## SPECIAL SHOW EDITIGN



New York Postmaster Provisional stamp on an 1845 folded lettersheet, headed by a wood engraving of the Astor House (below), which was then the finest hotel in North America. From an article by Michael Heller, exploring lower Manhattan in the the 1840s and 1850s from the perspective of illustrated mail.


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## Auction

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## USPCS Member Mick Zais for APS President

Dear USPCS Members,
United States stamps and postal history have been the cornerstone of my collecting interests since I retired from the U.S. Army sixteen years ago. My collecting focuses on the five U.S. Army Series stamps of 1936-37 and the postal history of West Point, New York. If I had never joined the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society - my collection, knowledge, fun and friendships would be greatly diminished. I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to our wonderful Society for all that it has done for me, and for the collecting and study of U.S. philately.


Over the past several years, the Classics Society has stepped forward to support a myriad of American Philatelic Society and American Philatelic Research Library initiatives including the researching, cataloging and preservation efforts of archival materials (most recently the Thomas Alexander holdings), and generous financial support of the APS Youth Fellowship program. These efforts and so many more led by the Classics Society represent a prime example of how organizations can collaborate and support the hobby together. As the Classics Society successfully supports and enhances the broader U.S. collecting world, the American Philatelic Society endeavors to strengthen the whole philatelic community of which the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society is apart. I understand from first-hand experience how important philatelic organizations are to helping collectors engage the hobby, find new material for their collections and build friendships that last a lifetime.

This month - May 2016 - the APS is holding an election for the 2016-19 Board term and I'm running for APS President. I'm running for this important position in our hobby because I believe the APS, while facing challenges, has significant opportunities to grow membership, expand member services and deepen its collaborative partnerships with specialty societies like the Classics Society to forge a path of prosperity for the entire hobby.

I am honored to have the endorsements of USPCS President John Barwis and USPCS Immediate Past President Wade Saadi.

I respectfully ask for your vote in this month's APS election, Mick Zais
1642 Tanglewood Road - Columbia, SC 292043308

mickzais@gmail.com

## Visit my website at www.mickzais.org to learn more about my candidacy.

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John Barwis - 40+ years of leadership experience in academia, industry, the military, and philately. Past member of the Board of Directors of Shell U.K., and Technical Director of Shell U.K. Exploration and Production. Had primary authority and accountability for a staff of 550 employees and 400 contractors, as well as an annual budget of $£ 400$ million.

Alex Haimann -founded and led the Young Philatelic Leaders Fellowship, a pioneering youth engagement program for the APS.

Yamil Kouri - 25+ years of leadership experience in medical administration, direct patient care and philately. Yamil is an organization builder - as the lead medical director, Yamil expanded services and strengthened a large non-profit hospice organization in Massachusetts.

- Throughout our careers, we have rolled up our sleeves and tackled important challenges - always focused on quality results, and a goal to leave an organization better off than when we started.
- Our team represents the many facets of stamp collecting and all levels of collector interest.
- We have demonstrated through our previous positions of responsibility, honest and impartial practices that uniquely qualify us for the important duties of the Society's disciplinary body.

We respectfully ask for your vote in this month's APS Board election, John Barwis, Alex Haimann \& Yamil Kouri

Learn more about our BVP Team at www.vote-aps-vp.org

# The Chromicle  

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# Beware: Stamps are Not Always What They Appear to Be 



TThe Philatelic Foundation recently received a submission of what appeared to be a most attractive and valuable $50 ¢$ Trans-Mississippi Imprint Plate Number Pair with full original gum. Upon close examination, the PF's staff of three in-house experts noticed something not quite right in the middle of the top margin of the stamp on the right.


Upon closer examination, using the technology provided by the PF's VSC6000 digital imaging system, their suspicions were confirmed. The top margin of the stamp on the right had been repaired, as seen in the sharp paper ridge in the magnification. This also showed the paper repair disturbed the design of the top frame line. The repair was noted on the PF Certificate.

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## THE EDITOR'S PAGE michaEl LAURENCE

## SPECIAL NEW YORK 2016 SHOW ISSUE

Going back to the SIPEX show in Washington half a century ago, it has been a Chronicle tradition to celebrate the international stamp show held in this country once every decade. Supporting the New York 2016 international, which opens at the Javits Center May 28, this issue of the Chronicle is filled with articles that shed light on various New York postal practices during the middle decades of the 19th century.

We kick off with a special feature from Michael Heller: a wide-ranging essay that uses illustrated mail, showing views of lower Manhattan, to survey letter and circular rates during the 1840s and 1850s. Along the way, Heller provides insights into New York City's architectural development, background on various printing techniques, and some observations about the wood engravers who populated Nassau Street before stamp dealers took over. Heller is a newcomer to the Chronicle, but not to our Society. He is president-for-life of the New York City chapter of the Classics Society, a small but enthusiastic group that meets on the second Tuesday of the month, one of my favorite stamp meetings.

In our 1851 section (page 133), Ken Lawrence recounts his collecting interest in artifacts-philatelic and otherwise-from America's first world's fair, the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1853. The story of the Crystal Palace, from its origins in an earlier event in London, its initial success in New York, its second act under promoter P.T. Barnum, to its fiery demise, makes a fascinating tale, which Lawrence presents with wit and charm, supported by eye-catching visuals and personal flair. The Crystal Palace stood on the mid-town Manhattan site now occupied by the much-praised Bryant Park. The tie-ins to the 2016 international stamp show at Javits Center, just a few blocks west, are manifest.

New York foreign mail markings have been collected and studied for almost a century, but for most of that time the focus has been on the fancy geometric killers from the Bank Note era, and the research has largely involved categorization, rather than historical analysis. Exhibition collector Nicholas Kirke a few years ago began to change all that, with impressive results. In a survey article in our Bank Note section, Kirke looks at NYFM markings (and the workings of the New York foreign office) from a broader historical perspective. The markings began when stamps first appeared and required cancellation. Kirke's article, "A New Look at New York Foreign Mail," examines NYFM markings in historical progression from 1845 up to 1877 . The article concludes with six pages of tracings (pages 194-199) in which the markings are presented chronologically. By itself this is a major breakthrough.

Kirke acknowledges that his marking data from the 1860 s is relatively weak, and he has developed an open-ended, date-based categorization scheme that allows for easy expansion as new markings are added to the record. By putting a stake in the ground, this initial article is likely to generate ample information for a follow up. Readers who have covers showing unlisted NYFM markings are invited to provide information to Kirke.

In our 1861 section (page 179), editor Chip Gliedman salutes the NY2016 show with a patriotic flag cover sent from New York City to Ireland in early 1868, franked with a $12 \phi$ Washington stamp of the 1861 series and embellished by a "Time Posted" label, a novel creation of mail entrepreneur George Hussey.

# LOWER MANHATTAN IN THE 1840s AND 1850s, AS SEEN ON ILLUSTRATED MAIL 

## MICHAEL HELLER

New York City has been a major business hub since Colonial times. Printed commercial instruments-letterheads, invoices, advertising circulars and the like-were mailed abundantly by New York businesses and many examples survive today. A number of these early lettersheets contain intricate views of commercial structures, in some cases including the surrounding neighborhood. In addition to being fascinating collectibles, these artifacts are of considerable historical interest. Some of them may represent the only surviving image of the view or structure depicted.

This article will review a selection of New York illustrated advertising lettersheets showing street scenes from lower Manhattan, reflecting on the postal rates they paid, the views they represent, the printing methods that produced them and (where information exists) the engravers who created the images.

The volume of business mail, particularly advertising circulars, was significantly impacted by the postal laws enacted during the middle of the 19th century. Rates diminished as the years passed, and of course this resulted in increased volume. Prior to July 1, 1845, postal rates were expensive, varied significantly according to distance and weight (or number of sheets of paper), and made no distinction between advertising circulars and handwritten letters. As an example, a single-sheet ( $1 / 4$ ounce) folded letter sent a distance under 30 miles was charged $6 \not \subset$, while the same letter travelling more than 400 miles was charged $25 \phi$. Letters containing multiple sheets or weighing more than $1 / 4$ ounce were uprated proportionately. Rates were the same whether a letter was sent prepaid or collect.

With the act of March 3, 1845 (effective July 1, 1845) postal rates were drastically reduced, and mail volume increased. The cost to send a single letter dropped to $5 \phi$ for distances up to 300 miles and 10 es for distances beyond 300 miles. A single letter was assumed to weigh $1 / 2$ ounce, with heavier letters uprated proportionally. As before, letters could be sent either prepaid or postage due, with no difference in the rate.

Figure 1 shows the address panel of a folded lettersheet, along with part of the letterhead portion of its content. Addressed to Baltimore, this cover was franked with a $5 申$ New York Postmaster Provisional stamp, which was tied by a New York " 23 OCT 5 cts" integral-rate circular datestamp. New York also applied its familiar arc-shaped "PAID" marking.

The letterhead portion of the content, shown at top in Figure 1, provides the year date (1845) and shows a wood engraving of the famous Astor House hotel. Built by John Jacob Astor in 1836 at the corner of Broadway and Vesey Street, the Astor House was considered the first luxury hotel in New York City. The view in Figure 1 looks roughly northwest, from Broadway. The Astor House is prominent at left, just five stories, because this was before elevators. At right in the view is the bottom of City Hall Park, with its iconic fountain (a staple of many 19th century New York images) at far right. The fountain, which gushed water 50 feet into the air, was built in 1842 , just after the Croton Aqueduct came on line, securing for Manhattan an abundant supply of fresh water. The fountain has undergone
many transformations since the 1840s, but survives to this day, having been restored under mayors Guiliani and Bloomberg.

During much of the 19th century, wood engravings were the most popular form of illustration used by newspapers, magazines and other print media. In spite of the word "engraving," wood engraving is actually a relief printing process. The printing base consists of raised areas to which ink is applied. The print is created when pressure is put on the back of the paper and ink is transferred to the paper from the raised areas of the printing base. To create such a base, the wood engraver used a tool similar to an engraver's burin to incise lines into an end-grain block of hard wood. The resulting prints could show great detail, as evidenced in the various wood engravings presented in this article.

Many wood engravings are truly miniature works of art, and sometimes they were signed in the plate by their creators. Note the negative signature "Strong" in the lower right corner of the Astor House engraving in Figure 1. This likely designates Thomas W. Strong,


Figure 1. Folded lettersheet from New York to Baltimore, franked with a New York Postmaster Provisional stamp and dated 23 October 1845. The enclosed letterhead, shown in part at top, includes a wood-engraved illustration of the luxurious Astor House Hotel, across from the famous fountain at the bottom of City Hall Park.
who went on to achieve fame and commercial success during the Civil War for his satirical wood engravings on political themes.

Figure 2 shows the address panel of a folded invoice posted at New York on February 7, 1851, and mailed to New London, Connecticut. It was franked with a 5¢ 1847 Franklin stamp, tied by a square red grid cancel. The illustrated letterhead portion of the invoice, at top in Figure 2, shows the warehouse premises of Van Wagenen and Tucker, importers of German and English hardware. This firm was located at 172 Greenwich Street at the corner of Dey street, on a site that is now part of the World Trade Center complex.

With the growth of American industry and the need to advertise its products, the business community pressed for lower postal rates for printed matter. In response, the 1845 postal law provided a special rate for printed circulars, handbills or other advertising material. The new rate was $2 ¢$ for each sheet, regardless of distance. As with regular mail, printed circulars could be sent prepaid or collect, but because of their unsolicited nature, they were more likely to be sent prepaid. To qualify for this lower rate, circulars generally had to be sent unsealed and could not contain additional writing. If there was any writing on the circular, it was to be rated as letter mail.

Figure 3 shows the address panel of an elaborate printed circular, the letterhead portion of which is shown opened up above the cover. This two-page circular was sent from


Figure 2. Folded invoice franked with $5 \phi 1847$ stamp, shown with a portion of its lettersheet content, which includes a wood engraving of hardware warehouse at Greenwich and Dey Streets, a site now part of the World Trade Center complex.

New York to Richmond, Virginia, on January 23, 1847. It was postmarked with a New York integral " 2 cts" circular datestamp, reflecting the new circular rate. It also shows New York's handstamped "PAID."

The letterhead illustration in Figure 3 is actually just part of a highly detailed line-engraved circular dated January 1, 1847, announcing the formation of a new partnership, the


Figure 3. Folded circular to Richmond from 1847, prepaid 2\&, along with a portion of its lettersheet content, an exquisite line engraving showing the Dutch Reformed Church after it was repurposed as New York's central post office.
firm of Chesebrough Stearns \& Co., importers of silk goods. While illustrations printed by intaglio (also known as line engraving, a recess printing process) are eye-catching and very appealing, the labor-intensive process of preparing metal printing plates was costly, and relatively few advertising lettersheets were printed this way.

The printing methodology for line engraving is basically straightforward. An engraver cuts a design into a metal plate. Ink is applied to the printing plate, which is then wiped, leaving the surface (the non-printing areas) polished clean. Ink held in the recessed areas is transferred to dampened paper by applying pressure through the back. This printing method produces a highly detailed printed design, which appears slightly raised above the surface of the paper.

The Chesebrough Stearns \& Co. firm was located at 37 Nassau St., in the heart of what is now Manhattan's financial district. The structure at left in the Figure 3 illustration is the Middle Dutch Church, built in the 1720s by the Dutch Reformed community and a direct descendant of New Amsterdam's first church. It finally closed in 1844. With the increase in letter volume that followed the 1845 postal rate reductions, the government leased the old building and transformed it into New York's central post office. (Note the "POST OFFICE" sign above the door.) This served the city well until it was supplanted by the new City Hall Post Office building in the early 1870s.

Despite being a landmark cherished by 19th century Manhattanites, the old Dutch church was finally torn down in 1882 to make room for an early skyscraper, the Mutual Life Insurance Building. This in turn was demolished in the 1950s (taking part of Cedar Street with it) to make room for One Chase Manhattan Plaza, a 60 -story banking skyscraper completed by David Rockefeller in 1961. Following the financial melt-down of 2008, the combined firm of J.P. Morgan Chase sold the building to a Chinese investment company, which renamed it 28 Liberty Street.

Prints made by wood engraving were more affordable than those produced via intaglio engraving, but for mass mailing businesses sought even cheaper methods of printing. Developed in the late 18th century, lithography was widely adopted by commercial printers around the middle of the 19th century, due to its relatively low cost. This printing method relies on the chemical fact that oil and water will not mix. Lithography first involves the drawing of a design in greasy ink on a flat surface (generally a stone). The surface is then wetted with water or some ink-repellent fluid that essentially confines the printing ink to the greasy lines of the design. The ink on the printing area is then transferred to the paper by pressure.

Figure 4 shows a lithographed letterhead illustration of John Smith's umbrella and parasol factory, 232 Pearl Street, heading a two-page circular dated New York, February 1, 1847. In addition to depicting the umbrella manufactory, the illustration shows all manner of street activity, including horse-drawn carriages and ladies and gentlemen strolling about carrying umbrellas and parasols. The content mimics a handwritten letter but is entirely lithographed (otherwise, letter postage would have been required). The second page includes a catalog of umbrella and parasol prices. The address panel superimposed in Figure 4 shows that the circular was sent to a firm in Shelburne, Massachusetts. The circular datestamp with integral 2 is dated March 14 (1847). As there is no "paid" marking, this advertising flyer was sent collect.

Just in the nick of time, because the Act of 3 March 1847 raised the circular rate from $2 k$ to $3 \mathbf{k}$. The effective date of the increase is not entirely clear, but one of the earliest known examples of the $3 \phi$ circular rate is postmarked March 17, 1847.

This act also required that circulars be sent prepaid. Previously, many unpaid circulars had been refused by their addressees. It seemed that people had a problem paying postage to receive junk mail!


## Pear bu

News Hor k Sebreasy the $184 \%$
bethe time being near when ous merchants will be in this city to frirchase their spring stock. At is desirable they should n now where to select the richest styles of test goods at the very lowed marked price - - Pith regard to tewyork, all ore aw cure that every bind of manufactures comports may be bought at a lower price than ans cite in the Union, and for larger Shocks to select from, the


Figure 4. Folded circular from 1847, prepaid $2 \phi$, and a portion of its lithographed content, illustrating an umbrella factory at 232 Pearl Street. This appears to be a handwritten letter, but it's entirely preprinted. Otherwise letter postage would have been required. Note all the pedestrians carrying umbrellas or parasols.


Figure 5. An umbrella and parasol mailer similar to that shown in Figure 4, sent from New York to Connecticut after the circular rate increase in early 1847. The New York circular datestamp reads "APR 16 (1847) PAID 3 cts."

Figure 5 shows the front of a folded letter containing a lettersheet identical to that shown in Figure 4, but here mailed to Trumbull, Connecticut and postmarked New York, April 16 (1847) with a "PAID 3 Cts." circular datestamp.

The Act of 3 March 1851 (effective 1 July 1851), represented another important change in overall postal rates. The act reduced the cost of a prepaid first-class letter to $3 \phi$ for all distances up to 3,000 miles. If not paid in advance, the letter was to be charged 5申. By this two-tier pricing mechanism, the Post Office sought to encourage patrons to prepay their mail.

While regular letters travelling less than 3,000 miles were not subject to rates that varied by distance, the opposite was true for circulars. Instead of a single $3 \phi$ rate, the new circular rates varied as follows: Under 500 miles, $1 \phi ; 500-1,500$ miles, $2 \phi ; 1,500-2,500$ miles, $3 \phi ; 2,500-3,500$ miles, $4 \phi$; and over 3,500 miles, $5 \phi$. Circulars weighing more than one ounce were uprated proportionately. For circulars not prepaid in advance, all the rates were doubled. No doubt because of their excessive complexity, these circular rates were in force for only 15 months.

Figure 6 shows part of an illustrated advertisement for the firm of Henrys, Smith and Townsend, dry goods wholesalers. This printed circular is dated December, 1851 and the second page lists goods offerred for the spring of 1852. Placed over the Figure 6 circular is an image of the folded address panel, endorsed "Paid Circular" and sent to Chesterville, Ohio. The circular datestamp reads "NEW-YORK JAN 10 PAID 2 Cts." This represents the new $2 \phi$ rate for printed circulars travelling a distance between 500 and 1,500 miles.

The wood engraving at the top of the lettersheet shows the firm's premises at 119 Broadway at the corner of Cedar Street. The view looks from the east to the west side of Broadway; somewhat fancifully, Trinity Church can be seen a block to the south.

Like Figure 4, the lettersheet in Figure 7 mimics a handwritten letter, but it's entirely a mass-printed work of lithography. In the letter, which is datelined January 1, 1852, the firm of Alfred Edwards \& Co., importers of silk and fancy goods, announce their removal to 9 and 11 Park Place, "the first street North of the Astor House." This single-sheet circular was sent to Davenport, New York. The address panel, also shown in Figure 7, bears a nice


## HENRYS, SMITH \& TOWNSEND, IMPORTERS AND JOBBERS OF STAPLEE AND FANCY DRY GOODS, 119 BROADWAE, corner of Cedar-street, 

We log leaved to inform' ous friends and customers that wel have madd ouso usuat preptara. tions foo the atproaching season: and will open by the 20th of January next.


Figure 6. This wholesaler's circular to Ohio was posted at the $2 \phi$ rate (effective 1 July 1851) for a distance between 500 and 1,500 miles. The view in the wood engraving looks west to Broadway; Trinity Church can be seen a block south.
strike of a New York "Paid 1 Ct." circular marking dated March 4. The $1 \notin$ rating represents the under-500-mile circular rate.

