

The

Chronicle

of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues



The lower left stamp is 99R2, celebrated as the best example of the Type III variety, Scott 8. When the plate was being made, the 99R2 image was poorly entered; the significant double transfer at the bottom of the stamp above (89R2) was a cause. David Zlowe explains all this and more in a major article on the evolution of the types of the 1¢ 1851 stamps.

May 2014

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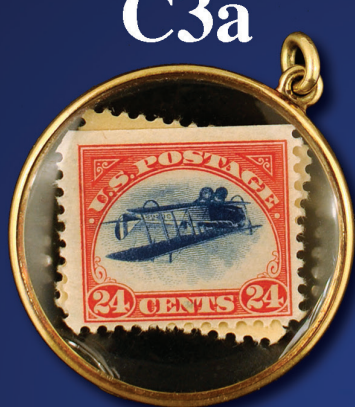
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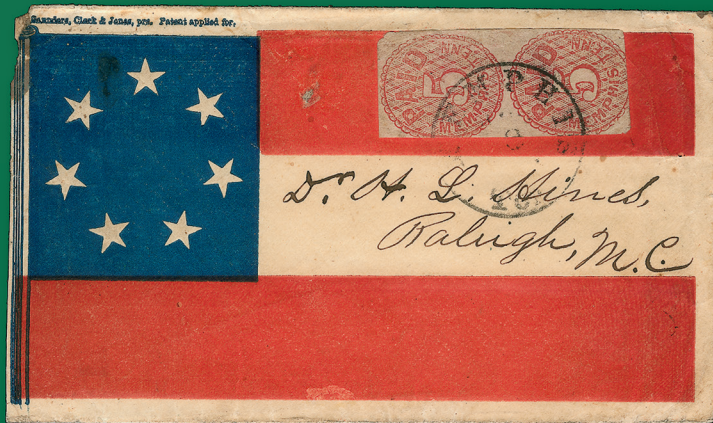
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CONTENTS

THE EDITOR'S PAGE	
In This Issue	
<i>by Michael Laurence</i>	105
THE PRE-STAMP AND STAMPLESS PERIOD	
Advertised Markings on Stampless Covers: Unusual Uses	
<i>by James W. Milgram, M.D.</i>	106
THE 1847 PERIOD	
Year-dating 1847 Covers	
<i>by Mark A. Scheuer</i>	109
THE 1851 PERIOD	
Evolution of the Types of the 1¢ 1851 Stamp	
<i>by David Zlowe</i>	117
THE 1869 PERIOD	
Color Cancels on 1869 Stamps	
<i>by Ed Field and Steve Rose</i>	151
SPECIAL FEATURE (1)	
New-issue Purchase of 1895 Newspaper Stamps	
<i>by William E. Mooz</i>	165
THE FOREIGN MAILS	
United States–Russia Mail: 1840-1875	
Part 2: French, Hamburg and North German Union Mail	
<i>by Richard F. Winter</i>	168
SPECIAL FEATURE (2)	
Annals of the War of 1812: Running the Blockade at New London, Connecticut	
<i>by Steven Walske</i>	193
IN REVIEW	
Fred L. Reed III book on Civil War Stamp Envelopes	
<i>reviewed by Scott R. Trepel</i>	196
THE COVER CORNER	198
ADVERTISER INDEX	200

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IN THIS ISSUE

If you think everything has been written and discovered about the 1¢ 1851 stamps, think again. In a provocative and well-crafted essay in our 1851 section (page 117), David Zlowe takes a new look at the most-studied stamp in United States philately, and reaches some challenging conclusions. Zlowe uses high-resolution images of real stamps (rather than idealized illustrations) as a basis for a discussion of the salient features of the various 1¢ types and how they came to be enshrined in the classic stamp pantheon. In the process, he suggests that modern technology enables reconsideration of the entire type-based classification standard that has traditionally applied to these fascinating little blue stamps.

In our 1847 section, Mark Scheuer continues his exploration of the potential of our ever-expanding searchable database of 1847 covers. “Year-dating 1847 Covers” (page 109) shows how an overview of an entire correspondence (easily gained through on-line searching) can help assign year dates to individual covers that were previously undateable.

Our Foreign Mail section this issue (page 168) concludes Richard F. Winter’s definitive article, begun in February, on U.S.–Russia mail (including Finland) from the classic era. This installment analyzes covers, many of them quite remarkable, that were carried under U.S. postal conventions with France, Hamburg and the North German Union. Appendices present a useful bibliography, details of 1843-75 Russian letter rates to the U.S. (including the amounts collected in Russia on unpaid covers arriving from the U.S.) and Winter’s listing of pre-UPU covers from the U.S. to Russia and to Finland. Altogether, a treasure trove of new information.

We continue to receive articles that take advantage of our recently-acquired ability to reproduce colors accurately. An eye-popping example in this issue (in our 1869 section, page 151) is “Color Cancels on 1869 Stamps,” by Ed Field and Steve Rose. This article includes five color plates of head-turning 1869 material. It also provides a very useful table (page 152) showing the number of color cancels recorded, by color and denomination, on 1869 stamps.

In our Stampless section (page 106), James W. Milgram showcases some recent cover discoveries, including the earliest known “advertised” handstamp.

This issue includes two bonus special features, both short and both compelling. On page 165, William E. Mooz describes a well-documented new-issue purchase of Newspaper and Periodical stamps; for the initial buyer in 1895, what began as a pricey transaction turned out to be a very good deal. On page 193, Steven Walske marks the bicentennial of the War of 1812 by analyzing a cover that ran through the British blockade of New London, Connecticut, just 200 years ago. And in a review on page 196, Scott Trepel takes favorable notice of an important new book on Civil War stamp envelopes. Enjoy! ■

PRESTAMP & STAMPLESS PERIOD

JAMES W. MILGRAM, EDITOR

ADVERTISED MARKINGS ON STAMPLESS COVERS: UNUSUAL USES

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Advertising in a local newspaper letters not picked up from the post office is a practice that dates back to the 1770s, but no letter showing such usage is known until 1802. The cover that shows that early use, a manuscript marking, was illustrated in *Chronicle* 230.

A newly discovered letter enables us now to show the earliest handstamped “advertised” postmark, on a cover sent to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1832. Figure 1 shows this cover, which bears a red oval origin postmark (“LANSINGBURGH N.Y. SEP 14”) and a manuscript rating of “25” cents due for a distance over 400 miles. The red “ADVERTISED OCTOBER 1” was applied in the lower left corner where all Cleveland advertised postmarks were placed until the 1850s. Internal evidence clearly indicates a year date of 1832. An unusual feature of the letter itself is that it was written right onto the address portion. In my experience, this was very rarely done.



Figure 1. Folded letter posted 14 September 1832 at Lansingburgh, New York, to Cleveland. The Cleveland handstamp at lower left reads: “ADVERTISED/OCTOBER 1.”

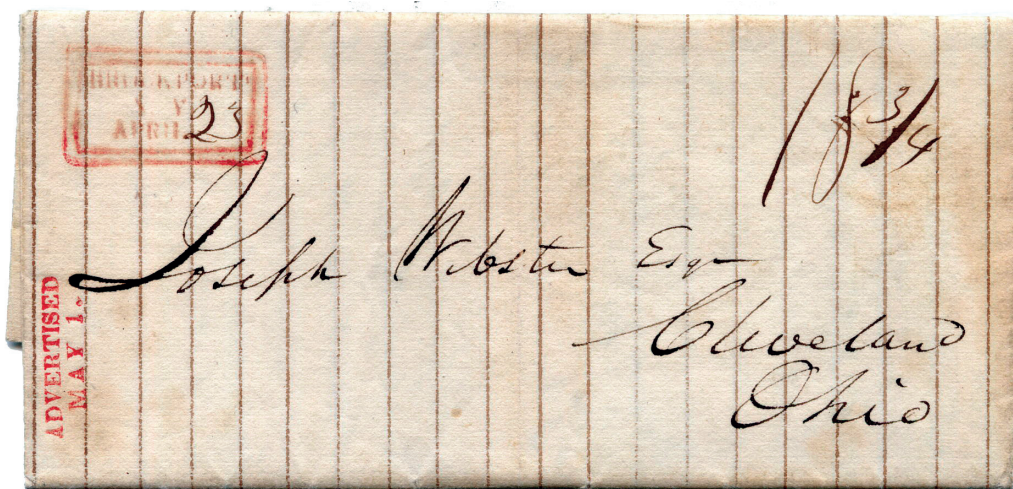


Figure 2. Folded letter sent to Cleveland in 1834, with manuscript “18¾” rating. The unusual double-rectangle datestamp reads “BROCKPORT/N.Y./APRIL 23 in three straight lines. The two-line Cleveland advertised marking at lower left is dated May 1.

This is now the second known example of this pioneer advertising handstamp. The other strike is shown on the cover in Figure 2, an 1834 letter handstamped “BROCKPORT NY April 23” in a striking double-framed rectangle, rated 18¾ cents for a distance of 150 to 400 miles. As with the cover in Figure 1, the handstamped Cleveland advertising marking (“ADVERTISED MAY 1.”) is dated the first day of the month. All of the advertised postmarks from Cleveland in the 1830s and 1840s show first-of-the month dating.

Unusual for another reason is the advertised cover shown in Figure 3, addressed to St. Louis and postmarked with a blue “NEW ORLEANS La. JUL 22” circular datestamp.



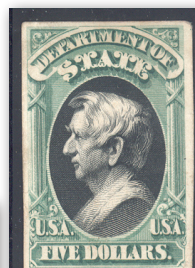
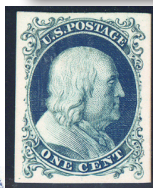
Figure 3. Folded letter sent to St. Louis from New Orleans in 1841, with blue JUL 22 circular datestamp and 25¢ rating mark for a letter traveling a distance over 400 miles. The letter was advertised twice at St. Louis, where it was handstamped “ADVERTISED AUG. 14” in blue and subsequently “ADVERTISED AUG. 31” in black.

Internal evidence indicates the year is 1841. Advertised at St. Louis, this cover bears two strikes of a dated, italicized advertised postmark: "ADVERTISED AUG 14" in blue and "ADVERTISED AUG 31" in black.

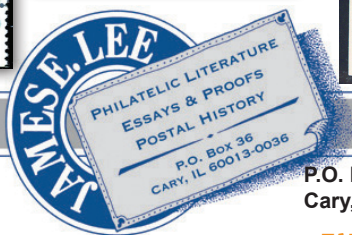
This is the only cover that I have seen with differently dated handstamps showing a second advertisement of a letter. How neat that the postmaster at St. Louis used two different colors of ink. This is the second advertised postmark type used at St. Louis. The earlier marking, from 1840-41, employed a smaller, non-italicized type font.

There was no charge for advertising letters until July 1, 1845 when a 2¢ fee was imposed. ■

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YEAR-DATING 1847 COVERS

MARK A. SCHEUER

In 1845 the United States lowered postage rates to 5¢ per half ounce for letters traveling less than 300 miles and 10¢ per half ounce for those traveling farther (except to the west coast). Prepayment was not required. This substantial rate reduction greatly increased the volume of mail and led to a variety of different types of postmarks to indicate if postage was prepaid or owed by the recipient.

The United States finally issued postage stamps in July 1847 to facilitate prepayment of postage. But then another problem arose. The stamps had to be obliterated to prevent reuse. Postmasters came up with many ways of doing this, from simple pen marks to fancy cancelling devices made from hardened steel.

Postmasters in larger towns and cities had previously adopted circular datestamps (CDSs) to indicate the place of origin as well as the month and day the letter was posted (but not the year). Smaller offices could not afford this expense and used manuscript dating, which often included month and day; here too the year was seldom included. As a consequence, domestic covers from this era sometimes have no indication of their mailing date. Many show the month and day, but no year. Of the 14,760 items listed in the on-line census of covers franked with 1847 stamps, 5,070 covers show no year of mailing.¹

Covers sent to foreign destinations are different. Receiving marks and transit markings on Canadian and European mails almost invariably show a year date. In addition, some foreign-destination covers include ship-name designations; the year dates of these covers can often be confirmed by reference to published sailing data.

Postal historians can employ several different techniques to assign year dates to 1847 covers. Post Office Department records provide information about the dates the 1847 stamps were first shipped to various post offices around the country. This information can provide a guide for assigning the earliest possible year of use. Records maintained by specialist collectors (and in some cases by the Post Office) can determine usage periods for various individual cancelling devices. At least for the 5¢ 1847 stamp, the color of the stamp and the sharpness of its image can help determine which printing the stamp originated from, and this information (like the shipment records) can provide a rough determinant of the earliest possible year of use.²

Sometimes more direct information is also available. Letter writers often included datelines and historical information in their missives. If the letter content survives with the cover, this information is usually determinative (though sometimes writers made mistakes). Similarly, recipients (especially businesses) docketed letters indicating the date they were received. Such information is also determinative, though again subject to human error.

All these methods involve examining individual covers seeking clues to determine the year of mailing. In this article, we will focus on examining groups of 1847 covers, correspondences involving several or many letters, to take advantage of their collective information. Armed with the 1847 cover census data, searchable on the USPCS website, and using the powerful resources of the internet, where genealogical and historical information is only a click or two away, we are now able to assign year dates to many covers in the census that were heretofore undateable.

An example of this technique was written up in the *Chronicle* last year. Covers from the E. E. Turner correspondence were properly chronologized using CDS dating and historical information from the internet.³ Knowing that the St. Louis post office changed its circular datestamp from St. LOUIS to SAINT LOUIS on Nov 8, 1850, and knowing that Elizabeth Emerson Turner changed her home address in Boston and South Boston several times during the time when her fiancé, Charles Bailey Sawyer, was writing to her, the authors were able to year-date many of the covers in the Turner correspondence—and provided the framework to date the remaining Turner covers as they reappear in the philatelic marketplace. In cases such as this, when definitive year-dating information comes to light, the on-line cover census is updated and an explanatory note is added; in this way the database information continuously improves.

Hartford covers

Another example of using CDS information for year-dating 1847 covers comes from Route Agent Anthony Dewey, who wrote me that “Hartford used blue ink for its cancels from late May through the end of 1847... and at no other time. Thus all 1847 covers with blue Hartford cancels are, without doubt, from 1847.”

Using this information, the following covers in the census have been dated to 1847: ID 439 (August 11 to New Bedford, Massachusetts, now the earliest known 1847 cover from Hartford); ID 442 (August 31 to New Bedford, from the same correspondence); and ID 445 (September 9, to Collinsville, Connecticut). There are eight Hartford covers listed in the Alexander book that are dated 1847, three of which are represented by illustrations in the online census.⁴ All three show blue cancellations. One of these, sold by the Siegel firm in 2013, is shown in Figure 1. On this cover the 5¢ 1847 stamp is cancelled by a “5” numeral rating mark, a legacy from the pre-stamp era, which ended just a few months before this cover was posted. The apparently redundant “PAID” with pointing hand, and the additional strike of the “5” marking at right, are characteristic of the early period of stamp



Figure 1. Hartford used blue ink from late May through the end 1847. Thus this cover to Norwich, Connecticut, on which the blue circular datestamp reads SEP 13, must date from 1847. (Image courtesy Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, sale 1041, lot 104.)

use, when the adhesive stamp was not yet universally recognized as stand-alone evidence of postal prepayment.

Historical events mentioned in the letter contents can also be used to year-date covers. The presidential election of Zachary Taylor in 1848 is mentioned in several letters. ID 12,377 (a cover dated November 2 sent to George Abbot in Washington, D.C.) mentions the author's belief that Democrat Lewis Cass will defeat Whig Zachary Taylor in the forthcoming election, clearly placing this cover in 1848. The contents of cover ID 5,357, sent December 11 from Batavia, New York to Charles Durkee in nearby Alden, is an invitation to the Whig Ball following the election. So this cover also can be attributed to 1848.

In the correspondences discussed below, personal events in the lives of the correspondents are used to year-date several heretofore-undated covers.

The Swift correspondence

Personal travel information can help date 1847 covers. In a *Chronicle* article some years ago, Susan McDonald showed that the letters from Rhodolphus Nye Swift to his wife, Sylvia H. Swift, sent from various towns in Florida, Alabama and Georgia, were posted during two trips, one in 1848 and the other 1851.⁵ On each trip, Swift spent several months working on southern tree farms, cutting lumber for his family's ship-building business in North Fairhaven, Massachusetts. Of the 32 known Swift covers, six remain undated. One, sent from Tallahassee, Florida, is dated 3/17/xx (ID 1,058). The only other cover from Tallahassee was mailed on 3/24/48 (ID 1,041) so the cover posted the March 17 was likely mailed in 1848 too.

Twelve Swift covers were mailed from Olive Grove, Georgia. One of these, with manuscript postmark dated "Feb. 18," is shown in Figure 2. Franked with a 10¢ 1847 stamp (the distance was over 300 miles), this cover is easy to year-date because of the highly specific docketing at left: "Recd Wednesday March 5, 1851." Nine of the 12 Swift covers from Olive Grove, posted between January 2 and March 27, are similarly sourced



Figure 2. All the Swift covers from Olive Grove, Georgia, to North Fairhaven, Mass., were posted in 1851. This one is clearly docketed 1851. Three covers, previously lacking year-date evidence, have been assigned 1851 year dates on the basis of the surrounding correspondence. (Philatelic Foundation image, certificate 458,315.)

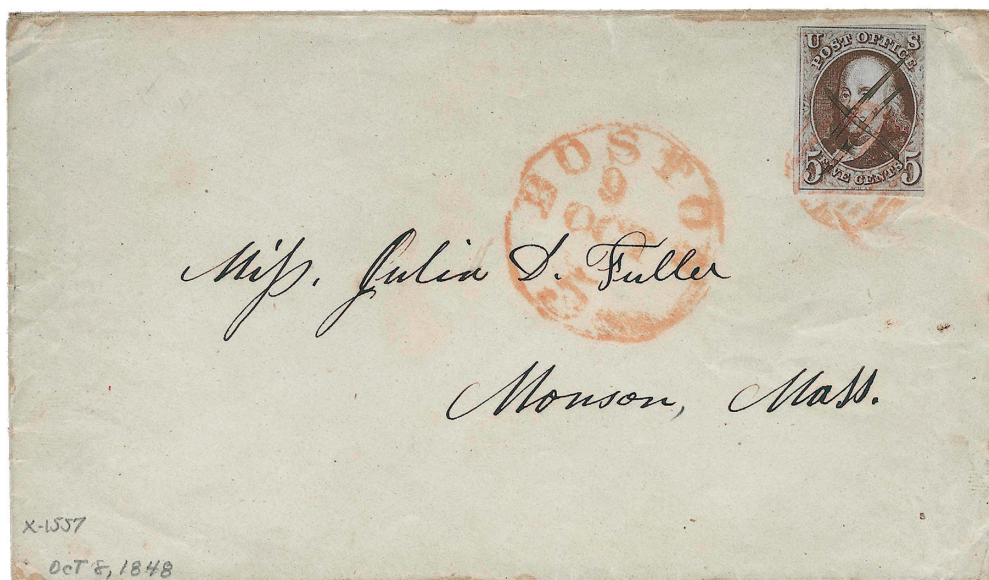


Figure 3. Posted at Boston on October 9 [1848], this cover was sent to Miss Julia Fuller in Monson, Mass., three months before she married and became Mrs. Julia F. Damon. Searchable access to the entire Fuller/Damon correspondence, with reference to known biographical details of the recipient's short life, enabled year-dating of most of the covers. (Image courtesy Robert A Siegel Auction Galleries, sale 860, lot 721.)

to 1851. No year-dated Swift covers are known sent from Olive Grove from Swift's 1848 trip. The three Olive Grove covers that lack year dates were mailed on March 30 (ID 1,125), April 12 (ID 1,126) and May 18 (ID 1,127). (The next set of covers from the 1851 grouping was mailed from Apalachicola, Florida, between May 15 and July 10, 1851.) The March 30 Olive Grove cover is docketed "recd. Friday, April 11" which dates it to 1851. This was mentioned in McDonald's article, but the cover was not assigned a year date in the Alexander census. By the same logic, the April 12 cover was surely mailed in 1851. The May 18 cover, unlisted in McDonald's article, needs to be inspected to determine if it really bears a May dating. More likely it was posted in March. Another possibility is that Swift left Olive Grove for Apalachicola just prior to May 15, having written a letter to his wife which he left with someone to mail in Olive Grove; that could explain the discordant May 18 postmark.

The Julia D. Fuller/Damon Correspondence

The 1847 cover census lists ten covers to Miss Julia D. Fuller in Monson, Massachusetts, written from Boston between April 25, 1848 and January 11, 1849. ID 3,049, a cover dated from this correspondence posted October 9, 1848, is shown in Figure 3. Another 21 covers were written to Mrs. Julia F. Damon in Monson between June 18, 1849 and March 18, 1850; 20 were sent from Boston and the other from the Boston and Albany railroad (September 9, 1849, ID 12,315). Four covers are year-undated in Alexander (ID 3,173 mailed on 10/10/xx, ID 3,217 mailed on 12/21/xx, ID 3,230 mailed on 1/14/xx, and ID 3,609 mailed on 3/27/xx).

Internet genealogy sources indicate Julia Fuller married Samuel Griffin Damon, of Boston, on January 23, 1849. Julia was sick much of this time and was cared for by her parents in Monson, where she died April 1, 1850. Since the marriage lasted only 15 months, the 12/21 cover can be attributed to 1849 and the 1/14 cover to 1850. The 9/10 cover is also datable to 1849 but another cover is listed for that date. So the 9/10/xx listing was removed

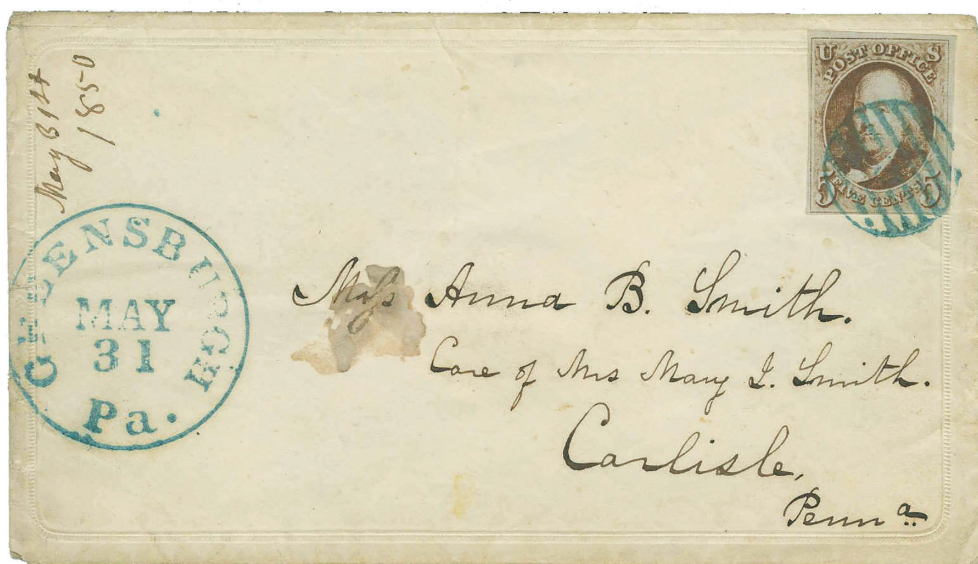


Figure 4. At least 20 letters to Anna B. Smith were sent from Greensburgh, Pennsylvania by her future husband, Samuel H. Giesy, a minister. Like the May 31, 1850 cover shown here, many are docketed with a notation that includes a year date. The correspondence also includes undocketed covers, most of which can be assigned year dates by reference to other letters in the correspondence and to biographical details of the correspondents. (Philatelic Foundation image, certificate 460,361.)

from the census as a probable duplicate. The 3/27/xx cover most likely dates from 1850 but could have been sent a year earlier. Since the earliest post-marriage cover to Monson was mailed in June 1849, it is likely that Julia lived with Samuel from January 23 to June 1849 before returning to Monson.

The Anna B. Smith correspondence

The Alexander census lists 20 covers mailed from Greensburgh, Pennsylvania, addressed to Miss Anna B. Smith: nine addressed to Mercersburg, eight to Carlisle and three to unknown destinations. Two of the cover listings lack the addressee's name. The letters were written in the same hand between November 1, 1849 and August 26, 1850. Those from November through 27 March 1850 were mailed to Anna in Mercersburg; those afterwards were addressed to her in Carlisle. The May 31, 1850 cover to Carlisle is shown in Figure 4. All of the year-dated covers were docketed, presumably by the recipient, with the date they were received—as in the Figure 4 cover, which is docketed “May 31st 1850” at upper left.

Six covers in the listing are undocketed and show no other evidence of a year date. Two are addressed to Mercersburg (ID 10,300, 1/19/xx and ID 10,302, 3/4/xx); three to Carlisle (ID 10,303, 12/2/xx, ID 10,304, 12/9/xx, and ID 10,305, 12/31/xx); and one has an unknown destination (ID 10,301, 2/8/xx). The two year-undated covers to Mercersburg were surely mailed in early 1850, consistent with the rest of the letters sent there. The unknown-destination cover was also likely mailed to Mercersburg in early 1850. The year-undated letters to Carlisle, if mailed in 1849, seem to be mixed in with the Mercersburg letters, which is probably why they remain undated in Alexander.

Anna Bella Smith, born in 1829, was the daughter of William and Mary Smith of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The census of 1850 lists Anna as one of 14 members of the Smith household, along with her younger brother William and younger sister Jane. Other household members included people with last names of Allison, Baird, Bibb, Clark, Fermen,



Figure 5. Although the Rochester, New York, circular datestamp on this cover is well struck, the month and day are difficult to make out. But the overall evidence indicates this cover was mailed on January 6, 1851 from Thomas Montgomery to his wife, while she was away in Clifton Springs, New York. Based on federal census data and docketing information on some of the other covers in this correspondence, it's clear this couple was separated for just one winter, during which Montgomery wrote to his wife almost every day. (PhilaMercury cover ID 16,334, from the Marc Haas collection.)

Marshal, and Wilson, all between ages 3 and 27. We can infer from this information that Mary Smith ran a boardinghouse after William died in 1846.

Anna married Rev. Dr. Samuel Hensel Giesy on July 3, 1851. Geisy was a Calvinist minister who studied in Mercersburg and subsequently founded several churches in central Pennsylvania. He probably met Anna when she was 19 and attended school in Mercersburg. From Greensburgh, he wrote to her both in Mercersburg and to her home in Carlisle. The December 1849 letters were sent to both locations, perhaps because Samuel did not know where Anna was staying over the Christmas holiday. She was probably in Mercersburg since those letters are docketed. When she later received the letters to Carlisle she would not have known the date they arrived. Samuel's letters were all directed to Carlisle after the winter session of her schooling ended in March, 1850.

Their married life was short: Anna died on Jan 29, 1855. Samuel later remarried and died on May 27, 1888 in Washington, D.C.

The Mrs. Thomas C. Montgomery correspondence

There are 16 covers in the census from Rochester, New York, addressed to Mrs. Thomas C. Montgomery in Clifton Springs, New York. One is dated Dec 6, 1850 and is docketed "No 8." None of the others is year-dated. Four covers, dated between January 6 and January 9 are docketed as numbers 24 through 27. These covers were clearly mailed in 1851. The January 6 cover is shown in Figure 5; note the "No. 24" docketing at left. The rest of the covers are not year-dated and any docketing is unknown. With just two exceptions (cropped images from early auction catalogs), these covers are not illustrated in the on-line census.

Seven of the covers lacking year dates were mailed between November 16 and December 31. All these were probably mailed in 1850. Two covers were posted on August 30



Figure 6. This letter to Miss Mary Lorenz was sent from Buffalo on 2 January 1848 by either her sister, Pheobe, or her future husband, Edward Beals. Mary and Edward married in 1848. All of the covers in this correspondence for which images exist show the stamp located in the lower left corner. (Harmers of San Francisco, sale 46, lot 954.)

and September 3. Another was mailed from Syracuse on November 20 and two more have unknown dates. Rochester postmarks are notoriously faint and on some of the covers in this correspondence the CDS is socked squarely on the stamp, making the mailing month and day difficult to discern in the crude images available.

Thomas C. Montgomery (1820–1906) was a lawyer in Rochester, descendant of Nathaniel Rochester, who founded that city. Montgomery married Mary Griswold Whitney (1825–82) in December, 1848, and the couple had six children. According to the archives of the University of Rochester Library, Montgomery had his law offices in downtown Rochester, at least for the years 1842–50. In the 1860 federal census, the Montgomery family is listed as living in Rochester’s Ward 3.

Although Clifton Springs is only 32 miles from Rochester over today’s roads, it seems unlikely that the Montgomerys lived there in 1850. A more plausible scenario is that Mary was visiting friends or family in Clifton Springs during the winter of 1850–51 and that Thomas, a loyal husband, wrote her almost daily while she was away. As more of these covers reappear in the marketplace, the enumeration docketing applied by Mary should easily enable them to be year-dated.

The Mary Lorenz correspondence

There are ten covers in the census sent from Buffalo and addressed to Miss Mary Lorenz in Pittsburgh. The on-line census includes images for six of the covers and all were sent in care of F. (or Frederick) Lorenz. The covers are closely grouped, dated between October 27, 18xx and January 4 of the following year; and all the Lorenz covers for which illustrations exist have the stamp affixed in the lower left corner. The last cover in the correspondence, shown in Figure 6, surfaced not too long ago on eBay.

Mary Lorenz was the daughter of Frederick Rudolph Joachim Lorenz, a Pittsburgh banker who also owned glassworks and an iron mill (Lorenz, Sterling & Co.) Mary’s older sister, Phoebe, married Pascal Paoli Pratt of Buffalo in 1845. From this association, Mary

became acquainted with and subsequently married Edward Preble Beals of Buffalo. Along with Pascal and another brother, Samuel F. Pratt, Edward was a founding partner of Pratt & Co., a prominent wholesale and retail hardware company in Buffalo. (The 1847 census lists many covers sent to Pratt & Co.) Edward and Mary married in 1848. Therefore, the October, November and December covers must have been posted in 1847 and the January covers were posted in 1848.

Conclusion

This article has shown multiple examples where examining an entire correspondence, rather than individual covers, combined with knowing something of the correspondents' history, can help assign a definitive year date to previously undateable 1847 covers. This doesn't work for every correspondence, but it works for many. As genealogical and historical information increases on the internet, more covers will be accurately year-dated.

