240	90,888			
10¢	1894	PR94			52,257	157,360	65,815	
10¢	1895	PR105/117					124,940	270,240

Table 1. Quantities of the various 1¢, 2¢, and 10¢ Newspaper stamps that were issued to postmasters during the five quarters ending June 30, 1895—the period of transition from the American Bank Note Company to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Between July 1, 1894 and the debut of the new issue on January 1, 1895, the BEP apparently ran out of certain of the 1879 denominations. To remedy this, the BEP obtained the plates from ABNC, corrected wear on them by reentering some of the plates, and printed the required denominations. These became Scott numbers PR90-101.

This resulted in an interesting strategy in the three fiscal quarters that were involved. The stamps that BEP supplied to postmasters were variously from the prior 1879 ABNC printings (PR57-79), the new printing made by BEP from the reentered ABNC plates (PR90-101), and the newly designed stamp set that is now known as the 1895 issue (PR102-113 and PR114-125). Records survive that show how many of each printing were issued.[3]

The three different printings (1879 ABNC, BEP 1894, and BEP 1895) had three denominations in common, the 1¢ (PR57, PR90 and PR102 or PR114), 2¢ (PR58, PR91 and PR103 or PR115), and 10¢ (PR62, PR94, and PR105 or PR117), and it is instructive to see what was done to meet the needs of postmasters. These data are presented in Table 1. From this table, we can see that the 1894 issue of these three denominations was sent to postmasters for three quarters. Only in the quarter ending December 1894 was the issue exclusively sent. Requests for the 1¢, 2¢ and 10¢ denominations (examples are shown in Figure 2) were filled with a combination of the 1879 ABNC issue and the 1894 BEP issue in the quarter ending September 1894, and with a combination of the 1894 issue and the 1895 BEP issue

Figure 2. The 1¢, 2¢ and 10¢ denominations of the 1894 issue of Newspaper stamps, Scott numbers PR90, PR91 and PR94, figured importantly the 1894-95 transition, for which data are presented in Table 1.

Figure 3. The $3 scarlet and $6 pale blue denominations of the 1894 issue of Newspaper stamps, PR100 and PR101, are great rarities.

	Issue	Scott	Sept 1894	Dec 1894	March 1895
$3	1879	PR72	12,331	11,425	
$3	1894	PR100		3,190	6,025
$6	1879	PR73	5,695	7,050	
$6	1894	PR101		1,075	4,175

Table 2. Quantities of the $3 and $6 Newspaper stamps issued to postmasters during the three quarters ending March 30, 1895.

in the quarter ending March 1895. In the previous quarter, the 1894 issue alone was used.

This same analysis can be used for the $3 and $6 denominations, the only other denominations that are common to the 1879 ABNC issue and the 1894 BEP issue. Examples of the $3 and $6 stamps from the 1894 issue (PR100 and PR101), both great rarities, are illustrated in Figure 3. The data are shown in Table 2.

Note that the tabular information refers to deliveries to postmasters and not to the quantities of stamps actually were used to pay for newspaper deliveries, which were necessarily less. For the complete set of 1894 stamps, the number of stamps of each denomination issued to postmasters is shown in Table 3. All the higher value stamps are very scarce.

Distinguishing the 1894 BEP issue from the 1879 issue relies on the slight additional sharpness of the design resulting from the reentries, the color, and the paper, which is white and has very little grain.

	Scott #	Sept 1894	Dec 1894	March 1895	Total
1¢	PR90	198,164	266,100	105,650	569,914
2¢	PR91	88,682	215,100	89,400	393,182
4¢	PR92	73,321	193,875	77,175	344,371
6¢	PR93	9,705			9,705
10¢	PR94	52,257	157,360	65,815	275,432
12¢	PR95	31,004	93,625	32,775	157,404
24¢	PR96	29,339	78,475	34,950	142,764
36¢	PR97	9,935			9,935
60¢	PR98		31,272	14,460	45,732
96¢	PR99			7,827	7,827
$3	PR100		3,190	6,025	9,215
$6	PR101		1,075	4,175	5,250

Table 3. Quarterly quantities and total quantities of the 1894 denominations of Newspaper stamps as issued to postmasters.