The finely-executed letterhead illustration is presumably an accurate depiction of the Edwards premises. It shows gentlemen in top hats, junk boxes on the sidewalk and in the


Figure 7. This detailed lithographed circular was prepaid at the under-500-mile rate in early 1852. It shows a silk importer's warehouse and includes a street map of the entire neighborhood west of City Hall Park. The signature under the warehouse reads "Lith. of Sarony \& Major, New York." Napoleon Sarony went on to fame as a photographer.
street, and the presence of a boot and shoe business that apparently has nothing to do with the Edwards operation.

Note also that the building illustration lithograph is signed "in the plate" at bottom right: "Lith. of Sarony \& Major, New York." Napoleon Sarony was a French Canadian who moved to New York around 1836. He worked for Currier and Ives before partnering with James and Henry Major in a lithography business. Like other printers of this era, Sarony subsequently migrated to the new technology of photography. In the last years of the century he achieved distinction as a photographer of celebrities. His 1888 photograph of General Sherman was the basis for the vignette design on the $8 \notin$ Small Bank Note stamp (Scott 225).

The Figure 7 letterhead also presents a detailed street map of the area surrounding the Edwards firm. The location of the Astor House is indicated, and the unnamed adjacent park is City Hall Park. The gushing fountain shown in the Astor House letterhead in Figure 1


Figure 8. Posted in August, 1852, this circular apparently contained other matter that required letter-rate postage. The view includes the iconic fountain that appears on the letterhead in Figure 1. The wood engraving is signed "J.W. ORR, N.Y."
was in the park across from Park Place. The unnamed north-south street west of Broadway is Church Street, and west of that is the current World Trade Center site.

Figure 8 shows a letterhead announcing that the firm of Tracy, Irwin \& Co. had moved to new premises on Broadway, "near the Astor House and directly opposite the Park Fountain." The wood engraved illustration (inscribed "J.W. ORR, NY" at lower right) shows the firm's well-fenestrated building, nearby businesses and a nice scene of the south end of City Hall Park, including the iconic fountain.

The folded address panel for the Figure 8 letterhead is postmarked New York, August 14 (1852). The circular datestamp ties a corner margin copy of an imperforate $3 \phi$ Washington stamp. This item was mailed to Philadelphia and appears to be missing another page,

R. I. \& A. STUAFT'S STEAM SUGAR REFINERY; ON GREENWICH, CHAMBERS, AND READE STREETS, NEW-YORK.

## STUART'S STEAM REFINED SUGAR <br> AT THE FOLLOWING <br> PRICES.



Figure 9. Price list posted in 1853, after the distance-based circular rates of 1851 had been simplified. The wood engraving (signed "HOWLAND SC.") shows the huge Stuart sugar refinery between Greenwich, Chambers and Reade Streets.

MOULTON, PLIMPTON, WILLIAMS \& CO.,
?mporters ani fobbers.
FANCY AND STAPLE DRY GOODS, YANKEE NOTIONS, CARPETS AND OIL CLOTHS.
VIEW OF THEIR
표
No. 6 BARCLAY ST., COMMUNICATING WITH 12 VESEY ST., to which they wille remove on the 15 th day of may, 1833.


Figure 10. This circular, a relocation announcement mailed to Michigan in 1853 (the circular datestamp is shown at right) contains a full page of illustrations, including views of the front and back of the firm's new warehouse, the foreshortened structure down the street in both images, that apparently has an odd crown at its top. This panorama of entire city blocks includes two views of the Astor House, also the American Hotel and St. Paul's Church, detailed down to tombstones in the graveyard.

which likely contained a written letter, thereby requiring the payment of letter-rate postage, rather than the lower circular rate.

The creator of the wood engraving in the letterhead, John William Orr (1815-1887), Irish born, was brought to the United States as an infant, trained as an illustrator, got his start as a wood engraver for Harper Brothers and ultimately had his own successful business at 75 and 77 Nassau Street.

The Act of 30 August 1852 (effective 1 October 1852), greatly simplified the complex circular rates that had been established in 1851. Prepaid unsealed circulars weighing under three ounces could be sent any distance for just $1 申$. Heavier circulars were charged an additional 1申 per ounce and unpaid circulars were charged double rates.

Figure 9 shows a price list headed by a detailed wood engraving of Stuart's Steam Sugar Refinery, located on a large block bounded by Greenwich, Chambers and Reade streets. The address panel of the circular, also shown in Figure 9, is dated April 25, 1853. The circular was mailed to Ypsilanti, Michigan, postmarked with a red New York, "PAID $1 \mathrm{Ct} "$ marking. Prepayment of $2 \phi$ would have been required under the prior rate structure.

Stuart's is another 19th century Manhattan success story. Back in 1807, Mrs. Kinlock Stuart began a small business making candles and preserves at 271 Greenwich Street (a small parcel on the huge factory site illustrated in the Figure 9 letterhead). By 1831 her business had grown immensely and was taken over by her sons, who invented a new process of refining sugar and built the illustrated refinery. They went on to amass vast fortunes and became great benefactors of various New York institutions.

The wood-engraved letterhead illustration is signed (at lower left) "HOWLAND SC," indicating it was engraved by William Howland (1822-75), a pioneer New York wood engraver who trained a whole generation of practitioners in the wood-engraving art. In 1864, he became the first president of the New York Society of Wood Engravers.

Our final advertising circular, shown in Figure 10, is one of my favorites. Prepared for Moulton, Plimpton, Williams \& Co., importers and wholesalers of dry goods, this presents an entire page of illustrations, including views of the front and back of the firm's new warehouse (to which they will move on May 15, 1853). Instead of just showing the building itself (it's the foreshortened structure down the street in both images, which appears to have an odd crown at its top), this lettersheet shows entire city blocks! The panorama includes two views of the Astor House, also the American Hotel and St. Paul's Church, detailed down to the tombstones in the graveyard. Reference to the letterhead map in Figure 7 will enable the careful viewer to place these scenes quite precisely.

The two wood engravings in the Figure 10 lettersheet constitute the most detailed cityscape illustrations I've ever come across. This circular was sent as a folded letter from New York City to Salem, New York, in February, 1853. There's not space to show the address panel, but the postmark is shown beneath the illustration. The charge at this time should have been $1 \phi$. The indicated $2 \phi$ prepayment suggests the mailing contained additional printed matter that is no longer present.

The signature line at bottom right of both engravings reads "T. HORTON \& CO." Not much is known about this man or his firm, but examples of Horton engravings survive on lettersheets and on illustrated advertising covers, and Horton is listed in various city directories from the 1840s and 1850s as a wood engraver and printer doing business at 60 Nassau Street. It seems that before it acquired stamp dealers, Nassau Street was a hangout for wood engravers.

While not conventionally philatelic, illustrated lettersheets can add great visual appeal to a showing of postal rates and markings. For those inclined to research, there's much still to be learned about the engravers who created and signed these fascinating miniature works of art.

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## THE 1847 PERIOD

## LIVERPOOL TWO-SHILLING HANDSTAMP USED WITH UNITED STATES 1847 STAMPS <br> GORDON EUBANKS

During the 1847 period the British post office at Liverpool handled much of the mail crossing the Atlantic to and from North America. Most mail from the United States to the United Kingdom involved single-rate letters, weighing up to one half ounce and rated one shilling due when they reached England. But double-rate letters, weighing between onehalf and one ounce are also seen. This brief article discusses the two-shilling due markings used at Liverpool to indicate the payment due on the delivery of such letters.

The Liverpool Post Office used both handstamps and manuscript markings on incoming mail. According to Colin Tabeart's Robertson Revisited, the one-shilling handstamp is one of the most common rate markings used at Liverpool. Figure 1 shows an example of this handstamp on a cover sent from New York to Liverpool franked with a $5 \notin 1847$ stamp. This letter sailed from Boston 16 July 1847 on the Cunard packet Caledonia. This was the first Cunard sailing after the 1847 stamps were available. As might be expected there are minor variations in the Liverpool one-shilling marking, reflecting the fact that more than one handstamp existed.

Figure 2 is the only cover I know of, franked with 1847 stamps, showing the two-shilling handstamp used on a double-rate cover. This folded letter was postmarked at New York on August 14, 1847 and departed from Boston August 16, 1847 on the Cunard packet Hibernia.


Figure 1. Folded letter from New York to Liverpool showing the bold one-shilling handstamp applied at Liverpool on single-rate covers from the United States.


Figure 2. Folded letter from New York City, posted August 14, 1847, showing the two-shilling handstamp applied at Liverpool on incoming double-rate covers.

British dealer Steven Taylor told me that this handstamp also appears on a July 13, 1847 stampless cover from Philadelphia to Liverpool via Boston, which crossed on the Caledonia with the cover in Figure 1.

With both these covers, as was typical, the U.S. stamps paid domestic postage from the point of origin to the port of departure, which was Boston. The rate was $5 \phi$ per half ounce for a distance up to 300 miles.

No 5¢ 1847 covers are recorded showing the two-shilling handstamp. Figure 3 shows an off-cover pair of 5¢ stamps with a partial strike of the marking, the only example I know on off-cover 5申 stamps.


Figure 3. Partial strike of the Liverpool two-shilling handstamp on a pair of $5 ¢ 1847$ stamps, the only copies known with this marking.


Figure 4. Stampless folded letter sent from Canada to England via Boston in 1846. Postage from Canada to Boston was prepaid in cash. At Liverpool, the cover was handstamped to indicate that two shillings was to be collected from the recipient.

Canada expert and author Malcolm Montgomery told me he has seen the two-shilling marking on a few double-rate covers between England and Canada, most of them incoming (westbound) covers. Figure 4 shows the marking on an eastbound stampless cover sent from Toronto in June 1846 to Sherborne, England. The sender in Toronto paid 10\& for U.S. internal postage to Boston. The letter does not show what Canadian postage was paid, if any. Backstamps indicate the letter was carried on the Cunard steamship Caledonia, which sailed from Boston July 1, 1846, and arrived in Liverpool July 13, 1846. The two-shilling due marking, which was applied in Liverpool on arrival, shows a slightly different design from the marking on the Figure 2 cover, confirming that Liverpool employed several two-shilling handstampers.

The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society's online census of 1847 covers (accessible at USPCS.org) shows one $10 \notin 1847$ cover with a manuscript two-shilling marking. This February 21,1849 folded address sheet is addressed to London.

The very attractive two-shilling handstamp used in Liverpool on mail from North America is extremely rare, especially on stamp-bearing covers. I would be interested in learning of other examples of this handstamp on covers from the United States.

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## The Chronicle

# MY ADVENTURE IN EXPO COLLECTING: POSTAL AND RELATED RELICS OF NEW YORK'S CRYSTAL PALACE AND THE 1853 WORLD'S FAIR <br> <br> KEN LAWRENCE 

 <br> <br> KEN LAWRENCE}

Surviving eyewitness descriptions of the New York Crystal Palace and the 1853 Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations sparkle with splendor and enchantment. They vie to be excerpted as historians' epigraphs, but here I shall invite my readers to choose whose commendation is most captivating and memorable:

A Christian lady who supervised an orphanage in the squalid Old Brewery tenement made famous in the Gangs of New York motion picture chaperoned her wards to the fair, which admitted them free of charge. After two hours exploring the exhibits, she recalled, "Being tired, we sat down. One of the little girls asked me if I thought Heaven was as beautiful as this place."

In the earliest recorded fragment of his more secular prose, 17-year-old Samuel Langhorne Clemens imagined fairies dwelling in the domed palace, not angels. In a letter to his sister Pamela he wrote,

From the gallery (second floor) you have a glorious sight-the flags of the different countries represented, the lofty dome, glittering jewelry, gaudy tapestry, etc., with the busy crowd passing to and fro-'tis a perfect fairy palace-beautiful beyond description.

The machinery department is on the main floor, but I cannot enumerate any of it on account of the lateness of the hour (past one o'clock). It would take more than a week to examine everything on exhibition, and I was only in a little over two hours to-night. I only glanced at about one-third of the articles; and, having a poor memory, I have enumerated scarcely any of even the principal objects. The visitors to the Palace average $\mathbf{6 , 0 0 0}$ daily-double the population of Hannibal. The price of admission being fifty cents, they take in about $\$ 3,000$.
A mature Walt Whitman was no less smitten than the boy who became Mark Twain. Whitman climaxed his 1857 survey of New York buildings with this observation:

> We must not conclude this article without an allusion to the Crystal Palace, an edifice certainly unsurpassed anywhere for beauty and all the other requisites of a perfect edifice. At present, few persons pay any attention to architecture in its higher planes, its philosophy, its reference to all the other things, few have any profound idea of beauty in a building. We suppose it must be for that reason that the New York City Crystal Palace is not universally confessed to be what it is-an original, esthetic, perfectly proportioned American edifice-one of the few that put modern times not beneath old times, but on an equality with the best of them.

Regarding the fair itself-"a thing to be seen once in a lifetime"-Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, opined, "As we grow in wealth and strength, we may build a much greater Crystal Palace and accommodate therein more imperial treasure than we could now afford to purchase; but a second fair cannot bring the exhilaration and glory of the first."

Famous people were not the only ones whose imaginations took wing and danced with their dreams. My collection includes an 1853 scrapbook letter written by 13 -year-old Ella in Prairieville, Iowa, to her friend and classmate Leni. Part of it reads, "I was at the


Figure 1. This colorful lithograph is the frontispiece of The Odd-Fellows' Offering for 1854. The ground-level view faces the Sixth Avenue main entrance of the Crystal Palace, on the site of today's Bryant Park, with the tower-like Latting Observatory on the left across 42nd Street and the brick walls of the Croton Reservoir in the background at the right, behind the machine and picture gallery annex at the back of the exhibition hall.
show last night. Oh I wish you could have been there it was delightful. I saw the Chrystal Palace in London \& New York and went all the way to California by water. I say I went but indeed it seems as if I did go."

In the shadow of these reverent testimonials I shall share some philatelic and collateral aspects of my adventure in expo collecting, hoping to beguile and entertain classics aficionados of every stripe but also perhaps to recruit some new blood to this specialty.

## Postal accommodations for the $\mathbf{1 8 5 3}$ World's Fair

The New-York Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations at the Crystal Palace (shown in two different views in Figures 1 and 2) was America's first world's fair. At the time it opened, most United States mail was sent stampless and unpaid. Available postage stamps and postal stationery consisted of imperforate $1 \phi$ Benjamin Franklin stamps, $3 \phi$ and $12 \phi$ George Washington stamps, $3 \notin$ Washington embossed stamped envelopes ( $6 \not \subset$ stamped envelopes became available while the fair was in progress), and $1 \&$ Eagle carrier stamps.

The city post office, then located in the old Dutch Reformed Church, was a beehive of activity. The Illustrated Magazine of Art published in June 1853, shortly before the palace opened its gates to the world, reported:

The New York Post Office is said to be the largest in the Union. . . . without anything like the imposing appearance of activity displayed by the London or Paris Post Office, it is very possible that more actual business is done in this little church than in either.

The total number of letters whose passage was noted by the clerks during the year [1852], is given as $\mathbf{1 2 , 3 4 7 , 1 1 8}$ sent, and $9,105,312$ received. Of the former, about $9,600,000$ were home letters; of the latter, about $6,800,000$.

The stamp system is now becoming generally used in the United States. Nearly four-fifths of the paid home letters which are posted at New York are paid by stamps. Of the foreign letters,


Figure 2. John Bachman's 1853 lithograph, Bird's Eye View of the New York Crystal Palace and Environs, looks south from the observation deck of the Latting Observatory, with 42nd Street below, the Croton Reservoir at the left, and Sixth Avenue at the right. Warren Latting advertised his 315 -foot tower as "by far the loftiest building in this country, and nine feet higher than St. Paul's Cathedral in London." Fire destroyed it in 1856. This image is taken from the website of the Museum of the City of New York.
a very small proportion are prepaid in this manner. And in many parts of the country, there seems to be a sort of reluctance to make use of stamps; hardly three-fourths of the paid home letters which are received at New York are franked by this easy, simple process....

Nothing is more wanted in New York than local sub-post-offices. When the church in Nassau Street was in the centre of the city, it would have been an easy matter for every one to visit it once a day; but now that three-fourths of the residents live at a great distance from the centre of traffic, it is not slight annoyance to be obliged to travel two or three miles to mail or inquire for a letter.

The anonymous author got his wish, more or less. An on-site post office inside the exhibition hall was the first of its kind in this country. For details and a site map see my article "Is This the Oldest American Philatelic Souvenir?" in Chronicle 232 (November 2011).

From a philatelic perspective the 1853 fair is probably best appreciated as a precursor. The Post Office Department supported the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and later world's fairs with commemorative postal issues and special postmarks, but their New York antecedent was austere by comparison.

## Prelude: the Great Exhibition of $\mathbf{1 8 5 1}$ in London

To capture the sponsors' vision in hosting this pageant we begin our narrative two years earlier in England. The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, held at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London, from May 1 to October 15, 1851, was the original world's fair and the inspiration for the New York exhibition of 1853. With Queen Victoria's endorsement, Prince Albert's patronage and energetic oversight, and an architectural spectacle of glass and iron that captured the public imagination, its success was assured.


Figure 3. Illustrated London News artist John Gilbert was one of the first to portray Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace, pictured in the wood engraving on this lettersheet, posted March 22, 1851, at Derby, England and sent unpaid to Florence, Italy.

Joseph Paxton, an experienced designer of greenhouses, was the architect. His approach reflected his professional background writ large, comfortably enclosing mature trees. Paxton's innovative concept and its magnitude ( 33 million cubic feet of exhibit space) are pictured and captioned on the Figure 3 lettersheet. But the clear-glass exterior turned the building into a steamy sauna on sunny days, which required the unforeseen addition of canvas shades to keep the interior temperature tolerable and the atmosphere sufferable.

The March 22, 1851, letter beneath the Figure 3 illustration is addressed to Marie Shirley, widow of Rev. Walter Augustus Shirley of Derbyshire, at Florence, Italy, from her mother-in-law, Alicia Newenham Shirley at Derby. It begins, "My dear Marie, I am no favorer of this Babel tower whose top is to reach the height of perfection in arts \& sciences, but this picture is pretty and may please Olivia to show at Florence...."

Six million people visited the London fair. Surplus revenue afterward was used to construct and endow three British museums, and to establish an educational trust that continues to provide grants and scholarships for industrial research today. American businessmen who attended the extravaganza were more impressed with the Victorian pageant than the elder Mrs. Shirley had been.

Thomas de la Rue and Company, stationers, security printers, and builders of machine tools, hosted a large exhibit in the British area. According to The Postal History of the Crystal Palace by Maurice H. Bristow, "The part of the exhibit which attracted by far the largest number of visitors was a working envelope folding machine. . . . The machine was designed by Warren de la Rue so that it would fold, gum, forward and deliver the envelopes all of which had formerly been carried out by hand."

According to information now in my possession that Wilson Hulme received from the de la Rue Company in 1978, Warren de la Rue had improved an earlier envelope folding


Figure 4. The world's first machine-made envelopes were manufactured and sold at the Thomas de la Rue stand during the 1851 Great Exhibition in London. An American fair-goer brought this one home as a souvenir, then mailed it from New York City to Bloomfield, New Jersey, on December 30, paid with an imperforate $3 \notin 1851$ stamp.
machine invented by Edwin Hill, brother of postal reform advocate Sir Rowland Hill.
Bristow continued, "About half a dozen of the envelopes actually made at the Exhibition are known still to exist." One of these is shown in Figure 4, evidently brought home to the United States by an American show-goer and mailed December 30 (1851) from New York City to Bloomfield, New Jersey. Note the legend on the backflap. The addressee, Rev. George Duffield, was a hymn writer and an abolitionist.

## Bringing a World's Fair to America

Among the Americans charmed by the Great Exhibition, and the most influential upon his return home, was Horace Greeley. Before the year was out, Greeley and a group of wealthy investors had formed a committee headed by Massachusetts auctioneer Edward Riddle to host a comparable event in this country. They sought permission from the New York municipal authorities to build their exhibition hall at Madison Square, but objections from local residents and merchants forced them to accept an alternative site on the northern outskirts of town.