An area we have yet to explore is the location of the recipient. City directories are becoming available on Google Books and other sites. Although street addresses are rare on 1847 covers, there may be examples where the recipient's address was occupied for a short time, thereby establishing the year of mailing. We saw an example of this in the E. E. Turner correspondence, cited above. Other approaches may become the subject of a future article.

References

In addition to the philatelic sources cited in the endnotes, this article used various internet sources to seek out supporting information, including the websites of the Philatelic Foundation, the National Postal Museum at the Smithsonian, the 1850 Federal Census and Ancestry.com (for the Morrow correspondence). Google ebooks consulted included: Howland, Franklyn, *A History of the Town of Acushnet, Bristol County, State of Massachusetts*, pg. 352 (Swift correspondence); Cutter, Benjamin, Cutter, William and Clapp, David, *History of the Town of Arlington Massachusetts*, 1880 (Fuller correspondence); Cushing, Thomas, *Genealogical and Biographical History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania* (Lorenz correspondence). A more complete listing of sources is available from the author.

Endnotes

1. For details about the online database of 1847 covers maintained on the website of the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, see Scheuer, "1847 Cover Census Now On Line," *Chronicle* 240, pp. 329-335.
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EVOLUTION OF THE TYPES OF THE 1¢ 1851 STAMP

DAVID ZLOWE

Introduction

The past 100 years or so have seen significant achievements in understanding the production of 19th century postage stamps. By the end of the 19th century, U.S. philately had been active for several decades, but the creators of the earliest stamps were long gone. Detailed documentation of the creation of stamps such as the 1851 series, produced by Toppan, Carpenter and Casilear (TCC), was scarce or nonexistent. Philatelists began an intellectual journey of understanding about how the TCC stamps were produced, a journey that continues to this day.

Much has been learned about the production of stamps from the classic era, but the truth remains that we have few first-hand details of the engraving and printing of the 1851-1861 stamps during the decade of their use. Information in the Travers papers, now posted on this Society's website, has been invaluable in answering many questions, but not many of the details of stamp production.¹ Students have had to infer what must have been true at the time by using the most reliable evidence available: the stamps themselves.

Although the stamps that are available to us for examination can tell us much, they cannot tell us what actually happened to create them—they can only suggest what was more likely to have happened, or less likely. As more stamp-derived evidence is marshaled, the unlikely explanations fade away and the more convincing arguments persist, forming the bases for further inferences. It is worth remembering that what we say we know about the production of the stamps is often the most likely result of a series of inferences: the most probable explanation, for the existing artifacts, of what actually happened on the engraver's bench, the siderographer's presses, and the production floor.

A critical additional point is that there were a great many stamps produced, delivered and used. The Travers papers support data in the late Wilson Hulme's charts posted on this Society's website, that over four million stamps (equivalent to 20,000 printed sheets of 200 stamps) were printed in the first year of use (on Plate 1E), with over 15 million stamps (75,000 sheets) through 1855 for Plate 1L.² With regard to the ratio of surviving stamps, an updated census of position 7R1E records about 100 examples, a survival rate of 100 out of 20,000, or one-half of one percent.³ In total, TCC printed nearly 20 million 1¢ stamps from the first plate (in both states). Many additional millions were printed from the relatively abundant Plate 2, and still more from Plates 3 and 4. Early philatelists, given the vagaries of survival rates for stamps, probably had a sample of nearly one million stamps potentially available to work with in discovering how the plates were created.

Another truth about the growth of our understanding of the stamps of the 1851 series is that a great number of students have participated in the process. Some names, such as Chase, Ashbrook and Neinken, are well known; others less so. This is not the place to judge the worth or demerits of various contributors. However, it is very much the case that those studying the stamps had to communicate with one another (across space), and with later researchers (across time).

So, we have a fossil record, if you will, with many examples. We have many researchers. A basic question is how to communicate about many examples among many students.

Early students threw themselves into understanding every physical aspect of the stamps: color, paper, gum, ink composition, layout of the printing plates and design of the stamps. Each stamp of the 1851-61 series offered interesting features for study. The 3¢ and 5¢ stamps presented a multiplicity of shades. The 10¢ stamps presented variety in the printed design, as did the 1¢ stamp.

Recounting the intellectual histories of each of the denominations, though fascinating, is much too formidable for a single article. Moreover, the lessons of the imperforate stamps apply to the perforated stamps as well. Thus, this article will focus on the 1¢ imperforate stamp of 1851, in large part because the evolving understanding of that stamp, as embodied in catalog classifications and values, has been so central to the appeal of all the 1851 stamps.

For decades after the 1¢ stamp began to be differentiated based on variations in the elements of the printed design, students and the standard catalog continued to explore the shades of blue ink used in the stamp's production. Unlike the 3¢ stamp, for which color has been a central aspect to understanding and appreciating how the stamp was produced, color waned as an area of interest for the 1¢ stamp. In large part, the diminution of color as a significant aspect in understanding the creation of the 1¢ stamp was accompanied by appreciable progress in the plating of the stamp—the attribution of individual stamps to specific locations on the original printing plates. A full plating of each denomination was a critical milestone in the explication of their production history.

Color remains a fascinating, but often secondary, aspect of study and appreciation of the 1¢ imperforate stamp. To be sure, “dark blue,” “Prussian blue” and “robin's egg blue” remain terms in common use regarding the stamp, but they have not provided significant insights into the details of the stamp's production. However, advanced students often use color to quickly attribute a specific stamp item to a likely plate, since some shades are more frequently seen on some plates than on others.

Far and away the most significant feature of the 1¢ 1851 stamp for students has been the relative completeness of the printed image of each stamp, called the types. Researchers came to refer to specific types of the stamp as indicative of the visible features of the stamp. Nowadays, some critical features which distinguish one type from another are so small that they require magnification to appreciate. Those minute features, however, can materially alter the value of a stamp.

While much of this article will focus on the idea and use of “types” for the 1¢ stamp, it is worth pausing to consider the changing role of technology in philately. Currently, students of stamps enjoy an explosion of access to stamp images—both in the quantity of material readily and freely available, and in the speed with which that material can be shared and viewed. Also, inexpensive tools are widely available to provide sufficient magnification so that meaningful plating of stamps is possible using the tiniest features on their printed surface.

Given the wide availability of images of stamps to the average collector in recent decades, it is easy to forget how philatelists once conducted their research. Often, stamp items would be exchanged via the mails among a small set of students. Occasionally, some would go to the trouble and expense of photographing philatelic items and so could share printed images more widely. However, the limited accessibility of magnified photographic images, as indicated by the paucity of such records, meant that progress on plating of stamps to their positions on the printed plate was tedious. Ashbrook's *Special Service* (1951-56), which was a subscription newsletter that ultimately contained hundreds of quality photographs, is an example of such an effort.⁴ But the *Special Service* rarely addressed fine points of plating the 1¢ stamp.

Neinken, in the introduction to his 1972 revision of Ashbrook's 1938 first volume of *The United States One Cent Stamp, 1851-1857* (hereafter, "Ashbrook"),⁵ wrote in *The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851 to 1861* (hereafter, "Neinken")⁶ that Ashbrook had made six sets of photographs of material from Plates 1E, 3 and 5 to distribute to students. Most of those students researched the 1¢ stamp as a hobby. While progress could be made in understanding the 1¢ stamps and their appearance, there is no comparison to what is possible today.

Another change over the years is the stamp album. Many stamp collectors, and particularly those "of a certain age," began (and may have continued) to fill empty spots in preprinted albums. Many of these albums had spaces for different types, and possibly sub-types, of the 1¢ stamp. The "holes" for the costly Type I and Type III stamps might never get filled, but the goal of many collectors who learned the implicit lessons of the pre-printed stamp album (often sold by those who provided the stamps) was that rare types of 1¢ stamps were distinct from common types.

Today, dealers observe that collectors have broadened their interest beyond filling holes in stamp albums—some new collectors report never having owned a pre-printed album. "What of the album collector?" wizened dealers ask. Rather, current collectors have a variety of ways of assembling their collections. With the aid of still more electronic tools, it is a simple matter to keep track of what one "has" and what one "needs."

Just as stamp albums and macrophotography are becoming bygone of an earlier era, it may be past time that students took a hard look at how those in the 20th century categorized another cornerstone of philately—the idea of the "types" of the 1¢ stamp. While at first blush this might seem to question the very essence of the 1¢ stamp, the types were an invention of early philatelists to help them understand and organize their thinking about the stamps they were studying. It is a thesis of this article that the idea of types may well have served its purpose for philatelists, and that it is time to liberate collectors and students alike so that the new century can offer fresh perspectives on this little blue stamp.

The idea of types of the 1¢ 1851 stamp

The earliest catalogs from the 19th century list only the 1¢ stamp and provide no type designation. Today, for the imperforate stamp, the specialized catalog presents fully eight major types and sub-types (I, Ia, Ib, Ic, II, III, IIIa and IV), with a number of important sub-sub-types for several of them in the specialized listings.⁷ In fact, some varieties represent only one or two plate positions.

The road from no types to eight is filled with curves and detours. This is not the place for a full discussion of all the twists and turns in this century-and-a-half trip, although it makes for an interesting journey. Rather, we shall stay on the main road, so to speak, and discuss how the descriptors that are now part of the standard lexicon came about and what they mean. Before we start off, however, the reader should know that there is not an orderly progress from one type to the next, and there is not necessarily a close relationship between adjacent type designations. For example, type I is related to type Ia in appearance (especially at the stamp bottom), but appears on the printing plate next to the type Ib stamp, while type Ia stamps appear next to Ic stamps and on an entirely different plate (Plate 4) than the type I and type Ib stamps (they are from Plate 1E).

As a reminder, there were four printing plates for the imperforate 1¢ stamp, with the first plate having both an early and a late state (thus the designations 1E and 1L). These five plates or states of plates each consisted of two side-by-side panes of 100 entries in a 10x10 configuration. Therefore, there were 1,000 (5x100x2) individual positions. We follow the usual nomenclature with the stamp position on the pane (1-100) preceding the identification of the pane (R or L) and followed by the plate number (i.e., 89R2 or 10R4). Plate production began with layout dots (and sometimes scribed lines) showing the rough geography

of the working plate, and with interstitial guide dots providing more detailed indicators for guide relieving (discussed later) for the 200 stamp entries on the plate.

In 1851, TCC were established security printers, adept at printing banknotes, but the firm had not previously produced so many repeated entries on individual printing plates, and certainly not on the whiz-bang technological breakthrough of its day: the steel printing plate. The complexities in such production led to differences in the appearance of the printed stamps. An explanation of why the types on the plates were distributed the way they are (for example, by guide relieving) can be found elsewhere,⁸ but there now exists a viable set of explanations for why the types of stamp images appear where they do (and even the sub-types, sub-sub-types, and the rest).

The basic understanding is that each of the original 800 images was “entered” onto the steel printing plate using a curved device called a roller, which is essentially a disk (of unknown diameter) with an edge wide enough to contain the vertical image of the engraved, flat die. The die was a mirror image of the intended, printed design; the roller was a positive image. Along the circumference of the roller a number of images of the single die were “rocked in.”

First, the steel (it is understood that the plates, dies and rollers were steel, based on contemporaneous references to the printing plates in the Travers papers) would be manipulated (i.e., engraved or having entries made on it) when soft, but hardened (via annealing from heat) for use (i.e., entering images or printing on a press).⁹ Second, it is a fact of engraved steel printing in the 19th century that images could only be transferred from flat to curved surfaces, or curved to flat surfaces.¹⁰ Therefore, the image from a flat die (like the originally engraved image of the stamp—in reverse) can only be transferred to a printing plate (of any number of images) using a curved, steel roller, also known as a “roll.” The roll can have as many die images as its circumference (and the powerful press apparatus used to generate the required force) allows, and is generally reckoned for the 1¢ stamps to have contained either one, three or six images, or “reliefs.” A one-relief roll was used for some of the first entries on the right pane of Plate 1; a three-relief roll for the rest of Plate 1, and all of Plates 2 and 3; and a six-relief roll was used for Plate 4.

The roll was then used to enter portions of a single column of printed stamps. “Guide relieving” refers to the technique of using a previously-engraved stamp entry as a guide for a multiple-relief roll, as a means to align the further entries down the column.¹¹ For stamp production, flat steel, such as the die or printing plates, were mirror images—reversed (and incised, or depressed, into the flat steel) relative to the positive images in relief on the rolls (which appeared raised).

A final aspect of plate production is that there can be a number of reasons for stamps to appear differently from the die or roller reliefs. First, rolls may not have been fully rotated for each entry (making for incomplete designs at top or bottom). This is known as a “short transfer.” However, it is worth noting that some students do not believe this was a repeatable or reliable technique because of difficulties in registering (or squaring up) the entries and the tremendous pressures involved. Producing a printing plate required tons of pressure and slow, careful rocking of the transfer roll. Such rolls were being used on an unprecedented scale, and fine manipulation may not have been available to the production team.

Second, misaligned rolls, or re-entered positions, may have required “cleaning up” by the production team once the plate entries were completed, likely involving rubbing of the still-soft printing plate using hardened tools—a very well-known technology, since plate engravers had been cleaning up entries for decades (on copper plates, the technology that steel replaced).

Third, the overall plate was subject to cleaning up, such as removing high areas between stamp entries (at high pressures the steel plate can flow outside the compressed

portion of the individual entry). As Ashbrook documented in the 1920s, there are many reasons for the regular appearance of different entries on the printing plates. In his 1922 monograph he defined the bases on which typification occurred:¹²

The writer claims no practical knowledge in the production of line engraving, but from my study of the stamps of the 1851 and 1857 series, it is my belief the types of the One Cent originated from the following causes:

(1) An alteration of the original design by trimming the “reliefs” on the transfer Roll, and by trimming is meant the cutting away of certain parts of the standing up lines of the “reliefs.”

(2) A “Short-transfer,” the result of insufficiently rocking a relief on the Roll to a position on the plate, causing a shortness of design. This may occur at the top or bottom or both.

(3) A Re-engraving on the plate of any weak lines. This is done by the use of a hand-engraving tool and such strengthening of parts of designs are referred to as recutting or “recuts.”

(4) An erasure from the plate of parts of the designs, in the final “cleaning up” of the plate after all the designs have been rocked in, as for example, the vertical or horizontal margins between the stamp designs.

While Ashbrook’s explanation has value, many of the assumptions he expresses are not considered correct today. First, students of stamp production do not believe the transfer roll (once it was placed into service) could have been trimmed. The transfer roll was hardened steel, and removing significant amounts of the design in relief would be problematic, at best. Instead, an intermediate laydown plate of softened steel containing the relief(s) from the transfer roll would have been altered or “trimmed,” then hardened with heat, and used to create a new transfer roll with all the vertical reliefs ultimately entered on the printing plate. The new, altered designs would appear on a new transfer roll in this case. In the case of the later, perforate-stamp plates, some students speculate that a roll was re-softened, manipulated, and then rehardened for use, but that was several years after the plates discussed here.

Second, a short transfer due to incomplete rocking-in of the transfer roll onto the printing plate is possible, but with the challenges specified previously. Such short transfers tended to occur regularly, it seems. For example, as Ashbrook indicates, the top row of stamps on the plate tend to be complete at the top of the design, and the bottom row stamps tend to be complete at the bottom of the design.¹³ Thus, the top and bottom edges of the plate are often complete, with the consequence that they tend to produce design varieties, such as the types and sub-types.

Third, re-engraving is really an issue for the Type IV stamps from Plate 1L, and is not related to the other seven types. And fourth, erasures from the plate due to cleaning individual locations before printing result in different sorts of stamps than types caused by transfer rolls coming into existence. Examples of types due to altering the plate just before hardening of the plate for production do not provide insights into the standard plate-production techniques (such clean-up can obliterate evidence) or about the entry of the reliefs onto a particular plate. Rather, such stamps are type oddities of a different nature than those stamps displaying similar type characteristics due to overall plate production techniques. It is problematic to claim that a stamp that shows type characteristics (typically, incompleteness) due to “clean up” is as representative of the overall type as one that demonstrates the type due to a relief-based variation, since the former occurs by happenstance and the latter is an example of a repeated production process with its origins earlier than the creation of the printing plate.

However, the typification system does not distinguish between these causes. For example, we might see a “typical” Type IIIa stamp from Plate 4 due to a break in the top frame line caused by the design on the transfer roll. Each time that position on the transfer roll is entered on the plate (usually about 40 times), a Type IIIa stamp can appear. In contrast, the top frame line of the bottom right stamp on the left pane of Plate 1E (100L1E) is weak (a stamp from this position is illustrated in Figure 8 below) and sometimes appears to break, making a Type IIIa stamp. (The standard catalog does not list 100L1E as a Type IIIa, al-

though other Type IIIa oddities, such as 100R1E and 100R2 are listed.¹⁴ These last two are also due to short and/or weak transfers at the bottom of the bottom row stamp.) However, the 100L1E type IIIa is due to a weak frame line, possibly from “cleaning up” of that specific location on the plate prior to hardening, rather than due to a systematic cause traceable to the transfer roll or intermediate laydown (i.e., prior to plate entry). This positional example of the type may be more collectible to some people due to its scarcity, but it does not represent the same origins as the more usual Type IIIa stamps. But the idea of types does not make much distinction between the two.

These sorts of oddities present problems for typification systems. Examples that do not fit neatly into the classification system lead to increasing numbers of categories, or types and sub-types. Eventually, systems may become so burdened with exceptions and their resulting pigeon holes that they are no longer effective tools for ordering and understanding the population.

The “Complete Die Design”

Figure 1 shows “The One Cent 1851 Complete Die Design,” an illustration that originated with Ashbrook in a very similar format in 1922 and was published, in the version shown here, in Ashbrook’s definitive 1938 book.¹⁵ Since the 1920s, much of the literature about the 1¢ stamp has referred to this illustration. As a visual aid it has been very useful because the stamp design is intricate, hand-engraved ornamentation surrounding a central medallion, with lettered labels at top and bottom. The design does not lend itself to simple identification of specific areas. The central medallion does not appear to vary in a systematic way from stamp to stamp on the printed stamps, and neither do the labels, so the focus of attention by collectors is on the decoration. There were no widely accepted terms for all these ornaments, so the Ashbrook diagram filled a void for students seeking to refer to particular elements of the design.

Over the years, the terms for the bottom ornaments, particularly “plume,” “ball,” and “scroll,” have been widely recognized and used. However, while the nomenclature has been useful as a tool, there are some important issues raised by the use of this diagram.

First, there is the irony that the word “complete,” used in describing the design, is placed in the area of the stamp where the central medallion should be. Of course the design is not complete in the crucial fact that the portrait of Franklin is entirely missing. This is not a quibble. A significant way of using such diagrams is to align parts of the drawing’s design with a particular stamp under study to try to get a match. When important parts of the stamp are not presented in the reference illustration, that task is made more difficult.¹⁶

Second, the portions of the stamp that are rendered do not match any known stamp. In using idealized drawings, rather than actual stamps, errors of simplification inevitably occur. For that reason, this article illustrates the types using actual stamps, examples that the reader may come across or own. In fairness to Ashbrook, his use of the illustration was intended to provide a common vocabulary with which to refer to the elements of a complex design, and to some extent that contribution has endured. However, the “Complete Die Design” illustration is often the first stop for students trying to identify their stamps. If parts of the illustrated design are “too complete” compared to actual stamps, then someone trying to identify a type based on the accepted definition of a “complete bottom” design, or a “complete top” design, or “complete sides” might incorrectly disqualify their stamp from such categories.

Third, there is the issue of the die itself. As we begin to review actual stamps, essays, and die impressions, we will see that no existing die artifact actually matches the Ashbrook diagram.

Type I: A curious state of affairs

The only Type I imperforate 1¢ stamp is Position 7R1E. As mentioned earlier, about

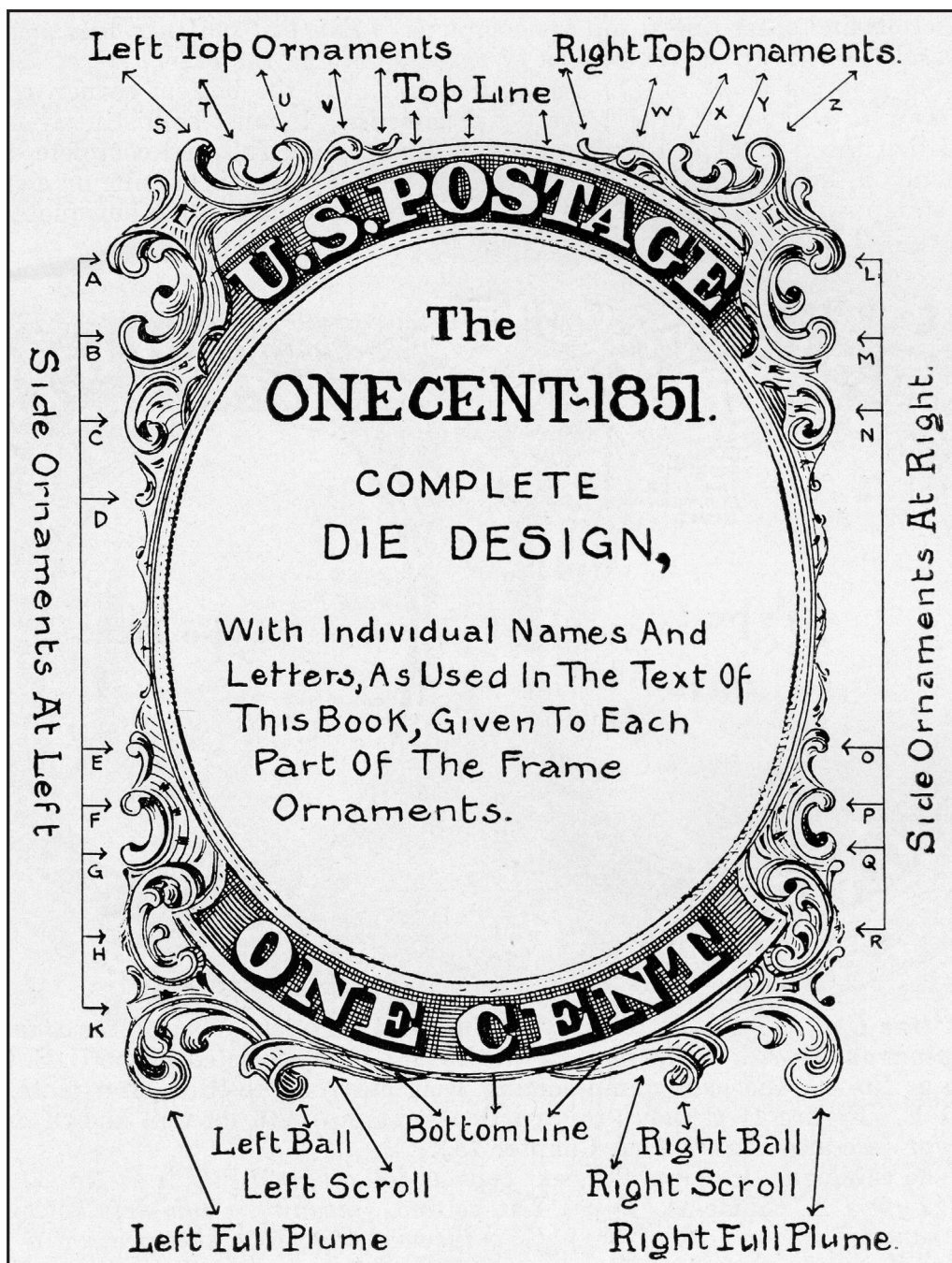


Figure 1. Ashbrook's illustration of the "Complete Die Design" originated nearly 100 years ago to provide a common set of terms to describe elements of the design of the 1¢ 1851 stamp. The terms "plume," "scroll" and "ball" are now part of our vocabulary.

100 examples are presently recorded of 7R1E, making it more common than other, less esteemed United States stamps, but rare nonetheless. It is worth noting that since 7R1E is a single position from a printing plate with 200 entries, each of the other 199 stamps should be as common—or as scarce—as the lone Type I. The 7R1E is viewed as special because it



Figure 2. One example of the roughly 100 surviving stamps from Position 7R1E. Out of 1,000 plate positions, only 7R1E produced Type 1 stamps.

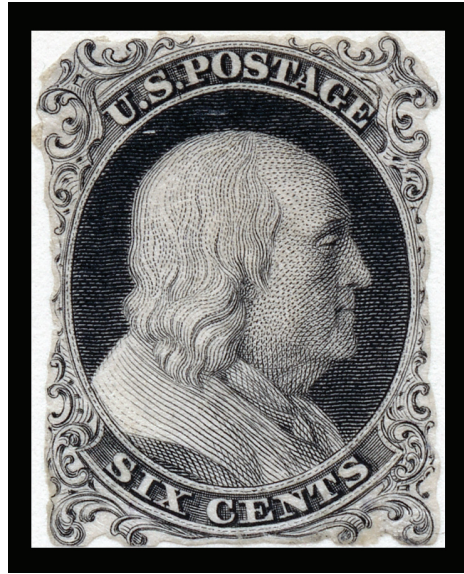


Figure 3. The 6¢ essay, which is universally believed to pre-date the design of the 1¢ stamp, displays the design intended for the printed stamp.

has been widely described as being the only position of the 2,400 imperforate and perforate positions that is complete. A full-margin example of a Type 1 stamp from Position 7R1E is shown in Figure 2. Ashbrook called the 7R1E stamp “remarkable because it is more of a stamp than simply a type, because it contains the full original die design....”¹⁷ Chase in 1938 described the 7R1E as “the real Type I showing the full design at all four sides....”¹⁸

The iconic status of the 7R1E depends on its singular completeness of design. The same position on subsequent plates (7R2, 7R3 and 7R4) shows no similar status, and the incremental status enhancement of 7R1L compared to its type IV brethren is entirely due to reflected glory from its progenitor, the 7R1E.

The 6¢ essay

Type I is said to be “the full design,” or “full original die design.” Let us step back in the production process, then, to examine that die design. The object in Figure 3 is presumably very close to the original engraving. This is the 6¢ essay, widely considered to predate the 1¢ version, which required only a change in the bottom label.

The key differences are in or near that bottom label. Notice that the white spaces under the darkness of the bottom label’s background, and above the “bottom line” of Ashbrook’s drawing of the “complete die design,” are filled with dashes in the 6¢ essay, but end on the 7R1E after only a few dashes on either side. Similarly, the dashes are absent above the “O” and “N” in “ONE”. It might be argued that such differences are simply artifacts of replacing the bottom label, and that the 1¢ version never contained that arcing line of dashes in the bottom label.

The other differences between the 6¢ essay and the 7R1E stamps are more significant, for they are quite consistent, and point to incompleteness in 7R1E. The ball on the bottom right of the design is the feature that is crossed if a line through the center of the vertical upright of the “T” in “CENTS” in the 6¢ essay is extended into the ornaments. (On the 7R1E, extend the right upright of the “N” in “CENT”.) On the essay, the turn under of the



Figure 4. Another example of 7R1E, confirming the appearance of the design elements at bottom that are essential features of the Type I stamp.

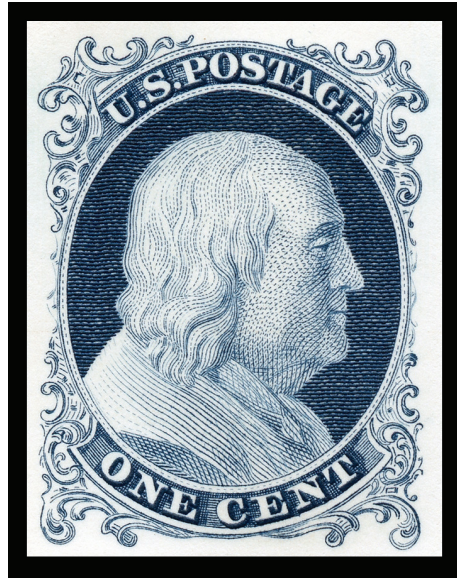


Figure 5. The presumed complete die design of the 1¢ stamp. This is actually a modern engraving, created by the U.S. Postal Service for a souvenir card.

ball is complete. This author has yet to see an example of such completeness on any 7R1E stamp, particularly at the 9 o'clock position on the ball. Figure 4 shows an example of 7R1E that is free of any cancel marks on the bottom of the design. As with the example in Figure 2, the lower right ball is incomplete.

Another instance of incompleteness in the Type I stamp is in ornament “H” as defined in Ashbrook’s diagram on the left side of the stamp. This refers to the shell-like ornament embracing the edge of the lower label. Note that on the examples of 7R1E in Figures 2 and 4 the middle of the outer line is broken. No example seen by the author exhibits anything like a complete line. There are other, less distinct places where 7R1E also shows an incomplete design.

On the other side of the ledger, however, there are striking examples of 7R1E being *too* complete, in the sense that more ink is displayed than on the 6¢ essay. The 7R1E is a double transfer (or a re-entered position), with very considerable doubling on the top label and on the top ornaments, as is visible in Figure 2 compared with Figure 3. On the bottom right ball referred to earlier, in the reeded area, there is a tick mark that extends down; this is also a result of the doubling. In fact, one of the ways that expertizers identify a 7R1E is by the distinctive doubling. Might we then say that the 7R1E design is “too full”?

The complete die design?

Dissenters will exclaim, “You rascal! Don’t show us the 6¢ essay! Show us the 1¢ die proof! Let us judge for ourselves!” They will refer to the catalog listing for the proof of Scott 5, the Type I stamp. Perhaps Figure 5 will satisfy those doubters. This shows the complete design at bottom, and it does not have the double transfer at the top. Truly it is a beautiful representation, and it shows all the glories of the Type I design. Unfortunately, the image in Figure 5 is not the die proof of the Type I, but an original engraving from a souvenir card, Scott SC51, distributed by the Postal Service at the Hafnia show in Copenhagen in 1976.

Advanced students of the 1¢ stamp report never having seen a die proof of Type 1. The works of Ashbrook, Neinken, and Chase and others do not report an authentic proof of the 1¢ die that produced the images on Plate 1.¹⁹ Dealers of long standing have never handled a Plate 1 die proof. A search of the records of the Philatelic Foundation indicates one or two proofs have been certified as genuine for Scott 5. However, they display the same feature as do the post-1860 proofs and stamps, namely, a cancellation dot in the outer frame line at the 8:30 position. Ashbrook and Neinken call this dot a “secret mark,” a “secret dot,” and “a small dot,” all on one page—common parlance referring to the cancellation marks presumably made by TCC once they believed their contractual obligations were winding down. A Plate 1 die proof cannot be said to exist.

