

The Chronicle

of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues



1847 Cover Census

1847 Cover Census

Developed & Supported by Mark Scheuer. Based on the work of Thomas J. Alexander.

Dedicated to the memory of Creighton Hart and Susan McDonald.

Feedback, additions, and corrections most welcome. Please send to: 1847covers.census@uspcs.org

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	10/26/1850	Cahaba	AL	Mobile	AL	Boyknin McRae & Foster	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
	3/5/1851	Cahaba	AL	New Haven	CT	Capt. Levi Francis	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
	4/6/1848	Columbia	AL	North Fairhaven	MA	Mrs. R. N. Swift	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
No Image Available	1/14/1849	Eutaw	AL	University of Virginia	VA	Gould	2	-	-	-	1	-	-

Screen view from an exciting new on-line research tool. This internet image shows four of the 14,658 listings in a digital database of 1847 covers. Most of the listings include images. This information is searchable, sortable and freely accessible to anyone who visits the website of the United States Philatelic Classics Society at USPCS.org. In our 1847 section this issue, Mark Scheuer introduces this breakthrough development.

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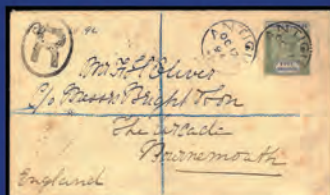
Basel Dove 3L1



Bulgaria 12a
Background
Inverted



Philippines 255P2a-260P2a



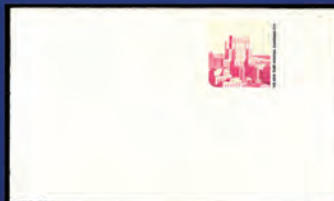
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THE CHRONICLE of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues is published quarterly in February, May, August and November by the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., at 2855 Willowmere Woods Dr., Vienna, Virginia 22180. Periodicals-class postage paid at Madrid, IA 50156 and additional mailing office. Subscription price \$27.50. Printed in U.S.A. **POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to 12751 W. Alameda Dr., Lakewood, CO 80288.

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Essays submitted by the National Bank Note Company for the 1870 issue



149-E6

7c Dark brown die essay pulled on india paper. The design as issued but shading under the ear is incomplete.
\$400.00



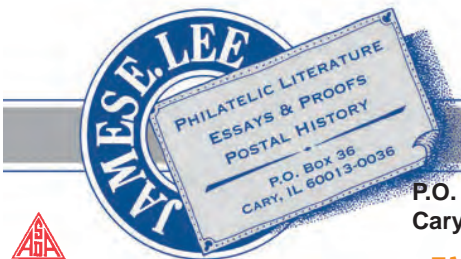
150-E3

10c Rose die essay pulled on india paper and die sunk on card blotter.
Ex-Finkelburg
\$1,000.00



151-E7a

12c Green die essay pulled on india paper and die sunk on card blotter.
Ex-Finkelburg
\$1,000.00



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The Chronicle

of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues

November 2013
Whole No. 240

Published quarterly in
February, May, August and November

Volume 65
Number 4

\$4.50 Members
\$6.00 Non-Members

Official publication of the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc.
(Unit 11, A.P.S.) www.uspcs.org

Annual Dues
\$27.50

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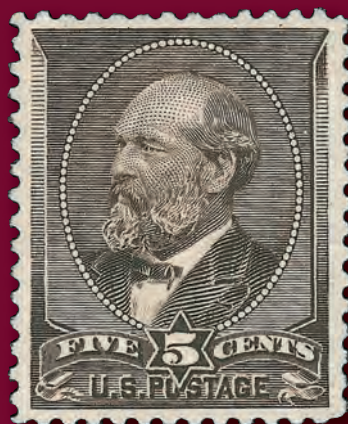
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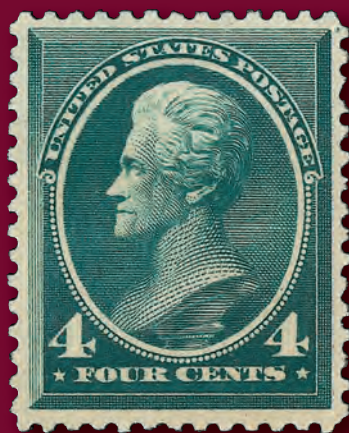
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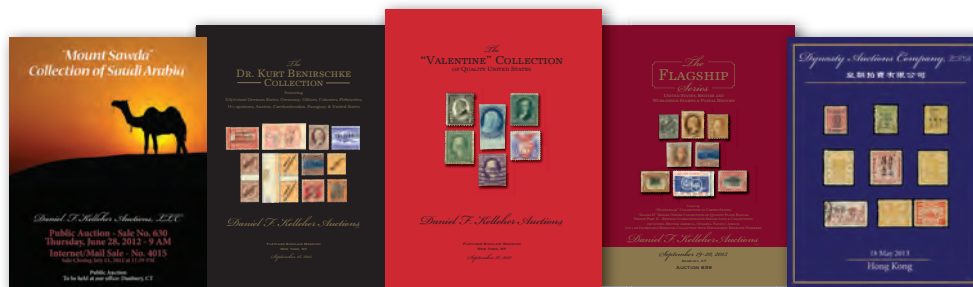
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TWO NEW SECTION EDITORS

This issue introduces not one but two new section editors. After 16 years as our 1847 editor, Wade Saadi leaves that position to move a few pages deeper into the *Chronicle*, taking over as editor of our 1851 section, a portfolio that has been vacant since 2009. Stepping up to the 1847 editorship is Gordon Eubanks, formerly assistant 1847 editor and a well-known collector, exhibitor and student of the 1847 stamps and their postal history. Please join me in wishing both men every success in these important new assignments.

In a previous life, Eubanks was a high-tech entrepreneur. His background shows clearly in the first 1847 section under his editorship, in which Mark Scheuer describes the searchable database of U.S. 1847 covers (featured on our cover) that is now up and running on our Society's website. The digits in the database are Scheuer's creation, but in building it he stood on the shoulders of giants such as Thomas Alexander, Creighton Hart and Susan McDonald. In editing Scheuer's article, which starts on page 329, I explored the on-line search feature myself, and I can tell you it is wonderful. If at age 73 I can easily use this tool, anybody can. Every member of this Society should read Scheuer's article and then go online to explore the tool it introduces. On-line resources like this are the future of postal history research; their full potential at this early point is unimaginable.

Scheuer has been working overtime. Our Essay-Proof section (page 352) features his article on the 1903 albums of small die proofs—long called “Roosevelt proofs” because they were created during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. By meticulously researching the identities of the album recipients, Scheuer makes very clear that this project was the brain-child of a politically-connected postal bureaucrat named Edwin C. Madden. TR had nothing to do it (though he did receive an album).

Our 1851 section, the first under Saadi's leadership, contains two articles. Starting on page 336, James A. Allen provides an expert update on the imperforate 12¢ 1851 stamp, for which a lot of new information has been unearthed in recent years (much of it by Allen himself). This is followed by a short piece from the new section editor on the earliest year-dated United States town marking.

In our Stampless section this issue (page 315), Timothy P. O'Connor continues his exploration of very early postal history with a fascinating article on the short-lived inter-colonial post that was launched in the 1670s by New York governor Francis Lovelace. This post did not endure, for reasons brought to life in the archival letters O'Connor presents here, but its legacy was substantial—the Boston Post Road and some of the earliest North American postal markings.

And there's more. On page 348, Michael C. McClung updates pioneering work done years ago by Richard Graham on the Union-occupation postmarks of Richmond, Virginia. Bill Mooz (page 369) discusses used Newspaper and Periodicals stamps and where they came from. Gordon Stimmell (page 379) describes the recent reunification of a scarce San Francisco bicycle-mail cover that was long ago separated into its component parts. Lester C. Lanphear III explores Official covers from the 1880 census (page 375). David D'Alessandris writes authoritatively (page 382) on mail between Canadian provinces that passed through the United States (a highly complex subject with some fascinating covers). And on page 403 James Milgram reviews a new book on the life and works of Charles Magnus, the immigrant printer who created Civil War patriotic envelopes and (we now learn) much else as well. ■



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THE LOVELACE POST OF 1672

TIMOTHY P. O'CONNOR, M.D.

Introduction

This is the third report of what I call the Early Postal History Project, a research undertaking that hopes to shed light on the earliest mail in what was to become the United States, using original sources to examine how the colonial post began, as well as illustrating routes and markings.¹ In this report, I review what is known about the first intercolonial mail system, linking New York with “Connecticut,” Massachusetts, “Plimoth” and “Road Island.”

Reading the surviving letters, some of which are almost 350 years old, one encounters wide-ranging uses of the word “post” which collectively defy precise definition. Clearly, there are ancient nuances. At times, “post” seems to mean no more than “messenger.” But in this research I have chosen to focus on “post” as it pertains to mail.

Brief historical background

In the late 1500s the British empire and the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands were in conflict as they (along with Spain and Portugal) competed for riches and sea routes to the spice lands in the orient. The Dutch, with a powerful merchant marine, organized both an East India Company and a West India Company. Both were well financed. In



**Francis Lovelace,
1621-1675**

1609, Henry Hudson, employed by the West India company, sailed up a large river passing an island with many hills—“manna hatan” in the language of the Lenape Indians. By 1624, New Netherlands included Fort Orange (Albany) and Fort Amsterdam (lower Manhattan Island). In 1638, the States General of the Netherlands encouraged settlement and New Amsterdam became a free port. Patroons bringing 50 families of tenants were granted large tracts of land, sometimes called “bouweries.” Haerlem and Bergen were founded. Kiliaen van Renssalaer became a rich landowner. In 1647, Peter Stuyvesant became Governor of the colony of New Amsterdam.

The English pursued an aggressive policy of contesting the colonization activities of other European powers. This led to three Anglo-Dutch Sea Wars (1652-54, 1664-67 and 1672-74). While the first war was triggered by the 1651 Navigation Act of Parliament, the second war occurred in the setting of military occupation of Dutch colonies in West Africa and America. The 1664 arrival of a British fleet, under command of Richard Nicolls, at the tip of Manhattan Island led to the bloodless surrender of Governor Stuyvesant. Fort Amsterdam was renamed Fort James. New York was born and would soon begin to prosper.

In 1672, Francis Lovelace (1621-75) was Governor of New York and well aware that events in Europe would have repercussions in America. England was again in conflict with the Dutch.

Hon^d. Gen^l.

W^{ch} I have Received from the Massachusetts Colony Copie of two Letters of his Maj^{ties} directed to be Communicated to the other Colonys, with his Maj^{ties} Declaration of Warre against the States Gen^l of the United Provinces, and accordingly we have proceeded therein, and further in pursuance thereof, and in Obediance to his Maj^{ties} Comands we have thought fit and doe hereby recommend unto you our selfes, jointly with your selves to Consider of the present State of Affairs in Gen^l: the appearance of danger, and with what speede may be to provide for the safety and defence of the whole &c as may be judged most requisite and convenient by you selves and our Neighbour Colonys with us to whom we have liberallie will to the same Effect, and to that end we desire you will please to make a returne to us by way of advise in the premises, which we shall lovingly and freely receive and from time to time attend to what may be adjudged necessary and convenient by the whole for the publick good and Defence thereof. Thus with our hearty Respects wee subscribe.

Yours Affectionate Friends and Neighbours
Signed by Order of the Councill and Gen^l of this
Maj^{ties} Colony of Rhode Island and Providence
plantations &c. this 25th day of June 1672
John Sanford Secretary.

A copy of the letter, which was sent ~~in answer to~~ ^{to} this
letter above.

Honourd Gentleman I received the end of this week
A letter subscribed by Mr John Sanford by order from
your Colony: and have accordingly to your desire communi-
cated it to the magistrates here, who are all desirous of
your safety & welfare, and should be glad we could
contribute therunto, that letter would have from your Council
~~the~~ ^{the} date the 24th of June but it is but now come to our
hands, and there being a meeting of the Commissioners of yr
Colony the beginning of the next month appointed to be
at Plymouth we think it may be yr most convenient
opportunity, then for confidering of ways, & expedients for
the safety of all yr Colonys, and doe recommend unto
your Consideration, whether yt time would not be con-
venient for your selfe, ^{to} come to it person, or more to yr
meeting, whereby you may be much more satisfied in what
your letter imports, by obtaininge the better advise for
the publick defence & safety, ~~of~~ of all his Maj^{ties}
Colonys in those parts. Wee are at present giving most
Cordiall Salutations from

Hartford Aug: 15.
1672

Your affectionate Friend
J: Winthrop.

Figure 1. At top, letter dated June 25, 1672, and written by John Sanford, secretary of the "Council of Road Island." It was sent to John Winthrop, governor of the colony of Connecticut, at Hartford, urging that the New England colonies jointly discuss defenses. Copied beneath Sanford's letter is Winthrop's reply, suggesting a meeting at Plymouth. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The warning letter

In the early summer of 1672, word reached the American colonies that hostilities were imminent, as the Third Sea War had commenced. Figure 1 shows a letter from the archive of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It contains two tracts. The original letter, dated June 25, 1672, was written by John Sanford, secretary of the “Councill of Road Island” and sent to John Winthrop, governor of the colony of Connecticut, at Hartford. This John Winthrop (1606-1676), often known as John Winthrop the Younger, was the son of the famous Pilgrim. The text of the Sanford portion of the letter (the smaller handwriting in the upper section of Figure 1) reads as follows. (In this and subsequent quotations from original documents, spelling and punctuation have been modernized.)

Honored Gentlemen:

We lately received from the Massachusetts Colony copies of two letters of his Majesty, directed to be communicated to the other Colonies, with his Majesty's Declaration of War against the States General of the United Provinces, and accordingly we have proceeded therein. And further in pursuance thereof, and in obedience to his Majesty's commands, we have thought fit and do hereby recommend unto you our desires jointly with yourselves to consider of the condition and state of affairs in general, there appearing times of danger, and with what speed may be to provide for the safety and defense of the whole etc., as may be judged most requisite and convenient by yourselves and our neighbor Colonies with us to whom we have likewise written to the same effect. And to that end we desire you will please to make a return to us by way of advice in the premises, which we shall lovingly and freely embrace and from time to time attend to what may be adjudged necessary and commodious by the whole for the public good and defense thereof. Thus with our hearty respects we subscribe,

Gentlemen, your affectionate friends and neighbors, signed by order of the Governor and Council of his Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations &c, sitting the 25th day of June 1672.

John Sanford, Secretary.

Beneath the Sanford text, in a larger and more difficult handwriting (bottom portion of Figure 1), is transcribed a copy of Winthrop's response, dated August 15, 1672:

Honored Gentlemen, I received the end of this week a letter subscribed by Mr. John Sanford by order from yourselves, and according to your desires communicated it to the magistrates here, who are all desirous of your safety and welfare, and should be glad we could contribute thereunto. That letter from your council was dated the 25th of June, but it is now come to our hands, and there being a meeting of the Commissioners of the Colonies the beginning of the next month, appointed to be at Plymouth, we think it may be the most seasonable opportunity then for considering ways and expedients for the safety of all the Colonies, and do recommend unto your consideration, whether that time would not be convenient for yourselves to send some fit person, or more, to that meeting, whereby you may be much more satisfied in what your letter imports, by obtaining the united advice for the public defense and safety of all his Majesty's colonies in these parts—which is all at present, besides most cordial salutations from

Your affectionate friend, J. Winthrop, Hartford, Aug. 15, 1672

The address panel of this letter, shown in Figure 2, bears scrutiny. The original letter was written June 25 and docketed as arriving at Winthrop's office August 9. I believe this important document was sent via Boston, perhaps by official courier or some other person charged with carrying mail “of publick concernment,” as there was no direct route between Providence and Hartford. The letter received a Boston “B” (lower left quadrant of Figure 2, shown enlarged as Figure 3), an extraordinarily early postal marking.

The identity of the maker of the Figure 3 postmark is unknown. There is no recorded Boston postmaster for 1672. Richard Fairbanks had died and John Hayward had not yet been appointed. Perhaps a member of the Boston government, acting as a recorder of important letters, was responsible. As we will see, in New York, the Governor's secretary acted

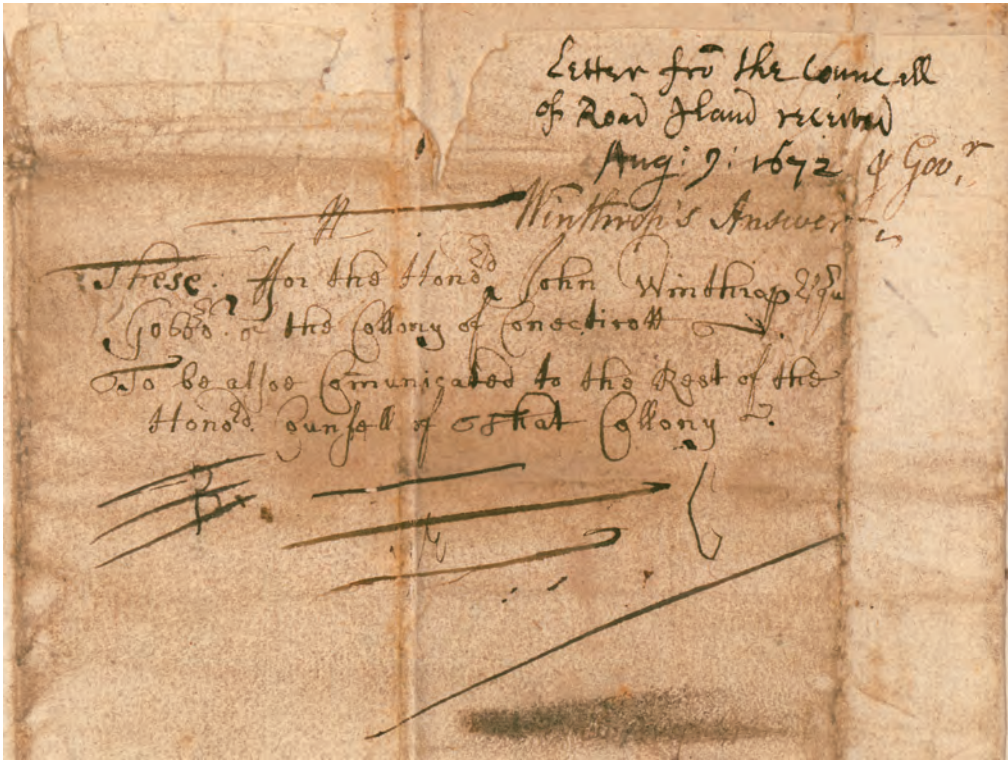


Figure 2. Address panel from the Figure 1 letter. The full address reads: “These for the honorable John Winthrop, Esq., governor of the colony of Connecticut, to be also furnished to the rest of the honorable council of that colony.” This letter was probably sent by official courier via Boston, there being no direct route between Providence and Hartford. The Boston “B” at lower left confirms Boston transit. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

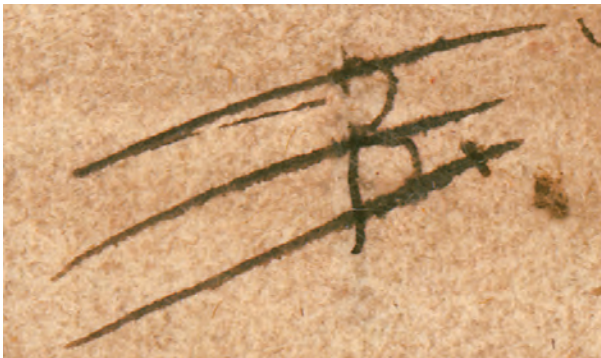


Figure 3. Boston “B,” overstruck with three fleurons to suggest haste, from the lower left quadrant of the cover shown Figure 2. Applied in the summer of 1672, this may be the earliest North American town marking.



John Winthrop Jr.,
1606-1676

as a Postmaster. The bold, Boston “B” shown in Figures 2 and 3 is unique so far. The three strokes across the “B” can be construed as fleurons, designating haste and importance.

Like the other colonial Governors, Lovelace in New York had been informed of the

upcoming hostilities and saw the need for preparations. Records of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, dated 6 September 1672 and quoted below, show the declaration of specific actions, and two subsequent letters add depth.²

His Majesty's Letters and Declaration about War being read, Tuesday next about 10 or 11 of ye Clock before Noon is appointed to make Proclamation of war at the fort gate and state house.

As to the paragraph of seizing upon the ships, goods & the estates belonging to the States General there, that the best method shall be considered of and put in execution in due season.

To the point of putting the place and country into a posture of defense, in regard of the danger that may be expected by ships preparing for the West Indies from Holland and Zeeland, the former Resolutions of the fortifying this place to be vigorously prosecuted.

On 10 December 1672, Lovelace issued a "Proclamation for a Post to go monthly from this city to Boston and back again." This document provides the first legal basis for a government post among American colonies. It establishes monthly mail carriage along the route known even today as the Boston Post Road. It designates a repository for outgoing mail and stipulates that all mail be prepaid.³

Whereas it is thought convenient and necessary, in obedience to his Sacred Majesty's commands, who enjoins all his subjects in their distinct Colonies to enter into a strict alliance and correspondence with each other, as likewise for the advancement of negotiation, trade, and civil commerce and for a more speedy intelligence and dispatch of affairs: That a messenger or post be authorized to set forth from this city of New York monthly, and then to travel to Boston, from whence within that Month he shall return again to this City. These are therefore to give notice to all persons concerned, that on the first day of January next, the messenger appointed shall to Boston proceed on his journey. If any therefore have letters or small portable goods to be conveyed to Hartford, Connecticut, Boston or any other parts in the Road, they shall be carefully delivered according to the directions by a sworn Messenger and post, who is purposely employed in that affair. In the interim those that be disposed to send letters, let them bring them to the Secretary's office, where in a locked box they shall be preserved until the messenger calls for them. All persons paying the post before the bag be sealed up.

From the archives of the Connecticut State Library in Hartford, Figure 4 shows a famous and oft-quoted letter which was intended to be carried on the first eastbound trip of the Lovelace Post. (As explained below, the departure of this first mail appears to have been delayed a month.) While the handwriting is surprisingly modern and quite legible, for the convenience of modern readers and future scholars, the content is transcribed in full below.

In his letter, Lovelace makes no secret of his enthusiasm for a more reliable messenger system and hopes to induce similar support from Winthrop. In addition, the Lovelace letter sheds much light on how these first intercolonial mails were bagged, sealed and handled. The principle of prepayment (in both directions) was reaffirmed. Clearly, Lovelace envisioned the establishment of an intercolonial post that would be largely or wholly supported by its fees.

Fort James, 27 December 1672

Dear Sir:

I here present you with two rarities—a packet of the latest intelligence I could meet withal, and a Post. By the first you will see what has been acted on the stage of Europe; by the latter you will meet with a monthly fresh supply, so that if it receive but the same ardent inclinations from you as first it had from myself, by our monthly advices all public occurrences may be transmitted betwixt us, together with several other great conveniences of public importance, consonant to the commands laid upon us by his Sacred Majesty, who strictly enjoins all his American subjects to enter into a close correspondence with each other. This I look upon as the most compendious means to beget a mutual understanding; and that it may receive all the countenance from you for its future duration, I shall acquaint you with the model I have proposed, and if you please but to make an addition to it, or subtraction, or any other alteration, I shall be ready to comply with you.

pt. 539 p 83
110a

Dear S^r
Fort James 27 of Decemb 1672

I have presented you with 2 rarities; a paguett of the latest intelligence I could meete withall. and a Post. By the first you will see what has beene acted on the Stage of Europe, by the latter you will meete with a Monthly fresh Supply, so that if it receive but the same ardent inclinations from you, as first it had from my selfe; by our monthly advices, all publick occurrences, may be transmitted betwixt us together with severall other great Conveniencies of publick importance; Consonant to the Commands layd upon us by his Sacred Ma^{ty}, who strictly enjoines all his American Subjects, to enter into a close correspondency with each other; this I take upon as the most Conducive wayes to bring a mutuall understanding, and that it may receive all the Countenance from you, for its future duration, I shall acquiesce you with the model I have proposd, and if you please but to make an addition to it, or subtraction, or any other alteration, I shall be ready to comply with you; this person that has undertaken this employment, I conceave most proper, being both Active, Steady, and indefatigable, he is sworn as to his fidelity, I have affixt an annuall Salary on him, which together with the advantage of his letters, and other small portable Treasures may afford him a handsome lively hood, Hartford is the first Stage I have designd him to Change his horse, where constantly I expect he should have a fresh one ledged; all the letters outwards shall be deliverd gratis with a signification of Post payd on the superscription, and reciprocally we expect all to us free, each Monday of the month he sets out from New York, and is to returne within the month from Boston to us againe, the Maile has divers Baggs according to the Townes the letters are designd too, which are all Seald up, till their arrivment, with the Seale of the Secretaries office, who's care it is on Satterday night to Seale them up, only By-letters are in an open bagg to disperse by the wayes. Thus you see the Scheme I have drawne to promote a happy Correspondency, I shall only beg of you your furtherance to so universall a good worke, that is to afford him directions where, and to whom to make his application too, upon his arrivment at Boston, as likewise to afford him what letters you can to establish him in that employment there, would be much advantageous to our designe; if in the intervall you discouert with some of the most able wood-men, to make out the best and

Figure 4. Written by Francis Lovelace at Fort James in lower Manhattan in December, 1672, this letter to Winthrop in Hartford, outlining Lovelace's postal plans, was intended for the first mail from New York to Boston over what would subsequently be known as the Boston Post Road. Image courtesy of the Connecticut State Library.

This person that has undertaken this employment I conceived most proper, being both active, stout and indefatigable. He is sworn as to his fidelity. I have affixed an annual salary on him, which, together with the advantage of his letters and other small portable packs, may afford him a handsome livelihood. Hartford is the first stage I have designed him to change his horse, where constantly I expect he should have a fresh and lie lodges.

All the letters outward shall be delivered gratis, with a signification of post-paid on the superscription, and reciprocally we expect all to us free. Each first Monday of the month he sets out from New York, and is to return within the month from Boston to us again. The Mail has divers bags, according to the towns the letters are designed to, which are sealed up, till their arrivment, with the seal of the Secretary's office, whose care it is on Saturday night to seal them up; only by-letters are in an open bag, to disperse by the ways.

Thus you see the scheme I have drawn to promote a happy correspondence. I shall only beg of you your furtherance to so universal a good work; that is, to afford him directions where and to whom to make his application upon his arrival in Boston, as likewise to afford him what letters you can, to establish him in that employment there. It would be much advantageous to our design if in the interval you discourse with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a post, which in the process of time would be the King's best highway, as likewise passages and accommodations at rivers, fords, or other necessary places. But I need not enlarge myself on this subject, knowing you understand the scope as well as myself, and therefore I entirely recommend it to you.

Lastly, if this can inflame your zeal to so public a concern, to have the possibility of receiving a personal trouble from me to discourse it further (Deo volente), this next spring I shall attend. I am, with all respect, your very affectionate friend, Francis Lovelace.

[On overleaf, not shown in Figure 4]: PS: I have sent you all the news I lately received, which, when you have perused, you may dispose of to your friends at Boston, and desire them to return all now is stirring.

The address panel for the Figure 4 letter is shown in Figure 5. Note that the letter is

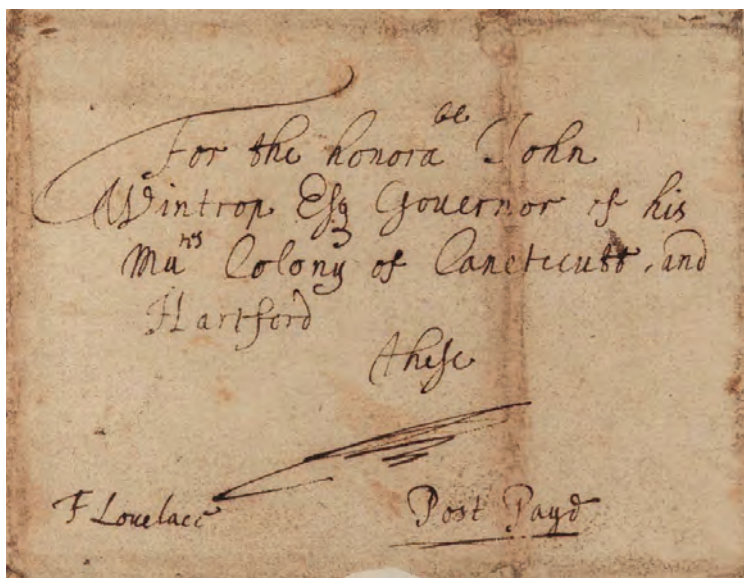


Figure 5. Address panel from the Figure 4 letter. Note the markings at bottom: "F. Lovelace" and "Post Payd." The full address is "For the Honorable John Winthrop Esq., Governor of his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut at Hartford." Image courtesy of the Connecticut State Library.

addressed to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut and is marked (at bottom) "F. Lovelace" and "Post Payd." The full address is "For the Honorable John Winthrop Esq., Governor of his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut at Hartford, These". "These" at the end of the address is a common colonial contraction of an archaic address style that still sometimes appears on colonial letters; see also Figure 8 below. Many colonial letters have the "To" before the recipient's name and "these" or "presents" after the address.

Lovelace's subsequent letter to Winthrop, dated 22 January 1673 and shown in Figure 6, reiterates his rising concern about imminent hostilities. Again he beseeches Winthrop

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Printed C. J. S. 9. p. 85.

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In my former letter which I designd should have visited you soone after Newyears day, I sent you all the Intelligence these parts could afford, since which I have receaved advertisement by a Nessel from Mary Land of the arrivall of severall shippes to that place as likewise to Virginia to the number of about 60 saile all which were Conducted through the Channell by a strong Convoy of his Ma^{ty} they bring little tidings save the dispaire of A Peace betweene the Protestant Nations; presses both by Sea and Land are very vigorously prosecuted the Hollander has absolutely lost 3 of their Provinces they have disposd of all their men of Warre and given Liberty to all that will venter on Privaterring insomuch that 40 saile well fitted are dispatcht towards the West Indies, if so, it will be high tyme for us to beginne to buckle on our Armour, and to put our selves into such a posture of defence as is most suitable to our severall Conditions; however it will be so lately necessary that in the first place a good understanding be made and preserved amongst us, conformable to his Ma^{ty} gracious Care and good pleasure, to which end I have erected a Constant Post which shall monthly passe betwext us or oftner (if occasion requires) I desire of you to favour the undertaking by your best skill and Countenance; I have writt to you my more perticular desires in a former letter which this bearer brings likewise, to which I referre you.