On January 3, 1852, New York granted the exhibition committee a five-year lease to Reservoir Square (bounded by 40th and 42nd Streets, Sixth Avenue on the west and the Croton Reservoir on the east) for the exhibition building, upon two conditions: that the building should be constructed of glass and iron, and that no single entrance fee should exceed $50 \phi$. With approval secured, the committee opened an office in London to promote the event and to solicit exhibits.

On March 11, the New York state legislature chartered the Association for the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations. The charter named as founding directors "a roll-call of prominent New Yorkers" in the words of historian Ivan D. Steen: Elbert J. Anderson, August Belmont, William C. Bryant, Edward K. Collins, Francis W. Edmonds, Alexander Hamilton Jr., William Kent, Charles King, Jonathan Livingston, Mortimer Livingston, Alfred Pell, Theodore Sedgwick, Watts Sherman and Charles A. Stetson.

William Cullen Bryant, our country's great eulogist, did not remain a member of the board of directors after the founding, but the ground on which the palace was built and the fair was held is now the public park that bears his name, behind the New York Public

Library. On March 17 the association's board of directors named Theodore Sedgwick president and William Whitten secretary. U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster designated the exhibition building a bonded warehouse.

Princeton historian Sean Wilentz has described Theodore Sedgwick III as "an outspoken hard-money Democrat." Scion of a founding Federalist dynasty, he had been a member of the legal team that won freedom for the Amistad slave-ship captives. He had also served as attaché at the American legation in Paris and was a friend and correspondent of Alexis de Tocqueville. With those credentials and personal ties Sedgwick had clout in New York political and business circles, national influence, and important foreign acquaintances.

Sedgwick and Whitten solicited applications from prospective exhibitors. I have a printed circular dated July 12 and sent (by Boyd's City Express Post) to William George Stewart, the Mexican consul at New York. The circular summarized the concept these men had of their project: "A representation from other countries as well as their own, of Raw Materials and Produce, Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts....Machinery will be exhibited in Motion....Paintings in Frames will be exhibited."

## The New York Crystal Palace

Several prominent architects submitted proposals to Christian E. Detmold, supervising engineer of the project, and his assistants Horatio Allen and Edmund Hurry. Detmold was well suited to the job. He had managed the laying of the foundation at Fort Sumter and had introduced improvements in the manufacture of iron. The August 25, 1852, report that he and his staff delivered to the directors summarized ten of the entries and rated the proposal of George Carstensen and Charles Gildemeister "far beyond all others by great architectural elegance." Their contract was agreed and signed on August 26.

Johan Bernhard Georg Carstensen was a Dane who had built the Tivoli Gardens amusement park at Copenhagen in 1843. Karl Gildemeister was a German architect, alumnus of the Berliner Bauakadamie, who had immigrated to New York after the 1848 revolution. Their assignment was to create an edifice based on the principles of perfect safety, simplicity of construction, sufficient space to accommodate the exhibition, economy of cost, later utility of the building or the materials, convenience of the visitors, and architectural effect. For the sake of economy, the directors scaled back the architects' more ambitious recommendations. In their 1854 report, Carstensen and Gildemeister lamented:
> [I]t will be observed that we at first proposed a basement story, which, if carried out, would have given an additional surface of $\mathbf{1 5 0 , 0 0 0}$ square feet, for about the same sum as was afterwards expended on the erection of the somewhat unsightly machine arcade....

> Had our original plan been adopted in its totality, some serious defects that now exist would have been entirely avoided. The presence of a basement story would have elevated the building about six feet, thus decreasing the unfavorable effect which the heavy masonry of the Reservoir now produces upon it....

> For the decoration of the dome [we had proposed] as follows: From the apex of the dome a cluster of silver rays were to radiate down to about a third of the depth, giving the effect of light bursting in through an aperture above. The remaining two thirds of the dome were to have been colored in alternate subdued red and white stripes, over which a network was stretched, giving the effect of a huge American ensign having been cast over the dome, and supported in its place by the ribs and the network....
> [W]e cannot refrain from adverting the defects of [the adopted decoration scheme], where the apex or receding point of the dome were painted yellow, which is the most advancing color in the spectrum, and the base or nearest point a light blue, which is the color always used to bestow the effect of a receding object. The consequence is that the dome has lost a third of its apparent size by this distribution of colors.

Nevertheless they acquiesced and obeyed the directors' instructions. For their part the directors acknowledged the architects' mastery of glass-and-iron construction without interfering in that aspect. Crucial to the building's beauty were the translucent glass outer
wall sections, each an eighth of an inch thick, brushed with enamel and baked in a kiln to vitrify the coating, which had the added practical benefit of avoiding the greenhouse effect that had overheated the London Crystal Palace.

The first column was erected and dedicated October 30, but construction advanced at a snail's pace after that, largely because of suppliers' inability to provide custom building materials on schedule. Delays pushed the planned opening date back from May 2 to sometime in June, and from June to July 14, 1853. The Official Catalogue of the New York Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, First Revised Edition, summarized the design:


#### Abstract

The general idea of the building is a Greek cross, surmounted by a dome at the intersection. The length of each diameter of the cross is 365 feet and 5 inches, and the width of the arms is 149 feet and 5 inches. This does not include the three entrance halls, projecting towards Sixth Avenue, Fortieth, and Forty-second streets, which are 27 feet wide and approached by flights of steps. . . . although the edifice is cruciform, the outline of the ground plan is a regular octagon, whose diameter is the same as that of the arms of the cross. This form has been given to it by ingeniously filling up the triangular intervals between the arms of the cross with a lean-to of only one story, or twenty-four feet in height.


At each corner was a 75 -foot octagonal tower with a flag pole at the top.

## Official notices and invitations

An October 11 announcement signed by Theodore Sedgwick that was mailed November 2 to Addison Thayer of West Medway, Massachusetts, invited him to enter his firm's wares as exhibits. An additional personal letter from an associate that accompanied the circular includes directions to the Crystal Palace. Also enclosed were two application blanks for space at the exhibition. Thayer was a manufacturer of thread, machinery for straw goods, and rawhide mallets. My collection also includes a printed, filled-in and signed October 6 acknowledgment form to an unnamed applicant who desired to exhibit water pipe.

Figure 5 shows a cover sent April 15, 1853 to Linus Yale, who had applied to exhibit his firm's locks. The envelope and a printed form letter it carried feature pictorial images of the Crystal Palace. The sender, Curran Dinsmore \& Company, offered Yale its services as the Industrial Exhibition Agency. Dinsmore proposed to serve as the exhibitor's "special agent on the spot" to represent his interests at the fair. Additionally, a hand-written letter dated April 13 from Charles F. Pond, president of the New Haven, Hartford, \& Springfield Rail Road Company, and William Whitten of the exhibition committee, offered to transport Yale's goods to and from New York, and was accompanied by a hand-written list of prominent industrialists who had volunteered to serve as the fair's Local Committee of Connecticut. I also have a circular that Dinsmore sent out in June, part of mass mailing to prospective clients, offering a complete package of transport, setup, takedown, and other agency services.


Figure 5. Crystal Palace, under the banner "The Industry of All Nations." This 1853 cover, sent to Linus Yale, a prospective exhibitor of locks, carried materials proposing to transport Yale's display goods to and from the exhibition and to represent his firm on-site.


Figure 6. A finer rendering of the same Crystal Palace wood engraving seen on the cover in Figure 5 is here arrayed with other iconic images of the day, on this $3 \phi$ imperforate cover sent from Brooklyn to Poughkeepsie, New York, on May 24, 1855.

## Pictorial envelopes, lettersheets, and currency

Every entrepreneurial engraver and printer in New York created images of the Crystal Palace. Stationers sold envelopes and lettersheets that reproduced many of them, thus providing opportunities for postal dissemination. Here are two examples:

Albert H. Jocelyn's wood engraving on the Figure 6 cover identified the exhibition with the Eagle and Shield of national pride and the trans-Atlantic ocean liner of international travel, commerce, and communication. The envelope was printed by D. Felt \& Hosford, a manufacturing stationer and importer of fine writing paper.

A colorless oval advertisement of Lawrence's Photographs, 381 Broadway, Cor. White St., New York, is embossed on the flap. Martin M. Lawrence's gallery earned the top prize for daguerreotypes at the exhibition, even as he pioneered the new technique of paper photographic prints suitable for every use from miniature locket cameo portraits to large wall posters. Lawrence is best remembered for his 1858 portrait of John Brown, the only photograph that shows Brown with a beard.

The addressee of the Figure 6 envelope, Philip Sidney Post, was a student at Poughkeepsie Law School in 1855. After graduation he practiced law in Illinois before settling in Kansas. He became a Civil War hero, constantly at the front until he was wounded in November 1864 at the Battle of Nashville. He was awarded the Medal of Honor for bravery. For eight years he represented Illinois as a Republican in Congress until his death in 1895. The serendipitous combination of envelope design, sender, and recipient makes this cover, postmarked May 24 (1855) at Brooklyn, an interesting period piece in several respects.

Figure 7 illustrates a Charles Magnus lithograph in three colors-black, bronze, and pale blue-green - that has become recognized as his prototypical print, produced a decade before he became the leading manufacturer of colorful Civil War patriotic envelopes. His Crystal Palace image fills the top half of a folded lettersheet. This one, dated March 6, 1854, contains an amorous four-page letter from a man named Frank in New York to his fiancée Lizzie in Massachusetts.


NEW YORK GRYSTAL PALAGE FOR THE EXHIBITION OF THE INDUSTBY OF ALL NATIONS.
Figure 7. Charles Magnus lithographed this Crystal Palace lettersheet in three col-ors-black, bronze, and pale blue-green. The cropped-away letter portion below this print contained an 1854 love letter from a man named Frank to a woman named Lizzie.


Figure 8. This plate proof for a Nassau Bank $\$ 5$ note includes in its composition a fine engraving of the Crystal Palace by the New York firm of Baldwin, Adams \& Co.

Besides stationers and fine art printers, at least one security printer adopted the Crystal Palace as a subject. Figure 8 shows a plate proof of a $\$ 5$ note prepared for the Nassau Bank of New York by the firm of Baldwin, Adams \& Company. I also have a die proof of the Crystal Palace element used to create this note, die sunk on card.

## Fine art at the Industrial Exhibition

Part of Theodore Sedgwick's mission was to uplift popular appreciation of fine art in America. He presented his cultural vision to New York Governor Horatio Seymour as construction began on October 30, 1852:

[^2]done on a great public scale for the pleasure and instruction of our adult people. We have no galleries, no parks. This is not the place to say anything in favor of a park, though an object which should be dear to the heart of every New Yorker. But I desire, in regard to the other objects, to point out how easy it will be hereafter to convert this building into a great People's Gallery of Art.
Greek Slave, carved and owned by Hiram Powers, had been displayed at the 1851 London exhibition to international acclaim. The New York exhibition listed Powers as a resident of Cincinnati, but he had been an expatriate in Florence, Italy, since 1837 and remained there for the rest of his life. Greek Slave was the New York exhibition's only allegorical allusion to the demon that threatened to destroy our young republic, though the products of slave labor were lavishly displayed-tobacco, sugar, rice, cotton plants and finished goods - and related machinery such as "Saw cotton gin in operation."

Besides African Americans, indigenous Americans too were invisible. In light of later world's fairs that segregated the races and featured spectacles of aboriginal people as uncivilized savages and as performers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, their absence from the Crystal Palace in 1853 might count as a backhanded blessing. (Perhaps I am too derisive. The exhibition did display a bust of Haiti's emperor Faustin I, who had been born a slave and had fought in his country's revolution, but I have read no published commentary about the fair that recognized it or him as a symbol of anything.)

But the issue of slavery was in the city's air. Uncle Tom's Cabin, the best-selling American novel of the 19th century, had been published in 1852. George L. Aiken's six-act script had put Harriet Beecher Stowe's story on Broadway, with music by the producer, George C. Howard. More people attended stage performances than read the book. Many out-of-town visitors took in both the play and the fair, reinforcing the message of Powers’ most famous work.

Perhaps to play down the sculptor's sermon in marble, the New York show included three more of his statues. Eve Tempted was actually Powers' first full-size statue, and Greek Slave his second. When images of the two are presented side by side, as in Figure 9, one can see that he had not yet perfected his treatment of the female form in Eve.

Colonel John Smith Preston, a South Carolina planter who later became an ardent secessionist, had commissioned Eve and had entered her at the exhibition. Sidney Brooks,


Figure 9. These images, from a mid-19th century stereoscopic photograph of Greek Slave (far left) and a carte de visite view of Eve Tempted, show two of the four Hiram Powers statues featured at the Crystal Palace exhibition. Powers created the former as an abolitionist allegory; South Carolina slave owner John S. Preston commissioned and exhibited the latter.
a New Yorker, entered Powers' Fisher Boy and Proserpine. Statues by other artists, mostly Europeans, were distributed throughout the grounds. An enormous equestrian statue of George Washington by the Italian-born French sculptor Baron Carlo Marochetti, dominated the main exposition hall, as can be seen in the interior view presented in Figure 10.


Figure 10. The centerfold of the April 1854 People's Journal pictured the interior of the Crystal Palace while the exhibition was in full flourish. An equestrian statue of George Washington, by French sculptor Baron Carlo Marochetti, dominated the main hall.

By adding a pictures gallery the New York exhibition became the first world's fair to include a display of paintings, a final total of 675 of them, which included 22 by members of the New York Water Color Society. My collection includes a slim vestige of the gallery, a gummed label (shown in Figure 11) for exhibit No. 556, identified as Linsmore Castle. The exhibition catalog corrupted the artist's name and misstated his nationality; he was Robert Lowe Stopford of Cork, Ireland.

In all, the exhibition hosted about 4,000 exhibits (counting each work of art as one), but never all at the same time, and the total varied from month to month. Besides the United States, 23 foreign countries sent exhibits.

President Franklin Pierce arrived in New York on the morning of July 14 to address the opening ceremony, accompanied by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis. Large crowds

Figure 11. The Official Catalogue of the Pictures Contributed to the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations in the Picture Gallery of the Crystal Palace identified exhibit No. 556 in the paintings gallery as Linsmore Castle in water colors by English artist R. C. Stopford. It was actually painted by Irish artist Robert Lowe Stopford. This gummed label was probably attached to the painting at the exhibition. It shows the official seal of "The Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, New York, 1853."



Figure 12. The 1853 "NEW-YORK" year-dated postmark was in use only from July 11 to July 26. Strikes on First Nesbitt Issue postal stationery envelopes, which had been issued that month, are rare. Four entires and one cut square are recorded, representing two printing dies and two paper colors. Most exposition collectors regard these cancellations as related to the world's fair; others are skeptical. This Die 1 envelope on white paper with Nesbitt's crest on the flap is canceled July 22, 1853.
gathered to witness their procession to the Crystal Palace, where only dignitaries wearing color-coded ribbons and season-ticket subscribers were admitted for the grand opening. My collection includes a VIP admission ribbon and a season ticket.

That rainy day, the New York Times later recalled, "though it wet the president to the skin, and drenched a great multitude of the unwashed, and of those whose outer adornments were not made to wash, was yet a fine one."

## "New-York 1853" year-dated postmarks

Overlapping the set-up, opening, and first two weeks of the exhibition, a nonstandard postmark appeared on prepaid stamped domestic-mail letters posted at New York. From July 11 to July 26 the year " 1853 " appeared in the date dial. Carroll Chase wrote in The $3 \phi$ Stamp of the United States 1851-1857 Issue:

The 1853 New York City year-date is particularly interesting. The main and branch offices of New York City were undoubtedly using a number of town cancellation stamps at this time though only one of them included the year date. It was used from July 11 to July 26, inclusive, and each day during this period has been seen. I have a notation that an order from the Post-Office Department at Washington was the reason why it was discontinued. This year-date has been seen on 1c 1851s, 3 c 1851 s , and once on a stamped envelope.


Figure 13. Since the "New-York 1853" year-dated postmark was in use for only 16 days, all examples are scarce. The two strips of three shown here represent the largest recorded multiples struck with the 1853 year-dated postmark. Jerome Wagshal, the former owner of the $1 \phi$ Franklin strip canceled July 25, plated the positions as 37-38-39R1L. Wade Saadi, who owns the corner-margin 3申 Washington strip, has identified it as a Plate 3 print, Positions 8, 9, and 10 from the top row of the right pane.

Figure 14. Two 1ф Franklin stamps on covers canceled with the 1853 year-dated postmark are recorded. This one, canceled July 15, was formerly owned by Mortimer Neinken, who plated the stamp as 5L1L.


Today four stamped envelopes and one cut square struck with that device are known in collectors' hands. No examples of $12 \phi$ Washington or $1 \phi$ Eagle carrier stamps are recorded with an 1853 year date cancellation. Thomas Mazza has shown me a local post cover to the mails on which the July 22,1853 , cancel ties both a $3 ¢$ Washington postage stamp and a locomotive-design Broadway Post Office local stamp.

Herewith I illustrate rarities that show strikes of the postmark: one First Nesbitt Issue stamped envelope (Figure 12), the largest recorded stamp multiples (on $1 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ stamps, Figure 13), and a $1 \notin$ Franklin stamp on a circular printed by George Nesbitt that includes a reference to the Crystal Palace, shown in Figure 14. This July 1 announcement from Edward Lambert \& Company has a postscript at the bottom of the page, "We beg to add, that our Paris Agents have secured for us several styles of goods manufactured for the Crystal Palace Exhibition of this City, which opens on the 15 th inst., the sale of which will be consigned exclusively to ourselves."

Several generations of collectors have debated whether these year-dated postmarks were related to the exhibition. In Stamps magazine for 10 June 1939, George B. Sloane reported:


Figure 15. Edmond S. Zevely, the most important manufacturer of postmark devices made of wood in the mid-19th century, included year dates in the postmarkers he used as postmaster of Pleasant Grove, Maryland, in 1852 and 1853. Shown here is a Zevely envelope, with his free-frank signature, postmarked January 8,1853 , which enclosed a letter to his sister Sophia at Salem, North Carolina.

> Walter I. Quelch advances an interesting subject for further research. The Fair, Exhibition, Exposition, or whatever they called it then, that was held in New York City at the Crystal Palace in 1853, opened on July 14th. At the same period, the New York post office used a year-dated "1853" cancellation, reported by Dr. Carroll Chase in his book on the 3¢ 1851-57 stamp, as employed from July 11th to July 26th, inclusive. ... Mr. Quelch feels that the use of the "1853" year-dated postmark is something of a coincidence when considered with the opening day of the Fair, and that there is a possibility it was intended for a special purpose, or perchance, for use at a branch station in, or near, the Crystal Palace grounds. Well, it's a thought.

In 1951 and 1957 editions of The First Fifty Years of U.S. Exposition Postal Markings, Edwin R. Payne wrote, "The year-dated NEW-YORK postmark used July 11th to 26th, near the time the exhibit opened, has led many to believe it had some connection with the Crystal Palace World's Fair. However, no proof can be found to substantiate this theory." But in a January 1957 article in Covers, Herman Herst Jr. reported that "there are those who believe that the New York Crystal Palace show (officially termed the 'Industry of All Nations' exhibition) gave to us the first Exposition postmark."