Essay impressions exist of just the central medallion with an outer frame line, and these lack the the cancellation dot. These may be contemporary with the 1851 issue, but they hardly address the issue at hand about the original die design of the Type I stamp.

No one has seen the “complete die design,” or the “full original die design,” because no one in the past 100 years or more has seen an impression of the die. As we shall soon see, other positions from the top row of Plate 1 do a better job of showing certain elements of the design that are not visible on 7R1E. In those respects, 7R1E cannot be said to be “more complete” than even its neighboring stamps.

The term “Type I” has come to mean something (“the full and complete design”) that is just not so. Moreover, 7R1E is no scarcer, or more numerous, than each of the other 199 positions from Plate 1E, assuming similar rates of survival. But 7R1E is still 7R1E, even if it matches the typification only imprecisely.

This highlights a real danger of typification and categorization: Generalizations, such as the designation of fixed “types,” may come to mean something other than what the facts support. The philatelic term “Type I” has implied both that some things are present (portions of the bottom right ball, or the outside of the “H” ornament) which are not there, and that something should not be present (the traces of the double transfer) which does appear. In fact, advanced students can, in part, distinguish between 7R1E and 8R1E because the Type I is weaker at bottom left than the 8R1E. Curiously, the most un-iconic elements of the stamp (the double transfer and the weakness of the design) would appear to determine iconic status.

Type II: All are welcome

If Type I is an exclusive club with just one member, then the Type II stamps are a “come as you are” gathering. The requirements for membership are to not stand out: don’t have too much of the ornaments at bottom that would make for a Type I (or related) stamp, but don’t have a break in the outer frame lines (making a Type III or IIIa stamp), and don’t be recut (Type IV). Type II stamps have a complete frame line all around, including top and bottom. The ornaments outside that frame line are partially cut away at both the bottom and top. (If they are cut away at just the top, then the stamp is the Type Ia; if at just the bottom, then it is the Type Ib). All three reliefs on Plates 1, 2, and 3 display the Type II design, as does the top row on Plate 4, which is made from a six-relief transfer roll, rather than a three-relief roll.

The top-row stamps of Plates 1, 2, 3 and 4 display a similar sort of Type II stamp. Keep in mind that 13 positions on Plate 1E’s top row are Type II, with the others being the Type I and its brother Type Ib stamps; on the recut Plate 1L the sole stamp not recut, position 4R1L, is a Type II (shown in Figure 15 below). With the extra room at the top of the plate (and without the use of guide relieving), the top row stamps show a good portion of the top of the design. Sometimes that design, such as on Plate 4, is virtually complete at top. The relief designated for these top-row stamps is “T” for “top” on Plates 1, 2 and 3, and “A” on Plate 4. Relief “B” stamps (from the first three plates) display the Type II



Figure 6. Top right corner block, Positions 9-20L1E, with “T” relief stamps at top and “A” relief stamps at bottom. For the Type II stamps from Plates 1, 2 and 3, relief “A” stamps show the most truncated reliefs at top and bottom.

characteristics nicely, with even more of the design at the top of the stamp than most of the top-row stamps. The relief “A” stamps from Plates 1, 2 and 3 are the most truncated of the Type II stamps. Generally, none of the “T,” “A,” or “B” relief Type II stamps have much by way of the lower right plumes or balls. Figure 6 shows an unused block of four stamps from the top two rows of Plate 1E, being Positions 9-10, 19-20L1E.

The value of seeing a block of stamps of the “T” relief and the “A” relief, as in Figure 6, is that we can compare the completeness of the design at the tops of the stamps. The “T” relief stamp at top does not quite finish the design, particularly at the right ornaments, while the lower stamps in the block (the “A” relief stamps), are very truncated at the top right ornaments. The bottoms of these stamps merely suggest the balls and plumes. The “B” relief, as we will see later, is nearly complete at top.

Figure 7 shows an example of the Type II stamps from the top row of Plate 4. This is Position 10R4, the only double transfer on the plate. Doubling can be seen clearly in the “P” and “O” of “POSTAGE” in the top label. Also, the Type II characteristics show nicely in the complete design at top and the very partial design at bottom right. Ashbrook and Neinken both opined that this position was very rare, particularly imperforate.²⁰ More copies have been discovered since their writing, but it is a truly scarce position.

The strip of three stamps in Figure 8 is from the bottom row of Plate 1E, and shows nice examples of the “B” relief stamps. It consists of Positions 98, 99, and 100L1E, with the centerline of the plate (and a layout dot on the bottom) at the right edge of the strip.

Note that the design is nearly complete at top, lacking the smooth looping close at the topmost elements at right and left (ornaments “S” and “Z” from the Ashbrook diagram in Figure 1). At the bottom, the balls do not turn back under, but end in a cursive “V,” making them two-dimensional. There are no guide dots on the bottom row, and the left and right plumes are very incomplete.

Let us discuss those plumes for a moment, for they become an important element in the history of the types, and they are a crucial part of the story of the Type III and Type I sub-types. Each of the three Plate 1E stamps in Figure 8 shows something of the core area of the plume. The engraved lines at this core seem to resolve into a somewhat flattened dot at the bottom of the plume design. The plumes are “naked” in that the outer lines do not



Figure 7. Top-row stamps from Plate 4 are virtually complete at the top of the design. This is Position 10R4, which is also the only double transfer on Plate 4. These relief “A” stamps from Plate 4 have truncated designs at the bottom corners.



Figure 8. Bottom-row stamps from Plates 1, 2 and 3 usually show the “B” relief and do not have guide dots at the bottom right of each stamp, as in this strip of three Type II stamps from Positions 98-100L1E. The weak frame line at the top of Position 100L1E breaks in later printings to become Type IIIa according to the current type system.

extend down below this core and then loop gracefully around to enclose them, as in the Type I stamp. That looping line begins (for the right ornament) at the top of the plume and arcs downward and to the right in a somewhat darker and thicker line. It ends abruptly in the Type II stamp, but progresses further downward in the Type IIIa stamps and even further in the Type Ic stamps as it begins to loop under the core of the plume. Finally, in the Type Ia, Ib and Type I stamps on the right ornament, the loop comes around the left side of the plume and divides into two thinner lines that resolve spiraling into the core. It is an artistic gesture of sublime grace when realized, and even beginning students register the beauty of that element. The Type II design possesses the merest suggestion of the loop, and typically is reckoned as being so when the darker looping line of the plume does not go beyond the three o'clock position relative to the core of the right plume. In fact, it is more like 2 o'clock or half-past than 3 o'clock on even the finest Type II stamps, such as those in Figure 8.

Figure 9 shows another strip of three Type II stamps showing relief "B." Here, again, the design is nearly complete at top, while the lower right plume is quite incomplete. That plume's outer line also stops before beginning to loop under the core of the plume. A guide dot can be seen in the lower right plume area on all three stamps. This "strip" in Figure 9

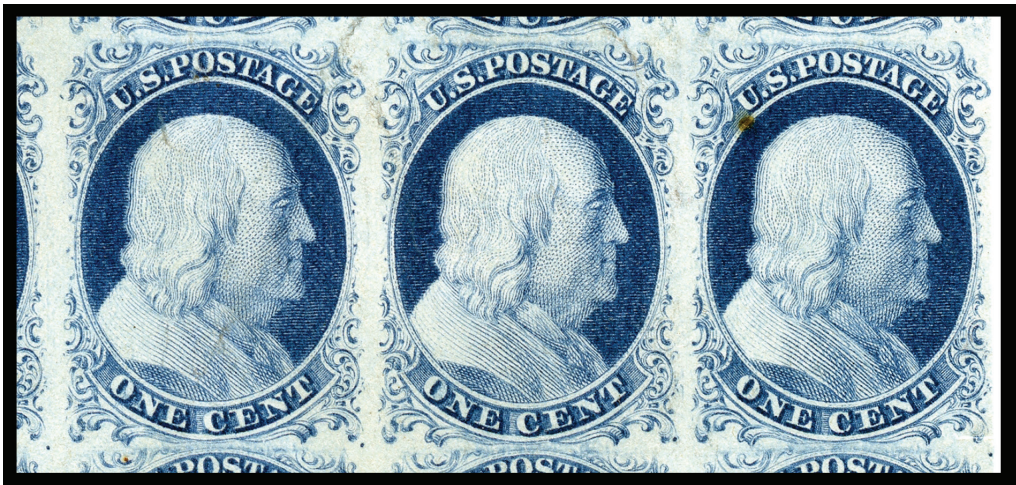


Figure 9. Positions 25-27R2, showing the "B" relief guide dots at bottom right of each stamp. Note the variation in the alignment of the dots. In the case of the right stamp, 27R2, this had consequences for guide relieving stamps to its bottom right.

is actually an electronic cropping of the block of 70 resulting from the breaking apart of what Neinken described as the only known pane of Plate 2. On the portion of 24R2 at the extreme left, the guide dot is quite low and toward the right. On the left stamp of the strip (25R2) the guide dot is a little past the end of the outer, heavy line of the plume, and also rather low. The middle stamp shows the dot nearly tucked in to the core of the plume right at the 3 o'clock position, while the right stamp shows the guide dot to the right of the plume and very far down. Because it is so far off the norm, this guide dot is considered misplaced.

The guide dots were used for laying out the column to the immediate right of the dot via guide relieving. Thus, tenth-column stamps have no dots at their lower right ornament. On Plate 4, due to the six-relief roll, however, guide dots only appear on the sixth row of both panes.

The plume area at the lower right of the 1¢ stamp is often an area of great interest. That little bit of real estate has driven many controversies, and we'll have more to say about this plume (and the 27R2 misplaced guide dot in Figure 9) later in this article.

As far as the design features of the Type II stamp are concerned, this section is com-

plete. However, the Type II stamp has another story to tell in the progression of the types, and, moreover, the Type II stamp may well be the most collectible of all the types. Because Type II has been the receptacle for examples that did not fall neatly into the stricter categories of the Type I and III stamps (and their offspring), there is a wondrous variety to the Type II stamps.

Unlike any other type, Type II stamps can be found on every imperforate plate, usually in abundance. Some of the most important double transfers of the 1¢ stamp are Type II stamps. And we can also tell the tales of notable 1¢ stamps (such as 99R2) with reference to their Type II neighbors. The 89R2 stamp is a fantastic double transfer that is eminently collectible, and its uniqueness enabled the 99R2 to come into existence. It is fitting, therefore, that we pause to explore some of this delightful assemblage.

Early students essentially defined the Type I family of stamps as consisting of the currently defined Type I stamp, the Type Ia's, the Type Ib's and the Type Ic's. Stamps without nearly complete designs were considered Type II stamps. However, by the dawning of the 20th century the types had risen to four, with the Type III stamps being those with breaks at top and/or bottom, and the Type IV being those that were recut for the late state of Plate 1.²¹ Nearly all of Plate 2 and Plate 3 were considered Type II stamps, along with most stamps from the early state of Plate 1 and the top row of Plate 4. The Type III stamps came to be valued for the amount of ink missing from the frame lines (less ink meaning greater value), and so increasing interest was focused on those stamps.

Meanwhile, a Type II stamp was just a Type II stamp. A relief "A" example from the first three plates, after all, is not very fetching with its partial top and bottom. The top row, or "T" relief, stamps have more interesting features at top, such as layout dots (often), double transfers (sometimes), and more complete designs at top (always) than the "A" relief. The top-row stamps of Plate 4, which are (confusingly) not called "T" reliefs, as on the three-relief transfer roll, but "A" relief, for the six-relief ("A" through "F") transfer roll, are quite complete. (Caution: A Plate 4 "A" relief is not equivalent to an "A" relief stamp from Plates 1, 2 and 3.) That is why over the decades some students have suggested that a Type IIa designation be introduced to distinguish between the nearly-complete relief "T" stamps and the not-as-complete relief "A" examples from Plates 1, 2 and 3. The Position 10R1E stamp (shown in Figure 20 below) from the right pane of Plate 1E is also quite complete at top and so would also be eligible for the Type IIa designation. However, it is not clear that this makes matters appreciably better. After all, the Type IIa would then apply to stamps from Plate 1E and Plate 4, which were produced in different ways (a three-relief transfer roll and a six-relief transfer roll). The new designation would imply a sameness that exceeds the reality of their similarity. The IIa's from different plates are cousins, not brothers. A new Type IIa classification would also perpetuate the use of theoretical groupings when we have the ability to describe the reality of the stamps themselves (i.e., "top row of Plate 4" or "Position 10R1E").

The fact that IIa never came into wide use is perhaps a healthy sign for philately, but the standard catalog nevertheless lists some of these positions as varieties. For the Type III and Type Ia and Type Ic family, listed varieties and sub-varieties that have been detailed down to individual stamps on specific rows of plates are recognized because of truly minuscule amounts of difference in the ink on one or two delicately engraved lines. By contrast, the differences between a run-of-the mill "T" relief stamp from Plate 2 and the "A" relief Type II's from the top row of Plate 4 are very striking. In fact, the Type II position 10R1E (shown in Figure 20 below) is kin to the Type I stamp, as we shall see, and so has quite complete top ornaments. If such completeness were found in the bottom right plume, by contrast, that would elevate an ordinary Type IIIa stamp to the exalted Type Ia designation, and it would pass through the Ic designation on the way!

There is clearly a difference in treatment between the degree of completeness of the bottom ornaments compared to the completeness of the top ornaments. One approach is to split hairs into several designations, and the other is to appreciate the stamps for what they really are and how they came about. For those who believe that the proliferation of types and sub-types for the 1¢ stamp is like the growth of elaborate Ptolemaic cycles and epicycles attempting to explain the heavens, the restraint of earlier philatelists is most welcome.

The Type II stamps themselves are quite something! The major plate cracks of the 1¢ stamp occur on Type II stamps. Most of the imprint, centerline, and plate number position stamps are Type II's (by number of printed examples, if not by count of the printing plates). Then there are the double transfers. Double transfers on the 1¢ stamp are due to misalignment of the original entry from the transfer roll, or to other re-entry. As it has been understood, the unhardened plate would be turned over and drilled and/or hammered so that the design on the front was flattened. Somehow, the engraved entry was smoothed out or "erased." The design was then re-entered (hence, a "double entry"), presumably in the correct position. On visible double entries the original entry was not entirely erased (for reasons not fully explained), and telltale inked areas of the printed stamp reveal this unwanted entry. Often, the trouble can be traced to the associated guide dot for the transfer being out of place (think of 27R2 in Figure 9). Sometimes the misaligned guide dot has a twin nearby, this being the adjusted guide-dot position for the corrected entry. In this way, many double transfers tell a little story about how they came into being. Some students find these double transfers to be an enjoyable and interesting way of learning about the stamps and their production. In truth, though, the idea of drilling and hammering the back of a steel plate seems overly suggestive of the preceding technology (softer copper printing plates); it is hard to imagine that such a tortured steel plate could have yielded 80,000 impressions. Evidence is scarce, and better explanations may still await publication.

Double transfers can show their doubling, or extra ink, at the top of the stamp or the bottom or both. Often, doubling is visible in the labels. Then, there is 65R1E, one of the most striking double transfers in philately.

The pair of 64-65R1E stamps shown in Figure 10 presents the full impact of this double transfer. Notice the normal 64R1E stamp at the left. This is a proper "B"-relief Type II stamp. The bottom label letters are relatively crisp and clear, and the shoulder area is nicely delineated. Then, glance at the same areas on the adjacent 65R1E. The bottom label is smudged, and the shoulder lines are doubled on 65R1E, but not so on 64R1E. The strong double entries are just enough offset from one another to considerably darken 65R1E



Figure 10. The most striking double transfer is Position 65R1E, the right stamp in this 64-65R1E pair. The bottom third of this "B" relief, Type II position re-entry is markedly misregistered relative to the original. Note the doubling of the lines in Franklin's shoulder, which darken the lower portion of the central medallion.



Figure 11. Position 91L1L is a striking double transfer with one of the entries inverted. Remnants of the original entry appear to the left of the printed stamp, with the original layout dot under the bottom right ball. Ashbrook's illustration at right shows the extent of the traces of the original entry, including the inverted elements.

compared with its neighbor. In fact, the bottom third of the stamp appears “smeared,” or out of focus, relative to the usual Type II. It is worth noting that the four guide dots on the fourth column (used to assist entering the fifth-column positions, including 65R1E) are all unusually aligned to the left (the opposite direction as that on 27R2). This fact may have contributed to the creation of the 65R1E double transfer, but may not be sufficient cause on its own.

The act of noticing many of the details of the stamp, and how they are doubled, is the sort of activity that turns beginning students into more advanced ones. Such people start to commit to memory elements of the design and how they should appear. They begin to understand how the ornaments relate to one another on the stamp, and how the sections align with one another. They find that when they pick up a stamp item that is new to them they look at particular parts of the stamp to check for completeness, or for fineness of impression, often before they even raise a magnifier to their eye. So, while the beginning student may struggle to appreciate the type characteristics or to detect doubling, the more experienced student sees these features very quickly. Even so, 65R1E is a treat!

The first column of the left pane of Plate 1 also provides very important multiple transfers, with Positions 71L, 81L, and 91L being among the most striking double (or triple) transfers in American philately. These three positions originated as Type II's on the early state of the plate. The 91L1 stamp shown in Figure 11 is from the late state of the plate and so a Type IV as shown with a recut at top. Even a quick view of the example shown here reveals this is a special stamp. In fact, these first-column double transfers contain at least one inverted transfer, probably representing the original entries on the plate that convinced the printers that a different approach would be necessary to enter the 200 plate positions onto the steel plate.²² In the wide left margin on the stamp in Figure 11 can be seen remnants of the original entry, with the original layout dot under the bottom right ball. Ashbrook's illustration at right shows the extent of the traces of the original entry.

Another research area that has remained relatively untouched is examining the exact nature of the double transfers on the first few plates. Some of the most important double transfers (99R2, 7R1E, and the first-row double transfers of Plate 1, for example) have been intensively explored. However, it seems highly likely that many double transfers are related to one another—created from the same misalignment of the transfer roll. Do double



Figure 12. All three stamps in this strip, from Positions 28, 38 and 48R2, are Type II double transfers (in their bottom labels)—with the 48R2 being the second largest double transfer on Plate 2. The bottom two stamps would have been entered via guide relieving off of the doubled 28R2 and the misplaced guide dot of 27R2 (shown in Figure 9).

transfers often span the reliefs of the transfer roll? Does that mean that the plate makers misaligned the transfer roll and then moved it into its next guide relief position, perpetuating the error and making it worse? Did they discover their error, fix the entries, and redo several stamps in a column?

An example of that, in a vertical strip of three double transfers, is shown in Figure 12. The bottom stamp, 48R2, is the second largest double transfer on the plate (after 89R2). All the stamps in the strip are doubled at the bottom to some extent. The top stamp, 28R2, would have been entered in the first “pass” of the transfer roll. This “B” relief would have been entered after the top row position (8R2) was entered and the 18R2 relief “A” position was entered. During plate layout, the low guide dot that is found under 27R2 (Figure 9 above), which was used to enter the eighth column of stamps (along with the doubled entry of 28R2), led to misalignment in entering Positions 38R2 and 48R2. Meanwhile, Position 8R2 shows some doubling at the top, and Position 18R2 displays some ink in the “O” of “ONE” in the bottom label. Do these facts combine to explain the double transfers in the Figure 12 strip? Quite probably.

For collectors, this kind of analysis can make an interesting pastime. Take a section of a plate, such as Plate 2, and find actual stamps. Also, look at the books, such as Neinken. Start to explore how that section of the plate was made, taking into account guide relieving and guide dots. In this approach, considerations of types of stamps take a back seat to a deepening appreciation of how the actual plates were produced. Ultimately, students may combine these findings to explain, in great detail, how the individual plates and columns of stamps were created. Then we can definitively answer some fascinating questions, such as: “Did the folks at Toppan, Carpenter and Casilear learn how to make stamp plates better from plate to plate, or did they continue to struggle? Did the nature of their struggles change over time? Does this explain why they moved from a three-relief transfer roll to a six-relief version? Did they have the same sorts of problems

when they moved to a six-relief transfer roll on Plate 4, or different problems?”

Right now, advanced students have some fairly informed opinions about these questions, among others, but greater certainty awaits more research. By no means has everything been written and discovered about the 1¢ 1851 stamp! A few advanced students of the stamp are seeking to redo the plating of some of the Type II stamps because the illustrations in Ashbrook/Neinken are not always precise. Much of Plate 3 needs more work, as does the top row of Plate 2, to cite just two examples. The opportunity to do significant new research awaits, and researching the common Type II stamp is a terrific way to make advances.

Type III: Less is more

So far in this discussion, it has been clear that a more complete design makes a stamp rarer and more desirable than a less complete design. But that is not true in every case, as the Type III family of stamps shows. A Type III stamp has a break in the outer frame line at top and bottom, with very complete side ornaments. A Type IIIa stamp, which is a later distinction, has a break at top *or* bottom, but not both. Type III stamps are scarcer than Type IIIa stamps, and command higher prices, even though they have less ink. In fact, the less ink a Type III family stamp has (at bottom and/or top) the more favorably it is considered. Larger breaks in frame lines ensure higher sale prices than smaller breaks.

There is at least some sense to the rule of thumb that bigger breaks are more desirable. Many stamps show miniscule breaks in the frame line. A number of Plate 1E stamps, for example, show weak frame lines. On some impressions the line is so weak that it disappears in sections, “breaking” the line, and, most typically, making a Type II stamp become a Type IIIa. On Plate 4, a number of Type IIIa positions are considered “transitional” in that in some impressions they appear to have breaks at both top and bottom and so become Type III. Some of these breaks can barely be seen under magnification, and their interpretation can become disputatious.

A little trick that the old-timers have shared provides a simple but powerful tool in helping to distinguish weak lines from broken ones: Turn the stamp upside down and then look at the frame line. This trick is amazing! When the stamp is rotated 180 degrees, the mind apparently interrupts its usual pattern-seeking and stops trying to complete lines that are incomplete. What appeared one second to be a Type II stamp is suddenly realized to be a Type IIIa stamp with a small, but real, break in the frame line. Of course, the reverse can happen, as well. Rotate at your own risk.

Figure 13 shows a Type III stamp, with breaks at top and bottom. This is an example of the Plate 4 “E” relief Type III, which for this stamp is transitional between III and IIIa.



Figure 13. Stamps from the Type III locations, such as this example from Position 42L4, show broken frame lines at both the top and bottom.

This impression shows a larger-than-normal break at the bottom frame line. The broken lines sit just outside the dark labels.

The Plate 4 reliefs tend to lose parts of the design at the top of the stamp as we move down the transfer roll from reliefs “A” to “F.” Hence, the Type II stamps from the top-row “A” relief show very complete top ornaments. Moving down the transfer roll the reliefs also tend to gain increasing parts of the design at their bottom. In this way, we get the Type Ia stamps with very complete ornaments at bottom, but highly truncated at their tops. The Type III’s from the “C” relief on Plate 4 tend toward the Goldilocks solution: not too much of the design at top, nor too much of the design at bottom (see Figure 16 below). They are just right for producing Type III stamps. Stamps from other reliefs on Plate 4 can display Type III stamps too, as is the case in Figure 13.

The famed 99R2

We cannot proceed very far in a discussion of Type III without pausing on the famed 99R2. It is the only Type III stamp not on Plate 4. The original Ashbrook drawing of this position includes the statement, “The Finest Example of Type III,” and that has become gospel.²³ The Ashbrook explanation reprinted in Neinken provides an explanation for this strong double transfer.²⁴ Basically, it states that 89R2 was properly entered, but a misplaced guide dot at the bottom right of position 88R2 caused 99R2 to be entered too low on the plate, and causing part of the “A” relief on the transfer roll to be re-entered over the bottom of 89R2—a failed attempt to guide relief. Ashbrook states that the original entry was mostly erased, and that a second entry was then entered in the proper place. However, it was short-entered both at top and bottom, leading to substantial breaks in the frame lines at top and bottom. Still, as noted above, so-called short entries are problematic given our present understanding of guide relieving and the challenges of rocking in entries.

The strip of three in Figure 14 is cancelled in green. The middle stamp is 99R2, and the guide dot from Position 88R2 is visible well clear of the cancellation at the top of the strip between the left and center stamp. The guide dot is very low relative to the normal position for such dots, and is likely to have led to the misalignment of the original entry, as with the 27R2 position shown in Figure 9. The 99R2 is striking because of the shortness of the design at top compared with its neighbors, a feature that shows very well in Figure 14. The double transfer is most apparent in the ornaments to the right of the bottom label.



Figure 14. The center stamp in this strip of three, containing positions 98-100R2, is the lone Type III stamp on Plate 2, the famed 99R2. The other two stamps are Type II as would be expected on the bottom row of Plate 2. There is a very low guide dot from 88R2 between the two stamps on the left. The green cancel is an extra embellishment.



Figure 15. In this block from Positions 89, 90, 99, 100R2, the relationship of the Type III stamp in the 99R2 position, relative to the position above and to the right, is very apparent. The 99R2 image was poorly entered—too far to the right and originally too far down. The significant double transfer seen at the bottom of 89R2 (note the pronounced doubling of the balls) is a cause. The 100R2 stamp is a transitional Type IIIa with a small break at bottom.

Without magnification, the doubling appears as a blurring or “congestion” of ink in and around these ornaments.

Figure 15 is a corner block of four from Positions 89, 90, 99, 100R2, which shows the relationship of 89R2 and 99R2. The top stamp is in the appropriate alignment, but 99R2 is truncated at top relative to 100R2. The 99R2 is also closer to 100R2 than 89R2 is to its adjacent 90R2 position. The block being the corner position reminds us that the 99R2 column was the second column entered on just the second 1¢ plate; this was in 1855.²⁵ The 1¢ stamps were not neat rectangles like the 3¢ or 12¢ stamps, and the plate makers were undertaking a somewhat new process in producing the second 1¢ plate.

The 89R2 shows the re-entry, or double entry, clearly in (and under) the “O” of “ONE” in the bottom label, and below the bottom ornaments. This area below the bottom ornaments is quite busy with the additional scrolls and balls, and parts of the doubled plumes. Some collectors with tongue in cheek might claim that it was kind of TCC to erase enough of the top of 99R2 to permit us to see clearly the doubling on 89R2. More seriously, they might also remind us that 89R2 is a very special “B” relief Type II stamp with a striking double transfer.

Another student would make a different point about 99R2. It is not the “finest” or “best” example of a Type III stamp so much as it is a freak—a mistake. After all, no other Type III stamp exists on Plate 2, and only a single example of a Type IIIa (the transitional Position 100R2, shown in the Figure 15 block with a break in the bottom frame line). The 99R2 stamp is a Type III because of peculiar circumstances that occurred on that section of the plate rather than due to intentional plate-making. How can 99R2 be considered an iconic example of a type when that type occurs on an entirely different plate (Plate 4) and derives from a six-relief transfer roll rather than a three-relief transfer roll? Perhaps we should stop to list the ways a Type III comes about.

Origins of Type III stamps

First, and most often, the Type III stamps arise as a result of the six-relief transfer-roll entries being truncated for Plate 4. The “C” relief Type III’s are examples of this process. Figure 16 shows position 21R4 with typical breaks at top and bottom for this relief.

Second, also on Plate 4, Type III’s may result from a “transitional” position that shows Type IIIa stamps on some impressions but Type III stamps on others, as shown in Figure



Figure 16. “C” relief positions, such as this 21R4, are the “Goldilocks” stamps that are just right for showing breaks at bottom and top in the frame lines. They get their Type III characteristics directly from the transfer roll, not because of “worn” impressions.

13. The term “worn plate” is used to explain this transition. It suggests that the plate was so intensively used that the steel plate wore down, rendering the finest lines so lightly that they are no longer visible. “Worn” impressions can indeed be due to effects on the plate, but also due to imperfect inking on the plate, incomplete wetting of the paper which is required for the paper to get into the engraved lines holding ink, or even due to ink adhering to the engraved lines of the plate instead of transferring to the paper (or by offset to printed sheets laid on top of others after printing) which leaves areas that appear to have “flaked off” ink. This latter feature is most often visible in the dark areas around Franklin’s bust, when a few millimeters of ink fail to get stuck to the paper and so shows a small white line. (The left stamp in Figure 10 shows examples, behind Franklin’s head.) In any case, such worn impressions, or transitional positions, are not often as highly prized as strictly Type III positions, such as the

“C” reliefs. Part of the explanation might well be that the breaks on such stamps are not usually large, and the principle applies that the larger the break the higher the price. Such is the case with the 100R1E, which most often appears as a Type II, and only occasionally as a Type IIIa. Figure 17 shows a nice example of a break in the bottom frame line of 100R1E from this transitional position. The break is clearly visible under the “C” of “CENT.” So transitional positions occur for both Type III-IIIa and Type II-IIIa impressions.

Third, we have the unusual case of 99R2, which is a Type III due to difficulties with entering the position. It certainly shows large breaks, but it is a “one-off.” Such freaks may be very interesting and desirable, but in a classification scheme using ideal types (as is the case with the 1¢ stamp), freakish instances cannot be considered iconic or “best” examples. They happen to fall into the type category by mistake. They do not set the standard. Rather, they meet the standard by happenstance. This is nothing against 99R2. The issue is whether it is a hallmark example of a type. It is not. As a consequence, students may err if they suppose that other such Type III’s are like this Type III. They are not, and so the meaning of Type III is diluted.

The real issue is the difference between the “C” relief Plate 4 stamps and the transitional (or “worn”) Type III’s or Type IIIa’s. In the former case, the relief on the (presumed) laydown and roll was short at top and bottom—a Type III by design. In the latter case, the relief on the roll had unbroken frame lines, but the plate entry may have been weakly entered, rolled out by the subsequent position entry, burnished, or the printed impression may have been poorly inked or subject to a dry print. In either case, the origins of these two classes of Type III’s (or Type IIIa relative to type II) are quite different. Both sorts are collectible, but they are not equivalent. Giving them the same name does not make them the same. Once again, we find ourselves stumbling over obstacles caused by type-based naming conventions instead of just crediting the stamps for what they are.

