## The

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A mixed postal-fiscal franking: The 3¢ 1869 stamp pays the letter-rate postage and the $2 \phi$ Internal Revenue stamp pays the proprietary medicine tax on the contents of this striking illustrated advertising envelope, which carried a shipment of "Dr. Ball's Medicated Paper," good for what ails you. Read the full story in our 1869 section, page 365.

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# The Chrontele <br>  

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## THE EDITOR'S PAGE MICHAEL LAURENCE

## IN THIS ISSUE

This is a fat issue with much new information, including contributions from three authors who are new to the pages of the Chronicle. There's no hard data to back this up, but I think that's a record. Three new authors in a single issue certainly suggests vitality in the field of classic U.S. stamps and postal history.

The colorful envelope featured on our cover takes the concept of mixed franking to a higher league. The $3 \notin 1869$ stamp on this advertising envelope pays the letter-rate postage while the $2 \phi$ Internal Revenue stamp pays the proprietary medicine tax on the contents, a shipment of "medicated paper." Thus our cover cover represents a mixed postal-fiscal franking. For more on this fascinating item, see the write-up in our 1869 section (page 365) by Paul S. Harter, one of the newcomers just mentioned, whose initial contribution to this Chronicle is warmly welcomed.

The military expedition dispatched in 1857-58 to restore Federal control over the Utah Territory has been called the first American civil war. In an article starting on page 337, Western Mails editor Steven Walske examines this conflict from the perspective of the postal services that were established to support the troops sent out to quell the Mormon rebellion. Walske presents some wonderful artifacts from this almost bloodless war, including an iconic cover bearing the "FORT BRIDGER, U.T." handstamped straightline, which seems to have been used for only one day and survives on just five covers.

As a side note, Walske's article answers a question posed in the pages of this Chronicle almost half a century ago by the late David T. Beals III. In a Chronicle article in 1970, Beals (who was then associate editor of our 1851 section and the reigning expert on classic U.S. military and fort markings) featured the cover that Walske presents in this issue as Figure 8 (page 346). Beals then asked readers to help him decipher its odd manuscript postmark.

Walske has now done so, and Dave Beals would surely be pleased. He left a good portion of his estate to a charitable trust that helps fund postal history research projects. Our Society has been a major beneficiary. Among many projects, the Beals trust has aided our efforts to arrange and scan the Travers papers and to make their information universally available on line.

The rich and colorful field of U.S. stamp essays, lightly explored when compared to the classic stamp mainstream, continues to yield new discoveries and new insights. In a well-illustrated article in our Essays and Proofs section this issue (page 348), overseas member Jan Hofmeyr examines anomalies in the current catalog descriptions of the essays for the first-design $3 \phi$ Washington stamp of 1861 . The problems go back to the original Brazer nomenclature that was picked up by Scott when essays were first added to the specialized catalog.

The author uses high-quality enlargements to clearly delineate the design differences between what he characterizes as the Primary and Secondary dies. In conclusion he suggests a clean-up of the descriptive confusion and a renumbering of the essays to better reflect how the dies evolved into the issued stamp. Hofmeyer, who collects everything relating to the genesis and development of the $3 申 1861$ stamps, hails from the Western Cape (concluded on page 391)

# REGISTRATION OF STAMPLESS COVERS 

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M. D.

This is the first of a series of articles that will document the registration of mail from 1845 (when unofficial registration began in Philadelphia) up to the beginning of the Civil War, when the 1857 stamps were replaced by the 1861 series. This initial article discusses registration of stampless covers and will provide the basis for a new section in the American Stampless Cover Catalog, currently being revised by this Society. An article planned for the 1847 section in February will discuss registered covers franked with 1847 stamps. One or more additional articles will follow.

From November 1, 1845 until official registration began on July 1, 1855, an unofficial system of registration, beginning in Philadelphia, spread throughout the country. There was no charge for this service and often no markings. It is likely that individual postmasters, when informed by a sender that a letter contained valuables, noted this information on the waybill that accompanied letter shipments between post offices. By this means the receiving post office could give valuable letters special attention.

As will be shown in this article, only a few months after the Philadelphia registry system was organized, there is evidence that some valuable letters were marked upon mailing, showing origin postal markings indicating registration. Only some of these unofficially registered letters bore markings on the cover front. Many, perhaps most, were indicated only on the waybill. But today we can identify as unofficially registered only those letters on which some evidence of registration was actually marked on the cover.

In 1855 the Post Office Department was authorized to register letters for a 5申 cash fee. This began the official registry system. But as early as 1828 , Postmaster General John McLean foresaw that a system of registering valuable letters might prove useful: ${ }^{1}$

> It may be advantageous to the public and the Department, at some future time, for it to become the insurer of monies transmitted in the mail, being satisfied to charge a high rate of postage in such cases, to indemnify the risks incurred. To guard against frauds, this responsibility must necessarily be limited to packets mailed at the principal offices, under such regulations as show the greatest possible security.

Decades later, when registration was officially enacted, the law stipulated that registered letters were to be marked as such on the front of the cover or envelope. After July 1,1855 , when the fee was initiated, registered letters were to be numbered at the mailing office and listed in a special ledger. By this time, stamps of the 1851 issue and stamped envelopes of 1853 were in circulation, so the majority of officially registered letters bear stamps. Since the stamps and stamped entire envelopes were available before 1855, many covers with stamps (or entires) are unofficially registered covers. A few stampless registered covers also exist dated after July 1855, so some stampless covers are officially registered covers. McLean's vision also foresaw indemnification, but in fact in the United States no indemnification was available for many decades.

Table 1 (next two pages) presents information about the registry markings, both handstamped and manuscript, that have been recorded on stampless covers. The listing includes all the towns from which stampless registered covers are known. Following long-standing

| Town and State | Marking | Date | Reference |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mobile, Ala. | "Register" or "Registered" in ms. | 1855 |  |
| Mobile, Ala. | REGISTERED/No. in box, black, 34 x 9 mm | 1855 | Figure 1 |
| Montgomery, Ala. | REGISTERED. black SL, 34x9 | 1854 | Figure 2 |
| Dry Creek, Cal. | "Registered" in ms. | 1857 |  |
| Monterey, Cal. | "Registered" and number in ms. | 1857 |  |
| San Francisco, Cal. | "Registered" and number in ms. | 1851 |  |
| San Francisco, Cal. | "Registered" in ms. | 1852-54 |  |
| Granley, Ct. | "Money Letter" in ms. | 1854 |  |
| New Haven, Ct. | "Registered" and number in ms. |  |  |
| Wilmington, Del. | "X" or "Reg" in ms. | 1846 | Figure 3 |
| Wilmington, Del. | "Reg" and "Registered" in ms. | 1849-51 |  |
| Washington, D.C. | Number in ms., renumbered at Phila., Red R |  |  |
| Butler, Ga. | "Registered" in ms. |  |  |
| Louisville, Ky. | "Registered" and number in ms. | 1855-56 | Figure 4 |
| Morehead, Ky. | " 5 cts register fee pd" in ms. | 1858 |  |
| Donaldsonville, La. | "Registered" and number in ms. | 1852 |  |
| New Orleans, La. | REGISTERED red SL 39x4, number in ms. | 1851-55 | Figure 5 |
| New Orleans, La. | REGISTERED black SL 39x4, ms. number | 1855 |  |
| Fairfield, Me. | "Paid Registered Fee 5 cts " in ms. | 1855 |  |
| Kennebunk, Me. | "Registered" in ms. | 1854 |  |
| Fitchburg, Mass. | Number and PAID 5 on free franked cover | 1860 |  |
| New Bedford, Ma. | "Registered" in ms. | 1852 |  |
| Detroit, Mich. | MONEY REGISTERED DETROIT, oval, black, $32 \times 231 / 2$ | 1854 | Figure 6 |
| Frankenmuth, Mi. | "Registered" with number and "PAID 5" in ms. |  |  |
| Canton, Miss. | "Registered" and number in ms. |  |  |
| Charlestown, Miss. | "Registry Paid 5" in ms. | 1855 | Figure 7 |
| St. Louis, Mo. | "Register" in ms. | 1851 |  |
| Dennis Vill, N.J. | "Regesterd" in ms., used with red R of Phila | 1854 |  |
| Fulton, N.Y. | "Money Letter" in ms. |  |  |
| Geneva, N.Y. | " R " in ms., used with blue R of Phila. | 1850 |  |
| Granville, N.Y. | "Registered" in ms. |  |  |
| Odgensburgh, N.Y. | "Registered" and "Money" in ms. |  |  |
| Chillicothe, Ohio | "Registered" in ms. | 1855 |  |
| Cleveland, Ohio | MONEY LETTER red oval, 30x18 | 1851 | Figure 8 |
| Cleveland, Ohio | MONEY LETTER black oval, 30x18 | 1851 | Figure 8 |
| Cleveland, Ohio | R, black 10x12 | 1852 | Figure 8 |
| Columbus, Ohio | REGISTERED black SL 59x5 | 1855 | Figure 9 |
| Springfield, Ohio | "Registered" in ms. | 1855 | Figure 9 |
| Steubenville, Ohio | R, black, 10x101/2 | 1851 | Figure 10 |
| West Union, Ohio | " $R$ " in ms. | 1847 |  |
| Allentown, Pa. | "Reg" in ms. | 1847 |  |
| Table 1. Registered markings recorded on stampless covers, listed alphabetically by state and town. The text of the marking is described in the "Marking" column. SL=straightline, $\mathbf{C = c}=$ ircle, ms=manuscript. Manuscript markings are presented within quotation marks. "Reference" is to illustrations accompanying this article. |  |  |  |


| Town and State | Marking | Date | Reference |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bethlehem, Pa. | "Reg" in ms. | 1849 |  |
| Bloomsburg, Pa. | "X Registered" in ms. | 1851 |  |
| Brownsville, Pa. | Number in ms. | 1851 |  |
| Catasauqua, Pa . | "Registered" in ms. | 1854 |  |
| Carlisle, Pa . | "Registered" in ms. | 1850 |  |
| Columbia, Pa. | "Registered" in ms. | 1852 |  |
| Danville, Pa. | "Registered" in ms. | 1853 |  |
| Easton, Pa. | "Registered" in ms. |  |  |
| Easton, Pa. | Number in ms. | 1853-54 |  |
| Erie, Pa. | MONEY LETTER red SL, 3612x3 | 1850 | Figure 11 |
| Hamburg, Pa. | "Regis" in ms. |  |  |
| Harrisburgh, Pa. | "X" in ms. |  |  |
| Jersey Shore, Pa. | "Registered" or "Reg" in ms. | 1851-54 |  |
| Lancaster, Pa. | " R " in ms. | 1852-55 |  |
| Lehighton, Pa . | "Registered" in ms. | 1854 |  |
| Lewistown, Pa. | "Registered" in ms. with Phila. blue R | 1849 |  |
| Lewistown, Pa. | REGISTERED. black SL, $23 \times 21 / 2$ | 1850 | Figure 12 |
| Lewistown, Pa. | "Reg" in ms. with Phila. red R | 1853-54 |  |
| McVeytown, Pa. | "Registered" in ms. | 1851 |  |
| Mifflingtown, Pa. | "Reg" in ms. | 1851 |  |
| Morehead, Pa. | " 5 cts register fee pd" in ms. | 1855 |  |
| Philadelphia, Pa. | R in blue, $16 \times 18$ | 1845-49 | Figure 13 |
| Philadelphia, Pa . | R in blue, 16x18 | 1851 |  |
| Philadelphia, Pa . | R in blue, 10x11 | 1849-51 |  |
| Philadelphia, Pa . | R in red, 10x11 | 1851-54 |  |
| Philadelphia, Pa . | R in red, $12 \times 18$ | 1852 |  |
| Philadelphia, Pa. | "Registered" or "Reg" in ms. | 1851 |  |
| Pottstown, Pa. | "Reg" in ms. with Phila. red R | 1854 |  |
| Reading, Pa. | " R " in ms. | 1847 |  |
| Reading, Pa. | REGISTERED blue SL, 34x5 | 1852-53 | Figure 14 |
| Reading, Pa. | "R" and "Reg" in ms., with red R of Phila. | 1852 |  |
| Shirleysburg, Pa. | X in black, $12 \times 12$, also exists in ms. | 1853 | Figs. 15-16 |
| Tamaqua. Pa. | " X " in manuscript | 1848 | Figure 17 |
| Tamaqua, Pa . | "Registered" in ms.; "R" in ms. | 1849-50 | Figure 18 |
| Wilkesbarre, Pa. | "Registered" in ms., small blue R of Phila. | 1847 |  |
| Wilkesbarre, Pa. | Registered red SL, 39x $41 / 2$ | 1850 | Figure 19 |
| Wilkesbarre, Pa. | REGISTERED black SL, $32 \times 41 / 2$ | 1853 |  |
| York, Pa. | "X Reg" in ms. |  |  |
| York Sulphur Springs, Pa. | " R " in ms., also Phila. number |  |  |
| Charleston, S.C. | REGISTERED in box, blue, 36x9 | 1853-55 | Figure 20 |
| St. Charles, S.C. | "Registered" in ms. | 1852 |  |
| Caldwell, Tex. | "Registered" in ms. | 1855 |  |
| Oconomowac, Wis. | "Money Letter," "Registered" in ms. |  |  |
| Richmond, Va. | " X " in red ms., also large blue Philadelphia R |  |  |
| Wheeling, Va. | " R " in ms. | 1850 |  |
| Unknown | REGISTERED rimless $2311 / 2 \mathrm{C}$, "Paid 5" ms. | 1855 | Figure 21 |

practice in the arrangement of stampless cover information, the data is presented alphabetically by state, with towns then listed alphabetically within each state.

As noted, the Table 1 listing will be the foundation for a new section on this subject in the forthcoming revision of the American Stampless Cover Catalog. So if you have a stampless cover showing registered markings not listed in Table 1, please send me the appropriate information along with a scan of the cover. My book United States Registered Mail 1845-1870 contains listings of both stampless and stamped covers. ${ }^{2}$

The discussion that follows conforms more or less to the alphabetical organization in Table 1, highlighting various aspects of registration on stampless covers and illustrating most of the handstamped registry markings that can be found on stampless covers.

Figure 1 shows a registered cover from Mobile, posted in June, 1855 ("MOBILE ALA JUN 26/3 PAID") just before official registration began. A similar cover, from the same correspondence and posted one day earlier, is illustrated in Ashbrook's book on the $1 \phi 1851-57$ stamp. ${ }^{3}$ The bank correspondence that was the source of these covers contained letters dated from January through June, 1855, with manuscript registered markings and numbers, usually in magenta ink. (The sender wrote "record" on the cover-upper left in Figure 1-but the markings all mean registered.) The registry number on Ashbrook's cover was 292 and the Figure 1 cover shows 318. This suggests that at least 26 registered covers were handled daily in Mobile even before official registration. Mobile's handstamped "REGISTERED/No." in rectangular box appears to have been used only during the period of unofficial registration. Since both Figure 1 and the Ashbrook cover were posted just days before the beginning of official registration, one would expect to find subsequent, officially registered covers that resemble these; but none are known.

The cover in Figure 2 shows the straightline "REGISTERED." used at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1854, again from the era of unofficial registration. Most of the surviving examples of this handstamp are on stamp-bearing envelopes that were registered at other towns (many of them letters to New Orleans) with the Montgomery straightline applied in transit. However, the Figure 2 cover originated at Montgomery. At upper left it bears a notation


Figure 1. Posted just a few days before the beginning of official registration, this 1855 cover from Mobile to New Orleans shows $3 \phi$ letter postage paid in cash; there was then no registry fee. Mobile applied its red circular datestamp and the black $34 \times 9$ millimeter "REGISTERED/No. 318 " in a rectangle. Illustration courtesy Matthew Bennett Auctions, from their sale held in May 2015.


Figure 2. Unofficially registered at Montgomery, Alabama in February, 1854. Montgomery integral-rate CDS in black with matching "REGISTERED." The "No 1407" appears to be a different handwriting and is probably a Montgomery registry number.
"Charge \& Register No." in the same hand as the address. The manuscript " 1407 " appears to be in a different handwriting. Since a four-digit number seems high for a box account number, this is probably the registry number.

Figure 3 shows a very important cover. Internally dated 1846, it bears a red "WILMINGTON Del. FEB 4" circular datestamp with matching "PAID" and "5." Most significantly, it also bears a manuscript " X " to indicate special attention (i.e.: registration). The " X " is written in a different hand and ink than the address; presumably it was applied at the Wilmington post office. February 4, 1846 is a little over two months after unofficial registration began. The contents mention that $\$ 112$ cash was enclosed. At Philadelphia the large blue " $R$ " was applied. So this cover bears two registered postmarks, one from the origin post office and one from the receiving post office, Philadelphia. This is the earliest known cover with evidence of registration applied at the post office of origin. Another cover from Wilmington is the second earliest cover with registered markings applied at the point of origin. That cover is dated December 30, 1846 and bears a manuscript "Reg" on the front. It was sent to New York so it has no receiving markings.

In my article on unofficial registration in Chronicle 221, I showed a cover to Ireland that is the earliest known officially registered cover from Louisville, Kentucky. It was postmarked July 1, 1855, the day official registration commenced. ${ }^{4}$ The cover in Figure 4, also to Ireland, is from the same correspondence and was written three weeks later. Letter-rate postage of $24 \phi$ was prepaid at Louisville, as evidenced by "PAID 24 " in the matching blue of the Louisville "JUL 22" circular datestamp. The cover crossed the Atlantic on an Amer-ican-contract steamship, so the New York credit to Great Britain was just 3ф.

Both covers bear a high number applied at Louisville, here too suggesting that numbering was done at that city during the unofficial registration period. Other cover evidence from Louisville confirms this. The cover in Figure 4 shows a manuscript registration number applied at Louisville ("R. No. 167"). It also shows the earliest recorded New York registration postmark-"N Y. D 530" noted in magenta ink at the top of the cover. These New York numbers evidently referred to entries in a ledger. There are three types of New York registered mail manuscript numbers (origin, receiving and transit) and they seem to have


Figure 3. Unofficially registered at Wilmington in 1846 with $5 \phi$ letter postage prepaid in cash. The manuscript cross at upper left was presumably marked by the Wilmington post office to indicate registration. Philadelphia added its large blue "R." This is the earliest cover known to show a registration marking applied at the office of origin.


Figure 4. Registered in 1855 from Louisville to Ireland. Official registration had commenced a few weeks earlier in the United States. This prepaid stampless cover shows various Louisville and New York registry markings. The magenta manuscript " N Y. D 530" is the earliest known example of a New York transit registration number.
been placed in different positions relative to the address on the cover. At this time there was no treaty with Great Britain to support reciprocal registration. The earliest known example of that usage is from 1856 on a third cover from this same correspondence.

New Orleans used registered mail postmarks both before and after July 1, 1855. The New Orleans postmaster inaugurated a registry system in August, 1851. All registered let-


Figure 5. Officially registered cover from New Orleans to Carrollton, Mississippi. "NEW-ORLEANS. LA. SEP 12" (1855) in red with black " 5 " indicating the unpaid postage. The $5 \phi$ registry fee was prepaid in cash. "Reg \# 269" was applied at New Orleans, along with the red $39 \times 4 \mathrm{~mm}$ straightline "REGISTERED." handstamp.
ters were numbered. The registry desk had its own postal clerk. This is described in some detail in The Great Mail. The earliest known cover is dated November 20, 1851.

The cover illustrated in Figure 5, addressed to Carrollton, Mississippi and postmarked "NEW-ORLEANS. LA. SEP 12 " (1855) is from the official registration period and shows a manuscript number " 269 ." The black handstamped " 5 " indicates the unpaid letter-rate postage; the $5 \phi$ registration fee was prepaid in cash. There is a manuscript " 4 " above the address for which I have no explanation; possibly it was added later. This cover illustrates that New Orleans used both red and black postmarks. I have seen the straightline "REGISTERED." handstamp struck in black too, but it is usually found in red.

The majority of unofficial New Orleans registered covers are franked with stamps. An 1854 cover with a $3 \phi 1851$ stamp also bears a high registration number as well as the red straightline. The Great Mail illustrates a February 11, 1854 printed letter informing a postal customer that a valuable letter was being held for pickup at the post office; a receipt form was part of this letter.

Valuable mail in Canada was marked "Money Letter" until the mid-1850s. A few towns in the environs of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario seem to have picked up this practice from their northern neighbor. It is not surprising that in Detroit, right on the border with Canada, the postmaster created a marking reading "MONEY REGISTERED DETROIT." The cover to North Haverhill, New Hampshire in Figure 6 shows the only example of this fancy oval marking known on a stampless cover. The cover is without contents and lacks a year date, but it was probably posted during the period of unofficial registration. Other covers support usage of this marking in 1854, before official registration. No registration number is evident; the pencil notation of $\$ 100$ probably refers to the contents of the letter.

The stampless cover from Charleston, Mississippi illustrated in Figure 7 is very interesting because all the fees are indicated in pen on the cover. The upright manuscript postmark at lower left reads "Charleston, Mississippi, Dec. 18th" and we know from the enclosed letter that the year is 1855 . The only registration marking is a number ("No. 25") in manuscript at upper left. But the rating markings show "Registry Paid 5" and "Paid Previous 3 " totaling "Paid 8 ." Thus both the letter postage of $3 \phi$ and the registry fee of $5 \phi$ are indicated as paid. There are only a handful of registry covers that indicate on the cover that


Figure 6. Some towns around the Great Lakes used "money letter" markings on early registered covers. This cover posted at Detroit during the era of unofficial registration (probably 1854) shows "DETROIT MICH. JUL 263 PAID" in red with a black oval "MONEY REGISTERED DETROIT," the only example of this marking recorded on a stampless cover. The pencil notation of $\$ 100$ at top indicates the contents.