As the occasion of the retardment of the Post was the greate expectation of our Albany Post, being desirous to have some tidings from thence, the occasion of his stopp so long, you will finde by the Inclosed letter from the Governour there, which I desire you to peruse and if you please to signify the Contents to the Neighbouring Colonys, but send mee the letter back.

I desire not absolutely promise you to give you the trouble of a visite in the Spring it being tymes for action and I would not willingly disapoint you though my desires are very audent to wait on you, & I hartely Condole with you the losse of your excellent Lady, but we must all stoop to Fate god prepare us all for that Change, I am with all respect
 156
 Fort James Janu 22. 1672 ²/₇ Your affectionate friend Fran Lovelace.

Figure 6. Lovelace's subsequent letter to Winthrop, dated 22 January 1673, reiterates Lovelace's rising concern about imminent hostilities. Again he implores Winthrop to support the post he has established. Image courtesy Connecticut State Library.

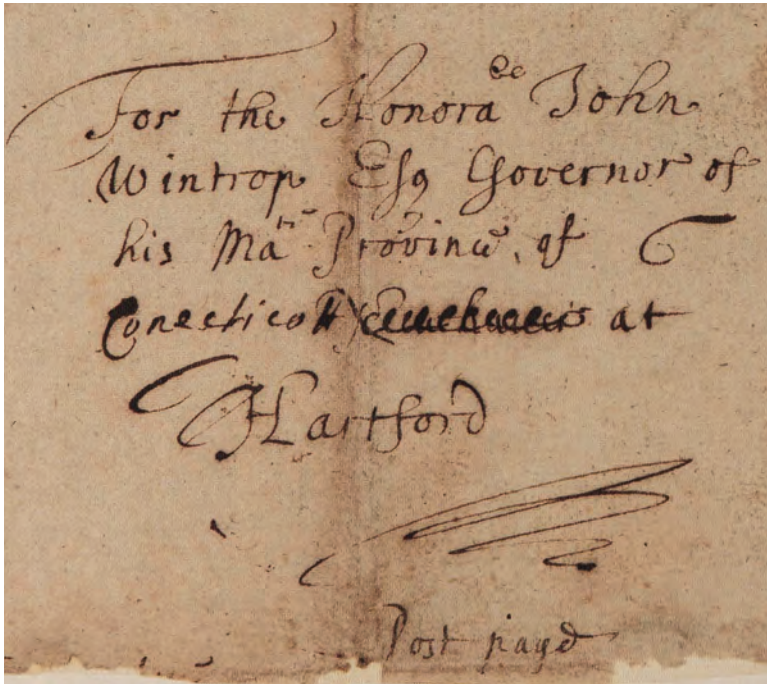


Figure 7. The address panel from the Figure 6 letter also bears the Lovelace “Post paid” marking. The letter is addressed “For the Honorable John Winthrop Esq., Governor of His Majesty’s Province of Connecticut at Hartford.” Image courtesy of the Connecticut State Library.

for support of his post. As with Figure 5, the address panel on the Figure 6 letter (shown in Figure 7) bears the postpaid marking. The full text of the letter is as follows:

Fort James, January 22, 1672/3

Sir, In my former letters, which I designed should have visited you soon after New Year’s Day, I sent you all the intelligence these parts could afford. Since which I have received an advertisement by a vessel from Maryland of the arrival of several ships to that place, as likewise to Virginia, to the number of above sixty sail, all which were conducted through the channel by a strong convoy of his Majesty’s. They bring little tidings, save the despair of a peace between the Protestant Nations. Presses by both sea and land are vigorously prosecuted. The Hollander has absolutely lost three of their Provinces. They have disposed of all of their men-of-war, and given liberty to all that will venture on privateering, insomuch that forty sail, well fitted, are dispatched towards the West Indies.

If so, it will be high time for us to begin to buckle on our armor, and to put ourselves into such a posture of defense as is most suitable to our several conditions. However, it will be absolutely necessary that in the first place a good understanding be made and preserved amongst us, conformable to his Majesty’s gracious care and good pleasure; to which end I have erected a constant post, which shall monthly pass betwixt us, or oftener if the occasion requires. I desire of you to favor the undertaking by your best skill and countenance. I have writ you to my more particular desires in a former letter, which this bearer brings likewise, to which I refer you.

Sir, the occasion of the retardment of the post was the great expectation of our Albany post, being desirous to have some tidings from thence. The occasion of his stop so long you will find by the enclosed letter from the Governor there, which I desire you to peruse, and if you please to signify the contents to the neighboring colonies, but send me the letter back. I dare not absolutely promise you to give you the trouble of a visit in the spring, it being times for action, and I would not willingly disappoint you, though my desires are very ardent to wait on you.

Sir, I heartedly condole with you the loss of your excellent lady; but we must all stoop to Fate. God prepare us all for that change! I am, with all respect, your affectionate friend, Francis Lovelace.

The Proclamation of 6 September 1672 and the pair of Lovelace letters paint a picture of this first regular monthly intercolonial post. The Secretary’s office was the first New York Post Office. It seems that the Secretary acted as a postmaster. A subsequent letter to

Figure 8. Address panel from a letter to Winthrop from a kinsman in Boston, docketed as received by Winthrop on 22 February 1673. This is the only recorded westbound letter that travelled via the Lovelace Post. Note the “Post paid” notation at bottom left. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.



Lovelace (not illustrated here) was written by “Mattias Nicoll, Secretary.” This very interesting citizen was on the ship with Richard Nicolls in 1664 when the British “conquered” New Amsterdam. The two may even have been related. Nicoll was a Clerk of the Court, and was appointed Mayor of New York in 1672. If indeed it is his “post paid” marking on the cover in Figure 5, then we could retrospectively label him as New York’s first postmaster. Prepayment on the Lovelace Post seems to have been mandatory, but we have no record of the fee structure. “By letters” (meaning way letters) and parcel post were encouraged, so as to improve the finances of the post. The name of the post rider is unknown, but from the Lovelace description, he must have been a man of some ability.

Also, from the two letters, we know that the first trip was delayed, so that the first Lovelace letter reached Winthrop with the second. Both letters are docketed “rec Feb 6 1672” in the same style of writing. The reason for the delay was “the Albany Post,” which if it describes a mail system, is the first indication of its existence. However, Lovelace may simply be referring to the arrival of an Albany messenger.

The first two letters from Lovelace to Winthrop (Figures 4-7) repose in the archives of the Connecticut State Library. A third letter that pertains directly to the Lovelace Post resides at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The address panel is shown as Figure 8 and the text is transcribed below. The letter is dated February 17, 1673 and seems to respond to a letter from Winthrop that does not survive. It was written in Boston by John Richards, a Winthrop kinsman who apparently writes as part of the Massachusetts government. The letter is docketed as having been received by Winthrop on 22 February 1673.

Honored Sir, Yours per Post I received and desire to be thankful to God who hath yet continued you amongst us. I pray God add to your strength and perfect your recovery. As to the matter of encouraging the design of Governor Lovelace for a constant Post from those parts, I possibly have not answered your expectation, though I assure you, not for want of readiness to observe any command or motion of yours.

The messenger came to my house on Thursday last, in the dusk of the evening, and gave me yours for which I thanked him (as we used to do travelers for the like courtesy). It was too dark to read, and he said nothing of the matter so we parted; after reading yours I was sorry that I had not perused them before he went away, but on Saturday (Friday being a wet and dirty day) I went to his lodging and up and down to enquire for him, but met not with him, nor have I seen him since. I spoke with the Deputy Governor about it, as you motion, but find not that he hath the opinion of it that others have, he thinks it will hardly be worthwhile, there being so little occasion of correspondence by the merchants to those parts. But I suppose he will write you and Governor Lovelace his mind about it.

I thank you for the intelligence enclosed in yours. The Jesuit’s letter I have shewed to the Deputy Governor, Sir Thomas Temple, Capt Clark, Capt Lake some of the elders and given them your respects for which they thank you. I shall show it to others likewise and then return

it according to your desire. My cousin Wait is present at Salem. We have not yet done anything in Mr. Harwoods business, suppose shall shortly upon his return hither. I shall readily contribute what is in my power to your advantage. Friends at Pullin Point, Salem and Wenham well and generally in health. No foreign news at present. Not else at present but with mine and wives most humble service, and thanks for your double portion of Rubila, rest your most affectionate Bro. and humble servant, John Richards.

This letter is the only westbound letter I have seen that travelled via the Lovelace Post, and it also bears the postpaid inscription (bottom left in Figure 8). The westbound letter is spelled “postpaid” whereas the two eastbound examples are spelled “postpayd.”

Unfortunately for Lovelace’s plan, the author recounts Deputy Governor John Leverett’s lack of enthusiasm for “a constant post” between New York and Boston, “there being so little occasion of correspondence by the merchants to those parts.” Financial support would not be forthcoming from the Massachusetts business community or from the government. Leverett was important as a Colonel, Commander of the Massachusetts Militia, and soon to be Governor (following Joseph Dudley).

Another factor dooming Lovelace’s plan was the demise of Governor Winthrop’s much-beloved wife, the loss for which Lovelace offered his condolences in his January 22 letter. Contemporary reports say that after her death, the Governor was much withdrawn and not his usual robust self. Would a stouter Winthrop have been more persuasive in Connecticut and in Massachusetts?

The “Cousin Wait” referred to in the Richards letter was Waitstill Winthrop, John Winthrop’s brother, thus adding Richards to the Winthrop clan. “Pullin Point” was the early name for the peninsular community at the north entrance to Boston harbor (near the current Logan Airport) now known as Winthrop. “Rubila,” a mixture of nitre and antimony, was a remedy much favored by the Winthrop family; see *Chronicle* 237, pages 20, 21 and 24.

The next two letters, also in the Lovelace archive at the Connecticut State Library, do not bear the “post paid” marking, which seems to be the only certain indicator of a Lovelace Post letter. They are transcribed here because they complete the sad story of Lovelace and New York in 1673.

Figure 9 shows the address panel of the first of these, sent July 31 1673 by Lovelace at “Momorinock” (presumably Mamaroneck, in New York’s Westchester County) to Winthrop in Hartford. Note that the letter is endorsed “haste post haste” and “For his Majesty’s Special Service.” The contents are as follows:

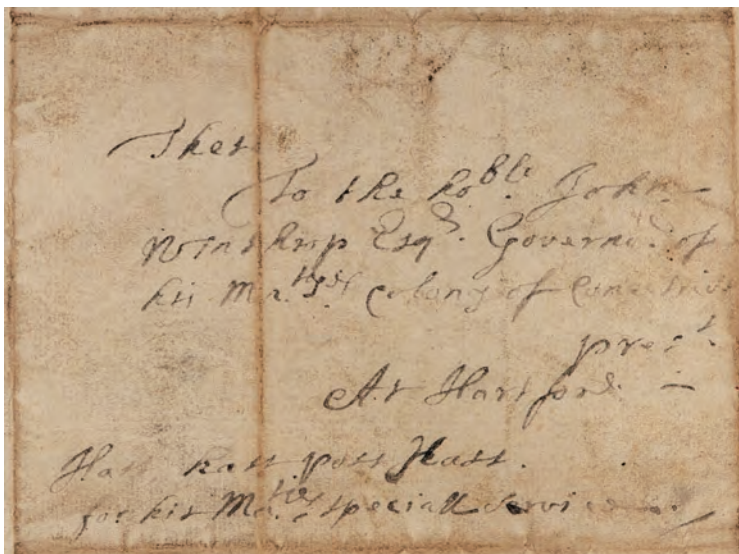


Figure 9. Address panel of a letter sent July 31 1673 by Lovelace at “Momorinock” (modern Mamaroneck, in New York’s Westchester County) to Winthrop in Hartford. Note that the letter is endorsed “haste post haste” and “For his Majesty’s Special Service.” Unknown to Lovelace, the Dutch had taken New York City the previous day. Image courtesy of the Connecticut State Library.

Dear sir, At New Haven I received the unwelcome news of the Dutch approach before New York. I call it unwelcome in regard I was not in the place. They appeared at first with ten sail, afterwards seventeen; yesterday about five or six of the clock they stormed it. A hot dispute, it seems, it was. How the success was I cannot as yet learn. They, I understand, have breakfasted on all my sheep and cattle on Staten Island. I am hastening as fast as I can to make on. God spare me but to get in, and I doubt not but to give a good account of it.

Capt. Treat and all the worthy gentlemen that accompanied me have been very civil and active to advance my journey. They have formed a Post from Risbell's to you. Pray let it be continued for intelligence. I wrote to you from Milford to Mr. Bryan, wherein I gave you my sense of how necessary it will be to form a militia; for if it should miscarry, they must not radicate long. I am yet out of their power, and am hastening to Long Island to raise a militia there. You shall hear of my motion. Pray dispatch away to Boston. I have no more. But God Almighty preserve you, and send us a happy meeting, if not here, yet hereafter which is much better. Momorinock July 31 1673.

Of course, Lovelace could not have known that New York had been taken by the Dutch on July 30, the day before he wrote. The formal surrender was August 9.

The second letter, Winthrop's reply, further documents Lovelace's tenuous position:

Honorable Sir, I received yours of Thursday last from Momorinack the next day at evening, and am very much troubled that you met such unwelcome news by the way in your return. So much of it as we had heard before from New Haven was presently hasted towards Boston; and this farther intelligence by your letter was that night despatched by Post thither also, and we have likewise posted away the notice thereof to New London, and those other parts of this colony, and to Road Island and those parts also, as also that way to the Governor of New Plimoth.

There is yet no notice any way come hitherto what fleet it is, whether those privateers spoken of long since, or that fleet out of the West Indies which were seen at Guadeloupe, nor what number of men they have, which may be guessed at by the bigness of the ships, if that could be known.

There is order hence for the careful continuance of that post from Mr. Richbell's and interjacent places, by which we hope for farther constant tidings, whereby we may be directed, and desire the Almighty to direct yourself and us all in these great concerns, and to put a good issue, in the preservation of all his Majesty's colonies. Having been somewhat ill lately, I was constrained after I had written those lines, and was about to transcribe them, to make use of the help of Mr. Allyn, as appears, and must therein desire your excuse upon some renewed infirmity of your most humble servant....J. Winthrop, Hartford August 2, 1673

Postscript...Sir, Just as this letter was sealing, I received from Boston a packet of letters for your Honor, which I have by this Post conveyed to your Honor. I also received a letter from the Governor of Boston, dated July 29th, which saith that that day arrived a sloop from Virginia with ten days passage, who brings intelligence of the Dutch Fleet being seventeen in number, all ships of force, who, upon the 12th of July instant, being Saturday last was fortnight, about two of the clock in the afternoon, fell in upon His Majesty's frigates and the merchant men that were embodying in the bay, and engaged them while within two hours of night, in which action one Captain Gardiner of his Majesty's ships of forty-six guns passed through the enemy three times. The merchantmen not keeping up with him according to the engagement, upon his third pass he came up with the Dutch Admiral, gave him a broadside, and brought him by the lee, and so made his retreat, securing the merchantmen in going up the river, in which action the Dutch destroyed six and took six more of our English merchantmen. Since that day, they keep about Point Comfort, and give out they intend to land and fortify there. Only three of their men-of-war are plying between the Capes, where this vessel left them. The 20th instant, the frigates and merchantmen are mostly in James River. They report that the Dutch are able to land three thousand men, who say their design is for more than ships and tobacco, but what I do not understand. This I thought incumbent to communicate to your Honor. Having not farther to trouble you with, but my due respects and service, I commend you to God, and remain Sir, your humble Servant, JW.

Another postscript on this letter reads: "I have dispatched two ways the advice of this matter to Governor Lovelace. I was constrained also to have this postscript transcribed out of Governor Leveret's letter by the same hand, which is all the intelligence that is this week come to the cognizance of your faithful Servant...J Winthrop."

This letter was endorsed, not dated but presumably later, by Winthrop: “The original which was directed to Governor Lovelace and sent with another packet for him from Mr. Dervall from Boston, but were both sent back from Fairfield by Mr. Gold, there being no direct passage for them to Gov. Lovelace, not being known where he was to direct it.”

The last letter of our story, from Lovelace to Winthrop in mid-August, puts an end to the Lovelace saga in America.

Dear Sir, Meeting with this opportunity to write, I durst not neglect it, not knowing but it may be the last. The sad catastrophe that has attended his Royal Highness's interest is unspeakable and insupportable to me: but we must all stoop to the disposal of the hand of Providence, without whose permission a sparrow falls not to the ground. I had the honor to see those gentlemen you sent on your deputation just at their arrival, and assured them I would improve that short interview to a longer enjoyment, to which end appointed a place to meet me; but I could not obtain so great a favor from them, though I was coming to them. I am now intending for England, with all the conveniency I may, unless prevented....

Would you be curious to know what my losses might amount to, I can in short resolve you. It was my all which ever I had been collecting, too great to miss in this wilderness, and considering the voyage which I am about. So, I shall detain you no longer then what my best wishes can speak and procure, that God would afford you a proportionable strength to resist all accidents, and bless the end with great success. My service to all our friends, and to your most excellent daughters. Farewell! Your most affectionate humble servant, Francis Lovelace, Manhattan, 15 August 1673.

The formal English surrender took place August 9, 1673. New York City became New Orange, Fort James became Fort William Hendrick and Albany was renamed Willemstadt. As suggested in his letter, Lovelace returned penniless to England. The Duke of York blamed Lovelace for the losing the colony that bore his name. Lovelace lost his remaining American property and was locked up in the Tower of London, where he died in 1675.

But New York's reversion to the Dutch lasted only 15 months. The colony was handed back to the English on 10 November 1674, when the Treaty of Westminster ended the Third Anglo-Dutch War. The Dutch got to keep Suriname, which they had captured in 1667 and which remained Dutch Guiana until 1954.

Summary

The Lovelace Post was intended to improve communications so that a stouter defense against the Dutch could be mounted collectively by the British colonies in New York and New England. The carriage of commercial and personal mail was secondary, but crucial to the economic viability of the project. The onrush of international events and lack of support from Boston precluded the Post's success and prevented its continuance. Lovelace died in poverty, but his enduring legacy is the Boston Post Road—the “King's best highway.” The Boston “B” in Figure 3, from the summer of 1672, is the earliest recorded North American town marking. The “postpaid” markings from New York and Boston, applied in late 1672 and early 1673, are among the earliest postal markings known. More research remains to be done, since we've not yet unearthed any mention of rates, charges or fees for the Lovelace Post. And it's a major disappointment not to have learned the name of the “stout, indefatigable” postman who carried these first intercolonial mails.

Endnotes

1. The first effort was incorporated into “Use of the Franking Privilege in New England in 1699-1707, the Earliest Proof of a Durable Post,” in *Chronicle* 232 (November 2011), pp. 305-311; this dealt with the topic of free mail under Section 9 of the Neale Patent. The second effort, “Neale Patent Mail, 1693-1707” (*Chronicle* 237, pp. 10-24), was a more comprehensive look at the first attempt to set up a multi-colony postal system in what was to become the United States.
2. *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, Administration of Francis Lovelace, 1668-73*, Volume Two, Collateral and Illustrative Documents, XX-XCVIII, edited by Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian. Published by the State of New York, Albany, 1910.
3. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1495-1909*, Isaac Newton Phelps-Stokes, Volume 4, pg. 286. (Six volumes, New York, 1915-1928, reprinted 1967.) ■

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NOTE FROM THE SECTION EDITOR

I am pleased, excited and honored to assume responsibility for the 1847 section of The Chronicle. Taking over from Wade Saadi is certainly a challenge; his are big shoes to fill. Quarter after quarter for 16 years, Saadi has delivered groundbreaking and educational material about the 1847s. I wish him well in his new role as editor of our 1851 section, and hope I can live up to the high standard he set with the 1847 section.

In the forthcoming months there is much to cover. I want to focus both on the 1847 stamps and on their postal history. The 1847 stamps ushered in the postal age in the United States. In the current era of Twitter and texting, it's hard for many people to imagine how important the postal system was to the United States in the 19th century.

One challenge is to understand how our first stamps were actually used, as the nation expanded westward and commerce exploded across the land, especially in the major cities. In his article below, Mark Scheuer provides background and an introduction to the recently inaugurated online census of 1847 covers. This has been a monumental effort on the part of Scheuer and the great number of philatelists who preceded him. The universal availability of this information, now accessible to all via the website of our Society, provides every collector of classic covers the opportunity to build on current knowledge. If you have 1847 covers in your collection, check to make sure they are listed in the census. If they are, do you have new information to add? And if they are not, let's get them added.—G.E.

1847 COVER CENSUS NOW ON LINE

MARK A. SCHEUER, RA 4289

The United States Philatelic Classics Society has a long history of census activities involving covers bearing the 1847 stamps. A series of 45 articles by Creighton Hart and Susan McDonald filled many pages of *The Chronicle* in the 1960s and 70s. And a large book on the subject, by Thomas Alexander, was published by the USPCS in 2001.

With the advent of the internet and with computers, tablets, and smart phones able to access it, it was inevitable that the 1847 census data would find its way on line. And now it has. This article explains the new database (which is being hosted by the USPCS) and provides information to help readers access the on-line census data, use it, and add to it.

Background

First, some background. The earliest book version of an 1847 cover census was privately published by Hart and McDonald in 1970.¹ This pioneering work, without illustrations, was hardly more than a typewritten listing of covers bearing the 10¢ Washington stamp (Scott 2). This work was updated, more or less continuously, for many years, in the pages of *The Chronicle*. After Hart and McDonald, the census was taken over and greatly expanded by Thomas Alexander. Based on this much larger accumulation of census data for both 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 covers, the Alexander book, *The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census*, contained over 13,200 cover listings and 200 images.



Figure 1. Top portion of the home page of the website of this Society, accessed via the internet at www.uspcs.org. Clicking the “Resource Center” bar (in blue at center) takes the user to a page describing various on-line resources that USPCS makes available to members (and to non-members as well).

I have continued this effort, adding over 1,500 new cover listings and in the process accumulating more than 7,000 cover images. This updated cover census was described in detail in *Chronicle* 236 and a digital version of the census data was released on a single DVD.² Additional listings and images are being added as they are discovered.

Now, through the joint efforts of our Society, various volunteer USPCS members, and the software developer who created the USPCS website, the 1847 cover census data is available online and fully searchable.³ It has grown to over 14,600 listings, after over 200 suspected duplicates were removed. More than 7,600 of the listed covers are illustrated with one or more images showing the cover fronts, backs, stamps, enclosures and enlarged postmarks.

Hosting this information online allows the census to be continuously updated and improved, as covers re-enter the marketplace and are offered at various auction firms and online sites. All owners of covers bearing 1847 stamps are encouraged to provide corrections and scans of their holdings to enhance the database. An email account (1847covers.census@uspcs.org) has been established through which scans (300 dpi or better, please) and cover descriptions can be sent to this author, who will review the submissions and determine what changes should be made to the database.

Using the on-line census data

As befits the outreach mission and educational purpose of our Society, the 1847 cover census data is available not only to USPCS members, but to whole wide world. To access the information, go to www.USPCS.org. This takes you to the homepage of our Society, the top section of which is shown in Figure 1. Just beneath our Society’s name are six rectangular bars. Clicking on the middle bar—called “Resource Center”—takes you to another page that has various square images arrayed along the left side. (Please note that the illustrations in this article are of necessity taken from the USPCS website. Internet images are generally not suitable for high-quality print reproduction, so the accompanying illustrations will probably look a bit grainy.)



Figure 2. Clicking this icon on the Resource Center page brings up a page devoted to census projects (Figure 3).

One of these images, currently the uppermost, is the “Censuses” icon shown in Figure 2. Clicking this icon brings you to an introductory page called “Census Projects.” The relevant portion of this page is shown in Figure 3. Since the 1847 Cover Census is the first of its kind, it is represented by the lone “1847” icon. We expect there will be more census projects in the near future.



1847 Cover Census

Census Projects

This section contains online censuses maintained by members of the Classic Society. By having them online vs. in a printed book they can be brought up-to-date with new information.

It is hoped that others with census information to share will consider maintaining it as an online resource. This requires an owner to maintain and update the data and have an interest in sharing.

Figure 3. The 1847 cover census is the first USPCS on-line census project, though there's the expectation that more will follow. Clicking the "1847" icon takes the viewer to a page containing the cover census data (see Figure 4).

Clicking on the "1847 Cover Census" icon in Figure 3 takes you to the 1847 cover census data. The top of the data page, here showing the first four cover entries, is illustrated in Figure 4. This is actually the first four rows of a string of data that (when this snapshot was taken) was 14,658 rows deep, each row containing information about an individual 1847 cover. The information is completely searchable. Using simple filter options, it's easy to find a single cover, an entire correspondence, or a range of covers sorted almost any way you wish.

There are three key parts to the census: the listings, the cover details and the "Advanced Search" feature.

The listings are presented in row view, one cover documented per row, as shown in Figure 4. If a scan of the cover exists in the database, that shows as a thumbnail image at the left of the row. Otherwise, text in the thumbnail area will indicate that no image is available. As it happens, images are present for the first three covers in Figure 4, but no image exists for the fourth.

Each cover listing contains basic information about the cover, including the date it was mailed, its origin and destination, the addressee, the Scott number of the stamp(s), Philatelic Foundation (PF) certificate number and opinion if applicable, the number of stamps on the cover (including other stamps) and the shape of a bisected stamp if such appears on the cover. (Since there are no 5¢ bisects, this is necessarily limited to 10¢ covers.)

The default arrangement of the covers sorts them according to the methodology used in the Alexander book—alphabetically by state and city, numerically by Scott number and mailing date. But users can instantly change the sorting arrangement by clicking on the column headings, once for ascending and again for descending order, for any column(s) they choose. Thus, a single click on the "Date" heading instantly resorts all 14,658 covers into chronological order, a feat that in the index-card era would have taken days or even weeks.

The "Reset Sort" button (blue bar at right in Figure 4, just above the cover listing) restores the data to the default setting. To get a more detailed view of any cover in the da-



1847 Cover Census

1847 Cover Census

Developed & Supported by Mark Scheuer. Based on the work of Thomas J. Alexander.

Dedicated to the memory of Creighton Hart and Susan McDonald.

Feedback, additions, and corrections most welcome. Please send to: 1847covers.census@uspcs.org

✓ [Click here for the census user's guide as a PDF](#)

Advanced Search

Clear Search

Reset Sort

Search every column:

Go

Showing 1 to 10 of 14,658 entries

Click a picture to show details	Date	From City	From State/Country	To City	To State/Country	Addressee	Scott #	PF #	Fake	Qty of #1	Qty of #2	Bisect	Other Stamps
	10/26/1850	Cahaba	AL	Mobile	AL	Boyknin McRae & Foster	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
	3/5/1851	Cahaba	AL	New Haven	CT	Capt. Levi Francis	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
	4/6/1848	Columbia	AL	North Fairhaven	MA	Mrs. R. N. Swift	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
No Image Available	1/14/1849	Eutaw	AL	University of Virginia	VA	Gould	2	-	-	-	1	-	-

Figure 4. Top of the data page, here showing the first four cover entries. These are the top four rows of an accumulation of information that is 14,658 rows deep. Each row contains information about an individual 1847 cover and most entries include an image. The information is completely searchable.

tabase, click on the thumbnail image. This links to another window showing a much larger image of the cover and accompanying text if such exists.

An example is shown in Figure 5. This shows the enlarged image and a portion of the detailed data for a well-known courthouse cover, sent in 1851 from New York to Waukegan, Illinois, and franked with a horizontal strip of ten 5¢ 1847 stamps. The text in the detailed data box includes a description of the cover, usually taken from auction write-ups. The auction firm, sale number, lot number and price realized are often included. Multiple sales listings are shown where available. Also included is the mailing date of the cover as listed in Alexander's book, even if this date has subsequently been corrected, to enable the cover to be located in the Alexander listings. Where available, PF numbers and opinions are included as well.

The Advanced Search feature is enabled by clicking the blue button above the listings (the left bar of the three blue bars above the date listings in Figure 4). Clicking on "Advanced Search" brings up the search data-entry display shown in Figure 6. This offers many different fields in which to enter filtering criteria, limiting the covers to be displayed in the row view. These can contain partial text (one entry per field) in any combination to provide as narrow a search as you desire. Figure 6 shows the filter words that were used to obtain the complete listing of known covers addressed to Miss E.E. Turner. (Note that

ID:	7177
date:	6/xx/1851
from city:	New York
from state:	NY
to city:	Waukegan
to state:	IL
addressee:	Clerk of the Circuit Court of Lake County
Scott #:	1
PF #:	276347
fake:	
qty #1:	10.0
qty #2:	0.0
bisect:	
other stamps:	



The largest recorded 1847 multiple on cover - a wall to wall strip of ten with sheet margin on both sides. Ex Gibson, Ackerman, Sweet, Craveri and Ishikawa

Alexander listed as 6/xx/51

PF 276347
11847 red brown
HORIZONTAL STRIP OF TEN ON CVR
TO WAUKEGAN, ILL., RED NY,
POSTMARK AND SQUARE GRID
CANCELLATIONS.
AND WE ARE OF THE OPINION THAT
IT IS A GENUINE USAGE THE LEFT STAMP.

Figure 5. Clicking on the thumbnail image of any cover in the database links to another window showing a much larger image of the cover and accompanying text. Shown here is a portion of the detailed data for a well-known 1851 courthouse cover franked with a horizontal strip of ten 5¢ 1847 stamps.

Advanced Search Close

Enter a partial or full term in one or more fields and click Search.
The Enter and TAB keys will also invoke the search, and the TAB will move to the next field.
Hover your mouse over the grey Help links to see additional information.

From City <input type="text" value="Louis"/>	Fake <input type="text"/>
From State/Country <input type="text"/>	Qty of #1 <input type="text"/>
To City <input type="text" value="Boston"/>	Qty of #2 <input type="text"/>
To State/Country <input type="text"/>	Bisect <input type="text"/>
Addressee <input type="text" value="Turner"/>	Other Stamps <input type="text"/>
Scott # <input type="text"/>	ID # <input type="text"/>
PF # <input type="text"/>	Date Range <input type="text"/> From <input type="text"/>
Text <input type="text"/>	To <input type="text"/>
	Date <input type="text"/> / <input type="text"/> / <input type="text"/>
	(Use 0-9, x, ?)