In any case, by the first decade of the 20th century collectors and authors were beginning to acknowledge something other than the more complete Type I stamps and the less complete Type II stamps. In 1909, Melville, a prolific philatelic author in London, called out the two types, but he also described the Type III family of stamps as a “minor variety,” and recognized the Type IV recuts.²⁶ Goodwin, in 1913, observed that the standard catalogs listed three types, but that the literature recognized four.²⁷ The catalogs were including the recut stamps (now known as Type IV) as the third type in addition to the conventional Type I and Type II stamps, while the collectors had begun to recognize that the Type III family formed a new category. By 1916, Waterhouse described most of the current types. A difficulty in his presentation is that he illustrated photographs of the 1875 reprint retouched to emphasize the type characteristics, making the use of his illustrations ill-suited for the pattern matching that collectors require. Waterhouse did observe that “there are four main types, as described in the Standard Catalogue, and in addition there are three further types which may be called types IA, IB, and IIIA.”²⁸



Figure 17. An example of a transitional Type II-IIIa stamp, Position 100R1E is usually a Type II stamp, but with a weak bottom frame line that sometimes appears broken (as in this instance), making it a Type IIIa.

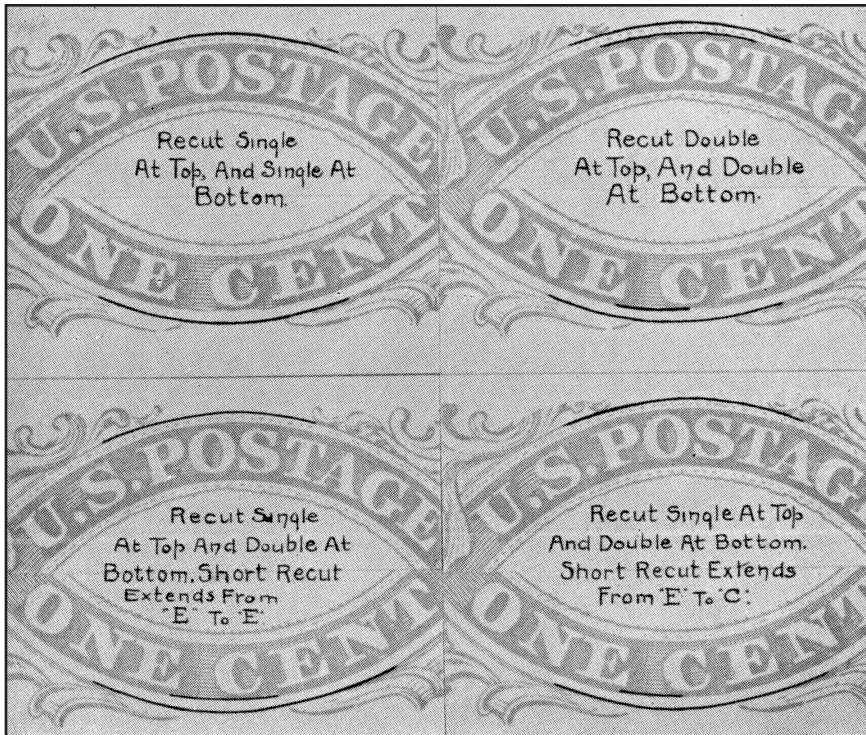


Figure 18. Stanley Ashbrook's illustration showed four varieties of the Type IV recuts. Actually there are seven different varieties of recut combinations.

A momentary caution is in order before moving along. Early philatelists sometimes included the perforate stamps from Plates 5 through 10, which are now reckoned as Types V and Va, as being in the Type III family due to the broken frame lines at top and bottom. Chase proposed calling the Type III family stamps with full side ornaments Type IIIA, with Type IIIB to be used for those stamps with the side ornaments “more or less” cut away.²⁹ This can lead to confusion by researchers, because Type IIIa now means those stamps with full side ornaments with a break at top or bottom, but not both, and because Type IIIB became Types V and Va. Also, early surveys of the frequency of the types maintained the incorrect inclusion of the later Type V and Va stamps with the other Type IIIa or Type III family of stamps. This led to vast overestimations of the number of what we now call Type IIIa stamps. It took some time for platers to assist the cataloguers and dealers in getting the story straight.

Type IV: The cruelest recut

Type IV stamps are recut at the top or bottom framelines. These recuts, in 1852, transformed Plate 1 Early into Plate 1 Late, a new state or condition of the finished plate. Recuts occurred on the frame line itself or along the outer edge of the dark labels. In both cases, the recutting strengthened the definition of the line or label. The recuts were done on the printing plate with freehand tools, and so the lines can vary quite a bit from one stamp to the next. Figure 18 is an illustration produced by Ashbrook of some of the varieties of recutting.³⁰ Recutting was not new to TCC, as they had performed this task earlier on the initial production of the 3¢ and 12¢ stamps, but this was their first use of curved recutting as opposed to horizontal or vertical frame-line recutting.

There are seven combinations of recuts: once at the bottom, once at the top, once at the bottom and top, once at the bottom and twice at the top, twice on the bottom and once at



Figure 19. The upper left stamp in this block is Position 4R1L, the only non-recut entry on Plate 1L. The adjacent Position 5R1L is recut once at the bottom, and 14-15R1L are both recut once at bottom and once at top. The freehand recut shows above the “O” in POSTAGE as a slight bump on 14R1L relative to 15R1L.

top, twice at the bottom, and twice on the bottom and top. There is one position, 4R1L, that was not recut, and so is considered a Type II stamp. Figure 19 shows a block of four stamps from Plate 1L. The top left stamp is 4R1L, and the block contains three Type IV stamps, namely 5R1L, 14R1L and 15R1L.

The recutters apparently missed 4R1L, because its bottom frame line and label could have been strengthened with recutting. Position 5R1L is recut once at the bottom, and the bottom stamps on the block in Figure 19, positions 14R1L and 15R1L, are recut once at the bottom and top (in the outer frame lines, as is always the case with single recuts).

No recuts were made at the top of any of the top-row stamps, nor were recuts made at the bottom of the bottom-row stamps. During production of Plate 1, these edges of the printing plate were entered strongly (with the notable exception of 100R1E), and were not cleaned up as heavily as the spaces between rows of stamps, so that they did not need to be recut later. However, the strength of these outer frame lines sometimes confuses even experienced observers.

Several positions can produce stamps that appear to have broken (unrecut) frame lines, with 89R1L being the first such stamp recognized. Several other positions also show clear breaks in “worn” impressions. However, unlike other “transitional” positions, these are not considered Type IIIa stamps, but varieties of the Type IV stamps, and are collectible in their various states. Thus, the type system once again fails to be consistent or helpful.

Beginning students often select the Type IV stamp to start their specialized focus on the 1¢ stamp. And a great deal of progress can be made with affordable copies. However, there are a few difficulties in beginning with the recut stamps. The difficulties have to do with determining the presence of recutting, and the extent of that recutting. In particular, many stamps not on Plate 1L, and especially Plates 2 and 3, can appear to have a heavy section along the frame line at bottom, and this area can be confused with recutting. Also, determining recuts along the labels can sometimes be a challenge. The extent of recutting is also problematic, since the Ashbrook drawings tend to show the greatest extent of the recutting, despite the fact that the ends of recut lines sometimes are difficult to determine on actual stamps. Some impressions can show shorter recut lines than in the Ashbrook illustrations. In these ways beginners can be frustrated with Type IV stamps. Even experienced collectors can sometimes be fooled by early impressions of Type IV stamps that are heavily inked.

Type 1b: The kin of 7R1E

Type Ib stamps are not quite as complete at the bottom ornaments as 7R1E, and they are the neighbors of that stamp on the right pane of Plate 1E. In particular, the plume at bottom right is not complete. On 8R1E, the lower left plume is complete (and often appears more complete than 7R1E), while the lower right plume is incomplete. The right plume’s outer line extends below the 3 o’clock position toward the 4 o’clock position, typically, on examples of 8R1E and 6R1E. The other Type Ib’s on the top row of Plate 1E may not show much more of the lower right plume than Type II’s such as 10R1E, but they generally show traces of the lower left plume, and sometimes the balls, that the Type II’s do not.

Figure 20 shows Positions 8, 9, and 10R1E, and is a fascinating item to study. The left stamp is the better Type 1b. The middle stamp is 9R1E, which is also a Type Ib, but considered a lesser example because of the less complete bottom right ornament. Finally, the right stamp is 10R1E, and is called a Type II stamp. The 10R1E position is an exemplar of the complete design at top—no other Type II matches it on the three-relief-roll plates (Plates 1, 2 and 3).

The illustration in Ashbrook (reprinted in Neinken) shows a more complete lower right plume on 9R1E than in this strip of three.³¹ However, as with many positions, not all impressions show the expected extent of the design. In fact, in the Figure 20 strip the Type II appears substantially more complete than the 9R1E Type Ib. There is no substitute for examining actual stamps against (many) actual stamps. Illustrations may imply that design elements should be present which are not there. That does not change the stamp, however.

This sort of confusing situation is not rare with sub-varieties like Type Ib. The differences between stamps do not necessarily allow them to fall neatly into the sub-type categories. However, the standard catalogs, and sale prices, exact heavy tolls on stamps like 10R1E relative to, for example, 9R1E. Does the right stamp in the Figure 20 strip really seem to represent one-fifth the value of the middle stamp, as the catalog tells us? Certainly



Figure 20. Positions 8, 9, and 10R1E, showing (left to right) the “better” Type Ib, the “lesser” Type Ib and Type II. Observe the relative completeness of the bottom ornaments. The stamp at right has a catalog value vastly lower than the stamp at left.

not. Position 10R1E is a special stamp, and calling it a Type II, especially when there is more difference between the better and lesser categories of the Type Ib than between Type Ib and position 10R1E, seems odd, indeed. And it shows how the typification system wears out rather badly at its edges (no pun intended).

In any case, in the early 20th century as the Type I stamp began to be considered singular, the Type Ib arose to categorize the other stamps from the top row of the right pane that were entered with a single-relief transfer roll, as opposed to the more common results of a three-relief (or six-relief) transfer roll. And the Type Ib designation was something of a consolation prize to early collectors who thought that what were to become Type Ib stamps had been Type I stamps before that designation became affiliated solely with position 7R1E.

Type Ia: Plate 4 jewels

Another offshoot of the early Type I designation was Type Ia. Early collectors observed that the bottom row of Plate 4 also showed “complete” ornaments at the bottom – as complete as the 7R1E. In fact, they are more complete, especially in both the left and right balls at bottom. However, the stamps were very truncated at top, with the design missing from the edge of the top label upwards. Figure 21 shows an example from Position 91L4.

On the Type Ia stamps the ornaments at bottom are complete (or as complete as that term permits in the absence of the original die image). No example of 7R1E (the Type I) shows more of the design on the bottom quarter than the Type Ia’s from Plate 4.

Type Ic: One type too far?

The Type Ic is more complete on the bottom right plume than a Type IIIa, and is typically more complete on the bottom left plume, and particularly so on the balls. However, they are not as complete as the Type Ia. The Ashbrook illustration in Figure 22 shows a better example of this type. Students have recognized the sub-variety, but it was only listed as a separate major entry in the specialized catalog in 1993. Many students believe that the Type Ic does not warrant such recognition.

Clearly, then, the stamp pictured in Figure 23 is a Type Ic, right? The lower left plume is nearly complete, showing some breaks in the outer line of the plume. The balls are in evidence, though not complete, just as in the Type I. The right plume has its outer line reaching nearly to the 4 o’clock position. However, the stamp is Position 41R4, and is considered



Figure 21. The Type Ia stamp, here from Position 91L4, shows more of the full bottom of the 1¢ design than even the allegedly complete Type I.

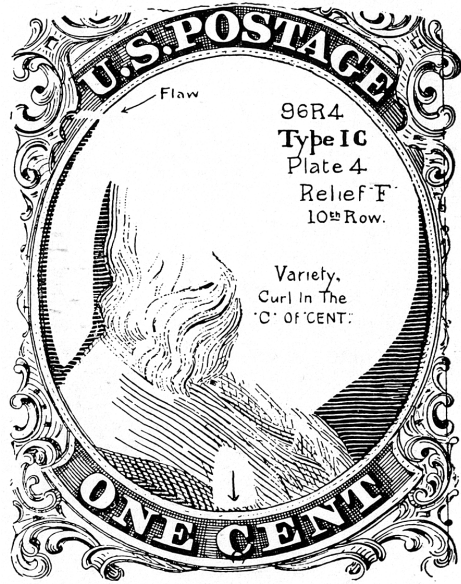


Figure 22. Ashbrook's illustration of the Type Ic from Plate 4; these designs are more complete at bottom than Type IIIa, but less complete than Type Ia.

a transitional Type IIIa-Ic. As a Type IIIa it is extraordinary, but it is very nearly as nice as the best examples of Type Ic, such as the Ashbrook illustration of 96R4 in Figure 22.

So which type is it? Reasonable philatelists can disagree (and we certainly do). However, no debate changes what this stamp looks like. In truth, this is the upper left stamp in an unused block of four, part of a rare multiple from Plate 4. It is not evident that deciding what type it is really matters in appreciating it.

Once again, the type classifications that were supposed to facilitate understanding of the 1¢ stamps get in the way of appreciating them on their own merits. The type categories were introduced to understand the 1¢ stamps, and to establish a common language for talking about those stamps. That effort led to wonderful progress in understanding plate production. However, many collectors find some of the types, particularly the



Figure 23. Position 41R4, a "transitional" Type IIIa-Ic stamp. The lower left plume is nearly complete, showing some breaks in the outer line of the plume. The balls are in evidence, though not complete, just as in the Type I. The right plume has its outer line reaching nearly to the 4 o'clock position. Which type is it?

sub-varieties, to be an overly burdensome means of describing what they see and what they can describe without having to use abstract and fuzzy ideas about types.

Where we are now and possible futures

Some Type II stamps are more complete at bottom than some Type Ib stamps. Some type IIIa stamps are more complete at bottom than some Type Ic stamps. The Type I stamp is less complete in some parts of its design than any Type Ia stamp, or even its neighboring Type Ib stamp. Many Type II stamps are more complete at top, and by a larger amount compared with other Type II stamps, than the degree to which Types Ib, Ic, and IIIa differ from one another. The two icons of the 1¢ stamp, the Type I, Position 7R1E, and the Type III, Position 99R2, are double transfers rather than clear entries of an ideal type. Position 99R2 is unlike any other Plate 2 stamp, and is not the standard by which any similar stamp can be judged. It just happens to display its mis-entries in the same way that Plate 4 Type III stamps show their breaks. With the “transitional” positions, there are many stamps that are not firmly one type or another, but can change type from impression to impression.

These examples of weaknesses in the typification system of the 1¢ 1851 stamp are not merely instances of splitting hairs. They demonstrate that students of the stamp no longer have a practical need for the specification of the multitude of types, sub-types, and sub-sub-types that grew up over the years to understand the stamps—that is, to be able to plate them and understand how the stamps came to be. In fact, the classification system has allowed mistakes, such as the claim that position 7R1E is the “full original die design,” to be perpetuated rather than snuffed out.

Some characteristics of the classification system, such as the requirement for a certain amount of break in a frame line in order for a stamp item to be considered a Type III or Type IIIa, are arbitrary and very difficult to apply in practice. Just as tools like macrophotography lenses and registered mail for sharing stamp images are essentially obsolete for today’s students, the type system is likewise obsolete. That does not mean it has vanished. However, its continued use presents dilemmas for collectors, dealers, and cataloguers.

Earlier in this article the question was posed, “What of the album collector?” For those whose collecting or study ambitions lie in getting an affordable copy of every type and sub-type, the raggedness of the current typification system is both benign and unimportant. However, for the new collector, or the student who is seeking to advance knowledge and understanding, it is clear that the fuzzy categories of the types of the 1¢ imperforate stamps will tend, at some critical points, to hamper progress rather than spur it on.

None of this is to say that the type system was a bad thing—it wasn’t. It served its purpose as a tool—as a set of organizing principles—while researchers attempted to sort out the dies, rollers, plates and positions. That job has mostly been completed, and now new ways of organizing our thinking are called for. We philatelists can be liberated from the old ways of interpreting, in the same way that modern technology has freed us from the constraints of photography and snail mail. However, that means that we now are in a less pre-defined territory and have to find our way forward. That new reality will be exciting to many.

An example of one of the paths forward has unfolded in these pages—a trail of crumbs is evident. Recall that in the discussion of Type II stamps it was suggested that double transfers might be connected, and the example was given of the Position 28R2, 38R2 and 48R2 stamps and their relationship to Position 27R2, all illustrated above. In fact, we can link all the examples of the Plate 2 stamps used in this article (Figures 9, 12, 14 and 15), and we can do so with a plausible narrative that might provide insight into Plate 2’s production.

First, recall that the plate preparation consists of layout dots limned at the edges of the panes, and then “filled in” with guide dots used to establish guide-relief points across the

rows. We saw that the guide dots for Position 27R2 and, significantly, Position 88R2, were out of place. We further recall that Plate 2 was the first 1¢ plate created in more than four years. So we can imagine a deliberate and careful effort to begin the plate—with 10R2, then 20R2, 30R2, and down to 100R2. There are traces of a scribed line along the right edge of the pane—more evidence of care.

The next column entered (remember that plate production is a mirror image of the printed stamps) was 9R2, 19R2, and so forth. And then came 89R2 and the disastrous guide dot from where 88R2 was to later be entered. Not even 20 entries into the 200-entry job, and after a gap of more than four years—an eon for full-time siderographers—came the agony of 89R2. Or at least suffering, in getting 99R2 sorted out after 89R2 was re-entered. And the very next thing that unfortunate TCC employee did was the eighth column! Recall that positions in the eighth column are mostly double transfers, and that the misplaced guide dot for 27R2 would have exacerbated the problem. So, if 89R2 and 99R2 would bruise the professional spirit of the plate-maker, then the eighth column might have just finished him off completely! Position 8R2 is a double, then 18R2 is a double, too. Then a worse double for 28R2, same with 38R2, and 48R2 as the second biggest double transfer after 89R2—the position entered just six stamps earlier. Gadzooks! Not a good day at the office.

In this way, by combining our contemporary understanding of plate production techniques with philatelic images that are profusely (and freely) available, we can begin to imagine that we were right there on the production floor at TCC when the toil and trouble occurred. The TCC employees thought they were just trying to finish a contracted job. For us, though, they were making treasure!

Of course, the arguments here will not sweep away a century or more of the use of types. However, it is hoped that readers will consider stamps on their own merits (and look at them with a fresh perspective), and that collectors will form their own opinions independent of the dictates of the illustrious authors of nearly a century ago. We can be grateful to those who came before, and appreciate the efforts they undertook to lead us to the understanding we have today.

But surely they themselves would have been willing to disengage from classification schemes that have served their useful purpose, and move toward descriptions of stamps on their own terms. That is, they would do what advanced students do today: seek to understand what plate and position stamp items once occupied, how those entries came about, and how they fit into the larger story of the production of the stamp plates. The puzzles on which today's collectors work certainly do not always have ready answers. However, once answers are achieved, present-day students are not left with unsatisfying classifications that do not seem to fit the facts, and which serve to perpetuate an obsolete identification system.

Now that tools exist to enable the most casual of collectors to examine pictures of actual stamps in great multitude, rather than line drawings of stamps or of ideal types, the study of the 1¢ 1851 stamp can be reenergized by a new cadre of students not tied to the paradigms of the past century. This article has used examples of real stamps, and (in many cases) items that can reasonably be expected to be purchased or viewed by average collectors. In addition, with the recent availability of the Travers papers on this Society's website, along with a trove of material being made available due to the support of the Society's Chase Fund for the Digital Future, it appears that collectors will have more references and clues than ever before. As more collectors realize this opportunity to research the 1851 1¢ stamp, much more will become evident about its fascination, and philately will come closer to its goal of gaining thoroughgoing insights about the little blue stamp.

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8. Elliott Perry, *Pat Paragraphs #35*, reprint ed. Takoma Park, Md: Bureau Issues Association, Inc., 1981, pp. 76-80. Additionally, Perry amplifies his "discovery" of the guide-relief process in several *Chronicle* articles: "Discovery of the Guide Reliefs on the Multiple Relief Transfer Rolls of 1851-60," *Chronicle* 50 (June, 1965), pp. 97-99; "Relief-Roller Entry on Certain Plates for 1851-Issue Stamps," *Chronicle* 53 (October, 1966), pp. 120-121; "Guide-Relief Process for Manufacture of 1851-'60 Plates," *Chronicle* 60 (November, 1968), pp. 126-129. Perry's material was supplemented and expanded in Richard Celler, "Reexamining the Origin of Plate 1 of the 1-cent Stamp of 1851," in *The 1851 Issue of United States Stamps: A Sesquicentennial Retrospective*, New Orleans: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc. 2006, pp. 39-56.
9. Wilson Hulme, "Events and Correspondence Regarding Contracts with the Post Office 1851-1861 (TCC Era)." Undated. In USPCS website. Available from www.uspcs.org/resource-center/w-wilson-hulme-ii-research-documents/. See, for example, entry on April 22, 1851 referring to "steel" plates.
10. L.N. Williams, *Fundamentals of Philately*, rev. ed., State College, Pennsylvania: American Philatelic Society, 1990, pg. 217.
11. Perry, *op. cit.*
12. Stanley B. Ashbrook, "An Analysis of the Types of the U.S. One Cent 1851 and 1857," *The American Philatelist*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (February 1922), pp. 176-177.
13. Neinken, *op. cit.*, pg. 262.
14. *Scott Specialized, op. cit.*, pg. 12.
15. In the original illustration in 1922, Ashbrook (pg. 180) called "curves" what in his 1938 book (pg. 77) became "plumes."
16. Government regulations in place when Ashbrook published the studies cited herein prohibited publication of images of uncanceled U.S. postage stamps. However, the rules did not require the central medallion to be erased. When Neinken published there were no such restrictions.
17. Stanley B. Ashbrook, *The Types and Plates of the U.S. One Cent, 1851-1857*, New York: Scott Stamp & Coin Co., 1926, pg. 19. Ashbrook edited the sentence for grammar for his 1938 publication, but the force of his point was undiminished.
18. Carroll Chase, *Classic United States Stamps*, Shrub Oak, New York: Herman Herst, Jr. 1962, pg. 7.
19. It is difficult to overstate the misinformation that exists on this point. Only in 2011 has even a trial color plate proof been certified from Plate 1 (position 87L1E, being relief "B" and so a type II), the only known die or plate proof impression from this first plate. A plate proof, however, does not show what the die looked like. See Stanley M. Piller, "Discovery: A Most Important Proof" *Chronicle* 232 (November, 2011), pp. 336-340. Plate proofs also exist from Plate 2, but these were made after 1855.
20. Neinken, pg. 270.
21. See, for example, Eustace B. Power, *The General Issues of United States Stamps*. New York: Stanley Gibbons, Inc., 1909, pp. 8-10. Powers writes: "Here we have four really distinct types, although the catalogues usually make only three. Scott calls them I. II. III. Gibbons calls them A. B. C. Either term is as good as the other."
22. See Celler, *op. cit.*, pg. 54.
23. Neinken, *op. cit.*, pg. 184.
24. Neinken, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 184.
25. The Figure 15 illustration is a cropped scan of a full corner block that shows the layout dots at the bottom of the

pane. Also, an expertizing certificate indicates that position 100R2, which is a transitional type II-IIIa position, has a break at bottom, making it a type IIIa.

26. Fred J. Melville, *United State Postage Stamps, 1847-1869*. London: The Melville Stamp Books, 1909, pg. 22.

27. Frank E. Goodwin, *The 1851-1860 Issue United State Stamps*. Columbus, Ohio, 1913, pg. 20.

28. N.E. Waterhouse, *Postage Stamps of the United States of America*. London: Frank Godden, 1916, pg. 30. As a matter of fact, the evolution of the listings in the Scott Standard Catalogue occurred significantly over the preceding 20 years. All references are to *The Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue*, New York: Henry Gremmel, 1895, and *Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue* (1898 edition), New York: The Scott Stamp and Coin Co., Limited, 1897, also the editions of 1903 (published in 1902) and 1915 (published in 1914). In 1895: two entries (the second as "broken circle"); 1898: three types (I with "scrolls below the lower label are turned under," II "without turned-under scrolls," and III "with broken curved lines outside the labels"); 1903: three types, just as in 1898; 1915: four types, as in 1898 with the addition of type IV ("curved lines...redrawn"). Thus, from the earliest days, philatelists and the standard catalog were not always in sync.

29. Carroll Chase, *Notes on the 1¢ 1851-1857 Issue of United States Adhesives*. New York: Stanley Gibbons, Inc., (ca. 1914), pg. 1. In this treatise, Chase also introduced the names of the elements of the stamp design, such as "central medallion," "label" "ornaments" and "full curves" which Ashbrook recapitulated and reused (with the exception of referring to the "curves" as "plumes") in his writings (he credited Chase).

30. Ashbrook, *op. cit.*, (1938), pg. 131.

31. Neinken, *op. cit.*, pg. 56. ■

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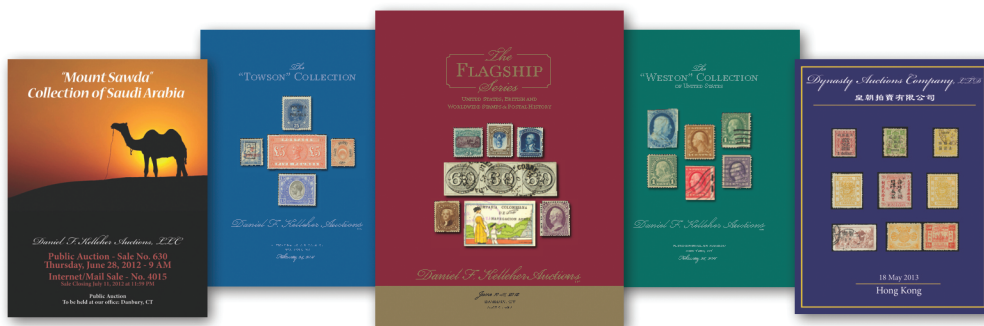
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COLOR CANCELS ON 1869 STAMPS

ED FIELD AND STEVE ROSE

Philately is a hobby that offers both intellectual and visual rewards. Among the visual pleasures, a well-struck fancy or color cancel has immediate eye appeal.¹ Many collectors pursue such stamps avidly, and behind the eye candy is an interesting historical context.

Exotic cancels of the 1869 era are a by-product of practical economy and individual creativity. During this period, large post offices mostly used hand-cancellers furnished by the government.² These cancellers were made of metal or wood and typically depicted simple grids or four-ring targets.³ Rate and date stampers were occasionally used as cancellers, although in violation of an 1860 post office regulation prohibiting such use.⁴

Small post offices not qualifying for free government-issued devices often chose to fashion their own cancellers from cork or wood, and some postmasters and clerks used the opportunity to carve elaborate designs. A wide variety of fancy cancels can thus be found on 1869 stamps, as well as on earlier issues. Such cancels were generally—but by no means exclusively—from smaller post offices.

John Hill, a postal clerk at Waterbury, Connecticut, is justifiably famous for the profusion of intricately carved cancels he produced over several decades. Hill may have been the Rembrandt of cancel designers—a whittling genius—but he did not use colored inkpads. A review of the benchmark Skinner-Eno compendium of early U.S. cancels reveals a more general pattern: with a few notable exceptions, most “fancy” cancels on the 1869 issue were applied in black.⁵ This is consistent with the 1866 Postal Regulations, which required “canceling to be effected by the use of black printing ink....”⁶ Even so, this particular requirement was somewhat relaxed in practice. *The United States Mail and Post Office Assistant (U.S. Mail)*, published monthly as a semi-official organ of the Post Office Department (POD), contained a commercial advertisement in every issue from March 1867 through the end of 1871 offering black, red and blue ink supplies for postmasters.⁷ Small-town postmasters often bought or mixed their own ink, giving rise to a rich variety of colors.

Balanced against this permissive atmosphere was a firm POD determination to prevent the fraudulent re-use of postage stamps. The imprinting of grills on the 1869 issue was one step to combat the problem. In addition, postmasters were periodically reminded of the need for thorough canceling of postage stamps.⁸ A few months after the 1869 stamps appeared, the *U.S. Mail* received a query about the use of blue cancels on 1869 stamps of the same color. The editor responded scornfully: “We have examined several instances of stamps cancelled with such ink, and are justified in saying that we consider the practice very reprehensible; black ink is required by the regulation, and is the best, though we have seen a green ink used, which by its contrast, made the cancellation very perceptible....”⁹

This backdrop of local experimentation provides the raw material for two related topics covered in this article: the range and frequency of cancel colors for each stamp denomination in the 1869 series, and the various types of colored cancels, including fancies.

Previous studies

The Skinner-Eno survey lists 727 cancels associated with 1869. Of these, seven percent are described as colored cancels. This tally includes only four colors—blue (35), red

	1¢	2¢	3¢	6¢	10¢	12¢	15¢ (I)	15¢ (II)	24¢	30¢	90¢
Blue	A	A	A	B	B	B	D	B	D	C	D
Red	C	B	A	B	A	A	C	A	A	A	B
Violet	E	D	N	D	C	B	1	F	2	3	2
Magenta	E	D	N	E/F	D/E	E	1	F	0	2	0
Green	D	D	A	D	F	7	0	3	0	2	1?
Brown	2	F	D	0	0	0	1	0	0	F	0
Ultramarine	E	E	N	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Orange	N	2	5	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N

Table 1. Number of colored cancels on 1869 stamps (on and off cover). A=100+; B=50-100; C=26-50; D=11-25; E=6-10; F=1-5. N=insufficient data. Digits=number known.

(10), green (6) and magenta (2). The Scott specialized catalog lists seven additional colors on various 1869 stamps.¹⁰

In 1989, while serving as editor of *The 1869 Times*, Jon Rose noted the rarity of 1869 stamps with orange, ultramarine and “real brown” cancels.¹¹ In the next issue, contributor Edward Busch corroborated Rose’s observation by compiling the number of colored cancels found on 1869 3¢ stamps in the vast Juhring collection.¹² His tally offers a rough measure of relative scarcity: red, 82; purple or violet, 18; green, 17; brown, 9; ultramarine, 4; and orange or yellow, 2. This is a useful snapshot since the 3¢ stamp far outnumbers all the other 1869 values and was universally available at smaller post offices.

In his 1996 handbook on the 1869 series,¹³ Jon Rose provided in-depth information about the range of cancels found on these pictorial stamps. He based his conclusions on decades of collecting this issue and an examination of 40 years of auction catalogs and other sales records. Rose surmised that he had captured 80-90 percent of cancel varieties in his listing. The authors of the present article, with a combined 25 years of experience in pursuit of 1869 cancels since the appearance of Rose’s seminal work, can attest to the accuracy of his estimate. And we have an advantage over Rose, who 17 years ago had to work mostly with black-and-white photographs in auction catalogs. Color photographs are now a standard for catalogs, and we benefit from searchable databases at the Philatelic Foundation, the Frajola website, and the Classics Society. Moreover, we get to start where Rose left off. For instance, Rose estimated 5-10 blue cancels on the 90¢ 1869 stamp. After two decades of additional searching, that number has now crept up to 14. Not bad. And that number has not budged in the last five years. This kind of stability gives us confidence that—barring the appearance of some long-hidden hoard of 1869 cancels—we have developed a reasonably reliable estimate of the overall population.

