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THE CHRONICLE of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues is published quarterly in February, May, August and November by the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., at 100 Match Factory Place, Bellefonte, PA 16823. Editorial office: Michael Laurence, 101 W. 90th St., Apt. 8-H, New York, NY 10024. Business and accounting offices: Michael Plett, 2855 Willowmere Woods Dr., Vienna, VA 22180. Circulation office: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 100 Match Factory Place, Bellefonte, PA 16823. Subscription price $\$ 35$ payable at our website at www.uspcs.org. Periodicals postage paid at Bellefonte, PA 16823 and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Address changes to U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, P.O. Box 750368, New Orleans, LA 70175.

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| November 201 <br> Whole No. 256 | Published quarterly in February, May, August and November | Volume 69 Number 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \$8.75 Members \$10 Non-Members | Official publication of the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc. <br> (Unit 11, A.P.S.) www.uspcs.org | $\begin{gathered} \text { Annual Dues } \\ \$ 35 \end{gathered}$ |
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## THE EDITOR'S PAGE <br> MICHAEL LAURENCE

## IN THIS ISSUE

This issue features three groundbreaking articles-from James Baird, Robert Boyd and Scott Trepel/John Zuckerman-along with a splendid mix of supporting material: eye-catching, informative, even entertaining. Two articles in this issue come from our growing cadre of overseas contributors. Even our Cover Corner is flexing its muscles. Altogether, this Chronicle well illustrates the compelling fascination of our subject matter and the tireless efforts of our section editors.

To begin at the beginning, postal historian James Baird puts to rest, for all time we hope, a canard going back to the days of Henry Meyer that erroneously interpreted WAY and STEAM markings as they appear on waterway mail. Baird's research methodologyreading and understanding the PL\&Rs and then bumping what he has learned against a huge database of covers-is unassailable. His special feature on page 323, "About Steamboat and Way Markings," sheds bright new light on a very old subject.

In a two-part article in Chronicles 245 and 246, Robert Boyd methodically walked us through the massive on-line information trove that is misleadingly known as the Travers Papers. In our 1851 section this issue (page 366) Boyd now delves deeper, extracting quar-ter-by-quarter stamp shipment data for the Toppan, Carpenter \& Casilear years, the era of the 1851-57 stamps. Writing at the close of the 19th century from incomplete information, John Luff initially recorded this shipment data. Until now, no one has been able to improve upon his work. But by sifting through the Travers documents and other newly-accessible primary sources, Boyd has developed more accurate quarterly numbers for stamp shipments from TCC to the Post Office. Summarized in tabular form for both imperforate and perforate stamp deliveries, this information provides a long-overdue update to the original Luff data. It might even serve as a basis for estimating the quantities printed for the various $1 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ stamp plates, information that has been desired by collectors for generations.

The Safety Paper essays for the United States 1869 stamps-four of which are featured on our cover this issue - are attractive, enigmatic and in almost every instance unique. In our 1869 section (page 379), Scott Trepel and John Zuckerman tell the story of these eye-catching objects, beginning with their provenance and concluding with a full-color census illustrating and describing all 118 examples. Along the way, the authors unveil some new discoveries and take the first steps toward reconstructing the original underprint sheets. This is an important research achievement.

Not content with this accomplishment, Trepel also populates our Bank Note section, with a charming essay deciphering a $2 \phi$ small Bank Note cover with an enigmatic Halloween theme. See "Order of the Vampires" on page 403.

In our Stampless section this issue, Steven Walske adds a coda to the series of short Chronicle articles he published back in 2014-15 on the subject of blockade-run covers from the War of 1812. The current article ("Annals of the War of 1812: An Arduous Trip," page 345) shows three covers with some fascinating markings. Walske's focus is on one cover whose journey was interrupted so frequently it's a marvel it ever reached its destination. The section concludes with a brief article from Stampless editor James Milgram, revisiting
(IN THIS ISSUE concluded on page 410)

$$
\text { one of eight or nine such covers are known to exist. Sold for } \$ 9,775 \text { (June 2016) }
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1856 Red River Settlement Circular Manuscript Postmark

1963 4c Cameo, coil strip imperforate between centre pair. The finer of the two known examples. Sold for $\$ 24,150$ (October 2016)

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## ABOUT STEAMBOAT AND WAY MARKINGS

JAMES G. BAIRD

Postal markings provide the postal historian with information vital to a full understanding of the covers on which they are struck. For the United States in the 19th century, postal markings are given meaning, within the context of post office operation of their day, by the Postal Laws and Regulations-PL\&Rs. The PL\&Rs interpret the postal acts of Congress for administering the postal system. Looking back almost 200 years, it is easy to misunderstand what was intended by the PL\&Rs. Indeed, such misunderstanding is exactly what has happened in the case of "steamboat" and "way" markings as they were used in the 19th century on waterway-carried mail. This is my subject in the pages that follow.