The debate has continued ever since, with no foreseeable resolution on the horizon, but here are additional points to consider:

Hunter M. Thomas Jr. wrote in Chronicle 62 (May 1969), "It is obvious from the kind of impression that the 1853 year-date cancel was wood and I might add that it was a cheap, poor quality marker." I agree, although that assertion has been challenged by other specialists. From 1850 to 1861, the most prolific manufacturer of wood handstamps for United

22 A variety of books.-Charles B. Norton, "Irving Book Store," 71 Cham. bers street, New York City.

23 A collection of valentines of embossed lace paper, ornamented with emblems, devices, and bijouterie.-Thomas Frere, manu. and agent, 84 Nassau street, New York City.

24 Specimens of bound books.-Stringer \& Townsend, publishers, 222 Broadway, New York City.
25 Wood type; wood stamps for post-offices; model of cheap proof press.E. S. Zevely, Pleasant Grove, Maryland. [Gallery.]

Figure 16. This excerpt from the official exhibition catalog shows the location of Zevely's exhibit in the Gallery, and includes "wood stamps for post-offices" among his products.

States post offices was Edmond S. Zevely, the postmaster of Pleasant Grove, Maryland. In 1852 and 1853, Zevely included year dates in some of his own markers, as shown in Figure 15. The 1853 year-dated New York markings match the typical 32-millimeter diameter of Zevely's devices sold to postmasters, not the 31 mm diameter of the metal postmarkers supplied by Washington.

Moreover, Zevely was an exhibitor at the Crystal Palace. Figure 16 shows an excerpt from the exhibition catalog that listed his display, its location, and the products he brought to the fair, including post office handstampers made of wood. Cheryl R. Ganz reproduced Zevely's sketch of his exhibit in Chronicle 221 (February 2009). I hypothesize that Zevely brought this device to the show as a sample, and might have sold or given it to someone at the Crystal Palace post office as the halls were being furnished and supplied the Monday before the show opened, either for use there or at the main post office in the old Middle Dutch Church on Nassau Street.

In 2004 I queried Crystal Palace chronicler Ivan Steen about this unresolved riddle. This was his e-mail answer:

> I've been pondering your query for a few days, and I really have not come up with a definitive answer. I don't recall ever seeing anything in published sources that might provide a clue, nor do I remember seeing anything in the Crystal Palace Papers at the New-York Historical Society, although I haven't looked at those papers in many years. My guess is that the cancel would have been related to the exhibition, since the official opening for the fair was on July 14,1853 . That opening was a major event, and New Yorkers usually marked such events with major celebrations, etc. There is no other reason I can imagine why it would have been in use for only July 11-25.

## Disappointment and decline

No 1853 closing date for the exhibition had been announced. A December 10 circular from the association advised that the Crystal Palace would remain open all winter, but also notified exhibitors that the association would not continue to insure their property after January first. The copy in my collection is in English; it was also offered in French, German, and Italian. A December 31 letter from Sedgwick, signed by him, thanked members of the local committees for their service and notified them that their terms had ended.

Even after cost-cutting, the exhibition was nearly bankrupt by the spring of 1854 . The Association sought an entrepreneur with deep pockets to rescue the enterprise, and eventually persuaded showman Phineas Taylor Barnum to take over. In his 1855 autobiography Barnum wrote,

[^3]Figure 17. Blood's Penny Post collected this April 24 (1854) cover and mailed it at the Philadelphia post office. The addressee in New York, P. T. Barnum, was preparing to reopen the exhibition at the Crystal Palace ten days later.


Figure 18. Charles B. Hutchinson of Auburn, New York, marketed his stave and barrel making inventions from a New York City office located at the Crystal Palace. This cover was posted January 11 (1854 or 1855).

Figure 19. Coupon signed by Barnum and sent to newspaper publishers, offering to exchange admission tickets for proof that the recipient had published ads for the fair.


Barnum closed the fair on April 15 to reorganize the administration and the use of floor space, planning to reopen on May 4 with another dedication ceremony. Part of his rescue plan included leasing office space in the Crystal Palace to businesses. Figure 17 shows an April 24 folded letter from Philadelphia addressed to him at the palace. A cover from C. B. Hutchinson's business office at the Crystal Palace is illustrated in Figure 18.

A form letter sent to newspaper publishers and dated May 1, 1854 shows how America's foremost publicist promoted his venture without incurring the cost of paid advertisements. In exchange for proof that the recipient's newspaper had reproduced an ad for the exhibition, Barnum would send him ten admission tickets to the fair. A copy of an accompanying coupon, personally signed by Barnum, is shown in Figure 19. He had cut the price of admission in half-to 25 - -before reopening the gates.

The exhibition commenced its second act on May 4, 1854. Barnum had removed Marochetti's huge plaster statue from the best spot on the floor. He replaced the lifeless George Washington and his awkwardly stiff stallion with the animated Elisha Graves Otis and his elevator invention.

From May to October, Otis performed a magic stunt every hour. Standing on the platform as it rose about 12 feet a minute to a height of about 50 feet directly below the dome, he called for the rope that had hoisted him up to be cut by an assistant wielding an axe. Instead of crashing to his death when the rope slackened and fell, the platform dropped only a few inches as Otis bellowed, "All safe, gentlemen, all safe!" Without ironic intent, Scientific American pronounced Otis's invention "self-acting, safe, and convenient."

In June Barnum brought the famous aeronaut John Wise and his balloon for a more ambitious ascent than Otis's act. From the air over the crowd gathered around the Crystal Palace, Professor Wise dropped "News from the Skies" circulars. If any copies have survived, I have not read a record of them.

## Awards to exhibitors

Prizes to exhibitors were presented on Barnum's watch. Charles Cushing Wright had engraved the dies at the Philadelphia mint. According to Medals of the United States MintThe First Century 1792-1892 by R. W. Julian:

In May, 1854, the Association for the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations applied to Director James Ross Snowden for permission to have $\mathbf{1 2 5}$ silver and $\mathbf{1 , 1 5 0}$ bronze medals struck at the mint from their dies. Due to the heavy coinage then going on at the mint, Snowden was not especially pleased with the prospect but nevertheless, when Treasury Department approval was received on May 19, ordered Chief Coiner Franklin Peale to strike the medals.

Peale apparently struck these medals after working hours. The original estimate, made in May, was that it would take three men two months to strike all the pieces. This estimate was relatively close to the mark, because on August 25, 1854, Peale was able to report to Snowden that all of the medals had been struck and delivered.
I have a February 14, 1854, folded letter from Eley Brothers in London, manufacturers of sporting ammunition, to a customer in New York City, franked with a 1-shilling Queen Victoria embossed imperforate postage stamp; the closing lines say, "We feel much indebted to the good taste, \& judgment of your countrymen in awarding us the medal for Sporting Ammunition at your Exhibition."

Andrew Meneeley's sons proclaimed the honors their firm had received at the fair across the top of the July 28 (1854) envelope from West Troy (Watervliet today) to New Haven, illustrated in Figure 20. Meneeley bells still ring around the world; among the best known are the Cornell Chimes.

Those two prize winners called attention to their achievements before their awards had been minted, inscribed, and delivered. Others afterward pictured their medals on prod-


Figure 20. A. Meneeley's Sons Bell Founders took pride in the silver medal awarded to their products at the Crystal Palace exhibition. This July 28 (1854) cover ranks among the first examples of how businesses could benefit from participation in world's fairs.
uct labels, billheads, and the backs of envelopes for at least the next half-century, often overlapped by medals acquired at later world's fairs. Besides two levels of medals, parchment honorable mention certificates were awarded to third-level exhibitors.

## The exhibition closes

Despite Barnum's genius for attracting attention and his heroic attempts to draw spectators, the exhibition never broke even. Like the world of T. S. Eliot's hollow men, the New York exhibition ended not with a bang but a whimper, no longer an American counterpart to the Great Exhibition in anyone's telling. There were no parades, fireworks, speeches, or closing ceremonies. No tears, no broken hearts, either. The brief November 1 New York Times report began, "The Crystal Palace has closed. Its last day was a dirty, muddy, sloppy, rainy, and unseasonable one."

Actually the building had not closed; it remained open for the next month. Not a man to let an opportunity pass, Barnum sold tickets for $12^{1} / 2 \phi$ to members of the public who might want to watch exhibits being dismantled, packed and carried out. In his autobiography published shortly afterward he took a positive view:

> In a very important sense the Crystal Palace has proved a paying concern. Besides the great improvement that it caused in the public taste for the fine arts, and the many advantages it conferred upon inventors, manufacturers, etc., it undoubtedly added millions of dollars to the wealth of New York City. Indeed, many of those who subscribed for the stock, did it for the purpose of aiding their business, by bringing strangers to the city; and although they may have never realized a penny for their stock, numerous merchants, hotel keepers, etc., would be glad to do the same thing in relation to any other enterprise which would produce the same results.

When the exhibition closed on November 1, the association was bankrupt, leaving unpaid debts of $\$ 300,000$. According to the Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions, edited by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, total attendance was 1.15 million.

## Legacy of the Crystal Palace

The Crystal Palace symbolized grandeur even at a distance from New York City. Anticipating that the image would be suitable as an emblem for a line of premium products, Alfonzo Bills and Francis Samuel Thayer had established their business at Troy, New York, on April 16, 1853, three months before the exhibition building opened to the public. "They will manufacture 'Crystal Palace Mills' extra state and superfine flour, extra baker's flour and mill feed," read the legal notice that announced their "co-partnership."

Their firm prospered and kept that name for more than 60 years. I have an 1886 billhead of Arkell \& Smith's Flour Sack Manufacturers that pictures the Crystal Palace Mill. Finally the December 11, 1915, issue of The Waste Journal reported that the Crystal Palace Mill had been taken over by the Green Island Mill Corporation of Troy. In between, some lovely postal artifacts appeared.

On the Figure 21 cover a green cameo Bills and Thayer corner card surrounds a colorless embossed image of the palace as its central subject, making an exceptionally attractive piece of postal history. Other examples of this envelope design were printed in red, blue, and brown colors, but alas, those are missing from my collection.

This cover was mailed May 11 (1854) to George McKie at South Easton, New York. Mark Scheuer, who has written about the Catharine McKie correspondence of 1847 covers, provided details about this later part of the Thayer-McKie family's correspondence, including a transcript of the letter the Figure 21 cover had carried. Catharine was Francis Thayer's wife; George was his father-in-law. Catharine was recovering from a miscarriage in May of 1854. The letter informed her father that she was "slowly improving and doing as well as we could expect."


Figure 21. One of the most attractive postal depictions of the Crystal Palace is on this Bills \& Thayer envelope, posted May 11 (1854) from Troy, New York. The firm had no known connection to the building or the exhibition.

Bills and Thayer were among the first to capitalize on the Crystal Palace name, but many others followed suit. Two days after the exhibition opened, a New York Times report observed, "If we were disposed to be imitative, we should call this the Crystal Record, or the Crystal Diary, or the Crystal Something or Anything. . . . We noticed a dilapidated hovel, on Sixth-avenue, which was called by its proprietor the Crystal Hall of Pleasure."

The final postal item I want to show here is the Figure $223 \phi$ Washington stamped envelope with a printed Crystal Palace cachet added. As noted previously, First Issue Nesbitt stamped envelopes had been issued just before the exhibit opened. George Nesbitt had a stand at the fair that sold stationery items, so I think it's reasonable to propose that this envelope was one of those products. (My collection also includes an unused example of this cacheted envelope, and my collection of Civil War patriotic covers included government stamped envelopes with cachets printed by Nesbitt, the government's contractor.)


Figure 22. This April 23 (1855 or 1856) cover to Hawaii, franked to pay the $10 ¢$ private ship rate from San Francisco, represents a late use of the Crystal Palace souvenir stamped envelope, probably printed by Nesbitt and sold at his stand at the exhibition.

The added pair of imperforate $3 \phi$ and single $1 \phi$ stamps to make up the $10 \phi$ private ship rate from San Francisco to Hawaii suggest that the letter was mailed in 1855 or later. Docketing on the back reads "Answered 27 July JPH." I have found scant information about the addressee, John Pearson Hughes, but the snippets are interesting.

A man named John P. Hughes of Honolulu was a member of the American Relief Fund Association in the 1860s, a charity that assisted needy Americans who had been unemployed for a month or more; he died in 1869. Robert A. Siegel Rarities sales in 1998, 1999, and 2010 sold an 1866 cover from Hawaii addressed to Mr. Jas Hughes, Richmond, Wayne County, Indiana. Richmond is 15 miles from Cambridge, where the Crystal Palace cover had been posted, so I deduced that these two covers in philatelic hands represented excerpts from a single family correspondence, one letter in each direction a decade or so apart. Ancestry.com documents (Quaker meeting records and the will of John P. Hughes) confirmed the deduction; John P. and James B. Hughes were brothers.

## Last hurrah for the Crystal Palace and its fiery end

While tenants enjoyed the prestige of the Crystal Palace address, public space in the building, which could accommodate 25,000 people, became New York's favorite venue for large civic events, conventions, concerts, and charity balls. The largest throng after the world's fair ended gathered on September 1, 1858, for the Cable Carnival, which celebrated Cyrus W. Field's successful laying of the Atlantic Cable. The original transatlantic cablegram to Field arrived on a tape three feet five inches long, and Field read it to the crowd:

> London, Sept. First. The Directors are on their way to Valentia Bay to make arrangements for opening the line to the public, and convey their heartiest congratulations to you and your fellow citizens on your joyous celebration of the great international work.

My collection includes a souvenir of that event, an 1858 Atlantic Cable Album that has an embedded "specimen of the Atlantic Cable guaranteed to be genuine."

The American Institute of New-York held annual fairs to showcase advances in science, technology, agriculture, and industry. During one of these fairs, on October 5, 1858, the Crystal Palace burned to the ground. This was five weeks after the Cable Carnival. I have a well-crafted picture of the building, printed at the event by one of the exhibitors, which must be a scarce survivor of the conflagration.

Harper's Weekly, A Journal of Civilization reported in its October 18 issue:

> The Fair of the American Institute was being held in the building at the time; all the goods on exhibition, and about 3,000 spectators, were in the Palace. At about five o'clock, flames were detected in the north nave near 42nd Street. Attempts were at once made to bring the hydrants (of which there were eight in the building) into play; but the rapidity with which the flames spread along the pitch-pine floors, and the bursting of several gas-pipes, rendered the struggles unavailing. The inmates rushed to the doors, and fortunately escaped without injury. But hardly any of the property exhibited was saved. Within twenty minutes after the discovery of the fire the dome fell in with a tremendous crash; had there been any living beings in the Palace at the time they would have perished.
A. D. Finch, his second day in the Navy as a sailor aboard the U.S.S North Carolina berthed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, wrote to Henry H. Pappino at Perry City, New York. His letter in my collection is dated October 6, 1858, and the envelope is canceled October 7. "I swang in my hammock last night for the first time, but not to sleep for everything was so strange to me it was impossible. . . . We had a large fire here last night in the Citty the Cristal pallace is all burnt down there was a great time throughout the City."

Finch's creative spellings and eccentrically punctuated sentences recorded a tragedy of American history as it happened. This was depicted shortly afterward by Currier and Ives in the striking lithograph presented in Figure 23. Today Bryant Park, "the city's busiest" according to The New York Times, occupies the six-acre site where the Crystal Palace stood for five glorious years.


Figure 23. The Crystal Palace burned down spectacularly on October 5, 1858. This Currier and Ives lithograph of the Crystal Palace fire is one of their best-known prints.

In 1957 historian Charles Hirschfeld wrote, "The Crystal Palace was truly a symbol of the country, with all its promises and failures, its glories and meannesses. Like America, like its great poet Whitman, it was 'a divided, multiple personality,' compounded of boundless hopes and dark fears, of daring and caution, of boasts never quite realized." Perhaps he was right, but our country's failures have seldom outstripped its promises, and few today fret over boasts that were never quite realized. The widespread public enthusiasm for art and industry that our first world's fair incited endures as a lesson in the roots of our national character, highlighted by collecting remnants of the 1853 exhibition and showcased by sharing them.

## Reflections on collecting the Crystal Palace

Jack Rosenthal's magnificent collections and exhibits of 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and 1898 Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition archival, postal, and collateral material-displayed at World Columbian Stamp Expo 1992 in Chicago and in the court of honor at World Stamp Expo 1989 in Washington-nurtured my ambition to join the ranks of American expo collectors. As I studied the available choices it seemed to me that the 1853 world's fair probably posed the greatest challenge.

My initial research into collectible postal and philatelic items yielded these sparse returns: The November 3 to 8, 1941, Parke-Bernet Galleries sale of The Edward S. Knapp Collection, Part 2, Philatelic Americana, included two pertinent lots (2934 and 2935). In the February 6-7-8, 1957, Allan M. Thatcher sale of The Collection of United States Commemorative Stamps, Covers, Essays \& Proofs formed by Dr. Warren G. Atwood (to my knowledge the first philatelic auction explicitly dedicated to exposition-related material) the first ten lots were related to "Crystal Palace - New York, 1853." Two Robert A. Siegel auctions, his September 26-27-28, 1972, 417th sale (lot 764) and May 18-19, 1977, 512th sale (lot 209) of the Paul C. Rohloff collection, each had one 1853 Crystal Palace cover lot. Two Christie's Robson Lowe New York sales, Part 2 (lot 36) and Part 3 (lot 63) of the Louis Grunin Collection of United States 1851-57 Stamps on Cover, October 7, 1987, and March

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16, 1988, each featured one 1853 Crystal Palace lot, the same two covers that Siegel had sold. Siegel's 748th sale, The Stanley Piller 1851-57 Three Cent Collection, featured two Crystal Palace covers (lots 389 and 391), both ex Grunin. That was all.

When the 1996 second edition of the standard reference guide for this specialty appeared—Postal Markings of United States Exhibitions by William J. Bomar-the author reported that "Two different illustrated publicity covers are known . . . [and] a rare season ticket"-fewer collectible artifacts than were already on my checklist compiled from Thatcher's Atwood sale.

About that time I became aware that Wilson Hulme had assembled a modest but impressive collection of covers, letters, collateral material, and related research documents from both London 1851 and New York 1853 world's fairs, which included items that were not on my list. Several months after our initial discussion, Wilson agreed to sell me his entire Crystal Palace file and collection, with payment deferred until I could comfortably write a check.

That debt took a couple of years to settle. By then I had discovered that my old friend Myron Hill Jr., an expert on the British Crystal Palace and its postal history (not only the 1851 fair, but also the exhibition building after being relocated from Hyde Park to Sydenham), owned a significant New York Crystal Palace illustrated cover and enclosure, which he agreed to sell. Finally the prospect of gathering a more coherent collection had come into view, but unfortunately a couple of key items slipped by before I was able to bid aggressively.

Since then it has been a slog. I have experienced greater success collecting contemporaneous published reference material than postal showpieces, but every couple of years I have managed to purchase one or two covers at significant name sales. In an age when common wisdom holds that eBay is the open market for all things philatelic, my Internet purchases have mostly consisted of 1853 and 1854 letters that include passages about the fair. I have accumulated more than 50 of them. Those are precious, but seldom photogenic.

Besides the letters quoted above and in my October 2008 Scott Stamp Monthly Spotlight column, "Philatelic items recall Crystal Palace and America's first world's fair," my favorites include 23 newsy letters from home to a young New York man named Charles E. Folwell, off to seek his fortune in the California gold fields. The earliest of these, from his father Joshua and his brother Nathan, is dated June 17, 1853; the latest, April 17, 1854. Each includes a report on the Crystal Palace and the exhibition.

For me this subject has proven to be not only a refresher course in the traditional method of collecting United States philatelic classics and a stimulus to developing fresh sources of previously unrecorded material, but also has anointed me as a committed world's fair collector qualified to rank my more meager collection alongside Rosenthal's. His example taught me how fine art and philately intersect (also, to be candid, how kitsch and philately intersect), not simply in their creative aspects, but also at the level of public appreciation.