Collecting either the 1894 "Colman" set or the 1894 BEP set poses severe challenges because of the limited quantities issued. The Colman set has never been listed in the Scott catalog, mainly because it was not regularly issued, but also because the stamps were privately perforated. However, the author recently pointed out to the editor of the Scott catalog that there were five sets of this printing that were never perforated, and that they represent an historical part of the transition from ABNC to BEP. Accordingly, there has been a hint that these five sets might appear someplace in the catalog in the future, possibly accompanied by a footnote mentioning the privately perforated 45 sets.

Endnotes

1. John Luff, *The Postage Stamps of the United States*, 1902 edition, pg. 315.
2. William E. Mooz, "1894 Newspaper Stamps are Unlisted," *The American Philatelist*, August 1989, pg. 755.
3. Records of the Post Office Department, Record Group 28, Stamp Bill Book, Volume 6, March 1893–June 1897. ■

RETALIATORY RATES AND MAIL FROM THE MARITIME PROVINCES

DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

Most postal historians are familiar with the retaliatory rates applied by the United States to mails to and from Great Britain in 1848. In retaliation for the United Kingdom's practice of charging British sea postage on all letters carried by U.S. packets, the United States charged sea postage on all letters arriving or departing on British packets. As a result of the retaliatory rates, transatlantic letters were, in effect, charged double sea postage, one shilling by the British and 24¢ by the United States for up to ½ ounce.

Less well known is that the United States applied the retaliatory rate to letters to and from the Maritime Provinces, carried by the Cunard Line. An even more obscure fact is that the retaliatory rate also applied to letters carried by private foreign ships to or from Great Britain or its colonies. The retaliatory rates on letters from the Maritime Provinces can be well illustrated by a duplicate mailing from Halifax to New York sent in December 1848. The original letter was sent by a Cunard Line packet and a duplicate was sent by a private Nova Scotian ship.

In June 1847, the British began charging British packet postage of one shilling (24¢) up to ½ ounce for each letter carried by a vessel of the Ocean Steam Navigation Company, a United States steamship line that began competing with the established Cunard Line transatlantic service.[1] The British Postmaster General, Lord Clanricarde, and the secretary, Colonel Maberly, confirmed to George Bancroft, the United States minister to the United Kingdom, that the British packet postage charge was to "protect the Cunard line of steamers, and to derive for the British Treasury a revenue out of the Mail service of our packets as well as of his own."[2] Despite repeated efforts by the United States to overturn this policy, the British continued to apply the discriminatory postage charge on letters carried by United States steamships.

One year later, in response to merchant complaints, the United States enacted the retaliatory rates, imposing a levy on all letters conveyed by foreign packets belonging to countries where that government imposed a sea postage charge on letters arriving on United States packets.[3] This resulted in a 24¢ sea postage charge on letters carried by the Cunard Line. Additionally, the retaliatory rates imposed a 16¢ charge for ship letters arriving on private ships in retaliation for the British ship letter charge of 8d (16¢) on private ship letters arriving in the United Kingdom. The text of the U.S. postal order implementing that act is as follows: [4]

> **All letters or other mailable matter coming into the U.S. from foreign countries, or going out of the U.S. to other countries, are required to be sent through the Post Office at the place of departure or arrival. The postages to be charged on all letters going out of the U.S. to or**

through the United Kingdom of Great Britain or its colonies, or coming from or through the United Kingdom of Great Britain or its colonies into the U.S., by any foreign packetship or other vessel will be as follows: - The postage on outgoing letters or other mailable matter to be prepaid. On each letter not exceeding half an ounce in weight, conveyed between the two counties by a foreign packet, 24 cents; and for each additional half ounce or fraction under an additional postage of 24 cents; and if conveyed between the two countries by any foreign private ship or vessel when weighing half and ounce or under, the postage will be 16 cents; and for each additional half ounce a fraction under an additional postage of 16 cents.

Newspapers will be chargeable with postage of 4 cents each – Each sheet of other printed matter will be rated as a newspaper. Any violation of the law will be reported with evidence to the District Attorney for prosecuting. [Signed] C. Johnson, Post Master General.