Even so, we acknowledge that our methodology—relying heavily (but not exclusively) on auction catalogs, exhibits, and searchable databases—has a built-in tendency to select high-value items over less valuable stamps. Obviously, an expensive stamp is more likely than a cheap stamp to be auctioned, expertized, or exhibited and therefore is more likely to turn up in our survey. For that reason, we are most confident in the validity of our census data for high-denomination stamps and rare cancels. We are least sure about the data for the 3¢ stamp (except for green cancels). As an example, the Philatelic Foundation has expertized only four 3¢ 1869 stamps with purple cancels, but it is likely that dozens and perhaps hundreds have slipped below our search radar. Why auction or certify a \$10 stamp?

Conversely, we are highly confident that very few blue cancels on the 90¢ stamp have escaped our net. Similarly, due to the elevated Scott values for green cancels, the population of this cluster is more visible than other colors.

About 10 percent of cancels on the 1869 issue are in a color other than black. For low denominations, the most frequent color is blue (7 percent), followed by red (2.5 percent). The remaining 0.5 percent consists of purple/violet, magenta, green, brown, ultramarine, and orange. For higher denominations, used more frequently on international mail, colored cancels other than red are scarce, and colored fancy cancels are bona fide rarities. Table 1 summarizes our current estimate of the population of colored cancels on stamps of the 1869 series. The table presents our data by stamp denomination and by color. Letters indicate in rough orders of magnitude the numbers we have developed for each cell. A=more than 100; B=50-100; C=26-50; D=11-25; E=6-10; F=1-5; and N=insufficient data. Where digits appear instead of letters, they represent the actual number of examples known.

The colors

The naming of philatelic colors is an improving, but still imprecise, art. Even experts might disagree on whether a given cancel is violet, purple, or lavender—and whether a particular hue is deep, pale, bright, dull, dark or light. The capacity to distinguish various colors can vary from person to person and often outstrips our ability to articulate these differences in a verbal description agreeable to all. While acknowledging that it is easy to get sucked into verbal quicksand when discussing color, the listing of 1869 cancel colors in the Scott specialized catalog provides a helpful framework for discussion.

In the pages that follow, stamps (and a few covers) are presented in five full-page color plates. Plate 1 shows blue cancels, the most common color. Plate 2 shows red cancels, Plate 3 purple (and magenta); Plate 4 green; and Plate 5 the rest (brown, ultramarine and yellow-orange). Figures are numbered individually within the plates.

Blue (Plate 1)

There are more blue cancels on the stamps of the 1869 issue than all the other colors combined. Hundreds of post offices used blue ink, and about 35 fancy cancels are known in blue.¹⁴ The images in Plate 1 show representative examples. The 2¢ stamps in Figures 1-3 show a “blue zoo” of insect and bird cancels. Figure 1 is an insect from Mt. Vernon, New York. Figure 2 shows the well-known bluebird from Rockford, Illinois, and Figure 3 is a bee from New York City. Figure 4 shows a rare example of a blue, waffle-like grid cancel on a 90¢ 1869 stamp. This has been called a “semi-fancy” cancel; the origin is not known. Figure 5 is a beer mug from Galva, Illinois, by far the boldest of the four known strikes of this appealing fancy killer. Both the mug and the datestamp are struck in the same shade of blue. The mug appears bluer because it is struck on the blue stamp. Figure 6 is a greenish-blue skull and crossbones from Charlestown, West Virginia.

During the lifetime the 1869 stamps, Savannah, Georgia, used blue as its signature color, on both domestic and foreign mail. Figure 7 shows a cover from Savannah to Charleston, South Carolina, on which the 3¢ 1869 stamp is tied by 1½ strikes of a free-form grid killer. Figure 8 shows the Savannah “golfball” killer on a 10¢ 1869 stamp, electronically clipped from a cover to Spain. Note the golfball-like dimples that give this marking its name. Figure 9 shows a Savannah “sunburst,” electronically clipped from a printed circular mailed from Savannah to New York. These examples are representative of the many distinctive blue killers used at Savannah during the 1869 era.

Red (Plate 2)

After blue, red occupies second place for color cancels on domestic mail. But within the domestic arena, ink mixtures used at various post offices created a variety of reddish



Plate 1. Representative blue cancels on 1869 stamps. In Figures 1-3, a “blue zoo”—insect from Mt. Vernon, New York (1), bluebird from Rockford, Illinois (2) and bee from New York City (3). Figure 4 shows a blue, waffle-like grid cancel on a 90¢ 1869 stamp. Figure 5 is a beer mug from Galva, Illinois. Both the mug and the accompanying Galva circular datestamp are struck in the same blue ink. Figure 6 is a skull and crossbones from Charlestown, West Virginia. Figure 7 is a cover from Savannah, Georgia, to Charleston, South Carolina, on which the 3¢ 1869 stamp is tied by 1½ strikes of a free-form grid killer. Figure 8 shows the Savannah “golfball” killer on a 10¢ 1869 stamp and Figure 9 shows a Savannah “sunburst.”



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Plate 2. Representative red cancels on 1869 stamps. Figure 10 shows a red top hat from Ashland, Ohio. Figure 11 shows the red anchor of Newark, New Jersey, here struck on a 2¢ 1869 stamp; red fancy cancels are rare on the 2¢ stamp. Figure 12 shows a vertical pair of 30¢ 1869 stamps, with two strikes of a red rosette cancel. Figure 13 shows an attractive cover from South Deerfield, Massachusetts, on which the 3¢ 1869 stamp is tied by a deep carmine grid killer. Note that the circular datestamp is struck in blue, making a very colorful combination. Figure 14 shows a cover from Baltimore to Germany with a 10¢ 1869 stamp tied by a red Baltimore foreign-mail killer, sometimes called the “lipstick” cancel.

shades, including red, orange-red, scarlet, cerise and carmine. Cancels are known in all these shades, but only two (red and orange-red) are listed for 1869 stamps in the Scott specialized catalog.

Altogether, more than 100 post offices used red cancels, producing about 20 fancy designs.¹⁵ Figures 10-14 show some examples. Figure 10 shows the bold red top hat from Ashland, Ohio, on a piece clipped electronically from a stunning cover with the corner card of a probate judge. Figure 11 shows the red anchor of Newark, New Jersey, here struck on a 2¢ 1869 stamp. Red fancy cancels are rare on the 2¢ stamp. Figure 12 shows a vertical pair of 30¢ 1869 stamps, with two strikes of a red rosette cancel, possibly from New York. Fancy cancels in any color are rare on high-value 1869 stamps. Figure 13 shows an attractive cover from South Deerfield, Massachusetts, on which the 3¢ 1869 stamp is tied by a deep carmine grid killer. Note that the circular datestamp is a struck in blue, making a very colorful combination.

The relative abundance of red cancels on high-denomination 1869 stamps (see Table 1) is due in no small part to Baltimore foreign mail and New York supplementary mail markings. Figure 14 shows a cover from Baltimore to Germany, posted at the 10¢ direct rate in late 1869, on which a 10¢ 1869 stamp is tied by the red Baltimore “lipstick” killer, a marking used by Baltimore solely on foreign mail during this era. Several other red Baltimore semi-fancy foreign mail cancels are recorded. The matching “Paid all” straightline was also applied at Baltimore, only on covers to Germany.

Purple/violet/magenta (Plate 3)

Various combinations of red and blue pigments create a range of shades well known to philatelists, including purple, violet and magenta. Purple cancels are recorded for all denominations in the 1869 series, including the 24¢ value, for which purple is not listed in the Scott specialized catalog. Purple or violet cancels are known from five post offices.¹⁶ Figures 15-18 show some examples. The 3¢ stamp in Figure 15 bears a purple grid used at Troy, Iowa. Figure 16 shows another 3¢ 1869 stamp, here struck with a purple six-point star-within-a-star, on part of a cover that originated in Farmland, Indiana.

The relative abundance of purple cancels on the 12¢ 1869 stamp is due largely to foreign mail from Philadelphia, most notably the three-bar killer that is common on off-cover stamps but scarce on cover. Figure 17 shows a cover sent from Philadelphia to London in the summer of 1869, on which the 12¢ 1869 stamp (which pays the treaty rate to the United Kingdom) is cancelled by a purple Philadelphia three-bar killer. A matching single-circle Philadelphia PAID marking at right is dated “JUN 14.” The 12¢ stamp on this cover was also struck, in London, by a small portion of the red B.F. Stevens double-oval marking. Stevens was a forwarding agent who would redirect letters from the U.S. to naval personnel on assignment in Europe.

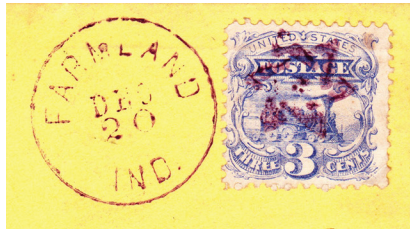
Figure 18 shows a strike of the same three-bar killer on a 24¢ 1869 stamp, most likely from a double-rate cover sent from Philly to England in 1869. This is the only known purple cancel on a 24¢ 1869 stamp; as noted, the Scott specialized catalog does not list a purple cancel for this stamp. For the 3¢ and 10¢ values, the catalog also separately lists cancels in violet, a shade that tends more toward the blue end of the spectrum. A certified violet cancel on the 15¢ (type I) has also surfaced.

Magenta, a deep, purplish red, is a vivid, attractive color. Figures 19-21 illustrate typical magenta strikes. Magenta cancels are known from seven post offices.¹⁷ The specialized catalog lists cancels in this color for all 1869 stamps except the top three denominations. In fact, two certified magenta cancels exist on the 30¢ stamp and should be acknowledged.

The two magenta four-segment killers (origin unknown) on the 2¢ block in Figure 19 are very striking. Figure 20 shows a negative Masonic cancellation (origin unknown) struck



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Plate 3. Purple (and magenta) cancels on 1869 stamps. The 3¢ stamp in Figure 15 bears a purple grid used at Troy, Iowa. Figure 16 shows a purple six-point star-within-a-star, on part of a cover that originated in Farmland, Indiana. Figure 17 shows a cover from Philadelphia to London with a 12¢ 1869 stamp cancelled by a purple Philadelphia three-bar killer. This same cancel is struck on the 24¢ 1869 stamp in Figure 18. The two magenta four-segment killers (origin unknown) on the 2¢ block in Figure 19 are very striking. Figure 20 shows a negative Masonic cancellation in a much paler magenta on a 10¢ 1869 stamp. Figure 21 shows a magenta four-point hollow star with its accompanying circular datestamp, electronically clipped from a mourning cover posted at Hartford, Wisconsin.

in a much paler magenta on a 10¢ 1869 stamp. Figure 21 shows a magenta four-point hollow star with its accompanying circular datestamp, electronically clipped from a mourning cover posted at Hartford, Wisconsin. The premium for magenta cancels on low-value 1869 stamps is typically modest, much less than for the elusive cancels in brown, ultramarine and orange, discussed below.

Green (Plate 4)

Green cancels on classic stamps seem to possess a special attraction for collectors. This allure is reflected in the high premiums listed in the Scott specialized catalog for green cancels on 1869 pictorials. As several commentators have noted, these valuations are sometimes skewed by high-end auction results that reflect the overall quality of a stamp as much as its cancel. Nonetheless, substantial premiums do seem justified for the high-denomination stamps, on which green cancels are extremely rare. None are known on the 24¢ stamp. For the 30¢ stamp, two green cancels have been certified: a star and a Bremen transit marking. The star stamp was illustrated on the cover of *Chronicle* 232. The stamp with the Bremen transit marking is shown in Figure 22. Seven green-cancel 12¢ stamps are recorded, one of which is shown in Figure 23. For the 15¢ Type II stamp, three green cancels have been certified. One of these, with a rich dark green cancel, is shown in Figure 24.

Green cancels on the 10¢ and 90¢ stamps deserve special discussion. A 10¢ stamp bearing a green town cancel resides in a well-known private collection. The 1961 Newbury auction catalog describes an eight-point green star, illustrated by a grainy black-and-white photo in which the cancel is hardly visible. To our knowledge, this stamp has not re-surfaced in the intervening half-century. Also, we have personally seen a green-appearing cancel on a 10¢ stamp in a private collection. We conclude that one to three green cancels exist on the 10¢ 1869 stamp. The January 1975 Siegel auction catalog describes a 90¢ stamp with “black cork and indistinct green target” cancels. The accompanying photo is black and white. Jon Rose speculated the cancel might be a Cincinnati greenish blue, which means it’s not green. See our discussion below. We tend to agree, but nonetheless acknowledge the possibility of true green in Table 1.

The rarity of green cancels on high-value 1869 stamps is due to the interplay of three constraining factors: (1) the short life of the 1869 series; (2) limited or non-existent distribution of high-denomination stamps to the smaller post offices experimenting with green cancels; and (3) the tendency of large post offices (which had the high values in stock) to observe postal orthodoxy and use black, red, or blue ink for cancellations.

We have counted more than 20 green cancels on the 1¢ stamp, 16 on the 2¢, and more than 10 on the 6¢—surprisingly high numbers—plus an abundance of green strikes on 3¢ stamps. The 3¢ stamp is a relative cornucopia of green cancels, numbering at least 50 on-cover examples, and many more off cover. Figures 25-32 show representative examples of green cancels on off-cover low-value 1869 stamps. None of these can be attributed to a specific town.

Figures 33-36 illustrate representative examples of green cancels, also on low denominations, that can be attributed to specific towns. The 1¢ stamp in Figure 33 shows a green Masonic cancel (negative compass and square) from McMinnville, Tennessee. Figure 34 shows a 2¢ 1869 stamp with a green townmark and killer that was probably applied at Vicksburgh, Mississippi. Figure 35 shows a 2¢ 1869 stamp with the green cogwheel killer of Murfreesborough, Tennessee. Figure 36 shows a 3¢ 1869 stamp with the apple green killer used at Owego, New York. The cover from which this image was clipped is shown in full as Figure 37.

Owego is very special. The town used both true green and apple green ink on outgoing letters during 1869-70. In the process this small town on the Susquehanna River (population today under 20,000) produced over half the surviving 1869 covers that bear



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35



36

Plate 4. Green cancels on 1869 stamps. Figures 22-24: Different shades of green on high-value stamps. The green marking on the 30¢ stamp (Figure 22) is a transit marking applied at Bremen. Figures 25-32: Various greens, origins not known, on lower-value 1869 stamps. Figures 33-36: Green cancels that can be attributed to specific towns. The 1¢ stamp in Figure 33 shows a green Masonic cancel from McMinnville, Tennessee. The green townmark and killer on the 2¢ 1869 stamp in Figure 34 were probably applied at Vicksburg, Mississippi. Figure 35: 2¢ 1869 stamp with the green killer from Murfreesborough, Tennessee. Figure 36: 3¢ 1869 stamp with apple-green killer used at Owego, New York.



Figure 37. Owego, New York, used green ink extensively during the 1869 era. Most of the surviving green-cancel 1869 covers come from this small town.

green cancels. If you find an off-cover 3¢ 1869 stamp with a green cancel, it most likely originated in Owego. Besides this one prolific town, we have evidence of green cancels on covers from more than 20 different post offices.¹⁸ Most of these covers are unique.

Confusion sometimes arises about the color of Cincinnati circular datestamps and the four-ring target killer with which they were duplexed. Technically, these Cincinnati markings are blue, but many of them have a greenish-blue appearance that might in part be due to the oxidation and yellowing of the oil component in the ink mixtures used at Cincinnati. Figure 38 illustrates the two shades, both clipped electronically from surviving covers. To our knowledge, Cincinnati never used green ink during the 1869 era, and collectors are cautioned to beware of Cincinnati cancels passing under false colors. When struck on the yellow 10¢ 1869 stamp, the blue or blue-green target killer can appear to be green. Don't be fooled. Always examine the color of the marking as it appears on the white background of the stamp paper, not on the printed portion of the stamp design.

Other unusual colors (Plate 5): Brown

Brown cancels are known from at least seven post offices.¹⁹ Part of the challenge in identifying brown cancels is to distinguish them from dirty or faded red and black strikes.



Figure 38. Two strikes of the circular datestamp, duplexed with a four-ring target killer, used at Cincinnati during the lifetime of the 1869 stamps. While officially blue, this marking was often struck in the greenish-blue shade at right, which is frequently (and erroneously) described as green. Cincinnati never used green in the 1869 era.

True brown is scarce, although not as elusive as true orange or ultramarine. For many years, the specialized catalog had no listing for a brown cancel on the 2¢ 1869 stamp, but a few certified copies are now known, including two on cover.

Figure 39 shows a cover from Livonia Station, New York, on which the color palette is basically monochromatic. This is a brown envelope struck with a brown circular datestamp, franked with a brown 2¢ 1869 stamp cancelled by a brown target killer. Very striking and most unusual. For the 2¢ stamp, it is easier to certify brown cancels on cover when there's a matching circular datestamp. Authenticating brown cancels on off-cover 2¢ 1869 stamps is much more difficult, since the cancel color blends in so closely with the color of the stamp itself.

As might be expected, most brown cancels are found on the 3¢ stamp. Superimposed on the Livonia Station cover as Figure 40 is a piece of cover bearing a 3¢ 1869 stamp. The stamp is tied by a striking brown star-in-a-star cancellation. Part of a matching brown circular datestamp indicates this marking originated somewhere in Massachusetts.

There is still no catalog listing for a brown cancel on the 1¢ 1869 stamp. There should be, because two certified examples are known. A brown target killer can be seen on the 1¢ stamp presented as Figure 41, and a brown four-wedge cancel is struck on the 1¢ stamp shown as Figure 43. A certified brown cancel also exists for the 15¢ Type II stamp. This is the stamp shown in Figure 42, definitely brown, best seen by examining the margin at lower right. Oddly, the catalog premium for a brown cancel on the scarcer 15¢ Type I stamp is less than for the more common Type II.

Overall, brown cancels are harder to find than green ones, but their typically dull and muddy color makes them less prized by collectors. This is well reflected in the value differences in the Scott specialized catalog. The disparity is most apparent for the 12¢ stamp, where the premium for a green cancel (\$3,500) is more than 10 times the premium for a brown strike (\$300). The authors have in hand seven 12¢ 1869 stamps with green cancels, but have yet to find a single brown one.

Other unusual colors (Plate 5): Ultramarine

Ultramarine is a difficult color, both to describe and to find on cancelled stamps. It is somewhat misleading to rely on the color of the 3¢ and 6¢ 1869 pictorial stamps as a standard—though they were officially described when issued as “Imperial Ultramarine (blue).”²⁰ In point of fact, both stamps were printed from a mixture of iron blue and ultramarine pigments.²¹ In technical terms, the only valid approach to differentiating blue from ultramarine stamps is to measure the percent of red light reflected for each color. Blue, being a primary color, reflects very little red light. Ultramarine reflects considerably more, sometimes lending a slight pinkish hue to the overall appearance.²² In practical terms, ultramarine usually appears as a duller, grayer variant of blue,²³ but the gap between the two colors is muddled by intermediates such as gray-blue, dull blue, bright blue, and violet-blue. A few certified examples of ultramarine cancels exist for the 1¢, 2¢ and 3¢, and one each for the 10¢ and 15¢ 1869 stamps. Figures 44 and 45 show two different ultramarine cancels on 1¢ 1869 stamps.

The relative scarcity of ultramarine cancels may partly be due to a realization by postmasters that use of ultramarine cancels on ultramarine stamps might invite avoidable trouble from postal authorities obsessed with preventing fraudulent re-use of postage stamps. Ultramarine cancels are confirmed from just two post offices.²⁴

Other unusual colors (Plate 5): Orange

True orange is the rarest of known 1869 cancels. The specialized catalog provides an orange listing only for the 2¢ and 3¢ stamps. The 3¢ listing is unpriced (a dashed line



Plate 5. Other unusual color cancels on 1869 stamps. The cover in Figure 39 shows a brown circular datestamp and matching target from Livonia Station, New York. Inset as Figure 40: brown star-in-star cancel from an unknown Massachusetts town. Figures 41-43 show brown cancels of unknown origin. Figures 44-45 show two different ultramarine cancels on 1¢ 1869 stamps. The 2¢ 1869 stamp in Figure 46, from the Juhring collection, has been certified by the Philatelic Foundation as bearing a yellow-orange cancellation.

without a value) even though several examples exist. Part of the problem with this color is that it lies along a sequence from red, orange-red, red-orange, orange, and yellow-orange. Soiled or faded orange-red cancels can sometimes masquerade as the rarer shade. A true orange will have as much yellow as red in the composition and will not appear to be aged or bleached under magnification. Two examples with orange cancels are known for the 2¢ stamp, one ex-Juhring with a PF certificate and one with a pinwheel cancel, referred to in the Rose handbook. Orange cancels are known from at least three post offices.²⁵ The ex-Juhring 2¢ 1869 stamp with a yellow-orange cancel is shown as Figure 46.

The Scott specialized catalog lists without value a yellow cancel on the 3¢ 1869 stamp, but at the same time questions its existence.²⁶ No confirmed yellow cancel appears in the auction record. Such an item was not represented in Jim Stever's definitive exhibit of the 3¢ stamp, nor was it represented in the specialized 3¢ 1869 collection of R.J. Mechin, which won a silver medal at the New York international show in 1926.

The authors of this article have never seen a yellow cancel on an 1869 stamp. The Rose handbook includes a "yellow circular datestamp" entry in its listing of 3¢ cancels.²⁷ Is this the same suspect stamp sold during the dispersal of the Juhring collection in 1978?²⁸ We offer a bounty of \$50 to any reader who can provide the Editor-in-Chief of the *Chronicle* with a color illustration of a certified yellow cancel on an 1869 stamp. We would like to pay this bounty, but believe that we have a better chance of sighting an ivory-billed woodpecker on our backyard birdfeeder.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this article is to share information gleaned from our long-standing pursuit of colored cancels on 1869 stamps, building on the strong foundation laid down by previous researchers. It is clear that this quest can never end. Despite years of burrowing through auction catalogs, sales records, and other data sources, we do not delude ourselves into thinking that we have captured all that is, or can be, known. New material from long-held collections continues to trickle into the marketplace, and we also hope to stimulate additional information, insights and examples from *Chronicle* readers. Please feel free to contact either of us if you wish to add something to our database.²⁹ And remember that bounty! The authors are grateful to Route Agent Jim Allen for information and illustrations that he provided during the development of this article.

Endnotes

1. Compared to other creatures, humans are modestly endowed in terms of hearing, smell, taste, and touch. But we do have a highly developed capacity for distinguishing colors. Perhaps this was a survival advantage for our distant ancestors, being able to recognize berries, prey or predators in the bushes. Most of us are still biologically hard-wired to distinguish a huge palette of colors. In modern society, this serves as an aesthetic inheritance that enriches our enjoyment of art and visually-oriented hobbies.
2. *The United States Mail and Post Office Assistant [U.S. Mail]*, pg. 303.
3. *U.S. Mail*, pg. 341.
4. Mandel, Frank, "The Development of Handstamped Markings in the United States to 1900," in *U.S. Postmarks and Cancellations*, The Philatelic Foundation Seminar Series, Textbook No. 3, 1992, pg. 29 (citing a 23 July 1860 Post Office Department supplementary regulation).
5. Skinner, Hubert C. and Eno, Amos: *United States Cancellations: 1845-1869, Unusual and Representative Markings*, American Philatelic Society, 1980.
6. *U.S. Mail*, pg. 421.
7. *Ibid.*, pg. 311 (March 1867): "Important to Postmasters. Improved Stamping Ink. All know the great want of a good Stamping Ink. We offer a superior article now used by the New York, Boston and Philadelphia Post Offices. Our Stamping Ink is always ready for use, does not dry up, evaporate, or gum the stamp, and is indelible. Price for the Black, \$2; Blue, \$3; Red, \$3; per can, containing 1 lb. Francis & Loutrel, 45 Maiden Lane, New York."
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 382, 421, 429.
9. *Ibid.*, pg. 429.
10. *Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps & Covers*, Scott Publishing Co., 2013 edition, pp. 30, 32, 37.
11. *The 1869 Times*, published by the 1869 Pictorial Research Associates, June 1989, pg. 2.

12. *Ibid.*, November 1989, pp. 3-4.
13. Rose, Jon W.: *United States Postage Stamps of 1869*, Linn's Handbook Series #5, 1996.
14. The blue fancy cancels include: Suisun City, Calif. (*female head*); Vallejo, Calif. (*letter "V"*); Savannah, Ga. (*starburst, cogwheel, "golf ball"*); Arcola, Ill. (*letter "A"*); Belvedere, Ill. (*letter "B"*); Galva, Ill. (*shield, clover, beer mug, letter "G"*); Farmington, Ill. (*shield*); Freeport, Ill. (*star*); Nunda, Ill. (*reverse letter "N"*); Rockford, Ill. (*bluebird*); Woodstock, Ill. (*letter "W"*); Cannelton, Ind. (*negative rosette*); Covington, Ky. (*three-leaf clover*); Frankfort, Ky. (*cross in square*); Louisville, Ky. (*cross in circle*); Paris, Ky. (*letter "P"*); Emmittsburgh, Md. (*negative star*); Leominster, Mass. (*stovepipe*); Alpena, Mich. (*negative "A"*); Detroit, Mich. (*shield*); Meridian, Miss. (*shield*); St. Catherine, Mo. (*Maltese cross*); St. Joseph, Mo. (*shield*); Grand Island Station, Neb. (*waffle grid*); Lisbon, N.H. (*negative six-point star*); Adams Centre, N.Y. (*monogram*); Albany, N.Y. (*letter "B"*); Mt. Holly, N.Y. (*negative "MH"*); New York, N.Y. (*bee*); Painted Post, N.Y. (*negative Masonic*); Watkins, N.Y. (*wedges in circle*); Maumee City, Ohio (*letter "M"*); Mt. Vernon, Ohio (*insect*); Philadelphia, Pa. (*rosette, cogwheel, negative star, negative cross in octagon*); Shelbyville, Tenn. (*star*); N. Bennington, Vt. (*star of David*); University of Virginia, Va. (*negative "UV"*); Charlestown, W.Va. (*skull & crossbones*).
15. The red fancy cancels include: Naugatuck, Conn. (*dots in circle*); Trinidad, Colo. Territory (*radial lines in circle*); Evanston, Ill. (*letter "E"*); Manchester, Mass. (*letter "M"*); South Deerfield, Mass. (*shield*); Baltimore, Md. (*dot in circle, four diamonds in circle, "lipstick"*); Plattsmouth, Neb. (*negative star*); Newark, N.J. (*anchor in circle*); Ashland, Ohio (*red top hat*); Millersburg, Ohio (*starburst, star*); Irasburgh, Vt. (*triangles in circle*); Charlestown, N.H. (*compass & square*).
16. Post offices using purple or violet ink include: Farmland, Ind.; Primrose, Iowa; Troy, Iowa; Brooklyn, N.Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.
17. Post offices using magenta ink include: San Francisco, Cal.; Pueblo City, Colo. Territory; Winchendon, Mass.; Owego, N.Y.; Galion, Ohio; Gettysburg, Pa.; Hartford, Wis.
18. Post offices using green ink include: Russellville, Ark.; Emporia, Kan.; Nunda, Ill.; Normal, Ill.; Farmland, Ind.; Topeka, Kan.; Bardstown, Ky.; Taunton, Mass.; Vicksburgh, Miss.; Cornish Flat, N.H.; Hennicker, N.H.; Fredonia, N.Y.; Greenwich, N.Y.; Owego, N.Y.; Bryan, Ohio; Hebron, Ohio; McMinnville, Tenn.; Murfreesborough, Tenn.; Shelbyville, Tenn.; Cabell, W.Va.; East Troy, Wis. In his 1869 book, Jon Rose also reports green cancels from Big Flats, N.Y. and Walton, Ky.
19. Post offices using brown ink include: Elizabethtown, Ill.; Danvers, Mass.; Livonia Station, N.Y.; Saugerties, N.Y.; Carlisle, Pa.; Ballsville, Va.; Enfield, Va.
20. Ashbrook, Stanley B., *The United States Issue of 1869*, reprinted from articles appearing in *The American Philatelist* (1943-44), published by the author (undated), pp. 53-54.
21. White, R.H., ed., *Encyclopedia of the Colors of the United States Postage Stamps, 1847-1918*, Philatelic Research, 1981, vol. 2, pg. 4.
22. White, R.H., ed., *Color in Philately*, The Philatelic Foundation, 1979, pp. 136-140.
23. Holt, Alden L., "What is Ultramarine?", *The 1869 Times*, November 1989, pg. 2.
24. Post offices recorded using ultramarine ink: Trinity College, N.C. and South Deerfield, Mass.
25. Post offices using orange ink include: Kent, Conn.; Wasau, Ohio; and Saxtons River, Vt.
26. *Scott Catalog, op. cit.*, pg. 32.
27. Rose, *op. cit.*, pg. 172.
28. *The Jahring Collection of 1869 Pictorial Issues*, Sotheby Parke Bernet Stamp Auction Co. catalog, June 14, 1978, Toronto, Canada, lot #400. This stamp is described as having a light black target cancel plus a partial deep yellow circular date stamp. The yellow cds shown in the black-and-white catalog illustration is considerably smudged, as befits an improperly cleaned canceler or a bogus attempt to "upgrade" the cancel.
29. Ed Field: ecfjr@verizon.net; Steve Rose: rosesa47@outlook.com. ■

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SPECIAL FEATURE

NEW-ISSUE PURCHASE OF 1895 NEWSPAPER STAMPS

WILLIAM E. MOOZ

In late 1895, Nassau Street stamp dealer Henry Gremmel sent a note to a well-known Cleveland banker and collector, J. V. Painter, offering to sell for \$250 a set of the then-current 1895-issue Newspaper and Periodical stamps. Painter is not well remembered today, but he was an important collector in his era, and he was the man who brought George Worthington into the stamp hobby.