Figure 7. On this registered cover the postmaster recorded in black pen all the charges: registry fee $5 \phi$, postage $3 \phi$, total $8 \phi$, charged to the sender's box account. The manuscript townmark (upright at lower left) is "Charleston, Mississippi, Dec. 18th (1855)." The "No. 25 " in the upper left corner is a registry number. A very unusual example of a cover with the registry rate clearly indicated on the cover.
the $5 \phi$ fee has been. This is the only "Paid 8 " that I have seen.
Like Detroit, Cleveland also used an oval "MONEY LETTER" marking. Two different examples are shown on the overlapped covers in Figure 8. The top cover shows a red


Figure 8. Montage of two covers showing the same registry marking. The top cover which is dated 1851 from the letter contents, shows "CLEVELAND O. MAY 27" struck twice, a " 5 " rating mark, and "MONEY LETTER" in red oval with central fleuron. The bottom cover has red "CLEVELAND O. 3 PAID MAY 15," a black oval "MONEY LETTER" and a black "R". Illustrations from Bennett auction May 2015.
"CLEVELAND O. MAY 27" circular datestamp from 1851, with matching oval "MONEY LETTER" and " 5 " indicating due postage. This cover was sent to Columbus, Ohio. The lower cover, sent to New York City, lacks a year-date, but bears the same oval registry marking in black with the red "CLEVELAND O. 3 PAID MAY 15." The black "R" may be from Cleveland too. Because a $3 \phi$ prepayment is indicated in the integral rate marking, this must be a later cover, but it could be from 1852, 1853 or 1854. A similar cover, not illustrated, shows the same black oval "MONEY LETTER" and also a manuscript "R". This has a Cleveland integral " 3 PAID" marking dated December 23, and contained a $\$ 20$ bill. The year date of that cover is 1852 . Since the " $R$ " is manuscript on that cover, perhaps the cover with the handstamped "R" dates from the following year, 1853.

Two manuscript "Registered" postmarks appear on the covers in Figure 9. The cover at top, addressed to Williamstown, Massachusetts, shows a manuscript "Registered" marking, a blue Springfield, Ohio, circular datestamp and matching blue "PAID" and encircled "PAID 3." This cover appears to date from 1855, just a few weeks before the beginning of official registration. The manuscript "Registered" is definitely a postal marking, applied


Figure 9. Two covers showing manuscript "Registered" postmarks. The upper cover, addressed to Williamstown, Massachusetts, shows three blue handstamps and a manuscript "Registered," all applied at Springfield, Ohio. The lower cover originated with "CHILLICOTHE O. 3 PAID MAR 29" (1855) and "Registered" underscored in pen. The black straightline "REGISTERED" was struck twice at Columbus, Ohio, while the cover was in transit for delivery to Erie, Pennsylvania.
by the Springfield postmaster. This same "Registered" notation, with similar distinctive flourishes, appears on another Springfield cover, from a different correspondence, that I illustrated in Chronicle 235. ${ }^{5}$

The straightline "REGISTERED" marking on the lower cover in Figure 9 was also discussed in Chronicle 235, where I deduced that it was applied, during the unofficial period, to registered mail passing through Columbus, Ohio. Along with the handstamped "PAID" and the March 29 (1855) " 3 PAID" integral-rate circular datestamp, the manuscript "Registered" marking on this cover was applied at Chillicothe, Ohio.

One of the few towns to use a handstamped " $R$ " as an origin marking during the unofficial period was Steubenville, Ohio. Just one cover is known, from the Bank of Pittsburgh correspondence, said to date from December 30, 1851. A grainy black and white image of this cover is shown in Figure 10. I have never seen the actual cover depicted in this photo. If a reader of this article owns this cover, I would appreciate a color scan.


Figure 10. Posted at Steubenville, Ohio and addressed to a bank cashier in Pittsburgh, this cover shows a rare instance of a handstamped " $R$ " applied as an origin marking during the period of unofficial registration. All the markings are presumed to be struck in black. If this cover currently reposes in the collection of a USPCS member, the author would like to obtain a good color scan.


Figure 11. A very early "MONEY LETTER" marking from Erie, Pennsylvania. A yeardate is lacking, but the $10 \phi$ postage rate to New York City indicates usage before July 1851. On this cover all four handstamped markings-"ERIE Pa. MAR 15," "PAID," the encircled " 10 " and "MONEY LETTER" are in the same red ink.


Figure 12. This tiny ( $23 \times 2^{1} / 2 \mathrm{~mm}$ ) black straightline "REGISTERED." is one of several registration postmarks used on stampless covers at Lewistown, Pennsylvania. Postmarked "LEWISTOWN Pa. MAY 29" (1850), this double-weight cover received the small blue " $R$ " and " 28 " registration number when it reached Philadelphia.

Another of the Great Lakes towns using the Canadian terminology of "money letter" on unofficial registered letters was Erie, Pennsylvania, on the shore of Lake Ontario. Figure 11 shows a very early "MONEY LETTER" in red on a stampless cover. The $10 \notin$ postage rate to New York City indicates usage before July 1851. On this cover all four handstamped markings-"ERIE Pa. MAR 15," "PAID," encircled "10" and "MONEY LETTER"-are in the same red ink.

The small central Pennsylvania town of Lewistown used at least three interesting registration postmarks. The first handstamp, dating from May 1850, is the tiny black straightline "REGISTERED." shown on the cover in Figure 12. The black "10" due marking overstrikes a " 5 ", indicating the cover was found to require a double rate of postage. This cover was addressed to Philadelphia, where it received the small blue " $R$ " and the registration number "28." Later in 1850 Lewistown was using a manuscript "Registered" marking, which it had also used earlier, at least in October 1849. An August 1853 cover from Lewiston bears a manuscript "Reg" as well as a small Philadelphia " $R$ " in red. Then in 1854 handstamped "Reg" markings of two types came into use. These will be illustrated in a subsequent article on stamped registered covers.

Philadelphia used four different types of " $R$ " markings on incoming registered mail. Figure 13 shows a cover from Baltimore posted November 8, 1845. This was the eighth day of unofficial registration (which started in Philadelphia on November 1) and the eighth day of usage of the large blue " $R$ " marking. It should be clear the blue circular datestamp and " 5 " in oval were applied in Baltimore, and the blue " R " was applied at Philadelphia. The colors may seem similar in the Figure 13 illustration, but in real life the difference is quite apparent.

Another of the Philadelphia incoming markings, the small red "R," appears on the cover shown in Figure 14. This cover originated at Reading, Pennsylvania. The "READING Pa. SEP 23," the "PAID" and the straightline "REGISTERED" are all struck in match-


Figure 13. Very early in the period of unofficial registration: "BALTIMORE Md. NOV 8" (1845) and " 5 " in oval on cover addressed to Philadelphia. There it was struck with the large blue " $R$ ". This is the eighth day of usage of the " $R$ " marking.


Figure 14. "READING Pa. SEP 23" and "PAID", ms " 10 " with straightline "REGISTERED," all handstamps in blue. At Philadelphia this cover received small red " $R$ " but no number. The cross served as a postal marking, indicating valuable letters when they were mailed.
ing blue, with a " 10 " due marking added in manuscript. In addition to the handstamped "REGISTERED," the manuscript cross is suggestive of registration. At Philadelphia the red " $R$ " was applied, but no registration number. The small red Philadelphia " $R$ " means that year dates of 1852 or 1853 are possible for this cover. A table showing dates of usage of all the " $R$ " markings appears in my book on registered mail.

A number of covers illustrated in this article (including the following two, Figures 15 and 16) were sent to Philadephia and show other examples of the different Philadelphia "R" markings. Registered covers sent from Philadelphia did not receive the "R". Instead, registration was indicated by manuscript markings, usually "Registered" or "Reg." Most of these are stamp-bearing covers.

Shirleysburg, a small town in the south central portion of Pennsylvania, used origin markings as early as 1853 on unofficial registered covers, including a very unusual handstamped "X." This can be seen in the black and white photo in Figure 15. In addition to the black handstamped "X," this cover bears a red "SHIRLEYSBURG Penn JUN 16" circular datestamp and a red encircled "PAID 3". At Philadelphia the small red "R" and the manuscript " 4 " (presumably a registration number) were added.

A Shirleysburg cover posted six weeks earlier, from the same Nathan Trotter correspondence, is shown in Figure 16. On this cover the Shirleysburg circular datestamp reads May 6 , the rating is expressed by a handstamped red numeral " 3 " and a matching straightline "PAID"-and the " X " is a manuscript marking, not a handstamp. At Philadelphia it received the large red " R " and a registration number "9." To me these two Shirleysburg


Figure 15. Unusual handstamped "X," used in 1853 in Shirleysburg, Pa., here on a cover to Philadelphia which also shows Philadelphia's small red " $R$ " and a numeral "4," presumably a registration number. See companion cover below.


Figure 16. From the same correspondence, posted six weeks earlier, this unofficially registered cover from Shirleysburg shows a manuscript " X " rather than a handstamp. At Philadelphia it received the large red " $R$ " and a registration number " 9. ."
covers-both clearly examples of unofficial registration and showing different " X " mark-ings-provide strong evidence that " X " markings seen on other covers from the unofficial registration also indicate valuable contents.

A good example is the cover in Figure 17, again from the Nathan Trotter correspondence. The Trotter firm was founded by a tin importer in the 18th century and remains in Pennsylvania as a major player in the tin business to this day. The cover in Figure 17 was posted at Tamaqua, Pennsylvania, on December 19, 1848, with Tamaqua's encircled "10" marking indicating double-rate postage to be collected from the recipient. The manuscript " X " marking, applied at Tamaqua, indicates registration, as was confirmed when the cover reached Philadelphia and received the large blue " R " handstamp.


Figure 17. Unofficial registered cover showing "TAMAQUA Pa. DEC 19" (1848) with handstamped " 10 " and manuscript " X " marking, both applied at the originating post office. At Philadelphia, the cover was struck with the large blue " $R$ " marking.

Two covers posted months later from Tamaqua, both sent to Reading, Pennsylvania, bear other manuscript registration markings applied at the originating office. These covers are shown overlapped in Figure 18. The upper cover is dated December 12 (1849) and shows "Registered" in manuscript at lower left. The other cover, postmarked "TAMAQUA Pa. JUN 5 " (1850), shows a manuscript "R" at lower left. During the unofficial era, some towns originating registered mail used a manuscript " $R$ " like this to indicate registration.

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Figure 18. Two other Tamaqua covers (reduced and slightly overlapped), posted months after the cover in Figure 17 but still during the era of unofficial registration, show the cross replaced by manuscript markings-"Registered" and "R."


Figure 19. A striking stampless registered cover from the unofficial era: "WILKES BARRE Pa. MAY 17" (1850), " 5 " and "Registered" on a folded letter to Clinton, New Jersey. Illustration courtesy of Gerald E. Cross.
Figure 19 shows a striking cover from 1850 with "WILKES BARRE Pa. MAY 17," " 5 " and a straightline "Registered"-all crisply struck in a distinctive deep red on a cover to Clinton, New Jersey. They don't get any prettier than this. The Wilkes-Barre "Registered" straightline is also known in black on a cover with a $5 ¢ 1847$ stamp. A different handstamp in sans-serif capital lettering was used in 1853. Most examples of that marking appear on stamp-bearing covers.


Figure 20. Blue boxed Charleston "REGISTERED." with matching "CHARLESTON S.C. 5 cts OCT 21" (1853) circular datestamp, on a cover that once contained \$50.

Figure 20 shows another handstamped "REGISTERED." postmark used during the period of unofficial registration. This is the boxed $36 \times 9$ millimeter marking from Charleston, South Carolina, here struck in blue with a matching integral rate circular datestamp dated October 21 (1853) on a cover to Columbia, South Carolina. On this cover, the manuscript "Register" notation at top was applied by the sender. Another cover posted May 15, 1853 shows the same handstamped "REGISTERED." marking with the postage paid by a stamp.

One of the most important stampless registered covers comes down to us from an unknown town. This is the cover shown in Figure 21. It was sent free to the Commissioner of Pensions in Washington, D.C., one of many government offices in this era that possessed


Figure 21. Circular "REGISTERED" with manuscript "Paid 5," origin unknown. This is a rare example of the $5 \phi$ registration fee specifically indicated on a cover, which was postmarked "FREE" because the addressee possessed the franking privilege and could receive mail postage free. But the registration fee had to be prepaid.
the franking privilege and thus could receive mail free of postage. In addition to a straightline "FREE" the cover bears a handstamped "REGISTERED" in a circular format with no outer rim, with "Paid 5" written within the center. This would suggest the year date is 1855 or 1856. This cover also illustrates that the franking privilege did not include the registration fee. The sender had to prepay that in cash.

Stampless registered covers, while relatively small in number, are an important subset of early registered covers. Most of them date from the era of unofficial registration, which makes them more interesting and sometimes more difficult to detect. The Table 1 listing, as noted above, attempts to list every town for which registered postmarks have been recorded on stampless covers. If you have a registered stampless cover (or marking) not listed in Table 1, please send me the appropriate information.

## Endnotes

1. As quoted in Huber, Leonard V. and Wagner, Clarence A., The Great Mail, American Philatelic Society, State College, Pa., 1949.
2. Milgram, James W., United States Registered Mail 1845-1870, David G. Phillips Co., N. Miami, Fla., 1999.
3. Ashbrook, Stanley B., The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857, H.L. Lindquist, N.Y., 1938, Vol. 2, pg. 353.
4. Milgram, James W., "Unofficial Registration of Mail in the U.S.: 1845-1855," Chronicle 221 (2009), pp. 9-24.
5. -_, "1855 Columbus, Ohio, Registered Marking on Transient Mail," Chronicle 235 (2012), pp. 202-204. ■


## THE 1847 PERIOD

GORDON EUBANKS, EDITOR

## 5ф 1847 RECUT LEFT FRAME LINE: ONE POSITION DEFINITIVELY PLATED JAY KUNSTREICH

Strengthened or recut outer frame lines are a common occurrence on some early United States stamp issues and are well known to collectors. For the issue of 1847 , there are many recuts on the $10 \phi$ stamps, and these were helpful tools in enabling the reconstruction of the $10 \phi$ plate.

By contrast, recut frame lines on the 5¢ 1847 stamp (Scott 1) are less well known and have not been as thoroughly researched. Examples showing the left frame line either strengthened or recut are not plentiful. A recut frame line shows up as a darker line standing out from the remainder of the printed stamp. How uncommon such stamps might be is suggested from a look at the material in the first Wagshal sale. ${ }^{1}$ Out of 193 5¢ 1847 stamps in the Wagshal holding, many of them presumably selected for their plating characteristics, only 13 showed the left frame line recut.

Recutting is defined as the strengthening or altering of a line by use of an engraving tool on an unhardened plate. This article uses the term recutting rather than strengthening, but the two terms are interchangeable.

My interest in the recut frame lines on the $5 \notin 1847 \mathrm{stamp}$ was piqued after studying the Wagshal sale catalog. The text on page 49 reads: "The 5申 1847 plate was entered from a single-relief roll. In certain positions, the left frame line across from Franklin's eyes was weakly transferred. The weak lines continued to wear and developed breaks. On a number of positions, this line was recut. Jerry Wagshal and other 1847 Issue plating students have known about this recut left frame line variety for years, but the Scott catalog and the market in general have overlooked it. We hope that this offering of correctly identified broken and recut left frame line examples will awaken philatelists to their existence and stimulate interest and research in this area. No one has yet succeeded in assigning the recut positions to their plate positions."

This last sentence, stating that no one has yet plated a $5 \phi 1847$ stamp with recut left frame line, led to the following research on one particular 5¢ 1847 stamp and to observations that helped assign it a plate position.

To set the scene, Figure 1 shows a $5 \nmid 1847$ stamp from the Wagshal sale (Siegel 933, lot 137) with a very weak left frame line. In fact, the frame line actually shows a large break ("as wide as we have ever encountered," in the words of the catalog description).

Of the 13 Wagshal 5¢ 1847 stamps showing a recut left frame line, one in particular caught my attention. That was lot 145, which is shown here as Figure 2. In addition to describing this stamp as a recut left frame line variety, the Wagshal catalog description also mentioned what appears to be "an upward slip of the engraver's tool to the inside (right) of the frameline." This created a faintly curved vertical line starting outside the stamp design, adhering to the left frame line for a short distance and then curving through the colorless area between the left frame line and the design, curving back to the left and where it retouches the left frame line again just to the left of the "P" of "POST."


Figure 1. On some positions in the $5 \phi$ Franklin plate, the left frame line was very weakly entered. In this example (position not known) the faint entry of left frame line created a very large break.


Figure 2. This stamp, lot 145 in the first Wagshal sale, shows a recut left frame line that includes an extra line at top. This feature shows faintly in this image and much more clearly in Figure 3.

The Figure 2 stamp subsequently received a Philatelic Foundation certificate (\#491,370) confirming the recut frame line variety. The stamp was not plated nor was there mention of the curved vertical line just described.

In doing additional research to find out if information on the curved vertical marking had been previously reported, I soon found two Chronicle articles by Jerome Wagshal and Wade Saadi, respectively.

In Chronicle 164 (November 1994) Wagshal had shown a tracing of this marking, but with no reference to the recut left frame line. Wagshal attributed the stamp to Position 1R. ${ }^{2}$

Then in Chronicle 197 (February 2003) Saadi showed that Wagshal had transposed Positions 1 L and 1 R. ${ }^{3}$ Richard Celler was credited with making this discovery. Both Celler and Saadi had access to the recently discovered proof pane owned by Arthur Morowitz, which confirmed the reassigned positions. Like Wagshal's, Saadi's article made no reference to the recut frame line, but Saadi firmly established that the curved vertical line described above is the defining mark for Position 1L.

It then became clear to me that the stamp shown in Figure 2, confirmed as showing a recut left frame line, plated to Position 1L, based on the presence of the definitive marking for that position.

After some searching, I managed to acquire two other examples from this same 1L position. The stamp shown in Figure 3 is a crisp impression from an early printing. It clearly shows the distinctive marking, and this feature is highlighted in the accompanying enlargement, with contrast enhanced for better visibility. Figure 4 comes from a late printing, either the fourth or fifth. The definitive marking, although faint, is still visible and consistent with the early printing, on which the mark is strongly evident. Such continuity suggests that the definitive marking likely existed on the original plate before any stamps were printed from it; it was not added later.


Figure 3. A crisp early printing from Position 1L, showing the extraneous line (between the frame line and the shading lines) that is the plating characteristic that defines Position 1L. In the enlargement at left, contrast has been enhanced to help show the extra line.


Figure 4. Another stamp from the same 1L position, but from a later printing. The impression is much less crisp than Figure 3, but this stamp still shows the characteristic extra line, very faintly evident.


Figure 5. Plating mat showing the definitive plating marks for the $5 申 1847$ stamp from Position 1L. The entire left frameline has been recut, and the recutting includes the extraneous line at top left.

The fact that the later printing still shows the definitive marking suggests an interesting side note. The 5 ¢ 1847 stamp was printed five different times, the last and scarcest being the fifth printing in late 1850. In the 1950s, Stanley Ashbrook concluded that the 5¢ plate had been reworked in late 1850, basing his conclusion on the existence of the rare "C" and "D" double transfers (which are far scarcer than the "A" and "B" double transfers). He felt that these rare double transfers resulted from a reworking of the plate into a late state, prior to the fifth delivery of these stamps on December 9, 1850. Thus, if a position 1L stamp could be found without the recut left frame line, that would indicate that the plate was reworked earlier as well. So far, no such stamp has been found.

To confirm that the stamps in Figures 3 and 4 were consistent with being Position 1L as well as recut left frame line varieties, they were submitted to the Philatelic Foundation with the evidence assembled here. Both came back described as position 1L with recut left frame lines.

Figure 5 shows a plating mat with the proper plating information for position 1L sketched in.

While Position 1L had been plated in the past, this is the first time the recut frame line has been identified on a Position 1L stamp. With confirming certificates and help from prior Chronicle articles and the Wagshal lot, the pieces came together to match the marking of position 1L to the recut left frame line variety. It appears safe to conclude that all stamps from Position 1L show a recut left frame line.

## Endnotes

1. Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries: The Wagshal Collection, Part 1: 1845-69 Issues, sale 993 (September 2010).
2.Wagshal, Jerome, "The Plating of the Eight Corner Positions of the 5¢ 1847 Stamp," Chronicle 164 (November 1994). 3. Saadi, Wade, "The Transportation and Juxtaposition of Positions 1L \& 1R of the 5申 1847," Chronicle 197 (February 2003).


# FANCY POSTMARKS OF CANTON, MISSISSIPPI ON 1851-57 STAMPS AND UNUSUAL CANTON MARKINGS USED DURING THE CIVIL WAR 

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M. D.

## Introduction

The cancellations used at Canton, Mississippi represent the largest number of unusual cancellations to be found on the 1851-57 stamps. Additionally, Canton employed some equally remarkable handstamps during its years within the Confederacy. This article can be considered a sequel to two articles by Hubert C. Skinner that appeared in 2001 in Chronicles 190 and 192. ${ }^{1}$ Skinner was aided by Don Garrett and Van Koppersmith for listings. He also drew on the earlier work of Carroll Chase, who discussed Canton cancels in his classic book on the $3 \notin 1851-57$ stamp. ${ }^{2}$ The Skinner-Eno book, of which Skinner was co-author, also listed many Canton cancellations. ${ }^{3}$ And a listing of 14 Canton markings can be found in Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings 1851-61, as revised by Tom Alexander. ${ }^{4}$

This article builds on these earlier studies. It provides a listing of all the reported cancellation types (Table 1 on page 325) and illustrates on-cover examples of the great majority of them. After considering the fancy obliterators, the article concludes with a discussion of other unusual Canton postmarks from the Civil War era, something Skinner intended but never produced.

In his Chronicle articles, Skinner attributes all these unusual markings to William Priestly, who was postmaster at Canton for 21 years (1845-1866) including the period when Mississippi was a Confederate state. As will be evident, the unusual Canton markings have a distinctive style that certainly suggests they were fabricated by one individual.