The only packet mail route between the United States and the Maritime provinces during this period was the Cunard Line, with mail steamers stopping at Halifax *en route* between Boston or New York and Liverpool. Letters to and from the Maritime Provinces sent by the Cunard Line steamers were assessed the retaliatory charge. However, there were merchant ships operating without mail contracts between the Maritime Provinces and the United States. The United States charged 16¢ up to ½ ounce on ship letters arriving on vessels registered in a British North American province to retaliate against the 8d sterling (stg.) British charge on letters entering or leaving United Kingdom ports by other than contract packets.[5] However, the British North American Provinces did not impose an 8d stg. charge on coastal ship letters arriving from the United States. Instead, the British North American provinces assessed a 4½d currency (cy.) charge that was equivalent to 4d stg., or 8¢. Thus, the United States retaliatory rate on ship letters actually was double the amount that the British North American provinces charged on incoming ship letters.

The retaliatory rates on letters from the Maritime Provinces can be illustrated through a duplicate mailing from M.A. Almon in Halifax, Nova Scotia to D.S. Kennedy in New

Figure 1. December 23, 1848, from Halifax, Nova Scotia: 1 shilling packet postage paid for carriage via Cunard Line *Europa* to New York, where 24¢ retaliatory rate was assessed. The cover was addressed to the port of arrival, so no additional inland postage was charged. The Halifax "tombstone" paid marking is dated "DEC 23 1848."

Figure 2. A duplicate mailing of the Figure 1 letter, dated December 23, 1848. This was sent by private Nova Scotia flagged ship to Boston, where it received the 21¢ due rating: 16¢ for the retaliatory ship-letter charge plus 5¢ inland postage for the under-300 mile rate from Boston to New York. From the Mark Schwartz collection.

York. The Kennedy correspondence is well known, especially for cross-border mail, since Kennedy was the New York agent for the Bank of Montreal. Almon was a prominent resident of Halifax, co-founder and president of the Bank of Nova Scotia, and a member of the Nova Scotia legislative council.[6] The practice of duplicate mailing—that is, sending the same message by two or more routes—was used when time was of the essence or when there was the possibility of mail disruptions, under the theory that one of the mailings would get through or would get through sooner.

Figure 1 is a letter dated December 23, 1848. This was the original communication, and it entered the mails with a red December 23, 1848, Halifax "tombstone" paid marking. The letter was paid 1 shilling sterling (stg.) packet postage and was sent on the Cunard Line *Europa*, which departed Halifax on December 29, 1848, and arrived in New York on December 31, 1848. This was the last retaliatory-rate sailing to New York. At New York, the cover received a red "24" postage due marking, the retaliatory rate without any inland postage, since it was addressed to the port of arrival. Had the letter been addressed beyond the port of arrival, an additional 5¢ or 10¢ inland postage would have been added for a total amount due of 29¢ or 34¢.

Figure 2 is the duplicate mailing of the Figure 1 letter, also dated December 23, 1848. The contents of the letters are nearly identical, with minor differences resulting from being hand copied. This was a century before the invention of the photocopier. This cover is endorsed "duplicate" at the beginning of the letter. It has a note on the second page, dated December 26, 1848, stating that "[t]he original of the annexed is in the Post Office awaiting the arrival of the Steamer from Liverpool." The duplicate was carried out of the mails by the ship *Boston*, which arrived at Boston on January 2, 1848. The Boston post office postmarked the letter Boston January 3,[7] applied a SHIP marking and rated the letter 21¢ due: 16¢ retaliatory ship letter charge plus 5¢ inland postage for the distance (under 300 miles)

Figure 3. November 8, 1848, from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to New York City. Note that the "Per Steamer" endorsement was changed to "via N. Brunswick." Thus the sender avoided the retaliatory charge by routing the letter overland. The cover was exchanged between St. Andrews, New Brunswick and Robbinston, Maine. The sender prepaid 1 shilling (sterling) and the recipient in New York was charged just 10¢ due postage.

to New York. Despite leaving Halifax ahead of the Cunard mail steamer, the duplicate arrived in New York three or four days later.