Search every column:

Showing 1 to 10 of 54 entries (filtered from 14,658 total entries)



Click a picture to show details	Date	From City	From State/Country	To City	To State/Country	Addressee	Scott #	PF #	Fake	Qty of #1	Qty of #2	Bisect	Other Stamps
	9/17/1849	St Louis	MO	Boston	MA	Miss E. E. Turner	1	87576	-	2	-	-	-
	9/25/1849	St Louis	MO	Boston	MA	Miss E. E. Turner	1	276115	-	2	-	-	-

Figure 6. Data-entry fields for searching the 1847 cover database. Entering just three words (“Louis” for St. Louis, “Boston” and “Turner”) and then punching “Search” was sufficient to obtain the complete listing of covers in the Miss E.E. Turner correspondence, which was explored in an article in *Chronicle* 239.

the single word “Louis” serves as a proxy for St. Louis, where the covers originated; the software can sort pieces of words.) The Turner covers were the subject of a major article in the previous *Chronicle*.⁴

Image sources

So where did all the images come from? Mostly from online sites. The author has been gathering images and lot descriptions from the internet for the past 15 years. Several sites, including Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc., Richard C. Frajola, Inc. and the Philatelic Foundation have also posted historical records that provided data.

Sources of the images in the database are presented in Table 1. Note that the total of 7,603 images is more than 50 percent of the total cover listing (14,658 covers). The

Philatelic Foundation	3,465
Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries	2,767
Matthew Bennett International	1,540
eBay	316
Daniel F. Kelleher	280
Richard C. Frajola	231
H. R. Harmer	165
Schuyler J. Rumsey	165
Harmer-Schau	120
Regency Superior	95
Total Images	7,603
Total Covers	14,658

Table 1. Sources of digital images in the 1847 cover census database.

information in Table 1 was quickly found using the text filter in the Advanced Search window. Some covers, of course, have been sold multiple times by more than one firm, so the numbers are not a count of the total 1847 cover lots that each firm has offered. But they do present an insight into the number of 1847 covers for which images have been available via the internet over the past decade and a half.

Conclusion

Comprehensive online cover-census data and the ability to sort it easily add up to a very powerful research tool. Users can examine and compare multiple covers from the same correspondent. Chronological sorting enables observations about postmark evolution, mail handling and (to a more limited extent) the chronology of ink shades and stamp printings. Individual covers can be examined to obtain a record of recent auction realizations. That’s just the beginning.

An eight-page user’s guide has been created to help collectors understand the census data and its sorting capability. This explains the intricacies of the database in a manner that is detailed but not overly technical. It’s a recommended departure point for collectors who are unfamiliar with cover census data, how it is presented and how it can be manipulated. The user’s guide can be accessed as a PDF document and printed out if desired. On the census data page, click the “census user’s guide” line above the data display (see the screen in Figure 4).

The author and the entire USPCS official family hope that Society members will find this census site a useful research tool that enhances collecting interest. Corrections and additions are eagerly sought to improve the census for all.

Long term, the USPCS hopes to host additional online census data for other classic U.S. covers. The structure developed here enables the creators of the data to act as custo-

dians of their information while making it available to a wide (indeed, limitless) audience. Website presentation makes the data easy to edit and update, and enlists other collectors in gathering the images and information to make it more complete. Please help if you can.

Endnotes

1. Creighton C. Hart and Susan McDonald, *Directory of 10-Cent 1847 Covers*, Kansas City, Mo., 1970.
2. Mark Scheuer, "Updating the Census of 1847 Stamps on Cover," *Chronicle* 236 (November 2012): pp. 317-328.
3. USPCS members who worked on this project include Mark Scheuer, Gordon Eubanks and Charles J. DiComo. The software was developed by Eric M. Stone of Wyaerd Consulting, Inc. Software development was funded by USPCS.
4. Gordon Eubanks, Burkhard Krumm and Mark Scheuer, "More on the Turner Correspondence," *Chronicle* 239 (August 2013): pp. 236-243. ■

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NOTE FROM THE SECTION EDITOR

With pleasure and excitement, I assume the role of editor of the 1851 section effective this issue. While all Chronicle sections are created equal, the 1851 section in this publication is literally the first among equals—because the stamps of the 1851 era (specifically the 3¢ stamps) were the core preoccupation of the study group formed 65 years ago from which evolved The Chronicle and the Classics Society that supports it.

In a conversation some months back, editor-in-chief Michael Laurence and I were discussing the need for leadership of the 1851 section, which has been vacant since the passing of Hubert Skinner in early 2009. Laurence pointed out the obvious: that we had in place a strong candidate for the editorship of the 1847 section, and a compelling need for an editor of the 1851 section.

I am very comfortable that the 1847 section is moving into the capable hands of Gordon Eubanks, who has been assistant editor of the section for several years and a behind-the-scenes contributor for much longer than that. As the incoming 1847 editor, he will bring a new perspective and a fresh outlook to this critical Chronicle section. Had someone of Eubanks' knowledge and enthusiasm not been available to step in, I could not have accepted the 1851 responsibility.

But he was and I did, so after 16 years with the 1847 portfolio, I have a new assignment. Taking over the 1851 editorship will allow me to focus on an issue that I have collected and studied for almost 30 years. In the months and years to come, with the help of many other 1851 collectors, I see this section covering a broad mix of subjects involving the stamps and postal history of a fascinating era. Please contribute if you can.

This first section under new management features an expert update, from Jim Allen, on the imperforate 12¢ 1851 stamp. Allen is a long-time student of this stamp, responsible for some important recent discoveries. In the near future (likely the February 2014 Chronicle), he will get us current with the 12¢ perforated stamp as well.—W.E.S.

THE IMPERFORATE 12¢ STAMP OF 1851—SUMMARY AND UPDATE

JAMES A. ALLEN

The 12¢ 1851 stamp was printed by Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Company from a plate comprised of 200 engraved stamp impressions, 100 in each of two panes, left and right, which were separated by a dividing centerline. TCC&C had extensive experience printing bank notes, but had never before engraved a large number of small, detailed images on a single plate, as was required for successful stamp production.

Most specialists believe the 12¢ stamp plate was the first plate produced in the 1851 set.¹ Given the widely anticipated need for 3¢ stamps, this would not have been the expected approach. But the simplicity of the production of the 12¢ plate, which was created

using a two-relief roller, compared to the more complex transfer rolls used for the other stamps in the series, suggests this was the most likely chronology.² Also, parts of the final stamp design were taken from older banknote engravings, enabling production of the die to be done quickly.

The first study of this stamp was begun by Lt. Col. J.K. Tracy, published as a small handbook with Stanley B. Ashbrook in 1926.³ A more complete study entitled *The 1851-57 Twelve Cent Stamp* was published by Mortimer L. Neinken in 1964.⁴ This is primarily a plating reference for Plate 1 of the 12¢ stamp, but it contains good summary information on many topics relating to the stamp and its production.

In a study in the *Sesquicentennial Retrospective* book published by the Classics Society in 2006, I updated some of the key points in the Neinken book, correcting previous incomplete information and incorrectly held notions about the production and use of the stamp. New findings were presented and discussed, including cancel and postal marking surveys and earliest uses.⁵ But the last word here has certainly not been written. Discoveries continue to be made and await further publication.

In the 90 years since Tracy's initial effort, specialists in this field have concluded that all of the imperforate 12¢ stamps that were issued for the purpose of franking mail or that were legitimately used postally, were printed from what is conventionally identified as Plate 1, the first 12¢ plate manufactured. Tracy examined about 4,000 12¢ copies and concluded that all used imperforates came from Plate 1. I have now examined over 3,500 examples of the 12¢ stamp, and have reached the same conclusion. As best as can be discerned, all the plating references in Neinken's study are from Plate 1. Although some of the plating diagrams in Neinken are incorrect, it is safe to assert that all used imperforates came from Plate 1.

Eventually, two additional plates were manufactured with the 12¢ design, but only Plate 1 was used to produce regularly issued 12¢ imperforate stamps. Imperforate 12¢ stamps from the later Plate 3 are proofs.

Design, essays and proofs

The 1851 stamps are distinguished from the 1847 stamps in that for the entire 1851 series, only a limited number of original essays and proofs are available for collectors to study. The initial essay for the 12¢ value, shown in Figure 1, is deemed to be unique.⁶ Scott lists this as 17-E1. Sixteen copies of an intermediate essay are known (17-E2 and 17E-3)



Figure 1. Unique initial essay for the 12¢ 1851 stamp. Scott lists this as 17-E1.

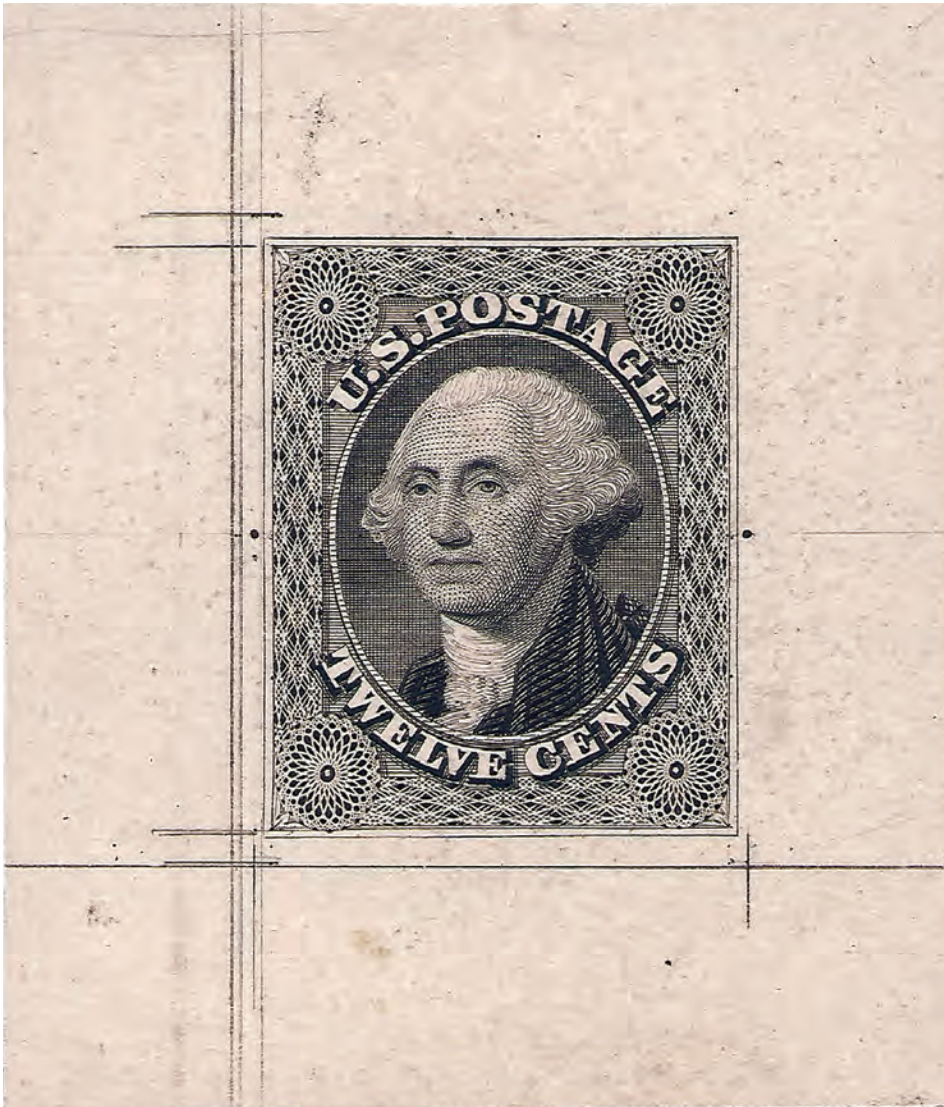


Figure 2. Original die proof for the 12¢ 1851 stamp, greatly enlarged, showing various guide lines and guide dots. The lower right inner frame line is weak, as are the lower and upper left corners. These deficiencies, compounded by faulty transfer work, required re-entry work in the plate before the first stamp was printed.

and two verified die proofs of the final design are recorded. One of these (Scott 17P1) is shown greatly enlarged as Figure 2 and will be discussed further below. No original trial-color proofs are known.

No plate proofs are recorded for the originally-issued 1851 stamps, but proofs are known for the reprints that were to come later, the first being produced in 1875.⁷ If original plate proofs ever existed, they were likely consumed in two great fires that substantially destroyed the printer's records and archival holdings in the Jayne Building on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia in 1872.⁸

Reprints were also issued in the 1880s. These were produced from an entirely new plate made from the original die. Most of these reprints are on card stock. The frame lines are noticeably stronger than on the original stamps, but the corners are weak more often



Figure 3. Left to right: An “Atlanta” proof (Scott 44TC4a) in scarlet; a reprint proof on stamp paper (44P); and a reprint proof (corner margin copy) on India paper. All these were produced from an entirely new plate made from the original die.

than not. These reprints include the multicolored 1881 set known as the “Atlanta” proofs (issued as sets in five colors; an example in scarlet is shown as Figure 3a). Also, reprints of the 1857-60 issues, normally perforated 12 (Scott 44 for the 12¢ value) were issued imperforate on stamp paper (Figure 3b) and on very white, thin India paper (Figure 3c).

Plate recutting

Examination of the die proof shown enlarged in Figure 2 reveals that the lower right inner frame line was especially weak, as were the lower and upper left corners. This very fine or weak die image was exaggerated in the poorly transferred images, particularly in the outer frame lines, found over the entire plate. In the first issued stamps produced from Plate 1, all stamp positions were changed by additional engraving, mostly recutting inner or outer frames lines or corners, often in several places on each stamp position. These changes were defined by students of the stamp after examination of literally thousands of copies from this plate over many years. Approximately 80 percent of the positions of Plate 1 were recut in the lower right area alone. This plate recutting was no doubt necessary to enhance the appearance of individual images and thus ensure approval of the overall plate before full production could proceed. This was a major reworking of the plate and the individual designs, before even one stamp would enter the mail.

For the Plate 1 12¢ imperforate stamp, all 200 plate positions are unique and plateable. Some of the recutting varieties or types collected are uncommon on the plate. Some varieties and positions are very difficult to discern because of the extremely fine recutting. Interested readers can consult published compilations of data on these recuts.⁹

Besides the recutting, most of the stamps are distinguishable by the guide dot at the lower right bottom corner, since all these dots have a specific shape and location that varies with each stamp. The bottom row and right side rows of each pane of stamps, however, are devoid of these dots. Figure 4 shows a right margin block on which the guide dots (on the left stamps) are indicated by arrows superimposed on the image. The two right stamps show no guide dots. The use of guide dots in the plate production process for all the 1851 stamp plates has been discussed elsewhere.¹⁰ Additionally, Figure 4 illustrates the vertical stamp spacing, which was uniform throughout the plate.

Stamp varieties

Numerous double transfers or shifted transfers have been noted for Plate 1 stamps, as described by Neinken.¹¹ Evidence for multiple transfers shows in the frame lines and labels or rosettes, with the most pronounced being in position 27R1. Two triple transfers are known, occurring at positions 5R1 and 49R1. The most obvious multiple transfers are quite dramatic, as can be seen from the multiple rosette transfer remnants in the lower right



Figure 4. Right margin block, positions 29-30L1, 39-40L1. Arrows indicate location of guide dots at the bottoms of the two stamps on the left. Guide dots are absent from the right side rows (also the bottom row), a helpful feature in plating.

frame line area of 5R1. A stamp from the 5R1 position, along with an enlarged portion of the lower right corner, is shown in Figure 5. Remnants of the center of a misplaced rosette can be seen to the right of the “S” in “CENTS.” Additionally, more transfer remnants show up in the letters. See the Neinken book for plating details.

Major constant plate varieties are the “cracked plate” (position 32R1), as well as “not recut in lower right corner” (many positions, each distinctive); “recut in lower left corner” (43L1, 53L1, 63L1, 73L1 and 100L1); and “scratch on head” (two varieties, four positions—44R1, 54R1, 64R1 and 4R1); “curl between eyes” (93R1); and Relief A (1-10L1, 1-10R1). All other positions are Relief B.



Figure 5. A stamp from position 5R1, showing the triple transfer, most apparent as dots of color between the right frame lines (visible in the enlargement shown to the right of the stamp. Remnants of the center of a misplaced rosette (east of the “S” in “CENTS”) might also be visible.

New discoveries continue to be made for the 12¢ imperforate stamp. From the Tracy-Ashbrook study in 1926 until 2002, it was believed that Plate 1 was produced by a one-relief transfer roll. In 2002 it was discovered that Plate 1 was created by a two-relief roller process and the two reliefs were defined.¹²

It has also been shown that early and late states exist for the 12¢ Plate 1. While Ashbrook alluded to the possibility of early and late plate states over 65 years ago,¹³ no relevant information or evidence has been located until very recently. The banknote printer’s marginal imprint appears on the “late state,” likely added in early 1852, but it is never found on early-state examples printed before the reworking of the plate. Additional examples of early-state stamps with selvedge but without the printer imprint have now been found. One is on a large cover to Norway that resides in the Museum of Communications in Bern, Switzerland (donated by Charles Hirzel)¹⁴ and another is in a private collection. Both these discoveries were made in the last few years, so the reader is encouraged to continue researching this issue, as more discoveries are likely to be forthcoming.

Stamp characteristics and varieties

The original stamp is found in a variety of shades of black. Most of the early stamp printings show fine engraving on linen paper and are lighter in appearance than later impressions. The color appearance of these stamp varieties is affected by the ink, inking level and paper specifics. Most of the imperforate 12¢ stamps were printed on primarily linen papers, which were relatively hard and smooth, resulting in high-quality printing.

The paper used to print the stamps varied in thickness and surface hardness. Very thin paper varieties, including those defined as “part India,” are known. Softer (primarily cotton) rag papers were later introduced, especially for the perforated stamps, which show declining overall printing quality. Single and double stitch watermarks are recorded.

Another interesting variety of the stamp is called “printed on both sides.” I believe only three copies are known, all apparently from the right pane, top row.

Uses and cancels

The earliest recorded use of the 12¢ stamp is August 4, 1851—even though the stamps were officially released to the public July 1, 1851, and unofficially available and sold as early as June 30, 1851 in Rochester, New York.¹⁵ Currently, I have recorded only 17 uses from the year 1851, with eight of these being recorded in the last ten years. The reader is



Figure 6. 12¢ 1851 stamp paying four times the 3¢ domestic rate on an 1856 legal wrapper from Brownsville to Galveston, Texas.



Figure 7. 12¢ 1851 stamp paying double the 6¢ transcontinental rate from San Francisco to Roxbury, Massachusetts. This cover was carried via Nicaragua by the Vanderbilt line and entered the government mails at New York.

encouraged to keep looking for early uses; while very scarce, they continue to turn up.

There has been much discussion over the last 120 years concerning the intended use of the 12¢ stamp. John K. Tiffany may have been the first person to have thought critically about this question.¹⁶ Presumably, this stamp was designed to pay the quadruple domestic rate for a distance under 3,000 miles. An example of such a use, a courthouse cover from Brownsville to Galveston, Texas, is shown in Figure 6. On this cover the 12¢ stamp pays four times the domestic rate. Such may have been the intended use of the stamp, but surviving examples are seldom encountered. Legal-size covers are the most common sources of single-stamp use, but even they are scarce. Only four covers bearing the 12¢ imperforate 1851 stamp are recorded from Texas.



Figure 8. The most common use of the 12¢ 1851 stamp is a pair paying the 24¢ single letter rate to Great Britain. The example shown here is extraordinary because it is a registered use. Posted 1 February 1857, this is the earliest recorded stamp-bearing cover to an international destination under the registration system that was introduced on July 1, 1855.

The stamp could also pay double the 6¢ transcontinental rate (for over 3,000 miles). The example shown in Figure 7, sent from San Francisco to Massachusetts in 1853, bears the striking VIA NICARAGUA/AHEAD OF THE MAILS marking. This cover was carried from coast to coast by private ship and entered the government mails at New York.

Single uses from Hawaii are much more common, with a single 12¢ stamp paying the 10¢ letter rate plus the 2¢ ship fee. Recently published census data indicates at least 143 covers bearing the 12¢ imperforate stamp (Scott 17) from Hawaii, as well as six covers bearing the Plate 1 perforated stamp (36) and at least 12 covers bearing the Plate 3 perforated stamp (36B).¹⁷ Single uses such as these are uncommon even though a conforming use for the stamp.¹⁸

The most commonly seen use of the stamp is as two copies (a pair or two singles) paying the 24¢ single letter rate to Great Britain. An example of such a use is shown in Figure 8. On this cover, posted on February 1, 1857, from Columbia, South Carolina, a pair of 12¢ stamps pays the 24¢ rate to Great Britain. The “register & charge box 144” notation indicates the 5¢ registration fee was to be charged to the sender’s post office account. One half of the registration fee was added to the American Packet credit of 3¢, yielding a total of 5½¢, which was stamped above the address in red. This is the earliest recorded stamp-bearing cover to an international destination under the registration system introduced on July 1, 1855.

Uses of the 12¢ imperforate stamp to make up foreign rates to destinations other than Great Britain and France are scarce to very rare. But the primary importance of the 12¢ stamp artifacts from the 1851-61 decade is based on their breadth and depth of uses. Six hundred postal rate changes involving 90 countries occurred during that decade. Countless new cancellations and postal markings appeared. Six new exchange offices were created and ten major shipping lines were reduced to five. The 12¢ covers reflect more of these changes than any other stamps of the series and paint the most complete picture of all that was happening in the postal system at that time, both domestically and internationally.¹⁹



Figure 9. Bisected use of 12¢ 1851 stamp accepted as 6¢, accompanied by four 1¢ 1851 stamps, paying the 10¢ treaty rate to Canada. This cover originated in Cuba and entered the mails at New York on 21 August 1851.

Besides the 10¢ 1847, this is one of the first United States stamps that was occasionally bisected, substituting for a stamp of lower value. By far the most common variety is half a 12¢ stamp used to represent 6¢ in value. A quartered stamp on cover was found in the Carroll-Hoy correspondence used from Canton, Mississippi.²⁰ This rare item is also in the Hirzel collection in the Museum of Communications in Bern, Switzerland.

Bisected 12¢ 1851 stamps were most often used to pay the 6¢ prepaid letter rate from California during shortages of 3¢ stamps. The majority of the bisected stamp uses emanated from San Francisco.²¹ The Postmaster General formally disallowed such use in November, 1853, but prior to that, some bisects were accepted as valid postage (Figure 9) and others were not (Figure 10). In Figure 9, a bisected 12¢ stamp was accepted as paying 6¢, along with four 1¢ 1851 stamps, making up the 10¢ treaty rate from the United States to Canada. This cover originated in Cuba but entered the mails at New York City on 21 August 1851.

While such an item is rare, there are numerous oddities like this among the universe of 12¢ covers for collectors to pursue. The cover in Figure 10 shows a bisected 12¢ imperforate stamp that originated in Boston and is well tied by the familiar Boston “PAID” marking. Most likely the sender intended the bisected stamp to prepay the 6¢ transcontinental rate. But the bisect was not accepted as postage and the cover was rated and marked for the unpaid 10¢ transcontinental rate. In *Chronicle* 239, I published an article that clarified the issue of bisect legality and presented earlier dates for disallowance of the practice.²² Research continues to reveal new insights about these classic stamps.

Large multiples are rare. The largest recorded unused multiple is a block of 15. This was in the Ishikawa collection, sold by Christie’s (New York) in 1993. The largest recorded used multiple was in Neinken’s collection, a block of 18.²³ The largest single-row multiple is a complete horizontal strip of ten, the widest possible configuration for the plate. Vertical multiples are much scarcer than horizontal multiples, a strip of six being the largest recorded. The largest recorded horizontal multiple on cover is six. The number of surviving blocks of four or larger is estimated at 20.

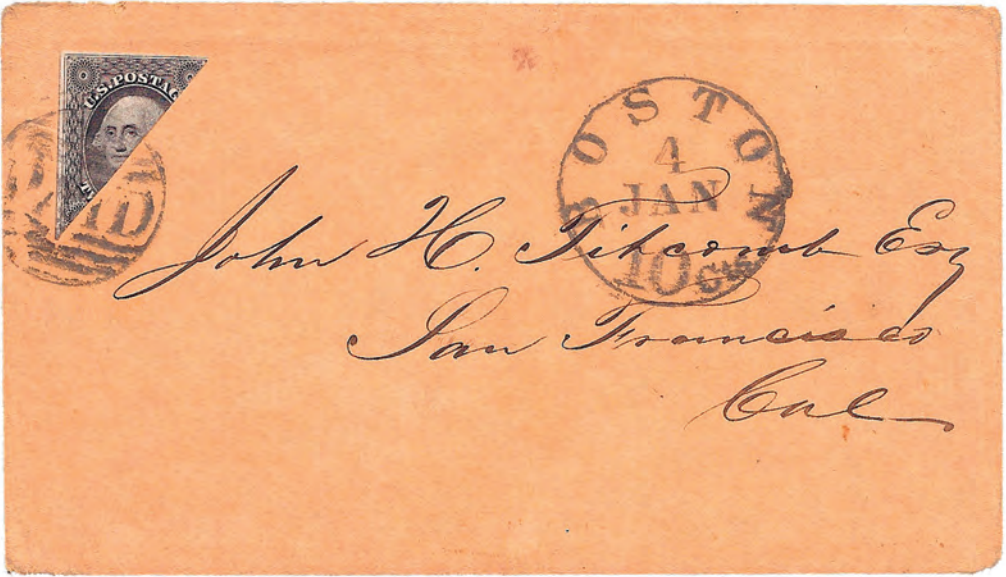


Figure 10. East to west bisect use, sent from Boston with the stamp cancelled “PAID.” Despite the cancellation, the bisect was not accepted as postage. The cover was rated as unpaid and and struck with Boston’s integral “10” marking indicating postage due from the recipient at the unpaid 10¢ transcontinental rate.

Cancellation varieties are rather scarce, reflecting the very common use from a few large cities to Great Britain, and the stamp’s use on larger envelopes or packages. But as mentioned earlier, 12¢ artifacts when taken in total offer a wide range of cancellation and marking types due to the breadth of uses, rates, routes, and destinations. The most common cancel types are circular date stamps, corks, and “PAID”. Rarely, “steam” or “steamboat,” railroad, express mail or supplementary mail cancels can be found. Colors of cancels vary from black, which is the most common, to red, blue and magenta (in order of scarcity), with orange, green and brown being the three rarest colors. Diligence is necessary to collect all these, but it can be accomplished over time.

About 2,500,000 imperforate 12¢ 1851 stamps were issued. Fewer than 1,600 covers survive today, based on recent surveys, and that estimate may be high. This subject is being addressed by the author. In general, collectors, even knowledgeable collectors, have little idea how few of these 12¢ covers exist. In contrast, 1847 covers are relatively plentiful, with about 10,500 5¢ covers and almost 4,000 10¢ covers currently recorded.²⁴

While we now know a lot about the imperforate 12¢ 1851 stamps, more remains to be discovered. In a future *Chronicle* article, I plan a discussion of the perforated stamps, and after that a deeper inquiry into the die and plate proofs. Recent changes in the format of the proof listings of Scott specialized catalog introduced errors that require correction.

Endnotes

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3. Lt. Col. J. K. Tracy and Stanley B. Ashbrook, *Notes on the Twelve Cents 1851-1857 United States Adhesives*, New York: Scott Stamp & Coin Co., 1926.
4. Mortimer L. Neinken, *United States: The 1851-57 Twelve Cent Stamp*, New York: The Collectors Club, 1964.
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12. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 177.
13. Ashbrook, *op. cit.*, pg. 144.
14. Charles Hirzel, "Old U.S. Collection," Museum of Communication, Bern, Switzerland.
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17. Fred F. Gregory, *Hawaii Foreign Mail to 1870, Volume II*, New York: The Philatelic Foundation, 2012, pg. 76.
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19. James A. Allen, "The United States 12¢ 1851-1861 Stamp in a Decade of Change," *The Collector's Club Philatelist*, Volume 91, Number 1, pp. 13-23.
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21. Thomas Alexander, "Bisects of the 12¢ 1851 Issue," *Chronicle* 75 (August, 1972), pp. 121-129.
22. James A. Allen, "Bisected 1¢, 3¢ and 12¢ 1851 Stamps: When Were They Legal?" *Chronicle* 239 (August, 2013), pp. 255-263.
23. The Mortimer L. Neinken Collection, Robert A. Siegel Auctions, New York, November 19-20, 1970.
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SONORA—DECEMBER 2, 1851

WADE E. SAADI

Collectors are fascinated with things earliest known. Whether it's the use of a particular stamp, route, sailing, cancel or otherwise, first is often best. Whatever it might be, the earliest known example holds a captivating significance over the rest.

So it is with the item featured in this write-up, shown in Figure 1. This item has never before been pictured in *The Chronicle* and to my knowledge it has never been reproduced in color. It is however, shown in Ashbrook's 1¢ book.¹

At first glance, this appears to be a pair of 3¢ 1851 stamps on piece with a blue cancel. But further examination shows much more. The pair is printed in the rich Orange Brown shade and plates to positions 83-84R2E. The tiny plating notation, at lower left in the Figure 1 image, is the handwriting of the renowned Dr. Carroll Chase.²

The cancel is a straightline town cancel, which is very uncommon, struck in blue, also unusual for this period. The handstamp is from Sonora, California, a gold-rush town called the "Queen of the



Figure 1. The Sonora straightline marking on this pair of 3¢ 1851 stamps is the earliest known use of a year-dated cancel on any United States stamp.



“View from the City Hotel,” Sonora, California, a decade or two after the Figure 1 straightline was struck.

Southern Mines,” which had been incorporated in May 1851, a few months before this marking was struck.

Figure 2 shows a Sonora street scene from a little later in this era, probably the 1860s or 1870s. The caption that accompanied this image reads: “Washington Street, Sonora, Tulumne County—view from the City Hotel.”

The 2 x 3¢ postage on the piece in Figure 1 most likely paid the 6¢ transcontinental rate from California, for one-half ounce over 3,000 miles. In *Chronicle* 105, Thomas Alexander wrote a survey article about covers bearing Sonora straightline cancels. All 17 prepaid examples in Alexander’s census (15 covers and 2 off-cover strikes) depicted the 6¢ transcontinental rate.³

All of this is very interesting, but the most notable and important characteristic of the postmark in Figure 1 is the date, “Dec. 2 • 1851”. This Sonora straightline is the only United States postmark that contains an 1851 year-date. The example in Figure 1 is the earliest of these, and thus is the earliest known use of a year-dated cancel on any United States stamp. Besides its philatelic attractions, this item sparks thoughts of a romantic era in American history.