Following his lead I have saved not only postal memorabilia and paper ephemera related to the exhibition and the Crystal Palace (decorative prints galore, admission tickets, broadsides, exhibitors' award scrolls, maps, sheet music, a copybook, a merit award blank, an original photograph, advertisements and billheads that picture exhibition prize medals, bound volumes of illustrated newspapers that pictured scenes from the fair in every issue) but also exonumismatic items (prize medals, presentation medals, merchant tokens, and so-called dollars), an admission ribbon to the inaugural ceremony, Crystal Palace soda bottles with cast bas-reliefs of the building from the fair's refreshment saloon, and souvenir tchotchkes that include a card case, a ceramic pot lid, a gilded china coffee cup, a jewelry box, a buckle, a snuff box, a silver tea spoon and a razor. I have collected collateral material unevenly-autograph letters signed by principals of the exhibition, cameo advertising cov-
ers of Horace Greeley's newspaper and P. T. Barnum's museum, and an autographed carte de visite photograph of Barnum, as examples.

I have been unable to add anything of importance to this collection for almost two years. Unlike Rosenthal, I arrived at the end of this adventure after retiring as an active exhibitor. Readers may rate my accomplishment, but I shall bequeath the task of presenting items before an audience of appreciative viewers to a future owner. It has been a splendid 20 years. I am humbled to have emerged as the philatelic descendant of so many great collectors who came before me.

## Acknowledgements

Thanks to Ellen Peachey, Thomas Mazza, Wade Saadi, David Savadge, Mark Scheuer, Ivan Steen, Herbert Trenchard, Kathleen Wunderly, all the members of the stamp trade who kept my interest in mind and notified me when an important item was soon to be offered for sale, and all the former owners of stamps, covers, ephemera, exonumia, and souvenirs in my collection who made this essay possible.


# RELIEF BRUISES: <br> A REMARKABLE FEATURE OF THE 1857-61 1申 STAMP <br> PART 2 <br> DAVID ZLOWE 

## Introduction

The first installment of this article presented the systematic display of blurs, called relief bruises, on the six reliefs of the Type V/Va $1 \phi$ stamps issued between 1857 and 1860. Relief bruises appear on the majority of observed stamps, but they vary in the extent and intensity of their display. Moreover, their expression is not regular from position to position on the five plates or from impression to impression of the same position. This variability makes relief bruises fascinating features for collectors and researchers, and it raises questions about how such a phenomenon could occur.

This installment extends the observation of relief bruises on the Type V/Va plates to another portion of the stamps not previously considered worthy of systematic analysis, and then addresses the more challenging aspects of relief bruises on the later perforate plates, numbered 11 and 12. At the conclusion of this installment the evidence available through normal inspection concerning relief bruises will have been marshaled. The final installment will take a closer look at the phenomenon and provide likely and possible explanations for the regular and variable appearance of relief bruises.

Figure 25 was illustrated and discussed at length as Figure 2 in the previous installment. This is a block of C and F relief stamps from Plate 7 (Positions 53-66R7) that shows extensive relief bruises on each of its eight stamps. Note the ink in the spaces between the horizontal rows of stamps (below ONE CENT and above U.S. POSTAGE). Enlargements of these areas on the left four stamps of the block are shown in Figure 26. ${ }^{21}$

Needless to say, the spaces between the stamps (their "interstices") should be entirely blank, except for the sixth row guide dots, perhaps. Instead, as we see here, there is a riot of ink all over the place. The standard plating reference sometimes shows aspects of them, but on a position-by-position basis, not systematically and without explanation. ${ }^{22}$ They have had various names, including "flares" and "plumes," but those terms were typically offered informally, in notes on covers or on the backs of stamps. While such terms are evocative, they are also misleading, because the phenomena under discussion are further examples of the remarkable feature described heretofore: relief bruises. As the name implies, these "interstitial relief bruises" occur between stamps. They seem to be a similar phenomenon as the bruises that appear on the central medallion and ornaments of the stamps, which also were not intended to be printed.

For many viewers, interstitial relief bruises may be easier to spot, perforations permitting, since they do not compete with similarly-inked areas filled with engraved lines as on the head of Franklin. The interstitial relief bruises may seem paradoxical, however, since the bruises explained in the previous installment appear on the "relief" itself-comprised of the central medallion, labels and ornaments. The spaces between stamp entries are not part of the conventional understanding of a relief.

That point is certainly true. But it's also true that guide reliefing demonstrates that the entirety of the surface features from the top of relief A to the bottom of relief F on the


Figure 25. This block of eight stamps showing the F and C relief bruises also shows ink marks in the horizontal spaces between the rows of stamps. These "interstitial relief bruises," regular by relief, provide additional evidence that a heretofore unexplained phenomenon caused unintended pigment to appear on the stamps. Positions 53-66R7
transfer roll (including the interstices) are impressed into the surface of the printing plate. If a bump, let us say, exists on the transfer roll between two relief entries, then a negative of that bump (a depressed area) will appear in that same location on the flat plate after the mirror-image transfer is made, and it may hold ink or pigment so that when printed the color transfers to the paper, making an unintended mark between the finished stamps. Clearly, there was a series of bumps between the relief entries on the six-subject transfer roll, and


Figure 26: At top: Enlargement of the horizontal areas (the interstices) between the left four stamps in Figure 25. Below it: the two bottom left stamps. All show blurry ink marks between the stamps, consistent by relief pairs, here FC and CD respectively.
these were impressed onto the steel plate. Unintended, perhaps, but nevertheless present. The rest of this section will focus on the nature of these interstitial relief bruises, because, as might be guessed, they too are regular and repeated by relief.

We may even go further and clear up a misconception. For many years, advanced students have averred that the plate finishers had to do a great deal of "clean up" between the rows of stamps due to the difficulties of plastic flow of the plate steel caused by the tremendous pressures of the back-and-forth rocking in of each vertical position from the transfer roll. Such cleaning, or burnishing, would require burins of hardened steel used against the not-yet-hardened plate by the plate finishers. Presumably, the implication has been, their imperfect exertions on the printing plate left behind a series of position-specific depressions between stamps which held some ink. Why this would have happened on the $1 \phi$ stamps but no other denominations was not explained.

The reality is that such extensive clean up did not occur. Later observers saw interstitial relief bruises, but did not realize the patterns were regular and systematic, so another plausible (but incorrect) explanation was proffered.

The interstitial relief bruises are not only extensive across the horizontal gaps between stamps, but mostly regular by relief (or, at least as regular as the medallion relief bruises). In fact, once the interstitial relief bruises are taken account of, it is apparent that very few extraneous blurs exist between entries. There are some distinct blurs which are position-specific, whether from clean-up or other causes, but they should not be confused with the far more common interstitial relief bruises.

For convenience, this article will describe interstices by the letter designations of the top and bottom reliefs that surround them. Thus, the interstitial relief bruise between the top and second row stamps will be called AB . Those between the second and third row, BC. Likewise, the interstices of the C and D reliefs, which occur twice across the rows, is CD .

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

Barkhausen, Burrus, Caspary, Dale-Lichtenstein, Dietz, Hessel, Moody, Waterhouse-and the Harmers

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## Harmers

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There are also two instances of DE and EF, and one of FC (between the sixth and seventh rows). No relief bruises have been seen at the top of the A relief - the first entry of each column. However, traces of what may be relief bruises show very occasionally at the bottom of the bottom-row F relief stamps.

It may be amusing to some readers that not only have we been discussing the most common of the perforated $1 申 1857$ stamps, but now we are favoring the most off-centered copies that we can find, so as to best see the spaces above and below the stamps. Such stamps sell for the pocket change of a child, and then only when a dealer finds a dim child. "What of centering?" the naysayers will cry. To some, this hardly seems like philately, and maybe more akin to sifting through soil. Such skeptics are reminded: sifting through soil is how you find gold. So prepare to get dirty!

The illustrations that follow show examples of these interstitial relief bruises in much the same way as was done in the previous installment for each of the full reliefs. In some cases, the bottom of the top stamp in a vertical pair will be shown, but with singles there will be no adjacent stamp. Or, the top of the bottom stamp exists with portions of the interstitial relief bruise, but without the benefit of the adjacent stamp to orient the reader. In other cases, such as with close-ups of blocks or vertical pairs, the interstices are seen with both the top stamp's bottom label and the bottom stamp's top label to help orient the features of the interstitial relief bruise to specific parts of the adjoining stamps' labels. A number of the close-ups will be derived from stamps previously illustrated, but additional stamps (or portions of stamps) will also be shown when they provide definitive insights into the interstitial relief bruises. Larger-than-life close-ups aid identification while trading off a lower impact, due to loss of ink density as an inevitable result of enlargement. Because the elements of the interstitials are often crowded together, and their precise alignment is important to their identification, these relief bruises tend to benefit from magnification.

Unlike the relief bruises on Franklin's head, there are so many narrow blurred lines which present themselves that when labeling a particular interstitial relief bruise one should cautiously compare a candidate to several examples. That is why a number of the illustrated examples below show pairs-the interstitials (not surprisingly) can show varying intensity and extent from neighbor to neighbor-making pattern-matching a more precarious operation. Relative location is significant in identifying the various interstitial relief bruises.

Readers who are familiar with the concepts of spectroscopy might suppose that the interstitial bruises suggest Fraunhofer lines, the dark features on the spectrum of wavelengths indicating absorption of light by the chemical composition of the Sun's atmosphere. Chemists may think of paper chromatography, in which substances are dissolved in solution but diffuse along special paper and form a series of lines based on how readily they stay in solution. But no cause-and-effect relationship is offered here regarding why the marks are distributed as they are, or why they vary the way they do from relief to relief. What can be said is that the interstitial relief bruises demonstrate similar traits about their intensity and extent as do the relief bruises of the medallions. While their appearance and locations may suggest different metallurgical origins, their correspondence to the appearance of medallion relief bruises suggests that similar inking effects occurred, even if the interstitial relief bruises arrived on the transfer rolls by different means.

Less analytically trained students might think of the interstitial relief bruises as a sort of "relief fingerprint," since the marks are distinct by relief pair. So, the AB relief bruises are different than those of EF, which are distinct from $\mathrm{BC}, \mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{DE}$ and FC , and all are different from one another, although some share similar elements. (An important exception to that statement will be explained in due course.) The following illustrations highlight the features, their differences from one another, and the variety of ways they are expressed on different impressions.

## Interstitial relief bruises

Figure 27 shows the $A B$ relief bruising. The top example in Figure 27 shows the gap between the first and second rows (under Positions 8-9R7) from a Plate 7 block discussed in the previous installment. The middle example in Figure 27 shows the same area (under Positions 2-3R10) from the block of 12 shown in in the previous installment as Figure 24.

In both cases, note the blurring in the horizontal gaps between the stamps. Starting from under the C in CENT on the A relief stamp, there is a significant blurred area which extends rightward and down to between the OS of POSTAGE. Also notable is a bruise from under the upright in the E of CENT to the left side of the T in POSTAGE. There are less prominent bruises just after the E in CENT and under the left vertical of the N in CENT. Finally, on the right side, on the right edge of the reeded scrollwork under the T in CENT, there is a bruise which tends to extend to the upward-facing shell above the E in POSTAGE on the B relief stamp. On the left side of both examples, about halfway along the gap between ONE and CENT is a bruise which extends down to the left portion of the O in POSTAGE. There is also a bruise from right under the E in ONE which extends to the center of the P below it. Not infrequently, the left reeded scrollwork displays a relief bruise which extends down to the unfinished, upward-facing shell above the U. The single stamp shown in part at bottom in Figure 27 is Position 12R7. This strongly shows elements of the interstitial relief bruise just described.

There is another feature on all of the B relief stamps shown in Figure 27 which is infrequently recorded on individual positions in the standard plating diagrams, but is very frequently and generally seen. ${ }^{23}$ Notice the horizontal line beginning at the midpoint of
 for the AB relief bruises (above U.S. POSTAGE), and also the near-horizontal B relief line (not a relief bruise but a consistent indicator of a relief $B$ stamp) that originates from the outer frame line above the $T$ and continues past the $A$ and ends above the $G$.


Figure 28. Interstitial bruises between the B relief and C relief stamps. At top, from Positions 17-28R7 and at bottom from Positions 12-23R10. The interstitial relief bruises fill the gaps between rows like diagonal stripes, close to vertical but trending southeast.
the top of the T in POSTAGE and extending to the upward-facing shells at right over the G. This is highly consistent and as certain an indicator of a relief B Type V/Va stamp as there is. It is present even when relief bruises are not. It may be due to the working of the intermediate laydown and was possibly placed there by the engravers, or as the result of plastic flow of the entries as the transfer roll was being made. The mark, which is not unlike the "blurs" between the reliefs on Plate 2 of the $10 \notin$ stamp used to help plate that stamp, ${ }^{24}$ is very frequently present on the $1 \phi$ stamp Type V/Va B relief stamps and is a distinct and reliable indicator.

Examples of the BC relief bruise are presented in Figure 28. The upper example in Figure 28 shows interstices between the second and third rows of stamps (below Positions 17-18R7). The bottom enlargement in Figure 28 is from another block of 12 of the right pane of Plate 10, Positions 12, 13, 22 and 23. In both cases, there is a finer line (than in the AB relief bruise) under the C . It appears toward the left center under the letter and extends to the right edge of the O in POSTAGE. Most strongly on the BC bruises, however, is the line directly under the center of the E in CENT which extends down and to the right toward the top of the upright in the T of POSTAGE. There is also a line between the C and E of CENT which extends down to the trailing edge of the top of the S in POSTAGE. Another quite distinctive feature is a "hook" under the N in CENT which begins between the E and N but curves under the N and then extends down and to the right. Some impressions show a bruise generally nestled under the reeded scrollwork (not the right edge as with the AB relief bruise) under the N of CENT. The slanted line extending from the tip of the reeded scrollwork in the left pair of the top example does not consistently appear.

On the left side, there is a strongly angled line from the right edge of the E in ONE down to the left edge of the O in POSTAGE. This is one of the more angled interstitial relief bruises, although almost all such bruises appear to be on a slant, often from upper left to lower right. There is also some blurring from between the N and E in ONE and extending toward the left side of the P in POSTAGE.

The AB's shown in Figure 27 and the BC's in Figure 28 are more extensive and intense in the top examples than the bottom. In fact, the bottom examples display the interstitials more typically, and serve to highlight the variety of expressions of this feature.
 a second view of 66R7 which confirms the variation in intensity and extent. Below that, the bottoms of a pair from Positions 27-28R7 show how adjacent stamps can vary significantly in the display of relief bruises. The vertical pair at bottom, which is the neighbor to the top block, being the CD interstitial of positions 68/78R7, shows a typical expression of the relief bruise.
That convention is not subsequently adhered to, but a variety of intensities and extents are presented in other figures.

The CD relief bruise is shown in the illustrations in Figure 29. The example at top is cropped from Positions 66-77R7 from a block of 72, the largest surviving Plate 7 multiple. The pair below it shows Positions 65-66R7 from the block of eight in Figure 25, so here we have position 66 duplicated. It is the upper left stamp in the block and the right stamp in the pair. Third down in Figure 29 is a close-up of the bottom left pair (Positions 27-28R7) from the same block of 12 whose components were partially presented in the previous two figures. In effect, we have walked down the first two rows of the block. This 27-28R7 example has unusually extensive interstitial relief bruising on its left stamp. A more typical expression of the CD interstitial relief bruise is shown in the close-up of Positions 68/78R7 in the vertical pair at bottom. There are two projections from the C in CENT which angle down and to the right toward each side of the space between the O and S in POSTAGE. In the second pair, on the left stamp, and to a lesser extent in the vertical pair, the projections join as a wider, single blur. On all stamps in Figure 29 there is an angled line from the left edge of the N in CENT toward the right of the A below it.

The left stamps in the block, and the vertical pair, suggest there is also a line from the left edge of the E in CENT down to the right side of the S in POSTAGE, but this is not as consistent as the blur under the C or the line down from the N . On the left side of the stamps, there is a blurred area which sometimes originates on the right edge of the N in ONE and projects to the period after the $S$, but also sometimes does not extend very far below the N . The upper left stamp in the block, and the right stamp in the first horizontal pair (both from Position 66R7) show a less intense and less extensive example, as does


Figure 30. Interstitial relief bruises between Reliefs D and E. Both pairs are from the center of the right pane of Plate 7, the vertical pair showing the DE interstitial relief bruise between Positions 78 and 88 and the horizontal pair showing the bottom of Positions 71 and 72. The unplated used single stamp shows the DE bruises at top as well as the common extension of the side scratches at right which descends from the $D$ relief side scratches.
the vertical pair. The left stamp in the other horizontal pair shows this feature much more intensely and with more extent, while the right stamp does not. There are other elements present on the intensely bruised left stamp, but they are not consistent.

These examples once again remind us of the variability of relief bruises, even the interstitial ones, from position to position and impression to impression. In this, the interstitial relief bruises are very reminiscent of the medallion relief bruises.

Figure 30 shows the DE relief bruises. The horizontal pair represents Positions 7172R7 and shows part of the centerline at left. As can be seen, the relief bruise in the area under the C is evident, but the right stamp shows a bruise between the E and N of CENT. The vertical pair (from the block of 72) presents the gap between Positions 78R7 and 88R7. This display of bruising is more intense than many examples of the DE bruises, but less so than other examples shown above. There is, again, some activity just under the "C" as well as an area of ink between the E and N of CENT.

The single stamp in Figure 30, which is unplated, confirms the right side features and some of the overall inking on the left. It also shows the extension of the D relief side scratch at far right, which can sometimes extend to the top right of the E relief stamps. This effect is also seen in the vertical pair, but more lightly. Inexplicably, Ashbrook did not include this element of the side scratches in his relief drawings (see Figure 1 in the previous installment), although it is often apparent.

All three examples also show a blur of ink in the left part of the reeded scrollwork at right. These features are not dissimilar to features on the other interstitial relief bruises. When looking at the left side, there are fewer definitive marks. There is the suggestion of ink under the upright of the E in ONE, but it is not intense.

Examples of EF relief bruises are shown in Figure 31. At top left is the bottom segment of a stamp from Position 50L7; the entire stamp was shown in Figure 12 in the first installment of this article. There is a line extending the upright in the E of CENT, which projects to the leading edge of the $T$ in POSTAGE, and it is more easily seen in the singles on part of a cover at the bottom of Figure 31. There are several blurred lines beginning at the E of CENT and continuing along until the right edge of the reeded scrollwork. In the single at right the slanted lines are extensive, giving an almost feathered appearance. This involvement is suggested in the other two used singles, as well. This feature is frequently seen on the EF relief bruise, and is distinctive. On the left side, there is a broad line extending down and to the right toward the P from directly under the E in ONE, and some other,


Figure 31. Four single stamps showing the EF interstitial relief bruises. At top left, the bottom of Position $50 \mathrm{L7}$ (with center line at right) showing bruises under EN. At upper right, the perforated top of Position 100L10, with bruises clearly visible above POSTAGE. Below them, two scissor-separated singles (unplated), slightly overlapping on a cover, showing typical EF interstitial relief bruise marks in the top margins.
more generalized lines on the left. The perforated single at top right of the figure is Position 100 L 10 , and both it and the unplated stamps at bottom show the extensive array of parallel, angled lines on the right, with some blurring on the left.