Unlike mail between the United Kingdom and the United States, not all mail between the Maritime Provinces and the United States was subject to the retaliatory rates. No retaliatory charges were applied to mail sent by land or by United States private ships. Thus, correspondents in the Maritime Provinces and the United States could easily avoid the retaliatory rates.

Figure 3 shows a November 8, 1848, letter from Halifax to New York. The letter bears a red Halifax "tombstone" paid marking and was prepaid 1 shilling 1½ pence cy. (1 shilling stg.) for a distance of 301 to 400 miles to the St. Andrews, New Brunswick, exchange office. At the corresponding Robbinston, Maine, exchange office, the letter was rated 10¢ due for distance over 300 miles to New York. The letter was initially endorsed "Per Steamer," in the same handwriting as the address. That routing was crossed out and the letter was re-endorsed "Via N. Brunswick" in a different handwriting and different color ink. Although the sender paid the same 1 shilling stg. whether the letter was sent overland or by steamer, the recipient in New York paid only 10¢ if it were sent by land, instead of 24¢ if it were sent by Cunard steamer to New York (or 29¢ by Cunard steamer via Boston).

In addition to being able to avoid the retaliatory charge by sending the letter overland, correspondents could also avoid the retaliatory rate by sending the letter by a United States flagged ship.

Figure 4 is a letter that originated in Saint John, New Brunswick, on July 29, 1848. It was carried out of the mails to Boston by a steamship operating on the Saint John to Boston coastal steamship route, most likely the *Admiral*.[8] The Boston post office applied a SHIP marking and rated the letter 7¢ due: 5¢ for a distance less than 300 miles from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, plus a 2¢ ship-letter fee because the letter arrived on an

Figure 4. July 29, 1848, from Saint John, New Brunswick. Sent via private ship to Boston, avoiding a retaliatory charge because the cover was carried by an American-flagged ship. Because alternative means of carriage (this cover and Figure 3) were available, retaliatory rate covers between the United States and the Maritime Provinces are scarce.

American vessel, rather than the 16¢ retaliatory charge that would have been assessed had it arrived on a British colonial vessel.

Retaliatory rate covers between the United States and the Maritime Provinces are much scarcer than their transatlantic cousins because of the ease with which letters could be sent without being subject to the retaliatory charges.

Endnotes

1. George E. Hargest, *History of Letter Post Communication Between the United States and Europe, 1845-1875*, 2nd Ed. (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman Publications, Inc., 1975), pg. 23.
2. *Ibid.*
3. 9 *U.S. Statutes at Large*, pp. 241-42.
4. Richard F. Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail, Volume 1,* (Bellefonte, Penn.: American Philatelic Society, 2006), pg. 94.
5. *Ibid*., pg. 99.
6. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=38913. Last viewed, 23 May 2013.
7. Winter, *op. cit*., pg. 99.
8. David D'Alessandris, "Boston to St. John Steamboat Mail," *Chronicle* 201, pp. 8-20. ■

IN REVIEW

NEW CATALOG OF WESTERN EXPRESS FRANKS AND HANDSTAMPS

REVIEWED BY JAMES W. MILGRAM

The Western Express Companies 1850-1890, A Catalog of Their Franks and Hand Stamps by Oscar Melton Thomas, recently published in two volumes by the United Postal Stationery Society, is the first definitive study to catalog and illustrate the printed franks and the handstamps of western express companies. This is only the second book to approach this subject in any depth, the first being *Franks of Western Expresses* by Mel C. Nathan, published by the Collectors Club of Chicago in 1973.

Each of the two new Thomas volumes is in 8½-by-11-inch format, color throughout, sewn binding within hard covers, on fine quality paper. Between the two volumes there are over 925 pages—plus a CD disc that shows thousands of illustrations of different covers. The author should take pride in such a vast accomplishment. This is an amazing new catalog, which will certainly take its place as the main listing source for the markings of western express companies.

The format of the book is a new concept and might take a while to get used to. Practically no full covers are illustrated. Color scans of portions of covers showing printed franks and corner cards are illustrated, with catalog numbers for each express company. Handstamped markings, both name-of-company markings and auxiliary markings—such as “PAID,” “NOT PAID,” “COLLECT” and “FREE”—are also shown with the listings for each company. Alongside each illustration is a small number, such as WC2329, which keys to a full-cover scan on the accompanying CD. Since the covers on the CD are numbered consecutively, it is a fairly simple matter to find the desired cover illustration.