Endnotes

1. Ashbrook, Stanley B., *The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857*, Vol. 2. pg. 300.
2. The handwriting attribution is from Richard Celler, well-known student of the 3¢ 1851 stamp as well as other early U.S. classic stamps.
3. *Chronicle* 105 (February, 1980), pp. 26-29. ■

UPDATE: EARLY OCCUPATION POSTMARKS FROM RICHMOND

MICHAEL C. McCLUNG

In *Chronicle* 138 (May 1988), Richard Graham wrote about special mail agent David B. Parker, and his activities late in the Civil War. Parker was with the Union occupation force that entered Richmond, Virginia, on 3 April 1865, the day after the Confederate government evacuated their capital. Parker quickly took control of the local post office and then organized a staff of Federal soldiers to begin handling mail the following day. At first, Union mail from Richmond was sent by dispatch boats, without being postmarked, to Washington, D.C., Old Point Comfort, Virginia, or City Point, Virginia, for further processing. When government-issue postmarking devices arrived, the Richmond office became fully functional as an occupation post office.

In the context of this article, “occupation post office” means an office opened in a seceded state, by Union soldiers, for the sole benefit of the soldiers, with civilian mail prohibited (there were a few exceptions). Sometimes, late in the war, occupation post offices began to permit civilian mail, but only letters going to the North or to other occupation post offices, because the United States Post Office Department (USPOD) did not have operating mail routes in the seceded states. After the war ended, postal routes began to reopen in the South, and in the summer of 1865 or later, civilian postmasters were appointed at former occupation and Confederate post offices. In the case of Richmond, special agent Parker served as occupation postmaster from 3 April 1865 until 7 July 1865, when Alexander Sharp was appointed civilian postmaster, essentially ending the occupation post office period.

When Graham wrote the 1988 article, he was looking for reader help to answer the question, “When did the Richmond post office start using its own postmarking devices?” Unfortunately the small (23-millimeter) Richmond circular datestamp (cds) did not have room for a year-date slug, and the marking was used for a number of years from 1865 forward, so it is difficult to identify early occupation uses. In this first article, Graham showed a soldier’s letter with a Richmond postmark dated July 17, as the earliest post-Confederate Richmond cover he had recorded. This was ten days after Alexander Sharp took over as postmaster. Graham’s request for earlier covers, particularly those postmarked before 7 July 1865, was answered and noted in *Chronicle* 146 (May 1990), where he showed an image, supplied by David Lisbeth, of a Richmond cover dated June 7. This image is shown here as Figure 1. Although this cover is not year dated, it appears to be a soldier’s letter, so it is probably an 1865 use. The “DUE 3” and Richmond cds indicate it was sent from outside Richmond and that it did not receive a postmark until it reached Richmond.

Since that 1990 article, a small number of additional Richmond covers dated prior to 7 July 1865 have surfaced, so it is time for an update. The cover in Figure 2 makes it easier to accept the Figure 1 cover as an 1865 use. The Figure 2 cover has a Richmond cds dated June 6 and a red notation that reads “June 4, 1865.” On both covers, the duplexed cork cancels look identical. These cork killers were soft and did not seem to last longer than a few weeks. The Figure 2 cover (actually a front) was addressed to a prisoner of war at Point Lookout, Maryland. When this prison was closed in the summer of 1865, the accumulated

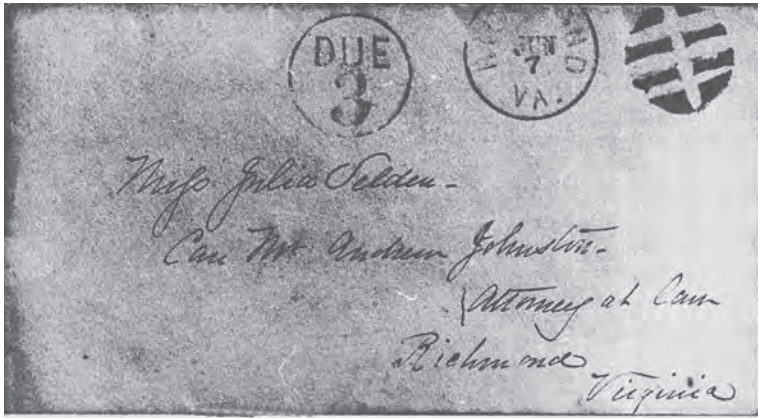


Figure 1. Cover originally illustrated in *Chronicle* 146, bearing a Richmond postmark dated June 7 [1865], a split grid cancel and a “DUE 3” in circle.

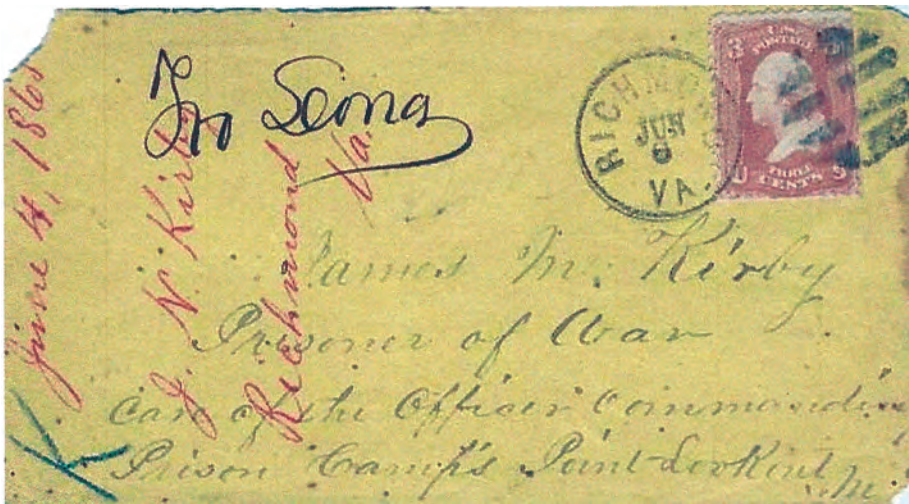


Figure 2 . Prisoner of war cover (actually a front) with Richmond postmark dated June 6 (1865 docket) and the same split grid cancel that appears on the cover in Figure 1.

undelivered prisoner mail was organized in a make-work project with the date of the letter along with the name and town of the writer written in red ink on the envelope. Also, a blue crayon letter, representing the last name of the addressee, was added for filing purposes. Eventually, a dealer acquired these covers and removed their backs—possibly because of a large archive backstamp which might have incriminated him as possessing stolen goods.

Figure 3 shows a Richmond cover dated June 16 and docketed, “rec’d 21 June 1865” so this is another occupation-period cover.

Figure 4 shows a cover with a cds dated June 12; it has no year date but the duplexed fancy cancel is identical to the one in Figure 3, so this too is an 1865 use.

Figures 5 and 6 are two covers from the same correspondence. They are dated July 1 and July 3, respectively, and there is a handwritten “1865” in each cds; this would place them near the end of Parker’s tenure as occupation postmaster. The duplexed cancels are identical, and both covers are drop letters to a local resident with a post office box. This seems to indicate that at least some civilian mail was being handled by this time. Another interesting point about these two covers is that they are overpaid. The correct postage would have been 1¢, per the act of Congress effective 1 May 1865, which reduced the drop-letter

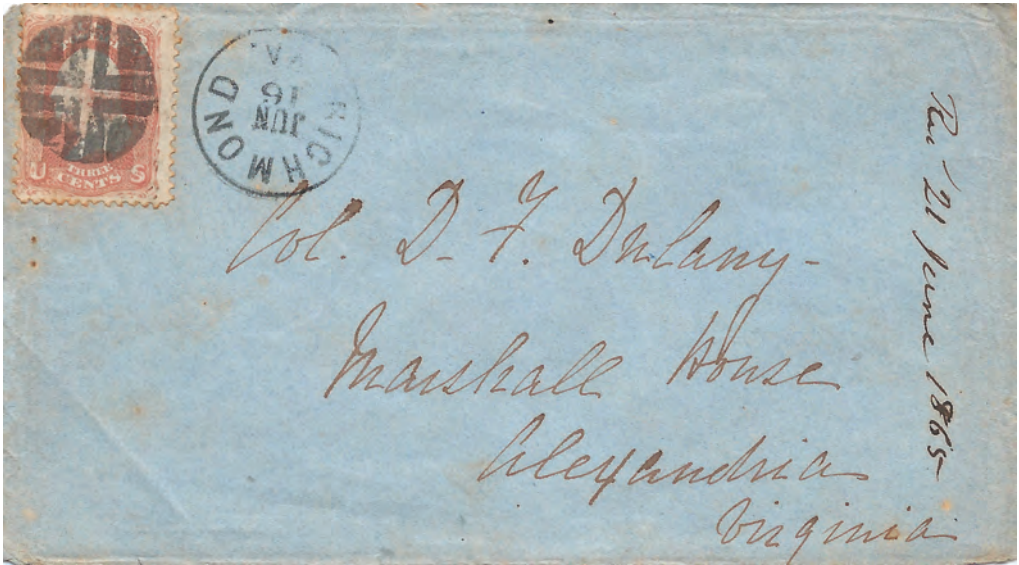


Figure 3. Richmond cover postmarked June 16 with 1865 docketing and a fancy cross-roads cancel.



Figure 4. Richmond cover postmarked June 12 and showing the same fancy cross-roads cancel as on the cover in Figure 3.

rate from 2¢ to 1¢ for towns that did not have carrier service. I very much doubt that Richmond had a carrier service in place when these letters were posted.

As a side note, it has been my experience that nearly all overpaid drop letters from the 1860s were written to a “Miss” so-and-so. Was it customary at that time for a young man to show his girlfriend what a big spender he was by overpaying the postage on a letter? A similar speculation was expressed by Creighton Hart in an article in *Chronicle* 75 (August, 1972) regarding certain overpaid drop letters franked by the 5¢ 1847 stamp. Any thoughts on this?



Figures 5 and 6. Two overpaid drop letters from the same correspondence, matching geometric cancels, dated July 1 and July 3, 1865.

The six covers shown here partially answer Graham’s question. They were mailed during the period when David Parker was running the Richmond occupation post office, and they are fairly early uses, but the period they represent—early June to early July, 1865—is merely a third of the three months during which Parker ran the office. It is likely that Richmond received its own postmarking devices before the end of April, because many offices received handstamps within two or three weeks of ordering. Also the USPOD expressed a sense of urgency in a letter to Parker, dated 6 April 1865, from the Second Assistant Postmaster General, George W. McLellan, who wrote in part: “it is desirable that the Richmond Post Office be put in operation as soon as possible.” So, there should be Richmond postmarked covers from April and May, 1865, and maybe someday they will come to light.

Perhaps readers can help complete the answer to Graham’s question and provide images that show early uses from occupied Richmond. I am interested in recording Richmond covers from April, May, June or July 1865, as well as any other contemporary material regarding the operation of the Richmond occupation post office. If possible, please send high-resolution images to my email address in the front of this publication. I will acknowledge your contribution in a follow-up article. ■

THE SMALL DIE PROOF ALBUMS OF 1903

MARK A. SCHEUER, RA 4289

Background

In December 1902 the Post Office Department ordered the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (BEP) to create 85 presentation albums of small die proofs of 308 postage stamps of the United States and Cuba. The albums were assembled in early 1903 and were mostly distributed within the next two years. An example, recently sold and discussed further below, is shown in Figure 1. This article discusses these 85 albums and the men who were responsible for their creation and distribution.

Existing records

Unfortunately, the original records of the Post Office Department pertaining to these albums are missing. It is possible that they were part of the Arthur Travers papers that disappeared when Travers left the Post Office in disgrace. If this is the case, there is hope of rediscovery. Or they may be buried in the National Archives waiting to be rediscovered. They are not in the Post Office archives in College Park, Maryland, nor in the files at the National Postal Museum at the Smithsonian.

In 1981 Theodore W. Bozarth published an important series of articles in the *S.P.A. Journal* titled “Past Practices of the Post Office Department.” In the fourth installment of his series, Bozarth presented lists of recipients of plate proofs and of the 1903 presentation albums.¹ These lists were originally compiled by Edwin C. Madden, who was Third Assistant Postmaster General during the administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. The Madden lists were found in the archives of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his Hyde Park library. They had likely been presented to FDR by Postmaster General (PMG) James Farley in defense of Farley’s distribution of imperforate sheets and proofs of postage stamps in the 1930s.

Bozarth presented the names without exploring the identities of the recipients of the presentation albums. By taking that step and examining the backgrounds of the album recipients we can, by association, make some observations about who was responsible for the distribution of the albums.

Stamp proofs from the Post Office Department

The practice of distributing proofs of United States stamps had been ongoing since at least the 1880s. The Post Office Department kept a stock of plate proofs on both India paper and cardboard. Samples were handed out upon request, usually by members of Congress, to stamp collectors (aka voters) across the nation. They were distributed free of charge. While not valid for postage, a few proofs survive used on contemporary covers, apparently accepted as postage. Sometime in the 20th century, a number of card proofs were thinned down, perforated and gummed, in attempt to deceive collectors.

Plate proofs are common. They were printed in panes of 50 or 100 and did not require perforating or gumming, making them very inexpensive gifts. Die proofs, on the other hand, are scarce or even rare. They were printed one at a time, usually to verify the quality of the die engraving before creating the transfer rolls used to lay out printing plates.

Many surviving large die proofs were distributed by the bank note companies. Some of these came from sample books used to demonstrate to customers the quality of the firms' engraving. In general, dies were used as little as possible to protect them from damage. Replacing a faulty die was expensive and very time consuming.

Therefore, it is initially surprising that the original dies were used to create presentation proofs in 1903. According to James Patterson in the June 1998 issue of the *United States Specialist*,² the remaining stamps and printing plates were never turned over to the Post Office Department when the contracts with the private banknote companies ended. All the Bureau of Engraving and Printing got were the original dies. Given the small number of albums to be produced, "the only alternative was to use the dies themselves, on a proving press, to print the proofs. And since the stamps were going to be mounted on pages as sets in albums, there was no need, either practically or aesthetically, to keep the larger paper around the larger die impression. So the excess paper was trimmed away."³

Actually, the plates from the American Bank Note Company were indeed turned over to the BEP, but they had been destroyed in 1897 under the direction of the Postmaster General. Some researchers believe that the idea of using the dies to create the proofs came from Henry Mandel, the premier proof collector of his day, who was for many years associated with the American Bank Note Company and in 1903 was an advisor to the Post Office Department. According to Stanley Bierman, Mandel served as technical advisor to the BEP in the preparation of the albums.⁴ If that is correct, it's odd that Mandel's name does not appear on Madden's list of album recipients.



Figure 1. An intact 1903 album of small die proofs, inscribed to "Francis E. Leupp." The recipient was a politically-connected reporter for the *New York Evening Post*. Image courtesy Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries. Fewer than 15 intact albums survive.

The originators

Over the past 110 years, three men have been consistently identified as being associated with the 1903 presentation albums: Third Assistant PMG Edwin C. Madden; Major James H. Reeve, long-time chief of the Stamp Division; and President Theodore Roosevelt.

Edwin Charles Madden had an oddly varied career that suggests a wide range of abilities; among other things, he was obviously a gifted bureaucrat. As we will see, the distribution of the 1903 presentation albums is in many ways a roadmap of his multifaceted career. Madden was born in Montreal, Canada, in 1855 and came to Detroit in 1861. At the age of 16 he worked in the railroads, eventually becoming a locomotive fireman and engineer. He joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, a fraternal benefit society that gradually transformed into a trade union, and became an editor of its monthly journal. Then, in 1890, he joined the Detroit post office, starting as a clerk and working his way up to superintendent. He was appointed Third Assistant PMG on July 1, 1899, and remained in that position (under President Roosevelt) until March, 1907. He was married to Kate R. Strong and had two sons, Russell Strong Madden and Nelson Reyburn Madden.

“Major” James H. Reeve, of Newburgh, New York, served in the Civil War in the 3rd Infantry Regiment from New York State. According to military records, he rose to the rank of Captain before being wounded at Fort Fisher, North Carolina, in January 1865. He was discharged in June 1865.⁵ Reeve was appointed deputy postmaster during the administration of Andrew Johnson. He was Chief of the Stamp Division under Third Assistant PMG Merritt and remained in this position under Madden. *The Washington Times* reported his salary as \$2,500 per year on June 30, 1901.

Theodore Roosevelt served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1897 until the Spanish American War. He then resigned to serve as a colonel in the U.S. Army. After the war, he was elected Governor of New York until he joined the national ticket as William McKinley’s vice president. He became president in 1901 following McKinley’s assassination at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo.

Production of the presentation albums

The presentation albums of small die proofs were quickly produced. The original order for 75 albums was issued on December 13, 1902. Additional requests were made on December 29 to include the Newspaper and Periodical stamps, and the number of albums was increased to 85 on February 4, 1903, after the production run had already begun.

Only 15 or so of the original albums are known to remain intact. A nicely preserved example, inscribed to Frank E. Leupp, was shown in Figure 1. The remaining 70 albums over the years have been broken down and sold either by the page or as individual proofs. Figure 2 shows a typical page, here presenting the Trans-Mississippi stamps.

The albums contained 308 different stamp proofs, generally face-different examples with no consideration given for perforation, watermark, or grill varieties. There were exceptions. The 1847 stamps and their 1875 reprints were all created from the 1875 reprint dies. As discussed further below, this attempted deception was sometimes botched. The 1851 stamps were also represented by their 1875 reprints. The 1861 first and second issues were both included. The color changes from the 1880s were included as were the scarlet and lake varieties of the 3¢ 1861 Washington stamp. The 3¢ rose stamp was not included. Also, only the brown 1861 Jefferson stamp (Scott 76) was included; the buff (67) and red brown (75) varieties were left out.

The stamps were arranged in sets on 34 gray album pages, as outlined in detail by Allan M. Thatcher.⁶ Another 14 blank pages were included in the album so that owners could subsequently mount future proofs released by the department. Only a handful of subsequent



Figure 2. A page from a Roosevelt album, in this case containing proofs for the 1898 Trans-Mississippi set. The Scott numbers of these proofs are 285P2 through 293P2.

proofs are known on the gray backing paper. One such example, a set of small die proofs of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase set, Scott 323P2-327P2, was sold in Shreve's sale on June 16, 2006 as lot 1019. It realized \$5,000. Another set of these proofs was sold more recently by the Robert A. Siegel auction firm (December 10, 2012 sale, lot 1234). The hammer price for the set of five was \$7,000. The 5¢ value from this set is shown in Figure 3.

The BEP printing records for these and other proofs have been compiled by Ronald Burns.⁷ Printing of the proofs started on January 12, 1903 with Scott numbers 1-4, using a compound die with both the 5¢ Franklin and 10¢ Washington designs on the same die. To make the 1847 issue appear different from the 1875 reprints, half the printing was intentionally blurred. Burns reported that, when mounted in the albums, the blurred 5¢ and sharp 10¢ were paired together as the original 1847s, and the sharp 5¢ was paired with the blurred 10¢ to represent the 1875 reprints. A total of 388 impressions were created for these first four examples, 97 copies of each.



Figure 3. Example of a Roosevelt-type proof from the Louisiana Purchase set that was issued after the 1903 small die proof albums were distributed. Image courtesy Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries.

An examination of two albums in the National Postal Museum shows that the placement of the sharp and blurred 1847 proofs was not consistent. The album presented to Claude Swanson (see below) shows the proofs switched as Burns described, while the one presented to E. E. Clark does not. With most of the albums now broken up, we will probably never know if the sharp proofs were intended to represent the 1847s and the blurred ones the 1875 reprints, or vice versa. But collectors should be aware that there are two different varieties of each, created in equal quanti-



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ties, and that the blurring on half of them was intentional.

The printing records show no indication that any additional quantities had to be printed when the album total was increased to 85 in February. The BEP must have pulled at least 100 impressions of each proof from the very beginning of the run.

Another mishap occurred with the 3¢ green Washington Bank Note stamp. The secret mark variety (Scott 207) was mounted with the 1870 issues while the 1870 type (158) was presented on the next page with the 1882 stamps.

Several stamps were reprinted during the press run. Burns attributes this to problems with color rendition and he believes the original printings were discarded. Reprints included the Official stamps for the Justice and Post Office departments and a few of the Newspaper stamps. Several other issues appear to have had a trial run of a few copies a few days before the 100 (or so) final proofs were printed. It is believed that these trial runs were used to verify the condition of the dies or help select the proper ink color. Mostly, the whereabouts of extra proofs are unknown and there are no records of their destruction. Some of these proofs have probably entered the philatelic marketplace as trial color proofs.

Several dies were used to print more than one stamp. The 3¢ 1861 stamps in lake (Scott 66P2) and scarlet (74P2) were both printed from the same die. A new die was made to create the premier gravure version (originally Scott 56, now 65-E15d). New dies were also created for the 5¢ (67-E9b) and the 12¢ (69-E6b) “first” designs. The rest of the August issues were printed using the same dies as the September issues, although in slightly different colors.

The UPU color-change stamps of 1888 were printed with the same dies as their predecessors. The pairings are 211 and 215, 210 and 213, 207 and 214, 205 and 216, 165 and 217, and 166 and 218. The postage due stamps of 1879 (J1-J7) and 1891 (J22-28) were also made with the same dies, the difference being that the first set was printed in brown and the second set in claret.

Other new dies were made. The original die for 1¢ 1870 stamp (145) had been re-engraved, so a new die was created. The 1890 dies had been modified by the BEP, with triangles in the upper corners to create the 1894 series, so several were remade, including the 3¢ (221), 5¢ (223), 6¢ (224),

10¢ (226) and 15¢ (227) stamps. A new die was created for the 3¢ Postage Due stamp of the 1894 series (J33), after it was discovered that the original die was cracked. But then the old die was not destroyed and was mistakenly used to print the album proofs. All the Roosevelt and Panama-Pacific proofs of J33 show this crack, which can be seen in the lower portion of the example illustrated in Figure 4, curving just above the “THREE CENT” value tablet.

Another proof, the 90¢ Post Office Department stamp (O56P2) also shows a die crack. This appears consistently on all 12 examples of this proof that I have been able to examine. There are no records of another die being created for this stamp, and the crack also appears on the Panama-Pacific die proofs (see, for example, lot 300 in Matthew Bennett’s sale 300). The crack, shown in the cropped enlargement in Figure 5, may have developed during the proofing run.

The printing was generally completed by March 3, 1903. Thirty unlisted vignettes of



Figure 4. All the 3¢ claret Postage Due die proofs (J33P2) in the Roosevelt albums show a crack in the die, which can be seen in this image as a hairline crossing just above the “THREE CENTS” value tablet.



Figure 5. A die crack in Roosevelt proofs for the 90¢ Post Office stamp (O56P2) cuts through the “P” in “POST” and across the top of the numerals.

the high-value State Department Officials were reported by Burns as printed on March 5, but 100 of the four varieties had already been completed before this date. Likewise, 204 impressions of the special die used to print the labels inside the album, including the series names and year dates, were printed on March 4, but 215 impressions had already been made a few days earlier.

We don't know if the proofs were trimmed down immediately after being pulled, or subsequently, when the albums were being assembled. There are differences in the trimming and these differences are consistent within each page. Most of the Roosevelt proofs have margins of approximately 5 millimeters. But the 1851 proofs are all trimmed closer, with margins of only 2-3 mm. The dollar values of the State Department official stamps (O68P2-O71P2) also have 2-3 mm margins and the large Newspaper and Periodical stamps (PR2P2-PR4P2) have no margins at all.

Figure 6 shows a page 2 from one of the Roosevelt albums that was subsequently broken down into individual pages. Note that the two Carrier stamps and the 1875 reprints of the 1851 series all show the smaller margins. Such close margins are also seen on the



Figure 6. Almost all the Roosevelt small die proofs show margins about 5 millimeters wide, but the proofs representing the 1851 stamps, shown here as mounted on one of the original album pages, are cut much closer, no more than 2 or 2½ mm in width. Image courtesy Regency Superior Auctions.

Figure 7. This internet image of a 3¢ 1851 proof (41P2) shows unusually large margins and no gray cardboard backing. It may be remainder from the BEP files of proofs that were originally created to fill the Roosevelt albums.



1851 pages in the two albums in the National Postal Museum and on surviving 1851 pages that have been illustrated in auction catalogs over the years. Most of the detached proofs from the 1851 page (page 2 in the album) that have sold individually at auction also show the narrow margins.

But there are a few proofs of the 1875 reprints of the 1851 stamp series that show larger margins. Of the 38 individual proofs from page 2 that I have recorded from past auction sales, only three have standard 5-mm margins. These are single copies of 40P2 (the 1¢ Franklin), 41P2 (3¢ Washington) and 43P2, (10¢ Washington). All three lack the gray paper backing that often characterizes these proofs. They may all be remainders from the BEP files. An example of the 3¢ Washington proof (41P2) with large margins, taken from an internet site, is shown in Figure 7.

The arrangement of proofs is different for each page but very consistent across the albums. It is easy to conjecture that the binders were passed from station to station as each set was carefully mounted on its page. This would explain the constant arrangement and errors of a few proofs included in the wrong sets. The 1847 and 1875 mix-up is also understandable. Each album contains all four 1847 varieties, but the similarity in the designs caused some confusion when they were being affixed to the page.

The gold-imprinted labeling on the spine of the albums reads “United States Postage Stamps, 1847–1902, Proofs” in three separate lines. Several of the albums survive with their accompanying cover letters, two of which are discussed below. Despite today’s identification of these albums as “Roosevelt Proof Albums,” the president’s name appears nowhere within the albums nor in the accompanying transmittal letters. The albums were not distributed by the White House, but by the Post Office Department. All the accompanying letters that survive were signed by Third Assistant PMG Madden or by Major Reeve.

Recipients

Some of the albums were delivered to the POD on March 4 and two were distributed the same day. Another seven albums were shipped from the POD on March 5. By March 16, 53 albums had been sent out. It has been reported that 53 of the 85 albums also had the recipient’s name printed in gold letters on the front cover. However, some of the albums distributed after March 16 were also “named,” suggesting that some of the first albums distributed had blank front covers.

For the 85 presentation albums, Madden listed only 75 recipients. One named album is not on Madden’s list. A second album, which is on Madden’s list, is in a different binder with the proofs arranged differently than any of the others. This album, now at the National Postal Museum and discussed further below, was probably not included in the order of 85 and was likely created subsequently from remainders held by the BEP. Thus, at least 10 albums went to persons who remain unknown. The National Postal Museum believes these 10 albums may have been part of the U.S. collection that was sold or exchanged under the direction of the Post Office Department, to obtain additional items for the national collection.

Identifying the recipients of the named 53 albums is important because these were the originally planned recipients and they collectively provide a basis for speculation about the motives of the albums' creators. The remaining albums were spares that could be used to fill additional requests when word of the album's existence came out. The whereabouts of the original list is unknown so we must use Madden's expanded list of the 75 recipients, with the understanding that some of the later recipients were not part of the originally planned group. As it happens, all of the remaining intact albums (which are listed at the conclusion of this article) are from the original 53 named albums.

A listing of the recipients (and a brief description of their bona fides) follows, presented according to the organization with which the recipients were associated in 1903. The number assigned by Madden, essentially a chronological designation, is presented in brackets following each recipient's name. Since as many as seven albums were sent out on a single day, the daily ordering may not be precise, but the Madden numbers provide a general sense of the chronology of the shipment of the albums.

Post Office Department

A total of 20 albums were distributed within the Post Office department. The recipients include former PMG Charles Emory Smith [1], who served from April 1898 through January 1902; Donald McDonald Dickinson [40], another former PMG (1888-89); Robert John Wynne [12], First Assistant PMG; William Shadrack Shallenberger, Second Assistant PMG; Edwin Charles Madden himself [14], Third Assistant PGM; and Joseph L. Brislow [42], Fourth Assistant PMG. Current PMG Henry Clay Paine [13, 70], who had previously been president of several railroads in the Chicago-Milwaukee area, got two albums.

Other officers in the POD receiving albums included Francis H. Whitney [23], private secretary of the PMG; Harwood M. Bacon [16], in the Division of Classification under the Second PMG; Arthur M. Travers [17], chief clerk working under Madden; Major John H. Reeve [48], mentioned above, chief of the Stamp Division under Madden; George W. Beavers [24], superintendent of the Salary and Allowance division; William C. Fitch [25], chief clerk of the Stamp Division; and Captain N. M. Brooks [26], superintendent of Foreign Mails.

August William Machen [39], superintendent of free delivery, also received an album. He was later indicted (in July 1903 and again in April 1905) in connection with attempts to defraud the Department by making false claims for reimbursement for satchels for letter carriers. He was eventually convicted on these charges.

Other members of the Post Office Department receiving albums were Henry A. Castle [27], an auditor; and Freeman B. Dickerson [37], the postmaster of Detroit, Michigan. Two albums were kept within the department: for the official files of the Stamp Department [69] and for the Postal Museum [75].

Album 69, presented to the official files of the POD on 2 February 1904 (per Madden's list), is not currently in the Postal Museum's holdings. But the NPM does have another album, with similar small die proofs mounted in a red leather-bound book in the more traditional horizontal across-the-page format used in conventional stamp albums. This album, known at the NPM as Album J, is accompanied by a Madden letter dated 3 February 1904. It is not clear if Madden mistakenly included it on his list as one of the 85 presentation albums or if the two albums were presented together and Album 69 was subsequently traded away. Whatever the case, the proofs in Album J must have come from remainders in the files of the BEP.

House of Representatives

Sitting and former members of the House of Representatives, most of them associated in one way or another with the Post Office Department, received a total of 10 albums. The

two former members were John B. Corliss [2], of Detroit, who lost his seat in the general election of 1902; and John H. Bromwell [3] of Ohio, who also lost reelection in 1902.

While in Congress, Bromwell served on the five-man House Post Office Subcommittee which was responsible for the annual appropriations of the Post Office Department as well as any other measures that required allocation of funds. Other members of this subcommittee receiving albums include Chairman Eugene F. Loud [4], Republican from California; James M. Griggs [5], Democrat from Georgia; George W. Smith [41], Republican from Illinois; and Claude A. Swanson, Democrat from Virginia, who was not on Madden's list but received a named album, which, as noted earlier, is now in the National Postal Museum.