The block of eight in Figure 25 shows the FC relief bruise as intensively and extensively as one could wish. Figure 32 shows two enlargements from this block. The top example in Figure 32 shows the interstices of Positions 53-64R7. The interstitial relief bruising is as strong as the head relief bruises on these stamps. There are separate lines extending down from either side of the C , and from directly beneath the E in CENT. The first upright in the N of CENT shows a radial line, and there is a strongly bruised area just to the left of, and including, the reeded scrollwork at right. This is very intense in the enlargement from Positions 55 and 66R7 (the middle example in Figure 32). There is also involvement in the bottom right ornaments. On the left side, there is an angled line from between the two


Figure 32: FC interstitial relief bruises from the Figure 25 block. The top images show Positions 53-64R7 and 55-66R7. Bruises also show, more typically as less intense, in the vertical pair, Positions 58/68R7. These FC relief bruises are the same as the $B C$ bruises due to guide reliefing.
words to the O in POSTAGE, and the left side scrollwork has a bruise on it.
The bottom example in Figure 32 is an enlargement of the interstices of Positions 58R7 and 68R7 from the block of 72. This shows the marks much less intensely, and somewhat less extensively. In what may sound like an echo, the left upright of the N in CENT has a "hook" under it, as do the right pairs in both of the other examples in Figure 32.

If the interpretation of the FC relief bruising seems familiar, that is because it is the same as the BC relief bruising. If doubters of guide reliefing needed any more evidence to convince them, they have it here. One of the principles of guide reliefing is that the newly entered position (always above the next entry down, except for the first-row stamps which are aligned using only guide dots and horizontally scribed lines, traces of which appear at the top of the A relief stamps) is used to align the entry of the next relief. Therefore, when a C relief entry is going to be rocked into the third row on the plate, the B relief on the transfer roll is clicked in to the just-entered B relief on the plate. This ensures that the entries are aligned and that their spacing is consistent and matches the intermediate laydown which created the transfer roll. This approach provided adequate interstitial space for perforations. It also ensures that we get to see a consistent set of BC relief bruises. Similarly, when the seventh row is entered with the C relief, the transfer roll is again lined up so that the B relief on the transfer roll is clicked in to the relief just entered. In this case, though, on the sixth row of the plate would be the F relief. That means the interstitial elements from the roller between the B and C reliefs will be transferred to the plate between the F and C reliefs on the sixth and seventh rows. That is what happened. Therefore, the BC relief bruises were replicated by the FC relief bruises, not by accident but by design. This evidence also means that the interstitial relief bruises, if any doubt remained, are definitely the result of characteristics of the transfer roll.

Figure 33 shows Positions 99-100L7, the bottom right corner stamps from the left pane, showing the centerline at right. There is a trace of an interstitial relief bruise just outside the bottom label between the C and E of CENT as is evident in the enlargement in Figure 33. There is no particular reason why the bottom of the plate should have been cleaned right up to the bottom label, which would have erased the relief bruise under the F


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relief entry. After all, the reeded scrollwork is more complete on the bottom of the tenth row stamps, too, than in the middle of the plate. This fact is well known, and different plating illustrations were made for the tenth row and the sixth row to show the overall more complete ornaments on the bottom of the plate. ${ }^{25}$ Exactly how this very consistent difference between otherwise identical reliefs would have been maintained is a curiosity, considering the presumed existence of a six-relief transfer roll. The current understanding is that the rocking in of the second C relief row (the seventh overall) caused the bottom of the sixth row entries to be overwritten (or "ironed out") with the BC interstices. The observations described above confirm this. Therefore, the 10th row F relief entries are the only indication of what the bottom of the transfer roll looked like. If there were relief bruises on that part of the roll, then they appear only very scarcely. This scarcity, however, may be due to clean-up of the edges of the plate.

The interstitial relief bruises appear in similar ways as the relief bruises on the entries. Both are expressed to varying degrees of intensity and extent, and they frequently correlate with one another-a strong relief bruise on Franklin's head will tend to have a strong interstitial relief bruise at top or bottom, if the separation permits such evidence. In truth, the interstitials may be less fascinating (in that they have the appearance of inadvertent plate cleanup) than the marks on Ben's image (which can be jarring when first observed). But the interstitials are often easier to spot, although more challenging to distinguish from one another.

The two versions of relief bruises are best used in concert with one another, and with traditional relief (or position) markings, to establish identity. Overall, though, the relief bruises are most remarkable because they can often be spotted with the naked eye, and in the case of the medallion relief bruises on the head, frequently distinguished from one another without resort to magnification.

## The 1861 Plates 11 and 12

The lessons of medallion-based and interstitial relief bruises may be brought to bear on the thornier challenges of Plates 11 and 12, plates which are often so extensively filmed with ink that they actually seem to be camouflaged. Finding meaningful marks of any kind on these later plates can be difficult, and with relief bruises we have thin films of ink that could be hiding within thin films of ink, making the whole enterprise problematic. While the indications are sometimes subtle, it is unmistakable that relief bruises of the sort described so far are present on Plates 11 and 12. They would need to be compelling to the viewer to be observed-and so they are.

Plates 11 and 12 are believed to have been created from separate three-relief transfer rolls in late 1860, with earliest documented uses in 1861. Students of the perforated 1申 stamp are well acquainted with the typical "film of ink," as Ashbrook and Neinken phrased it, on the impressions from these plates. ${ }^{26}$ The film often is "blotchy," with areas of greater and lesser ink overlaying the entirety of the stamp paper. That characteristic makes these plates distinct from the earlier plates which are not typically seen with such heavy and irregular ink film.

Not only does the special appearance of many Plate 11 and 12 stamps differentiate them from earlier plates, but it changes our approach to considerations of relief characteristics such as bruises. It could be argued that these later plates are bruised "all over," the way a very few stamps appear from the earlier plates (such as the example shown in Figure 12 in the first installment of this series). The bruising on Plates 11 and 12 is so thorough, in this view, that it is pointless to attempt the approach used earlier. That was to look for slight ink films that appeared where ink was not expected, and in patterns that were regular, limited in scope, and repeated.

Trying to do so on stamps from plates that have significant ink films with ink seemingly all over is unlikely to yield repeatable findings. Rather, the approach for Plates 11 and 12 is to see whether patterns arise which are regular and which are able to be distinguished from the overall ink film. However, given the scarcer population of Plate 11 and 12 stamps (and therefore fewer chances to compare examples from the same positions) it is less likely that what we think of as relief bruises will be apparent or regular.

These tough odds make the reality of relief bruises on these plates more surprising, and their observation by students more rewarding. There is clear evidence that at least some of the excess color on these stamps expresses the characteristics of relief bruises in consistent and compelling ways. Readers exposed to all the other relief bruises on the Type V/Va plates are likely to appreciate the effect. In this first showing, the most telling of such relief bruises are identified so as to surmount possible objections. As would be expected, the relief bruises and related characteristics appear more subtly on these plates than on Plates 7 or 8 , for example, due to the higher noise floor of frequent ink film.

A note about relief nomenclature: The designation of relief identifiers on stamps can be problematic for even intermediate students. While the reliefs of each transfer roll (whether it is used on one or many plates) are consistently named, there is not such consistency from roll to roll. That is because such designations were developed early in the study of the plates by a variety of students. Some identified the top rows as T, while others began with A . But the T relief on one transfer roll may be very different than the T relief on another-there may be less in common between them than with the reliefs elsewhere on other transfer rolls. As such, the designations serve as the merest aide to communication. It is important to know which plate, or group of plates, one is discussing to understand what the relief letters mean.

In any case, Plates 11 and 12 are understood to have been entered with three-relief transfer rolls. Because the reliefs differ quite a bit between the two plates, it is accepted that they were each created from separate three-relief transfer rolls. Plate 11's reliefs begin with T at the top, with A and B reliefs across the rest of the plate. Because the plating of Plate 11 has not been accomplished to a significant degree (due to a paucity of multiples and material generally), it cannot be stated how the non-first-row reliefs are arranged. Plate 12, for which there is both more material available and more blocks of some size, has been almost fully plated. And, as if to confound students, its top row stamps are designated as A reliefs while B and C reliefs sometimes are in neat rows and sometimes jumbled a bit. (The Plate 12 C relief has the distinction of being the only true Type I stamp with the complete design of the ornaments on all four sides.) The other Plate 12 reliefs are either complete at top (the A relief top-row stamps) or nearly so (the B relief stamps), but quite truncated at bottom. Yet, in almost all cases, the top and bottom frame lines are complete. Therefore, Plate 12 consists almost entirely of Type I and Type II stamps.

Plate 11 reliefs are quite different, with only the T relief stamps on the top row having complete ornaments at top. The other reliefs on the other rows show breaks in the outer frame line at top and so are incomplete there, and reckoned as Type IIIa examples. The Type II stamps of the top row on Plate 11 are some of the most desirable such stamps, rivaled by the top-row Type II stamps of Plate 4, as they share complete tops.

So, A relief stamps on Plate 11 (and 12) do not signify similarity to the A relief on the earlier perforate plates. Likewise, B reliefs on Plates 11 and 12, and C reliefs on Plate 12, are unrelated in appearance to similarly-named reliefs on earlier plates. The only similarity across T relief stamps is that the T signifies "Top" rows for Plate 11, as well as for Plates 1 through 3.

Figure 34 shows top row stamps from Plate 11. By convention these top row stamps

are called T reliefs, and they typically show complete ornaments at top, layout dots at upper right, and horizontal layout lines along the top label and ornaments. On the bottom, this relief has the ornaments cut away on the sides, but shows more of the reeded scrollwork and does not have a broken outer frameline, in comparison with the reliefs of the Type V/ Va stamps.

The top image in Figure 34 shows an unused strip of three (unplated). This has elements similar to the Type V/Va E relief bruise (the "Oreo cookie"), but a little bit forward on the Plate 11 positions.

Also in Figure 34 is an exceptional straddle-pane centerline corner single (Position 1R11) with a striking red carrier marking used as a cancel. It suggests a dot not unlike the D relief bruise dot along the plumb line between the O and S in POSTAGE, but down toward the height of the A relief dot. Or, like a more-forward A relief dot. Other T relief stamps sometimes suggest this dot, but these are not as compelling as other, accepted relief bruises. They don't stand out from the background, and that is partly due to the overall ink film typical on these stamps. In fact, no example which the author has seen is intense, and only a trained "bruiser" will see anything like its presence on a regular basis. Its expression is subtle, and not reliably consistent.

Neither the "Oreo cookie" banded medallion relief bruise, nor the central dot version is consistent or prominent on T relief stamps. Therefore, the medallion relief bruise cannot be relied upon for identification of the T relief on Plate 11, at least based on the limited availability of examples.

Figure 35 presents A relief stamps from Plate 11, which never appear on the top row. A reminder is in order that the other-than-top-row stamps on Plates 11 and 12 are not always in neat row order. As in the centerline strip of three in Figure 35, there are many


Figure 35. A relief stamps from Plate 11. Stamps from the A relief do not appear on the top row, but their distribution throughout the rest of the plate is not known. Due to the scarcity of Plate 11 material, most positions have not been plated. The A relief pair at upper left is the bottom of a block of four whose B relief stamps are shown in Figure 36. The single at upper right shows the typical A relief break at the top with a complete frame line at bottom. The strip of three shows $B, A$, and $B$ reliefs. The center stamp shows defined relief bruises toward the top of Franklin's head which are similar to those in the pair, while the surrounding stamps show the Plate 11 B relief bruise.
instances in which two different types are adjacent in the same row. The belief is that while guide reliefing was used to enter the positions, there was less focus on which of the two lower reliefs was entered. In fact, this relaxation of the "rule" of rigid row structures may have been perceived by the plate makers as a measure of progress, allowing them some flexibility. We cannot know for sure what they thought, however.

The pair in Figure 35 is cropped from a combination relief B/A block to create this pair of A relief stamps. The right stamp shows relief bruises that, for the A relief of Plate 11 stamps, are intense and extensive relief bruises. Both stamps possess a layered banding. There are two significant horizontal zones in the head above the brow line, with a lighter, horizontal line between them. The left stamp shows these areas less intensely, and more typically for the relief, while the right stamp even has involvement of the shoulders, akin to more heavily inked examples of the Type V/Va stamps.

The relief A single at upper right in Figure 35 is a dark impression. However, the banding in the head is quite subtle. While the banding looks again like our "Oreo cookie" from the E relief on the earlier plates, we resist that nomenclature here to prevent confusion. Also, we shall soon note another relief with light banding.

The centerline strip of three at bottom in Figure 35 has an A relief stamp sandwiched between two $B$ relief stamps. Here, again, there is banding in the head with the top element more focused, approaching the shape of a squared dot and giving the appearance of the Type V/Va D relief dot. However, there is a distinct layered effect with a horizontal area of blue extending across most of Franklin's hair. From all this evidence, we may say with some confidence that relief bruises can exist on the challenging Plate 11.

Figure 36 shows relief bruises on the B relief stamps of Plate 11. The bruising appears most commonly as a white line from the back of Franklin's head extending about halfway into the head and nearly flat. The variable extent of the darker areas on its top and bottom can tend to make the line appear to bend or arc, and sometimes interrupt it. However, the

white line appears with consistency and is not easily confused with any other relief bruise. In the strip of three in Figure 35 the left stamp has a distinct white line between two areas of darker ink. The right stamp (where not obscured by the cancel) also shows a subtle line.

The top pair in Figure 36 is the other pair from the block whose bottom half is shown in Figure 35. These B relief stamps also show the white line, with the feature here more evident on the left stamp. The extensive darker areas on the right stamp impinge on the line.

The used strip in Figure 36 shows a very dark example of three B relief stamps, with extensive ink film giving the white paper a distinct bluish tinge. Even with this possibly confusing background, however, the stamps show the (relatively) white line. Finally, at the bottom of Figure 36 is another strip of three B relief stamps with the white line relief bruise. The right stamp in the strip also has some excess ink on the back of Franklin's head obscuring the white line, and on the shoulders. All the stamps in these multiples have extensive bruising (and possibly other ink), involving the shoulders. The white line can sometimes be obscured, but, as with the Figure 35 relief BAB strip, the two relief bruises can be distinguished from one another when they are in proximity. Layered banding characterizes both the A and B relief bruises, but the white line on the A relief bruise occurs at the forward-middle portion of the head, while the white line on the B relief bruise begins at the back of the head.

There is a consistent mark on the B relief Plate 11 stamps which may not be related to relief bruises directly, but is nevertheless present on many B relief stamps, in the same way that B relief stamps on the Type V/Va plates have a horizontal blur in their top margin extending across the right outside portion of the label. ${ }^{27}$ That plating mark on Plate 11 is a horizontal blurred line on the left side of the top margin of the stamps extending from about the center of the P and skimming over the left side ornaments. Figure 37 shows enlargements of two pairs that show the blurred line very clearly. A closer inspection indicates that toward its left extent it seems to fork into two projections, with a white area between the tines. A portion of the BAB strip in Figure 35 is also shown in Figure 37. Not only are the forked lines visible on the outer two stamps, but they are clearly differentiated from the ink blurring on the middle A relief stamp. As with other plating features, these lines appear to a similar degree as the overall intensity of inking on the impressions.


Figure 37. Consistent B relief plating mark on Plate 11. The top pairs are enlargements from left stamps in the used strip of three in Figure 36, and the right pair from the unused strip of three. Both show a consistent blurred horizontal line at the top of the design. At bottom, a portion of a strip of three on cover also shows the B relief plating mark on its outer stamps. The middle stamp is an A relief.

The relief bruises on Plate 11 can be tricky to spot, and their specific relief difficult to identify, due to the heavy ink film so common on this plate. It can be like identifying a needle in a stack of needles. However, the relief elements described above, especially A and $B$, are the most common expressions of relief bruising on the plate, even if the T relief bruising does not appear with sufficient consistency to say there is a fixed pattern. The relief bruises on the more common A and B reliefs (although no relief is truly common on the scarce Plate 11 stamps ) are the ones easiest to spot and most regular and defined. They are there, and once appreciated and understood they are hard to overlook.

It should be remembered that stamps from Plate 11 are not common, and the plate has only partially been plated by position. Some of the findings herein may be helpful in completing that effort, but they will not make Plate 11 stamps any more abundant. The population is limited, and any definite findings are satisfying to relate.


Figure 38. Interstitial T relief bruise on Plate 11. At top, a portion of the unused strip in Figure 34. At bottom, an enlargement of the cross-gutter single with red carrier cancel. Both show the interstitial relief bruises at the bottom of these $T$ relief stamps.

It will not be surprising that reliefs which show medallion bruising, as described earlier, also have interstitial relief bruises. Figure 38 shows the bottom portion of the unused top-row strip of three shown in Figure 34. Recall that it could not be said that the top row T relief stamps from Plate 11 have definitive relief bruises, at least at the level of confidence expressed for other such features. However, there is a definite blur hugging the outside of the outer line under the E in CENT. This is the most distinctive interstitial relief bruise for the top row. Figure 38 also presents an enlargement of the bottom of the single from Figure 34 . This shows the interstitial bruise under the E very well. It also confirms a line that originates along the outer frame line in the space between the words. All four copies show this, while the left stamp in the strip highlights it well. Also some copies show a line descending from the middle of the C . The blurred area on the left side lower plume, and to a lesser extent on the right side, as well as under the scrollwork on both sides, rarely occurs as strongly as it does on the strip in Figure 38. The single has subtle blurs on these outer ornaments, but the marks under the outer frame line are more definitive. Other elements do not appear consistently, and the lack of material makes further claims difficult.

Other aspects which make claims about interstitial relief bruises on Plate 11 difficult are that because the panes have not been plated, and the A and B relief stamps can be jumbled together on the plate, it can be impossible to know what relief is the adjacent stamp to a particular item of interest. Are we dealing with a TA, TB, AB, BA, AA or BB interstitial relief bruise? If we accept that the relief under the top, or T relief, led to the interstitial relief bruise under the T relief stamps, as in Figure 38, then we know that this relief at top will show this pattern, and any different relief bruises which are constant will be from the top of the other relief.

A first place to look is under the E in CENT on all Plate 11 stamps to determine whether that blurred echo of the frame line is repeated on all stamps, or just those which have the other interstitial relief bruises. For stamps that do not have the mark under the "E," and show some other pattern of relief bruises at bottom, we may conclude by deduction that the other relief was entered below the stamp in question, assuming this feature is a relief bruise and not an element of the design (like the blurs at the top of the B reliefs).

Similarly, the stamp relief under these T relief stamps should have blurs extending from the P and O (approximately) up toward the C and the space between ONE and CENT. If that hypothetical stamp does have relief bruises, but clearly not like those just described, then it is a different relief than the relief under the T relief stamps in Figure 38. Traces of the horizontal "forked lines" above the B relief would have been apparent at the bottoms of the strip in Figure 38, including the small piece at bottom left, if B relief stamps were below these T relief stamps. It is more likely that the interstitial relief bruise shown in Figure 38 is from the A relief, and that the top of the B relief will be consistently identified with the forked line.

The writer hopes that this lead on the nature of the tops of the A (or, at least, the bottom of the $T$ ) and $B$ reliefs, as well as the $A$ and $B$ relief medallion-based white-line bruises, will provide assistance in the accurate and more complete plating of Plate 11.

## Plate 12

Plate 12 is similar to Plate 11 in several ways. It, too, was produced from a three-relief roll, but on Plate 12 the top row is called relief A , and the B and C reliefs are sometimes mixed together on the left pane, but regularly distributed (as on Plates 2 and 3 ) on the entire right pane and the right three columns of the left pane. Both plates have a film of ink over the entire printed area, at least for a significant percentage of impressions, making relief bruises a challenge to observe. Both plates were likely made late in 1860. ${ }^{28}$ However, unlike Plate 11, many more blocks and multiples are available from Plate 12, and all but three positions are plated in the standard text. Many of the impressions show no indication of heavy inking or ink film, and impressions are frequently crisp (by the standards of the perforate plates, at least), so plate marks are often visible.