Thus, to learn all about one particular express, one has to read the text and then refer to all the small WC numbers to view the covers showing the franks or markings. By this means the author has been able to discuss each marking and to catalog it, and also to make available a huge number of full-cover illustrations, many more than could possibly have been shown in a printed book. The CD contains over 4,500 images of covers, most of good quality and mostly in color.

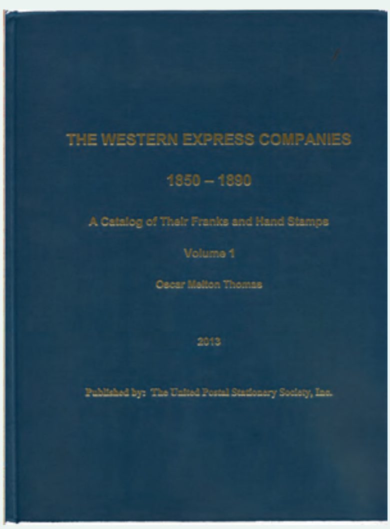
When gold was found in California, large numbers of men traveled there to seek their fortunes. Others came for business purposes and many eventually settled in the area. In 1849 there was only one post office in San Francisco. Other post offices soon opened in the major cities and then in the smaller towns. But miners were often in camps far from any towns and could not leave their claims to get mail. So entrepreneurs, often individuals or small partnerships, established express companies to carry mail to and from the miners.

Such express companies were usually named after the persons who organized them. These companies operated on a variety of business models. Some only transported mail, others carried gold dust and acted as bankers for miners, and others carried freight and also carried passengers and mail over designated routes.

In the beginning, in 1849 and 1850, envelopes were just coming into use. Many early letters are stampless covers. As with other private companies that conveyed letters, the western express companies usually marked individual letters with manuscript or handstamped markings that contained the name of the express company. Some markings from larger companies included the name of the town where the marking was applied. Most auxiliary markings concerned the payment of the express company’s fee.

One must look beyond California and the west to appreciate the markings on letters carried by private expresses. Express companies began in the eastern states around 1845, when private individuals began to transport letters given to them for speed, safety and certainty of delivery. Steamboats also handled large volumes of mail on the major waterways of the country, and handstamped markings were made for some of the vessels. One purpose of such markings was to advertise the service, but more important I think was that such markings allowed the addressee to appreciate the method of transport for an individual letter. When a need for private express service was felt in the western states, it was already customary to mark each letter with the name of the company that transported it.

However, there is another more important reason for the existence of western franks: all these private companies were competing with the government mail service. The author describes franks as “a promise to perform a service for a fee” and that “a secondary function of the frank was to provide a type of advertisement.” But this is not the reason for the prevalence of so many different types of franks. The real reason is that Congress wished to protect the revenue stream of the government mail service, which suffered as a result of so many letters being carried outside the mails by private carriers.



The Western Express Companies 1850-1890: A Catalog of Their Franks and Hand Stamps **by Oscar Melton Thomas. Two volumes. Published in 2013 by the United Postal Stationery Society, P.O. Box 3982, Chester, VA 23831. Cloth with gold stamping, Smythe sewn, 8½ x 11 inch format, 925 pages, color throughout. Includes CD with over 4,500 cover images. $250.**

The Act of 31 August 1852 legalized the carrying of mail by private companies, provided such mail bore appropriate United States postage. Since stamped envelopes (entires) were not issued until July of 1853, express letters sent prior to that used ordinary envelopes with U.S. postage stamps. When a letter did not pass through a post office, the stamp was marked out by a pen mark. If a letter was carried by an express company and then mailed, it would then receive a postmark on the stamp (or later the stamped envelope). If a letter was first mailed and later carried by an express, such as a letter to a miner, then the express company handstamp or manuscript marking was placed on a letter that had already been sent via the Post Office Department, either with stamps, stampless or within an entire.