## Markings on cover: unusual rate markings

Several Canton rating markings are so unusual that they merit inclusion in a listing of fancy killers, a function that they sometimes served. Figure 1 shows a crude "PAID 3" in negative lettering that was used on stampless covers for a short time. This cover, from the Buchanan, Carroll correspondence, dates from 1854. The manuscript "Chg 60" at top center indicates the postage was charged to the sender's post office box account, number 60 .

Sometimes this marking was used as a killer to cancel imperforate $3 \phi$ stamps and government entire envelopes. Figure 2 shows an example of such a use, on a $3 \notin$ Nesbitt envelope also from the Buchanan, Carroll correspondence. The year date is unknown, but it must be after 1853, when the envelopes first made their appearance. I also own a cover internally dated December 13, 1853 with the marking used to cancel a $3 \phi 1851$ stamp.

Most covers from Canton from this era, including the first 10 covers illustrated in this article and 17 of the total 26 covers illustrated here, come down to us from the Buchanan Carroll/Carroll Hoy correspondence, which entered the collector marketplace in the early


Figure 1. Negative PAID 3 in circular format used in 1854 on a stampless cover with "CANTON Mi. APR 11" datestamp. The manuscript "chg 60" indicates postage was charged to post office box account number 60. Illustration courtesy of Frank Mandel.


Figure 2. The same negative PAID 3 in circular format, used as a killer on a $3 \phi$ entire envelope. The circular datestamp reads "CANTON Mi. JAN 12." The year date is unknown, but it must be 1854 or later. Illustration courtesy of Van Koppersmith.
years of the 20th century. Patricia Kaufmann has a clipping from the New Orleans Times Picayune announcing that the Buchanan, Carroll firm reorganized to became Carroll, Hoy on 1 July 1858. This information is helpful in dating covers from this voluminous source.

Similarly crude as Figures 1 and 2 and among the earliest fancy markings used at Canton was the negative "PAID 3" in a hammer format, an example of which appears on the registered cover in Figure 3. The circular datestamp says "FEB 17" and the year is likely 1856. The cover must date from sometime after the official beginning of registration


Figure 3. Negative PAID 3 in a hammer format on a registered cover ("Registered No. 703") of unknown year date. The circular datestamp reads "CANTON Mi. FEB 17."


Figure 4. Negative PAID 1 in a similar hammer format, used to cancel a $3 \phi 1857$ stamp on a cover showing "CANTON Mi. JAN 17" in red. This PAID 1 marking is believed to have been created for use on stampless covers, though it is here employed as a killer to cancel the stamp. Illustration courtesy Van Koppersmith.
on July 1, 1855.
Akin to the PAID 3 hammer is a negative PAID 1 in a similar format. An inverted strike cancels the perforated $3 \notin$ Washington stamp on the cover in Figure 4. Since the stamp pays the $3 \phi$ domestic rate, the " 1 " in the marking has no significance as a rating. I suspect this marking was originally created for use on stampless covers and was employed at a later date as an obliterator. However, the marking is not recorded on stampless covers and is unknown on stampless covers by specialist collectors of Mississippi markings.

## Fancy killers

Among the earliest fancy cancellation devices from Canton was the Christian Cross. An example on a stamped envelope is shown in Figure 5. Note that there is a clear negative space in the long bar of the cross. Examples of a cross without this negative space are also known and may represent a different marking. The Skinner-Eno book lists the cross with negative space as a worn state of an original marking that had no negative space. But strikes


Figure 5. Canton's Christian Cross on a $3 申 1853$ entire with "CANTON Mi. AUG 18". There is a clear space within the vertical element of the cross, very distinct in this example. Strikes also exist without this void; they may represent a different marking
of the marking with negative space that I have seen exhibit crisp edges and do not seem to be worn. Figure 5 is just one example.

Also early, and showing characteristics of the negative markings in Figures 1-4, is Canton's negative Odd Fellows cancel, which shows three chain links, an all-seeing eye, crossed arrows and a star. This is certainly the fanciest cancellation Priestley ever made. A crisp, clear strike ties the imperforate $3 \phi$ Washington stamp on the cover shown in Figure 6. In the variety and complexity of its design elements, this postmark is one of the most inter-

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Figure 6. Canton's striking Odd Fellows marking is very well struck on this $3 \phi$ imperforate cover with "CANTON Mi. OCT 12." This is by far the fanciest of the Canton markings. The design elements are three chain links, an all-seeing eye, crossed arrows and a star-all negative images arrayed within a fancy serrated backdrop.


Figure 7. The Canton postmaster created at least three types of negative star cancels, differentiable by the size and shape of their centers. This double-rate cover shows the first type of negative star, with a large hexagonal center, used here with a black "CANTON Mi. JAN 28 " circular datestamp. Illustration from Bennett sale, December 1998.
esting markings to be found on the 1851-57 stamps, or indeed on any classic United States stamps. The Skinner-Eno book says this marking was used from 1852 to 1857 but Skinner's subsequent Chronicle articles, which dated the markings based (in part) on plating the underlying stamps, declared that 1856 was the most likely year of usage. All of the examples I have seen have been on imperforate stamps, which would tend to support this dating.

There appear to be three types of Canton negative stars, the earliest also from 1856. These stars can be differentiated by the size and shape of the center portion of the star.

| DESCRIPTION | DATES | SOURCE |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Negative PAID 3 in circle format | $1853-56$ | Figures 1 \& 2 |
| Negative PAID 3 in hammer format | 1856 | Figure 3 |
| Negative PAID 1 in hammer format | 1850 s | Figure 4 |
| Christian Cross | 1856 | Figure 5 |
| Odd Fellows | 1852 -57 | Figure 6 |
| Negative Star, large hexagonal center | 1856 | Figure 7 |
| Negative Star, small hexagonal center | 1856 -57 | Chronicle 192, Figure 18 |
| Negative Star, triangular center | 1857 | Chronicle 190, Figure 11 |
| Masonic Square and Compass | 1857 | Figure 8 |
| Masonic Triangle, thick | late1850s | Figure 9 |
| Masonic Triangle, thin | 1850 s | Figure 10 |
| Small Lyre in circle | 1856 (?) | Alexander, pg. 140 |
| Large Lyre with side ornaments | 1860 | Figure 11 |
| Large Lyre | $1860-61$ | Figure 12 |
| Solid Star in bold circle | 1850 s | Figure 13 |
| Solid Star in rope circle | $1860-61$ | Figure 14 |
| Paddlewheel geometric | 1857 | Figure 15 |
| Discrepant grid | 1856 -57 | Figure 16 |
| Square geometric within a square frame | 1857 | Chronicle 192, Figure 16 |
| Diamond waffle | 1856 | Figure 17 |
| Split Grid with 7 bars | 1859 | Figure 18 |
| Narrow Split Grid with 7 bars | 1850 s | Figure 19 |
| Large X | 1850 s | Alexander No. 167 |
| Geometric | 1850 s | Alexander No. 171 |
| Table 1: Fancy killer cancels used at Canton, Mississippi, during the |  |  |
| the era of the 1851-57 stamps; most are shown on cover in this article. |  |  |
|  |  |  |

On the earliest of the three, the center portion is a large hexagon. This marking appears in abundance-four strikes in all-on the cover in Figure 7, a 3¢ Nesbitt envelope additionally franked with an imperforate $3 \phi 1851$ stamp to make the double rate. Another example of this star marking is illustrated as Figure 10 in Skinner's article in Chronicle 190.

A cover bearing the Canton star with the small hexagon center was shown as Figure 18 in Chronicle 192. A third type appears to have a triangle in its center (Chronicle 190, Figure 11), though the black and white illustration that supports this surmise is not very clear. Chase shows four different negative stars, but his tracing plate contains a number of misattributions. Altogether, these star cancels are difficult to differentiate on cover, so there might well be more than three types.

Also known on imperforate stamps is the negative Masonic Square and Compass marking shown canceling an imperforate $3 \phi 1851$ stamp on the cover in Figure 8. The Buchanan Carroll firm often used common pins instead of paper clips (which did not then exist), and surviving covers often show the pinholes that are evident in the Figure 8 photo.

Another masonic postmark is the Thick Triangle shown on the cover in Figure 9. The Thin Triangle, shown on the cover in Figure 10, appears to be a distinctly different marking.


Figure 8. Canton's negative Masonic Square and Compass marking is here struck on an imperforate $3 \phi$ Washington stamp. The black cds reads "CANTON MI JAN 27".


Figure 9. One of two Masonic Triangle designs used at Canton. This is the thick type, struck on a perforated $3 \not \subset 1857$ stamp; the datestamp reads "CANTON Mi. SEP 18."

The exact dates of these markings is not known, but the perforated stamps, the Carroll Hoy address and the red Canton circular datestamps suggest 1858 (or later) for the Thick Triangle cover in Figure 9 and 1859 for the Thin Triangle cover in Figure 10.

One of the best known of the Canton fancy cancels is the Lyre. There are three recorded types. Earliest and scarcest of the three is the tiny lyre within a circle shown in Alexander (page 140) and in the Skinner-Eno book (page 177).

The Larger Lyre with side ornaments is known only on perforated 1857 stamps. A nice strike ties the perforated 3申 Washington stamp on the cover shown in Figure 11, which


Figure 10. The thin type of Canton Masonic Triangle, used here on $3 \phi 1857$ cover with red "CANTON Mi. MAY 10" (probably 1859). Illustration courtesy Van Koppersmith.


Figure 11. Canton's Large Lyre with side ornaments is struck here on a $3 \phi$ perforated cover addressed to Columbia, S.C. Inset is a block (inverted for comparison) showing the same marking, more heavily struck. Note that the lyre strings seem much thicker.
is addressed to an individual in Columbia, South Carolina. Note that the three strings on the instrument are quite thin. A block of four bearing strikes of the same cancel overlays the cover and is shown inverted to facilitate comparison. It should be clear that the cancels on the block, which show much thicker strings, represent heavier strikes from the same device that created the cancel on the cover. The Alexander-Simpson book illustrates this marking with very heavy lines of equal length. The strike on the cover in Figure 11 shows that these lines are actually quite fine and the central one is longer than the other two surrounding it. This is correctly illustrated in Skinner-Eno (page 177).


Figure 12. The Large Lyre without side ornaments, on $3 \phi$ cover with "CANTON Miss. FEB 4 1861" postmark. This represents the first possible day of Confederate usage.


Figure 13. This is the Canton Solid Star in bold circle marking, here on a cover with Feb. 7 Canton circular datestamp. While there is no evidence of a year date, the year of use is most likely 1861.

The most common type of Canton Lyre cancellation shows a thicker frame without side ornaments. This is accurately traced in Chase and shown upside down in Alexan-der-Simpson. This marking is known only on perforated stamps used in 1860 and 1861. Figure 12 shows an example on which the Canton circular datestamp is clearly dated February 4, 1861-the day the Confederate States of America was created.

In Dr. Chase's tracing plate there are three different solid stars: a solid star encircled with a ring that resembles a piece of rope; a smaller solid star in a circle (which is listed in Skinner and Eno as ST-S 15); and an unadorned five-point star, which was subsequently shown to have originated in Worcester, Massachusetts. The small solid star in a circle appears on the cover shown in a black and white image as Figure 13. There is no evidence of a year date for this cover, but it almost certainly dates from 1861. Figure 14 shows the rope-encircled star tying a perforated $3 ¢$ Washington stamp. The Canton circular datestamp shows "FEB 14 1861"-undeniably from the Confederate period. There are only a handful of fancy obliterators found on southern covers during the Confederate period, and two of them are from Canton.


Figure 14. Canton's Star within Rope Circle ties this perforated $3 \notin$ stamp. The town marking is "CANTON Miss FEB 14 1861." Like Figure 13, this is an early Confederate use. The "Due 3" manuscript probably indicates the cover was overweight.


Figure 15. The so-called Canton "Paddlewheel" killer, imaginatively thought to suggest a Mississippi River steamboat, ties an imperforate $3 \phi$ Washington stamp to a cover that also bears a red circular datestamp indicating "CANTON Miss. OCT 1."

## Geometric types

The final group of cancels are what are called geometric types. Chase showed two of these in his tracing plate, one that looks like a stylized eight-legged insect, and the other a large circular marking comprised of three segments of parallel lines running in different directions. The Chase "insect" drawing is probably a poor tracing of the "Paddlewheel" cancel that ties the imperforate $3 \phi$ stamp on the cover in Figure 15. The other Chase geometric drawing probably represents what has been called a discrepant grid cancel. Figure 16


Figure 16. Canton's "Discrepant grid" killer on a $3 \phi$ imperforate cover with "CANTON Mi. Jul 24" CDS and Skinner-Eno tracing. Illustration courtesy Don Garrett.


Figure 17. Diamond waffle grid on cover with imperforate $3 \phi 1851$ stamp and "CANTON Mi. OCT 4" circular datestamp. Illustration courtesy Don Garrett.
shows a cover with this marking tying an imperforate $3 \phi$ Washington stamp. The collector who created this image included in his scan a Xeroxed copy of the Skinner-Eno tracing. In Skinner's second Chronicle article, he showed (as Figure 16, on page 255 of Chronicle 192) a lovely segmented square geometric within a heavy square frame. A different geometric marking is the waffle of diamonds marking on the cover shown in Figure 17.

The geometric killers on the covers in Figures 18 and 19, which are shown here through the courtesy of one of our senior members, Don Garrett, RA 329, may represent different strikes of the same marking. But they seemed to me to be sufficiently distinctive to merit separate notice.


Figure 18. Canton's split grid with seven bars cancel on cover with $3 \phi 1857$ stamp and "CANTON Miss. OCT 9 1859" circular datestamp. Illustration courtesy Don Garrett.


Figure 19. A narrower split grid with seven bars is struck on this $3 \phi 1853$ entire envelope with "CANTON, Mi NOV 28" CDS. Illustration courtesy Don Garrett.
The cover in Figure 18 shows a perforated $3 \notin$ Washington stamp tied by a split circular grid of seven bars. Here we don't have to speculate about the year of use, because the matching Canton circular datestamp is very clearly dated DEC $9,1859$.

The cover in Figure 19 shows a similar but much narrower split seven-bar grid, more oblong than circular, struck on a $3 \notin$ Nesbitt envelope. The month and day are clearly designated, but the year is not known. While I admit the marking on this cover might represent a oblique (and thus partial) strike from the device used in Figure 18, my judgment is that this is a separate marking worthy of separate listing.

Alexander-Simpson showed tracings of a few other Canton geometric markings. The large "X" (Alexander No. 167) is quite distinctive. No. 171, another geometric, I have
never seen. No. 178 may be the paddlewheel, which has a similar hollow center. The Christmas Tree cancel shown in Alexander is now believed to be bogus.

And the last five drawings in Chase's tracing plate also show additional grid cancels. But these are more conventional killer devices, which in my opinion do not merit inclusion in an article devoted to fancy cancels.

## Confederate postmarks

At the conclusion of his Canton series in Chronicle 192, Skinner promised a part three, in which he would discuss Canton markings used on covers bearing Confederate stamps. But such an article never appeared.

In addition to the "PAID 3" in negative hammer format used before the Civil War (shown on cover in Figure 3), Canton employed a number of very unusual large-lettered handstamps during the war. Figure 20 shows the "PAID 2" handstamp struck on a printed circular. The date marking reads OCT 151861 and the circular is addressed locally.

Figure 21 shows the same "PAID 2" along with a "PAID 5" handstamp in a similar format. Originally, this cover was mistakenly rated at the 5¢ CSA intercity rate. The mistake was corrected by obliterating the " 5 " and rerating the cover "PAID 2 " as a drop letter.

The Confederate-era Canton marking to indicate $10 \phi$ prepayment was a large "PAID 10 " in a circular format with a star in the center. An example can be seen on the double-rated cover in Figure 22. The Canton circular datestamp on this cover reads JAN 22, 1862. This handstamp was no doubt created for double-rate letters such as this one. But after June 1,1862 , when the CSA single rate was raised to $10 \phi$, it was also used to indicate prepayment of the single rate on stampless covers. It is a pretty rare marking from any date.

The "PAID 5" was also used occasionally as a killer on stamp-bearing covers, but the "PAID 2" and "PAID 10" are recorded only on stampless covers.

There are a number of Canton auxiliary markings. Probably the most interesting appear on incoming covers are that were advertised at Canton. I showed a number of different


Figure 20. This stampless cover-actually a printed circular addressed local-ly-shows Canton's "PAID 2" handstamp with "CANTON Miss OCT 15 1861." The "PAID 2" was used at Canton during the Confederate postal service period.


Figure 21. This cover also bears the "PAID 2" to indicate the collection for a drop letter. The cover was originally struck with the "PAID 5 " which was then obliterated. Illustration from a Robert A. Siegel auction sale in May 2003.


Figure 22. A cover with "CANTON Miss JAN 22 1862" with the "PAID 10" with star in circular format, indicating the double rate to Fulton, Mississippi.
types in an article on this subject in The Confederate Philatelist a few years ago. ${ }^{5}$ Figure 23 shows the unusual large handmade "AD" with a separate large " 2 ", on a cover franked with a "10 cents" Jefferson Davis stamp. The CSA rate for advertising undeliverable letters was $2 \phi$, not $1 \phi$ as in federal towns. The "JUL" on the Figure 23 cover (indicating the month in which the cover was advertised) is also a Canton marking, found only on advertised covers.

Another interesting postmark is Canton's "WAY" marking in similar large letters with crude decorations above and below. Figure 24 shows this marking on a cover to Carrollton,

Figure 23. This cover with "TUSCALOOSA Al. JUN 24" to Canton bears Canton's advertised postmark "AD" along with a separate and very distinctive " 2 ". The handstamped "JUL" is also a Canton postmark, found only on advertised covers.


Figure 24. Cover with "CANTON Miss APR 19" on which the "10 CENTS" blue Confederate stamp is tied by Canton's distinctive four-bar grid cancel. The cover also shows a "WAY" marking with crude fleurons, probably indicating the letter was handed to a mail carrier. No extra charge for this service is designated.

Mississippi, franked with a " 10 cents" Confederate stamp which is tied by the distinctive and unusual circular obliterator with four-bar grid that Canton used to cancel Confederate stamps. The "WAY" on this cover probably means the letter was handed to a mail carrier, though no extra charge was indicated. This "WAY" was also used after the war in 1865. It appears that none of the earlier fancy markings was ever used to cancel Confederate stamps.

Don Garrett has shown me several covers bearing a six-bar circular killer, similar to the four-bar grid on the cover in Figure 24. A nice example is struck on the cover in Figure 25 , tying a horizontal pair of 5¢ Jefferson Davis stamps.

A final marking is the rare large "DUE" shown on the cover in Figure 26. This marking appears to have been applied on a cover from Winchester, Virginia that was originally


Figure 25. The other grid used to cancel stamps was the six-bar grid in circle, shown here tying a pair of $5 ¢$ CSA stamps on an 1863 cover. Illustration courtesy Don Garrett.


Figure 26. Confederate soldier's letter sent from "WINCHESTER VA. JAN 23" (1863) with handstamped "Due" and "10" addressed to Jackson. In a thin pen writing, " 10 " was added with total " 20 ". The cover was forwarded to Columbus (Miss.) with the same handwriting, but then sent by mistake to Canton. In addition to the town mark, the Canton postmaster added his bold "DUE" to emphasize the collection.
addressed to Jackson, Mississippi with "Due" and " 10 " markings, but was then forwarded to Columbus. As a soldier's letter it could be sent collect, but when forwarded, it incurred a second $10 \phi$ charge, as was noted in the manuscript addition below the handstamped "Due 10." On the way, it appears to have been missent (per pencil marking at left) to Canton where a circular datestamp and the large "DUE" were applied, the latter just for emphasis.

This cover came out of a large correspondence so the year date of 1863 is likely to be the correct date. I have also seen this large Canton DUE marking on another soldier's letter.

## Conclusion

Collectively, the Canton cancels don't match those of Waterbury in their artistry or their variety, but they are a large and striking group, with overall design and stylistic similarities that clearly suggest they were created by the same individual. Certainly there is nothing else like them from the era of the 1851-57 stamps.

## Endnotes

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## When you think of United States postal history provenance, what names should come to mind?

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# POSTAL HISTORY OF THE 1857-58 UTAH EXPEDITION 

## STEVEN WALSKE

## Introduction

One of the least known and least understood wars in American history is the military expedition to restore Federal control over Utah Territory, which took place between May 1857 and July 1858. This has been described as the first American civil war, although a correspondent for the New York Herald noted that it was a good war: "Killed, none; wounded, none; fooled, everybody." This article describes the postal services that were established to support the army that was sent to quell rebellion in Mormon-controlled Salt Lake City.

In April 1830, disciples of Joseph Smith were organized as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly known as the Mormon Church) in western New York. Their separatism and different beliefs made them subject to harassment and violence. As a consequence, many members moved to Missouri in 1831, but were expelled by the Missouri state militia in 1838. They were able to re-settle in Nauvoo, Illinois between 1839 and 1845, but growing hostilities led to yet another expulsion in 1846. By then, it had become clear to the Mormons that they were not welcome within the boundaries of the United States, so they began to look westward for a permanent settlement site.

On April 5, 1847, Brigham Young led a pioneer party westward from Winter Quarters on the western bank of the Missouri River. On July 21, 1847, advance scouts reached Salt Lake Valley, and Young declared it to be their home three days later. By 1850, over 6,000 people had immigrated to Salt Lake City. Figure 1 shows a map of the region between the Missouri River and Utah Territory.

Resentful of non-Mormon judges and U.S. marshals, the Mormon residents of Utah Territory drove the Federal officials out and unsuccessfully petitioned the government for


Figure 1. Map of the region between the Missouri River and Utah Territory, showing various features and locations discussed in this article.
statehood in 1856. The Mormons envisioned a self-governing theocracy, free from Federal oversight, in which they could exercise their religious beliefs. This position was rightfully perceived as a rebellion against United States control, so President Buchanan decided to replace Brigham Young as governor of Utah Territory, and to send a military force to Salt Lake City to install and protect non-Mormon Federal officials.