Other members of the House receiving albums included James A. Hemenway [9], chairman of the Committee on Appropriations; Joseph Cannon [10], former chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, former member of the Committee on Appropriations, and (in 1903) Speaker of the House; and James T. McCleary [20], member of the Appropriations Subcommittee who would be appointed Second Assistant PMG by Roosevelt in 1907. Congressman Thomas W. Bradley [56], Representative from New York 20th District, was one of four recipients whose albums were personally presented by Major Reeve. Bradley was Reeve's representative in Congress.

U.S. Senate

The five senators who received presentation albums had associations with Michigan, the railroad industry, the post office or all three. The five included Russell A. Alger [30], Senator from Michigan who was Secretary of War under McKinley and a former governor of Michigan; Shelby M. Cullom [58], Senator from Illinois and member of the Appropriations Committee; Henry Cabot Lodge [65], Senator from Massachusetts; Julius Caesar Burrows [71], Senator from Michigan; and Chauncey Depew [11], Senator from New York.

Senator Depew was an advisor and mentor to Theodore Roosevelt prior to his presidency. But he also had various railroad associations. According to Wikipedia, "Depew spent most of his career associated with the New York Central Railroad, where he was General Counsel from 1875 to 1883; Vice President from 1883 to 1885; and President from 1885 to 1898. He resigned as President of the New York Central in 1898, and became chairman of the board of directors for the entire Vanderbilt railroad system, which included the New York, Harlem, Hudson Valley, Central, Erie, Michigan Southern, Michigan Central, Lakeshore, and Canadian Southern Railroads."

Railroad union officers

Ten albums were presented to offices in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Firemen, and Trainmen. This appears to be an amalgamation of separate unions and fraternal organizations. Many former members worked in the Post Office Department in 1903. Those who received presentation albums included the group's legal representative in Washington, Hugh R. Fuller [19]; grandmaster of the Brotherhood of Firemen, Frank Pierce Sargent [21]; Peter M. Arthur [31], former grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; A. P. Youngston [33], assistant grand chief and Arthur's successor; Charles H. Salmons [32], second grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE); and Deloss Everett [34] and Titus S. Ingraham [35], both also affiliated with the BLE. Also receiving an album was Paul Henry Morrissey [36], grandmaster of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen; John J. Hannahan [38], grandmaster of the Brotherhood of Firemen; and Edgar Erastus Clark [44], President of the Order of Railroad Conductors, who had assisted Roosevelt in settling the Coal Strike of 1902. Clark's album is also in the National Postal Museum.

Bureau of Engraving and Printing

The BEP had six officers in 1903 and five of them were on Madden's list of recipients. They include Director William M. Meredith [49]; Assistant Director Thomas J. Sullivan [51]; John R. Hill [52], chief of the Engraving Division; Joseph E. Ralph [53], custodian of dies, rolls and plates; and Accountant Edwin Lameasure [50]. The sixth BEP officer, dispersing agent Van H. Bukey, did not receive an album.⁸

Newspapermen

Members of the press account for seven albums. They represented various newspapers, mostly from the Detroit area, and some of them were part of what today would be called the White House press corps. Receiving presentation albums were Frederick A. Emery [28], representing the *Baltimore Sun* and *Philadelphia Ledger*; John Fitzgibbon [29], representing the *Detroit Free Press*; and Otto Carmichael [47], a co-founder of the *Detroit Free Press*. Also receiving albums were Henry P. Hetherington [6], managing editor of *The Detroit Journal*; George E. Miller [7], Editor-in-chief of the *Detroit News*; and William Emory Quinby [8], Editor of the *Detroit Free Press*.

Finally, Francis E. Leupp [18] of the *New York Evening Post* received the album shown in Figure 1. In 1903 Leupp represented the Indian Rights Association in Washington. He was an advisor to President Roosevelt and was named, in early 1905, to head the Commission on Indian Affairs. In his 1913 autobiography Roosevelt wrote, "I had a capital Indian Commissioner, Francis E. Leupp. I found that I could rely on his judgment not to get me into fights that were unnecessary, and therefore I always backed him to the limit when he told me that a fight was necessary."⁹

Roosevelt and his administration

Nine albums were presented to members of the Roosevelt Administration. President Roosevelt [63] received his album on March 27, 1903. His personal secretary, William Loeb, Jr. [64] received his on the same day. Other members of the Roosevelt cabinet receiving albums were Philander Chase Knox [59], Attorney General; George Bruce Cortelyou [60], Secretary of Commerce and Labor; Leslie Mortimer Shaw [61], Secretary of the Treasury; and Elihu Root [68], Secretary of War. Also receiving albums were Milton Eyerett Ailes [62], Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under McKinley; J. Hickson Edwards [22], private secretary to the Secretary of the Treasury; and Robert J. Armstrong [66], Assistant Treasury Secretary.

Delivered by Major Reeve

Madden listed four albums personally delivered by Major Reeve. Congressman Bradley was previously mentioned. Also receiving an album was Colonel Joseph McCarroll Dickie (or Dickey) [55], land developer and local politician from Newburgh, New York. He served in the Civil War in the 168th Regiment Infantry and 15th Regiment Artillery. He rose to the rank of first lieutenant during the War and Major Reeve may have served with him. A man named William Caldwell [57] also received an album from Major Reeve.

The fourth album given out by Reeve was sent to a boy collector, Benjamin Bryant Odell [54], the son of Benjamin Barker Odell, Jr., a Republican who was governor of New York from 1901 to 1905. Despite being in the same political party as Theodore Roosevelt, Odell and Roosevelt were rivals and not friendly. But like Dickie, the Odells lived in Newburgh, which was Major Reeve's home town. Reeve's accompanying letter,¹⁰ shown in Figure 8, indicates that Bryant's album was given "to partly pay back the great good" Governor Odell had done for Reeve. Reeve's letter notes that young Bryant "will be the only boy in the world who has one of the Albums."



Hon. B. B. Odell Jr.,
Newburgh, N. Y.

My dear Governor:

Bryant's name will be put on the Album and it will go forward to him in the morning. He will be the only boy in the world who has one of the Albums, a few other copies have been given out to the President and such high officials. It is the only complete issue of stamps ever furnished by the Department, and being die-proofs they are of much value. It does me good in this small way to partly pay back for the great good you have done to me.

Very respectfully
and gratefully yours,

Washington, D. C.,
May 8, 1903.

Figure 8. Colonel Reeve's letter to the governor of New York, telling the governor that his son will be "the only boy in the world" to possess a Roosevelt album.

Other albums

What Reeve told Governor Odell was not entirely correct. Album 15 was presented to Russell Strong Madden, Edwin Madden's first-born son, who was 13 when the albums were distributed. The younger Madden son, Nelson Reyburn Madden, was not on the list. He was born in 1897 and so was probably too young in 1903 to be interested in stamps.

Two other men, both of Detroit, also received albums. I could find nothing about George Slater [46] of 66 Jefferson Avenue, whose album was offered intact on Ebay in April, 2007. John Kay [45], founder of Kay's Jewelers, was a stamp collector and old Detroit friend of Madden. Madden's letter that accompanied Kay's album is quoted in full below and is quite revealing. Madden admits to distributing a few albums to some friends and was clearly aware of the relative scarcity of the albums and the prospective outcry

from collectors should their existence become known. The Kay album was sold intact at Sotheby's in November 1996 along with this letter:

March 12, 1903
Mr. John Kay,
Detroit, Michigan

My dear Mr. Kay:

Under separate cover, by registered mail, I have sent you to-day a complete set of the die-proofs of all the postage stamps which have been issued by the Post Office Department, including the new series, Issue of 1902, the highest denominations of which have not yet been placed on sale at post offices.

In order to complete the Post Office Department's record of its postage stamps it recently became necessary to call upon the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to furnish a complete set of all stamps issued. The plates from which the stamps were printed have long since been destroyed, so it was necessary to make the set from the original dies. While these dies were out it occurred to me to have a few extra sets of the proofs struck off for distribution to some friends.

The proofs have been bound neatly, and when you see the album you will realize that there must be but a very few of them. I hope you will take it home and not show it around too generally for a little while. If the stamp collectors knew that such a thing exists my life will be made miserable. It is absolutely impossible to supply any duplicates.

With very kindest regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

Edwin C. Madden

Four other album recipients were on Madden's list: Charles H. Robb [67], judge of the U. S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit.; King Alfonso XIII [75] of Spain; and two albums to the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences [72 and 73], apparently as ordered by the PMG. The Brooklyn Institute subsequently transformed into the Brooklyn Museum, and when Bozarth inquired about the albums in researching his article, the museum could not find the albums and had no record of ever receiving them, even though they had been recorded as having been received by the predecessor institute in 1905.¹¹ Perhaps the albums were deaccessioned somewhere along the way.

Responsibility for production and distribution

Many previous writers have tried to attribute Theodore Roosevelt to some aspect of the creation and/or distribution of these albums, mainly because his name has been so long associated with them. Laura DeSimio, writing an introduction for the Smithsonian's exhibit of the albums in 2000, attributes the albums to both President Roosevelt and Madden. She notes, however, that the albums were "out of character for Roosevelt's image."¹² Roosevelt was known for his efforts to weed out corruption in the Post Office department; these led to August Machen's conviction, mentioned above, among others.

James Patterson, writing in the *United States Specialist*, stated "The proofs prepared for Madden are commonly referred to as 'Roosevelt small die proofs,' not because of any specific affiliation with Theodore Roosevelt, but only because they were produced and distributed during his administration."¹³ This is a fair summary of the facts.

All the evidence points to Third Assistant PMG Edwin Madden (and to a much lesser degree, Major John Reeve), as responsible for the creation and distribution these albums. While a few album recipients can be tied to Roosevelt (Depew, Leupp, Loeb and Roosevelt himself), the majority of the recipients were friends and associates of Reeve and Madden, preponderantly Madden. If Roosevelt was involved, then why didn't any of his family members or former associates in the Department of the Navy receive albums? Roosevelt received album 63 (as late as March 27) but we don't know if it had his name on it. No such album has been seen.

The albums revisited

Returning to Patterson's analysis (why die proofs and not stamps?), the stamps were available in the marketplace but they would have been very expensive to obtain. The 1903 Scott catalog gives a combined value for 300 of the 308 stamps as \$1,700 mint and \$1,400 used. (The 1875 reprints of the 1847s along with six of the scarcer August issues of 1861 were not priced.) Thus, if real stamps could have been obtained, the cost to assemble a single album would have been comparable to a clerk's annual salary. One hundred sets would probably have been unobtainable at almost any price.

Despite Madden's warning that recipients not show the albums around, many of them obviously found their way into the philatelic marketplace. Some were kept intact. Others were broken down into individual pages. Still more had the pages cut up and the proofs sold individually. Generalizing heroically, of the 100 or so proofs of each issue that were printed, about 15 remain in albums that are still intact. Another 15 to 20 exist on whole pages, about 30 exist on gray paper backing and the remaining 35-40, more or less, survive loose and unmounted. The glue used to affix the proofs to the album pages was not water soluble. As a consequence, many of the unbacked survivors show thins or tears. Still, pristine unbacked proofs are available, so it's easy to accept that many of the remainders held by the BEP may have been released over the past 110 years.

My research reveals that the following 14 albums remain intact; or at least, they were intact when last sold. The albums are listed alphabetically by name imprinted on the cover. Where appropriate, the listing also includes auction information and the date of sale:

Harwood Bacon (May 2008, Siegel 863); J. C. Burrows (Harmers, February 2008); Otto Carmichael (Siegel, May 2006); E. E. Clark (currently in the National Postal Museum); Shelby Cullom (Bennett, February 2012); Titus Ingraham (Bennett, December 2005); John Kay (Sotheby, November 1996); Philander Knox (John Fox, December 1986); Francis Leupp (Siegel Rarity Sale, June 2013); George Slater (Ebay, April 2007); Claude Swanson (Smithsonian); Robert Wynne (Siegel, June 2005); and Special Album J (Smithsonian). Another album, name unknown, is reportedly in the Library of Congress and is missing the page with the 1869 stamps. The J. L. Brislow album was sold intact in March 2007 but has since been broken down to the page level by dealer James Lee.¹⁴

Surviving single album pages are harder to count. They appear from time to time in auction sales and online sites such as Ebay and Bidstart. The APS has a set in their reference collection. Tying individual pages to a specific album is problematic of course, but differences in the way they were cut from their albums, as well as stray stains and foreign markings, can help identify some. I have scans indicating the existence of three to five copies of most individual pages.

Counting the loose proofs is even more difficult. Individual copies are regularly found in traditional auctions and on Ebay and Bidstart. I personally own more than 30 individual proofs. Again, it is occasionally possible to distinguish them by the shape of the cutout of the gray backing paper. Toning marks or other physical damage can help track individual items. I have scans of up to 15 individual copies of each issue, both on and off the gray backing paper. In general, examples off the backing paper outnumber the ones on paper by about 55-45, which is the rule of thumb I used to create the rough estimates above.

In today's market, the value of these proofs is largely driven by condition and demand. The supply is approximately the same for each item, but differences in demand result in catalog values (2010 Scott Specialized) varying from \$50 for some of the Newspaper stamps to \$1,300 for the 2¢ Andrew Jackson stamp of 1866 (Scott 73). Most of the back-of-the-book issues fall in the \$50-\$100 range and the front-of-the-book issues are typically \$200-\$500. The total 2010 Scott catalog value for the 308 proofs was \$66,670 but intact albums typically sell for about \$40,000 plus commission. In June of this year, the well-pre-



Figure 9. Since all the 1903 small die proofs were created in approximately equal quantities, market value is largely driven by demand. Among the most valuable of these small die proofs, sought both by topicalists and by single-stamp specialists, is the Black Jack proof (73P2) shown here. All the 1903 2¢ Jackson proofs represent a scarce die type (Die II), which shows a spot on Jackson's cheek.

served Leupp album shown in Figure 1 achieved a high-water mark that might stand for a while when it was hammered down for \$95,000 in the Siegel Rarity Sale. Individual pages range from about \$1,000 for Official stamps to upwards of \$4,500 for the early classics.

Why is the proof of Scott 73 in such high demand? Andrew Jackson is a popular subject for topical collectors and the 2¢ Jackson stamp is a favorite of single-stamp specialists as well. The 1903 small die proof represents a well-known and highly collectible variety, Die II, with an obvious spot (some say it's a star) on Jackson's left cheek. Collectors and exhibitors compete avidly for the 55-70 individual examples that remain in the marketplace, such as the one shown in Figure 9.

Remaining questions

With the Post Office records no longer readily available, many questions about these albums remain unanswered. Six that immediately come to mind are: 1. Why were the Cuban stamps included? 2. Who supplied the binders? 3. Which names were on the 53 named albums? 4. How many proofs remain in the BEP? 5. Who received the remaining albums? 6. Why was the king of Spain given an album in early 1905?

To answer questions 1-4, one possible avenue of research may exist. If the Post Office Department records are gone, perhaps those in the BEP files still remain.

Partial answers to some of these questions are already available. For question 1, the BEP created dies for the Cuban stamps in 1899. They were probably included because Cuba was a United States possession in 1903. Other "foreign" stamps, such as those for the Philippines, were not created until 1905.¹⁵

For question 6, the war with Spain was over and the United States was rebuilding its image around the world. A gift to the King of Spain from the President of the United States might help mend animosities between the two leaders, though the presence of Cuban stamps in the album was probably not a source of goodwill in our relations with Spain.

Conclusion

Examination of the bona fides of the individuals who were fortunate enough to receive the Roosevelt proof albums makes it clear that President Theodore Roosevelt had nothing to do with the initiation of this project or the designation of the recipients. Had this program been launched by executive order we can be certain that written evidence of this would have survived, and that the distribution list would have looked very different.

Madden was clearly the prime mover, and the most plausible explanation of the albums' origins can be found, in Madden's own words, in his letter to Kay. The project was undertaken "to complete the Post Office Department's record of its postage stamps," a legitimate and worthwhile goal. The plates no longer existed, so die proofs had to be used. And while the dies were out, "it occurred to me to have a few extra sets of the proofs struck off for distribution to some friends."

Madden was in the right position and had the authority, so in the process of serving a legitimate objective he saw an opportunity to burnish his own image by favoring his colleagues at the Post Office Department, his friends and his family, as well as his former

union buddies and a select group of politicians who had helped him in the past or who might be able to help him in the future. In the era in which it occurred, such conduct was unexceptionable.

Every stamp collector dreams of having a complete collection. All it takes is money, patience and opportunity. But suppose it didn't. What if you, like Madden, had access to the original dies? Wouldn't you print up a few sets for yourself and your friends?

References and acknowledgements

In addition to the sources cited specifically in the endnotes, the following reference sources were consulted in researching the backgrounds of the album recipients: *Wikipedia* (online encyclopedia); *Who's Who in America, 1901-1902*, John W. Leonard, A. N. Marquis & Co., 1901; *A Brief History of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving*, Human Resource Center, June 2004; *The Book of Detroiters*, Albert Nelson Marquis, A. N. Marquis & Co., 1914. Very special thanks to Cheryl Ganz, Curator of the Smithsonian National Postal Museum, and to Mike Plett, for assistance in researching this article.

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9. Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt, an Autobiography*, Charles Scribner's sons, 1922, pp. 361-62.
10. The letter is currently in the Robert Markovits Special Delivery collection, viewable on line at http://www.uspecialdelivery.com/exhibits/sd_double_title.html (last viewed 26 August 2013).
11. Bozarth, *loc. cit.*, pg. 34. *The Seventeenth Yearbook of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1904-1905*, pg. 257, shows the following entry: "Important contributions to the Collection of the Stamps of the world for the Museum were made during the year by the following governments: United States, Proofs of all Postage Stamps issued by the Government from 1847 to 1904."
12. Laura DeSimio, Recounting Roosevelt Albums, *Enroute*, Volume 9, Issue 3, July-September 2000, National Postal Museum. Article posted on the NPM website
13. Patterson, *loc. cit.*, pg. 254.
14. Correspondence to the author from James Lee.
15. George W. Brett, "US Post Office Dies, Nos. 1-500", *Essay Proof Journal*, 1993, Volume 50, Whole Numbers 199-200, pp. 145-158. ■

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NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL STAMPS: CANCELED, UNCANCELED, AND UNUSED

WILLIAM E. MOOZ

Collecting canceled stamps is a popular facet of the stamp hobby, and collecting covers with these stamps is one of the mainstays of this publication. But Newspaper and Periodical stamps make a totally different category. Since they were not used on covers, there are no covers to collect. And because of this, one might wonder about the origins of canceled Newspaper and Periodical stamps.

This article will focus on the use of the stamps of the 1875 and 1895 designs, since both of these issues were used in the same way. The initial method of use of the stamps is well described in a report of the Third Assistant Postmaster General dated November 15, 1875, the relevant portion of which follows:

The papers for subscribers living outside the county in which they are published are made up in bulk at the publication office, and there weighed. The postage is computed on the whole issue, the proper amount in stamps handed to the postmaster, who gives the publisher a receipt as evidence of payment, and on the stubs of the receipt book he affixes and cancels the stamps, which correspond in value with the sum mentioned in the receipt. Thus, one transaction is all that is required in paying the postage on a single issue of any regular publication. The stubs with their canceled stamps are kept in the post office, as vouchers for the postage paid. In no case are the stamps affixed to the papers or packages that pass through the mails.

In his 1902 book (page 295) John Luff reported as follows:

At first it was required to cancel the stamps with a punch but afterwards various forms of post office “killers” and even pen cancellations were allowed to be used. The stubs with the canceled stamps attached were sent, at regular intervals, to the Post Office Department at Washington, and after comparison with the accounts, were destroyed.

The method must have changed subsequently, because the *Report of the Postmaster General for 1882* reads as follows:

Since January 1, 1875, the postage on newspapers and periodicals mailed by publishers and news agents to regular subscribers or news agents has been paid at pound rates.

The matter is weighed in bulk, and the postage prepaid with special adhesive stamps, officially designated as newspaper and periodical stamps.

A receipt is given the publisher or news agent for each consignment of matter, and the proper amount of stamps is affixed to the stub in the receipt book, on which is also entered a memorandum showing the name of the publication, the date of mailing, the weight of matter and the amount of postage collected.

The postmaster is required to render a quarterly statement to this office (Third Assistant Postmaster General) showing the total weight of matter mailed and the amount of postage collected from each publisher and news agent during the quarter.

The stamps are then charged to the Postmaster’s account when issued, and if affixed to the stubs and canceled, the revenue is secured to the government.

To insure this postmasters are required at the end of each quarter to send the stubs used during the quarter to this office, where they are carefully examined and compared with the memorandum entries and with the quarterly statements. Discrepancies are not infrequently discovered and postmasters are required to make good all deficiencies.

But undoubtedly the most important benefit of requiring the return of the stubs is in admonishing postmasters to properly apply and cancel the stamps, when, through neglect or design, this duty would often be omitted if the stubs were permitted to remain in the post office.

The examination of the stubs, of course, imposes much labor, but this expenditure is well repaid. During the last year examinations were made of the stubs in 22,432 receipt books and 19,032 quarterly statements were examined and recorded. The sum of \$1733.55 was collected at proper rates from publishers and newsagents on matter mailed but not entitled to go as second-class matter.

There is a subtle difference between this report and the 1875 report quoted above. The earlier report suggests that the stamps are sold to the consigner at some point, because "...the proper amount in stamps (is) handed to the postmaster ...". The later report does not address this point, because the 1881 *Postal Guide* contained a prohibition against the sale of these stamps to anyone. This was stated as follows:

Ordinary postage stamps cannot be used for such matter, nor can the newspaper and periodical stamps be used for any other purpose, and under no circumstances whatever are they to be furnished to the public, or sold or loaned to other postmasters.

In accordance with this prohibition, it was the practice of the postmaster to accept payment for the stamps, then to take them from stock and affix them to his receipt book.

With this system, the stamps that were used to pay the postage simply went from the stock at the post office into the receipt book. There they presumably resided until they were required to be sent to Washington. Once in Washington, subsequent to comparison to the accounts, they were destroyed. But if destroyed, whence come the canceled copies that survive?

The answer to this seems to be that the system did not always work as intended—for if it did, all canceled copies would have been destroyed. Figure 1 shows a portion of a page of a receipt book, dated 25 August 1880, bearing four stamps of the 1875 design canceled with a single pen stroke. Here a 12¢ stamp and three 2¢ stamps represent the 18¢ postage that was required to carry nine pounds of a periodical called *Allentown Industry* to its various subscribers.



Figure 1. Cut-out panel from a receipt book with Newspaper and Periodical stamps of the 1875 design pasted in and canceled as required by regulations. In this instance, one 12¢ stamp and three 2¢ stamps gave evidence of the 18¢ postage that was paid to mail a nine-pound shipment of a publication called *Allentown Industry*.







POST OFFICE	GRiffin, GA.	STATE	Amount brought forward . . .	\$ 137 0
No. 208	Date: June 1 st	, 1898		
Publication or News Agent:	Daily Call			
7 pounds, at 1 cent a pound, amounting to				4
(HERE AFFIX STAMPS.)				
				
No. 209	Date: June 2	, 1898		
Publication or News Agent:	Weekly News			
48 pounds, at 1 cent a pound, amounting to				48
(HERE AFFIX STAMPS.)				
   				
No. 210	Date: June 5 th	, 1898		
Publication or News Agent:	Weekly Call			
13 pounds, at 1 cent a pound, amounting to				13
(HERE AFFIX STAMPS.)				
				
			Amount carried forward . . .	\$ 148 5

Figure 2. Full page of a receipt book from the post office at Griffin, Georgia, showing stamps of the 1895 design indicating postage for three different periodicals. For all three entries, the stamps aren't canceled—and they don't add up to the postage required.

Figure 2 shows an entire page (slightly trimmed) of a receipt book from Griffin, Georgia, dated from early June, 1898, showing various amounts of postage paid (with 1895 stamps) for what appear to be three different publications, most likely from the same publisher. This and subsequent pages (not shown) indicate the Griffin postmaster lacked certain stamp denominations. For each entry he did the best he could, and the payments evened out eventually. In the top panel in Figure 2, 4¢ postage for the *Daily Call* is paid by a 5¢ stamp. In the center panel, 48¢ in postage (for the *Weekly News*) is paid with 55¢ in stamps—one 25¢ stamp and three 10¢ stamps. And on the bottom panel, 13¢ postage (for the *Weekly Call*) is paid by a single 10¢ stamp. Note also that none of these stamps is canceled.

The fact that these pages and portions of pages of the receipt books even exist testifies to the failure of some post offices to send their receipt books to Washington. That this

Post Office Department,
 OFFICE OF THIRD ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL,
 DIVISION OF POSTAGE STAMPS, STAMPED ENVELOPES, AND POSTAL CARDS,

Washington, D. C., Dec. 6, 1898

The Regulations of the Post Office Department require postmasters to forward, *immediately upon the expiration of each quarter*, the stubs of all receipts given for Newspaper and Periodical postage collected during the *entire quarter*, and to inclose in the same package a *full statement*, in **DUPLICATE**, of all the postage collected on second-class matter during the whole quarter.

The Quarterly Statements and "used stubs" from your office for the *Partial* quarter ending from *July 1 to Aug 15*, 1898, have not been received.

Inclosed you will find the proper blanks to enable you to make these statements for that quarter, which you are requested to fill out and forward, in strict compliance with the "Instructions" printed thereon, together with the used stubs.

If less than two hundred (200) of the receipts have been used during the quarter, instead of returning the entire book, the used stubs are to be detached therefrom, *after plainly writing thereon the name of the post office at which they were used*, arranged in numerical order, securely fastened together in the upper left-hand corner, and forwarded, per ordinary mail, addressed to the *Third Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.* The receipts remaining in the book are to be retained for future use.

Hereafter, in forwarding Newspaper and Periodical Stubs and Statements to this Office, **USE THE N. & P. ENVELOPE**, and **DO NOT USE IT FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE**.

In future these statements must be promptly rendered, and, with the "used stubs," returned to the Department at the close of each quarter.

The quarters terminate March 31, June 30, September 30, and December 31.

Respectfully,

John A. Merritt
 Third Assistant Postmaster General.

Late Postmaster

Griffin Ga

Figure 3. Notice of noncompliance, sent by the Third Assistant Postmaster General to the "Late Postmaster" of Griffin, Georgia, requesting that he submit overdue receipt pages. A printed form like this suggests that noncompliance must have been common.

was more than an occasional problem is evidenced by the preprinted circular letter shown in Figure 3. This notice—"Form No. 3234"—was sent from the Third Assistant Postmaster General's Office as a reminder that "the late postmaster" of Griffin, whose handiwork is shown in Figure 2, has failed to send his receipt books to Washington for comparison. The relevant wording of this letter is as follows:

The Regulations of the Post Office Department require postmasters to forward, immediately upon the expiration of each quarter, the stubs of all receipts given for Newspaper and Periodical postage collected during the entire quarter, and to enclose in the same package a full statement in DUPLICATE, of all the postage collected on second-class matter during the whole quarter...

In future, these statements must be promptly rendered, and, with the “used stubs”, returned to the Department at the close of each quarter.

The survival of the ledger page in Figure 2 shows that the late Griffin postmaster, or his successors, never did comply with the Third Assistant Postmaster General’s request.

From this discussion, it seems apparent that surviving canceled Newspaper and Periodical stamps originated in receipt books that were not sent to Washington—or perhaps from receipt books that were sent, but were not properly destroyed and subsequently found their way into collector hands.

There may have been only a limited number of the noncompliant post offices, because the existing types of cancels seems fairly small, suggesting that entire receipt books were stripped of their stamps, and the books themselves destroyed so that the origin of the stamps could never be determined.

Two examples of cancels often found on the 1875 issue stamps are shown in Figure 4. The blue brush cancel on the 12¢ stamp at left and the pen “tic-tac-toe” cancel on the 48¢ stamp at right are frequently encountered on canceled 1875 issue stamps.

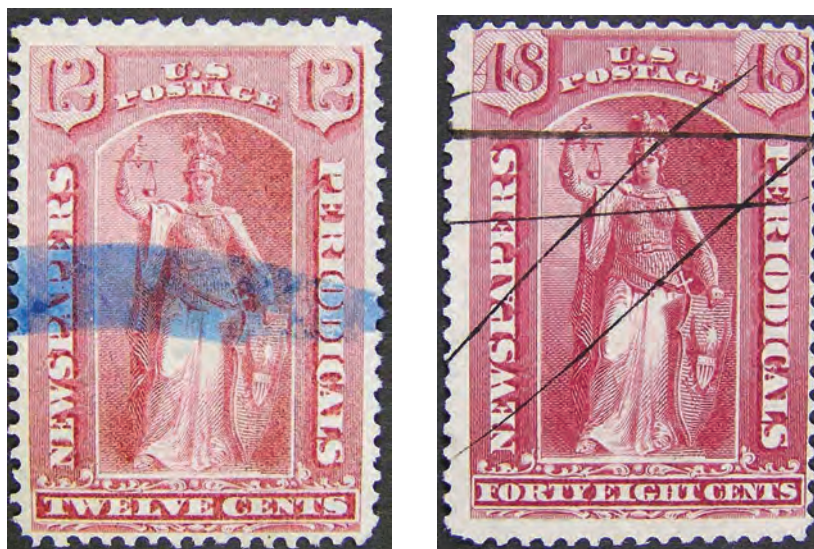


Figure 4. Two types of cancels that are often found on used Newspaper and Periodical stamps of the 1875 issue are the blue brush cancel and the manuscript double cross. The ubiquity of these two cancels strongly suggests they were removed from large receipt books.

Many canceled Newspaper and Periodical stamps of the 1895 issue bear oval Saint Louis cancels. Figure 5 shows a \$2 stamp “off paper” and a selection of stamps, including the highest (\$100) denomination, on a clipped-out portion of a receipt book.