In an undated note to Painter, Gremmel pointed out that this set was printed on unwatermarked paper (it would ultimately be catalogued as Scott PR102-113) and had just been replaced by watermarked stamps. Gremmel added that the Scott Stamp and Coin Company was asking \$400 for the unwatermarked set.

Gremmel's note is shown in Figure 1. The handwritten text reads as follows:

1 set U.S. 1894-5 Periodicals: \$250.00.

Scotts Stamp and Coin Co. ask \$400 for a similar set and as the same are now appearing on watermarked paper, I would advise you to buy them at the low figure....

Painter must have responded favorably. Figure 2 shows Gremmel's printed transmittal form, dated December 23, 1895, indicating the stamps were sent to Painter on approval

Page No. _____ 189

STATEMENT OF SALES.

Fill out and Return to

HENRY GREMMEL,
85 Nassau Street, New York.

NO.	VALUE.	AMOUNT TAKEN.	COMMISSION.	NET.	
				DOLLARS.	CTS.
<i>1 set U.S. 1894-5 Periodicals</i>					
<i>\$250.00</i>					
<i>Scotts Stamp & C. Co. ask \$400 for a similar set and as the same are now appearing on unwatermarked paper, I would advise you to buy them at the low figure even tho' a few are not only scarce but fine.</i>					
Total		Enclosed, \$			
Name _____		Street _____			
City _____		State _____			

Write your address plainly with every communication.

ESTABLISHED 1883.

HENRY GREMMEL,
Dealer in POSTAGE STAMPS

Highest Cash Prices Paid for Collections and Rarities.

Rooms 4 and 5. No. 85 Nassau Street.
New York, *Dec 23rd* 1895

J. V. Painter

Dear Sir:

Your favor of _____ with returned sheets and \$ *10.00* received with thanks.

Enclosed please find stamps on approval to the value of \$ *350.00* on which I shall allow *5* per cent. commission on all sales over one dollar. No commission can be allowed on sales of a smaller amount. Returns must be made within three *days* and a new supply will be sent as soon as the present lot is settled for.

It is distinctly understood that you are responsible for the safe delivery to me of these Approval Sheets, unless sent by registered mail, in which case I will assume the responsibility. The expense of registration must be borne by you.

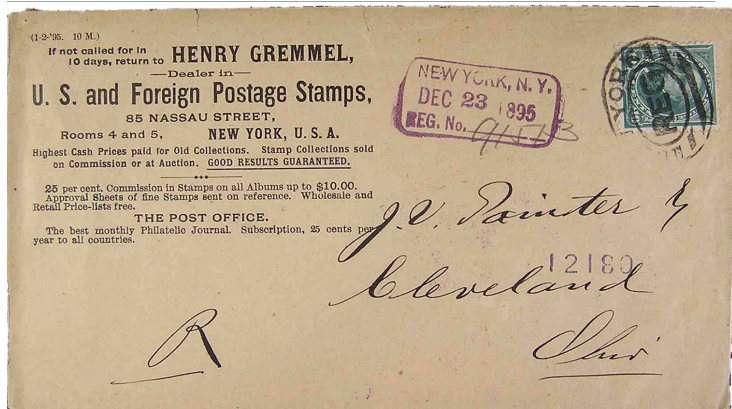
Unused postage stamps will only be accepted in payment for small amounts. If your remittance is 50c. or more kindly send a postal order. Sheets or books should be kept neat and clean and the enclosed printed envelope used to make returns.

Should you desire any special stamps kindly inform me and I will send them at lowest prices.

Hoping to receive prompt returns, I remain,
Very respectfully yours,
HENRY GREMMEL,
Per _____

Figure 1 (left): In this 1895 note, Nassau Street dealer Henry Gremmel urges Cleveland collector J. V. Painter to acquire a set of unwatermarked 1894-95 Newspaper stamps. **Figure 2 (right):** In a follow-up transmittal, Gremmel sent the stamps on approval.


Figure 3. The registered envelope in which Gremmel sent the Newspaper set to Painter. Painter's \$250 purchase in 1895 has a catalog value today of \$43,450.




for \$250. The registered envelope that carried the stamps, franked with a green 10¢ Webster stamp of the first Bureau series (Scott 273) is shown in Figure 3.


So here we have a strikingly complete record of a high-level new-issue stamp transaction that took place almost 120 years ago.

An interesting question is how this purchase price has stood the test of time. Using the website <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/>, one finds that \$250 in 1895 is roughly equivalent to \$7,050 in 2014 dollars (based on a comparison of commodity prices). A look at the 2012 edition of Scott's *Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps and Covers* shows that the present catalog value of the unwatermarked never-hinged set is \$43,450. Thus we can conclude that this was a favorable purchase; the increase in the value of the stamps substantially outpaced the increase in inflation. ■



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UNITED STATES—RUSSIA MAIL: 1840-1875
PART 2: FRENCH, HAMBURG AND NORTH GERMAN UNION MAIL

RICHARD F. WINTER

Introduction

This is the concluding installment of a broad survey article on U.S.-Russia letter correspondence between 1840 and 1875. Because the United States and Russia never had a postal convention, existing conventions with other nations had to be used to convey mail between the two countries. The previous installment, published in *Chronicle* 241 (pages 73-95), discussed mail sent between the United States and Russia under the U.S. postal conventions with Bremen, the United Kingdom and Prussia. This installment considers U.S.-Russia mail sent under conventions with France, Hamburg and the North German Union. Since Finland was under Russian control during the period under discussion, the article concludes with some observations about U.S.-Finland mail.

French mail

Prior to the United States–France postal convention of 1857, which went into effect on 1 April 1857, mail from the U.S. to Russia, sent via France, could be paid at the British open mail rate via the United Kingdom or at the American packet rate (for sea postage) if sent directly to France. The remaining transit fees to Russia via Prussian mail were necessarily unpaid. The 1857 U.S.-France convention contained a provision for sending U.S. mail through France to Russia. The rate was 30¢ per ¼ ounce or 60¢ per ½ ounce, prepayment optional. The single rate consisted of 15¢ for the basic international rate to France plus 15¢ foreign fee. For any letter weighing over ¼ ounce, this was the most expensive of all available rates and was therefore seldom used.

Figure 21 illustrates a very rare cover from Hawaii to Estonia, this one being sent in the mail through the United States to France before the U.S.-French postal convention of 1857 was enacted. This cover was part of the Honolulu Advertiser collection auctioned by the Robert A. Siegel firm in 1995 (sale 769, lot 2136). The envelope (which lacks letter contents) was posted in Honolulu on 20 November 1852 and was addressed to Addafer, Estonia. Another cover from this same correspondence—to Madame C(onde) von Ditmar from her husband and sent a few months later via Bremen mail—was discussed as Figure 3 in the initial installment of this article. A note on the reverse of the Figure 21 cover, “16th September 1852/P.P. Hafen,” presumably written by the recipient, probably identifies that the letter was written in Petropavlovsk harbor on that date. It is speculated that the letter was brought to Hawaii on the French whaling vessel *Elizabeth*, which arrived at Honolulu from the Arctic on 12 November 1852. Unlike the Figure 3 cover, on the cover in Figure 21 there is no Hawaiian forwarder marking to indicate handling of the letter in Honolulu.

The letter entered the mails at Honolulu with a cash prepayment of 33¢, which is not indicated on the cover. The Hawaiian postage of 5¢ was paid in cash as was 28¢ which was credited to the United States—indicated by the red crayon marking in the upper right corner. A mandatory rate of 5¢ Hawaiian postage and 28¢ for the American fees from Hawaii to any part of Europe beyond Germany had been published in the Honolulu newspaper by the Honolulu postmaster on 20 November 1852. The red circular datestamp, **HONO-**



Figure 21. 20 November 1852 envelope from Honolulu to Addafer, Estonia, paid 33¢ (not marked on the cover) in Hawaii for transit to Europe. Hawaii credited 28¢ to U.S. Letter carried by NY & Havre Line *Humboldt* from New York to Le Havre. Prussia debited Russia 10 sgr. The postage due, marked on the reverse in magenta ink, was 43 Kop.

LULU/NOV/20/U.S. Postage Paid, indicated that all United States fees had been paid. The 28¢ credited to the U.S. consisted of 26¢, the British open mail rate for an American packet carrying the letter across the Atlantic (West Coast rate), plus 2¢ incoming ship fee at San Francisco. This amount paid all transit fees to Europe. By paying the 26¢ British open mail rate from California, the letter was paid sufficiently for an American packet from New York to England (21¢), an American packet from New York directly to France (20¢), or an American packet from New York to Bremerhaven (20¢). We shall see that this cover eventually was placed on a mail steamer to France.

The Figure 21 cover departed Honolulu on the brig *Zoe* on 22 November and arrived at San Francisco on 12 December 1852. Here the blue circular datestamp of San Francisco was applied (on 13 December) in the upper left corner, along with a blue handstamp **PAID**. Blue ink was used only a short period in San Francisco, from September to December in 1852. At the time of this letter, all mail from San Francisco to the east coast travelled by steamship via Panama. Vessels that carried mail to New York can be determined using the sailing tables in Wierenga's book. On 16 December the Pacific Mail Steamship Company steamer *Tennessee* departed San Francisco, arriving at Panama City on 28 December 1852. The mail bags were carried across the isthmus and placed on board the United States Mail Steamship Company steamer *Illinois*, departing Aspinwall on 3 January and arriving at New York on 13 January 1853. A New York exchange-office clerk struck on the right side of the cover the red orange circular datestamp, **NEW.YORK/JAN/15/AM. Packet**, since the British open mail rate by American packet had been prepaid. The next American steamer was the New York & Havre Line steamship *Humboldt*, which left New York on 15 January and arrived at Le Havre on 29 January 1853. The letter entered the French mail system at Le Havre, shown by a red orange circular datestamp, **OUTRE-MER/29/JANV/53/LE HAVRE**, indicating the letter had arrived from overseas.

The French sent the letter to Prussia. I have seen only a poor photocopy of the reverse of the Figure 21 cover. It shows a black Aachen double-circle datestamp, **AUS FRANKREICH/31/1 B/PER AACHEN**, indicating the letter arrived at the Aachen exchange office on 31 January; a blue manuscript "4¼/1," Prussian sgr. accounting, probably applied on the railroad to Stettin, where the letter presumably boarded a Russian steamer to Kronstadt; and a three-line datestamp of the Prussian railroad, **MINDEN/1/2 I/BERLIN**, showing handling on 1 February. The Prussians marked the cover front in blue ink "3/7" to show that 3 sgr. was the Prussian transit fee allowed under the 1851 convention with Russia plus 7 sgr. owed to Prussia for Prussian and French transit fees. The Russians marked on the reverse in magenta ink that 43 Kop. postage was due. This represents 10 Kop. Russian internal postage plus 33 Kop. to Prussia.

Figure 22 shows a folded letter from Philadelphia to Sevastopol, a Russian port on the Black Sea in the Crimea. The letter was posted on 16 October 1857, prepaid 30¢ in cash for the French mail rate to Russia. The Philadelphia exchange-office clerk struck two markings in red orange ink. The first was a circular datestamp in the upper right corner, **PHILADELPHIA PA/OCT/16/PAID**, and the second was a **PAID/30** handstamp struck in the upper left corner to show the amount paid. The clerk placed the letter in a closed mail bag for France and sent the bag to New York. He neglected to write a credit to France on the letter, which should have been 18¢ (3¢ for the basic rate due France, since an American packet was to carry it directly to France, plus 15¢ foreign fee to Russia). At New York the mail bag was placed on board the New York & Havre Line steamship *Fulton*, departing on 17 October and arriving at Le Havre on 30 October 1857. Here the mail bag was opened and the letter marked with a seven-sided blue datestamp, **ET.UNIS SERV.AM.D./30/OCT./57/HAVRE**, to show that the letter originated in the United States, was carried by American service directly to France, and was marked at Le Havre. The letter also received a small boxed red orange handstamp **PD** to show it was fully paid, and then was sent to Paris. On the reverse is a black circular datestamp showing it was marked on the second day-train



Figure 22. 16 October 1857 folded letter from Philadelphia to Sevastopol, 30¢ rate prepaid in cash. Philadelphia neglected to credit France; the amount should have been 18¢. Letter carried by NY & Havre Line *Fulton* from New York to Le Havre. Prussia marked (on reverse) that 3 sgr. Prussian and 3 sgr. Russian transit fees had been paid.



Figure 23. 2 October 1865 envelope without letter contents from Portland, Maine, to St. Petersburg, paid with at least a 30¢ orange 1861 stamp. Another stamp had been on the letter but was removed when the cover was prepared for the French mail. The Portland exchange office marked 27¢ credit to France. Carried by the Allan Line steamer *Moravian* from Rivi re du Loup on the St. Lawrence River to Londonderry, Ireland. Prussia marked in blue crayon that the foreign fee of 3 sgr. had been paid (credit to Russia).

from Le Havre to Paris. Since France had no postal convention with Russia at the time, the cover was sent to Prussia under the Franco-Prussian postal convention and routed via Belgium to Germany. On the front in the lower left corner is a partial strike of a red orange double-circle datestamp applied by an Aachen exchange-office clerk on the Verviers–K ln train, **AUS FRANKREICH PER AACHEN/1 1/11/FRANCO**. This marking indicated the letter was received from France via the Aachen exchange office, was processed on 1 November, and was fully paid. Somewhere on the Prussian railway system the letter was marked on the reverse in blue ink “f6” to show that 3 sgr. Prussian and 3 sgr. Russian transit fees had been paid. A docketing notation on the reverse in Russian indicates the letter was received on 5 November.

A cover showing payment in stamps and sent in the French mail is illustrated in Figure 23. This envelope (which lacks contents) originated in Portland, Maine, and was addressed to St. Petersburg, yet another letter from the Josiah Pierce archive. It was sold in the Robert A. Siegel auction of the Robert LeBow collection (sale 886, lot 3121). The envelope is endorsed in the lower left corner “Per Prussian closed mail.” It was posted on 2 October 1865 at Portland and paid with at least a 30¢ orange 1861 stamp. When originally mailed, the cover probably bore a 5¢ brown yellow 1861 stamp to the left of the 30¢ stamp, making up the 35¢ Prussian closed mail rate. After the letter was posted and before it was processed in the Portland exchange office, the 5¢ stamp was removed and the letter was prepared for the French mail.

It may seem odd that this happened, but another letter (lot 3108 in the LeBow sale) from the same correspondence posted a week later in the same post office, also endorsed for the Prussian closed mail, was treated similarly: a stamp was removed and the letter was sent in the French mail. Perhaps a clerk in the exchange-office section of the Portland office was responsible for the changes as a favor to the sender. In any case, the exchange-office clerk struck the Figure 23 cover with a small red orange circular datestamp on the left side,

PORTLAND ME/OCT/6/Paid, to show the letter would leave on 6 October and was fully paid. He also wrote in red orange crayon above this datestamp “27” to show that 27¢ was credited to France. Under the 1861 additional articles to the U.S.–France postal convention of 1857, which added Portland as an exchange office, the Allan Line steamships were considered British packets for accounting purposes, even though they were under contract to carry American mail. The credit marked at Portland represented 12¢ credit for the basic international rate to France for a letter carried on a British packet to England plus 15¢ foreign transit fee to Russia.

The letter was placed in the French mail bag that departed Portland on 6 October and was sent by train to catch the Allan Line steamship *Moravian* departing Quebec on 7 October. The letter went on board the steamer at Rivière du Loup, a mail stop established by the Allan Line on the St. Lawrence River 120 miles below Quebec. *Moravian* arrived at Londonderry, Ireland, on 17 October 1865. The closed mail bag passed through the United Kingdom to France, where it was opened on the railroad between Calais and Paris. In the lower right corner is a small black double-circle datestamp, **ET. UNIS SERV.BR.A.C./18/OCT./65/D**, showing the letter was from the United States, was carried by British service, and was processed on the railway mail car from Calais to Paris by postal team “D.” The large black boxed **PD** also was applied at this same time. The letter was sent under a Franco-Prussian postal convention to Germany and routed via Belgium. On the front in the upper right corner tying the stamp is a strike of a blue double-circle datestamp applied by an Aachen exchange-office clerk on the Verviers–Köln train, **AUS FRANKREICH PER AACHEN/3 18/10/Franco** (the same marking we saw on the cover in Figure 22), to show the letter was from France via the Aachen exchange office, was processed on 18 October, and was fully paid. The cover was also marked in the lower left corner “f3” to show that the 3 sgr. foreign transit had been paid (credit to Russia). I haven’t seen the reverse

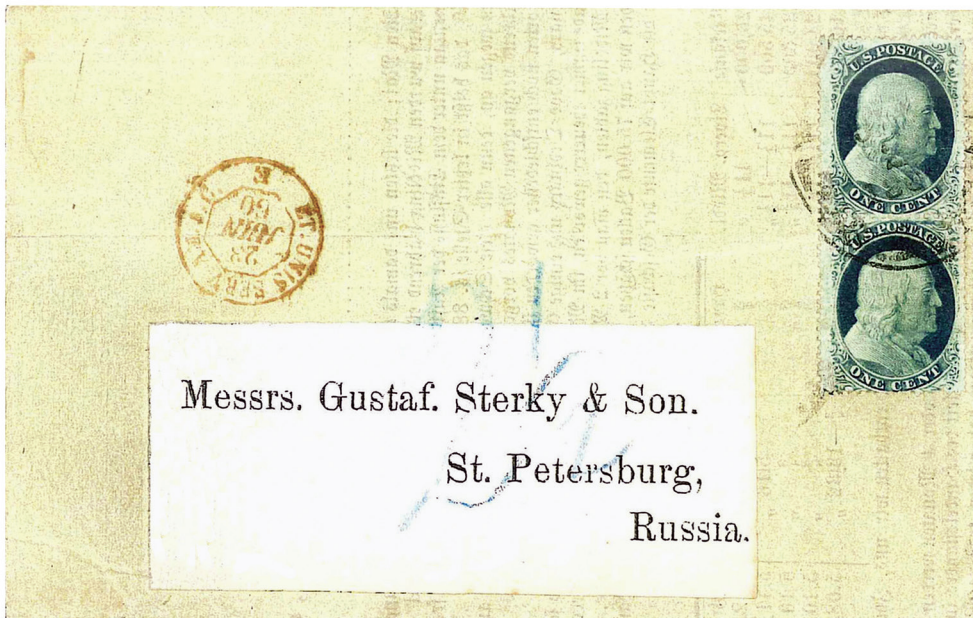


Figure 24. Printed circular dated 2 June 1860, franked with a vertical pair of 1¢ blue type V stamps, sent from New Orleans to St. Petersburg and carried via French mail. This crossed from New York to Queenstown on the Inman *Glasgow*. Prussia marked 2½ sgr. debit to Russia. Russia marked 11 Kop. in magenta ink (on reverse) for postage due.

and can't comment on any additional markings. A pencil docketing notation on the left side shows the letter was received on 9 October/21 October 1865.

The only printed matter that I have seen to Russia was sent under the French convention. Figure 24 illustrates one of three pieces of printed matter sent to Russia by the French mail that I have recorded. This printed circular originated in New Orleans on 2 June 1860 and was addressed to St. Petersburg. Since there was no printed-matter rate in the U.S.-France postal convention of 1857, it was paid 2¢ for the U.S. domestic printed matter rate with a vertical pair of 1¢ blue type V stamps, canceled with a New Orleans postmark. The circular was sent to New York, where it was made up in the French mail that departed 9 June on the Inman Line steamship *Glasgow*, arriving at Queenstown on 21 June 1860. The circular was in a closed mail bag that went through England to France, where it was opened on the railroad between Calais and Paris. On the left side is a small red orange circular datestamp, **ET. UNIS SERV. AM.A.C./23/JUIN/60/E**, showing the letter was from the United States, was carried by American service to the United Kingdom, and was processed on the railway mail car from Calais by postal team "E." The octagonal inner line indicates an American packet carried the letter across the Atlantic.

The circular was then sent unpaid under a Franco-Prussian postal convention to Germany, routed via Belgium. At the Prussian exchange office, probably on the Verviers-Köln train, the clerk marked in large blue crayon numerals that 2½ sgr. was due Prussia for transit fees. The only other marking on the circular appears on the reverse, a small manuscript "11" in magenta ink, the Russian postage due of 11 Kop. Under the 1851 Prussian-Russian Postal convention, the Russian internal fee for a one loth printed matter piece was 1 sgr. (3 Kop.) and the Prussian transit fee was ½ sgr. (1 Kop.), so the transit from France must have been equivalent to 2 sgr. or 7 Kop. No other markings appear on the cover.

Hamburg mail

When the United States-Hamburg postal convention went into effect on 1 July 1857, the rates instituted were the same as the Bremen postal convention. The rate from the United States to Russia by the Hamburg mail was 29¢ per ½ ounce just as was the rate by the Bremen mail. The reduction of the rate to 20¢ per ½ ounce in February 1867 applied also to Hamburg mail. Starnes had recorded only one unpaid letter by the Hamburg mail. I record one unpaid letter also, but I don't know if it is the same one that Starnes recorded. The Hamburg convention was in effect for about 10½ years before being replaced by a postal convention with the North German Union, yet very few covers from the United States to Russia by the Hamburg mail have been reported. Obviously, these covers are quite scarce.

Figure 25 illustrates the single cover that I have seen that was sent in the Hamburg mail. This envelope, which lacks letter contents, was posted at Washington, D.C., on 12 September 1864 (black duplex datestamp to the left of the stamp) and was addressed to Goldingen, in the Kurland region of Russia. Today it is Kuldīga in western Latvia. The letter was paid with a 3¢ rose 1861 stamp, which was insufficient for the 29¢ rate, but the cover was sent to New York anyway for the next mail to Germany. The black ink "29" written under the stamp, probably at the Washington post office, showed the unpaid rate to Russia. At New York the payment of 3¢ was ignored and the letter prepared for overseas mail as an unpaid letter. It was struck on the right side with a black circular datestamp of the New York exchange office, **3/SEP/17/N.YORK HAMB PKT**, to show the date the letter would leave New York, that it would go by Hamburg packet, and that it was unpaid (absence of the word "PAID"). The datestamp also showed a 3¢ debit to Hamburg, which was the U.S. share on an unpaid letter carried by a Hamburg steamer. On 17 September the HAPAG steamship *Germania* departed New York. It arrived at Hamburg on 30 September 1864. The Hamburg city post office confirmed the arrival with a black oval datestamp on the reverse. On the same day the letter was turned over to the Prussian post office in Hamburg, shown



Figure 25. 12 September 1864 envelope without letter contents, sent from Washington, D.C. to Goldingen, Latvia. The 3¢ rose 1861 stamp paying domestic postage was ignored and the cover was treated as wholly unpaid. New York debited Hamburg 3¢. The cover was carried by the HAPAG steamer *Germania* from New York to Hamburg. Hamburg marked 6½ sgr. international fee unpaid, and Prussia debited Russia 11 sgr. No due postage was marked on reverse, but the amount would have been 46 Kop.

by a black circular datestamp, also on the reverse. A blue handstamp 6½ was struck front and center of the cover to show that Hamburg was owed 6½ sgr. for the international rate on a letter going beyond the German-Austrian Postal Union. The Prussians marked “8/3” in blue crayon, which was later crossed through and summed to 11 sgr. as the total Prussian debit to Russia. Prussian rate tables, valid from 1 January 1863, show that Prussia was allowed to debit Russia 8 sgr. foreign and 3 sgr. transit fees to Russia, on mail sent from the United States via Bremen or Hamburg. I don’t know when that breakdown of fees became effective. The postage due in Russia was not written on the reverse but would have been 46 Kop. (36 Kop. owed to Prussia plus 10 Kop. Russian internal postage). This agrees with Kupec’s published data of 46 Kop. for mail via Bremen/Hamburg. (See Appendix A.)

North German Union mail

At the end of 1867, the postal conventions with the three German States—Bremen, Hamburg and Prussia—came to an end. On 1 January 1868, they were replaced by a postal convention between the United States and the newly-formed North German Union (NGU). This postal convention would last until 1 July 1875, when the General Postal Union came into effect with both the United States and Germany as original members. The NGU mail had two distinct routes from the United States to Russia. One route was by steamship directly to either Bremerhaven or Hamburg and then via the Prussian mail system to Russia. This route shows markings attributed to the Bremen or Hamburg exchange offices. The other route was in closed mail bags by steamship to England, through Belgium to Prussia, then by the Prussian mails to Russia. This route usually shows markings from the Aachen exchange office.

During the seven and one half years that NGU mails were used to Russia there were three additional sets of rate changes. The original U.S.–NGU postal convention of 1867 (effective 1 January 1868) established rates to Russia that were published in the *United*



Figure 26. 14 October/26 October 1869: Unpaid folded letter from St. Petersburg to New York sent in the North German Union mail via England. The Aachen exchange office applied the large black 3 handstamp to debit the United States for transit from Russia. Carried by Cunard steamer *Nemesis* from Queenstown to New York, where the cover was marked for 35¢ postage due in depreciated greenback notes.

States Mail & Post Office Assistant as 15¢ (18¢ for unpaid letters) per ½ ounce for the direct service and 20¢ (23¢ for unpaid letters) per ½ ounce for the closed mail via England. While the postal conventions with the NGU always considered a single-rate letter as one weighing 15 grams or less, the published rates were for half-ounce letters. A new postal convention effective 1 July 1870 lowered the published rates to 12¢ per ½ ounce for the direct service and 15¢ per ½ ounce for the closed mail via England service. The rates again were lowered as published in the October 1871 issue of the *United States Mail & Post Office Assistant* to 11¢ per ½ ounce for the direct service and 13¢ per ½ ounce for the closed mail via England service. (The rate by closed mail via England was listed in error as 13¢ instead of 12¢ for this one issue only and was corrected a month later.) A 5 August 1872 notice from the Post Office Department in Washington, D.C. was published in the August 1872 issue of the *United States Mail & Post Office Assistant* again lowering the NGU rates to 10¢ per ½ ounce for the direct service and 11¢ per ½ ounce for the closed mail via England service. Confusingly, the “Table of Postages to Foreign Countries” published in that newspaper showed both the 1871 and the 1872 rates until October 1874, when just the latter were listed. As a result, it is possible to encounter covers from this period that were overpaid.

Figure 26 shows an unpaid folded letter from St. Petersburg to New York sent in the NGU closed mail via England. The letter originated on 14 October/26 October 1869 and was posted the same day at the 7th dispatch division of the St. Petersburg post office, shown by a black double-circle datestamp in the lower left quadrant. The letter had been inscribed “Porto” in the lower left corner to indicate it was being sent unpaid. In the lower right corner it was marked with a black boxed handstamp, НЕ ФРАНКИРОВАНО, indicating that the letter was “unfranked” or unpaid.

From St. Petersburg the letter was sent to Prussia. At the Aachen exchange office it received on the left side a large black 3 handstamp to show that the United States was being debited 3 sgr. for transit fees owed to the NGU. Table E1 of the 1867 U.S.-NGU postal convention listed Russia and showed that the United States had to pay the NGU 3 sgr. for a single unpaid letter in transit to or from Russia. The letter was placed in a closed mail bag at the Aachen exchange office and sent via Belgium and England to Queenstown, where it was put on board the Cunard steamship *Nemesis*, calling there for mail on 31 October and arriving at New York on 11 November 1869. The letter was processed the next day when a New York exchange-office clerk struck a black circular datestamp in the upper right corner, **NEW YORK/NOV/12/35/U.S.NOTES**, to show the postage due was 35¢ if paid in depreciated greenback notes. The postage due in coin was not shown, but would have been 28¢: the 23¢ unpaid letter rate by the NGU closed mail via England, plus a 5¢ unpaid letter fine. A docketing notation inside the letter confirms the letter was received on 12 November 1869.

A letter from Russia to the United States paid with stamps is shown in Figure 27. This folded letter was posted at St. Petersburg on 28 October/9 November 1869, addressed to New York City. Russian stamps of the 1866 series (1 Kop. black and yellow, 3 Kop. black and green, 10 Kop. brown and blue, and 20 Kop. blue and orange) paid the 34 Kop. rate for the NGU closed mail route via England. Most likely, the red crayon, “Wf 5” was applied in Russia to show a credit to the NGU of 5 sgr. for Prussian and foreign transit fees.

This cover was processed on the Eydtkuhnen–Bromberg portion of the Prussian rail line, Eisenbahnpost No. XI, and received a red orange double-circle datestamp (to the left of the stamps) on 10 November 1869. The marking reads **AUS RUSSLAND/FRANCO/10 11 II/69/über BUR.XI EDK.BRG** and indicated the letter was fully paid. At the Aachen exchange office the letter received the red orange boxed **FRANCO** handstamp, again to show the letter was fully paid. The “Wf5” was crossed through in blue crayon and “wf3” written to the right, indicating that the foreign postage to the United States was paid.



Figure 27. 28 October/9 November 1869: Colorful folded letter from St. Petersburg to New York City, prepaid 34 Kop. by four Russian 1866 stamps (1 Kop. black and yellow, 3 Kop. black and green, 10 Kop. brown and blue, and 20 Kop. blue and orange) paying the NGU closed-mail service via England. 5 sgr. (in red) showed that Prussian and foreign fees had been paid (credit to Prussia). Carried by Cunard Java from Queenstown to New York, where the cover was marked paid.



Figure 28. 16 May 1871 envelope without letter contents, sent from Providence, Rhode Island, to Kronstadt, Russia, franked with a 12¢ dull violet 1870 National Bank Note stamp for the direct route via North German Union. New York credited 5¢ to NGU. Bremen marked 2 sgr. foreign postage paid with red boxed handstamp (credit to Russia).

The letter then was placed in a closed mail bag to travel via Belgium and England. The sealed bag went on board the Cunard steamship *Java* when she called for mail at Queenstown on 14 November and arrived at New York on 23 November 1869. The letter was processed the next day, receiving the red orange circular datestamp, **NEW YORK PAID ALL/NOV/24**. I have not seen the reverse of this cover and do not know if there are markings on it. The Russian payment is consistent with the rate in the Kupec tables.