On May 28, 1857, General Winfield Scott ordered a military force of 2,500 men to escort newly-named governor Alfred Cumming to Utah. Ironically, Brigham Young learned of this on June 23 through the United States mail. The Post Office Department had established a contract mail route between Independence, Missouri and Salt Lake City on August 1, 1850. A series of contractors had failed to satisfactorily service the monthly contract, mainly due to adverse winter weather on the plains and in the mountains, so the contract was held by Salt Lake City-based Hiram Kimball in 1857.

However, when the July 1857 Independence mail reached Salt Lake City on July 23, it contained a June 24 letter notifying Kimball that his mail contract had been annulled. The reason given was that Kimball had not signed his contract by a December 1, 1846 deadline. Ironically, the Post Office Department had sent the accepted contract on October 16 in the overland mails. At that time, the mails to Salt Lake City were severely disrupted by winter weather. The November 1856 Independence mail (which included the Kimball contract) was held at the Platte River Bridge over the winter, and did not arrive in Salt Lake City until March 24, 1857. Instead, Kimball learned that he had been awarded the contract on January 6, 1857 by letter sent via Los Angeles to Salt Lake City. Accordingly, he commenced his service in February, even though he still had not received the actual contract. But he had not conformed to the technical requirements of the bid (through no fault of his own), and the rising tide of anti-Mormonism prompted the Post Office Department to annul his award.

## The Federal expedition

The Federal expedition was made up of the 5th and 10th Infantry Regiments, the 2nd Dragoon Cavalry Regiment, and a battery of the 4th Artillery Regiment. The postal history of this expedition has been fortunately kept alive by two surviving correspondences: one from Captain Jesse A. Gove, commander of the 10th Regiment's Company I; and another from Captain Fitz John Porter, adjutant to the expedition's ultimate commander, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. Gove's letters to his wife were published in 1928 (see Bibliography), and give a detailed description of the expedition's westward progress across the plains and mountains.

The 10th Regiment led the movement westward, departing from Fort Leavenworth on July 18, 1857. At the last minute, the dragoons were detached for duty in Kansas, so the expedition proceeded without a cavalry screen, leaving its supply trains vulnerable to Mormon raiders.

## Covers

The expedition then moved ponderously to Fort Kearney (see Figure 1), where it stopped on August 7-11. While there, Gove wrote a letter to his wife, the cover of which is illustrated in Figure 2.

Gove datelined his letter "In Camp 18, Platte River, Thursday, Aug. 6, 1857" and franked it for double-weight postage (to Concord, N.H.) with a pair of 3\& 1851 stamps. He wrote, "Here we are at last within 10 miles or $91 / 4$ of Fort Kearney. Tomorrow we shall be in Kearney by 10 o'clock A.M. ... Will write you from Kearney. They have a weekly mail from there."

In his next letter, Gove reported that this letter left on Monday, August 10. He also described Fort Kearney as, "desolate indeed, the most forbidding place I ever saw. I prefer the wild prairie to it. The houses are adobe, or mud, the quarters are miserable, and, situated on


Figure 2. Cover from the Jesse Gove correspondence, postmarked "Ft Kearny" on August 7, 1857 and franked (for double-weight postage) with a pair of $3 \phi 1851$ stamps. Cover courtesy of Ken Stach.


Figure 3. Fort Kearney circa 1866, as depicted in a painting by western artist-photographer William Henry Jackson. Illustration from the Brigham Young University collection.
a level plain, has one of the most God-forsaken looks that you could well conceive a place to have." Figure 3 presents a more favorable image of the fort, just after the Civil War, from a painting by William Henry Jackson.

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Armed with the knowledge of the approaching military force, Brigham Young resolved to resist. On August 11, he wrote in his diary, "Fixed my detirmintation not to let any troops enter this territory, and unless the Government assumes a more pacific attitude, to declare emigration by the overland route Stopt. And make every preparation to give the U.S. a Sound drubbing. I do not feel to be imposed upon any more."

Following up on this, he declared martial law in the territory on September 11, and ordered his military arm, the Nauvoo Legion, to repel any invasion by U.S. soldiers. At this time, he also forbade any passage through the territory without a permit, thus closing the overland emigration route. To reinforce this, Mormons disguised as American Indians massacred an emigrant train at Mountain Meadows, Utah, on September 11. At this point, prospects for a peaceful settlement seemed remote.

The 10th Regiment spent September 1-5, 1857 at Fort Laramie. While there, Gove reported to his wife that a new monthly mail had been established to fulfill the remaining portion of the annulled Kimball contract. This was the Miles contract between Independence and Salt Lake City, which began on October 1 from Independence.

On September 21, the expedition finally crossed over South Pass (see Figure 1), and proceeded to the Green River on September 27. With the Federals threatening both Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City, the Mormons took their first hostile actions against the U.S. forces. They abandoned and burned Fort Bridger on October 3 and destroyed three federal supply trains near the Green River on October 4-5.

An interesting postal history side note is that the destruction of those federal supply trains led directly to the establishment of the transcontinental pony express. The trains belonged to the freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell. The loss was an enormous financial burden, and in effort to restore their finances, they came up with the pony express scheme in 1860 to demonstrate the superiority of the central route via Salt Lake City and thus obtain the very lucrative transcontinental mail contract then held by the Overland Mail Company on the southern route via Texas. Their efforts succeeded in proving the viability of the central route, but the new mail contract over that route was granted to the Overland Mail Company in 1861. Russell, Majors and Waddell never fully recovered from their losses in the 1857-58 war. The firm went bankrupt in 1862.

Figure 4 shows a pony express letter from Fort Bridger to Georgia. While not directly germane to our story here, it's a very interesting item, with manuscript postmark "Ft. Bridger., U.T., August 31 1860." Addressed to Governor Alfred Cumming's brother in Georgia, it was picked up enroute at Fort Bridger by the pony express trip that left San Francisco on August 25 and arrived in St Joseph, Missouri on September 6. As the manuscript notations indicate, it was prepaid a triple-weight pony express fee of $\$ 7.50$ (equivalent to hundreds of dollars in today's money) and double-weight U.S. postage by a pair of 3\& 1857 stamps. Upon arrival at St Joseph, it received a September 6 carmine "running pony" marking on

Figure 4. August 31 letter picked up enroute at Fort Bridger by the pony express trip that arrived in St. Joseph on September 6, 1860. Double-rate U.S. postage prepaid by $3 \not \subset 1857$ stamps, tri-ple-weight pony express fee prepaid in cash. Image courtesy Richard Frajola website, Pony Express image census.

the reverse, and a St Joseph postmark of the same date.
Returning to our story, in mid-October 1857 the 10th Regiment moved to attack Salt Lake City from the north via Fort Hall, but the destruction of the supply trains caused them to stop near Ham's Fork and to wait for orders from their new army commander, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. He arrived there on November 3, and decided to winter in the mountains at Fort Bridger. The army set out in a heavy snowstorm, and reached Fort Bridger on November 17-19. Headquarters were established in the ruins of the fort (which the Mormons had destroyed a few weeks earlier), while the army settled in at nearby Camp Scott. Gove's Company I was assigned to headquarters guard duty at Fort Bridger. The newly-appointed non-Mormon Salt Lake City postmaster, Hiram Morrell, also set up shop in the fort.

## Miles contract mails

Stephen B. Miles began his contract mail service on October 1, 1857 from Independence, but the circumstances caused him to use Fort Bridger as his western terminus for the duration of his contract. Gove reported the arrival of the first westbound mail trip at Fort Bridger on November 19. Table 1 shows Miles' contractual performance, based on dates reported in Gove's letters. Miles' contract was discontinued on March 31, 1858, to be replaced by a weekly contract, but he was recognized for service to June 1858.

| Depart <br> Independence | Arrive Fort Bridger | Depart Fort Bridger | Arrive Independence |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct. 1, 1857 | Nov. 19, 1857 | Dec. 1, 1857 | Dec. 30, 1857 |
| Dec. 1, 1857 | Jan. 31, 1858 | Jan. 5, 1858 | Feb. 19, 1858 |
| Jan. 1, 1858 | Feb. 7, 1858 | Feb. 1, 1858 | Mar. 15, 1858 |
| Feb. 1, 1858 | Mar. 21, 1858 | Mar. 1, 1858 | Apr. 15, 1858 |
| Mar. 1, 1858 | Apr. 12, 1858 | Mar. 25, 1858 | May 5, 1858 |
| Apr. 1, 1858 | May 17, 1858 | Apr. 18, 1858 | June 4, 1858 |
|  |  | May 22, 1858 | June 19, 1858 |
| Table 1. Departure and arrival dates of mails carried under the contract awarded to Stephen B. Miles, based on information found in the correspondence of Captain Jesse A. Gove. Dates in italics are estimates. |  |  |  |

Miles' first eastbound mail left Fort Bridger on December 1, 1857 and carried the Gove letter shown in Figure 5. This is the earliest possible date from the re-opened Fort Bridger post office.

Gove datelined his letter "Fort Bridger, U.T., November 30, 1857" and franked it for double-weight postage with two $3 \phi 1851$ stamps. He wrote, "It is now 7 P.M. Mail starts at daybreak tomorrow." Gove gave this letter to Hiram Morrell, who postmarked it in manuscript ("Fort Bridger, Dec. 1") for the December 1 departure of the mail. Per Table 1, this letter arrived in Independence on December 30, and it was docketed as received in New Hampshire on January 16.

As the soldiers settled down to a monotonous winter in the mountains, other events were forcing a peaceful conclusion to the war. On January 11, 1858, General Scott ordered the 1st Cavalry Regiment, the 6th and 7th Infantry Regiments, and two companies of the 2nd Artillery Regiment to reinforce the expedition. This news was received by Colonel Johnston on March 12, and brought his command to over 5,300 men, about a third of the


Figure 5. Gove cover franked with a pair of $3 申 1851$ stamps and bearing a December 1, 1857 manuscript "Fort Bridger" postmark.
entire United States Army. Mormon officials learned of this around the same time, and became alarmed about the size of the force confronting them.

Figure 6 shows a cover from Fitz John Porter sent during this period, showing the straightline Fort Bridger, Utah Territory postmark. The five surviving covers with this postmark are all dated March 1, so this marking was apparently used only on that date. This letter was prepaid by a $3 \notin 1857$ stamp.

After March 1, Morrell returned to using manuscript postmarks. Figure 7 shows a March 24, 1858 cover. franked it with a $3 \phi 1857$ stamp. The letter it carried was datelined "Fort Bridger, U.T., March 24, 1858" and included Gove's observation that "I expect the mail will be some days to Laramie, as it goes under escort. After they reach Laramie it will


Figure 6. Cover to Mrs. Fitz John Porter with March 1, 1858 "Fort Bridger, U.T." straightline postmark tying a $3 \phi 1857$ stamp. This striking marking, of which five examples are known, was apparently used just one day.


Figure 7. Gove cover with $3 \not \subset 1857$ stamp and March 24, 1858 manuscript "Fort Bridger UT" postmark. Cover courtesy of Dr. James Milgram.
go in 20 days." This letter actually departed from Fort Bridger on March 25.
Meanwhile, a U.S. emissary was meeting with Brigham Young and his advisors to defuse the situation. He persuaded Young to permit Governor Cumming to enter Salt Lake City on April 5. Just before that, in anticipation of renewed hostilities, Young ordered the evacuation of all Salt Lake City residents to Provo City, 45 miles south.

On April 19, Gove's Company I was ordered to rejoin the 10th Regiment at Camp Scott, in preparation for the anticipated movement of the army toward Salt Lake City. On May 28, Gove wrote from Camp Scott, "Judge of my surprise when Linch brought me letters to the 17th April. It appears that a new mail contract has been given out to Mr. Hacaday, etc., weekly. The mail leaves every Saturday....Direct all your letters via St. Joseph's."

Departing from its normal procedure of advertising for route proposals, the Post Office Department had opened direct negotiations with John Hockaday for a weekly mail service between St. Joseph, Missouri and Salt Lake City. On April 8, 1858, Hockaday signed a two and a half year contract, effective May 1, for a service leaving each Saturday morning from St. Joseph and Salt Lake City. Trips were to take 22 days each way. St. Joseph replaced Independence as the new eastern terminus because the impending completion of the Hannibal-St. Joseph railroad shortened transit times to the East. James Bromley carried the first mail from St. Joseph on Saturday, May 1, 1858 and arrived at Camp Scott, Utah on May 27. He left there with the first eastbound mail on May 29. Regular weekly service began from St. Joseph on May 22, and Salt Lake City replaced the Camp Scott terminus in July 1858.

On June 12, 1858, senior Mormon leaders agreed to "yield obedience to the constitution and laws of the United States" and the crisis was over. Johnston's army moved out of Camp Scott on June 13-15. Just before leaving, Gove posted the cover illustrated in Figure 8, which was postmarked at Camp Scott. This grainy illustration is reproduced from the pages of Chronicle 68, an article by David T. Beals III, who collected western mails generally and western military covers in particular. Beals called this a "mystery marking" and sought help in identifying its origin. The Gove covers had shed their contents, and this was years before the age of Internet searching. Beals had no way of knowing that the Gove

Figure 8. Gove cover with pair of $3 \nmid 1857$ stamps, with June 12, 1858 manuscript "Camp Scott" postmark. Image from an article in Chronicle 68 (November 1970) written by David T. Beals, III.

letters had been published decades earlier by a state historical society.
Gove datelined his letter "Camp Scott, U.T., June 11, 1858" and franked it for dou-ble-weight postage with two $3 \notin 1857$ stamps. He wrote, "The mail leaves tomorrow... Everything in and around Camp Scott is moving. Last Sunday evening the order was published for an onward move, and a more happy set of men you never dreamed of. Mail came in on Sunday also, but I got nothing but some papers. Very few letters were received, as you should direct 'via St. Joseph, Mo,' then we get them one week earlier."

Postmaster Morrell had also moved from Fort Bridger to Camp Scott, so he postmarked this letter accordingly. Looking at the hastily scrawled manuscript postmark in Figure 8, it's easy to see how Beals failed to decipher that the marking reads "Camp Scott." Only two examples of this manuscript Camp Scott marking are known, both dated June 12.

Johnston's army moved peacefully through deserted Salt Lake City from June 26 to July 3. On July 9 they reached their permanent quarters at Camp Floyd, 40 miles south of Salt Lake City, and began constructing the camp. It was completed in November. Mail from the army in the July-November 1858 period was apparently processed by postmaster Morrell in Salt Lake City. Gove wrote from Camp Floyd on Thursday, July 15, 1858 that, "Tonight the mail closes and starts tomorrow morning for Salt Lake City." At Salt Lake City, the mail connected with the weekly Hockaday mail that left each Saturday. Figure 9 shows a cover from the army. This letter, from Captain Fitz John Porter, was postmarked at


Figure 9. Cover to Mrs. Fitz John Porter, 3申 1857 stamp tied by November 27, 1858 "Salt Lake City U.T." circular datestamp. Cover courtesy of Dr. James Milgram.


Figure 10. Quadruple-rate cover to Mrs. Fitz John Porter, franked by a $12 \phi 1851$ stamp with January 4, 1859 manuscript "Camp Floyd U.T." PhilaMercury cover census \#15405.

Salt Lake City on Saturday, November 27, 1858 and franked with a $3 ¢ 1851$ stamp.
As described in a March 2014 article in Western Express by James W. Milgram, the post office at Camp Floyd began functioning in December 1858. Figure 10 shows a January 4, 1859 cover from the Fitz John Porter correspondence. The cover is postmarked with a Camp Floyd manuscript marking dated January 4, 1859 and franked for quadruple-weight postage by a $12 \phi 1851$ stamp.

## Epilog

General Albert Sidney Johnston, Major General Fitz John Porter and Colonel Jesse Gove all ended their careers during the Civil War in 1862. Gove became Colonel of the 22nd Massachusetts Volunteer Regiment (under Porter's 5th Corps), and was killed in action at the battle of Gaine's Mill on June 27, 1862. Porter commanded the 5th Corps of the Army of the Potomac from the battle of Hanover Court House (May 1862) to the battle of Antietam (September 1862). He was court-martialed and dismissed from the army for his inaction at the August 1862 battle of Second Manassas, and worked for 25 years to restore his military standing. Johnston, born in Kentucky and raised in Texas, embraced the southern cause. He became commander of the Confederacy's Western Department and led his troops into battle at Shiloh on April 6, 1862. There he was killed in action, the highest ranking general officer, Union or Confederate, to die in combat during the war.

## Bibliography

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Otis G. Hammond, editor, The Utah Expedition 1857-1858, Letters of Capt. Jesse A. Gove, 10th Inf., U.S.A., (New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N.H.: 1928).

James W. Milgram, M.D., "Camp Floyd, U.T. Postmarks," Western Express No. 251, (March 2014).

Steven Walske and Richard Frajola, Mails of the Westward Expansion, 1803 to 1861, (Western Cover Society: 2014).

## 3¢ 1861 FIRST-DESIGN ESSAYS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIES

## JAN HOFMEYR

## Introduction

Clarence Brazer describes the $3 \phi$ Washington first-design essay (which he numbers $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{Hb}$ ) as follows: "April 30, 1861. Premier Gravure from Die 441, size 59 x 55 mm . On India paper sunk on cardboard. " This text is from in the 1942 edition of Brazer's book. ${ }^{1}$ The book pictures this essay with scrolls outside the frame lines and ornaments in the " 3 "s, "U" and "S". Although Brazer does not say it explicitly, by presenting it in the sequence of $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{H}$ essays, the vignette of this essay must have "no silhouette line under chin."

In an addendum published after the original edition of his book was printed, Brazer described a second essay, $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{Hba}:{ }^{2}$ "Same as b. but top of head is silhouetted and lines added to hair on top of head, about the eye and on chin, in hair behind the ear are thicker and three lines on bottom edge of bust are extended to the back. There is no Die No. nor imprint. On India paper on card."

This description dates from 1943 and has been incorporated into the essay section of the Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps \& Covers, where the two essays are numbered $65-\mathrm{E} 14$ and $65-\mathrm{E} 15 \mathrm{a}$ respectively. ${ }^{3}$ Scott makes "no silhouette line under chin" explicit in its description of the first essay.

Brazer says nothing about the relationship between the designs of the two essays and the other first-design essays dated May and June, 1861 ( $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{Hc}$, $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{He}$ and $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{Hf}$ ). He describes 56E-Hf (a well-known gummed and perforated essay, discussed further below) as "finished" and moves on. The Scott catalog, however, groups the May and June essays with the second essay ( $65-\mathrm{E} 15 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{c}$, f and h ).

A few years ago, I became aware of anomalies in these descriptions. For instance, the $3 \phi$ first design sunk on card with imprint and die number 441 is often described as Scott $65-E 15 \mathrm{c}$ in auction catalogues, including the catalog for the Falk Finkelburg collection. ${ }^{4}$ Yet, according to both the historical and the catalog descriptions of this essay, there should be no die number.

My purpose in this article is to provide a more accurate description of these essays. In doing so, I hope to paint a more complete picture than we currently have of the design process that eventually led to the issued stamp.

## Empirical analysis of the two vignettes

Figure 1 shows four of the first-design essays in my collection. All four are die sunk on card (the area of die sinkage is $55 \times 59$ millimeters) and show the "NATIONAL BANK NOTE CO. N.Y." imprint and the die number, 441. While it's not germane to the thrust of this article, the top two items are probably trial color proofs; the ink formulations have been jotted on them in pencil. The proof shown at upper left in Figure 1 can be traced back to the Hackett collection, auctioned in several sales by the H.R. Harmer firm in 1956. It was subsequently in the Falk Finkelberg collection (Siegel sale 816, lot 1158) where it was described as Scott 65-E15c.


Figure 1. Four imprints from what the author designates as the Primary Die of the first-design essay for the $3 \phi 1861$ stamp. The die proof at upper left, which can be traced back to the Hackett collection (auctioned in 1956), was described when it sold from the Finkelberg collection as Scott 65-E15c (Siegel sale 816, lot 1158).

Figure 2 shows an enlargement of the black essay in Figure 1, along with three greatly enlarged views of portions of the vignette from this essay.

The characteristics of this die are distinctive and unmistakable: It shows number 441 with the imprint. The die size is $55 \times 59 \mathrm{~mm}$. There is no obvious silhouette at the top of the head. The hair has a wispy character; around the ear, the hair is finely etched with few heavy lines. There's a distinct silhouette line under the chin and there's no silhouette line around the nose and mouth. The three horizontal lines at the bottom of the bust appear to extend to the end. And the vertical lines at the bottom of the bust are thick in the first three layers and thin in the top layer.

The impressions of the other three essays in Figure 1 aren't as crisp, but they are identical and show the same features.

From this examination it's clear that this die has characteristics in common with both historical essay descriptions. Like Brazer $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{Hb} / \mathrm{Scott} 65-\mathrm{E} 14$, there is no silhouette on top of the head, and the die has an imprint, a die number and dimensions of $55 \times 59 \mathrm{~mm}$. But like Brazer $56 \mathrm{E}-\mathrm{Hba} / \mathrm{Scott} 65-\mathrm{E} 15 \mathrm{a} / \mathrm{c}$, the three horizontal lines at the base of the bust carry through to the end, and the line under the chin is well defined.


Figure 2. The Primary Die and its characteristics. This is an enlargement of the black essay in Figure 1, along with even greater enlargements showing details of the vignette. The most prominent design feature is the silhouette line under George Washington's chin. The enlarged views at right show the fineness of the hair around the ear; the silhouette line under the chin; and the four layers at the base of the bust. The vertical lines of the top layer are visibly thinner than those of the bottom three layers.


Figure 3. Four different examples of impressions from what the author designates as the Secondary Die of the first-design essay for the $3 \phi 1861$ stamp. The second essay from the left is shown in various enlargements in Figure 4. When last sold at auction, this essay was described as Scott 65-E15c.