Despite these advantages, there are not convincing relief bruises on the top row A relief stamps or the B relief stamps. B relief stamps account for a little less than half the non-first-row positions because the C relief stamps comprise all of the bottom rows on both panes, and (mostly) alternate with B relief stamps on eight other rows. There are plenty of marks suggesting relief bruising effects, but they do not rise to a level of consistency that would be valuable in the first text on this topic. Moreover, there are few consistent interstitial relief bruises to report. This might all seem quite anticlimactic after such profusion of the remarkable feature on every other plate. Plate 12 does provide a final grace note, however, and with a ringing clarity that may be pleasing to the expectant reader.

Figure 39 is capped by an eye-catching cover from Jersey Shore, Pennsylvania. Among its many charms, it offers an insight into interstitial relief bruises on Plate 12. Beneath the full cover in Figure 39 is an enlargement of the bottom section of its three stamps, all B relief stamps (Positions 58-60L12, with the centerline at right), showing the BC interstitial bruises.

Unlike earlier plates, the interstitial bruises are not expressed as defined areas with clear borders. Rather, there is a blurred area under the E in CENT which tends to radiate down and to the right. There is also a blurred area under the space between the words ONE and CENT. The vertical pair segment in Figure 39, cropped from a block of four, shows these indications less intensely, and it seems that the blur under the E may be two extensions, one directly under the E and another nearby to the right originating from the area


Figure 39. Plate 12 items: The striking cover bears a center line strip of three, from Positions 58-60L12. The bottom portion of the strip shows extensive interstitial relief bruises. At left, enlarged BC interstices from an unplated pair confirms the relief bruises as diffuse blurs.
between the E and N in CENT. In truth, it can be difficult to find many examples of these effects. But the Jersey Shore strip suggests that the blurs are the result of the same phenomenon as the other interstitial relief bruises, rather than due to plate cleanup.

The final gift of the perforate plates is a nice little dot on Franklin's head in the C relief stamps. In Figure 40, the single stamp with blue bar cancels clearly shows the feature as a spot on Franklin's head, more or less under the S in POSTAGE on this Position 84L12 stamp. The impression shown in the figure has a grainy nature typical of Plate 12, which makes it a challenge to discover regular relief bruises of any sort. This effect may be due to the nature of the steel plate or to the finish of the stamp paper, which may be rougher than other examples.

The stamp with black bar cancels in Figure 40 is a bottom row stamp (Position 92R12). It shows a less intense dot, but other extensive markings throughout the head. Nevertheless, the dot can be seen. It can also be seen in the pair and single on-cover piece at bottom in Figure 40. All three stamps are from the bottom row of the left pane, Positions 93-94 and 99L12. All three stamps show the dot as well as other features, some of which may be tempting to identify as regular relief bruises, but which may not rise to a sufficient level of predictability to warrant that term.

Finally, the remaining single in Figure 40 (with black OCT 25 circular datestamp) shows the relief bruise, but more as a donut with a hole than as a solid dot. In the concluding installment of this series, discussion about the origin of the relief bruises, though specula-


Figure 40. C relief stamps from Plate 12 display a relief bruise dot in Franklin's head. This shows clearly on the single with blue bar cancels at upper left (Position 84L12) and on the stamp with black bar cancels at top center (92R12). The pair and single at bottom (Positions 93-94 and 99L12, cropped from a cover) also show the feature. The single at top right, Position 35L12, shows a white spot in the center of the dot.
tive in some respects, will shed light on this particular appearance. This image is provided through the courtesy of Route Agent Labron Harris.

Further study of Plates 11 and 12 may suggest that other marks appear regularly enough to be usefully called relief bruises, as well.

## The nature of relief bruises

All the perforate plates of the 1857-61 1申 stamp show evidence of unintended ink marks which are consistent by relief originating from their predecessor transfer rolls, some appearing on the medallion of the design, especially the head of the portrait of Franklin, and some in the horizontal spaces between the entries. The printed expression of these relief bruises varies from position to position, from row to row, and from impression to impression in seemingly unsystematic ways. However, there appears to be a positive correlation between the intensity of coloring on the stamp and the intensity and extent of relief bruises.

This remarkable feature was present from the earliest impressions of the plates until well into their use, and probably throughout their period of productive use. The earlier perforate plates (numbered 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10), which display the Type V and Va designs from six-relief transfer rolls, express the relief bruises in similar ways, if not to a similar extent,
with Plates 7 and 8 showing relief bruises more often than Plate 5, and much more so than Plates 9 and 10. Over half of sampled stamps possess medallion relief bruises, making this feature significant. The later perforate plates (numbered 11 and 12), created from their own three-relief transfer rolls, and despite the ink film which characterizes many impressions, display relief bruises, including interstitial relief bruises, although to a lesser degree than the earlier plates. Frequency of appearance has not been determined for these later plates.

The existence of this remarkable feature is indisputable, although viewers may not always agree about the relief bruising on a particular example. This first text on the phenomenon has presented the most apparent aspects of relief bruises to make learning faster and easier. ${ }^{29}$

Almost every viewer of relief bruises quickly asks, "Why wasn't this explained before?" Although Ashbrook explained the broad outlines of what happened and Neinken repeated those words, at least with reference to the Type V/Va plates, the explanations provided only tantalizing suggestions of what appears on the stamps. ${ }^{30}$ It was Neinken, after all, who addressed the specifics of the perforate plates, and his focus was on plating each position of the $1 \&$ stamp. His spectacular achievement has been a bedrock of philately since its publication in 1972. However, it should be recalled that there is nothing like relief bruises on other stamps, so after addressing the $12 \phi$ stamp and the $10 \phi$ stamp, Neinken was looking for traditional plating marks to locate each stamp to positions on the $1 \phi$ panes. He mostly found them. Since he did not need the relief bruise information to make progress toward his goals, we may suppose, he did not attempt to put together the facts marshaled herein. However, the relief bruise features offer to students and collectors a new and fascinating area in which to expand their efforts.

The other question asked by viewers is, "Where did they come from?" That simple question compels a deeper investigation into the metallurgy and printing processes involved in creating the $1 \phi$ stamp-and possibly other stamps as well. The implications of there being relief bruises on all the perforate plates of the $1 申$ stamp (and no other denominations, apparently) will be explored in the concluding installment of this article. Possible explanations for this complex phenomenon will be suggested, involving both the creation of the plates and also the creation of the stamps from those plates. The evidence and speculation will serve to highlight some astonishing possibilities that render the 1\& Franklin unique among classic postage stamps.

## Endnotes

21. Additional examples can be seen in the previous installment, including the illusrations in Figures 3 (bottom margin of all stamps), 4, 5 (photograph at left), 7 (bottom margin of all stamps), 9, 11, and 12 (right stamp).
22. Neinken, ibid. Some position drawings contain elements of the medallion relief bruises, as well as the interstitial relief bruises, but not on a consistent basis. The regular aspects of their appearance, such as the features highlighted in Figure 3 in Part 1, were not presented either in the drawings or the text. The relief bruise phenomenon is ill-suited to idealized position drawings because its expression is not constant.
23. See, for example, in Neinken, position drawings for 11, 15, 16R5, 13L7, and 19L8.
24. Mortimer Neinken, The United States Ten Cent Stamps of 1855-1859, 1960, pg. 93.
25. Neinken (1972), ibid.
26. Neinken, pg. 491.
27. The fact that a similar feature appears on the B reliefs of two different groups of plates, created from different transfer rolls and which have different types, is just a coincidence.
28. Neinken, pg. 465.
29. The Chronicle format highlights small multiples, singles and close-ups which favor the display of relief bruise patterns. To appreciate the appearance of relief bruises across panes and large multiples, and their varying intensity and extent, it is best to view such items in person. Thanks to the organizers of the World Stamp Show, NY2016, the unique panes, large multiples, and other items from the perforate plates likely to be of interest to readers will be exhibited outside the competition.
30. Neinken, ibid.

## THE 1861-69 PERIOD

## WAVING THE FLAG FOR NEW YORK 2016

## CHIP GLIEDMAN

This issue of the Chronicle is chock full of material focused on New York City. Those who collect in the 1861 decade should look at Nick Kirke's article in the Bank Note section, where he begins to document the wide variety of New York Foreign Mail cancellations used during the 1861-68 period.

So as not to be left out of the party, I will add one more New York-related cover to the discussion.

First, the basics. Figure 1 shows a single-rate cover (under $1 / 2$ ounce) sent from New York City to Londonderry, Ireland on January 31, 1868. The $12 \phi$ postage was paid with a single $12 \phi$ stamp from the 1861 issue (Scott 69). The rate to Great Britain and Ireland had been reduced from $24 \phi$ to $12 \phi$ on January 1, 1868, a month before this letter was posted. With this reduction, the $12 \phi$ stamp finally-after $61 / 2$ years-could be used alone to pay a single-weight letter rate to somewhere in the world.


Figure 1. A 12ф Washington 1861 stamp, affixed to a patriotic envelope showing a 34star flag design, pays the newly-reduced $12 \phi$ rate to the United Kingdom. This letter was posted at the foreign mail office of the New York post office on January 31, 1868. A notable feature is the Hussey "Time Posted" label, which was added by the sender.

Now, for some of the embellishments that makes a single-rate cover to a common destnation interesting more than ordinarily interesting:

The stamp was cancelled with a New York "Jan 31" circular datestamp duplexed with an 8-lobed obliterator, applied at the foreign mail office of the New York post office. Much more information on the markings and practices of the New York Foreign Mail operation can be found in Kirke's article.

The sender of the Figure 1 cover applied a Hussey's "Time Posted" label and penned in the time and date of mailing. George Hussey sold these labels "as a monitor to the Postman, to the Post Office Clerk, and to the recipient." The first of these labels appeared in 1865. Hussey's advertising described the function:

Its object is to show the recipient of a letter just the hour and the day the letter was mailed, that in case of its non-receipt at the proper time, the blame can be placed in the right party. It frequently becomes not only an object of great interest but of importance to know just when a letter was mailed. It serves as a monitor to the Postman, to the Post Office clerk, and to the recipient. The party sending a letter marks a pointer at the hour it leaves his hands, and also fills out the blank below with the month and day.
Three different types of labels are known. John Bowman and Clifford Alexander wrote the definitive article about these labels and recorded nine covers with these labels known to them as of 2005, ${ }^{1}$ and Bowman generously provided the image in Figure 2.

Figure 2. A nice unused horizontal pair of George Hussey's "Time Posted" label, an example of which appears properly used on the Figure 1 cover.


The sender of the Figure 1 cover chose to use an envelope with an all-over, 34 -star flag design. This design was accurate from January 29, 1861, when Kansas joined the Union, to June 20, 1863, when West Virginia became the 35th state. The design is recorded in the literature as Weiss F-O-28, 29 and 30 and Walcott L-2845, L2837, and L-2844. ${ }^{2}$

The cover has two other datestamps that point to sailing information. Within the field of stars, there is a red, "Feb 1 " New York Exchange Office CDS. On the back, there is a black "Derry, FE 12, 68" receiving datestamp. According to Hubbard and Winter, the Inman Line City of Antwerp departed New York on February 1, 1868, arriving in Queenstown on February 10. This would leave two days for the cover to make its way to Londonderry by February 12.

Patriotic covers to foreign destinations, especially when used so long after the end of the war, are quite unusual. As a complete package, the Figure 1 cover is our wave of the flag, from the 1861 section of the Chronicle, to New York and the International Philatelic Exhibition of 2016.

## Endnotes

1. John D. Bowman and Clifford J. Alexander, "Hussey’s Time Posted Labels," The Penny Post, January 2005 (Vol. 13, No. 1, whole number 50) pp. 5-22.
2. William R Weiss, Jr., The Catalog of Union Civil War Patriotic Covers, published by the author, 1995. George Walcott, Charles J. Phillips: The George Walcott Collection of Used Civil War Patriotic Covers, 1934.

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# A NEW LOOK AT NEW YORK FOREIGN MAIL NICHOLAS M. KIRKE 

## Introduction

The aims of this article are to shed light on the environment in which New York Foreign Mail was processed; to update the definition and classification of New York Foreign Mail; to extend the time frame of the markings; and to arrange the markings chronologically. The article is supported by previously unconnected information found in contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts relating to the New York City post office, and by a critical examination of extensive data compiled by the author.

## Historical overview

In 1923, Nassau Street stamp dealer J. Murray Bartels purchased some Bank Note covers at a Spanish auction. Eighty percent of the covers had been cut down; an example is shown in Figure 1. Figure 2 shows a cover from the same find that escaped reduction. Addressed to the firm of Wallis and Co. in Ibiza, Spain, all the covers bore striking cancels struck at the New York City post office.

Bartels decided to do some research. He made tracings of the cancels on the Wallis covers and compiled a list of 58 of them, grouped by type and including dates of use. In 1926, he published his findings in the Collectors Club Philatelist. ${ }^{1}$ In 1927, Bartels offered 77 of these cancels for auction under the heading "New York Foreign Mail Cancellations." ${ }^{2}$ He introduced them as an "entirely new subject...of very attractive cancellations which were used in New York City from 1870-76 on outgoing foreign mail." We must thank Bartels for identifying this genre, which collectors at the time called "New York Geometrics."

In 1942 Edwin Milliken published a handbook titled New York Foreign Mail Can-


Figure 1. What started it all: J. Murray Bartel's original find of New York Foreign Mail markings to Ibiza, Spain, contained many cut-down pieces including this one.


Figure 2. A full cover from the Bartels find, with the $16 \phi$ rate to Spain paid by a pair of $3 \phi$ Bank Note stamps along with a $10 \phi$, all tied by a New York Foreign Mail killer cancel.
cellations 1870-1876. ${ }^{3}$ He introduced a classification system, again based on type, and increased the number of cancels to 116 .

In 1968, Arthur Van Vlissingen and Morrison Waud published New York Foreign Mail Cancellations 1870-1876, introducing a new classification system with 155 cancels, again grouped by type. ${ }^{4}$ They provided a first definition: "New York Foreign Mail cancellations were applied to stamps on postal matter entering the mails at New York City addressed to all foreign countries except Canada."

Then in 1990 came William R. Weiss's 504-page book, The Foreign Mail Cancellations of New York City 1870-1878. ${ }^{5}$ Weiss extended the end of the NYFM period from 1876 to 1878 . He introduced a new classification system and illustrated 235 cancels, again grouped by type. Weiss also introduced a new definition of New York Foreign Mail cancels, which he described as "[a] group of cancels usually applied to mail which usually originated in New York City, and was usually destined for a foreign country (other than Canada)." ${ }^{" 6}$

I leave until last the grand old man of cancellations. Hubert C. Skinner specialised in the years 1850-69, a period largely ignored by most New York Foreign Mail collectors. Although Skinner was a prolific author, the nearest he wrote exclusively on New York Foreign Mail was in a 1992 Philatelic Foundation textbook article on New York domestic and foreign mail, where he illustrated 110 cancels listed chronologically. ${ }^{7}$ Here he approached the study of these cancellations from a new perspective: "This article...is an attempt to apply the principles of postal history research to the study of cancels and postmarks. Previous students have considered them as fancy designs or pictures only, without relating these designs to a chronological study of the use on the various classes of mail." ${ }^{8}$

## New York Foreign Mail and general foreign mail

In its edition of July 1, 1850, the New York Daily Tribune printed a report detailing the quantity of letters recently processed in what it called the "Foreign Department" of the New York City post office. This is an early example of the "Foreign Letter Office" being referred to as the "Foreign Department." The report indicated that in the quarter ending 30 June 1850, the New York Foreign Mail Department processed 887,925 letters to and from the whole of the United States. Of these, 346,572 were letters sent to Europe.


Figure 3. Exterior of the main New York post office, at the bottom of City Hall Park, opened in 1875, from an admiring article published in Scribner's Monthly in May, 1878.


Figure 4. Spacious interior of the New York post office, from the same Scribner's article.
The population of the United States in 1850 was 23 million and the population of New York City was 515,000 , approximately 2 percent of the whole. Roughly the same percentage prevailed in 1875. Thus, it's reasonable to assert that outgoing foreign mail originating in New York City was just a small percentage of outbound mail from the whole of the United States (much of which passed through New York City on its way across the Atlantic). I


Figure 5. New York post office, main floor, southwest portion. The area colored in yellow was devoted to the marking and bagging of mails arriving in New York for dispatch overseas. The area in red, with windows designated 23, 25, 26 and 27, was devoted to receiving foreign-bound letters from the public. It was in this red area, at the two desks numbered 40, that the New York Foreign Mail markings were applied.
set out to establish what proportion this was compared to levels of foreign mail generally.
I first looked at the City Hall premises into which the post office moved in August, 1875. Engravings of the exterior and interior of the post office by Ernst Adolf Meissner (from the New York Public Library picture collection) are shown in Figures 3 and 4. I studied a detailed ground floor plan of the post office from the May, 1878 issue of Scribner's Monthly. Might it provide a clue as to the operation of foreign mail? The bottom left corner of the Scribner's floor plan, illustrated in Figure 5, shows the area devoted to the processing of inbound and outbound foreign mail. This I have colored yellow in the Figure 5 illustration. The Broadway side on the right (not shown) dealt with domestic mails.

The Scribner 's article itemizes the foreign drops and windows accessible to the public. These I have numbered in red: 23, 25, 26 and 27 . Window 28 , giving access to the "Superintendant of Foreign Letters," seems to indicate that this area of the Foreign Mail Department dealt with inbound and outbound letters from across the United States, particularly given the separate entrance from the mail windows open to the public and the large area of the office. It is significant that other areas of the building handled different categories of foreign mail. For example, registered mail was handled on the first floor, and printed matter (including newspapers, samples and circular mail) was handled in the basement. As an aside, printed matter was a colossal part of foreign mail. In 1875 the total mail sent to Europe was 408 tons, of which letters comprised 91 tons ( 28 percent) and printed matter 317 tons ( 72 percent). ${ }^{9}$

Given the customer windows and the separate arrangement of the tables for processing and cancelling mail, I believe that the area highlighted in red was likely devoted exclusively to New York Foreign Mail-letters being posted to foreign destinations by New York City residents. The area measures around 400 square feet and contains two desks. The balance of the Foreign Letter Department (in yellow) is perhaps 3,350 square feet. Thus, the area dedicated to 'New York Foreign Mail' is approximately 10 percent of the whole. Using this percentage as a yardstick, I surmise the percentage of New York Foreign Mail to foreign mail generally might be approximately the same.

The 1875 Postmaster General's Report notes that $10,044,844$ letters were sent to Europe. ${ }^{10}$ Ten percent of this suggests that around a million of these might have originated in New York City. Although this is a very rough calculation based upon hypothesis, it nonetheless helps place foreign mail originating in New York City in context with foreign mail processed in New York City generally.

I then examined whether the small space allotted to NYFM would have been sufficient to process this presumed volume of mail, and how many clerks would be required. Returning to 1875 , I assume an eight-hour day, a six-day week, and 313 working days per year.


Figure 6. Foreign-mail handling in NYC in the 1890s. This gives 2,504 hours to process $1,054,708$ letters or 421 letters to be processed each hour (seven per minute). This required, at most, two clerks. Placing New York Foreign Mail in further context of 600 people directly employed in the City Hall post office in 1875, I deduce at least 40 were employed in the Foreign Mail (Letter) Department. In the illustration shown in Figure 6, taken from a Scribner's article published later in the century, at least 12 clerks can be seen working in one small room, an area that does not appear to be in the red area in the Figure 5 floor-plan. This too supports the theory that the New York Foreign Mail operation, with just two clerks, was a small part of the much larger foreign-mail operation. But it seems likely there was room to process NYFM in the space allocated, and a maximum of two clerks was sufficient to process these letters, one for each of the two tables.

In summary, using a mix of contemporary newspaper and magazine reports and postmaster's statistics, and applying a sprinkling of liberal logic, I have deduced that NYFM was approximately 10 percent of the whole foreign-mail letter output. The dynamic business community of New York City and the large immigrant population could justify such a volume, and the area allocated within the post office was sufficient for the clerks to process such mail. To me, the conclusion that NYFM comprised a relatively small part of foreign mail generally makes it a more exciting and exclusive collecting interest.