Figure 28 illustrates a cover paid with a 12¢ Bank Note stamp and sent from the United States to Russia under the reduced rates resulting from the U.S.-NGU postal convention of 1870. This envelope without the letter contents was sold in a 2009 Robert A. Siegel auction (sale 980, lot 2640). The letter originated in Providence, Rhode Island, and was addressed to a ship captain in care of the United States Consul in Kronstadt, a seaport town on Kotlin Island, 20 miles west of St. Petersburg near the head of the Gulf of Finland. The letter was posted at Providence on 16 May 1871 and paid with a 12¢ dull violet 1870 National Bank Note Company stamp. This was the correct rate for the NGU mail sent by steamer directly to either Bremen or Hamburg. From Providence the letter was sent to New York for the next steamer to Germany. The New York exchange-office clerk struck a red orange circular datestamp, **NEW YORK/MAY/20/5**, directly over the stamp, to indicate the date of departure from New York and that 5¢ was credited to the NGU for transit beyond Germany. The letter left New York 20 May on the North German Lloyd steamship *Main* and arrived at Bremerhaven on 1 June 1871. This was confirmed by a red orange boxed datestamp of the Bremen city post office in the lower left corner, **BREMEN/1 6 71/FRANCO**, indicating the letter had been fully paid. The Bremen clerk marked another red orange handstamp, a boxed marking, **Weiterfr. 2 Sgr.**, to show that the postage beyond the NGU of 2 sgr. had been paid. This was the 5¢ transit fee to Russia. I have not seen the reverse of this cover, which according to the auction description bears a receiving datestamp.

An insufficiently paid letter from Russia to the United States is shown in Figure 29. This envelope, without the letter contents, has a traveling post office (TPO) datestamp can-



Figure 29. 25 October/6 November 1871 cover from Russia to New York, insufficiently paid 22 Kop. for the NGU direct mail route with two 1 Kop. black and yellow and two 10 Kop. brown and blue 1866 stamps. Russia marked the cover paid but Prussia deemed it insufficiently prepaid and debited the U.S. 3 sgr. This cover was carried by the Cunard steamer *Palmyra* from Queenstown to Boston. New York assessed 7¢ postage due.

celing the stamps. I cannot read the details of the datestamp from the cover scan, so I am unable to properly identify the rail line or station where the letter was posted, but the date was 25 October/6 November 1871 and the letter was addressed to New York. The owner's notes about the cover state that the route number was 27-28 and the station no. 12. This would have meant the route was between Varshava and Aleksandrov in central Russia. The letter could not have gotten to Prussia the same day, so the route had to be one very close to Prussia. The address indicates the sender desired the letter to go via Hamburg for NGU direct mail service, but the cover did not travel that route.

The Figure 29 cover was paid 22 Kop. with two 1 Kop. black and yellow and two 10 Kop. brown and blue 1866 stamps. It was marked at top center in Russia with a black boxed handstamp, **ФРАНКИРОВАНО**, to show that the letter was fully paid, and was sent to Prussia. A red orange double-circle datestamp on the reverse, **AUS RUSSLAND über EISENB. POST-BUR. XI/PORTO/6 11 II**, shows the letter was processed on the Prussian rail line Eisenbahnpost No. XI on 6 November, and established (with the word "PORTO," or unpaid) that the Prussians did not consider the letter fully prepaid. The Russian boxed marking that said the letter was paid was obliterated in blue crayon. The value of the stamps was marked alongside in red crayon as 6½ groschen, a requirement under the U.S.-NGU postal convention for insufficiently paid letters. A red orange boxed handstamp, **Unzureichend/frankirt.**, was struck to show that the letter was insufficiently paid. It is likely that the Germans thought the letter weighed over 15 grams and required two rates while the Russians thought it was a single-rate letter.

The letter was sent to the Aachen exchange office where the Russian paid handstamp was further crossed through in black crayon and the letter marked on the left side "3," which was the amount owed the NGU for an unpaid or insufficiently paid letter from Russia. The cover then traveled in a closed mail bag through Belgium to England and was placed on board the Cunard steamship *Palmyra*, calling at Queenstown on 8 November and arriving at Boston on 19 November 1871. The mail was processed at the New York exchange office



Figure 30. 11 May 1875 envelope without letter contents from Woolwich, Maine, to Kronstadt, paid with a 10¢ brown 1873 Continental Bank Note stamp for the NGU direct mail to Russia. New York credited 4¢ to NGU. Letter carried by HAPAG *Cimbria* from New York to Hamburg. Germany marked 15 pf. for foreign transit paid (credit to Russia).

the next day, 20 November, shown by a red orange circular datestamp on the reverse. The U.S.–NGU postal convention of 1870 allowed insufficiently paid letters to be sent but the postage due was double the unpaid amount less the value of the stamps. In the case of this cover, the New York exchange office clerk calculated the postage due based on a single-rate letter, not on two rates. He calculated $2 \times 11\text{¢} = 22\text{¢}$ for the NGU closed mail route via England minus 15¢ for the value of the stamps. The result was 7¢ postage due, which was marked on black ink in the upper left corner.

Figure 30 illustrates a letter sent to Russia by NGU direct mail after the NGU shifted to pfennige (pf.) currency. This envelope, which now lacks the letter contents, was posted in Woolwich, Maine, on 11 May 1875, addressed to Capt. W.H. Bagley of the bark *St. Cloud*, care of the American Consul at Kronstadt. As mentioned earlier, this was a seaport town on Kotlin Island, 20 miles west of St. Petersburg near the head of the Gulf of Finland. The cover was paid with a 10¢ brown 1873 Continental Bank Note stamp, the proper rate for a single letter to Russia sent by the NGU direct mail. The letter was sent to New York for the next steamer to Germany. The New York clerk struck on the right side a red orange circular datestamp, **NEW YORK/MAY/13/4**, to show when the letter would leave New York and that 4¢ was credited to the NGU for transit fees beyond the NGU. The letter was included in the mail placed on board the HAPAG steamship *Cimbria*, departing 13 May and arriving at Hamburg about 27 May 1875. The Hamburg exchange office clerk did not apply a datestamp, but sent the letter on to Russia. He marked a red crayon “15” in the bottom left part of the letter to show that 15 pf. was the *weiterfranco*, the transit fee beyond the NGU that had been paid. From 1 January 1875 the NGU used pf. currency and marked the letters in this currency; so now the $1\frac{1}{2}$ sgr. *weiterfranco* (rounded up to 4¢) was shown as 15 pf. Black circular datestamps on the reverse show the letter arrived at St. Petersburg on the morning of 17 May/29 May 1875 and at Kronstadt later that same day. The Kronstadt postmark was repeated again on the front.



Figure 31. 28 March/9 April 1875 unpaid folded letter from Moscow to New York City. Germany marked the letter unpaid (with the boxed handstamp “Unfrankirt”) and debited the U.S. 25 pf. This cover was carried by Cunard Cuba from Queenstown to New York, where it was marked for 22¢ postage due in depreciated greenbacks.

Finally, an unpaid letter from Russia to the United States during the pf. currency period is shown in Figure 31. This folded letter, from the well-known Lanman and Kemp archive, originated in Moscow on 28 March/9 April 1875 and was addressed to New York City. The cover was endorsed in the lower left corner, “porto,” indicating that it was sent unpaid. It was posted on 31 March/12 April 1875 and received on the reverse a black double-circle datestamp of the Moscow Central Postal Section. The postal clerk did not use a marking to indicate that the letter was unpaid, such as the one seen on the cover in Figure 26. Later that day, the letter was sent to the Moscow 5th Dispatch Office, where it received on the reverse a black double-circle datestamp. It traveled by railway to St. Petersburg and then to the NGU. At the Warsaw train station in St. Petersburg the letter received a black circular datestamp on 2 April/14 April 1875, also struck on the reverse.

The letter arrived at the German exchange office about 14 April by the western calendar. During the transit on the German railroad a blue crayon notation on the reverse, “25 Ap” or 25 pf. “ausländisches Porto,” indicated that the foreign transit postage had not been paid. In the Bremen State Archives is a postal notice sent from the General Post Office of the German Empire to the Post Office Department in Washington, D.C., outlining the postal rates to and through Germany in the pf. currency that was effective from 1 January 1875. The rate tables show that on a 15 gram unpaid letter from Russia, the United States owed the NGU 25 pf. for transit beyond Germany. This is equivalent to 6¢, or 2¢ more than the transit fee on a 15 gram letter paid in the United States for Russia. The German exchange office clerk struck in the lower left corner a black boxed handstamp, **Unfrankirt**, to show that the letter was unpaid. To the left of this marking the clerk marked in pencil “25” to state the NGU debit to the United States for transit postage from Russia that was unpaid.

The letter was placed in a closed mail bag and sent to the United Kingdom for transportation to the United States. It was carried from Queenstown by the Cunard steamship *Cuba*, departing on 18 April and arriving at New York on 30 April 1875. A New York exchange-office clerk marked in the upper right corner a black circular datestamp, **NEW YORK/APR/30/DUE 22/U.S. CURRENCY**. This datestamp showed the postage due of 22¢ in depreciated greenback currency. It appears that the clerk arrived at this value by taking the unpaid rate by the closed mail route from Germany of 14¢ and adding the Germany debit to the United States of 6¢ to arrive at 20¢. To this he added a 2¢ premium for depreciated greenback currency. This premium varied and was determined on the day the letter arrived at the exchange office. A docketing notation by the recipient showed the letter was received on 30 April 1875.

MAIL TO AND FROM FINLAND

Bremen mail

Figure 32 illustrates a folded letter outer sheet from the United States to Jakobstad (Pietarsaari in Finnish). Jakobstad is a seaport on the Gulf of Bothnia, 250 miles northwest of Helsinki. This unpaid letter originated in Havana, Cuba, about 8 June 1867 and was privately carried to New York, probably on the Atlantic Mail Steamship Company steamer *Morro Castle*, departing Havana on 8 June and arriving at New York on 12 June 1867. Here it was posted as an unpaid letter from the United States, avoiding the steamship postage from Cuba to the United States. The letter was endorsed at the top, "Via New York & St. Petersburg." A New York exchange-office clerk struck in the upper right corner a black



Figure 32. Circa 8 June 1867 unpaid folded letter from Havana, Cuba, to Jakobstad, Finland, via New York. Letter carried by Atlantic Mail Steamship Company *Morro Castle* to New York and posted there. New York debited Bremen 3¢. NGL *Deutschland* carried this cover from New York to Bremerhaven. Germans debited Russia 7½ sgr. and Russia marked 35 Kop. due on reverse. Postage due in Finland was 1 markka 40 pennia.

circular datestamp, **3/JUN/13/N.YORK BREM. PK.** This marking showed the expected sailing date of the steamer from New York and the U.S. debit to Bremen of 3¢, which was the United States portion under the postal convention with Bremen for a letter carried on a Bremen steamer.

On 13 June the North German Lloyd steamship *Deutschland* departed New York and arrived at Bremerhaven on 25 June 1867. There is no Bremen datestamp on the letter. The clerk in the Hanover office in Bremen struck the blue **AMERICA/ÜBER BREMEN** handstamp. A blue crayon marking showed that Russia was debited 7½ sgr. for the accumulated transit fees (approximately 25 Kop.). Written in black ink on the reverse was 35 Kop. postage due in the Russian territory. This amount was converted to the currency in use in Finland at the time and marked in black ink on the upper left front of the cover as 1 markka 40 pennia (140 pennia). On 8 November 1865 an Imperial Decree in Russia established new currency in Finland where 1 markka = 100 pennia. The conversion of 35 Kop., marked on the reverse, probably at St. Petersburg, shows that 1 Kop. was equivalent to 4 pennia. A black boxed arrival datestamp applied in Jakobstad, **ANK 8/7**, indicates the letter arrived there on 8 July 1867, which agrees with a docketing notation on the reverse of the letter applied by the recipient. The western calendar was used in Finland instead of the Russian calendar.

Prussian closed mail

A handsome unpaid patriotic envelope sent from the United States to Finland is shown in Figure 33. This was sold in 2004 by the Robert A. Siegel firm as part of the Blake M. Myers transatlantic collection (sale 882, lot 2122). The letter was posted in Ottawa, Illinois, on 1 December 1862, addressed to Wiborg (Vyborg, Russia, today), a seaport town on the Gulf of Finland, 75 miles northwest of St. Petersburg. The Ottawa double-circle postmark was struck in blue ink at upper left, so as not to obscure the design of the red and blue “Col. Turchin’s ‘Chicago Zouaves,’ 19th Reg. Ill.” patriotic envelope. In the upper right corner the Ottawa postmaster struck a blue handstamp **30** to show the unpaid letter rate to Prussia, a marking that had no significance on the foreign exchange-office handling of this letter.



Figure 33. Unpaid patriotic envelope sent 1 December 1862 from Ottawa, Illinois, to Wiborg via Prussian closed mail. Chicago exchange office marked 23¢ debit to Prussia. Carried by Allan Line *Hibernian* from Portland to Londonderry, Ireland. Prussia debited Russia 14 sgr. Postage due of 56 Kop. was probably marked on the reverse.

The absence of a stamp prepayment or a PAID marking was sufficient to indicate this was an unpaid letter. The sender endorsed the envelope at the top, “via Prussian Closed mail.”

The letter was sent to Chicago, an exchange office for Prussian mail since May 1861. Here a blue handstamp was applied, **CHICAGO ILL AM PKT 23**, with no date. This marking indicated that the letter would go by American-contract mail steamer and that 23¢ was debited to Prussia for the American fees under the U.S.-Prussia postal convention of 1852. The missing date was probably 2 December, since Ottawa was just 84 miles west southwest of Chicago on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad.

The letter was placed in a closed mail bag and sent through Canada by rail to Portland, Maine, to go on board the Allan Line steamship *Hibernian* departing on 13 December and arriving at Londonderry, Ireland, on 23 December 1862. The closed mail bag continued through the United Kingdom and Belgium before being opened at the Aachen exchange office. Here the letter was marked in blue ink “12/2,” indicating the Prussian debit to Russia of 14 sgr. This marking is explained in greater detail in the discussion of the Figure 12 cover in the first installment of this article.

Unfortunately, I have not seen the reverse of the Figure 33 cover, where a red orange Aachen datestamp would have been struck for an unpaid letter (as on Figure 12). Also I would expect the reverse to show a receiving datestamp of St. Petersburg similar to the one mentioned in Figure 20. The only other marking on this cover is a black boxed arrival datestamp applied in Wiborg, **ANK 5/1**, indicating the letter arrived there on 5 January 1863. The postage due in Finland is not written on the front, but probably was written on the reverse at St. Petersburg. The amount would have been 56 Kop. and written in magenta ink.

Hamburg mail

Figure 34 illustrates the outer sheet (opened up to show the markings on the reverse side) of an unpaid folded letter from Matanzas, Cuba, sent via the United States in the Hamburg mail to Jakobstad. The letter was endorsed in the upper right corner, “Via New York, Ostend & St. Petersburg,” routing instructions for the Prussian closed mail route via England, but we will see that it traveled a different route. The letter was sent to New York, probably on the Spofford & Tileston Line steamship *Eagle*, departing Havana on 15 February and arriving at New York on 20 February 1863. A New York exchange-office clerk ignored the routing instructions (which were not considered mandatory except on paid letters) and prepared the letter for the next direct steamship to Germany. He struck on the right side the black encircled **10** handstamp to show that Hamburg was debited 10¢ for transit fees owed the United States. This was the correct debit for letters from Cuba being sent in the Hamburg mail at the time, representing 5¢ transit fee from Cuba to New York plus 5¢ U.S. share under the 1857 postal convention with Hamburg. Had the letter been sent under the Bremen mail the debit would have been 5¢ plus 3¢ = 8¢.

The letter was placed on board the HAPAG steamship *Bavaria*, which departed New York on 21 February and arrived at Hamburg on 11 March 1863. A black oval datestamp of the Hamburg city post office on the reverse confirms the arrival date in Hamburg on 11 March 1863. Another black circular datestamp on the reverse shows the letter was handed to the Prussian post office in Hamburg the next day, 12 March. The letter was marked correctly for 8¾ sgr. due Hamburg for unpaid letter transit fees from Cuba via the United States. This amount also was written on the reverse, probably onboard the Prussian railroad.

However, there was confusion on how to rate the letter with respect to Russia. It was marked for 11 sgr. debit to Russia, but this was crossed through later and marked “5/3” or 8 sgr. This amount doesn’t seem correct, since Prussian rate tables, valid from 1 January 1863, showed that Prussia could debit Russia 10 sgr. foreign and 3 sgr. transit fees to Rus-



Figure 34. Circa 14 February 1863: Unpaid folded letter outer sheet from Matanzas, Cuba, to Jakobstad, Finland, sent in the Hamburg mail. This cover was probably carried by the Spofford & Tileston steamship *Eagle* from Havana to New York, where the 10¢ debit to Hamburg was applied. Transatlantic carriage from New York to Hamburg by HAPAG steamer *Bavaria*. Prussia marked 8 sgr. debit to Russia and Russia assessed 37 Kop. postage due in Finland (via a magenta manuscript marking on reverse).

sia on mail sent from Cuba via the United States by Bremen or Hamburg mail, a total of 13 sgr. The letter arrived at St. Petersburg on 2 March/14 March 1863, shown by a black circular receiving datestamp on the reverse, ПОЛУЧЕНО/2 МАР/1863/ВЕЧЕРЬ, indicating afternoon delivery. Here a Russian clerk marked in magenta ink on the reverse that 37 Kop. was due. This amount converted the 8 sgr. Prussian debit to 27 Kop. and added 10 Kop. Russian internal fee. The correct postage due should have been 53 Kop. There is no Jakobstad arrival datestamp on this cover.

North German Union mail

An unpaid letter from Finland to the United States by the North German Union mail is shown in Figure 35. This envelope, which now lacks the letter contents, was posted



Figure 35. 17 September 1868 unpaid envelope, now without the letter contents, sent from Helsingfors (Helsinki in Swedish) to Winona, Minnesota, in the North German Union mail. St. Petersburg marked the letter unpaid with the black boxed handstamp. Prussia marked 3 sgr. debit to the United States. Letter carried on the HAPAG *Hammonia II* from Hamburg to New York. Chicago exchange office marked 28¢ postage due in depreciated greenback notes, repeated at destination in pencil notation.

in Helsingfors (Swedish name for Helsinki) on 17 September 1868 (small black circular datestamp in the middle of the cover) and was addressed to Winona, Minnesota. It was endorsed on the left side with the routing instructions, “Via St. Petersburg/and Bremen.” At St. Petersburg it was marked at top right with a black boxed handstamp, **НЕ ФРАНКИРОВАНО**, indicating that the letter was “unfranked” or unpaid. The letter was sent to Prussia. A red orange double-circle datestamp on the reverse, **AUS RUSSLAND/PORTO/21 9 II/68/ über BUR. XI.BRG.**, shows the date the letter was processed on the Prussian rail line Eisenbahnpost No. XI, Eydtkuhnen to Bromberg section (21 September), and that the letter was unpaid (the word “PORTO”). The train clerk marked a blue crayon “3” on the reverse, indicating that the Prussian transit fee of 3 sgr. was not paid. Since the next German steamship to New York was departing from Hamburg, the letter was sent there to be made up in the overseas mail. The large blue handstamped **3** struck in the lower left corner was applied on the train to Hamburg and showed the NGU debit to the United States under the convention for the transit fees from Russia, 3 sgr.

The letter was in the mail that left Hamburg 23 September on the HAPAG steamship *Hammonia II* and arrived at New York on 6 October 1868. Since the letter was in a closed mail bag destined for the Chicago exchange office, it received no New York datestamp. At the Chicago exchange office it received a small black circular datestamp in the upper right corner, **CHICAGO/OCT/8/DIRECT**, showing arrival there on 8 October. The word “DIRECT” showed the letter came by the NGU direct route and not via England, which determined the rate. The Chicago exchange office clerk struck on the left side the black handstamp, **28/U.S.NOTES**, to indicate the postage due in depreciated greenback currency. This amount consisted of 18¢ unpaid direct rate plus 5¢ unpaid letter fine plus 5¢ premium to convert coin to notes. The letter was sent on to Winona, where the postmaster wrote in pencil above the Chicago postage due marking, “Du 28” since the Chicago handstamp marking was not fully inked and could easily have been misread to 23¢ due. A pencil dock-

eting notation on the reverse shows the letter was received on 10 October 1868.

Figure 36, the last cover I will describe, is a cover from Finland franked with Finnish stamps and sent to the United States in the NGU mail. This envelope, which now lacks the letter contents, comes from the same correspondence as Figure 35. It was posted in Helsingfors on 5 May 1870 (small black circular datestamp canceling each stamp) and was addressed to Winona, Minnesota. The routing instruction just below the address reads “Via Bremen.” The letter was prepaid with an 8 pennia black on green 1867, a 20 pennia black on blue 1866, and two rose on lilac rose 40 pennia 1866 stamps, making the 108 pennia rate to the United States over the NGU direct route via Bremen or Hamburg. This amount consisted of 28 pennia internal and 80 pennia foreign fees, both figures written in black ink above the stamps.

The cover was sent to St. Petersburg and processed in the 7th dispatch division of the St. Petersburg post office on 26 April/8 May 1870, shown by a black double-circle datestamp on the right side. A red crayon “5” was marked to show the credit to the NGU for transit fees beyond Russia. The letter was then sent to Germany and handled on the Prussian railroad receiving on the left side above the stamps a red orange double-circle datestamp, **AUS RUSSLAND/Franco/9 5 II/70/ über BUR. XI.BRG.** This showed the date (9 May) the letter was processed on the Prussian railroad Eisenbahnpost No. XI, Eydtkuhnen to Bromberg section, and (with the word “FRANCO”) that the letter was paid. Because the letter was addressed to go via Bremen, the NGU direct route, it was sent to Bremen. Here it was marked with the black **FRANCO** handstamp tying the 8 pennia stamp. The letter left Bremerhaven on 11 May by the North German Lloyd steamship *Hermann*, arriving at New York on 26 May 1870. There is no New York datestamp, indicating the letter was probably in a closed mail bag directed to the Chicago exchange office. No other markings appear on the envelope so we don’t know when it reached Winona.



Figure 36. 5 May 1870 envelope without letter contents from Helsingfors to Winona, Minnesota, from the same correspondence as Figure 35, here prepaid 108 pennia, the rate by the NGU direct route, by four Finland stamps: an 8 pennia black on green 1867, a 20 pennia black on blue 1866, and two rose on lilac rose 40 pennia 1866 stamps. Russia marked 5 groschen credit to NGU for all transit fees. Carried by NGL *Hermann* from Bremerhaven to New York, probably in a closed mail bag opened at the Chicago exchange office.

Conclusion

Classic covers between the United States and Russia (including Finland) are difficult to find and sometimes challenging to interpret, which is probably why this subject has not previously been addressed in the literature. A listing of the covers I have seen in auction catalogs and in private collections is included as Appendix B at the end of this article. The listing is arranged in the same manner as in this article; i.e., according to the postal conventions under which the covers traveled to the Russian territories. This is not an all-inclusive listing, as there were surely sale catalogs that I was unable to examine. Although this listing is almost twice as large as the one prepared by Charles Starnes in 1975, the data compares well with the percentages of covers (by the various postal conventions) that he listed. For each cover, the listing in Appendix B shows the date, origin and destination, the rate, the method of payment (including the Scott number of the stamps, if any) and an auction citation or other reference, where one is known. Because of the high value stamps on many of the covers, some have been sold numerous times in different auctions. This is especially true of the Pierce correspondence, which yielded many covers. Hopefully, this listing will allow readers to determine if their covers are a part of the record.

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APPENDIX A: RUSSIAN LETTER RATES TO THE UNITED STATES, 1843-1875

The Russian postal rate data presented below was collected from *The St. Petersburg Journal* by Hans Kupec. He published this information in three German-language volumes, *Postgeschichte Kaiserreich Russland*, during 2006-07. Apparently, rate summary data was published each year in the St. Petersburg newspaper, but the information came from a report of the previous year. Thus, if you were looking for a rate in 1860, you had to use the information Kupec listed under 1861. To make this information easier to use, I have changed the year headings to represent the actual year when the rate was in effect.

Before 1843, the rates to America are very complicated and not route dependent. Published rates before 1843 are not included in this summary. On 21 May/2 June 1843, a postal convention between Prussia and Russia was signed at St. Petersburg, establishing rates, currency and weight equivalents to be used for letter mail between the two countries and beyond. Rates per 1 Prussian loth; rate progression 1 loth, 1½ loth, 2 loth, 2½ loth, etc.; 1 sgr. = 3.25 Silver Kopeck (Kop.).

1843

- Via Netherlands (Emmerich) – 52¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 9 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)
- Via Belgium (Aachen) – 52¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 9 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)
- Via Hamburg and American carriage – 52¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 9 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)
- Via Hamburg and London, then steamer to U.S. – 159½ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 9 sgr. Prussia + 37 sgr. Foreign)
- Via France – 101 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 sgr. Prussia + 18 sgr. Foreign)

1844: No rates listed

1845

- Via Netherlands (Emmerich) – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)
- Via Belgium (Aachen) – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)
- Via Hamburg and American carriage – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)
- Via Hamburg and London, then steamer to U.S. – 156¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 37 sgr. Foreign)
- Via France – 94½ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 18 sgr. Foreign)

1846: No rates listed

1847

Via England – 101 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 10 sgr. England + 10 sgr. Foreign)
No other routes shown

1848

Via France and French steamer – 91½ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 17 sgr. Foreign)

Via France and private ship – 63¾ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 8½ sgr. Foreign)
No other routes shown

1849

Via Netherlands (Emmerich) – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)

Via Belgium (Aachen) – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)

Via Hamburg and American carriage – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)

Via Hamburg and London, then steamer to U.S. – 156¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 37 sgr. Foreign)

Via France – 94½ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 18 sgr. Foreign)

Via England – 101 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 10 sgr. England + 10 sgr. Foreign)

1850: No rates listed

1851

Via Netherlands (Emmerich) – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)

Via Belgium (Aachen) – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)

Via Hamburg and American carriage – 49 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 4 sgr. Foreign)

Via Hamburg and London, then steamer to U.S. – 156¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 37 sgr. Foreign)

Via France – 94½ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 18 sgr. Foreign)

Via England – 101 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 10 sgr. England + 10 sgr. Foreign)

1852

Rates per 1 Prussian loth; rate progression 1 loth, 2 loth, 3 loth, etc.

Via England (PCM) – 65½ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 Kop. GAPU transit + 14 sgr. Foreign)

Via Bremen – 55¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 Kop. GAPU transit + 11 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via England – 127¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 Kop. GAPU transit + 33 sgr. Foreign)

1853: No rates listed

1854: No rates listed

1855

Via England (PCM) – 65½ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 Kop. GAPU transit + 14 sgr. Foreign)

Via Bremen – 46 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 Kop. GAPU transit + 8 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via England – 55¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 Kop. GAPU transit + 11 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via Bremen – 46 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 10 Kop. GAPU transit + 8 sgr. Foreign)

1856: No rates listed

1857

Rate progression became 1 loth, 2 loth, 3 loth, etc. Russian inland postage = 10 Kop.; GAPU transit postage = 3 sgr. (10 Kop.); together, 20 Kop. to which was added “foreign” fees

Via England (PCM) – 59 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)

Via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)

Via England (open mail) – 55¼ Kop. (11 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California (PCM) – 59 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via England and Panama – 109½ Kop. (27½ sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via England and US – 73 Kop. (16¼ sgr. Foreign)

1858: No rates listed

1859

Via England (PCM) – 59 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)

Via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)

Via England (open mail) – 55¼ Kop. (11 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California (PCM) – 59 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via England and Panama – 109 Kop. (27½ sgr. Foreign)

Oregon and California via England and US – 73 Kop. (16¼ sgr. Foreign)

1860

Via England (PCM) – 59 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)

Via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)
Via England (open mail) – 55¼ Kop. (11 sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California (PCM) – 59 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 109½ Kop. (27½ sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California via England and US – 73 Kop. (16¼ sgr. Foreign)

1861

Via England (PCM) – 56 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)
Via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)
Via England (open mail) – 55¼ Kop. (11 sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California (PCM) – 59 Kop. (12 sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California via Bremen – 46 Kop. (8 sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 109½ Kop. (27½ sgr. Foreign)
Oregon and California via England and US – 73 Kop. (16¼ sgr. Foreign)

1862: No rates listed

1863

Via England (PCM) – 59 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg – 46 Kop.
Via England (open mail) – 55¼ Kop.
Oregon and California (PCM) – 59 Kop.
Oregon and California via Bremen – 46 Kop.
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 109½ Kop.
Oregon and California via England and New York – 68¼ Kop.

1864

Via England (PCM) – 59 Kop.
Via Prussia (Bremen and Hamburg) – 46 Kop.
Oregon and California (PCM) – 59 Kop.
Oregon and California via American steamship (to New York) – 26½ Kop.
Oregon and California via British steamship (to New York) – 48½ Kop.

1865: No rates listed

1866

Via England (PCM) – 58 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 64 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg – 32 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 35 Kop.
Oregon and California via France – 70 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 76 Kop.
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 82 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 92 Kop.

1867

Via England (PCM) – 58 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 64 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg – 32 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 35 Kop.
Via France – 70 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 76 Kop.
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 82 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 92 Kop.

1868

Via England and Belgium – 34 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 38 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg – 26 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 28 Kop.
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 82 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 92 Kop.

1869

Via England and Belgium – 34 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 38 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg – 26 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 28 Kop.
Via France – to Russia unpaid – 76 Kop.
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 82 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 92 Kop.

1870

Via England and Belgium – 26 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 40 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg – 22 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 34 Kop.
Via France – to Russia unpaid – 76 Kop.
Oregon and California via England and Panama – 82 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 92 Kop.

1871

7½ gram = ½ loth German = ½ loth Russian; 10 gram = 3/5 loth German = almost ¾ loth Russian; 15 gram = 1 loth German = 1¼ loth Russian
Via Cologne and England via Austria – 26 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 40 Kop.
Via Cologne and England via Prussia – 26 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 40 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg via Austria – 22 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 32 Kop.
Via Bremen and Hamburg via Prussia – 22 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 34 Kop.

1872

Via Cologne and England via Austria – 26 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 40 Kop.
Via Cologne and England via Prussia – 19 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 36 Kop.

Via Bremen and Hamburg via Austria – 22 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 32 Kop.
 Via Bremen and Hamburg via Prussia – 18 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 30 Kop.
 Via France – 70 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 76 Kop.

1873

Via Cologne and Antwerp (direct to U.S.) – 15 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 20 Kop.
 Via Cologne and Ostend (via England) – 17 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 22 Kop.
 Via Bremen and Hamburg via Austria – 22 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 32 Kop.
 Via Bremen and Hamburg via Prussia – 18 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 28 Kop.
 Via France – 68 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 72 Kop.

1874

Via Cologne and Antwerp (direct to U.S.) – 15 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 20 Kop.
 Via Cologne and Ostend (via England) – 17 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 22 Kop.
 Via Bremen and Hamburg – 18 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 28 Kop.
 Via England – 22 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 23 Kop.
 Via France – 68 Kop. paid; to Russia unpaid – 72 Kop.