One other thing is apparent from Figure 2: stamps in the receipt books were not always canceled. Thus there is a category of Newspaper and Periodical stamps that could be designated as “used, but not canceled.” Many Newspaper and Periodical stamps are found in “unused” condition, that is, uncanceled but without gum. There is no way to determine whether these stamps came from receipt books (in which they were used but not canceled)

Figure 5. The St. Louis oval is a cancellation that is often found on Newspaper and Periodical stamps of the 1895 design. At right: an off-paper \$2 stamp. Below: 2¢, 10¢, \$10 and \$100 denominations, canceled with the same oval, and still on a small piece cut from their receipt book.



or whether they are unused stamps that have over the years lost their gum. The only way such stamps can be definitively categorized is if they are still resident on their receipt page, as in Figure 2. While this is an interesting point, it is largely academic.

Since the above discussion concerns the origin of canceled and uncanceled stamps, one might wonder about the origin of Newspaper and Periodical stamps that are apparently mint, *i.e.*, uncanceled stamps with gum. Prior to the regulation in the 1881 *Postal Guide*, there was apparently no prohibition on the sale of these stamps to the public. We can imagine that some of these stamps may have been sold to collectors, but it is likely that such sales mainly involved the lower denominations. In an era when \$2-\$5 was a good day's wages, the higher denominations, particularly those above \$24, were too expensive for most collectors. Reasonable confirmation of this can be found in the sales of the Special Printings of the 1875 issue. The records show that only one copy each of the \$48 and \$60 stamps was sold.

This leaves us with the conjecture that mint copies of the 1875 design stamps originated from the stock remaining after the issuance of the 1895 designs, with the stamps perhaps being given out as favors, or otherwise leaving the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster General clandestinely.

Mint copies of the 1895 issue are not only easy to find, they are frequently sold in complete sets. This is because after the use of Newspaper and Periodical stamps ceased, the government offered the remaining stock of sets of the 1895 issue for \$5 per set (approximately between \$100 and \$150 in 2013 dollars). Collector response to this offer was so great that the BEP had to reprint a number of the denominations so that complete sets could be sold. ■

U.S. CENSUS MAIL OF 1880
LESTER C. LANPHEAR III

The United States census was established in the Constitution and is conducted every ten years. The first census was held in 1790, under the direction of the Department of State, conducted by the U.S. Marshals in each district.¹ By the time of the 1840 census, the State Department had appointed a Supervising Clerk. The census office was not a permanent office; each census was staffed to last two to five years. No covers survive from the first six censuses.²

For the 1850 census, the function was moved to the Department of the Interior but a permanent office was not established until 1902. Free-frank covers are recorded from the 1850, 1860 and 1870 Censuses.³

For the 1880 Census, there were three methods of franking and sending census forms to and from the Superintendent of the Census, his chief clerk, supervisors and enumerators in the field. The three methods were: 1. Franking via U.S. penalty-mail envelopes (penalty envelope use had commenced in 1877); 2. Franking via U.S. Official stamps (Official stamp use had commenced in 1873); and 3. Free franking (a special law for the 1880 census allowed a form of free frank, even though the general franking privilege had been discontinued in 1873).

This article will show examples of census mail in all three franking categories.

Penalty mail envelopes (sometimes called “free envelopes” by the Post Office during this era) had been in use since 1877 and were adopted fairly quickly by the Department of the Interior, since the savings in free postage far outweighed the cost of having envelopes imprinted. Figure 1 shows a penalty-clause cover used in 1881 by the census office in Washington D.C. to send out information relating to the 1880 census. The highly threaten-

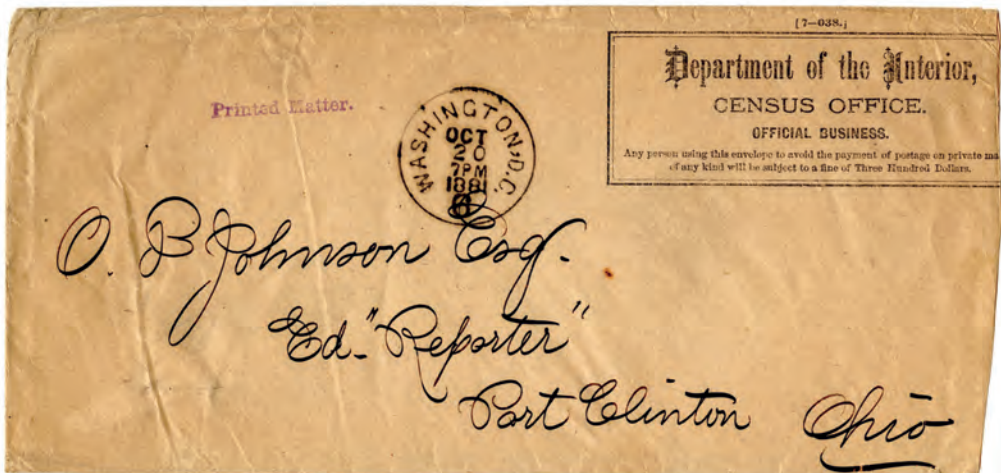


Figure 1. Census office penalty cover mailed at Washington, D.C. in October 1881.



Figure 2. 3¢ Department of Interior stamp, covering a penalty imprint, sent by “Ernest Ingersoll, U.S. Census Expert.”

ing penalty clause (“Any person using this envelope to avoid the payment of postage on private mail of any kind will be subject to a fine of Three Hundred Dollars”) endured into modern times. The Figure 1 cover was addressed to a newspaper editor and the “Printed Matter” handstamp suggests the cover contained forms or other printed information concerning the census. Penalty envelopes of this type are also known mailed from the field.

For the 1880 census, no covers are recorded sent from the census office in Washington franked with Official stamps. But Figure 2 comes close. This is a penalty envelope with a 3¢ Interior Department stamp placed directly over the penalty imprint. The blue handstamp of the sender, “Ernest Ingersoll, Census Expert,” is struck at upper left. Ingersoll was not a census office employee and thus was not authorized to use penalty envelopes. But the Department of the Interior apparently supplied him with its Official stamps. A protege of Louis Agassiz, Ingersoll was a zoologist and an expert on shellfish. According to Wikiped-

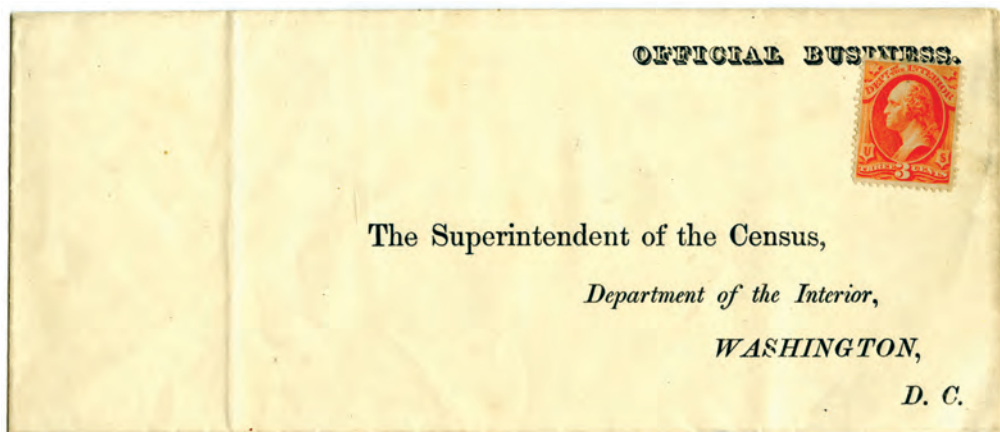


Figure 3. 3¢ Interior stamp affixed to a reply envelope that was never mailed.

Department of the Interior,

CENSUS OFFICE,

Washington, D. C., *July 15th*, 1879

SIR:

Will you favor this Office with the names of all practicing physicians and surgeons, of whatever school of medicine, who receive their mail at your office?

A blank form is inclosed for your answer. Please be careful to fill in the names of the State and county.

This request has the sanction of the Hon. Postmaster General, as will appear by his instructions given below.

Very respectfully,

FRANCIS A. WALKER,
Superintendent of Census.

[CIRCULAR.]

Post Office Department,

Washington, D. C., July 14, 1879.

TO ALL POSTMASTERS:

Under the provisions of the 18th section of the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1879, postmasters are hereby instructed to furnish such information, relative to the population and industries of their respective districts, as may be asked by the Census Office, so far as can be done without prejudice to the duties of their offices.

The use of official stamps, or of envelopes with the "penalty clause," is authorized in connection with letters addressed by postmasters to the Census Office in response to requests for information from that office.

THOS. J. BRADY,
Acting Postmaster General.

Figure 4. Circular from the Census Department, distributed to postmasters by the Post Office department, seeking census data about physicians and authorizing the use of Official stamps or penalty envelopes in transmitting information to the census office.

dia, between 1879 and 1881 Ingersoll worked on a project involving shell fisheries, funded jointly by the Census Bureau and the United States Fish Commission.

Shown in Figure 3 is an unused reply envelope for the 1880 census, addressed to "The Superintendent of the Census," with a 3¢ Interior stamp applied. Such stamped return envelopes allowed enumerators or other citizens to send information to the census office post-free. Most of these envelopes would have been opened and subsequently destroyed after being received at the census office. This one survives because it was never used.

Figure 4 shows a very interesting printed circular sent out to postmasters in mid-1879, specifically authorizing the use of Official stamps (or penalty envelopes) to send census information to the census office. This document implies that Post Office Official stamps could also have been used to send forms to the census office, but no example of such a use has been seen. The upper section of the circular, signed by the superintendent of the census,

asks postmasters to provide names of local physicians and surgeons.

As noted above, the signature-based franking privilege had been largely eliminated with the 1873 reforms that created the Official stamps. But on 3 March 1879, a special law was passed, specifically for the census office, officially summarized as follows:⁴

Provides for the free transmission in the mails by the Superintendent of the Census, his chief clerk, supervisors, and enumerators, of any paper or document related to the census, by writing thereon "Official business – Census," with his name and official title.

Five days before the letter in Figure 4 was mailed to postmasters around the country, the acting Postmaster General, Thomas J. Brady, sent a letter to the Secretary of the Interior. The letter was in response to a letter from Francis S. Walker, the Superintendent of the Census, seeking information about using Official stamps on envelopes carrying information to the census office. Brady's reply is as follows:⁵

In reply I have to say that proper instructions will be communicated to postmasters through the medium of the next official Postal Guide, to the effect that answers to official communications addressed to them by the Census Office, may be replied to under cover of the official envelopes, as this dept. does not intend hereafter to furnish postmasters with official postage stamps.

It is interesting to note that in the Figure 4 letter, dated days after this response, Brady makes no mention of the official envelopes and instead mentions stamps and penalty-clause envelopes. Did he change his mind—or was this just a clerical miscommunication?

Figure 5. The only recorded example of the special free-frank privilege authorized for the 1880 census. This cover was sent in October 1879 by Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Census.



Figure 5 shows what is so far the only recorded example of this 1879 law actually being implemented. This cover was signed (as "Off. Bus.") by Walker in October 1879, in his capacity as the Superintendent of the Census. A Brigadier General during the Civil War, Walker served as Superintendent for both the 1870 and 1880 censuses. His handwriting on this hastily-addressed envelope wasn't the clearest, and as a consequence this cover, addressed to Charlemont, a village in northwestern Massachusetts, was initially missent to Montana.

Endnotes

1. *American Stampless Cover Catalog, Volume II*, David G. Phillips publishing Co., Inc., 1987, pg. 233.
2. *Ibid.*, pg. 233.
3. *Ibid.*, pg. 260.
4. *Postage Rates, 1789-1930*, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1936, pg. 45.
5. U.S. National Archives in the Post Office section. I regret that I failed to note the exact location of this letter when I encountered it 20 years ago. ■

**PUMPED UP FOR A LOST BICYCLE STAMP:
A STRIKING CALIFORNIA DISCOVERY**

GORDON STIMMELL

The Fresno and San Francisco bicycle post was sparked by the American Railroad Union strike which held up the United States mails for two weeks in 1894 between those two cities.

The proprietor of the bicycle post was Arthur C. Banta, who owned Victor Cyclery in Fresno and was agent of the Overman Wheel Company.

The post is classified as an emergency mail service, much like the blizzard mail that sprang to life for three days amid the snowdrifts of the great blizzard of 1888 and gave birth to the Blizzard Mail stamp, Scott 163L1.

The bicycle post got rolling with eight cyclists relaying mail bags in stages over the 210 miles between the two cities, much like the Pony Express with its stations dotting the Wild West 33 years earlier. The Bicycle Mail Route's legitimate span was 10 days between July 7 and July 16, when the trains resumed service.

Banta claimed July 6 was the first day of operation, but no covers survive from that date. July 18 was supposedly the last day, but that was two days after rail service resumed.

Two green diamond shaped stamps were printed with the die engraved on copper in sheets of six. The first hastily issued 800 stamps had San Francisco misspelled as "San Fransisco" (Scott 12L1). Within two days that was roughly corrected by retouching the die. The corrected stamp is Scott 12L2. Postal stationery envelopes with the same design, on white and amber paper, were also printed (Scott 12LU1-2).

The population of surviving Bicycle Mail Route covers is small enough to deflate the ego of anyone pumped up enough to want to obtain one.

Gumming up the spokes is the fact that this post is a holy grail for bicycle stamp topicalists as well as local post collectors. Both factions spark spirited bidding wars when a cover makes a rare appearance on the marketplace.

Lowell B. Cooper in his definitive book, *The Fresno and San Francisco Bicycle Mail of 1894* (published in 1982 by Leonard H. Hartmann) categorized the few covers he recorded into genuine commercial uses and philatelically inspired covers, where stamp collectors climbed aboard for the ride and mailed envelopes to themselves that were carried by the post. The divide between the two uses is often blurred and difficult to nail down.

About 20 years ago I purchased a large portion of George B. Sloane's reference material on local stamps. In it was a genuine envelope that passed through the post on July 15. But tragically, its bicycle stamp had long ago been peeled off the cover. Talk about collateral damage!

My incomplete census indicates five covers addressed to C.H. Clarke in care of Under Sheriff of Fresno, Fred T. Benny Esq. Two are dated July 11, two (including my tragedy) are on 2¢ Columbian entire envelopes (U349) dated July 15, and one is on the stationery envelope issued by the bicycle post (12LU1).

Most surviving covers were sent from San Francisco to Fresno where they were cancelled with a Fresno handstamp on receipt. Covers bearing the San Francisco handstamp

are very rare, and covers from the way stations, bearing Oakland, Menlo Park, or Gilroy handstamps, are excessively rare.

For two decades I have hunted for the missing stamp. Hundreds of auctions later, a suspect finally surfaced in a recent South African sale, priced almost three times the Scott catalog value (\$200) for a used single stamp. I printed out the catalog image of the cancelled stamp and held it to the vacant spot on my orphaned envelope. It seemed a perfect match!



Figure 1. Fresno and San Francisco Bicycle Mail Route Stamp, Scott 12L1, as received from a South African auction. On all examples of 12L1, "Francisco" is misspelled "Fransisco."

Negotiation with the mother auction house in London finally netted the item. The stamp as I received it is shown in Figure 1. When it finally arrived from South Africa (a danger zone for precious mail) I breathlessly held it to the envelope. Not only did the Fresno handstamp match up, but oxidized spots tie the stamp to cover. Even more telling, a double fold that crosses the entire cover vertically was dramatically evident on the stamp.



Figure 2. The Figure 1 stamp, recently reunited with the cover from which it had long been separated. The cover represents a genuine non-philatelic use of the bicycle stamp, a considerable rarity.



Figure 3. Reverse of the Figure 1 cover, showing a large handstamped marking cherished by bicycle topicalists. The cover was carried by the bicycle post from San Francisco to Fresno, where it entered the U.S. mails for local delivery in Fresno.

As well, adherences on the back of the stamp, from the envelope where it had been roughly peeled off by a collector long ago, matched thins on the cover below the stamp. The reunited cover is shown herewith as Figure 2. The reverse of the cover, with its characteristic bicycle handstamp, is shown as Figure 3.

Thus, the needle in the haystack has been found and the orphan reunited with its parent cover, for the first time in a century. To me, this is a minor miracle.

Readers are referred to Cooper's book for a larger discussion of the various postal usages, both legitimate and those dating after the true life of the post, as well as the various incarnations of the stamps themselves. Leonard Hartmann, a regular *Chronicle* advertiser, maintains an ample supply of the books. ■

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Leonard H. Hartmann		

CANADIAN INTERPROVINCIAL MAIL VIA THE UNITED STATES

DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

Introduction

The Dominion of Canada was created on July 1, 1867, when the formerly independent provinces of Canada East, Canada West, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia confederated. Other provinces joined Canada at later dates. Relevant to this discussion were the Red River Colony, British Columbia, and Vancouver Island. The Red River Colony was formed in the Rupert's Land province, controlled by the Hudson Bay Company. The colony eventually confederated with Canada on July 15, 1870, and is now known as Manitoba. In addition, the separate provinces of British Columbia and Vancouver Island combined in November 1866, and then confederated with Canada on July 20, 1870, as the province of British Columbia. Prince Edward Island confederated with Canada on July 1, 1873. Newfoundland did not join Canada until 1949.

Although Canada East and Canada West united in 1841 and had a unified postal system, the other provinces in British North America (BNA) maintained separate postal systems. Until 1851, all of the BNA postal services were under the control of the General Post Office (GPO) in London. Because of geography and development patterns, these independent postal systems often exchanged mail using mail routes through the United States. This article is limited to mail between independent postal systems—that is, mail that transited the United States between independent provinces or between Canada and an independent province.

Interprovincial mail can be divided into open mail and closed mail. In this context, open mail refers to loose letters that entered the United States postal system, were carried like domestic-origin letters, and were subject to United States domestic postage charges. Closed-mail letters transited the United States in closed mailbags and were not subject to United States postal charges. Open mail was used on occasion to speed the delivery of mail between Canada and the Maritime Provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island). However, open mail was more frequently used on mail to or from the western provinces (British Columbia and Manitoba), which were sent via the United States because no BNA mail route existed.

In contrast to the open mail, the closed-mail routes were set by treaty with United States. Since such mail was sent in a closed mail bag, covers do not bear United States postal markings, except by accident. In some instances, mail continued to be sent through the United States following confederation. In the western provinces, confederation led to the development of Canadian domestic postal routes to eliminate the need to send mail through the United States.

Many of the interprovincial routes were developed to speed mail to and from the United Kingdom. Once the route was established for the more important mail to the mother country, the provinces were able to piggy-back onto the route for the transmission of the much smaller volume of interprovincial mail. In fact, the closed-mail routes generally started as open-mail routes that, despite their higher costs, had been used by businesses to speed important communications.

Mail between Canada and the Maritime Provinces

Northern New England separates the commercial centers of Canada, such as Montreal and Toronto, from the commercial centers of the Maritime Provinces, such as Saint John and Halifax. Before the Revolutionary War, mail between the provinces, as well as mail to the United Kingdom, was generally routed through New York, via Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. This route was severed during the Revolutionary War, with the result that mail service was not provided on a regular basis during winter months.

In 1783, for reasons of military security, the British established a mail route from Halifax to Montreal that ran entirely through BNA territory.¹ The route generally followed the St. Lawrence, Madawaska, and Saint John rivers. In the mid-1830s, the mails would take 20 days or longer for the 650 miles from Halifax to Quebec City during the late fall and spring.² By the 1850s the overland route took an average of eight days in the summer and nine days in the winter months for the longer distance (roughly 800 miles) from Halifax to Montreal.³ The route passed through what are, even today, remote areas in New Brunswick and Lower Canada (Quebec).

Because the overland route was long and slow, merchants often preferred to send their mail to the United Kingdom via New York. The details of Canadian transatlantic mails have been covered in depth elsewhere and are beyond the scope of this article.⁴ For purposes of this discussion, it is sufficient to note that ordinary domestic United States postage was charged on these letters before 1845, when the United States agreed to allow mails for Canada to be sent through the United States by closed bag.⁵ Canada was required to pay transit postage to the United States, but individual letters were not charged transit postage. The terms of the agreement applied only to transatlantic mail. The agreement did not cover interprovincial mails.⁶

Figure 1 is an example of an interprovincial letter sent by open mail through the United States. The letter entered the mail in Montreal, Lower Canada, on February 5, 1829, and was sent in the open mail via the United States to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The sender prepaid



Figure 1. February 5, 1829, Montreal to Halifax, sent in the open mail. The sender prepaid both 6d Canadian postage to the United States border and 18¾¢ United States postage to Boston. How the cover travelled from Boston to Halifax is not certain.

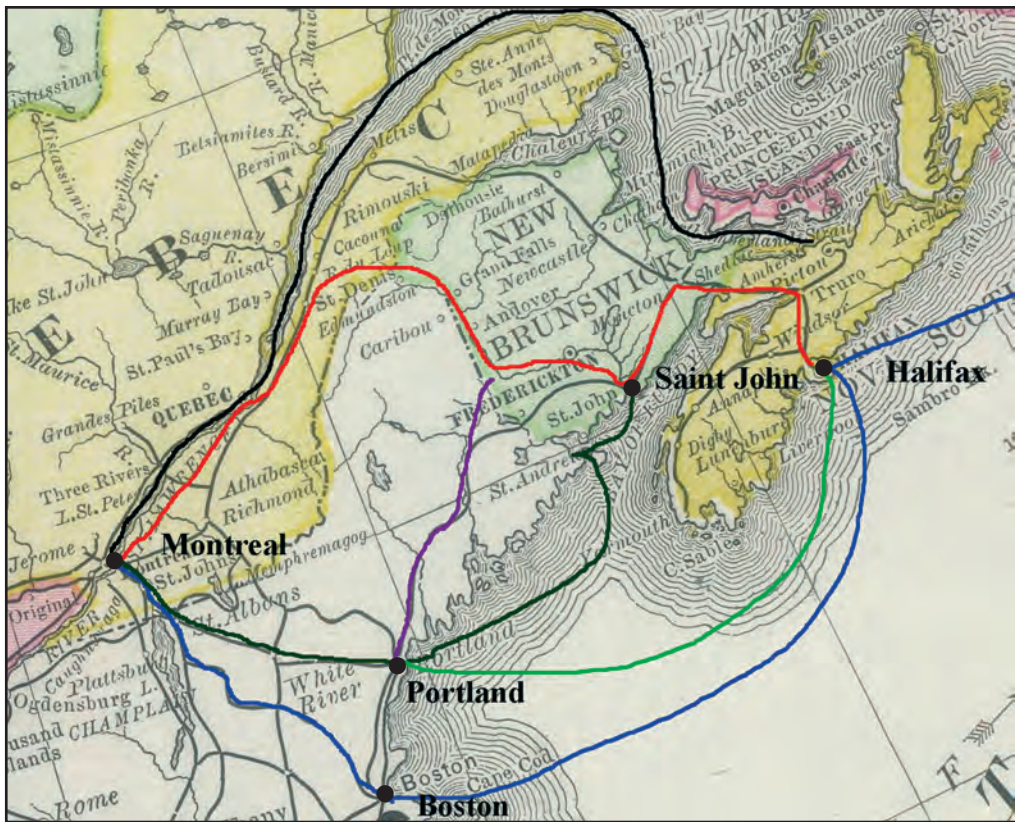


Figure 2. By 1867, there were six mail routes between Canada and the Maritime Provinces. Two were entirely within BNA territory. The overland route is shown in red and the domestic route by Canadian mail steamer on the St. Lawrence River is shown in black. The other four mail routes transited the United States: open and closed mail by Cunard Line steamer via Boston (shown in blue); open and closed mail by coastal steamboat via Portland and Saint John, New Brunswick (dark green); closed mail by Grand Trunk Railway steamship via Portland and Halifax (light green); and a rail link via Maine (purple).

both 6d for a distance of 61 to 100 miles to the border and 18³/₄¢ United States postage for a distance of 150 to 400 miles from the Swanton, Vermont, exchange office to Boston. The cover is endorsed “postage to Boston paid.” The means of transit from Boston to Halifax is unclear. The cover may have been intended for the Cunard mail-boat *Emily*, which departed Boston on February 9, 1829. However, the cover is unlikely to have made it to Boston in time for the packet. Instead, it appears the letter was handed off to a private ship, probably the *George Henry*, which departed Boston for Halifax on February 19, 1829.⁷

Interprovincial mail is surprisingly scarce. It is much less common than cross-border covers to the United States. Charles Firby has maintained a census of Canadian pence and decimal issue stamped covers and was one of the authors of a separate census of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia pence-issue covers. The Firby census of Canadian pence-issue covers records only 26 single-rate⁸ covers from Canada to the Maritime Provinces (16 to New Brunswick, seven to Nova Scotia, and three to Prince Edward Island) during the Canadian pence era.⁹ Similarly, the census of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia pence-issue covers records only seven covers from New Brunswick to Canada (1.9 percent of the 380 pence-issue covers reported), and only 16 covers from Nova Scotia to Canada, including two double-rate covers (2.6 percent of the 622 pence issue covers reported). By way of

comparison, covers to the United States and the United Kingdom are both far more common. The census reports 90 covers from New Brunswick to the United States (23.6 percent of the total) and 62 to the United Kingdom (16.4 percent). For Nova Scotia, the census reports 114 to the United States (18.3 percent of the total), and 89 to the United Kingdom (14.3 percent).¹⁰

By Confederation in 1867, there were six mail routes between Canada and the Maritime Provinces. These are sketched out on the map presented in Figure 2. In addition to the overland route entirely through BNA territory (shown in red in Figure 2), there was a second Canadian domestic route by Canadian mail steamer on the St. Lawrence River (shown in black in Figure 2). The other four mail routes transited the United States: open and closed mail by Cunard Line steamer via Boston (blue in Figure 2); open and closed mail by coastal steamboat via Portland, Maine and Saint John, New Brunswick (dark green); closed mail by Grand Trunk Railway steamship via Portland and Halifax, which used the same rail link between Portland and Montreal (light green); and a rail link via Maine (purple).¹¹ The four routes that transited the United States are discussed below. Given the small number of interprovincial covers in general, and the fact that these few covers were carried over multiple routes, the number of interprovincial covers carried on any one route is tiny.

Closed mail by the Cunard Line via Boston

When the Cunard Line initiated its regular transatlantic service in July 1840, its sole terminus in the United States was Boston, and the steamships called at Halifax en route between Boston and Liverpool. In January 1848, Cunard began service between Liverpool and New York, again with the steamship calling at Halifax. However in September 1850, the New York steamships dropped Halifax and began operating non-stop between New York and Liverpool. Cunard steamships operating between Liverpool and Boston continued to call at Halifax until the end of 1867.¹²

With the initiation of Cunard Line service, it was possible to send mail from Halifax to the United States by Cunard Line steamer. Some correspondents used this route to send mail to Canada. Figure 3 is an interprovincial cover sent by open mail using the Cunard Line through Boston. The cover originated in Halifax on June 2, 1847, and was paid 1 shilling packet postage to Boston. At Boston, it was rated 7¢ due (5¢ for a distance under 300 miles to the border plus 2¢ ship letter fee). From the exchange office to Quebec City, the letter was rated 1 shilling 4d due Canadian currency (cy.) comprised of 11½d cy. for a distance of 201 to 300 miles inland postage plus the 7¢ United States inland postage, which was converted to 4½d cy. There are two 1847 issue covers from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to St. Catharines, Canada West, that were sent by this route. However, the 1847 stamps were



Figure 3. June 2, 1847, Halifax to Quebec City, sent in the open mail by Cunard Line. One shilling packet postage to Boston was prepaid at Halifax. At Boston, the cover was rated 7¢ due. The U.S. postage due plus Canadian inland postage totaled 1 shilling 4d due (Canadian currency).

applied in the United States.¹³ One cover was carried out of the mails or “bootlegged” by a passenger on a Cunard Line packet. The passenger affixed two 5¢ 1847s and mailed the letter at Boston. The other cover was mailed from Halifax to a forwarding agent in Boston. The forwarding agent applied a vertical pair of 5¢ 1847s and mailed the cover at Boston.¹⁴

In 1848, the United States and the United Kingdom entered into a postal treaty. However, it did not provide for cross-border or interprovincial mails. In 1851, after the cross-border treaty rates had been negotiated and the provinces took control of their postal systems from the London GPO, the provinces were able to negotiate with the United States the ability to send interprovincial mail by closed bag between Montreal and Halifax. The closed mail service took effect October 27, 1851.¹⁵ The interprovincial mails were permitted to transit the United States in closed bags, free of any United States postal charges. Interprovincial mail was charged 6d sterling (stg.) (7½d cy.), comprised of 4d stg. (5d cy.) packet postage from Halifax to Boston plus 2d stg. (2½d cy.) inland postage.¹⁶ After 1845, all rates were per half ounce. The packet postage rate was set by the United Kingdom and the provinces were required to pay over that entire amount, in sterling, to the GPO in London. Despite the speed advantage, this route was not widely used because of the added cost (7½d cy. versus 3d cy. for overland mail) and the fact that the route was available only once every two weeks. Thus, unless a letter was specifically timed for the sailing of the Cunard steamship, it was often faster to send by one of the other routes.

Figure 4 is one of five recorded covers franked with Pence Issue stamps from Nova Scotia to Canada by the Cunard Line closed-mail route, and the only cover franked with the 1857 6d dark green. The cover is properly endorsed “closed mail for Canada” to indicate it should be sent by the faster and more expensive closed-mail route. The cover originated in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 27, 1858, and is franked with a 6d dark green 1857 stamp and a bisected 3d dark blue 1851 stamp, paying the 7½d cy. closed-mail rate. The cover was carried by the Cunard Line *America* to Boston, followed by rail transit to Montreal. No United States transit postage was charged.



Figure 4. December 27, 1858, Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Montreal. The 7½d Cunard Line closed mail rate was paid by stamps in Nova Scotia: a 6d dark green 1857 stamp and a bisected 3d dark blue 1851 stamp. The cover was carried by the Cunard Line *America* to Boston, then by rail to Montreal. No United States transit postage was charged.



Figure 5. November 6, 1855, Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Toronto, sent in the open mail via the Cunard Line. The 3d dark blue 1851 and two 1d red brown 1851 Nova Scotia stamps pay the 5 pence packet postage to Boston. The 10¢ postage due (6d in Canadian currency) represents the treaty-rate postage from Boston to Toronto.