## Expanding the period of New York Foreign Mail to 1845-78

I also determined to extend the study of New York Foreign Mail cancels back to when stamps on outbound mail first required cancelling, with the issue of the $5 ¢$ New York Postmaster's Provisional stamp in 1845. Figure 7 shows a New York exchange office datestamp used as a canceller on stamped outbound mail in 1846. The " 5 " in the datestamp indicates that $5 \phi$ postage was prepaid to carry this letter from New York City to the dockside at Boston. This is a first indication that the Foreign Mail Department processed outbound foreign letters in a special manner. Then, in 1850, the Foreign Mail Department adopted a red seven-bar grid solely for use on outbound foreign mail originating in New York City. Posted on June 5, 1850, the cover in Figure 8 shows the earliest known use of this cancel going abroad, here on a cover to "Prague, Bohemia" franked with a $5 \phi 1847$ stamp. New York Foreign Mail cancels had arrived.

During the decade of the 1860s, many simple geometric cancels were used exclusively on outbound foreign mail originating at New York City. Some of these markings planted the seeds for the more complex designs seen in the 1870s. As these cancels predate the traditional NYFM cancelation period of the 1870s, they have not previously been treated


Figure 7. When stamps appeared, the foreign section of the New York post office needed devices to cancel them. On this 1846 cover to France, a $5 \phi$ New York Postmaster Provisional stamp is canceled by a New York " 5 PAID" exchange-office datestamp, the same marking that would have been applied if the $5 \phi$ postage had been prepaid in cash.


Figure 8. In 1850, the Foreign Mail Department adopted a red seven-bar grid solely for use on outbound foreign mail originating in New York City. This 5申 1847 cover to "Prague, Bohemia," posted June 5, 1850, shows the earliest recorded use of this marking on a cover going abroad, and thus can be said to be the earliest known NYFM killer.
as NYFM cancels. However, all qualify as NYFM cancels, as they were used exclusively on outbound letters entering the mails in New York City. Figures 9 and 10 show two covers showing geometric designs that were used at the New York Foreign Mail office in 1865-66.


Figure 9. Markings comparable to the fancy geometrics of the 1870 s were occasionally used at the New York Foreign Mail office during the 1860s. On this cover to lower Saxony, posted in 1866, the three 1861 stamps are tied by two strikes of a cancel whose design is a circle of four negative wedges, evocative of subsequent geometric designs.

Figure 9 is a cover to Herzberg am Harz, in Lower Saxony, with three different stamps of the 1861 issue paying the 15 ¢ rate via Bremen-Hamburg mails. The New York credit 12 handstamp is dated November 3 (1866). The stamps are tied by two strikes of a cancel whose design is a circle of four negative wedges, cruder but certainly evocative of the circular geometric designs that were put into use a decade later.


Figure 10. Cover from New York City to Queenstown, Ireland, posted in the mid 1860s. Here the the $24 \phi$ rate is paid by eight $3 \phi 1861$ stamps, each thoroughly obliterated by a New York Foreign Mail killer cancel whose four petals might be said to depict a flower.

Figure 10 is a cover to Ireland, on which the $24 \not \subset$ rate is paid by eight $3 \not \subset 1861$ stamps, each stamp carefully struck with a four-petal killer that might be said to depict a flower. The date on this cover is not certain, but this floral design cancel is known to have come into use in late 1865.

## A new definition of New York Foreign Mail

None of the earlier definitions specified the category of mail upon which New York Foreign Mail cancels were applied. It is evident there were no such cancels struck on registered letters or parcels. And as we have seen, registered mail was processed in a separate, secured area of the post office. Foreign registered mail was processed in the registered mail area as well.

Some cancels in the style of the classic NYFM cancels were occasionally struck on printed circulars. An example is shown in Figure 11, a printed circular addressed to Trieste, Austria, and franked with a $2 \phi$ vermillion Bank Note stamp. The cancel that ties the stamp, of which a tracing is shown inset, certainly appears to be part of the NYFM family. But I exclude printed matter from the New York Foreign Mail category. Printed matter was always processed in a separate area. Most tellingly, I have never seen these circular mail fancies used on ordinary New York Foreign Mail. They are markings that resemble NYFM markings, but they were always used in the printed-matter department, not the foreign mail department.

Accordingly, I redefine New York Foreign Mail Cancels as follows: "Specific cancels applied to stamps in the New York Foreign Mail Department on mail, other than printed matter and registered mail, generally first entering the mail in New York City and destined for foreign countries other than Canada." The qualification "generally" is necessary as examples exist of inbound steamship letters-originating in Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Peru and St. Thomas - that received NYFM cancels, either on their way to a United States address or in transit to a foreign country. This should not surprise us, because incoming steamship mail was processed in the foreign mail section of the post office. Window 26 in the City Hall post office (see Figure 5) was designated "for reception of mail from ship-mas-


Figure 11. This cover originated in New York City and killer cancel appears to be part of the NYFM family, but it is struck on a printed circular. Circular mail was handled in a different area of the New York post office. As with others that appear on circulars, this marking is not known on ordinary New York Foreign Mail correspondence.


Figure 12. Incoming foreign mail from the Caribbean and South America would pass through the New York Foreign Mail office before being placed on the appropriate transatlantic steamer. Covers franked with U.S. stamps in need of canceling would receive NYFM killers. This cover from Cuba to Spain bears multiple strikes of an intricate circular geometric marking first used in early 1875.

ters." The cover from Cuba to Spain shown in Figure 12 is an example. In addition to the two Cuban 50 centavos stamps (Scott 65), the cover is franked with six 10¢ Bank Note stamps and a $2 \phi 1869$ stamp, all affixed in Cuba. The cover, which was overpaid, arrived from Cuba with its stamps uncancelled, so the foreign mail department at the New York post office did its job by obliterating the stamps with the fancy killer cancels.

Additionally, there were occasional letters that entered the mail at other United States towns and subsequently attracted NYFM cancels, although I believe these were anomalies reflecting glitches in a high-volume mail service. An example is the cover shown in Figure 13, from the Julia Lore correspondence, which bears two $2 \phi$ Bank Note stamps and a $24 \phi$ 1861 stamp. Early NYFM student Arthur van Vlissingen noted on the reverse that this is "the only cover I have ever seen that was mailed and postmarked elsewhere, but still received a NYFM cancel."

It's clear from inspecting this cover how that happened. The cover originated at Newark, franked to pay the $28 \notin$ British-mail rate via Brindisi to India. The Newark clerk applied his duplex canceller to kill the left-most $2 \not \subset$ Bank Note stamp, and then just barely struck the remaining two stamps with glancing hits of the killer, which he had rotated to avoid applying multiple strikes of the circular datestamp. When the cover reached the New York Foreign Mail desk, the clerk who applied the red New York $24 ¢$ credit marking noted that the two right stamps were not properly obliterated, and did the job himself with his geometric killer. Rather than some startling exception to the rigors of the NYFM system, this is simply an example of a trained postal clerk doing a proper job of revenue protection.

## Chronological classification of New York Foreign Mail

Historically, NYFM cancels have been grouped according to cancel type. But it is more useful to list the cancels in chronological order. From a postal history perspective, the


Figure 13. NYFM marking struck on a cover that entered the mails in Newark, New Jersey, on February 15, 1875. When this cover passed through the New York Foreign Mail office, a vigilant clerk noted that the two stamps on the right had not been adequately obliterated, so he did the job with his intricate circular geometric killer.
chronological progression of the designs is more fundamental to understanding than any type-based presentation. Furthermore, certain cancel types were used more frequently in different time periods, and chronological arrangement highlights this history. The graph in


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Figure 14. Relative prevalence of four basic NYFM marking types between 1850 and 1878. Vertical axis shows the number of new markings recorded that year. Note that simple geometric markings (light blue line) show two peaks in 1864 and 1866. Intricate geometric markings develop suddenly in the early 1870s and soon disappear.

Figure 14 shows trends of cancel appearance by type of cancel from 1850 to 1878, the year that hand-carved cancels were superseded by steel duplex types. Four basic cancel types are plotted: grids and wedges (shown in red), pictorials (yellow), simple geometrics (light blue) and intricate geometrics (dark blue). Trends emerge, with two spikes in simple geometrics in the mid 1860s, followed by a preponderance of grids and wedges. The remarkable period of the masterful intricate geometric cancels, which were to become the hallmark of NYFM, extended from approximately 1873 through 1875 . These fabulous cancels then disappeared as quickly as they had emerged.

To facilitate chronological organization, I have developed a system for classifying NYFM cancellations that economically combines a traditional description of the cancel type with its earliest known date of use. Using this system, cancels can easily be arranged chronologically, and new cancels (or earlier dates) can just as easily be inserted. The earliest known use of the marking is abbreviated in two-digit year-month-day form (YY-MM-DD) and the final element of the designation describes the type of cancel. For listing purposes I have divided the cancels into five types, abbreviated as follows: GR=grid; $\mathrm{WG}=$ =wedge; PIC=pictorial; SGEO=simple geometric; and IGEO=intricate geometric.

A sample cover illustrating this new classification system, along with the tracing of the cancel, is presented in Figure 15. This is a French-mail cover to Sicily, with the $21 \phi$ rate paid by a pair of $10 \notin 1861$ stamps and a $1 \notin 1861$ stamp. The fancy NYFM cancel is a horse's head, shown more clearly in the accompanying tracing. As it happens, this cover


Figure 15. Cover to Sicily, posted April 7, 1866, with a pair of 10申 1861 stamps plus a $1 \phi 1861$ paying the $21 \phi$ rate via French mail service. The NYFM horse's head killer canceling these stamps is the first known use of this pictorial design, and that information contributes to the designation for this cancel type: 66-04-07-PIC.
represents the first known use of this cancel (7 April 1866), and it is a pictorial cancel. Thus the cancel is designated 66-04-07-PIC.

Using this date-based categorization system, the tracing plates numbered 1 through 6 on the pages that follow illustrate all known NYFM cancels from 1850 to 1878-245 cancels in all-presented chronologically according to their first recorded use. Cancels of similar design, but with minor variations, are excluded. Broken cancels that continued to be used regularly in their broken state are listed as separate cancels. To fit the small Chronicle page format, the cancel images are presented smaller than lifesize.

The listing includes previously unrecorded cancels and excludes items that have previously appeared in the record as duplicates (most frequently based on different-sized reproductions of the same marking). The listing omits cancels proved not to be NYFM, such as numeral cancels applied in one of the 14 New York City sub-branches. For simplicity's sake, the many grids from the 1850-62 era are presented as four separate types. And for clarity, a yellow vertical bar has been inserted into the tracing plates to designate the start of each new year. In the rare event of two cancels of the same type being introduced on the same day (six such pairs exist presently), an asterisk has been placed after the last letter of the second listing.

This classification has limitations. From 1850 to 1869, data is sparse. Undoubtedly, other NYFM cancel types exist from this era, and new dates for earliest uses will contine to appear. But the system is highly flexibile. New and changed information can easily be incorporated. For 1870 to 1878 , the dates for first use are pretty well established and it is unlikely that new cancel designs will appear. Not so the earlier years, for which we can expect much more information.

## PLATE 1



Plates 1 through 6 show in chronological order the killer cancels used at the New York Foreign Mail office between 1850 and 1878. Vertical yellow bars separate years. The markings are reduced from lifesize and are not necessarily comparably sized.



66-12-01-SGEO


66-12-18-GR

67


67-04-01-PIC



67-05-09-SGEO


67-05-23-SGEO


67-06-15-GR



67-08-17-SGEO



67-10-01-SGEO


67-12-01-WG


## PLATE 3




71-03-01-PIC


PLATE 4


## PLATE 5



PLATE 6


75-01-12-IGEO


75-01-13-IGEO


75-01-13-IGEO*


75-02-03-IGEO



75-03-08-IGEO


75-03-13-IGEO


75-04-01-IGEO 75-04-03-SGEO


Figure 16 shows a cover sent from New York City to Switzerland in late 1877, franked with $2 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ Bank Note stamps to pay the $5 \phi$ international rate under the Universal Postal Union. The stamps are cancelled by the last NYFM cancel produced, now designated 77-12-15-IGEO. End of an era.

## Conclusion

It is important to understand that NYFM cancels were not just used in the 1870s, but date all the way back to 1850 . This new classification system embraces all such cancels, arranged according to their earliest date of use. As did Skinner, I attempt to apply the prin-


Figure 16. End of an era. Cover sent from New York City to Switzerland on December 15, 1877, franked with $2 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ Bank Note stamps paying the $5 \phi$ Universal Postal Union rate. The stamps are canceled with two blurred strikes from the last NYFM marking to appear, now designated (based on this cover) as 77-12-15-IGEO.
ciples of postal history research to this genre, and offer a chronological study of the cancels. I have placed New York Foreign Mail in context with the entirety of foreign mail handled at the New York post office, and have shown that it should be regarded as a relatively minor subset of all the foreign mail sent out of New York. The new definition incorporates these aspects of NYFM, and excludes printed matter and registered mail, which was handled differently.

Because these cancels were struck in the New York post office on letters to foreign destinations entering the mails in New York City, rather than from other locales, the term New York Foreign Mail seems confusing at best, and misleading at worst. Accordingly, I would suggest that this subset of foreign mail from New York be termed New York City Foreign Mail, or NYCFM.

## Acknowledgements

Fullest credit is due to the late Hubert Skinner. Out of the 245 cancels shown in the accompanying tracing plates, 75 are taken from his Philatelic Foundation article. Additionally, my grateful thanks to the following persons who have contributed (wittingly or
unwittingly) to this study: William J. Ainsworth, James Baird, John H. Barwis, Arden D. Callender, Ronald H. Cipolla II, David D'Alessandris, Richard E. Drews, Gordon Eubanks, Richard C. Frajola, Alexander Gunnel, Honza Junk, Ted Kapnick, Matthew Kewriga, Kamila Kirke, Dwayne O. Littauer, Frank Mandel, Thomas C. Mazza, Michael Perlman, Daniel H. Richards, Mark S. Schwartz, Charles F. Shreve, Hubert C. Skinner, Stephen T. Taylor, Scott R. Trepel, and William R. Weiss.

## Endnotes

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2. J.M. Bartels Co., 147th Sale Catalog, June 2-4, 1927.
3. Edwin Milliken, Postal Markings Handbook No. 4, The New York Foreign Mail Cancellations, 1870-1876, (Chicago, Ill.; William R. Stuart, 1942).
4. Arthur Van Vlissingen and Morrison Waud, New York Foreign Mail Cancellations, 1870-1876, (Collectors Club of Chicago, 1968).
5. William R. Weiss, The Foreign Mail Cancellations of New York City 1870-1878 (Bethlehem, Pa., William R. Weiss, 1990).
6. Ibid., pg. 5 (emphasis in original).
7. Hubert C. Skinner. "The Cancellations and Postmarks of New York City, Their Usage and Postal History 1845-1876" in The Philatelic Foundation Seminar Series, Textbook No. 3 (1992), pp. 86-106.
8. Ibid., pg. 79.
9. Postmaster General's Report, 1875, pg. XI
10. Ibid., pg. 273.
(continued from page 115)
Rounding out this May issue is a short article from Gordon Eubanks exploring the infrequent appearance of Liverpool two shilling due handstamps on 1847 stamps and covers (page 130) and the second installment of David Zlowe's groundbreaking exploration of plate bruises on the perforated $1 申$ Franklin stamps of 1857-61. Zlowe's article begins on page 158. Real-life examples of the material he discusses will be on view in a non-competitive exhibition at the NY2016 show.

Speaking personally, the New York show will be the only international stamp show I'll ever be able to walk to. I now live on the upper west side of Manhattan. From the Javits Center, my apartment is a two-mile stroll along the Hudson through Riverside Park. Throughout the show, along with many of our Section Editors and other members of the Classics Society family, I'll be hanging out at the superbooth we'll be sharing with the Philatelic Foundation, New York's Collectors Club and the United States Stamp Society. Enjoy the big show, and plan to spend some time at our booth.


## THE COVER CORNER JOHN W. WRIGHT, EDITOR

## EXPLANATION OF PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 249

Our problem cover from the last issue, shown here as Figure 1, is an envelope franked with an imperforate $3 \phi$ Washington stamp, sent from Providence to New York City in 1857. In addition to the "PROVIDENCE R.I. MAY 12" circular datestamp that ties the stamp, the cover is also struck with a bold oval "2 CTS TO PAY" marking. The question posed was: What rate does this marking refer to and where was it applied?

Only a few members responded, and with one exception, the responses were speculative and (to put it charitably) misguided. The only correct response was provided by James W. Milgram, editor of our Stampless section, who responded as follows:
"The key to deciphering this unusual auxiliary marking lies in the cover's address, which reads 'Crawford King Esq., Room 128, Langley's Hotel, New York, N.Y.' The inclusion of a specific room number is a clue that the writer and addressee were in contact before the letter was sent.
"The '2 CTS TO PAY' marking represents a charge by the hotel, which sent a special messenger to the post office who picked up the letter and subsequently delivered it to King. Thus, this is a private agent's marking depicting a hotel messenger charge."


Figure 1. Our problem cover from Chronicle 249: yellow envelope with $3 \phi$ imperforate Washington stamp, sent from Providence, Rhode Island, to New York City in the spring of 1857. The challenge was to explain the very unusual oval " 2 CTS TO PAY" marking.

By way of further explication, Milgram sent an image of an earlier cover from his collection, which shows the same usage displayed more specifically. This is the cover shown in Figure 2, postmarked at Pittsburgh on November 8, 1845, and addressed to Thomas Bradford, Esq., a guest at Buehler's Hotel in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Note the double-oval hotel handstamp struck at top. The red handstamped " 5 ," applied at Pittsburgh, designates the postage (for under 300 miles) to be collected from the recipient. A hotel messenger picked up the letter at the Harrisburg post office and brought it back to the hotel. There an explanatory manuscript notation was added ("Post paid by Buehler") along with a $2 \phi$ fee, with the total amount charged to the recipient summed up as $7 \phi$.

Dr. Milgram would like to learn if other covers exist showing handstamped or manuscript markings depicting hotel messenger charges. If there are enough of them perhaps they can spark an article in our Stampless section.


Figure 2. This stampless cover was marked and handled in a manner similar to the cover in Figure 1. Per the red circular datestamp, this cover originated in Pittsburgh on Nov 8 (1845). It is addressed to an attorney at a hotel in Harrisburg (note the oval "Buehler's Hotel Harrisburg" marking at top). A hotel messenger picked up the cover at the Harrisburg post office and paid the $5 \phi$ postage. For this service the hotel added a $2 \phi$ fee and marked the cover for $7 \phi$ to be collected from the addressee.

## PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

In support of the New York theme of this issue of the Chronicle, our problem cover for this issue, a very attractive Black Jack cover, both originates and is addressed there. The cover shows two distinctive New York circular datestamps and a handstamped pointing hand. We think there's a larger story here, and invite readers to tell it.


Figure 3. Our problem cover for this issue is this very attractive Black Jack cover sent locally within New York City. The question is: What's going on here?

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[^2]:    The large cities of the elder world, especially on the continent, possess great galleries for popular instruction and entertainment. It is at first sight remarkable, though in fact easily intelligible, that in a country reposing entirely on popular power, comparatively nothing is

[^3]:    I finally accepted it, only because no suitable person could be found who was willing to devote his entire time and services to the enterprise, and because I was frequently urged by directors and stockholders to take hold of it for the benefit of the city at large, inasmuch as it was settled that the Palace would be permanently closed in April, 1854, if I did not take the helm.

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