So it was the issuance of stamped entires by the Post Office Department that caused such envelopes to be printed with western express franks. A small number of franks were handstamped on entires. A franked entire envelope paid the government postal fee and also showed that the express fee was paid as well.

For the most part we do not know what most companies charged for their services, but the charge included the price of the entire envelope. In 1853, local postage was 3¢. A letter sent across the country cost 6¢ if prepaid, 10¢ if unpaid (until 1855). So if the express company charged 25¢ for its franked envelopes, it was pocketing a substantial mark-up for its services. Some companies charged much more than that.

Volume 1 of the Thomas catalog starts with a detailed forward and then an introductory section that explains the listings and the cataloguing methods. Then there is a list of all express companies known to have existed in the west. Arranged alphabetically, the name(s) of the company, the location of operations, and the dates of service are given in three columns. The book has no separate index in either volume. For each company that created markings, the catalog lists the name(s) of the company and then assigns catalog numbers to each type of printed frank, each handstamped name marking, and each auxiliary marking. The first three letters in the catalog number are taken from the name of the company.

Thus, Cherokee Express is given the overall designation CHE. Two different types of printed franks are known and they are designated CHE-001 and CHE-002 (printed franks are numbered starting with -001). There is also a handstamped frank on entires (serving the same purpose as a printed frank), and this is catalogued as CHE-100 (handstamped name-of-express markings are numbered starting with -100). Thus for this express there are three illustrations of the markings. Next to each photo is a tiny WC number that refers to an entry on the CD, where the three full covers are shown.

But that is not all. At the end of the text and catalog listings is a census of all covers known to the author and his contributors. Each cover is described with the type of postal envelope, town of origin, town of destination, last name of addressee and the date of the month. Many more WC listings are included here, so for marking CHE-001 there is not just the one catalog illustration, but four different covers are shown on the CD.

What is not given is a rarity number. It appears that the author felt that providing a census of known covers was better than an approximation of the number of existing covers, which is what a rarity factor represents. That may be correct, but I know that many readers will look for some simple guidance to help evaluate rarity. The first company listed, Adams & Co., used many handstamped markings. Over 100 different markings are listed and many types are shown on the CD, but there is no way a reader can evaluate the scarcity of any of these markings. There are eight pages of census listings.

The question is whether a rarity rating incorporating these numbers would be a worthwhile replacement for a census that takes so many pages in the book overall. Obviously, it was the author's decision to provide census data. The fact that so many of the covers in the census listings are shown on the CD allows the reader to see many covers that could not be shown in a printed book. This alone might justify the census tables.

A deficit of the book is that only the printed franks of Wells, Fargo & Co. are listed. There is no listing of the many handstamped markings this company generated. Obviously with a book that is a catalog of express company franks and handstamps, this is the first place that a reader would go to learn about the markings of the largest of all express companies.

The subject of pasteups is not covered at all although some of the illustrations are from pasteup covers. Figure 1 is a cover from the collection of Dale Forster. This is a pasteup of two 3¢ Star Die envelopes, one of which is addressed and one of which bears a printed Tracy & Co. frank (Thomas number TRA-007). The handstamped markings are the Fort Vancouver oval (TRA-101f) and the Portland double circle (TRA-100j). The addressed original envelope did not bear a frank (paying the company charge) so a second entire with the printed frank was glued to the back of the original envelope, in the process paying the U.S. postage again unnecessarily. Markings show the transport of the letter from Fort Vancouver through Portland and to San Francisco, all out of the mails. Note that the oval markings are undated while the circular ones are dated. In the listings for Tracy & Co. the census of covers shows only the different types of printed franks. There is no census data for the handstamps. Thus there is no indication that a marking from Fort Vancouver is scarcer than a similar type from Portland. I think that a rarity rating for the handstamps would have added useful information for a reader interested in value. One thing is certain: To assign a catalog value to a marking when so few of many of the markings exist, would

Figure 1. Pasteup of two 3¢ Star Die envelopes, one of which bears the address and the other a printed Tracy & Co. express frank, along with handstamped express company markings from Fort Vancouver and Portland. This cover traveled from Vancouver to San Francisco without ever entering a government mail system. The Tracy & Co. franking imprint as well as the handstamped markings are numbered and catalogued in the new book reviewed here. Cover courtesy of Dale Forster.

be entirely arbitrary.