1875

GPU rate – 8 Kop. per 15 grams

Notes on the Kupec data: There may be some confusion about the rates from Russia to the United States listed by Kupec between the years 1845 and 1851. He shows what appears to be two conflicting rates as follows: “Via Hamburg and London, then steamer to U.S. – 156¼ Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 37 sgr. Foreign).” And “Via England – 101 Kop. (10 Kop. Russia + 8 sgr. Prussia + 10 sgr. England + 10 sgr. Foreign).” The first of these rates was via Hamburg to England and had an extremely high “Foreign” component, 37 sgr. (120 Kop.). Because of the Anglo-Prussian postal conventions in 1846 and 1852, increasingly more mail was sent through the rail system via Belgium and then cross-channel to England instead of via Hamburg and the Cuxhaven to London packet service. The second rate listed appears to be a rate for the route via Prussia through Belgium to England. The rate has a more reasonable “Foreign and England” combined component of 20 sgr. (65 Kop.). It appears that the rate via Hamburg, used during the earlier days of the British packet service from Cuxhaven to London, was retained even though by 1850 the route was seldom used and finally was withdrawn in early 1853.

Since mail from Russia to the United States during this period never showed markings indicating the prepayment, it is often quite difficult to determine how much was actually paid to send a letter.

APPENDIX B-1: COVERS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO RUSSIA (PRE UPU)

Date	From/to	Rate	Method of payment	Reference
Bremen mail				
21 May 1853	Honolulu/Addafer, Estonia	33	prepaid in cash	Figure 3
14 Sep 1859	Meyersville, TX/Dorpat, Estonia	29	24, 25A, 29, 35(2)	ex Starnes
5 Apr 1861	Brunswick, ME/St. Petersburg	29	35(3)	Figure 7
12 Apr 1861	New York/St. Petersburg	29	unpaid	Figure 6
29 Nov 1864	Thompson, Ohio/Kertch	29	65, treated as unpaid	882 RAS 2126
20 Jun 1867	Gorham, ME/St. Petersburg	20	35(2)	7-90 R.Kauf, 396
British mail				
11 April 1853	Philadelphia/St. Petersburg	5	9(2), 11A	Figure 10
31 Mar 1854	Philadelphia/St. Petersburg	5	9(2), 11A	998 RAS 305
19 Dec 1854	Philadelphia/St. Petersburg	5	9(2), 11A	748 RAS 642
1 Nov 1856	Salt Lake City, UT/St. Petersburg	21	17(2)	Risvold 572
13 Apr 1861	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	21	24, 35(2)	Figure 11
2 Sep 1862	Salem, MS/London, fwd to St. P	24	70	831 RAS 2291

Date	From/to	Rate	Method of payment	Reference
Prussian mail				
5 Nov 1855	Philadelphia/St. Petersburg	37	9, 17(3)	Figure 16
1 Mar 1856	NYC/St. Petersburg	2x37	unpaid	50 Rumsey 672
25 Mar 1856	NYC/St. Petersburg	37	unpaid	ex Starnes
6 May 1856	NYC/St. Petersburg	37	unpaid	774 RAS 1131
4 Aug 1857	NYC/St. Petersburg	37	unpaid	50 Rumsey 556
4 May 1858	Washington, DC/St. Petersburg	6x37	24(2), 32/33(22)	784 RAS 2096
6 Sep 1858	Hartford/St. Petersburg	37	24, 36(3)	6-08 Investphila
13 Sep 1858	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	37	24, 36(3)	private collection
2 Jul 1859	Washington, DC/St. Petersburg	37	24, 36(3)	ex Starnes
7 Mar 1860	Boston/St. Petersburg	37	prepaid in cash	ex McDonald
13 Jun 1860	Boston/Sevastapol	37	24, 36(3)	774 RAS 1132
7 Aug 1860	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	37	24, 36, 37	private collection
11 Aug 186x	NYC/Grobin, Latvia	37	24, 36, 37	831 RAS 2177
17 Sep 1860	Washington, DC/Grobin, Latvia	37	24, 36(3)	831 RAS 2161
2 Apr 1861	NYC/St. Petersburg	37	unpaid	Figure 12
6 Apr 1861	NYC/St. Petersburg	37	unpaid	ex White
25 Jun 1861	Hartford/St. Petersburg	37	24, 36(3)	882 RAS 2124
~28 Jun 1861	Boston/St. Petersburg	30	38	Figure 18
19 Jul 1861	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	2x37	20(2), 37(3)	Figure 17
28 Feb 1862	Gorham, ME/St. Petersburg	37	63, 69, 70b	995 RAS 2230
15 Apr 1862	Salem, MA/St. Petersburg	30	71	6-90 Christies 2107
6 May 1862	Salem, MA/St. Petersburg	37	63(2), 71, 75	831 RAS 2318
27 May 1862	Salem, MA/St. Petersburg	2x37	63(2), 69, 71(2)	6-90 Christies 2108
6 Jun 1862	Salem, MA/St. Petersburg	2x37	63, 65, 68, 71(2)	6-90 Christies 2106
25 Jun 1862	Gorham, ME/St. Petersburg	37	63, 69, 70b	995 RAS 2229
30 Jun 1862	Salem, MA/St. Petersburg	37	63, 65(2), 71	private collection
28 Jul 1862	Gorham, ME/St. Petersburg	37	unpaid	private collection
22 Apr 1863	NYC/Nikolaevsk-on-Amur	37	63(2), 71, 76	Figure 20
19 Feb 1864	Springfield, MA/St. Petersburg	35	71, 76	6-08 Investphila
18 Jul 186x	Gorham, ME/St. Petersburg	35	63, 68, 70	private collection
8 Sep 1865	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	35	65, 71, 73	6-90 Christies 2110
x Sep 1865	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	35	71, 76	ex Radin
14 Sep 186x	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	35	71, 76	6-90 Christies 2105
13 Mar 1866	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	2x35	68, 71(2)	ex Starnes
30 May 1866	NYC/St. Petersburg	35	71, 76	285 Bennett 156
18 Jan 1867	Salem, MA/St. Petersburg	35	65, 73, 77(2)	Figure 19
French mail				
20 Nov 1852	Honolulu/Addafer, Estonia	33	prepaid in cash	Figure 21
16 Oct 1857	Philadelphia/Sevastapol	30	prepaid in cash	Figure 22
15 Jan 1858	Philadelphia/Sevastapol, fwd	30	prepaid in cash	private collection
12 Aug 1859	Charleston, SC/St. Petersburg	2	24(2)	private collection
2 Jun 1860	New Orleans/St. Petersburg	2	24(2)	Figure 24
13 Aug 1863	Dover, NH/St. Petersburg	30	71	6-1990 Christies 2104
2 Oct 1865	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	2x30	65(2), 70, 71	ex Starnes
2 Oct 1865	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	30	71	Figure 23
9 Oct 1865	Portland, ME/St. Petersburg	30	68, 70	886 RAS 3108
x x 1866	NYC/St. Petersburg	2	73	private collection
21 May 1866	Boston/St. Petersburg	30	71	285 Bennett 157
Hamburg mail				
12 Sep 1864	Washington, DC/Goldingen, Latvia	29	65, treated as unpaid	Figure 25
NGU mail				
7 Mar 186x	NYC/Moscow	30	68(3)	private collection
13 May 1871	Boston/Cronstadt	12	146, 147, 150	Frajola 1989, 595

Date	From/to	Rate	Method of payment	Reference
16 May 1871	Providence/Cronstadt	12	151	Figure 28
31 Jul 1871	Providence/Cronstadt	12	151	Frajola 1989, 595
8 Dec 1871	Assumption, IL/St. Petersburg	12	146, 147, 150	private collection
14 Sep 187x	Sea Plain, NJ/Cronsadt	10	161	Frajola 1989, 597
11 May 1875	Woolwich, ME/Cronstadt	10	161	Figure 30

APPENDIX B-2: COVERS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FINLAND (PRE UPU)

Date	From/to	Rate	Method of payment	Reference
Bremen mail				
x Apr 1866	NYC/Jakobstad	29	unpaid	private collection
~8 Jun 1867	NYC/Jakobstad	29	unpaid	Figure 32
x Jul 1867	NYC/Jakobstad	29	unpaid	private collection
British mail				
5 Aug 1845	NYC/Uleåborg	?	prepaid in cash	private collection
Prussian mail				
14 May 1861	NYC/Helsingfors	37	18, 26(2), 38	831 RAS 2190
1 Dec 1862	Ottawa, IL/Wiborg	37	unpaid	Figure 33
6 Apr 1865	NYC/Jakobstad	29	unpaid	private collection
Hamburg mail				
x Feb 1863	NYC/Jakobstad	34	unpaid	private collection
NGU mail				
27 Sep 1871	Providence/Wiborg	12	151	ex Starnes
24 Jan 1873	NYC/Christinestad	11	150, 1¢ missing	private collection
1 Jul 1873	Baltimore/Nikolaistad	11	148(2)	private collection

SPECIAL FEATURE

ANNALS OF THE WAR OF 1812: RUNNING THE BLOCKADE OF NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT

STEVEN WALSKE

In recognition of the 200th anniversary of the largely-ignored War of 1812, it seems appropriate to mark this second centenary with some short articles about interesting covers from the period. The author's focus is on letters that passed through the British blockade of the United States between 1813 and 1815. Many of these letters are unimpressive in appearance, but their stories can be fantastic.

The United States declared war on Great Britain for largely economic reasons on June 18, 1812. Almost simultaneously, Great Britain had suspended most of the offensive commercial practices, so the British were puzzled by the declaration of war. Believing the United States to be mistaken in their *casus belli*, and stymied by one to two month communication delays between Europe and North America, the British military reaction was slow to develop.

After President Madison rejected a British proposal to avoid hostilities in October 1812, the British authorized the capture of American shipping in the open sea, but still

refrained from action along the North American coast. Finally, on November 27, Britain ordered a blockade of the United States. The admiral on station received this order in January 1813, and then implemented the blockade in stages, starting with the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays on February 6. This was followed by the New York area and Long Island Sound on May 26 and the southern coastline on September 1. Hoping that New England, which did not support the war, would break with the rest of the United States, the British delayed implementing a blockade from Rhode Island to Maine until April 25, 1814. From that date until March 6, 1815, there was a full commercial blockade of the U.S. Atlantic coast. There was also a nominal blockade of the Gulf coast, never effectively implemented.

Mail to or from American ports had four options to cross the British blockade. First, it could be carried on a blockade runner that evaded the blockading fleet under peril of capture or destruction. This is the rarest type of blockade-run mail. Second, it could enter or leave from a not-yet-blockaded American port, and reach the blockaded area by inland mail routes. Third, because the British were still fighting Napoleonic France on the Iberian Peninsula and needed wheat and flour to feed Wellington's army, a number of merchant ships were licensed to carry authorized supplies to or from Spain, free from interference by British blockaders. These licensed ships also carried personal correspondence.

The fourth (and most popular) method was to send a letter on a cartel ship. Cartels were unarmed sailing ships which carried returning POWs or official correspondence under a flag of truce, which made them exempt from capture by the British Navy or by privateers. They are called "cartels" because their exemptions were set out in the Barclay-Mason Cartel (or agreement) of May 14, 1813. Cartel ships were the preferred alternative for private correspondence.

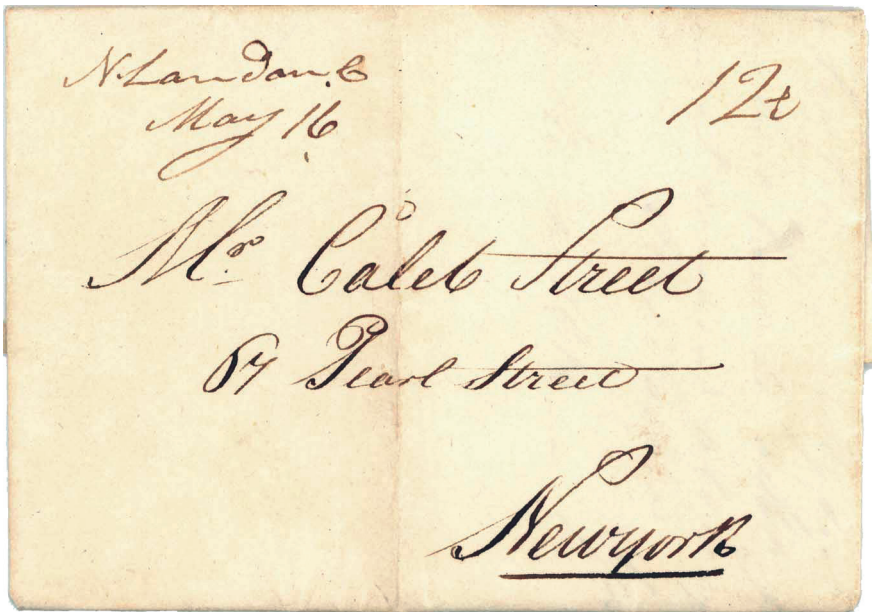


Figure 1. March 28, 1814 letter from Curacao to New York City, run through British blockade and posted at New London, Connecticut, on May 16.

Figure 1 illustrates a typical example of blockade-run mail from this period. It is not particularly flashy, but does contain the original letter, which adds clarity and interest. In addition, the cover shows entry into the United States through New London, Connecticut, on May 16, 1814, an important clue in deciphering its story.

The letter in Figure 1 was written by A.A. Beutner in Curacao on March 28, 1814. It is addressed to his father-in-law in New York City. Beutner started his letter with a complaint:

On the 13th of last month I wrote you my last by the way of St. Thomas, to which Mabel added some lines to her sisters. These letters fell into the hands of the Captain of the American privateer the Comet who took the vessel by which they were sent, and who, I hope, will have had politeness enough to forward them on his arrival in the United States.

The *Comet*, a 187-ton schooner with 14 guns and 120 men, was captained by Thomas Boyle out of Baltimore. *Niles' Register* lists it as the fifth most successful American privateer, with 30 captures from July 1812 to April 1814.¹ On February 26, 1814, she reported nine vessels recently captured in the West Indies, all of which were divested of their valuables and sunk. Thus, it is likely that the impolite Captain Boyle consigned Beutner's February 13 letter to a watery grave.

Beutner continued in his letter:

I now avail myself of an opportunity for the above mentioned plan...The opportunity by which this is to go, is so quite unexpected that you must excuse my writing you only a few lines.

So, seizing the chance to send his letter via St. Thomas, Beutner sent it off on March 28. At St. Thomas, as shall be evident, it was transshipped to the nearby Swedish island of St. Bartholomew's (also known as St. Bart's) to catch a ride to the United States.

Turning to the May 16 New London manuscript postmark, a search of newspapers around that date yielded the Wednesday, May 18 *Connecticut Gazette*, which reported that:

Saturday arrived the Swedish sloop *Carle*, Griffin, master, 13 days from St. Bartholomews; a hired cartel, with 33 Americans, who have been prisoners. She was brought to between Montaug and Fisher's Island, by La Hogue, and ordered off, but it being represented to Capt. Capel that they were destitute of provisions, he directed that the passengers should be landed on Fisher's Island. On doubling the west end of the island, Capt. G. finding the tide and wind favorable, steered his course directly in for the harbor. The *Maidstone* and *Sylph*, who were to the westward, perceiving this, gave chase and fired several divisions at her without effect, the shot falling short.

Thus, the *Carle*, a Swedish ship hired to bring back 33 American prisoners, supposedly under the protection of a cartel, left St. Bart's on May 1 and was denied entry into New London on May 14 by the HMS *La Hogue* (a 74-gun ship of the line commanded by Thomas Capel). Through some trickery, the *Carle* was still able to run into New London under fire from the HMS *Maidstone* (36 guns) and the HMS *Sylph* (16 guns). New London was heavily guarded because Stephen Decatur's three-ship American squadron had been trapped there since June 1, 1813 and the Royal Navy was determined to keep it from getting back to sea.

The Figure 1 letter was carried on that exciting trip, and was mailed two days later, on May 16, in New London. It was rated 12½¢ due for the 120 miles to New York City. The 2 cents ship fee often seen on this type of mail was not assessed, most likely because the *Carle*'s master brought the mail to the post office well after his arrival, and thus the letter was treated as if it originated in New London.

Acknowledgements

John Olenkiewicz and Richard Frajola provided essential assistance in period newspaper research.

Endnote

1. Timothy S. Good, editor, *American Privateers in the War of 1812: The Vessels and Their Prizes as Recorded in Niles' Weekly Register* (McFarland & Co., Jefferson, N.C., 2012). ■

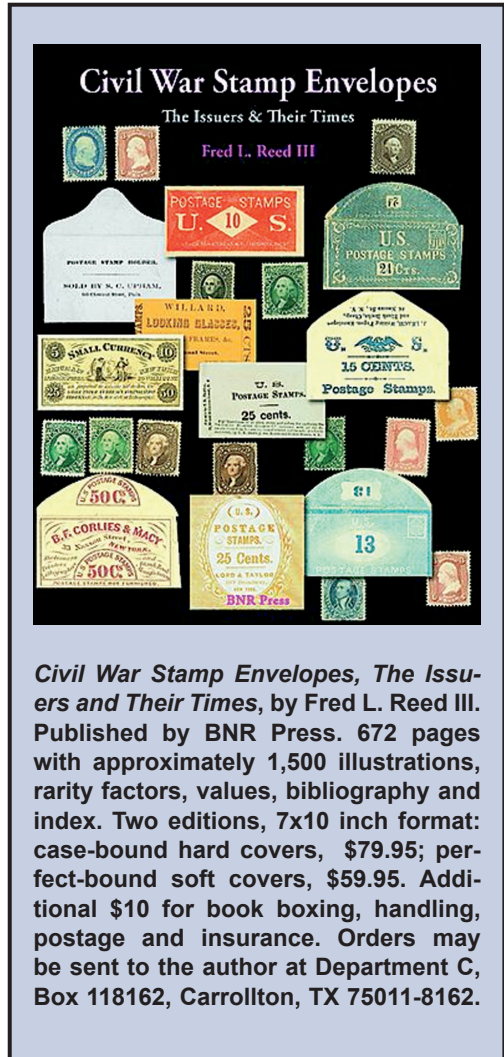
**CIVIL WAR STAMP ENVELOPES, THE ISSUERS AND THEIR TIMES,
BY FRED L. REED III**

REVIEWED BY SCOTT R. TREPEL

During the first year of the American Civil War, unexpected Confederate military successes and severe disruptions of trade had an unsettling effect on the North's financial markets. The United States Treasury suspended all specie payments in December 1861, creating even greater anxiety and causing speculators and the public to hoard silver coins. The devaluation of paper currency against gold and silver added fuel to the fire. By mid-1862 a vast quantity of silver and even copper-nickel coinage had been removed from circulation. In an era when a nickel, dime or quarter had significant purchasing power, the shortage of coins for small transactions was an extreme inconvenience for the public and for business owners.

The coin shortage of 1862 led to private stop-gap alternatives in the form of copper tokens and scrip. Postage stamps, which had a fixed value in denominations of less than one dollar, were also used as an exchange medium, but they had obvious physical shortcomings. Continuous handling of a small piece of gummed paper quickly rendered a stamp useless, and the Post Office Department refused to exchange new stamps for damaged ones.

To remedy the coin shortage, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase proposed the idea of postage-stamp currency. President Lincoln signed the congressional Postage Currency Act on July 17, 1862. The act was drafted and passed without consulting the Post Office Department, and its vague wording seemed to authorize the use of postage stamps as currency, rather than authorizing a special issue of postage currency. In response to the published reports of the new Postage Currency Act in July 1862, the public demand for postage stamps exploded. It is reported that the supply of stamps in New York City was depleted, and Postmaster General Blair ordered post offices to restrict sales "to such as may be needed by the public for prepayment of postage, the ordinary demand at any office being the guide."



Civil War Stamp Envelopes, The Issuers and Their Times, by Fred L. Reed III. Published by BNR Press. 672 pages with approximately 1,500 illustrations, rarity factors, values, bibliography and index. Two editions, 7x10 inch format: case-bound hard covers, \$79.95; perfect-bound soft covers, \$59.95. Additional \$10 for book boxing, handling, postage and insurance. Orders may be sent to the author at Department C, Box 118162, Carrollton, TX 75011-8162.

During the period when postage stamps were circulating as a medium of exchange, printers and stationers supplied small envelopes that could be used to hold stamps, thus protecting them from handling. These are known as Civil War stamp envelopes. The face designs of the printed envelopes showed the denomination; that is, the total postage value of the stamps to be placed inside the envelope. Some bore the imprint of the printer or stationer. Like encased postage, many were used as advertising media and also show the name of the firm that distributed them for the convenience of customers.

Civil War Stamp Envelopes, the Issuers and Their Times, by Fred L. Reed III is a comprehensive catalog of Civil War stamp envelopes, listing 514 different varieties from 128 issuers. In addition to basic information about the envelopes, including a photograph of each variety, Reed provides an extraordinary amount of historical information about each issuer. This information will be of tremendous interest and value to philatelists and postal historians, even to those who have little or no interest in Civil War stamp envelopes.

To help Classics Society members appreciate how much relevant philatelic and postal history information is contained in Reed's book, here are some examples.

Several issuers were printers who produced Civil War patriotic envelopes and campaign envelopes. Reed provides extensive biographical and historical background on these publishers, information not found in the standard philatelic literature. For example, McNally & Co. (Chicago) and S. Raynor (New York City), publishers of Lincoln campaign envelopes, are discussed in great detail, including photos of their contemporary advertisements and their postal products. This fills the void in James Milgram's two picture books of campaign and Lincoln-design envelopes, which have no background information on the publishers. Reed's section on S.C. Upham is a fascinating history of this important 19th century publisher of patriotic envelopes and creator of counterfeit Confederate States stamps.

Some of the issuers have names familiar to postal historians: Van Benthuysen, American Express, Harnden's Express, Kinsley & Co. and National Express Co. Their stamp envelopes were distributed to customers and circulated as a form of advertising. Other envelope manufacturers were also involved in manufacturing postal envelopes for the Post Office Department, including George H. Reay.

The Reed book is a quality product. It is printed in black-and-white on glossy stock (somewhat lighter paper stock due to the large number of pages). There are some scattered typos, but that is a nitpick. The wealth of information and images in this book are what counts. And, unlike many printed books relevant to philately, this one is unlikely to become significantly outdated. ■

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ANSWER TO PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 241

Our problem cover from *Chronicle* 241, shown in Figure 1, is an 1886 envelope from Adelaide, South Australia, to San Francisco. It is franked with three two pence orange South Australia stamps (Scott 65) which are cancelled “SHIP MAIL ROOM/ADELAIDE/JY 10 86.” The cover bears a San Francisco receiving marking dated August 8 as well as a “US CHARGE TO COLLECT 5 CENTS” handstamp. The questions were: Why was this cover rated for a 5¢ collection from the addressee? And why would this franking make sense to the sender?

Perhaps because incoming foreign mail covers are out of scope for many *Chronicle* readers, we received not a single response—the first time this has happened in many issues.

The answer is as follows: Along with the other Australian Colonies (and New Zealand), South Australia joined the Universal Postal Union on October 1, 1891. Prior to that, South Australia did not have a postal treaty with the United States.

New South Wales, South Australia’s neighbor to the east, did have a treaty with the United States, governing mail carried directly between Sydney and San Francisco. The treaty rate for such carriage was 6 pence per half ounce. The 6d franking on the Figure 1 cover suggests it was an attempt to prepay the NSW rate.

Figure 1. Our problem cover from February was this envelope from South Australia to San Francisco, sent in 1886, franked with three 2d South Australia stamps, and marked for 5¢ collection from the recipient. The basic question was: Why?



The San Francisco exchange office recognized the inappropriateness of the prepayment by South Australia stamps, and rated the cover for 5¢ postage due—the proper rating (per half ounce) for an unpaid letter sent from a foreign country with no postal convention or agreement with the United States (see 1875 *Annual Report of the Postmaster General*, page XVII).

Interestingly, covers sent from South Australia to the United States via England during this era were not charged postage due upon arrival in New York. The UPU Convention of 1878, amended by the additional act of Lisbon, March 21, 1885 (as found at the

end of the U.S. 1887 *PL&R*, under “Postal Conventions,” pg. 18, Section VI, paragraph 6) states: “Every article of correspondence not bearing the stamp T is considered as prepaid and treated accordingly, unless there be an obvious error.” Thus, letters coming from a UPU-member country (e.g., Great Britain) to the U.S. without a “T” marking were considered fully prepaid and passed into the U.S. mails without postage due. Covers by either route are not common.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue, shown front and back in Figures 2 and 3, is a pretty little stampless envelope sent from Providence to Paris in 1854. On the front there is an “ETATS-UNIS. PAQ. BRIT. PARIS” double-circle datestamp in orange and a manuscript directive “per Steamer March 1st Via Liverpool” at bottom left. This is confirmed by the



Figure 2. Problem cover for this issue: a stampless envelope sent from Providence to Paris in 1854. Questions are: What postal convention was it sent under, what shipping line was used, what ship transported it and what the cost was to send and receive it?



Figure 3. Reverse of the Figure 2 cover.

“BOSTON MAR 1 Br. PKT.” handstamp on the reverse. From the given information and the various rating markings on this cover, we should be able to tell what postal convention it was sent under, what shipping line was used, what the cost was to send and receive it, and what ship transported it. We’re hoping to receive more responses to this one. Have at it! ■

ADVERTISER INDEX

American Stamp Dealers Association.....	97
Columbian Stamp Company Inc.	98
Doubleday Postal History.	164
Friends of YPLF	166
H. R. Harmer, Inc.	Inside Front Cover
Harmers International Inc.	167
Leonard H. Hartmann	108
Steven Hines	116
Eric Jackson.....	167
Kelleher Auctions.....	104, 150
Kristal Kare, Inc.....	147
James E. Lee	108
Philatelic Foundation	102
Stanley M. Piller & Associates	197
Regency-Superior	200
Schuyler Rumsey Philatelic Auctions.	Inside Back Cover
Spink.	148-149
Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.....	100-101, Back Cover

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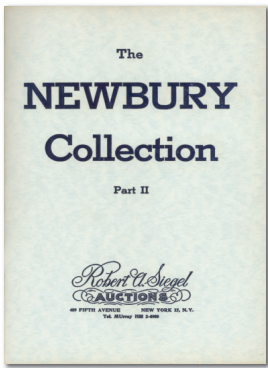
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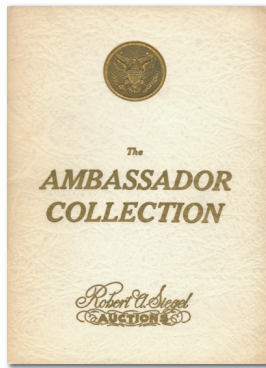
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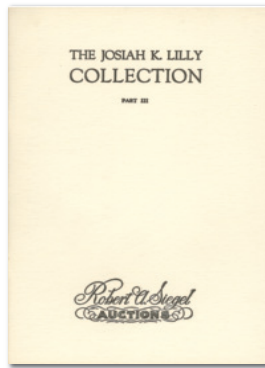
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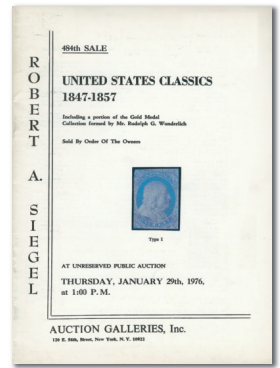
Newbury 1961



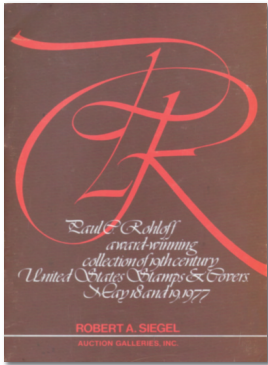
Ambassador 1966



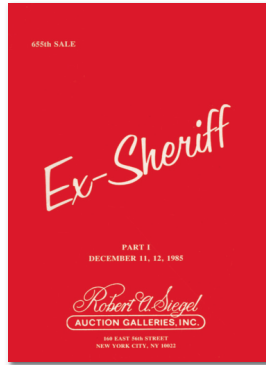
Lilly 1967



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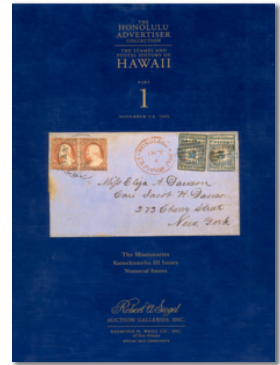
Rohloff 1977



Sheriff 1985



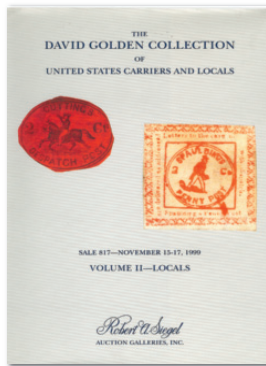
Kapiloff 1992



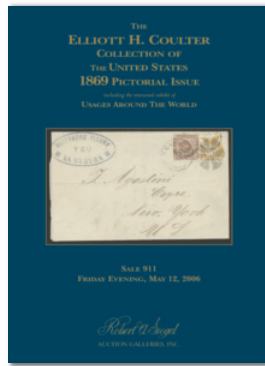
Honolulu Advertiser 1995



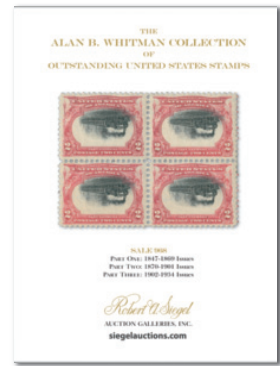
Zoellner 1998



Golden 1999



Coulter 2006



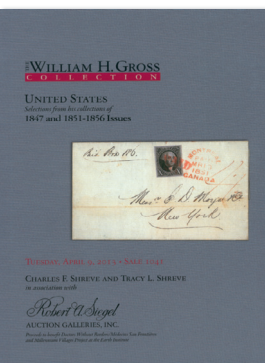
Whitman 2009



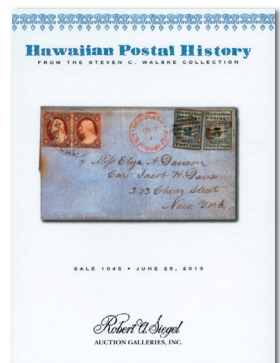
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