Figure 5 is an open-mail cover sent November 6, 1855, from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Toronto, Canada West. The letter is franked with a 3d dark blue 1851 stamp and two 1d red browns (originally a pair) paying the 5d cy. packet rate (in this case via Cunard Line *Asia*) to Boston. At Boston, the cover was rated 10¢ (6d cy.) due as an unpaid letter to Toronto. The sender may have intended the letter to go by the Cunard Line closed-mail route. However, the rate by that route was 7½d cy. As the cover was not endorsed for the closed mail and was paid only to Boston (5d cy.), Boston treated it as an unpaid letter to Canada. The total postage charged on this letter was equivalent to 11d, comprised of the 5d packet postage paid by the stamps, plus 6d cy. (10¢) the treaty-rate postage collected at Toronto. The alternatives would have been 7½d cy. by the Cunard Line closed mail, or 3d cy. by ordinary overland interprovincial mail.

Figure 6 is a closed-mail cover sent from Montreal on June 3, 1867, to New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, after the conversion to decimal currency. The 4d stg. packet postage was equivalent to 8½¢ in the new decimal currency, while the 2d stg. inland charge was equal to 4¢, for a total rate of 12½¢. The cover is endorsed “p Cunard Steamer” to indicate that it should be sent by closed mail via the United States. The cover is franked with a 12½¢ yellow-green 1859 stamp, which pays the special 12½¢ (6d stg.) closed-mail rate by the Cunard Line steamer *Africa* via Boston and Halifax.

The 7½d cy. or 12½¢ closed-mail rate was also available for mail to or from New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, although no such covers are recorded for those provinces. At least for New Brunswick, it is doubtful this route would save any time, since it would be necessary to send the letter east to Halifax to send it west to Canada. Thus, it was probably faster to send a letter by one of the other routes. Given how scarce Prince Edward Island mail is to begin with, it is not surprising no closed-mail cover is known.

The closed-mail route was also available for mail between Canada and Newfoundland. The rate for this route was agreed to on September 22, 1851.¹⁷ Service presumably did not start until October 27, 1851, when the closed mail to Nova Scotia was initiated. At that

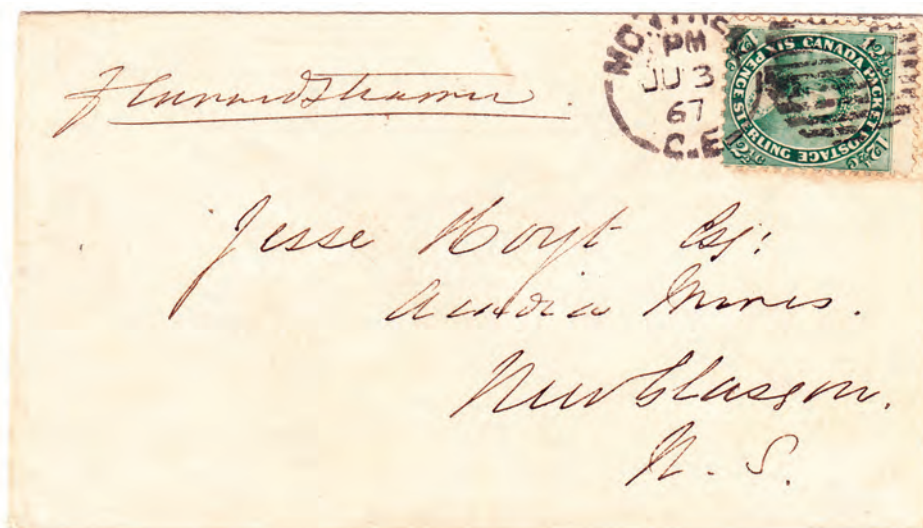


Figure 6. June 3, 1867, Montreal, Canada East, to New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, endorsed “p Cunard Steamer” to indicate it should be sent by closed mail via the United States, and franked with a 12½¢ yellow-green 1859 “Canada Packet Postage” stamp, which pays the special closed-mail rate.

time, a Cunard Line feeder service to Halifax was the only mail route off the island.¹⁸ The postage rate for a letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Boston was 8d stg., comprised of 4d stg. packet postage from St. Johns to Halifax, plus 4d stg. from Halifax to Boston. The closed-mail rate was thus set at 10d stg.: 8d stg. packet postage, plus the 2d stg. inland charge. In January 1856, the packet postage rate from St. Johns to Boston was reduced to 4d stg. The closed-mail rate remained 10d stg. until January 1, 1865.¹⁹ After that date, the rate was reduced to 6½d stg.

Figure 7 is a cover intended to be sent by closed mail from Saint Johns, Newfoundland, on April 2, 1856, to Amherstburgh, Canada West. The letter was properly endorsed “per closed mail” and prepaid 10d stg. (red crayon manuscript 8 and 2 at right) for the closed-mail rate to Canada West. The cover was carried by the Cunard Line feeder route to Halifax and then by the Cunard *Cambria* to Boston. For whatever reason, the letter was

Figure 7. April 2, 1856, Newfoundland to Canada West. While prepaid for the closed mail rate, this cover was handled as an open-mail letter at Boston and rated 10¢ due as an unpaid letter to Canada West. Farther on, Boston’s 10 due marking was crossed out and the cover was marked PAID.



not placed in the closed bag for Canada. At Boston it was handled as an open-mail letter and was rated 10¢ due as an unpaid letter to Canada West. The letter was routed through the Detroit exchange office, which applied the “UNITED/6d/STATES” exchange-office marking in red and sent the letter on to Amherstburgh. At some point, probably in Detroit, the letter was marked “PAID” and the black 10 due marking was crossed out. Had the letter been placed in the closed mail, it would have been carried by closed bag to Montreal and would not show any United States markings.

The rates from Canada to Newfoundland were the same, but they were expressed in Canadian currency rather than sterling. The 10d stg. rate was 1 shilling Canadian currency and then 20¢ when Canada converted to decimal currency. Figure 8 is a May 14, 1857, letter sent from Montreal to Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, by the closed mail. The letter is endorsed “via Boston” and was rated 1 shilling due. Since the letter traveled in a closed bag, there are no U.S. postal markings and the United States did not collect any transit postage. Once the closed-mail rate was reduced to 6½d stg., the rate from Canada to Newfoundland was reduced to the equivalent 12½¢ Canadian decimal currency, rather than the 13¢ equivalent in Newfoundland currency.

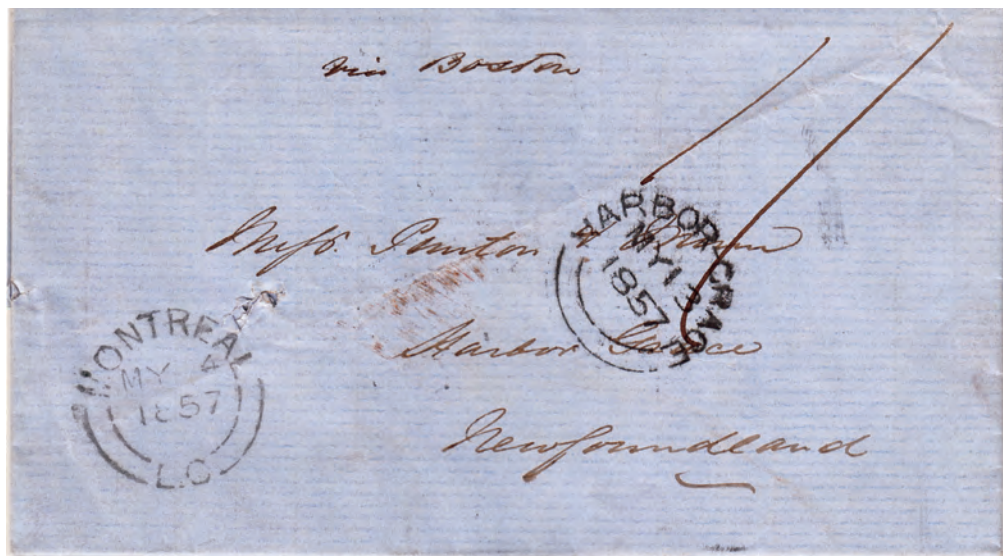


Figure 8. May 14, 1857, Montreal, Canada East, to Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, sent by the Cunard Line closed mail. The letter is endorsed “via Boston” and was rated 1 shilling due. Since it traveled in a closed bag, there are no U.S. postal markings.

Fairly detailed census information is available for covers carried on this route. As noted above, there are five Nova Scotia Pence Issue covers recorded as carried on this route.²⁰ There are no Canadian Pence Issue covers recorded to Nova Scotia²¹ and only two stampless covers recorded at the pence rate.²² There are just 10 (plus one post-Confederation) decimal covers from Canada to Nova Scotia.²³ No census of Nova Scotia Cents Issue covers has been published. However, Nicholas Argenti described the covers as “RR,” his highest scarcity rating, described as “only a few exist.”²⁴

Cunard Line closed-mail covers to Newfoundland are scarcer than such covers to Nova Scotia. The closed-mail cover from Newfoundland to Canada illustrated in Figure 7 is one of four examples originating in Newfoundland known to the author. Pratt recorded a single cover franked with a 1 shilling cy., 10d stg. Pence Issue stamp, and two stampless covers, not including the cover illustrated in Figure 7.²⁵ There are approximately five pence

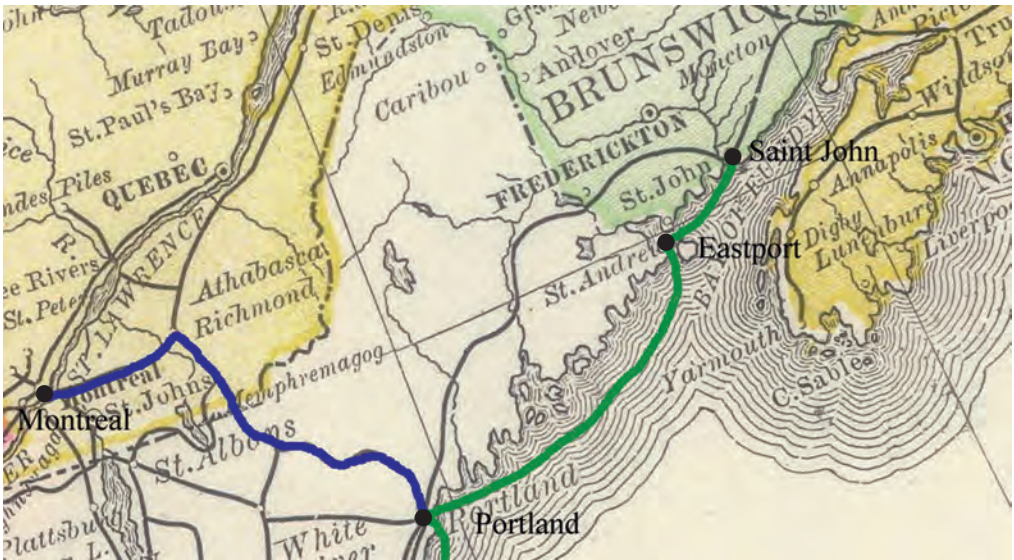


Figure 9. The closed-mail route between Montreal and Saint John, New Brunswick. The railroad portion of the route (Montreal to Portland) is shown in blue and the steamship portion of the route (Portland to St. John) is shown in green.

rate stampless covers from Canada to Newfoundland recorded²⁶ and five Canadian decimal stamp covers at the 20¢ (10d stg.) rate.²⁷ There are also two covers with Canadian decimal stamps recorded at the 12½¢ (6½d stg.) rate, although one of the covers was sent after Canadian confederation.²⁸ Additionally, two printed circulars from Canada to Newfoundland are reported, paying a 1½d cy. rate.²⁹

Closed mail by coastal steamboat via Portland

Steamboats started scheduled service between Boston and Saint John, New Brunswick, in the late 1830s. By 1844, express companies were carrying letters on the steamboats, providing faster and cheaper communication between the United States and New Brunswick. United States Post Office route agents, officially known as steamboat letter carriers, were authorized on the domestic portion of the mail route (from Boston to Eastport, Maine) beginning in September 1845.³⁰ However, it was not until June 1853 that the steamboat letter carriers were authorized to operate to Saint John.³¹ Shortly thereafter, beginning August 20, 1853, letters could be sent by closed mail between Montreal and Saint John, New Brunswick.³² The closed bags were sent by steamboat between Saint John and Portland, Maine, and by the Grand Trunk Railway between Portland and Montreal. This route is shown on the map in Figure 9. The railroad portion of the route (Montreal to Portland) is shown in blue and the steamship portion of the route (Portland to St. John) is shown in green.

Unlike the Cunard Line closed-mail route, this interprovincial mail was charged the ordinary inland rate of 3d cy. per half ounce (5¢ after conversion to decimal currency). Letters sent by the closed-mail route were to be endorsed “via Portland.”³³ At some point, it appears that the default routing for interprovincial covers was switched from the overland route to the closed-mail route via Portland. However, BNA sources differ on this point.³⁴ A change in the default route seems likely since Canada successfully petitioned the British Post Office to stop sending British mail via Halifax for Canada by the overland route effective in June 1858.³⁵ It seems unlikely Canada would insist that the British mails not take the overland route while continuing to send interprovincial mail on the same route. A change in



Figure 10. September 10, 1850, likely from Saint John, New Brunswick, to Hamilton, Canada West. This cover entered the mails in Eastport, Maine, rated 2¢ due as a ship letter. The 10¢ 1847 stamp paid U.S. domestic postage to the exchange office at Lewiston, New York. The ship letter assessment was ignored and the recipient charged 4½d (currency) for postage from the exchange office at Queenston to Hamilton. Image courtesy of Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.

the default routing, and the subsequent increase in mail volume, may be the reason that the Nova Scotia government paid a subsidy to Favor's Express between 1856 and 1861. The Canadian government similarly paid a subsidy to Favor's Express between 1857 and 1859. Unfortunately, without endorsements, or transit markings, it can be difficult to determine the route of transmission for interprovincial mail paid at the ordinary 3d cy. or 5¢ rate.

As with the closed-mail route via Boston and Halifax, letters were initially carried on the Portland and Saint John route as open-mail letters. Figure 10 is a spectacular cover sent by open mail on this route before the establishment of the closed-mail route in 1853. The specific town of origin is unknown, but it was almost certainly Saint John, New Brunswick, or one of the surrounding towns. There was scheduled steamship service between Saint John and Eastport on the *Maid of Erin* at this time.³⁶ Franked with a 10¢ 1847 stamp, the Figure 10 cover entered the mails at Eastport, Maine, on September 10, 1850, and was rated 2¢ due as a ship letter. The 10¢ stamp paid the United States domestic rate for distances over 300 miles to the border at Lewiston, New York, which exchanged mails with Queenston, Upper Canada (Ontario). The cover was rated 4½d cy. due for a distance of up to 60 miles from Queenston to Hamilton. Notably, the amount due does not include the 2¢ ship-letter fee. An additional cover franked with 1847 stamps may be an interprovincial cover carried on the Boston to Saint John steamboat line, but traveling in the opposite direction.³⁷ That letter entered the mails with a steamboat marking from Whitehall, New York, at the southern end of Lake Champlain. The cover may have originated in Montreal, but what survives is an outer wrapper without contents or docketing, so the actual origin is unknown.

Figure 11 is one of the earliest covers intended to be sent by the closed-mail route. The envelope has a Halifax, Nova Scotia, October 12, 1853, origin postmark on the back, and is franked with a 6d yellow green 1851 stamp. This was either an overpayment of the 3d cy. closed-mail rate or a double-rate letter. The letter is endorsed "via St. John & Portland" and should have been placed in a closed bag at Saint John. However, it was handed to the steamboat letter carrier at the dock, and struck with the PAID, the EXPRESS MAIL



Figure 11. October 12, 1853, Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Montreal, Canada East. This cover was clearly endorsed for the closed mail via Portland, but was not placed in a closed through bag. This was either a double-rate cover, or the 6d yellow green 1851 stamp overpaid 3d closed-mail rate.

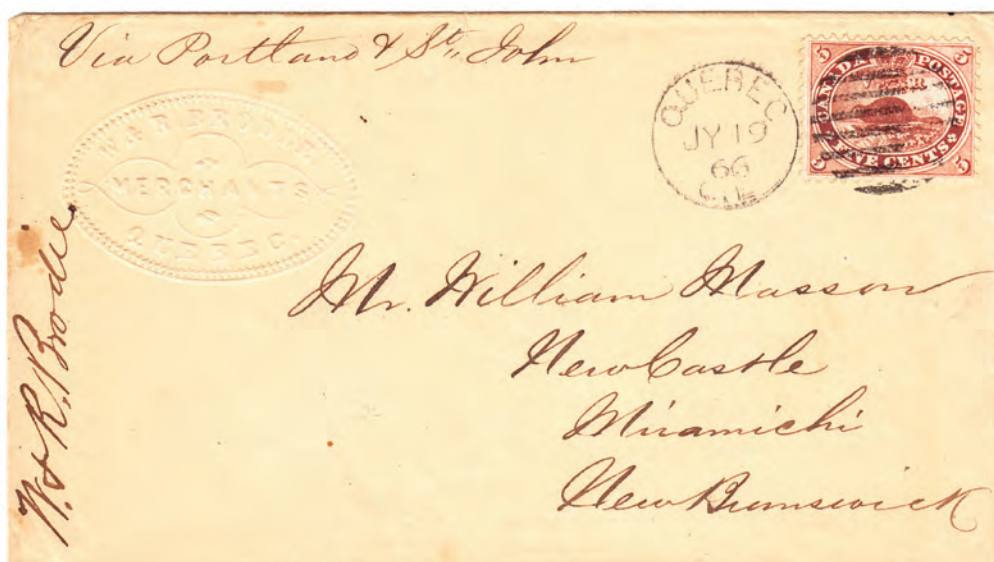


Figure 12. July 19, 1866, Quebec City, Canada East, to Miramichi, New Brunswick, sent by the closed mail via Portland and Saint John. The 5¢ vermillion Beaver stamp paid the ordinary domestic letter rate.

ST. JOHN OCT 14 route-agent marking, and the PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK exchange-office markings, all in red. The latter two markings were used only on loose letters handed to the steamboat letter carrier at the docks.

The steamboat letter carrier took the letter to the post office in Portland, Maine, and transit backstamps indicate it was then sent by rail to Montreal, the same routing the cover would have followed had it been placed in the closed bag. The Portland post office applied an October 15 postmark with an integral 10¢ rate in red, indicating the cover was prepaid

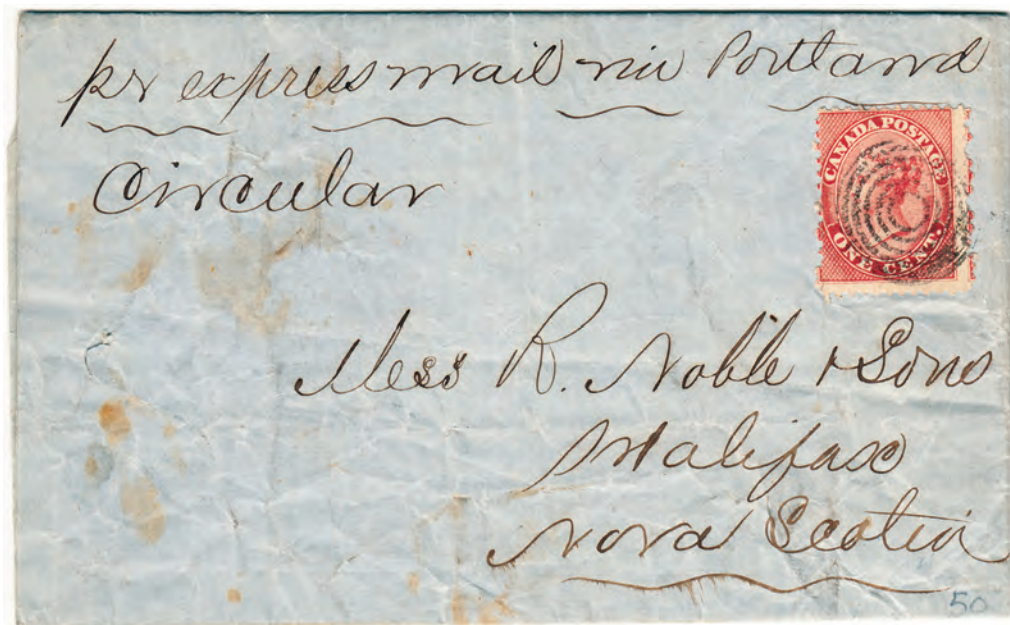


Figure 13. August 26, 1864, printed circular from Montreal, Canada East, to Halifax, Nova Scotia, sent by the closed mail via Portland and Saint John. The 1¢ rose 1859 stamp paid the ordinary domestic circular rate.

at the treaty rate for a single-rate letter to Montreal, Canada. Although postal regulations required the exchange offices to mark paid letters in red and unpaid letters in black, this regulation was not always followed.³⁸

Figure 12 is a cover originating in Quebec, Canada East, on July 19, 1866, franked with a Canadian 5¢ 1859 vermilion Beaver stamp. The stamp pays the BNA domestic mail rate to Miramichi, New Brunswick, by closed mail via Portland and Saint John. Note that the cover is properly endorsed: “Via Portland + St. John.”

Figure 13 is another example of the closed-mail route via Portland and Saint John. However, this is a printed circular, franked with a 1¢ 1859 rose Canadian stamp and originating in Montreal on August 26, 1864. The stamp pays the 1¢ BNA domestic circular mail rate to Halifax. The circular is endorsed “per express mail via Portland.”

As noted above, when endorsements or transit markings are absent, it is often not possible to determine the route of letters between Canada and the Maritime Provinces. Any cover between Canada and the Maritimes is scarce. At least during the pence era, covers sent via Portland appear to be less common than covers sent overland.

Closed mail by Grand Trunk Railway steamship

A steamship connection between Portland and Halifax was established in October 1866.³⁹ Although BNA sources generally refer to this as being a Grand Trunk Railway steamship,⁴⁰ it appears that the steamship route was actually operated by the International Steamship Co., through a subsidiary known as the New England and Nova Scotia Steamship Co.⁴¹ The steamship schedule was coordinated with the Grand Trunk Railway schedule, and the Grand Trunk Railway advertised its steamship link to Halifax. The postage rate for letters between Canada and the Maritimes on this route was set at 12½¢ per ½ ounce.⁴² Original postal records indicate that the 12½¢ rate reflected a 4d stg. (8½¢) packet charge for the steamship between Portland and Halifax, paid by Canada, plus 5¢ inland postage, retained by Nova Scotia for letters to Canada and by Canada for letters to Nova Scotia.⁴³

However, 8½¢ plus 5¢ equals 13½¢, not 12½¢. Adding to the confusion, a Canadian Post Office notice in February 1868 indicated the rate by Grand Trunk Railway steamer was 5¢.⁴⁴ The rate may have changed following confederation in July 1867 or shortly thereafter, but the correct rate is anything but clear.

Argenti assigned an RR rating to covers carried on this route, indicating that he had a record of such a cover (an RRR rating indicated covers that should exist but were not yet recorded). However, the author has not seen such a cover. No covers paying this rate were in the Dale-Lichtenstein, Halifax, Mayer, or Koh collections, or other BNA postal history sales known to the author. Similarly, for their book on Canada's decimal issues, Arfken and Leggett were able to illustrate only a post-confederation cover they speculate was carried on this route. Although the author is unable to illustrate interprovincial mail carried by the Portland to Halifax steamships, it is clear that the steamships did carry mail. Post-confederation covers are known endorsed for the New England and Nova Scotia Steamship Co. *Carlotta* between Portland and Halifax.⁴⁵

Closed mail by Grand Trunk Railway via Bangor, Maine

The final interprovincial mail route between Canada and the Maritime Provinces via the United States was theoretically possible, but there is no evidence that this route was actually used. As described above, the Grand Trunk Railway linked Montreal with Portland and was used for the closed mail via Portland and Saint John. Before reaching Portland, the railway interchanged with the Maine Central Railroad at Danville Junction, Maine. From Danville Junction, closed mail bags could be carried by the Maine Central to Bangor, Maine. However, from Bangor, the mail would need to travel by stage to Saint John, since there was no rail link between those cities until 1871.⁴⁶ The route is not mentioned by maritime province postal sources. Arfken illustrates a cover addressed to Woodstock, New Brunswick, that he indicates may have been carried on this route, but this was more likely carried by steamship from Portland to Saint John. Woodstock, New Brunswick, is located on the Maine–New Brunswick border and was an exchange office with Houlton, Maine. While a United States domestic letter to Woodstock would likely be routed through Bangor and then by stage to Houlton, it is highly unlikely that there was enough mail volume for a closed bag on this route.

Mail to and from the Red River Colony

Before 1870, what is now Manitoba was part of the vast Rupert's Land Province, controlled by the Hudson Bay Company. The province became a Canadian territory in 1869 and confederated with Canada on July 15, 1870. Before confederation, the only settlement of postal significance was Fort Garry, also known as the Red River Settlement, now the site of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The Hudson Bay Company maintained an office in Upper Fort Garry and carried some private correspondence along with the company communications.⁴⁷ The Hudson Bay Company mails were sent northeast 728 miles to York Factory, on the Hudson Bay, to meet the annual supply ships from England; or they were sent twice each year, in June and in the fall, with the French voyageurs (fur traders) by canoe to Montreal.⁴⁸ A small number of these fur-trader letters exist. However, most such letters went to France or Great Britain, rather than to Canada.

In 1850, the United States opened a post office in Pembina, Minnesota Territory (later part of Dakota Territory), roughly 70 miles south of the Red River Settlement.⁴⁹ By 1853, the settlers had established a courier service to Pembina, and on February 28, 1855, the Council of Assiniboia established a post office in Red River Settlement, with its sole mail route being a monthly mail to Pembina.⁵⁰ The Red River Settlement charged 3d cy. for each single-sheet letter and 1d for each newspaper.⁵¹ Interestingly, it appears that Canada



Figure 14. November 10, 1855, Red River colony to Toronto, Canada West. Sent by courier to Pembina, Minnesota Territory, then through the United States. The sender in Red River prepaid the 3d courier charge and the 10¢ treaty rate postage from the United States to Canada. Image from the Floyd Risvold Collection, courtesy of Richard Frajola.

remained ignorant of the local postage charges in the Red River Settlement almost until confederation. In December 1868, an employee of the Canadian Post Office wrote to the postmaster of Red River that he was “directed to request that you will be good enough to inform the Postmaster General whether prepaid letters posted in Canada for the Red River are liable to any further charge on delivery at Fort Garry.”⁵²

Figure 14 is a letter originating in the Red River Settlement on November 10, 1855, with the distinctive hand-drawn Red River B.N.A. manuscript postmark. The “PAID 10” marking was applied in Red River and indicates the sender in Red River prepaid the 10¢ treaty rate from Pembina to Canada. The oval “UNITED STATES 6d” exchange-office marking was struck in Detroit, which exchanged the letter with Windsor, Canada West. The large Red River B.N.A. manuscript marking is thought to have been used only by William Ross, the first postmaster for Red River, because use of the marking ended with his death in May 1856. There is a single recorded example of a smaller Red River marking, used in 1858,⁵³ after Ross’ death.⁵⁴ The letter entered the United States postal system at Pembina on May 15, 1858, and was routed through the United States to Victoria Island,

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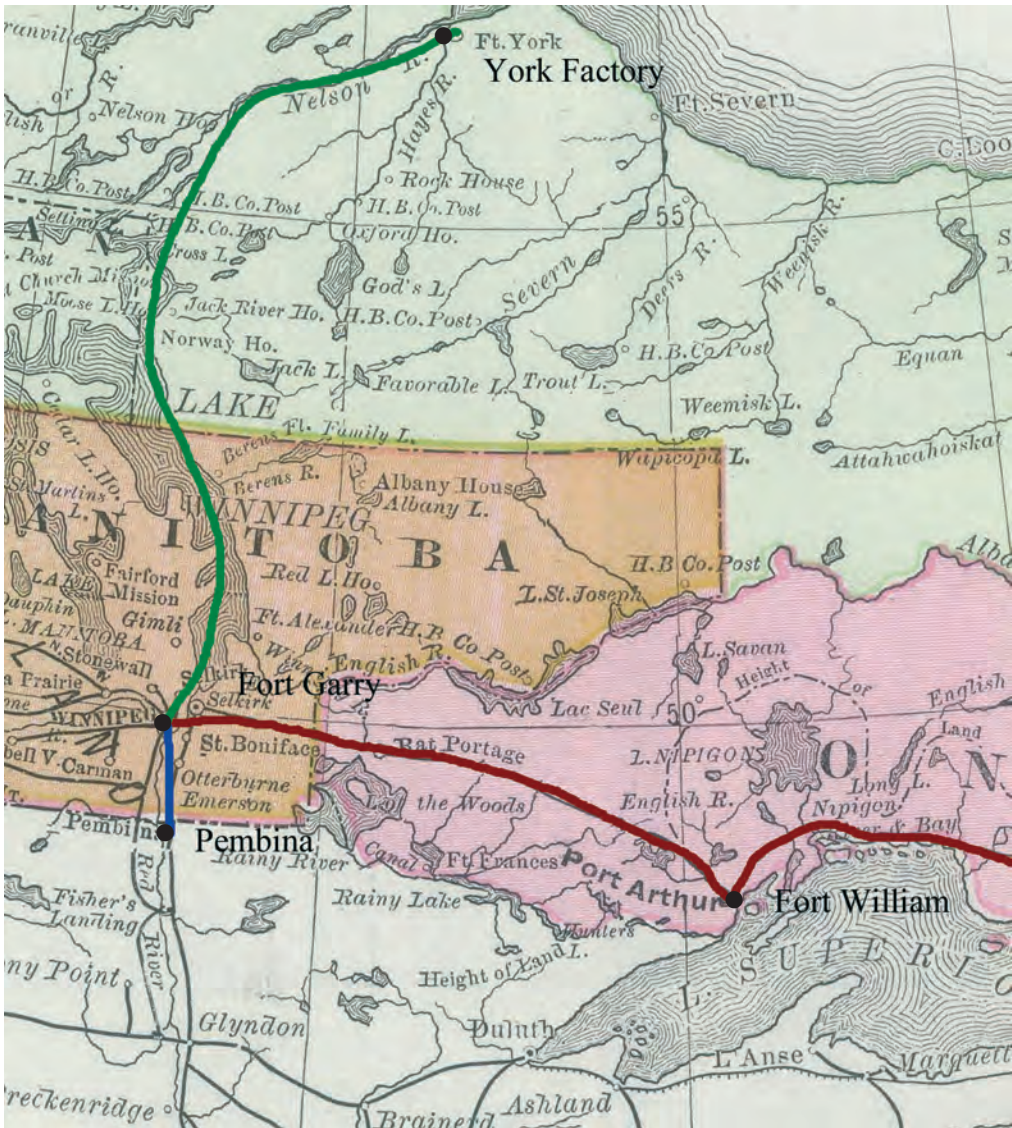


Figure 15. Postal routes serving the Red River Settlement. The blue line shows the route between Fort Garry and Pembina. The green line shows the Hudson Bay Company mail route from Fort Garry north to York Factory, on Hudson Bay. The red line shows the western portion of the Canadian mail route, via Fort William and north of the Great Lakes.

Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. This appears to be the only Red River Settlement cover to the Maritime Provinces. During the interim between the use of the large and small markings, the rate to Pembina was reduced to 1d, and the frequency of mailing on the route was increased to twice a month.⁵⁵

In 1858, Canada established a mail route entirely through BNA territory. The route was over 1,200 miles roughly following the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior to Fort William (now Thunder Bay, Ontario) and then to the Red River Settlement.⁵⁶ After the winter of 1859-60, Canada abandoned the route during the winter months. By 1862, the route was entirely abandoned, leaving only mail service via Pembina.⁵⁷ The map in Figure 15 shows the various postal routes serving the Red River Settlement. The blue line shows

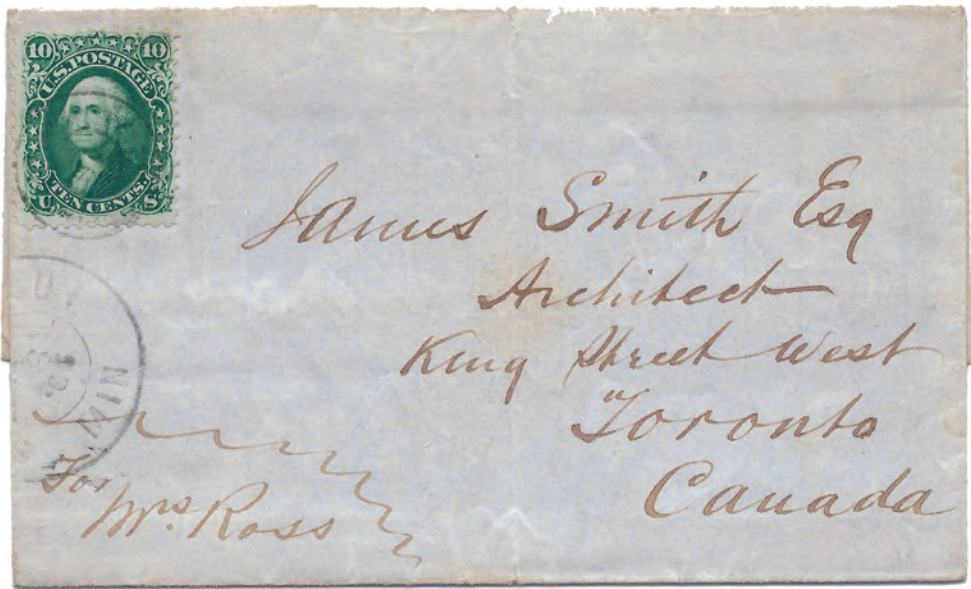


Figure 16. July 1863, Red River colony to Toronto, Canada West, but with no Red River postal marking. This cover entered the mails at St. Paul, Minnesota. The 10¢ yellow green 1861 stamp paid the treaty rate to Canada. Michael Perlman collection.

the route between Fort Garry and Pembina. The green line shows the Hudson Bay Company mail route from Fort Garry north to York Factory, on Hudson Bay. The red line shows the western portion of the Canadian mail route, via Fort William north of the Great Lakes.

Figure 16 is a cover that originated in the Red River Settlement in July 1863. Like all covers from this period, there are no Red River postal markings; the origin can be identified only by the docketing or contents. This cover entered the mails in St. Paul, Minnesota, rather than Pembina, likely because it was put on a steamboat down the Red River past Pembina to Georgetown, Minnesota, or it may have been carried by a courier to St. Paul. United States postage stamps were available in Red River, and the 10¢ yellow green 1861 stamp was applied there. As with Figure 14, 10¢ paid the treaty rate from the United States to Canada. This rate was reduced to 6¢ in April 1868. After the Red River Colony joined Canada in 1870, a closed mail service via the United States was established.⁵⁸

Red River Settlement covers are rare, and interprovincial covers comprise the majority of this small universe of covers. There are eight or nine stampless covers with the Red River B.N.A. manuscript postmark.⁵⁹ In addition to the small number of stampless covers, there are two late uses of Canadian pence stamps on covers from Red River to Canada. There are no reported stamped covers from Canada to the Red River Settlement.⁶⁰ There are only four Canadian decimal issue covers from Canada to the Red River Settlement.⁶¹ Additionally, DeVolpi reported six covers with United States stamps used from Red River Settlement, all interprovincial letters to Canada.⁶²

Mail to and from British Columbia and Vancouver Island

The Colony of Vancouver Island was established in 1849. Its territory was limited to Vancouver Island and a few minor islands. The mainland, then referred to as New Caledonia, was designated as the Colony of British Columbia in 1858. The two colonies united in November 1866 and confederated with Canada in July 1871. The colonies had maintained nominally separate postal systems until their union in 1866, but their postal systems were



Figure 17. January, 1861, Vancouver Island to Halifax, via San Francisco. The 2½d dull rose stamp paid Vancouver Island inland postage and the two U.S. stamps (5¢ brown Type II 1860 stamp and 10¢ green Type V 1859 stamp) paid the 15¢ treaty rate to Nova Scotia for distances over 3,000 miles. All three stamps were affixed at Vancouver.

highly interdependent and they even jointly issued postage stamps. The history of the colonial postal systems is quite convoluted and beyond the scope of this article.⁶³

There was no BNA mail route to British Columbia or Vancouver Island before Confederation in 1871. Virtually all mail to Canada was sent via the United States. The postage rates for interprovincial mail from British Columbia and Vancouver Island can be rather complicated because of the internal rates charged by British Columbia. Letters to or from Vancouver Island were rated 2½d stg. or the equivalent 5¢ after conversion to decimal currency.⁶⁴ Letters from New Westminster, British Columbia, and the surrounding Fraser River delta, generally followed the Vancouver Island rates. However, rates upriver to the mining camps went as high as 24d. These rates are beyond the scope of this article. For more information, the reader is referred to Steven C. Walske's excellent article in *Chronicle* 212.⁶⁵

Once the outbound letters reached the United States postal system in San Francisco (or later Port Townsend, Washington Territory), they were treated as domestic letters and were rated at the ordinary United States treaty rate to the appropriate BNA province. The treaty rate to the BNA provinces was initially 15¢. After the 10¢ United States domestic letter rate for distances over 3,000 miles was eliminated on June 30, 1863, the treaty rate was reduced to 10¢ effective July 1, 1864, for Canada⁶⁶ and August 4, 1864, for New Brunswick.⁶⁷ However, the rate to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island remained 15¢. In April 1868, the treaty rate to Canada, which by then included New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but not Prince Edward Island, was reduced to 6¢ paid or 10¢ unpaid. However, the rate from British Columbia during this period is unclear. Some surviving covers are franked 6¢ at the treaty rate, but others are franked 10¢, possibly under the assumption that the 10¢ incoming steamship rate applied.⁶⁸ The interprovincial rates to British Columbia are generally the same as the treaty rate from the BNA province to the west coast of the United States. However, as set forth in more detail below, Canada for unknown reasons set a special higher rate for mail to British Columbia and Vancouver Island between January 1862 and June 1864.



Figure 18. Early May, 1865, Vancouver Island to Greenwich Hill, New Brunswick, sent via San Francisco. The “POST OFFICE, PAID, VICTORIA, VANCOUVER ISLAND” oval handstamp indicates prepayment of 5¢ colonial postage. The 10¢ yellow-green 1861 stamp paid the August 1864 treaty rate to New Brunswick.

Figure 17 is an early mixed-franking cover from Vancouver Island cover to Nova Scotia. The cover is franked with a British Columbia and Vancouver Island 2½d stg. dull rose stamp, paying the colonial postage to San Francisco. The letter entered the United States mail at San Francisco on February 8, 1861, franked with a 5¢ brown Type II 1860 stamp and a 10¢ green Type V 1859 stamp, which pay the 15¢ treaty rate to Nova Scotia for distances over 3,000 miles from the exchange office. The United States stamps were sold at the Vancouver Island post office.

Figure 18 is a similar cover illustrating the 10¢ rate to New Brunswick, effective August 1864. On this cover, the “POST OFFICE, PAID, VICTORIA, VANCOUVER ISLAND” oval handstamp indicates the prepayment of 5¢ colonial postage. The cover entered the United States mail in San Francisco on May 19, 1865, and is franked with a 10¢ yellow-green 1861 stamp that pays the treaty rate to New Brunswick.

Before January 1862, Canadian covers to British Columbia and Vancouver Island were rated as covers to San Francisco at the 15¢ treaty rate for distances greater than 3,000 miles from the exchange office. For unknown reasons, between January 1862 and June 1864, Canada implemented a 25¢ rate for letters to British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Canadian sources indicate that the 25¢ rate was due to a request of the Canadian Post Office that mails for British Columbia and Vancouver Island be routed via Panama, because of interruptions caused by the United States Civil War.⁶⁹ This speculation appears to stem from a 1 August 1863 letter from the Canadian Post Office indicating that “[a]ll correspondence from Canada for British Columbia is forwarded by way of N. York and thence by American Packet via Panama and San Francisco, this channel seems to be the best, and indeed the only one now open.”⁷⁰ However, domestic mail to California and treaty mails from British North America and the United Kingdom were charged the same whether the letters were sent overland or via Panama. Arfken and Leggett speculate that the 25¢ rate comprised 3¢ Canadian inland postage, 10¢ United States steamship rate to Panama, 2¢ Panama transit postage, and an additional 10¢ steamship rate from Panama to San Francisco, based on the



Figure 19. December 4, 1865, Warwick, Canada West, to Victoria, Vancouver Island, sent via the United States. The 12½¢ yellow-green 1859 “Canada Packet Postage” pair represents a late attempt to pay the unusual 25¢ rate charged by Canada between January 1862 and June 1864 on letters to British Columbia and Vancouver Island. Image courtesy of Matthew Bennett International.

rate breakdown for the 1 shilling 6d British mail rate via Panama.⁷¹ But this rate breakdown bears no resemblance whatsoever to the rating of domestic, other BNA or United Kingdom treaty mails via the United States. Perhaps the 25¢ rate was an error by the Canadian Post Office in adding the 10¢ cross border rate to the 15¢ cross-border rate to California. During this period, many of the Canadian rates to Latin America and South America were formed by summing the cross-border rate and the United States steamship rate to the foreign destination. For example, the rate from Canada to Cuba via the United States was 20¢, which was equal to the sum of the 10¢ United States steamship rate to Cuba and the 10¢ cross-border rate. However, the United States rate to San Francisco was only 10¢, so adding the cross border rate to the United States rate to San Francisco would result in a 20¢ rate, not a 25¢ rate. It has also been suggested that the 25¢ rate was a combination of the 15¢ rate and a 10¢ steamship rate for the steamship from San Francisco to Vancouver.

But none of these possible explanations seems to be correct, because covers from British Columbia and Vancouver Island to Canada West were franked with the proper 15¢ United States postage, rather than 25¢. Figure 19 illustrates a December 4, 1865, cover showing a late attempt to pay the 25¢ rate from Warwick, Canada West, to Victoria, British Columbia. The postage is paid by a pair of blue-green 12½¢ 1859 stamps

Surprisingly, covers between Canada and British Columbia or Vancouver Island and Canada are more common than most of the other interprovincial routes discussed in this article. The Walske census of outbound covers sent via San Francisco records 86 covers to Canada (nearly a third of the 280 total covers recorded). The census records an additional 16 covers to New Brunswick (6 percent of the total), seven to Nova Scotia (2.5 percent of the total), and three to Prince Edward Island (one percent of the total). Additional covers exist that were sent via Port Townsend, Washington Territory. As with transcontinental Pony Express covers and mails to other west coast frontier areas, the number of west to east covers is far greater than the number of surviving east to west covers. No Canadian pence

issue covers to British Columbia and Vancouver Island are reported. However, 36 Canadian decimal issue covers are recorded.⁷² Of these covers, 15 were sent during the January 1862 to June 1864 period when the covers were rated 25¢ or multiples thereof. One cover is known from New Brunswick to British Columbia franked with New Brunswick stamps. No covers are known from Nova Scotia or Prince Edward Island.

Conclusion

The Canadian interprovincial mail routes through the United States are an interesting and often overlooked aspect of United States postal history. While the combination covers with both United States and British Columbia and Vancouver Island stamps are certainly the most eye-catching examples, the closed mail routes are (surprisingly) much less common.

Endnotes

1. J. C. Arnell, *Atlantic Mails: A History of the Mail Service between Great Britain and Canada to 1889* (Ottawa: National Postal Museum, 1980), pp. 26-27.
2. *Ibid.*, pg. 119.
3. George B. Arfken, Arthur W. Leggett, Charles G. Firby, Allan L. Steinhart, *Canada's Pence Era: The Pence Stamps and the Canadian Mail 1851-1859* (Toronto: Vincent G. Greene Philatelic Research Foundation, 1997), pg. 152.
4. See e.g. Arnell *op. cit.*
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-51.
7. Shipping News, *Commercial Advertiser* (February 23, 1829).
8. From 1845 on, the postage rates are all per ½ ounce.
9. Arfken *et al.*, *Canada's Pence Era, op. cit.*, pg. 152.
10. George B. Arfken and Charles G. Firby, *The Pence Covers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 1851-1860* (Toronto: Vincent Graves Greene Philatelic Research Foundation, 2004), pg. 211.
11. George B. Arfken and Arthur W. Leggett, *Canada's Decimal Era Postal Usage During the Decimal Era 1859-1868* (Toronto: Vincent Graves Greene Philatelic Research Foundation, 1996), pp. 61-68.
12. Susan M. McDonald, "Cunard Packet Mail Between Nova Scotia and the United States," *Postal History Journal* 29 and 30 (Sept. 1971, Jan. 1972), pp. 2, 4, and 34.
13. Susan M. McDonald "'Remember that Time is Money:' Two Unusual Covers with U.S. 1847 Stamps," *The 1973 Congress Book* (New Orleans, La: The American Philatelic Congress, Inc. 1973), pp. 97-105.
14. Robert A. Siegel Sale 1041 (April 9, 2013), lot 285.
15. Arnell, *op. cit.*, pg. 151.
16. Cunard Line steamships operating between Liverpool and New York City stopped calling in Halifax in 1850, before this closed mail route was established.
17. Robert H. Pratt, *The Nineteenth Century Postal History of Newfoundland* (New York: The Collectors Club, 1985), pg. 535.
18. David D'Alessandris, "Mail Between the United States and Newfoundland," *Chronicle* 236, pp. 347-48.
19. Pratt, *op. cit.*, pg. 536.
20. Arfken and Firby, *op. cit.*, pg. 58.
21. Arfken *et al.*, *Canada's Pence Era, op. cit.*, pg. 154.
22. "The Warren S. Wilkinson FIP World Exhibition Gold Medal Collection of Canadian Postal Rates, 1851-1859," Charles G. Firby Auctions (June 14, 2007). Lot 132 describes one such cover as "the only example I have seen." The author owns a second such cover.
23. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 68.
24. Nicholas Argenti, *The Postage Stamps of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia* (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, Inc. 1976), pg. 195. Argenti described RRR as "probably exists but not yet recorded." *Ibid.*, pg. 8.
25. Robert H. Pratt, *The Pence Issues of Newfoundland, 1857-1866* (Toronto: Vincent G. Green Philatelic Research Foundation, 1982), pg. 162.
26. Firby, Wilkinson Sale describes lots 138 and 139 as "the only two examples of this rate recorded." Maresch Sale 480 (June 20, 2012), lots 225, 235 (closed mail to Nova Scotia and forwarded), and 236 (double rate) are other examples.
27. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 240.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Firby, Wilkinson Sale, *op. cit.*, lot 117; Arfken *et al.*, *Canada's Pence Era, op. cit.*, pp. 162-64; Maresch, *op. cit.*, lot 230.
30. C. M. Jephcott, V. G. Greene and John H. M. Young, *The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 1754-1867* (Sissons Publications Ltd., 1964), pg. 206.

31. Elliott Perry, *Pat Paragraphs* (Springfield, Va: Bureau Issues Association, 1981), 324.
32. Jephcott, Greene, and Young, *op. cit.*, pg. 275; Winthrop S. Boggs, *The Postage Stamps and Postal History of Canada* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Chambers Publishing, 1945), pg. 10-C gives the date as August 24, 1853.
33. Jephcott, Greene, and Young, *op. cit.*, pg. 274-75.
34. Jephcott states that mail would be sent by this route "if especially addressed 'via St. John and Portland.'" *Ibid.*, pg. 251. See also *ibid.*, pg. 275. "Letters to be forwarded by this route were to be endorsed 'via Portland'." However, Arfken reports that once the closed-mail route via Portland opened, it became the main route for sending mail to the Maritime Provinces. Arfken *et al*, *Canada's Pence Era, op. cit.*, pg. 154.
35. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 62.
36. David D'Alessandris, "Boston to St. John Steamboat Mail," *Chronicle* 201, pp. 8-20.
37. David D'Alessandris, "1847 Covers To The Maritime Provinces" *Chronicle* 238, pp. 137-38.
38. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America*, 1852, § 343.
39. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 66.
40. Boggs, *op. cit.*, pg. 7-L, #22; Jephcott, Greene, and Young, *op. cit.*, pg. 264.
41. Bradlee, Francis, *Some Account of Steam Navigation in New England*, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., 1920, pg. 118; Arthur L. Johnson, "The Boston-Halifax Steamship Lines" *American Neptune* 37:4 (Oct. 1977), pp. 231-38.
42. Boggs, *op. cit.*, pg. 7-L, #22.
43. Boggs, *op. cit.*, pg. 7-L, #23.
44. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.
45. See, e.g., Daniel F. Kelleher sale 629, lot 53 (April 19-20, 2012).
46. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.
47. David H. Whiteley, "The Red River Settlement Post Offices, 1855-70," *Postal History Society of Canada Journal*, No. 81 (Mar. 1995), pg. 2.
48. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 107.
49. *Ibid.*, pg. 108.
50. Whiteley, *op. cit.*, pg. 2-4.
51. *Ibid.*, pg. 4.
52. Boggs, *op. cit.*, pg. 13-K.
53. H.R. Harmer Switzerland sale VI (Steinhart), May 28, 2005, lot 1440.
54. Whiteley, *op. cit.*, pg. 8.
55. *Ibid.*, pg. 4.
56. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 108.
57. *Ibid.*, pg. 109.
58. *Ibid.*, pg. 110.
59. Floyd E. Risvold, *Minnesota Territory in Postmarks, Letters and History*, Collectors Club Chicago, 1985, pg. 237.
60. Arfken *et al*, *Canada's Pence Era, op. cit.*, pp. 167-68.
61. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 109.
62. Charles de Volpi, "U.S. Adhesives from Red River Settlement," *BNA Topics* (January-February 1981), pp. 30-33.
63. Alfred S. Deaville, *The Colonial Postal Systems and Postage Stamps of Vancouver Island and British Columbia 1849-1871* (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, Inc., 1979).
64. Steven C. Walske, "Postal Rates on Mail from British Columbia and Vancouver Island via San Francisco, 1858-1870," *Chronicle* 212, pp. 289-97.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 100.
67. Jephcott, Greene, and Young, *op. cit.*, pg. 285.
68. Walske, *op. cit.*, pg. 296.
69. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 114.
70. Boggs, *op. cit.*, pg. 13-D.
71. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pg. 117.
72. Arfken and Leggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 115, and 118. ■



NEW BOOK ON ENVELOPE PRINTER CHARLES MAGNUS

REVIEWED BY JAMES W. MILGRAM

A German immigrant from Prussia, Charles Magnus is known to collectors of envelopes and letters as the publisher of illustrated stationery in vast numbers of designs. His era of production was almost precisely the second half of the 19th century and all of his addresses were in New York City. The first datable Magnus works were large illustrated lettersheets, notably views of New York and Brooklyn. When the Civil War commenced, Magnus became perhaps the most important printer of Union patriotic envelopes. No one else published so many complex and interesting designs, many of which were hand-colored or printed in bronze or even (rarely) gold.

While little is known of Magnus' life, he is the subject of a new book, *Charles Magnus, Lithographer: Illustrating America's Past, 1850-1900*. The author, E. Richard McKinstry, not a philatelist, is Library Director of the Winterthur Museum in Wilmington, the premier museum of American decorative arts. Since so little is known of Charles Magnus's

life (and his business papers have not survived), this book was written largely from the perspective of a massive compilation of the different items that Magnus created. It's an eye-opener to see all the different types of objects bearing his name: puzzles, maps, prints, valentines, books and ephemera—as well as the different forms of stationery for which he is best known to philatelists.

Magnus made his mark during the Civil War that, and he did so largely through the production of envelopes and letter paper (though he produced maps and prints too). This book contains no detailed listings of different Magnus productions, but it does refer the reader to institutional holdings, many of which were new to this reviewer.

Magnus produced envelopes and letter paper which was hand-colored before being sold. The book sheds no light on the methods of production or the use of stencils (which I feel were used extensively). The author analyzes how many men and women Magnus employed at different periods and the number of women appears small. This surprises me. Surely women or even children did the coloration because their compensation would have been less.

Letter stationery of the Civil War era came in two sizes: what I call large format (8 x

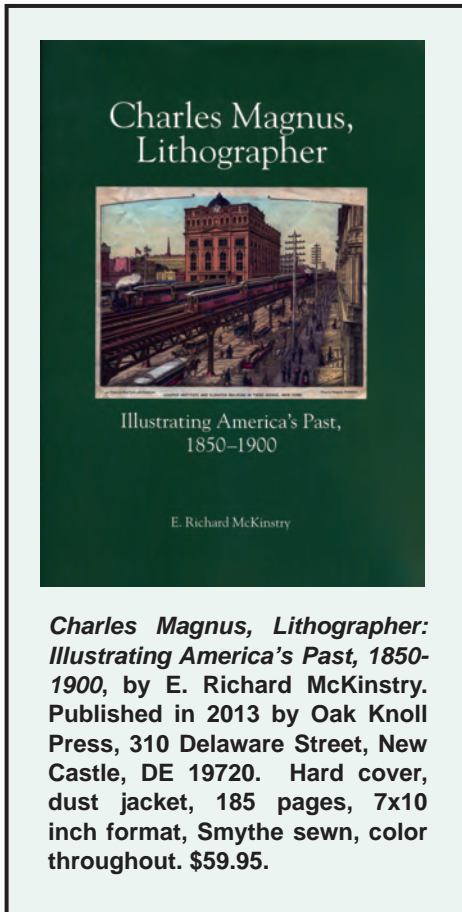




Figure 1. Illustrated heading of a full-color Magnus lettersheet (reduced) used for correspondence in 1882. The views are of the Brooklyn Bridge and the east side of Manhattan Island.

10 inches) and small format (5 x 8 inches). To my knowledge all stationery was printed on double sheets, which were folded to yield four sides. Most of the unused stationery that exists today is found as single sheets (printed on one side) but this is because the dealers who found this material as remainders separated the second pages and discarded them. But used stationery always consists of two pages, four sides. This is true for both the large format and the small format letter sheets.

The small format letter paper of the Civil War came in two types. The first were letter sheets with illustrations covering a varying amount of the first page, usually half. The second are song sheets with an illustration and a song covering the full first page. When used as stationery, each has at least three pages for the letter and many letter sheets had more.

This book shows samples of both types of letter paper and a few unused envelopes of different types. The text describes the item shown and makes some generalizations about other types of illustrations that exist. For envelopes, the catalog of Civil War patriotic covers, published by William Weiss Jr. in 1995, is a much better listing reference. What is told in the McKinstry book is the story of the Magnus firm through the years based on different types of objects the firm created. Many items from after the Civil War are shown. Collectors may be unaware that Magnus produced a great many views of New York City on lettersheets up into the 1880s. The Magnus lettersheet shown as Figure 1, depicting views of Brooklyn and Manhattan, contains a letter written in 1882.

The book is well-written, extensively annotated and referenced, and contains a useful index. It will be of interest to those who want to know more about Charles Magnus and his business, or to learn of institutional holdings of Magnus materials. ■

THE COVER CORNER

JOHN W. WRIGHT, EDITOR

ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 239

Our problem cover from the previous issue (*Chronicle 239*) is shown in Figure 1. This stampless cover was sent from Montgomery, New York, to Marysville, Yuba County, California. It shows a faint red March 14 Montgomery postmark at lower left and a red 5 in circle at upper right. The red 5 was overstruck by a black “New York 10 Mar. 21” circular datestamp with integral rate. At bottom left is the blue 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.” The questions were: From the information given, can the rates be explained? And can we make an educated guess as to the year the cover was mailed?

We received two responses, one from Ken Stach, editor of *Western Express*, and the other from Bill Johnson. Both stated that the New York 10 due marking was the correct rate for a single-rate unpaid letter travelling over 3,000 miles (until prepayment became mandatory in April 1855). The originating postmaster at Montgomery incorrectly rated this cover at 5¢ due (the encircled red 5 at upper right), representing the unpaid rate (effective 1 July 1851) for letters travelling under 3,000 miles. But since the cover had to travel to California via Panama, a distance much greater than 3,000 miles, the New York post office re-rated it with the New York integral 10 datestamp, with the 10 due marking struck directly over the inappropriate “5.”

Because the envelope had a clear directive on where the cover was to be forwarded (“express to Onion Valley”), I had read the pencil notation (just above the addressee’s name, to the left of the New York “10”) as “O.D. 1.50” indicating “On Delivery \$1.50,” the express company fee.



Figure 1. Our problem cover from the previous issue, a stampless cover from New York to California with perplexing post office rate markings that reached its destination via a western express company.

Here our two distinguished responders disagreed, reading the notation as “O.V.” for Onion Valley. But no question, the “1.50” represents the \$1.50 express fee due Everts on delivery. The “Evert Snell Express” oval handstamp (misspelling the Everts Snell Express) is known used only in late 1852 and early 1853, when it was replaced by a properly spelled “Everts Snell Express” marking. Thus, this cover was most likely mailed in March of 1853.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE



Figure 2. Problem cover for this issue. Why “Due 5”?

Our problem cover for this issue, shown in Figure 2, was once in the collection of the long-time editor of our 1851 section, Hubert Skinner. This is a folded letter franked by an uncanceled imperforate 1¢ Franklin stamp (Scott 9), posted November 4 at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, addressed to Philadelphia.

There is a manuscript “Due” auxiliary marking followed by a handstamp “5” in black. Why is this cover rated “Due 5”? Where was the handstamp 5 applied? Can we approximate the year it was mailed? ■

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United States Postal Service, Form 3526: Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation. 1. Publication Title: *The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues*. 2. Publication Number: 0560-680. 3. Filing Date: 20 September 2013. 4. Issue Frequency: Quarterly. 5. Number of Issues Published Annually: 4. 6. Annual Subscription Price: \$27.50. 7. Complete Address of Known Office of Publication: % Michael Plett, 2855 Willowmere Woods Dr., Vienna, VA 22180. 8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office: % Michael Plett, 2855 Willowmere Woods Dr., Vienna, VA 22180. 9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor and Managing Editor. Publisher: None. Editor: Michael Laurence, 101 West 90th St., Apt. 8-H, New York, NY 10024. Managing Editor: None. 10. Owner: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., % Michael Plett, 2855 Willowmere Woods Dr., Vienna, VA 22180. 11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees and Other Security Holders: None. 12. Tax Status: Has not changed during preceding 12 months. 13. Publication Title: *The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues*. 14. Issue Date for Circulation Data: August, 2013. AVERAGE NUMBER OF COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS: (a) Total Number of Copies (Net Press Run): 1,250 (15b.) Paid Circulation: (15b.1) Mailed Outside County: 1092. (15b.2) Mailed In County: 0. (15b.3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails: 0. (15b.4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS (e.g. First-Class Mail): 158 (15c) Total Paid Distribution: 1,250. (15f) Total Distribution: 1,250. (15g) Copies Not Distributed: 0. (15h) Total: 1,250 (15i) Percent paid: 100%. 15a. NUMBER OF COPIES OF SINGLE ISSUE PUBLISHED NEAREST TO FILING DATE: (a) Total Number of Copies (Net Press Run): 1,250. 15b. Paid Circulation: (15b.1) Mailed Outside County: 1086. (15b.2) Mailed In County: 0. (15b.3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails: 0. (15b.4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS (e.g. First-Class Mail): 164. (15c) Total Paid Distribution: 1,250. (15f) Total Distribution: 1,250. (15g) Copies Not Distributed: 0. (15h) Total: 1,250. (15i) Percent Paid: 100%. (16) This information to be published in the November, 2013 issue of the publication. (17) Signed (x), Michael E. Plett, Treasurer.

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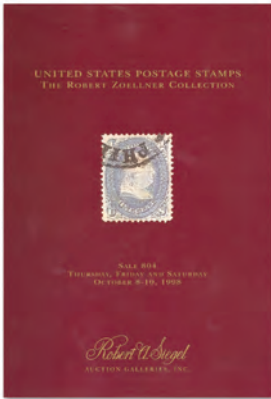
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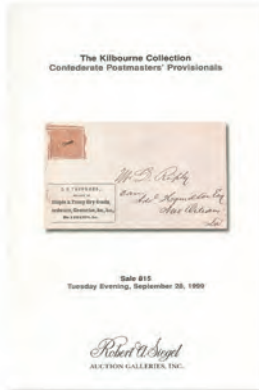
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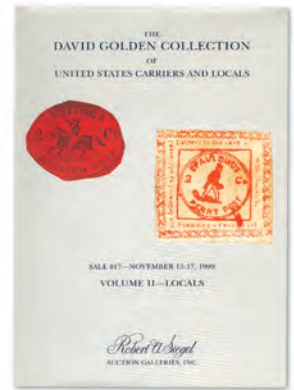
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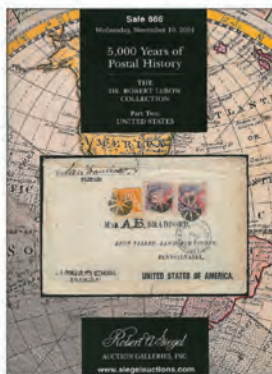
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