For the most part, the catalog does not list unused franked envelopes. Exception is made in certain instances. While certain of the companies that used printed franks also applied handstamped markings (Wells, Fargo & Co. for one), many of the smaller companies did not. If the cover was passed into the U.S. mails, the stamp imprint on the entire envelope would be canceled by a postmark. But many covers were carried by the express out of the mails, and these covers will only bear an address, no handstamped markings at all.

In addition to the actual catalog listings, there is much additional text. For instance, with Clarke's Centennial Express from the Black Hills to the railroad in Sidney, Nebraska, there is a small map and much text for each listing. This includes half a page of additional information and notes, followed by a cover census—2½ pages of small-type text. Forty-four individual covers (both sides of those envelopes that contain printing on the back) are illustrated on the CD. So for this fairly small express that ran for two years in 1876-1878, there's a total of 10½ pages of text and printed color illustrations plus 44 full cover illustrations on the CD. This is a vast amount of information, much of which does not exist anywhere else.

I am glad the author has stayed away from tracings or drawings even when a marking is not clearly struck. But I regret there are no overall maps showing the relationship of the larger cities to the rivers where the gold was first found. The foldout map is one of the best features of the early book by Ernest Wiltsee, *The Pioneer Miner and the Pack Mule Express*.

This brings us to one of the great contributions of this book. The wonderful Wiltsee collection has only been available to those who visit the Wells, Fargo Bank in San Francisco. For the first time, under the guidance of Robert Chandler, the Wiltsee covers have been taken out of their glass pullout frames and digitally scanned. Most of the important Wiltsee covers are shown on the Thomas CD.

Fakes are pictured, catalogued and included in the census, highlighted in red ink. The fakes are numbered in the same three-letter three-digit system. Fakes are also shown on the CD, to aid the reader in determination of what might be genuine or not. There is considerable text about known fakes which many readers will find fascinating.

A few express covers bear only manuscript names of the express that transported them. Such markings are not franks, but many such covers bear stamps because they were also mailed. The designation of such markings in the handstamp category (-100, -101, etc.) makes sense to me, such as Batchelder's Express No. BAT-100, but I am confused why the Duke's Express manuscript was treated differently and numbered DUK-203, a category reserved for auxiliary manuscript markings.

For Ford & Co. Express 1851-1852, two markings are listed. But there is no indication of the dates of use of each of the handstamps. For that matter, in the various census listings for each express, the year date is consistently missing. Many of the early handstamps appear on stampless folded letters so surely many of these letters bear year dates. But I understand that stamped envelopes are difficult to year date when the letter is absent. I have encountered that problem with registered entires that might be official or unofficial registered uses (before July 1, 1855). But what data is available could have been included in the census listings.

At the end of Volume 2 is a time line of events during the period of western mails. This is a useful listing and makes the book more interesting. The quality of production is very high. I noticed a few typos and grammatical errors but they are rare. I did find one WC listing that referred to the wrong cover (WC5950).

There are also errors of more substance. Len Persson's cover from Snowshoe Thompson's express is referenced as in red, while everyone who has seen it on the cover of a Frajola auction knows it is in black. Persson's cover with a Leavenworth City instead of Denver marking on Jones & Russell's Pike's Peak Express Company envelope (JOR-100), is not listed. A Greene's Express marking was listed in Nathan's book but has been omitted here. This marking is photographed in the E.S. Knapp sale. Under Todd & Bryan's Express, Thomas lists one marking as TOD-200 but does not illustrate a black "Columbus" handstamp for the steamer of the same name. A full cover is illustrated in my book on waterways markings, but it is not referenced. Another cover was illustrated in Nathan's *Franks of Western Expresses*.

On a more personal note, under the listings for Gilpatrick's Express, a maritime express service between San Francisco and various cities on San Francisco Bay, the book has only two listings for printed franks. However, Edward Weinberg and I wrote an article on this express in *Western Express* (March, 1998) in which 10 different types of printed franks were illustrated. That article is not listed in Thomas' references. This same issue of *Western Express* contains an article by Thomas showing Kenson's Owen River Express (KNS-001) which is referenced.