Figure 3 shows scans of a second set of essays. These have no imprint or die number and are therefore strong candidates for a second die. But like the essays pictured in Figure 1, they have consistently been described as Scott 65-E15c. ${ }^{5}$

As with Figure 1, all four items in Figure 3 are imprinted from the same die. Enlargements taken from the best impression of the four (second from the left in Figure 3) are presented in Figure 4.


Figure 4. The Secondary Die and its characteristics. These enlargements are taken from one of the die impressions in Figure 3. A silhouette line clearly defines the top of the head, and the hair is thickly and coarsely engraved, especially around the ear, where the "hook" and the "gash" are prominent. The layers of the bust are poorly defined.

The differences between the first die (Figures 1 and 2) and the die that produced the essays shown in Figures 3 and 4 should be immediately apparent. In the essays in Figures 3 and 4 there is no die number or imprint and the sinkage area is larger ( $75 \times 62 \mathrm{~mm}$ ). There is a distinct silhouette at the top of the head. The hair is engraved with thick, strong lines. The hair covering the ear has been etched to create what I call a "gash." The hair in front of the ear has been etched to create a kind of "hook." The outline under the chin is poorly defined. The lines at the base of the bust are poorly defined. And the vertical lines at the base of the bust aren't as clearly differentiated between thick and thin.

Like the essays shown in Figures 1 and 2, the essays shown in Figures 3 and 4 have elements in common with both historical descriptions. For example, as required by the historical description of the second die, they are without imprint or die number and show both the silhouette at the top of the head and the "strengthened" lines of the vignette. But unlike the description of the second die, the lines under the chin and at the base of the bust are poorly defined.

So while these essays are clearly derived from two different dies, an empirical analysis suggests that they have been incorrectly described. For reasons that will become clear, I suggest that we should call the die that produced the essays illustrated in Figures 1 and 2, the Primary Die.

I would describe the Primary Die as follows: It has an imprint and die number 441. The sinkage area is $55 \times 59 \mathrm{~mm}$. There is no silhouette on top of the head and the hair is finely engraved. The lines under the chin and at the base of the bust are well defined. And the vertical lines at the base of the bust are thick for three layers, then thin.

The essays produced by what I would then call the Secondary Die (Figures 3 and 4) have the following characteristics: There is no imprint or die number 441 and the area of die sinkage is larger ( $75 \times 62 \mathrm{~mm}$ ). There is a silhouette line on top of the head and the hair is engraved with thick lines. The coarse hair lines create a distinctive "hook" and "gash" around the ear. And the lines below the chin and at the base of the bust are poorly defined.

## Why is this important?

One of the unfortunate consequences of these historical errors has been to associate characteristics of the Secondary Die with other first-design essays. So, for example, Scott essays $65-\mathrm{E} 15 \mathrm{~b}, \mathrm{c}$, f and h , are described as having "lines added or strengthened in hair at top of head, around eye, on chin, in hair behind ear" with the "top of head silhouetted." None of that is accurate.

Figure 5 shows scans of the best examples I have of Brazer 56E-Hc and 56E-Hf (Scott 65-E15b and 65-E15h). At upper left in Figure 5 is Scott 65-E15b, described in Scott as "'Premiere Gravure' die essay on semi-transparent stamp paper." Scott lists this in seven shades of red; the example shown at the upper left in Figure 5 is probably "dull pink."

The perforated essay at lower left in Figure 5 is Scott 65-E15h. This essay has a long and interesting history. Up until the 1980s, when Scott finally reclassified the "Premiere Gravure" stamps as essays, this was Scott 56, the sought-after $3 \phi$ value in the very scarce stamp set that was then called the August Issue or the Premiere Gravures. Going back to the days of John Luff at the end of the 19th century, these items, now known to be essays, had been classified as issued stamps-though only one or two values was ever found on cover. The current Scott description for $65-\mathrm{E} 15 \mathrm{~h}$ is: "Finished 'Premier Gravure' plate essay on semi-transparent stamp paper, perf. 12, gummed (formerly No. 56), brown rose."


Figure 5. First-design essays on stamp paper. The unperforated item at top left is Scott 65-E15b. The perforated essay at lower left is Scott 65-E15h, which in a previous existence was much admired as the $3 \phi$ "August Issue." The enlargements at right show the hair around the ear, the silhouette under the chin, and the vertical lines at the base of the bust. All are similar to those same features on the Primary Die.


Figure 6. This greatly enlarged photo of a black trial color proof shows in detail the design of the issued stamp, revealing that the issued stamp exhibits the main characteristics of the Primary Die: No "hook" or "gash" in the hair around the ear, a silhouette line under the chin, and well-defined layers at the base of the bust.

The enlargements in Figure 5, taken from the two essays shown at left in Figure 5, focus on the regions around the ear, under the chin, and at the base of the bust. I've also shown outlines of the nose and mouth, for reasons that will soon be clear. The definitive characteristics of what I've called the Secondary Die (coarse lines that create the "gash" and the "hook" in the region of the ear) are not visible. Instead, both the hair and the base of the bust conform to the characteristics we see in the Primary Die.

This raises a question: What is the chronological status of the Secondary Die? In both Brazer and Scott, it's presented as if it were a later creation, produced to improve perceived weaknesses in the design of the primary die - hence the description "lines added or strengthened." Yet our empirical analysis suggests that it was something of an outlier-it has no die number and its design is inconsistent with most of the other essays in the design evolution.

Let's now look at the issued stamp. Figure 6 shows a greatly enlarged photo of a black trial color proof of the issued stamp, Scott 65 . This black proof is by far the best available subject for examining design details. As the enlargements at right in Figure 6 should make clear, the issued stamp shows the definitive characteristics of the Primary Die: no "hook" and no "gash" in the hair around the ear, a silhouette under the chin, and well-defined lines in the base of the bust. But unlike the Primary Die, it has a stronger outline around the chin, mouth and nose, as if extending the silhouette.

This distinction can be seen easily in Figure 7. The enlargement at left shows the mouth and chin area from the Primary Die in Figure 2. The enlargement at right shows the mouth and chin area from the issued design in Figure 6. It should be immediately visible


Figure 7. Mouth and chin area from the Primary Die (left) and the issued stamp (right) showing the extension of the silhouette line under the chin, which on the issued stamp extends from the bottom of George Washington's nose all the way down the throat.
that the silhouette line on the issued design is quite strong and extends from the bottom of Washington's nose all the way down the throat.

## Conclusions

When it comes to the first designs associated with the issued $3 \phi$ stamp of 1861 , most of the scholarly focus has been on the evolution of the frame design. Although we've long known that at least two vignette designs preceded the vignette that was used for the issued stamp, insufficient attention has been paid to describing the vignette designs accurately.

My analysis suggests that only one of the two dies (the one I call the Primary Die) was part of the mainstream of development. There is no reason to question the dates Brazer assigns to this mainstream (April 30 for the Primary Die; and May and June for the additional experiments). We do, however, need to improve our description of the Primary Die, in particular in regard to the hair, the silhouette under the chin, and the well-defined base of the bust.

The Primary Die-number 441-went on to become the basis of the issued stamp, but with the vignette outline strengthened around the face.

The design described later by Brazer (1943) is clearly secondary. It is coarser and lacks the detailed definition that we see in the primary die. An examination of the empirical evidence makes it hard to see how it could have been thought of as an improvement. It appears as an outlier against the backdrop of the consistency of the use of the primary die.

## What to do about the catalog listings?

My suggestion would be to renumber the essays so that what are currently presented as Scott 65 -E14 and 65 -E15 properly reflect the evolutionary design sequence that led to the issued stamp. Essays that are based on what I've called the Secondary Die should be presented as outliers. The Secondary Die has very few derivatives. Its distinguishing fea-tures-the silhouette at the top of the head and the thick lines in the hair and around the ear-should not be used to describe the other essays.

## Endnotes

1. Clarence W. Brazer, Essays for US Adhesive Postage Stamps (Lawrence: Quarterman Publications, 1977) pg. 34.
2. Ibid., pg. 272.
3. Scott 2014 Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps \& Covers, Scott Publishing Co., 2013), pg. 779.
4. Robert A. Siegel sale 816 (September 29, 1999), lot 1158.
5. See, for instance, Robert A. Siegel sale 890 (February 2, 2005) lots 137-139.

## NOTE FROM THE SECTION EDITOR

I am honored and pleased to assume the duties of editor of the 1861 section of the Chronicle. I can only hope to be half as good in this role as my predecessor, Michael McClung, who contributed to or edited this section for 25 years, ultimately taking over from Dick Graham. These are big shoes to fill.

For the United States Post Office Department, the 1861-69 era was a period of startling and dramatic change. Use of the mails exploded, requiring the creation of billions of stamps. The Civil War forced demonetization and much else. Postal routes and mail handling needed to adapt. Envelopes became vehicles for patriotic, commercial, and social messages. Cancellations became more ornate and pictorial. And grilled stamps were adopted to prevent reuse.

My goal for this section is just as broad: to show the full panoply of this period-in stamps, covers, markings, rates, routes, mail-handling practices and more. I'm also hoping that further work with the Travers papers will unearth new insights into postal affairs during this period.

One request for those with a collection or a collecting interest in this period: Think about sharing what you know with your fellow USPCS members. Though we all may not be able to physically gather together as often as we might like, we can use the pages of the Chronicle to share interests and knowledge. When looking an item in your collection, if you have ever thought, "This would make an interesting article," now is your chance. Don't worry if you feel you don't have the editorial skills. I'm happy to work with any potential author-from idea, to outline, to finished article. If you have the knowledge and the desire, I'm confident we can turn that into a Chronicle article. Anything from a two-page shortie to a multi-part treatise is welcome. Drop me a note; my contact info is in the masthead. I look forward to hearing what you want to see more (or less) of, or how I can help you join the ranks of Chronicle authors.-C.G.

## CHATTANOOGA STRAIGHTLINE CANCELLATION ON 1申 1861 STAMP JIM CATE

The first Union Army cancellations of Chattanooga began on December 9, 1863 with the Type 1 Chattanooga straightline cancellation. This was used for 40 days until it was replaced with an official double circle cancellation on January 17, 1864. The various Chattanooga straightline cancellations have been discussed in a number of prior Chronicles. ${ }^{1}$ The most recent of these articles illustrated the three known types and resolved questions about their existence in black.

Previously, Elliot Perry had discussed Chattanooga Civil War cancellations in his Pat Paragraphs, where he showed illustrations of the Chattanooga straightline cancellations. ${ }^{2}$ At that time, Perry termed as "\#1" the framed or boxed January 1864 marking now known as Type 3. In the last sentence of his article, within a section termed "Unusual Postmarks," Perry wrote: "Usually found on the $3 \phi 1861$, but \#1 is known on a strip of three of the $1 \phi . "$

Perry's remark, initially published over 60 years ago, is the only reference ever encountered for the Chattanooga straight-line cancellation appearing on the $1 申 1861$ stamp. For the last 30 of those years, this writer searched and consulted with all known specialists of the $1 \not \subset 1861$ issue in hopes of locating the cover Perry mentioned. None had ever seen or heard of an instance of the Chattanooga straightline cancellation on a cover with the 1申 1861. But finally, the question of this cover's existence has been conclusively resolved.

The cover is shown in Figure 1. I acquired it recently from a collection that had been formed over a period of more than half a century. This is certainly the cover Perry mentioned, and my extensive research suggests it is unique.

Virtually all the Union Army mail sent from Chattanooga was franked with 3ф 1861 stamps (Scott 65) or sent unpaid as soldier's mail with due markings. There is one instance


Figure 1. Union Army "HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND, OFFICIAL BUSINESS" printed envelope with three $1 \phi 1861$ stamps tied by two strikes of the Chattanooga straightline cancellation reading "CHATTANOOGA, TENN./JANUARY 1864." This is the only reported use of $1 \phi 1861$ stamps on any Chattanooga-postmarked mail from the Civil War.
of a $3 \phi$ government stamped envelope with a black Chattanooga straight-line cancella-tion-used on Christmas Day, 1863. Another cover shows a $2 \notin 1863$ stamp (Scott 73) used to pay the $2 \phi$ local rate. Chattanooga occupation covers showing anything other than the $3 \phi$ 1861 stamp are scarce or rare.

The two strikes of the marking on the Figure 1 cover are not particularly clear, but the postmark date is definitely "JANUARY 1 1864". Using the lower of the two strikes of the cancellation as the reference, the " Y " of "JANUARY" (on the right stamp in Figure 1) falls under the second "O" of "CHATTANOOGA. " The numeral date " 1 " falls under the " $G$ " of "CHATTANOOGA". And the " 4 " of " 1864 " appears under the "E" of "TENN." The inked box after the " 4 " is a letter spacer that is set too high in the marking device, high enough to print. All these features are consistent with other "JANUARY 1, 1864" strikes (on covers bearing $3 \phi$ stamps) in my collection. Figure 2 is an enlargement from one of them. The essential characteristics are identical.

The emergence of this cover, more than half a century after Perry's fleeting mention of it, puts to rest any doubts about its existence, extends the range of use of the Chattanooga


Figure 2. Another example of the Chattanooga straightline cancel, struck on the same day, January 1, 1864, and showing similar spacing of elements on the date line.
straight-line to include the $1 申 1861$ stamp, and extends wartime use of this stamp to include Federally-occupied Chattanooga.

## Endnotes

1. The boxed version of the cancellation was first illustrated in Chronicle 57, pg. 19 (February 1968) and again in Chronicle 72, pg. 203 (December 1971). All three types were illustrated and their use in black was discussed in Chronicle 216, pg. 286 (November 2007).
2. Pat Paragraphs, Springfield, Va.: Bureau Issues Association, 1981, pp. 504-506. This was a rearranged collection of articles that Perry had written between 1931 and 1958.

# THE STORY OF THE 3申 WASHINGTON HEAD CANCEL OF WEST FAIRLEE, VERMONT: "BIG-NOSE MAN" REVEALED AS A STAMP-ON-CANCEL CANCEL RICHARD MAREK 

Collectors of cancellations on 19th century United States stamps have discovered literally thousands of distinct designs ranging from the most pedestrian to the fanciest. Most were created by some local postmaster possessed of little but a spare moment, a knife, a cork or bit of wood and a touch of imagination. Collectible cancellations portray nearly everything conceivable: geometric designs, stars, initials, dates, slogans, tools, insects, animals, humans - the list is almost inexhaustible.

We now know that in one small town in the 1860s, a Vermont postmaster used the then-current $3 \phi$ stamp itself for his inspiration.

Buried within two paper bags of old envelopes purchased from a local library were two covers from West Fairlee, Vermont; each with a fancy cancel struck on the stamp that appears to have inspired it. Each was addressed to the same woman and neither has the original contents or any year dating. One, shown in Figure 1, bears a December 5 circular datestamp; the other, less clearly struck, is dated November 27.

Although the two covers were a new find, the cancel itself was not a new discovery. George Slawson illustrated an on-cover copy of the West Fairlee cancel in a brief report, in the August 1968 issue of The Vermont Philatelist, which included a fuzzy photograph of a cover with the same cancel, with a West Fairlee circular datestamp showing November 25.


Figure 1. West Fairlee, Vermont, with DEC 5 circular datestamp and $3 \phi 1861$ stamp, socked on the nose with an elusive marking that had previously been described as "Big-Nose Man." As this article makes clear, this cancel is actually a close if crude copy of the design and central image of the $3 \phi 1861$ stamp.
The black-and-white illustration from that brief write-up is shown here in Figure 2. ${ }^{1}$ The fancy cancel clearly matches the one on the Figure 1 cover, though the horizontal orientation of the underlying $3 \phi$ stamp obscured the commonality of the portrait designs.

Slawson, author of the note and editor of the publication, was an esteemed student of postal stationery as well as of Vermont postal history. At that time he was in the final stages of writing The Postal History of Vermont, published the following year by the Collectors Club of New York.


Figure 2. "Big Nose Man" postmark, from an early issue of The Vermont Philatelist. Prior to the discoveries described in this article, this was the only recorded example of this marking. The horizontal placement of the stamp apparently obscured the real nature of the design of marking.


Figure 3. West Fairlee, five-point negative star cancel, previously unknown, from the same find (and the same correspondence) as the cover in Figure 1.

Slawson's brief write-up claimed that prior auctions had referred to copies of this cancel as the "Big Nose Man." He went on to use that phrase to describe the cancel in The Postal History of Vermont. There he indicated that West Fairlee boasted five noteworthy 19th century cancels: a seven-pointed star, a star with crescent, a shaded star, a large "WF," and the "Big Nose Man."

Whatever its proper name, the "Big Nose Man" certainly ranked as one of Vermont's most significant fancy cancels-alongside Brattleboro's "Devil and Pitchfork" and "Uncle Sam Thumbing Nose" and Forestdale's "Crow." But alone among them, the West Fairlee cancel was not illustrated by Slawson in his book, even though many seemingly less important cancels are shown there.

That omission and other evidence raise questions about whether Slawson had firsthand knowledge of the cancel and whether other copies actually were known at the time. If, as seems most likely, Slawson's information was only second-hand, that would help explain why his designation for the West Fairlee cancel mistook its identity.

The story of the cancel's potential link to the stamp's design begins with the discovery of the two West Fairlee covers mentioned at the outset, which triggered new research and a new identity for the West Fairlee cancel. In 2000, an 85 -year-old Vermont collector visited a local librarian in a nearby town who had been unsuccessful in attempting to sell two paper bags full of old envelopes, dating from the 1860s to the 1920s, sent to and from nearby small Vermont or New Hampshire towns.

None of the envelopes retained their contents, but all of them were sent to women who shared the same last name in their earlier years-Emma Newcomb and Abby Newcomb. Among the collectible but fairly routine covers were the two West Fairlee covers discussed here. Accompanying them was a previously unreported five-point negative star from the same office. This is shown in Figure 3. All three envelopes were addressed to Emma Newcomb in Thetford, Vermont.

I related the story of the contents of the two paper bags in an article in The Vermont Philatelist in 2001. ${ }^{3}$ Fortunately, it appeared there for the discoverer to see just a month before he died unexpectedly.

I was left with several questions. Why, in an era when most small-town Vermonters were not given to frequent moves, had Emma received mail at many different places on


Figure 4. Emma Thurston nee Newcomb, circa the late 1860s. Photo courtesy Thetford (Vt.) Historical Society.


Figure 5. The E.P. George Store, in a photograph that dates from around 1906. In the 1860s, this building housed the West Fairlee post office. Photo courtesy University of Vermont Landscape Change Program.
both sides of the Connecticut River? Who created the "Big Nose Man" cancel? And, why, after collecting and exhibiting Vermont postal history for over 30 years and having all the standard references, had I never before encountered any mention of a "Big Nose Man" cancel apart from Slawson's brief report?

A decade later, I have had time to research those questions and can now suggest answers for all of them. Emma Newcomb, shown in Figure 4, was born in Thetford, Vermont, in 1851 and died there in $1945 .{ }^{4}$ Even her robust 94 years were not quite a match for her mother, who was listed as age 100 in the 1920 U.S. Federal Census! That same census showed that Emma by then was Emma Thurston, a "farmer and widow." ${ }^{5}$ The Figure 4 photo shows her at approximately the age when she received the covers discussed here.

Because all of the letter contents are missing, we cannot yet say who in West Fairlee sent the two "Big Nose Man" covers to Miss Newcomb. We only can say that both they and the "star" cover (Figure 3) all were addressed in the same hand and on the same type of lady's envelope.

Much more is known about the town of West Fairlee and its postmaster during this period. West Fairlee's dispersed and primarily agricultural population was served by a single post office in the 1860s. The town's total population was 830 in 1860 and it had blossomed to 833 by $1870 .{ }^{6}$ This was consistent with Vermont's stagnant population during the last half of the 19th century, an era when most northern New England towns had flat or declining populations.The post office was located in a principal village of about 300 people situated in the southwestern part of the town's roughly 23 square miles. Like many other post offices in 19th century Vermont, West Fairlee generated little outgoing mail, of which far less survives for us today.

In 1858, Edmund P. George came to West Fairlee and purchased the village store pictured in Figure 5. Several years later, on August 2, 1861, he also began what turned out to be 21 consecutive years of service as the town postmaster. ${ }^{7}$

As in other small Vermont towns, George's primary role was running the store, which also housed the post office. The additional business from people stopping in to collect or
post their mail likely was of greater value to George than his meager official compensation as West Fairlee's postmaster.

During his long tenure as postmaster, George was responsible for five of West Fairlee's six known fancy cancels. Four of those were in some form of star design, not unlike those seen from many other offices. But his "Big Nose Man," although obviously also homemade, showed a very different level of creativity.

It was seeing the two newly discovered and perfectly struck examples that finally revealed the potential inspiration for George's design and suggested how he probably made it. It also causes me to propose discarding the "Big Nose Man" name and raises serious questions regarding Slawson's 1968 comment about the supposed existence of other recorded copies.

At the very least, if other copies actually were known at the time, it is hard to believe that Slawson ever saw them. This opinion is grounded in my respect for his incisive philatelic eye. If his name for the cancel was based only on the Figure 2 cover, which he illustrated, then the name seems a perfectly logical one. The man in the cancel clearly has a rather Romanesque nose (although that may be a result of happenstance rather than of intention).

If Slawson had ever personally seen this cancel on a stamp affixed in the normal vertical orientation, he almost surely would have come to the same conclusion about the cancel's identity as is reached here. He simply was too observant a philatelist to have merely referred to it as a "Big Nose Man." It was limited perspective that caused Slawson to miss the real source of the cancel's inspiration. As in this case, perspective was everything.

The eventual giveaway to the real identity of the "Big Nose Man" was the socked-on-the-nose strike on the Figure 1 cover, which was duplicated on the slightly less well-struck November 27 cover. Seeing the cancel on a normally positioned stamp, one immediately notices how it aligns with the $3 \phi$ Washington vignette and the surrounding lathe work.

This is best seen in the various enlargements shown in Figure 6. At left in Figure 6 is an enlargement of the stamp and cancel from the Figure 1 cover. At center is the cancel itself, digitally extracted from the image at left. At right is a nice $3 \phi 1861$ stamp whose design is not obscured by a cancellation. Note in the left-most image how surrounding portions of the cancel seem to reflect the design curves above and below the vignette in the stamp design. And note the striking similarities between the profiled bust on the cancel (center) and the profiled bust of Washington on the stamp at right.


Figure 6. At left, the stamp and cancel from the Figure 1 cover. At center, the cancel itself, digitally extracted from the image at left. An unused example of the $3 \phi 1861$ stamp is presented at right for comparison. The similarity between the bust on the cancel and the profiled vignette of George Washington on the stamp is quite striking.

An obvious question is whether Postmaster George indeed set out to create a Washington head cancel based on a $3 \phi 1861$ stamp. Measurement of the cancels and comparison of them with the unused $3 \phi$ stamp in Figure 6 supports the conclusion that he did. Apart from the shape of the nose, the match is compelling: The cancel closely duplicates the central portion of the $3 \notin 1861$ stamp design. The height of Washington's head is 16 millimeters, just as on the stamp. The cancel's format doesn't permit precisely measuring the head's horizontal dimension, but the width from the nose across to the point at the bottom-most rear of the neck also closely matches the approximately 11 mm on the stamp.

The cancel's similarity with the stamp is so strong that the handstamp likely was made in a multiple-step duplication process. First, the design would have been traced on thin paper placed over a stamp from Postmaster George's own stock. That tracing then would have been turned over and transferred to the face of a cork. Finally, carving the cork to remove the desired portions would have furnished the postmaster with a canceler that could be inked and applied to the actual stamp. That would have produced the cancel shown in Figure 6, while still leaving the stamp identifiable, by postal officials or anyone else. As to the oversized nose, the simplest and most likely explanation is that it resulted from a slip of the carving knife, possibly reinforced by a defective cork. In light of the other evidence the big nose now seems definitely the wrong focus for describing this cancel. It is in fact a stamp-on-cancel image, unlike anything else in the canon of U.S. fancy cancels.

Slawson's comment in The Vermont Philatelist about other supposed copies having been seen at auctions explains why it took so long to correctly identify the cancel. Those auction copies may never have existed. Apart from this single statement, after much digging I have been unable to find evidence that another copy of this cancel was known in 1968.

One would expect known examples of the cancel to have left philatelic footprints. This is especially the case if, as claimed, they had appeared in auctions prior to The Vermont Philatelist article. At least four major Vermont collections came to auction during the decade flanking Slawson's initial report. Three occurred before his article appearedincluding those of two of Slawson's predecessor authors of The Postal History of Vermont. ${ }^{8}$ Although each of those auctions contained a large number of Vermont covers and many Vermont fancy cancels, none contained this West Fairlee cancel. Nor did the large Dr. Douglas Green collection when it was sold in $1972 .{ }^{9}$

Slawson's massive Vermont collection, containing thousands of Vermont covers, went to auction in 1969 shortly after his death. ${ }^{10}$ However, as with all the other major Vermont auctions, there was no trace of the West Fairlee cancel either on or off-cover.

The cancel's absence from the Slawson sale supports the view that the cover featured in his note in The Vermont Philatelist and his related statements came from some secondary source. His having learned of the marking elsewhere would also help explain his otherwise strange omission of a tracing in The Postal History of Vermont, despite the acknowledged assistance from hundreds of individuals and dealers over many years. If multiple copies of the West Fairlee cancel already were known, one of those sources could surely have provided a tracing. However, if the first time Slawson saw a picture of the marking was as he prepared the August 1968 Vermont Philatelist article, then it likely was too late for him to do more than add a belated mention of it in the text of his book.

Additionally, neither Herst-Sampson nor Skinner-Eno, the two main reference works for U.S. cancellations of the 1860 s, list this cancel-whether attributed to West Fairlee or not. ${ }^{11}$ Other major works covering the same period from other perspectives are similarly silent about the cancel's existence. ${ }^{12}$

Hubert Skinner and Amos Eno's efforts, as well as those of their many cooperating collectors and dealers, spanned at least four decades. That exhaustive research resulted in over 4,000 distinct designs, including a number of Washington silhouettes that closely match the profile on the same $3 \notin$ stamp. Most recently, an example of Skinner-Eno PH-

F57, the profiled bust of Washington cancel of Tunkhannock, Pennsylvania, struck on a $3 \phi$ 1861 stamp, was sold by the Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, where it was described as "obviously based on the $3 \notin 1861$ stamp and clearly struck in near total alignment with its design source. ${ }^{13}$ Yet, the "Big Nose Man" is nowhere to be seen.

It is perfectly understandable that the compilers of all of these major references could have missed a brief report of a new marking in a small society journal such as The Vermont Philatelist. It is much harder to conceive that all of them failed to notice or illustrate a striking cancel through appearances in multiple auctions. Lastly, neither of the two long-time Vermont postal history dealers recently consulted on the question indicated that they had seen a copy of the cancel prior to the discovery discussed here. ${ }^{14}$

Apart from the three on-cover examples discussed above, I have found evidence for only one other copy of the West Fairlee cancel. This was on the 3申 entire envelope (Scott U58) shown in a partial black and white image in Figure 7. This envelope was offered in a 1991 Richard Frajola auction, long after Slawson's day and long after the publication of the major U.S. cancellation references referred to earlier. ${ }^{15}$ This cover's December 11 circular datestamp extends the known date span for the four covers to just 18 days, consistent with the ephemeral life of a cork cancel.

Figure 7: From a 1991 Frajola auction, the same West Fairlee marking, here struck on a 3¢ entire envelope (U58) with "DEC 11" circular datestamp. The similarity to the 361861 design was again not recognized, and a very knowledgeable auctioneer described the marking as depicting a "negative caricature head."


We have no solid information as to the year of use, at least none apparent on any of the covers or in the various lot descriptions. However, the Frajola cover eliminates the years up through 1864, because the earliest documented use of the Scott U58 envelope is November 2, 1865.

Interestingly, the appearance of the Figure 7 cover did not contribute to the identification of its cancel. Seeing the cancel struck on a goverment entire envelope did nothing to cause the viewer to associate the design with the $3 \phi 1861$ stamp. It is noteworthy that Frajola himself did not see the connection. He also did not use the supposedly well-accepted "Big Nose Man" name for the cancel. Instead he simply called it a "negative caricature head."

The belated retirement of the "Big Nose Man" designation is more than compensated for by the recognition that West Fairlee Postmaster Edmund George left a far more interesting contribution to philately. The previously unappreciated link between the cancel and the design of the then-current stamp is a far more interesting story than a generic "Big Nose

Man." And why so seemingly obvious an inspiration apparently eluded philatelists over so many decades now has a plausible explanation.

The author would welcome any additional information regarding the subject matter of this article. Thanks are due to the Thetford Historical Society and the West Fairlee Historical Society for their significant research assistance.

## Endnotes

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13. Robert A. Siegel Auction 1107 (July 27-28, 2015), lot 144.
14. Elwyn Doubleday and Dr. Paul Abajian, each with many decades of experience in Vermont postal history, were consulted regarding their knowledge of any other known examples and could recall none.
15. "United States Postal History," Richard C. Frajola, Inc. Auction (April 21, 1991), lot 598.


# THE 1869 PERIOD SCOTT R. TREPEL, EDITOR 

## POSTAGE AND REVENUE STAMPS USED TOGETHER FOR DIFFERENT PURPOSES <br> PAUL S. HARTER

The cover shown in Figure 1 is an unusual and scarce combination of the 1869 3ф Locomotive and a $2 \nless$ orange revenue stamp on a patent medicine manufacturer's advertising envelope. Although the bottom label of the revenue stamp is covered by the $3 \notin 1869$, it reads "U.S. Inter. Rev." The stamp is Scott R15c.

At first glance, this cover appears to be an attempted use of a revenue stamp to pay postage, which was prohibited by postal regulations. Such attempts were frequent, as evidenced by a fairly large number of surviving covers. However, the Figure 1 cover represents something entirely different: the application of a revenue stamp to an envelope that contained a taxable product.

The cover was mailed by Dr. A. R. Ball of Marshall, Michigan, a patent medicine manufacturer who sold "Dr. Ball's Medicated Paper." As Dr. Ball proclaimed on this printed advertising envelope, his wonder medicine cured "asthma, bronchitis, consumption, colds, coughs, catarrh, croup, hooping-cough (sic), hoarseness and all diseases of the breathing organs." Indeed, this is a bold proclamation, but not at all uncommon in the days before the Food and Drug Administration. Two all-important indicators of this unusual franking are contained in the wording, "Price 50 cents, by mail."


Figure 1. "Dr. Ball's Medicated Paper" advertising cover with $2 \phi$ "U.S. Inter. Rev." stamp (R15c) and $3 \phi 1869$ Pictorial. The revenue stamp is canceled with a manuscript "B."

During the American Civil War, the United States government enacted a wide variety of new taxes to pay for the cost of the war, including taxes on documents, proprietary medicines and other goods. The tax was paid through the use of revenue stamps. Each of the Issue of 1862 revenue stamps (commonly called the "First Issue") bears the name of the transaction or product for which it was intended: Foreign Exchange, Insurance, Playing Cards, Proprietary, Telegraph and so on.

After a brief period of mandatory matching usage, revenue stamps were allowed to be used without regard for the tax named on the stamp. There was a single exception. The amended law effectively restricted the use of "Proprietary" stamps to certain named products, but it allowed documentary stamps to be used to pay the same tax. ${ }^{1}$

A revenue stamp to pay tax on products such as patent medicine was still required in 1870 when the Figure 1 cover was mailed. The $2 \notin$ orange "U.S. Inter. Rev." stamp on the cover was issued in 1864 and by 1867 had superseded almost all other $2 \phi$ stamps. Its primary use was on checks and receipts, the two most common documentary taxes. However, in this instance Dr. Ball used the revenue stamp to pay the proprietary medicine tax. He might have been concerned that he was using the wrong stamp-even today collectors are confused by the wording of the amended law-and so perhaps he deliberately covered the "U.S. Inter. Rev." label with the $3 \phi$ postage stamp.

It is highly probable that addressee Marvin Marsh had ordered Dr. Ball's "medicated papers," and that this envelope contained the merchandise shipped by Dr. Ball to Marsh in Buchanan, Michigan. Buchanan lies about 80 miles west of Marshall. The cover was postmarked at Marshall on January 25 (1870). A standard grid canceling device was used to cancel both stamps. Partly obscured by the grid cancel on the $2 \phi$ revenue stamp is a manuscript initial "B," presumably written by Dr. Ball.

Pursuant to applicable laws, rules and regulations, a revenue stamp (or stamps) of appropriate denomination was to be placed on the product package (for example, playing card wrappers or medicine bottles), with the stamp cancelled with the user's initials (or name) and the date. Obviously the inventive sort, Dr. Ball devised a method to use the Post Office to help reduce the burden of this task.

The first step would be to sign only his last name initial to each stamp in a sheet of revenue stamps, a fast and efficient way to purportedly satisfy the first requirement. In reality, this approach would not satisfy the law, and in fact it was doubly illegal. The law required the user to "write thereupon the initials of his name and the date..." With only a single initial and no date, the stamp could easily be reused, defeating the purpose of cancellation.

At this time the U.S. Internal Revenue was greatly concerned with reuse of stamps. In 1870 all mechanical cancellations were required to break the paper of the stamp; the Second/Third Issues of 1871-72 were designed specifically to defeat washing of cancels. In the case at hand, failure to fully initial and date the stamp can perhaps be forgiven, since it could be anticipated that the postal cancel would render reuse highly conspicuous.

Dr. Ball's second step was to affix both a canceled (initialed) revenue stamp, as well as regular postage, to the envelope. Thus, when goods were to be mailed, the prepared envelope had both the revenue and the postage stamp in place. In failing to meet the letter of the law, Dr. Ball created a fabulous postal/revenue artifact with the $2 \phi$ proprietary tax paid by a U.S. revenue stamp and $3 \notin$ postage paid by an 1869 stamp, side by side.

The author expresses appreciation to Michael Mahler and Michael Morrissey for critical review of this article and for sharing their knowledge of the uses of the First Issue revenue stamps.

## Endnote

1. For more on this subject see the Act of December 25, 1862 and The Boston Revenue Book.

## UNITED STATES-HAPAG MIXED FRANKING COVERS MATTHEW W. KEWRIGA

Covers bearing stamps from more than one country have always fascinated collectors and make for colorful and exciting uses. Due to their long period of general use, the 187088 Bank Note stamps offer many interesting examples of combination frankings, including those involving the HAPAG private ship letter stamp. This article explores the three known covers bearing Bank Note and HAPAG stamps used together. A mint example of the HAPAG stamp is shown greatly enlarged in Figure 1.

## Background

St. Thomas, in the Danish West Indies, was one of the primary transit hubs in the Caribbean area. It was at the crossroads of shipping routes serving the entrepôt trade between the United States and Europe on one side, and the Antilles and Spanish Main on the other. The United States began packet services to St. Thomas in 1865 with the inauguration of the United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Line, which operated a route between New York and Brazil, stopping at St. Thomas in both directions. Mail destined for many Caribbean destinations was served by this line, connecting at St. Thomas with steamers of the British Royal Mail Steam Packet Co. At St. Thomas it was also possible to connect with other foreign steamship lines serving the Caribbean, including the German lines.

The Hamburg Amerikanische Packetfahrt Aktien-Gesellschaft (HAPAG) was founded on 27 May 1847 with service to New York, and later (in 1867) via New Orleans to Mexico. Late in 1870, HAPAG announced a West Indies service, to be effective in January 1871. The inauguration of the West Indies line was made by the Bavaria, departing Hamburg on 26 March 1871 bound for the West Indies. In 1873, the opening of the HAPAG intercolonial lines, a more extensive regional service, led to demands from German merchants in the Caribbean for HA-


Figure 1. A mint example of the $10 \phi$ HAPAG private ship letter stamp, issued in 1875 for letters carried on HAPAG vessels in the Caribbean. The background shows the the company flag and the ornately embossed center depicts the company coat of arms.

PAG ships to take loose letters to other Caribbean ports without charge-a favor that was granted to induce shippers to send cargo via HAPAG during the early years when it was struggling. However, with subsequent growth in local traffic, the handling of letters became a nuisance and a burden that brought no compensation. ${ }^{1}$

In 1875 , HAPAG decided to charge a fee and as a result issued private $10 \phi$ stamps. The stamps were printed by C. Fuchs of Hamburg in sheets of 72 ( $8 \times 9$ ). The design background is similar to the HAPAG flag, but blue and yellow (instead of blue and white). A white embossed center shows the coat of arms of the company, with an outer frame of text reading "Hamburg American Packet Company/West India Line" at top and "Private Postage Stamp" at bottom.

The HAPAG stamps were valid only for letters carried on the company's steamships, which transported mail between many ports in the West Indies as well as Panama and Venezuela. At St. Thomas, stamps were kept by the HAPAG agent, Schon Willink \& Co., who applied them to letters with destinations on routes served from St. Thomas. Stamps were also available from the pursers onboard the individual ships, and possibly from the Danish Post Office (which also maintained a stock of United States stamps). The postage rate was $10 \notin(40 \mathrm{pfg}, 5$ pence) per 15 grams (approximately $1 / 2$ ounce). The stamps came into use in early 1875 and continued until the individual countries joined the Universal Postal Union in 1877-80. St. Thomas did not become a full member of the UPU until 1 April 1879.

## Covers

Illustrated in Figure 2 is the earliest recorded HAPAG mixed franking involving a Bank Note stamp. This is a 23 April 1875 letter from New York City addressed to Carupano, Venezuela in care of agents Messrs. Schon, Willink \& Co. at St. Thomas. The letter was prepaid with a $10 \propto 1870$ ungrilled Bank Note stamp tied by a geometric New York Foreign Mail cancel (Weiss type GE-EP5) duplexed with a "New York, Apr. 23" circular datestamp.


Figure 2. The earliest known HAPAG-United States franking, on a striking cover posted at New York City on 23 April 1875. The 10ф large Bank Note stamp, struck with a NYFM cancel, paid the United States steamship rate to St. Thomas. The HAPAG stamp, applied at St. Thomas, paid for HAPAG ship transit onward to Venezuela on the HAPAG branch steamer Rhenania. (Cover image courtesy of Nicholas M. Kirke).

The stamp prepaid the $10 \notin$ per $1 / 2 \mathrm{oz}$. steamship rate to St. Thomas (effective July 1, 1864 to July 1, 1875).

The cover was carried by the U.S. Brazil Mail Steamship Co. Merrimack, departing New York April 23 and arriving St. Thomas April 30. The Danish West Indies post office passed the cover to the receivers Schon Willink \& Co., the HAPAG agent, who affixed the 10\& private letter stamp and dispatched the cover back to the Danish West Indies post office where the stamp was tied by the target cancel and the St. Thomas May 2 circular datestamp was struck. The letter was carried on HAPAG feeder steamship Rhenania to Venezuela, which did not join the UPU until 1 January 1880.

The second cover, illustrated as Figure 3, was mailed at Philadelphia on 3 February 1879, addressed to Miss Irene M. Fuller in care of Commander J.R. Bartlett on the U.S. Coast Survey Steamer George S. Blake at St. Thomas. In service between 1874 and 1905, this ship was considered one of the most innovative oceanographic vessels of the 19th century, fostering deep ocean exploration through the introduction of steel cable for sounding, and data collection to create the first modern bathymetric map of a deep sea area.


Figure 3. Full front and part of the back of a mixed HAPAG-United States franking from Philadelphia (3 February 1879) to St. Thomas, with postage to St. Thomas paid by a $3 \phi 1873$ pair and a $2 \phi 1875$ vermillion pair. The $10 \phi$ HAPAG stamp, added at St. Thomas, paid the forwarding charges on a HAPAG branch steamer to St. Vincent.

The Figure 3 letter was prepaid with a pair of $2 \not \subset$ vermilion 1875 stamps and a pair of $3 \notin$ green 1873 stamps, paying the interim 10¢ UPU rate per $1 / 2$ ounce to St. Thomas (effective September 1, 1877 to March 30, 1879) and tied by cork cancels duplexed with a "Philadelphia Pa. Feb 3 " circular datestamp. The letter departed New York February 5 on board the City of Para of the second U.S. Brazil Mail Steamship Co., a successor to the first, which had gone bankrupt in 1875. (The second Brazil line service commenced in 1878. The gap in service from late 1875 to early 1878 explains why there are no U.S.-HAPAG covers from the 1876-78 period.) Upon arrival in St. Thomas on February 11, the Figure 3 cover entered the Danish West Indies post office where it was struck with a St. Thomas February 11 circular datestamp. The letter was forwarded to St. Vincent with a $10 \notin$ HAPAG private letter stamp placed on reverse of the cover and tied by a St. Thomas five-ring cancel. This prepaid for carriage on a HAPAG feeder steamship to St. Vincent, which did not enjoy full UPU membership until September 1, 1881.

Figure 4 shows the final cover, which was mailed at Baltimore on 3 June 1879 bearing a $10 ¢$ brown 1873 stamp that prepaid two times the 5¢ UPU rate to St. Thomas (effective April 1, 1879). It was addressed to Messrs. Feddersen, Willink \& Co., the successor firm


Figure 4. Partially unfolded cover from Baltimore to Cuba, posted 3 June 1879 and franked with a $10 \Varangle 1873$ Bank Note stamp paying postage to the Danish West Indies. There the HAPAG stamp was added and the cover was readdressed to Santiago de Cuba. This is the only cover known to or from Cuba bearing a HAPAG stamp.
and HAPAG agent. The letter was carried by the steamer Colorado of the second U.S. Brazil Mail Steamship Co., departing New York June 5 and arriving St. Thomas June 11. The letter was forwarded by Willink in care of an individual at Santiago de Cuba, with a $10 \notin$ HAPAG private letter stamp affixed for carriage on a HAPAG branch line steamship to Cuba, a service that had only recently begun (in April 1879) running St. Thomas-Cuba-Vera Cruz. ${ }^{2}$ The cover entered the Danish West Indies post office struck by a St. Thomas June 11 circular datestamp and the stamp tied by a five ring cancel. Although both the Danish West Indies and Cuba became full UPU members on 1 April 1879, the letter was remailed and required forwarding postage that should have been prepaid with stamps of the DWI bicolor issue-but the 10¢ HAPAG private letter stamp was accepted as full prepayment.

## Conclusion

With the advent of the General Postal Union (GPU) in July 1875, mixed-country combination frankings with United States stamps began to disappear. Multiple-country frankings were no longer needed, so long as the countries transited were part of the Union, since mail was deemed fully prepaid at the country of origin. Later uses may show remailing postage or postage dues affixed as a result of short payment. The three covers shown in this article represent the only recorded uses of United States postage stamps in combination with private ship letter stamps.

## Endnotes

1. John L. DuBois, Danish West Indies Mails 1754-1917, Volume 1-Postal History (Jay Smith \& Co., 2000), pg. 137.
2. Robert G. Stone, A Caribbean Neptune: The Maritime Postal Communications of the Greater and Lesser Antilles in the 19th Century (The Philatelic Foundation, 1993), pg. 341, fig. 14-14.



2013 U.S. Philatelic Classics Society fellow Casey Cook assists USPCS member Doug Clark at the YPLF booth during AmeriStamp Expo in Louisville, Kentucky.

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## THE FOREIGN MAILS

DWAYNE O. LITTAUER, EDITOR

## STEAMSHIPS ON THE NEW YORK AND CHARLESTON ROUTE: THE ROBERT FULTON <br> JAMES BAIRD

The New York to Charleston route was historically the proving ground for early coastal steamship lines. At 629 nautical miles ( 725 statute miles), a steamboat traveling at six knots could traverse this distance (in good weather) in 4 days, 9 hours. Sometimes, the time could be significantly longer, with Cape Hatteras often an important factor.