But these errors and omissions are trivial when one considers the massive scope of this work, containing so much factual and illustrative material. The $250 price is high, but if you collect or deal in western covers, this book will be the Bible for many different reasons. There will never be a reason to revise it, so buy it before it goes out of print, which it is sure to do. ■

ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 238

We begin on a sad note. Readers of this section may already know that Greg Sutherland, long-time editor of the Cover Corner, passed away April 18 after a year-long battle with cancer. Less than a month earlier he had been awarded our Tracy Simpson Cup for outstanding service to the United States Philatelic Classics Society. Greg and I travelled the stamp-show circuit together for over 35 years. We had a great run; it will not be the same without him.

Having been assistant editor for the Cover Corner for the last five years, I've been prepared for the job, but this section is highly dependent on submissions (and responses) from readers. So send us new problem covers and answers to our current ones. My contact information is in the masthead.

The problem cover from our previous issue (*Chronicle* 238) is shown in Figure 1. It originated in Osnabruck, Hanover, and was sent via New York to St. Louis. Per docketing, the cover was sent in 1851. The question: What was the rate and how was it determined?

The following explanation was provided by our Foreign Mail editor, Dwayne Littauer, who collects in this area. Greg indicated that there were other responses as well, but after he died, these were not to be found.

According to Dwayne, the Figure 1 cover is from the beginning of the 20¢-rate period. The red crayon mark in the upper left is a “2”, not a 9, and represents 2 *gutegroschen*, which equated to 6 Bremen *grote* or 6¢ in U.S. currency. The pen manuscript “6” is a debit to the United States for the German internal postage from Hanover. When added to the 20¢ U.S. rate (under the U.S.-Bremen convention) for the steamship and U.S. internal postage, the total due from the recipient was 26¢, as was marked at New York.

Figure 1. Our problem cover from the previous issue was this stampless cover from Osnabruck, Hanover, to St. Louis. The questions were: What was the rate and how was it determined?

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue, shown in Figure 2, is a stampless cover from Montgomery, New York to Marysville, Yuba County, California. It has a faint red March 14 Montgomery, N.Y. postmark at lower left and red 5 in circle at upper right. The red 5 was overstruck by a black "New York 10 Mar. 21" circular date stamp. At bottom left is the blue

Figure 2. Our problem cover for this issue was sent unpaid from Montgomery, New York to Marysville, California. The challenge is to explain the rates and establish the year in which the cover was mailed.

double-oval handstamp of "Evert, Snell & Co. Express, Feather River." At left, written in the same hand as the address, is this directive: "To be forwarded by Everts & Co. Express to Onion Valley." Above the address line, to the left of the black New York 10 marking is a pencil notation: "O.D. 150". From the information given, can we explain the rates on this cover as marked? Also, can we make an educated guess as to the year when the cover was mailed? ■

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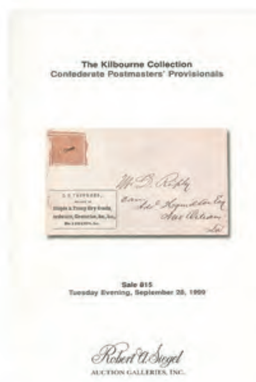
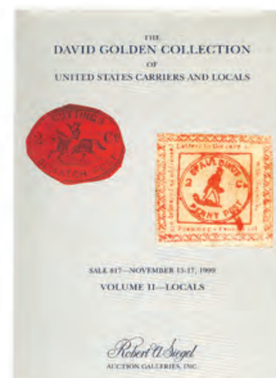
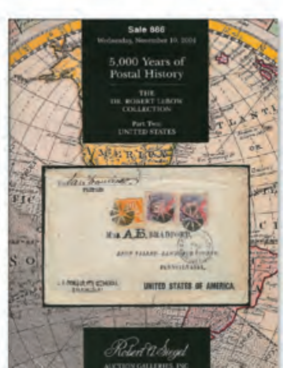


Kilbourne 1999



Golden 1999

Hall 2001



LeBow 2004

Scarsdale 2006

Great collections have one name in common.