The perils of Hatteras were of enormous significance to steamship captains in navigating the east coast of the United States. First, they had to navigate well out into the ocean to safely traverse the area. Geographically, Cape Hatteras is the largest of the Barrier Islands off of the North Carolina coast. The island chain lies roughly 30 miles out to sea; and there are treacherous shallow waters, Diamond Shoals, which extend 8 miles farther. Storms are frequent, sometimes approaching hurricane strength. Add dark nights, fog and high winds with pounding waves, which a captain had to navigate to clear the area, and you have the reasons why it is known as the "Graveyard of the Atlantic."

The earliest steamship on the route was the Robert Fulton, which made its maiden voyage in early 1820. A second line, the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Company, commenced operations in late 1832 and during its four years of service ran four ships. Finally, Spofford \& Tileston put the Southerner and Northerner on the route in early 1848. In his seminal work on steamships in American waters, United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1875, ${ }^{1}$ Theron Wierenga discussed and included sailing tables for this last line on the route, but the stories of neither the Fulton nor the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Company have been recounted in the philatelic press. This article provides information about the first of these two, the Robert Fulton.

The Robert Fulton was in many ways a ship ahead of its time. Designed specifically for offshore operations, it departed significantly from the design and light construction of the steamboats that preceded it, which were all intended for inland waters.

The men who brought Fulton to fruition were experienced New York businessmen whose individual talents were combined in her design, construction and subsequent operation. David Dunham, a youthful entrepreneur who had managed packets along the east coast for a number of years, was the founding owner of the business. Henry Eckford was a shipbuilder and oversaw construction of the vessel. J. P. Allaire, a foundry owner, was responsible for her engine building and fitting out. Dunham would act as agent and manager of the business. It is not altogether clear whether Eckford and Allaire were financial partners with Dunham, although given the reported cost of Fulton $(\$ 130,000$, a huge sum in that day) it would seem altogether likely that Dunham would have had partners.

The Fulton was approximately 160 feet in length, with a 34 foot beam, and measured 17 feet from the main deck to the shoe of the keel. She drew just 10 feet when loaded, an important feature in a time when harbors were not dredged. Her twin paddlewheels were 18 feet in diameter and driven by a single cylinder engine with a 44 -inch bore and 5 -foot
stroke. Additional detail and "color" were offered in the March 22, 1820 New York Commercial Advertiser (largely quoting another journal):

The new Steam Ship Robert Fulton . . is intended to ply, as a regular packet, between this city and New Orleans. She is said to be, in every respect, one of the finest vessels ever built in this city. A communication in the Gazette of this morning, gives the following description of this "beautiful vessel":
"This ship is a splendid piece of naval architecture . . . and does credit her builder Mr. Eckford. She is upwards of seven hundred and fifty tons, of very great length, rigged with lug sails, has three kelsons (the centre one large enough for a ship of the line) together with bilge ways, and the whole secured and bolted in a very extraordinary manner, perhaps the most so of any vessel ever built; her frame timber and plank are of live oak, locust, cedar and southern pine, copper bolted and coppered.
"She will afford accommodation for more than two hundred persons, is fitted up with high and airy state rooms, thoroughly ventilated by means of skylights the whole length of the cabin, which is very extensive. Her after cabin is neatly arranged for the accommodation of ladies, and separated by means of folding doors in the modern style. She has also a range of berths fore and aft, together with a commodious fore cabin, and what adds to the greatest comfort and security of all, her engine and other machinery are completely isolated and unconnected as it were with the other part of the ship. In the centre lengthwise is a kind of well hole or square trunk made both fire and waterproof, no possible accident therefore by the burning of the boiler can reach either of the cabins; this trunk or well hole being enclosed by very thick plank caulked and leaded, may be inundated with water at pleasure without any inconvenience to the passengers. The furnace is also completely surrounded by the continuation of the boiler, so that no part of the fire can ever come in contact with the wood.
"There is a space of about nine or ten inches filled in with materials, non-conductors of heat, which answer the double purpose of excluding the heat from the cabin, and at the same time deafening the disagreeable noise of the engine. She is also provided with a leather hose, similar to those used by our fire engine companies in this city, which will enable the hot or cold water to be conveyed to any part of the ship, and furnishing at the same time the great conveniency to the passengers of a warm or cold bath at pleasure.
"Her engine was constructed by Mr. Allaire, and is supposed to be the most powerful and most exact piece of workmanship ever turned out in this country; and her boiler is said to be the largest ever to have been made in this or any other country. Take her all in all, she certainly presents a spectacle altogether unique."
Figure 1 shows an early announcement of the ship's maiden-voyage departure for New Orleans, which was published in The New York Mercantile Advisor on March 20, 1820. The announcement describes the Fulton and declares she will leave New York for New Orleans, touching Charleston and Havana, on April 10.

As it turned out, Fulton did not sail on the 10th of the month-but rather on the 25 th. Note also that the master is not named in the Advisor notice, which leaves a blank where that information belongs. In some early newspaper accounts about the Fulton, the captain's name was mistakenly recorded as "Inott" but subsequently the name proved to be "Mott."

From the beginning, Fulton showed her ability to meet the tests of the route on which she was designed to sail. Her "normal" stops would be New York, Charleston, Havana, and New Orleans, and then a return along the same route, but individual sailing itineraries were varied largely to accommodate passenger bookings. Additional stops might include Savannah, Pensacola, and even once Vera Cruz.

Interestingly, the three legs of


Figure 1. Advertisement for the Robert Fulton's maiden voyage, from the New York Mercantile Advisor for March 20, 1820.

Figure 2. The typical route for the steamer Robert Fulton, as announced in the ads for her maiden voyage (see Figure 1), was from New York to New Orleans, touching at Charleston and Havana. As it happens, each of the three legs of this voyage was approximately the same length, 620-640 nautical miles. This route was not always followed rigorously, as shown in the sailing data in Tables 1-5.


Fulton's normal route were approximately equidistant. This shows clearly in the map in Figure 2. To the 629 nautical miles distance between New York and Charleston, Charleston to Havana added 638 nautical miles, and Havana to New Orleans added 621 nautical miles, for a total of 1,888 nautical miles. Altogether, underway at 6 knots, time at sea under the most ideal conditions would approximate 13 days.

Ironically, on the first voyage the first leg was New York to Havana, leaving out Charleston. But on her return, Fulton departed New Orleans on May 26, 1820 and arrived back in New York on June 14th-about 19 days for the trip, including stops at Havana for five days and four in Charleston. So overall, she covered the route in about 11 days. In


Figure 3. The earliest known cover carried by Fulton is this letter datelined Charleston Oct. 18, 1820. It was sent to New York, which charged $6 \phi$ ship fee.

1820, this was a remarkable achievement. It is worth pointing out that there were no regular packets running at the time between New York and Charleston, and certainly not New York to New Orleans.

Fulton's second voyage in 1820 did not go as well. She got underway July 2 and reached the Florida Keys before suffering an extensive engine breakdown. She had to return to New York under sail, arriving July 20. Repairs took August and continued into September. Her next voyage was a run down to Charleston to test the repair work. Departure was October 10, 1820, with arrival in Charleston on the 17th. She departed Charleston for New York on the 19th and arrived back in New York on the 28th.

Figure 3 is a folded letter to New York from this third voyage of Fulton. The cover is datelined Charleston, October 18, 1820. Note the endorsement at lower left: "Steam Rob Fulton." A ship rate of $6 \phi$ was assessed in New York for a letter addressed to the port of arrival. This is the earliest cover known to have been carried by an ocean-going Ameri-can-flagged steamship.

Fulton would make a total of 18 trips over a period of almost five years. Sailing data for years the Fulton operated the New York-Charleston-New Orleans run, extrapolated from newspapers of the era, accompany this article as Tables 1-5.

The distribution of voyages made was as follows:

| Year | Total trips | Round trips to N.O. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1820 | 4 | 2 |
| 1821 | 5 | 3 |
| 1822 | 4 | 4 |
| 1823 | 3 | 2 |
| 1824 | 2 | 2 |

It is worthwhile noting that several trips not counted here were made by Fulton in New York and surrounding waters-"pleasure cruises" to generate revenue.

A serious blow to the business was the loss of David Dunham in a sailing accident on the Hudson River in February 1823, while Fulton was on a trip south. Dunham was clearly the management force behind the success the Fulton had enjoyed, and subsequently operations became irregular. Advertisements placed in local newspapers seeking passengers and listing schedules became less frequent after Dunham's death, but they continued to name the Dunham firm as the ship's agent.

Sometime early in 1824, Fulton sailed south and thenceforth apparently operated out of New Orleans. A New Orleans newspaper reported that Fulton arrived there on January 5 carrying 132 bales of cotton from Natchez. There was a subsequent notice that she arrived carrying 12 passengers and 921 bales of cotton, again from Natchez. There then follow two additional voyages (which could perhaps be counted as three) to close out the year.

On March 5, 1825, the Figure 4 advertisements appeared in the New York National Advocate, confirming that the business of carrying passengers and freight had come to a close. One ad announces the availability of the ship's engine and boiler; the second ad, immediately following, offered the ship's cabin furniture along with "a first-rate chronometer."

The ultimate fate of the Robert Fulton has been difficult to determine. There are occasional off-hand newspaper mentions during 1825 about various re-purposing schemes, one of which was that she had been converted to a 28 -gun corvette intended for the South American market. The last mention found, in the New York Evening Post of September 26, 1826, reads "The corvette ship Robert Fulton, formerly the steamship owned by the late David Dunham was . . . sold by the Marshal yesterday for ten thousand dollars."

Covers carried by Fulton are few. I am aware of only six. The earliest was shown in Figure 3. There is another almost identical cover to the same New York addressee dated April 3, 1821 ; this also shows a $6 \notin$ ship rate for delivery at the port of arrival.


Figure 4. March 5, 1825 advertisements from the New York National Advocate offering for sale the Fulton's engine, boiler and cabin furniture.

Two more covers are from the Arthur White collection and were sold as lot 1001 in Robert A. Siegel sale 906 on March 13, 2006. The earlier of these two folded letters is shown as Figure 5. This was sent from New Orleans to Boston and was described as having a dateline of July $6,1821$. At New York, this cover was rated for a collection of $201 / 2 \phi$ : $2 \phi$ ship fee plus $181 / 2 \phi$ for the based on the distance from New York to Boston.

The second ex-White cover is shown as Figure 6. This is datelined May 1, 1822 and traveled from La Balize, Louisiana (at the mouth of the Mississippi River, down river from New Orleans) to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In New York, this cover was also rated $20^{1} 12 \phi$ due: $181 / 2 \phi$ for a distance traveled of 150 to 400 miles plus $2 \phi$ paid to the ship's captain.

Both these covers obviously traveled substantially farther before reaching New York, but neither shows or is rated based on the place of origin.

There is a fifth cover sent from New Orleans to Philadelphia, where it arrived Sep-


Figure 5. Folded letter datelined New Orleans July 6, 1821 addressed to Boston. The Fulton carried the letter to New York, which rated it due 201/2 $\phi$ : $2 \phi$ ship fee plus $181 / 2 \phi$ for 150 to 400 miles based on the distance from New York to Boston.


Figure 6. Folded letter datelined Balize, Louisiana, May 1, 1822 to Portsmouth, N.H. Fulton carried this letter to New York, which rated it due $201 / 2 \phi$ : $2 \phi$ ship fee plus $181 / 2 \phi$ for 150 to 400 miles based on the distance from New York to Portsmouth.


Figure 7. New Orleans April 28, 1823 to Plymouth, Massachusetts. The Robert Fulton carried the letter to New York, which rated it due $25 \phi$ based on a newly-announced rate calculation: for the entire distance (over 400 miles) from New Orleans to Plymouth.
tember 10, 1822, and was sent on to New York, arriving on September 14. New York first rated it $6 \notin$ due as a ship letter addressed to the arrival port; but then subsequently re-rated it as due $201 / 2 \phi$, representing a $2 \phi$ ship fee plus $181 / 2 \phi$ for a distance of 150 to 400 miles.

The final cover, shown as Figure 7, is dated April 28, 1823. This cover was the subject of an article in Chronicle 230 (May 2011), authored by Richard Frajola and myself. That

| Table 1: Steamship Robert Fulton Sailing Data for 1820 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | New York | Havana | New Orleans | Havana | Charleston | New York |
| Arrive |  | 2-May | 16-May | 28-May | 7-Jun | 14-Jun |
| Depart | 25-Apr | 10-May | 26-May | 3-Jun | 11-Jun |  |
|  | New York | New York |  |  |  |  |
| Arrive |  | 20-Jul | Return to NY | under sail |  |  |
| Depart | 2-Jul |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | New York | Charleston | New York |  |  |  |
| Arrive |  | 17-Oct | 28-Oct |  |  |  |
| Depart | 10-Oct | 19-Oct |  |  |  |  |
|  | New York | Charleston | Havana | New Orleans | Charleston | New York |
| Arrive |  | 8-Nov | 18-Nov | 29-Nov | 19-Dec | 30-Dec |
| Depart | 5-Nov | 14-Nov | 21-Nov | 15-Dec | 21-Dec |  |


| Table 2: Steamship Robert Fulton Sailing Data for 1821 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NY | Charleston | Havana | NO | Havana | Charleston | NY |  |
| Arrive |  | $19-\mathrm{Feb}$ | 1-Mar | 10-Mar | 18-Mar | $1-\mathrm{Apr}$ | $9-\mathrm{Apr}$ |  |
| Depart | 11-Feb | 24-Feb | 3-Mar | 14-Mar | 26-Mar | 5-Apr |  |  |
|  | NY | Charleston | Havana | NO | Havana | Charleston | NY |  |
| Arrive |  | $22-\mathrm{Apr}$ | 4-May | 12-May | 20-May | 24-May | 3-Jun |  |
| Depart | 15-Apr | 24-Apr | 8-May | 17-May | 22-May | 29-May |  |  |
|  | NY | Havana | NO | Havana | Charleston | NY |  |  |
| Arrive |  | 25-Jun | 1-Jul | 12-Jul | 18-Jul | 24-Jul |  |  |
| Depart | 10-Jun | 26-Jun | 9-Jul | 14-Jul | 20-Jul |  |  |  |
|  | NY | Charleston | Savannah | Charleston | NY |  |  |  |
| Arrive |  | 6-Oct | 7-Oct | 10-Oct | 17-Oct |  |  |  |
| Depart | 30-Sep | 6-Oct | 8-Oct | 12-Oct |  |  |  |  |
|  | NY | Charleston | Havana | Pensacola | NO | Havana | Charleston | NY |
| Arrive |  | 26-Oct | 2-Nov | 13-Nov | 1-Dec | NA | 15-Dec | 26-Dec |
| Depart | 21-Oct | 28-Oct | NA | 28-Nov | 2-Dec | 8 -Dec | 19-Dec |  |


| Table 3: Steamship Robert Fulton Sailing Data for 1822 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NY | Charleston | Havana | NO | Havana | Charleston | NY |  |
| Arr. <br> Dep. |  | 14-Jan | 24-Jan | 2-Feb | NA | NA | 2-Mar |  |
|  | 9-Jan | 17-Jan | 28-Jan | 8-Feb | 20-Feb | 27-Feb |  |  |
| Arr. Dep. | NY | Charleston | Savannah | Havana | NO | Havana | Charleston | NY |
|  |  | 7-Apr | 11-Apr | 18-Apr | $23-\mathrm{Apr}$ | 4-May | 15-May | 21-May |
|  | 31-Mar | 11-Apr | 11-Apr | 19-Apr | 30-Apr | 7-May | 17-May |  |
| Arr. Dep. | NY | Charleston | Havana | NO | Havana | Charleston | NY |  |
|  |  | 3-Jun | 12-Jun | 19-Jun | NA | 9 -Jul | 15-Jul |  |
|  | 25-May | 5-Jun | 13-Jun | 28-Jun | 5-Jul | 11-Jul |  |  |
| Arr. Dep. | NY | Charleston | Havana | NO | Havana | Charleston | N. London | NY |
|  |  | 6-Dec | 18-Dec | 30-Dec | NA | 19-Jan | 30-Jan | 3-Feb |
|  | 29-Nov | 9 -Dec | 22-Dec | 8-Jan | 15-Jan | 25-Jan | 3-Feb |  |

Tables 1-5. Sailing data for the early ocean steamship Robert Fulton, which made at least 18 round voyages between New York and points south in 1820-25. New Orleans and Charleston were the most frequent ports of call, but the steamer also stopped at Havana, Vera Cruz and once (an emergency fuel stop) at New London, Connecticut.

| Table 4: Steamship Robert Fulton Sailing Data for 1823 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NY | Chastn | Havana | NO | Vera Cruz | NO | Havana | Chastn | NY |
| Arr. |  | 18-Feb | 1-Mar | 8-Mar | 23-Mar | 17-Apr | 8-May | 12-May | 19-May |
| Dep. | 12-Feb | $20-\mathrm{Feb}$ | 2-Mar | 12-Mar | 10-Apr | 1-May | 10-May | 13-May |  |
|  | NY | NO | Chastn | NY |  |  |  |  |  |
| Arr. |  | 22-Jun | 12-Jul | 20-Jul |  |  |  |  |  |
| Dep. | 8-Jun | NA | 15-Jul |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | NY | Chastn | Havana | NO | Havana | Chastn | NY |  |  |
| Arr. |  | 30-Oct | 7-Nov | 1-Dec | NA | NA | 10-Jan |  |  |
| Dep. | 26-Oct | 2-Nov | 8-Nov | 17-Dec | 28-Dec | NA |  |  |  |


| Table 5: Steamship Robert Fulton Sailing Data for 1824 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | NO | Havana | NY | Havana | NO | Havana | NY |
| Arrive | 12-Mar | NA | 21-May | 15-Jun | 24-Jun | NA | 13-Jul |
| Depart | 5-May | 12-May | 3-Jun | NA | 1-Jul | 7-Jul |  |
|  | NY | Charleston | Havana | NO | NY |  |  |
| Arrive |  | 12-Nov | 21-Nov | 1-Dec | 10-Jan |  |  |
| Depart | 7-Nov | 13-Nov | 28-Nov | 9-Dec |  |  |  |

article detailed a change in the way letters carried on waterways which paralleled postal routes on land were to be rated. Under a regulation dated March 4, 1823, the Postmaster General noted that the Department was suffering a great loss of revenue on mail carried by steamboat. The regulation read:

To prevent these losses, and to subject all letters and the packets of letters conveyed by steamboats, to the regular postage, Congress by an Act passed on the 3rd inst. have established all routes on which these boats pass, as post roads. You will therefor charge all letters which you receive or send by steam boats, with postage according to the distance they are conveyed, at the same rates as if sent through the mail by land.
In complying with the regulation, the practice of adding a $2 \phi$ ship fee to the postage only from the port of arrival to the destination was discontinued. Instead, the cover in Figure 7 was rated 25ф, based on the distance between the letter's place of origin, New Orleans, and Plymouth, Massachusetts, which is greater than 400 miles.

In retrospect, the ultimate tragedy in the long term of Fulton's failure to continue operating was the loss to American steam marine of a ship far ahead of it time in design and construction. Fulton would not be equaled for another 20 years.

## Endnote

1. Wierenga, Theron J., United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847 - 1875, Second Edition (Austin, TX: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 2000), pp. 95-99 and 392-414.


## 4ф U.S. TRANSIT CREDIT ON TREATY MAIL FROM JAPAN TO FRANCE IN 1875

SCOTT R. TREPEL

In 1875 the separate bilateral postal conventions between the United States and the governments of Japan and France created the need for a $4 \notin$ U.S. credit to France on prepaid letters from Japan to France that transited the U.S. The existence of this $4 \notin$ credit has apparently been overlooked by specialists in U.S. transatlantic and Japanese foreign mails, because there is no mention of it in published reference works (Hargest, Winter, Matsumoto et al). Perhaps Japanese collectors have never paid much attention to credit markings reflecting U.S. postal treaties with countries other than Japan. At the same time, U.S. transatlantic mail collectors have had few occasions to analyze credit markings on covers sent from Japan to France via the U.S., because examples are rare and held almost exclusively by Japanese collectors. To shed light on the U.S.-France $4 \phi$ credit and its application, this article starts with the colorful Japan Cherry Blossom Issue cover shown in Figure 1.

## 1875 Cherry Blossom cover from Yokohama to France via the United States

The Figure 1 cover to Lyon, France, originated in Yokohama, Japan. It was sent by the silk-trading firm of J. Raud et Cie, operated by Bernard Raud, whose company handstamp is struck in blue at lower right. The cover was mailed on October 12, 1875, and arrived in France on November 17, as indicated by the "YOKOHAMA/PAID ALL/OCT 12" red dou-ble-circle datestamp and the black "ETATS-UNIS/ANGL.AMB.CAL./17/NOV/75" French entry datestamp. There is also an orange-red "NEW YORK*PAID ALL*NOV/6" circular


Figure 1. Yokohama, Japan, October 12, 1875, to Lyon, France, via the United States, with 24 sen postage, showing $9 \phi$ credit from Japan to the U.S. and the enigmatic " 04 " marking discussed in this article.
datestamp that was applied in transit by the foreign-mail exchange office in New York. The three postmark dates correspond to known Pacific and Atlantic steamship crossings.

The transpacific conveyance was on the British steamer Belgic, which originated in Hong Kong on October 1, picked up the mail at Yokohama on October 12, and arrived in San Francisco on October 29 (Daily Alta California, October 30, 1875). The Belgic was launched by the White Star Line in 1873 and in May 1875 was chartered to the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company (O\&OSS) for service between San Francisco and the Far East. Beginning in June 1875, O\&OSS was one of the steamship companies used by the Japanese post office for mail conveyance.

The San Francisco post office applied the October 30 receiving datestamp and placed this cover with the mail bound for New York on an eastbound transcontinental train. Based on different shipping lines' departure and arrival dates, the transatlantic conveyance was most likely on the North German Lloyd's Oder, which departed New York on November 6 and arrived in Southampton on November 17. It entered the French postal system at Calais on the same day and was brought to Lyon for delivery to Monsieur Duplay-Balay.

The Japanese postage of 24 sen was paid by brightly-colored stamps of the etchedplate Cherry Blossom series: a pair of the 1875 2-sen Yellow (without syllabic character, Scott 54) and a single 1874 20-sen Deep Violet (with syllabic character 5 "ho," Scott 38). The stamps were cancelled at Yokohama by three strikes of a circular quartered cork with a small protruding "punch," detail of which is shown in Figure 2. This cancellation is one of the recognized types used at Yokohama on outbound foreign mail, but the presence of the small punch has not been noted by specialists. (For a comprehensive survey of these Japa-


Figure 2. The middle stamp on the Figure 1 cover, greatly enlarged, showing the quartered cork killer cancel. The small punch, a previously unrecognized feature of this cancelling device, is encircled in red.
nese cancels, see Charles A. L. Swenson, "Obliterators Used on Overseas Mail Sent from Yokohama to San Francisco During 1875," Japanese Philately, Vol. 67, No. 3, June 2012). At the New York foreign-mail office, two of the stamps were also tied by the November 6 orange-red "Paid All" circular datestamp.

There are two significant credit markings at upper left. The " $9 /$ CENTS" credit handstamp was applied at Yokohama in a shade of red ink matching the Yokohama double-circle datestamp. The large " 04 " handstamp was applied at New York in a slightly more orange shade of red, which matches the New York "Paid All" circular datestamp. These markings will be explained further on in this article.

## The Japanese Foreign Postal Service

The overall appearance of the cover in Figure 1 is quite American, with the U.S.-style Yokohama double-circle datestamp, "9/CENTS" credit marking and quartered cork cancellation. In actuality, the datestamp and credit devices did come from the U.S. They were ordered by an American who had been hired by the Meiji government to assist in establishing a Japanese foreign-mail service.

After assuming power in 1868, the ruling Meiji government set out to modernize all aspects of the country's economy, industry, military and communications. In April 1871 the government overhauled the country's antiquated domestic mail service and soon after focused on establishing its own system of foreign mails. Up to January 1, 1875, international mail to and from Japan was handled exclusively through post offices operated by Great Britain, France and the United States on Japanese soil. Significant developments in 1873 and 1874 paved the way for the autonomous Japanese Bureau of Foreign Posts; Americans played an important role in its creation and operation.

To help them establish a foreign-mail department, the Japanese Bureau of Posts hired an American, Samuel Magill Bryan, a 25 -year-old Civil War veteran who had spent several years after the war in the U.S. Treasury Department as a clerk responsible for auditing the Post Office Department accounts. Bryan had been encouraged to seek a lucrative position in the Japanese post office by the U.S. Minister to Japan, Charles E. DeLong, who no doubt saw the value of having an American on the inside of this important government department in a country beginning to expand its international presence. In September 1872 Bryan arrived in Yokohama, thousands of miles from his wife and their infant child.

Bryan's experience with international postal systems and their financial affairs appealed to the Japanese officials. On February 14, 1873, he received a three-year contract as Superintendent of Foreign Posts. Bryan's service to the Japanese extended to 1882. Coincidentally, the steamer Belgic, which carried the cover in Figure 1, brought Bryan and his family back to the United States in 1882.

Bryan's first assignment was to help negotiate a postal treaty with the U.S. government. On February 24 he departed Yokohama, bound for the U.S. as an assistant to Deputy Ambassador Saburo Takagi. With the support of Washingtonian statesmen-in particular Secretary of State Hamilton Fish-a postal convention between the United States and Japan was signed on August 6, 1873, and ratified by both governments on April 18, 1874. Its effective date was January 1, 1875.

Historically, the U.S.-Japan postal treaty was remarkable because it represented the first time a Western power agreed to terms favorable to a Far Eastern government. Even more significantly, by closing its post offices on Japanese soil, the U.S. relinquished an important extraterritorial privilege that the Japanese had grown to resent. The British and French diplomats were outmaneuvered by this development, and the U.S.-Japan postal treaty increased the pressure on them to agree to similar terms. Several years later the British and French also closed their post offices in Japan.

Steamship service for Japan's mails was provided by the Mitsubishi Mail Shipping Company (Yokohama-Shanghai), Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company (Hong Kong-Yokohama-San Francisco) and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company (Yokoha-ma-San Francisco). The Pacific Mail Steamship Company, faced with intense competition and reduced contract rates, sold its interests in the U.S.-Japan route to Mitsubishi in October 1875 , but continued to carry mail on its transpacific runs.

## 1875 U.S.-Japan treaty rates

The U.S. consular post offices ended most of their operations in Japan on December 31, 1874. From January 1, 1875, the terms of the new postal convention applied to mail between the U.S. and Japan. The U.S. rate was set at $15 \phi$ for a letter weighing up to one-half ounce, and the Japanese rate was the equivalent 15 sen up to 15 grams (one U.S. cent was equal to one Japanese sen).

Article 3 (paragraph 3) of the treaty provided that the rate would be reduced to $12 \phi$ and 12 sen "at the expiration of twelve months" (January 1, 1876). On April 1, 1876, just four months later, the $12 \phi / 12 \mathrm{~s}$ rate was further reduced to $5 \phi / 5 \mathrm{~s}$, and this treaty rate remained in effect for U.S. mail when Japan was admitted to the General Postal Union (GPU) effective June 1, 1877.

Until Japan joined the GPU, postage rates from Japan on mail sent via the U.S. to countries beyond the U.S. were the sum of the U.S.-Japan treaty rate plus the amount of postage required for conveyance from the U.S. to the destination country. For the entire year in 1875, the $15 \phi / 15 \mathrm{~s}$ U.S.-Japan treaty rate was in effect. Postage to France, applicable to the cover in Figure 1, is the subject of the next section of this article.

## 1874-1875 U.S.-France treaty rates

From January 1, 1870, through July 31, 1874, the United States and France did not have a postal treaty. The rates between the two countries depended on the route chosen by the sender. On certain routes, only part of the postage could be prepaid, with the balance due from the addressee. Other routes involved accounting credits and debits between the countries involved, including transit charges paid to Great Britain. This complicated and cumbersome arrangement necessitated the use of credit and debit marks on each letter transiting Great Britain, or due markings on each part-paid letter, practices that were eventually eliminated by reciprocal postage rates and the advent of the GPU system.

A new postal convention between the United States and France was signed on April 28 , effective August 1, 1874. It provided for reciprocal rates of $9 \phi$ per half-ounce ( 15 grams) in the U.S. and 50 centimes (equivalent to $10 \notin$ ) per 10 grams (approximately one-third of an ounce) in France. Each country of origin would keep all of the prepaid postage, eliminating the need for credit and debit notations, provided that the letter originated in one of the two countries. This is the important and not widely known exception to the reciprocal "no accounting" provisions of the 1874 U.S.-France treaty, as will be explained.

An example of the $9 \varnothing$ U.S.-France treaty rate is shown in Figure 3. This letter from New York to Lyon, France, was prepaid $9 \varnothing$ without the need for any credit or debit marks. The "P.D." indicates "paid to destination." This cover was mailed in August 1875, a month after the GPU rates took effect for member countries (France was an exception). It shows use of the $5 申$ Taylor stamp, which was created for the new $5 \phi$ GPU rate, but in this instance was combined with two $2 \phi$ stamps to make up the $9 \phi$ U.S.-France treaty rate.

The $5 \phi$ (or 25 centimes) rate was an important component of the Treaty of Bern, signed in October 1874, which created the GPU. This historic multinational agreementthe most successful international agreement in history-laid the foundation for simplified international mail exchange. Effective July 1, 1875, the new GPU rate took effect. Slightly


Figure 3. New York to Lyon, August 10, 1875, $9 \varnothing$ rate per U.S.-France treaty.
higher rates were permitted for certain countries. With the exception of mail involving non-member countries, the GPU system eliminated the need for credits and debits on international correspondence.

France had qualms over some of the GPU conditions and joined later, in May 1875, with the effective date pushed forward to January 1, 1876. Therefore, the 1874 U.S.-France treaty remained in effect through the end of 1875.

## 4¢ credit on transit mail

To recap the circumstances in 1875, Japan's new Bureau of Foreign Posts had inaugurated service on January 1, and the government's postal treaty with the U.S. provided for a $15 \phi / 15$ sen reciprocal rate that would remain in effect until January 1, 1876. The rate from Japan to France via the U.S. was originally announced at 25 sen, but on July 1, 1875, it was lowered to 24 sen (this might have been a correction rather than a new rate). This 24 -sen rate comprised 15 sen (15ф) for postage to the U.S. and 9 sen ( $9 \not \subset$ ) for postage from the U.S. to France. The U.S.-France $9 \varnothing$ rate had been in effect since August 1, 1874, and it would continue through all of 1875 until the $5 \notin$ GPU rate took effect on January 1, 1876.

The cover in Figure 1 has a "9/CENTS" credit handstamp at upper left, applied by the Foreign Posts office in Yokohama to indicate the portion of the prepaid postage credited to the U.S. for conveyance from the U.S. to France, in accordance with the U.S.-France treaty.

The large " 04 " handstamp struck at upper left is the enigmatic marking that led this author to further scrutinize the postal agreements between Japan and the U.S., and between the U.S. and France. If, as it is commonly believed, the $9 \phi$ rate from the U.S. to France was reciprocal and required no accounting, then why would a red " 04 " marking-apparently a credit of some kind-be necessary?

The explanation is found in the April 28, 1874, U.S.-France postal convention. The 2nd term in Article VII, regarding mail to France with the U.S. as an intermediary, states:

[^1]> letters, of 8 cents per 10 grammes or fraction of 10 grammes for registered letters, and of 1 cent per 40 grammes or fraction of 40 grammes for printed matter of all kinds.

This same article calls for a reciprocal 20 centimes credit to the U．S．on mail carried by France as an intermediary．

Thus，the＂ 04 ＂handstamp was applied by the foreign－mail office in New York to credit France with $4 \phi$ of the $9 \phi$ prepaid postage credited to the U．S．by Japan．On covers from Japan to France via the U．S．，this $4 \phi$ credit can only occur from January 1， 1875 （the start of the Japanese Foreign Posts service）through December 31，1875．On January 1， 1876，the $5 \notin$ GPU rate from the U．S．to France took effect，and simultaneously the Japa－ nese announced a reduction of the rate from 24 sen to $17 \operatorname{sen}(24 \phi$ to $17 \phi)$ ，comprising the new 12 sen rate to the U．S．plus 5 sen for the GPU rate to France．On covers from Japan to France with 17 sen prepaid，the Japanese credit to the US is $5 \phi$ ，and there is no U．S．credit to France．When the U．S．－Japan rate was further reduced to 5 sen（April 1，1876），the rate from Japan to France was reduced to 10 sen，but the credit remained 5申．Finally，after Japan joined the GPU（June 1，1877），the use of credit markings ended．The GPU rate from Japan to France was 10 sen．

An example of mail from Japan to France，prepaid 10 sen for the combined 5 sen $/ 5 \phi$ U．S．－Japan treaty rate and 5申 GPU rate（U．S．to France）is shown in Figure 4．Mailed from Yokohama on January 23，1877，this cover shows a＂5／CENTS＂Japanese credit to the U．S． for the portion of postage applied to the U．S． $5 申$ GPU rate to France．

Another cover with the $4 \phi$ credit is illustrated in A History of the French Post Office of Yokohama by Jun Ichi Matsumoto（page 100，figure 12－5）．Dated November 26，1875， that cover is overpaid one sen at 25 sen，but the same＂9／CENTS＂credit was applied at Yokohama，and a large＂ 4 ＂was applied in manuscript at New York．The＂ 04 ＂handstamped marking on the cover in Figure 1 is very unusual and was probably made from a non－stan－ dard utility marker．So far，the author has been unsuccessful in locating another example of this＂ 04 ＂marking．


Figure 4．Yokohama to Lyon，January 23，1877，prepaid 10 sen for combined 5 sen／5 6 U．S．－Japan treaty rate and $5 申$ GPU rate，with＂ $5 /$ CENTS＂Japanese credit to the U．S．

To assist readers in understanding the rates on covers from Japan to France during the 1875-1877 period, Table 1 summarizes the information presented in this article.

| Period | Japan to France rate | Japan credit to U.S. | U.S.-France rate | U.S. credit to France |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1/1/1875 to 6/30/1875 | 25 sen (15s to US) | $9 ¢$ | 9¢ Treaty | $4 ¢$ |
| 7/1/1875 to $12 / 31 / 1875$ | 24 sen (15s to US) | $9 ¢$ | $9 ¢$ Treaty | $4 ¢$ |
| 1/1/1876 to $3 / 31 / 1876$ | 17 sen ( 12 s to US) | $5 ¢$ | 5¢ GPU | - |
| 4/1/1876 to 5/31/1877 | 10 sen (5s to US) | $5 ¢$ | 5¢ GPU | - |
| Start 6/1/1877 | 10 sen GPU rate | - | - | - |

Table 1. Letter rates from Japan to France via the U.S., 1875-77. 1 sen $=1 \phi$.

## Similar U.S. $2 ¢$ transit credit to Great Britain

Although peripheral to this article's focus on the U.S.-France treaty, a similar unusual credit on covers from Japan to Great Britain via the U.S. deserves mention. From 1869 through June 30, 1875, a $2 \phi$ credit is found on covers from Japan to Great Britain that were sent from the United States post office at Yokohama via the U.S. for onward carriage on transatlantic steamships. This transit-mail credit was first explained by Frajola-Perl-man-Scamp in The United States Post Offices in China and Japan 1867-1874 and amplified by Michael Laurence in Ten-Cent 1869 Covers (pages 305-307) and in a recent Chronicle article (Chronicle 247).

The $2 \phi$ credit was required by the 1868 U.S.-British postal convention on each letter originating outside the U.S. and addressed to Great Britain, just as the U.S.-France convention required the $4 \phi$ credit. The " 2 " credit markings, both handstamped and written, are found on covers from Japan to Great Britain via the San Francisco exchange office, from 1869 until the U.S.-G.B. GPU inception date of July 1, 1875. Laurence has observed that these credits were applied only at San Francisco; similar covers, exchanged through New York, apparently did not receive such markings.

An example of the $2 \phi$ credit on a Japanese Cherry Blossom cover to Great Britain is shown in Figure 5. This was sent on May 7, 1875, from Nagasaki to Weybridge Station, England, via the U.S. The 21 sen rate comprises 15 sen (15ф) postage from Japan to the U.S. and $6 \phi(6$ sen $)$ for the U.S. treaty rate to Great Britain, which was in effect until June 30,1875 , when it was reduced to the $5 \notin$ GPU rate. Of the $6 \phi$ credited by Japan, the U.S. retained $4 \phi$ and credited England with $2 \phi$.

On the cover in Figure 5, the San Francisco foreign-mail office applied its double-circle datestamp over the Japanese $6 \not \subset$ credit marking, using its distinctive magenta ink. The " $2 /$ CENTS" credit handstamp was struck at San Francisco in the same magenta ink. This cover was sent through New York in a closed mail bag, so it does not bear any New York markings.

## Potential for other 4\& U.S.-France transit credit covers

All early foreign-mail covers from Japan are rare, and examples of the $4 \phi$ credit on a cover from Japan to France via the U.S. are even rarer. However, the 1874 U.S.-France $4 \varnothing$ credit provision was not limited to mail from Japan. It is possible that a cover originating from somewhere else outside the U.S., addressed to France and showing a $9 \varnothing$ credit to the U.S.-dated August 1, 1874, through December 31, 1875-will show the $4 \notin$ U.S. credit to France. Similarly, mail in the opposite direction-originating beyond France and sent to the U.S. via France - should show the reciprocal 20 centimes credit from France to the U.S.


Figure 5. Nagasaki to Great Britain, May 7, 1875, prepaid 21 sen for combined 15 sen/15¢ U.S.-Japan treaty rate and $6 \phi$ U.S.-G.B. rate, with "6/CENTS" Japan credit to U.S. applied at Yokohama and "2/CENTS" U.S. credit to G.B. applied in San Francisco. The $2 \phi$ credit is similar to the $4 \phi$ U.S. credit to France. Photo reproduced from Gallery of Japanese Stamps, Volume 2, Figure 109.

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## THE COVER CORNER JOHN W．WRIGHT，EDITOR

## EXPLANATION OF PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 247

Our problem cover from last issue，shown in Figure 1，is a $1 \phi$ government entire enve－ lope bearing an $8 申$ Columbian stamp，posted at Fort Leavenworth，Kansas and sent to Fort Logan，Colorado．The contents are missing．There are no postal markings on the reverse and no evidence of a year－date．A docketing notation along the left edge indicates＂from Capt Eastman，Secy．＂The challenge was to explain the franking and the use．

Labron Harris，Stephen Pacetti，Jerry Palazolo and Pat Walker all weighed in on this one，correctly recognizing this as a registered cover．Extrapolating from there，since the reg－ istry fee was $8 \notin$ during the era of the Columbian stamps，the only rate for which this cover could show a proper franking was the $1 申$ rate for an unsealed circular．

Thus，this is a very unusual example of a registered cover sent at the circular rate．
We admitted in our accompanying write－up that we had withheld a key piece of infor－ mation to make the puzzle more challenging．Not mentioned was the fact that the envelope was never sealed and still shows its original gum on the backflap－the telltale sign of a circular－rate cover，since circulars had to be sent unsealed，to enable inspection．

While there was no year date on the Figure 1 cover，based on the franking and the postmarks，it was probably sent in the mid 1890 s．


Figure 1．Our problem cover from last issue was this small $1 申$ government en－ tire envelope bearing an $8 \phi$ Columbian stamp，posted at Fort Leavenworth，Kan－ sas and sent to Fort Logan，Colorado．The contents are missing and there are no postal markings on the reverse．A docketing notation along the left edge in－ dicates＂from Capt Eastman，Secy．＂The challenge was to explain the franking．


Figure 2. Our problem cover for this issue: Why "Due 5"?
Our problem cover for this issue, shown in Figure 2, is a lovely folder letter, addressed to Geneva, New York and bearing a fresh, fat copy of the New York Postmaster Provisional stamp. Auxiliary markings are not common on these covers. Our question is simple: Why is this cover rated for $5 \notin$ due postage?

## SCRAP Program

The Stamp \& Cover Repository \& Analysis Program (SCRAP) is a unique United States Philatelic Classics Society effort to get philatelic fakes, frauds and forgeries off the market while retaining them for study and reference. Currently, the SCRAP Reference Collection consists of over 5,600 stamps, covers and documents that have been donated over the years by USPCS members. Stamp and cover collectors no longer have to worry about these bogus philatelic items while still having access to them for research purposes.

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section of South Africa. He is another of the first-time contributors mentioned earlier, and we're looking forward to seeing more from him.

As announced briefly last issue, we have a new editor for our 1861 section, Chip Gliedman, who (among other interests) maintains and exhibits a specialized collection of 12ф 1861 covers, one of which appeared on the cover of Chronicle 230. The 1861 section under Gliedman's editorship launches robustly with two articles. A short piece from Jim Cate announces the rediscovery of a Chattanooga cover that was missing for so long that collectors began to doubt it ever existed. And a longer article from Richard Marek (our third newcomer) re-examines a scarce and misdescribed Vermont fancy cancellation-and reaches a most interesting conclusion about what it actually depicts. In an introductory note (page 355), Gliedman outlines his goals as our new 1861 editor. His concluding paragraph expresses sentiments that all the section editors of this publication would endorse.

The registration of mail began in the United States as the stampless era was coming to an end. As a consequence, registered stampless covers are not common. In our Prestamp and Stampless Section, editor James W. Milgram takes a thorough look at such covers and provides images showing most of the handstamped registry markings that have been recorded on stampless covers. A table accompanying Milgram's article (pages 299 and 300) lists all towns known to have applied registered markings (both handstamped and manuscript) to stampless covers and incudes details about the individual markings. This data will become the basis for a new section in the American Stampless Cover Catalog, currently being revised by our Society. So if you have a stampless registered cover in your collection, check it out against Milgram's listing and act appropriately.

Milgram also fills our 1851 section this issue, with a survey article on the fancy postmarks used at Canton, Mississippi, during the era of the 1851-57 stamps. The small town of Canton was the biggest single source of unusual cancellations to be found on the 185157 stamps. A table accompanying Milgram's article (page 325) lists and describes all the reported marking types, and the article provides photos of on-cover examples for all but a few of them. Since Canton's characteristic markings continued into the Civil War, Milgram makes note of various Confederate uses as well.

In a brief but important article in our 1847 section (page 316), Jay Kunstreich definitively assigns a plate position to a recut left frame line variety of the 5¢ 1847 stamp, something that until now had never been done.

In our Bank Note section, Matt Kewriga examines the three known covers bearing Bank Note stamps along with examples of the colorful HAPAG private ship letter stamps and explores the historical developments that led to the creation of the HAPAG labels. In fact, as Kewriga notes, these three are the only U.S. covers that show the HAPAG adhesives.

Our foreign mails section features two compelling articles. James Baird provides much new information about the routes and sailings of the first coastal steamship, Robert Fulton, which provided service between New York, Charleston and New Orleans (among other destinations) between 1820 and 1825 . Only six Fulton covers are so far recorded and Baird here illustrates four of them, including one that is the earliest cover known to have been carried by an American-flagged steamship. Baird's article also includes sailing data that has not previously been published in the philatelic literature.

Last but by no means least, Scott Trepel makes a guest appearance in our foreign mails section, to discuss a previously unknown credit marking applied at New York on a cover transiting the United States on its way from Yokohama to Lyons. The cover is franked with a colorful combination of Japanese Cherry Blossom stamps, cancelled with a cork killer that includes a heretofore unrecorded punch device.

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