This article will show that the Post Office Department intended "steamboat" markings to be applied to all mail that was landed by steamboats and subsequently entered the postal system. The authorities recognized no meaningful relationship between "way"-marked mail and steamboat carriage. Regrettably, beginning in the early 1940s, postal historians conflated the two markings, finding what they believed to be a meaningful relationship between the two.

This misunderstanding, erroneously stated as fact, is well summarized in United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1875 ${ }^{1}$ under the heading "Steamship Markings." Page 1 states the following:

> Letters showing the STEAMBOAT marking or its abbreviation, STEAM, were delivered into a post office by the clerk or captain of a non-contract steamboat traveling over inland or coastal waters. [Italics in the original.]

On page 4 of the same work is a re-statement of this assertion and the introduction of way markings into the argument:

Letters picked up by a mail carrier between post offices are termed "way letters." The carrier might have been a mounted rider or stagecoach driver or the captain or clerk of a steamboat. Because these carriers were handling locked bags of mail, the "way letters" had to be carried separately. A fee of 1\& for each "way letter" delivered to the post office was paid to the carrier and added to the ordinary postage to be collected from the addressee. [Italics added.]
These are the two errors on which this article will concentrate. They might have been avoided had earlier writers more carefully read the applicable PL\&Rs.

Although it is not something we think much about, those of us who concentrate on the postal history of the 19th century are extraordinarily fortunate. The changes that occurred between 1800 and the beginning of the Civil War offer a remarkably rich and colorful historical backdrop against which we study postal history. The mails, for all the frailties and weaknesses with which we are familiar, were the principal way, most often the only way, through which citizens could communicate with each other. The mails were a factor of the transportation organization that supported them. The United States Post Office was enormously challenged during this era by changes in modes of transportation. Men on horseback were supplanted by railroads. Sailing ships gave way to steamboats on inland
waterways and to steamships on the oceans. The Post Office Department struggled (and often failed) to keep up with these changes. Postal Laws and Regulations had to change too, as we shall see.

## Post Office regulations

Before there were steamboats, mail carried into U.S. ports by sailing ships was marked "ship" and charged prescribed ship rates. The subject of ship-mail regulations and rates charged on mail so carried bears consideration in another article. For now it will be helpful to offer an excerpt from the PL\&Rs of 1798, as promulgated by the Post Office Department. The prescribed manner for handling ship mail was a precursor to the handling of steamboat-carried mail:

> "....when letters are carried by sea, they are chargeable with postage according to the provisions in the tenth section of the law [Third Congress Act of 1794, prescribing postal operations]. At present there are no packet boats, for the conveyance of letters, provided by the United States. And letters arriving in foreign packets are not chargeable with ship-postage. The only ship-letters now to be considered, are those arriving in private ships or vessels. These are chargeable each with four cents, if within the delivery of the post-office where they arrive. And such of them as are to be conveyed by land, are to be rated with land-postage, like other letters, with the addition of four cents to each, as a ship-letter: and to account for this increased postage, the word ship is to be written upon each letter against the rate marked upon it." [Italics added.]

The Post Office Department wrote regulations to inform postmasters about how letters were to be handled from their origin to their delivery. If a letter was to be delivered to the port of arrival, only one office would be involved and a ship fee of $4 \phi$ was to be charged the recipient. But if the letter was to be forwarded beyond the port of arrival, the receiving post office was to rate the letter $4 \phi$ plus the land postage to the delivery office. To explain the additional charge above the inland rate, a "ship" marking was to be placed on the cover. The marking would "account" (inform) the delivery postmaster that the rating was correct. In the absence of such a marking, he might re-rate the cover for land postage only, which would frustrate accounting and fail to collect an additional $4 \phi$ in postal revenue.

In this way, the "ship" marking informed the downstream postmaster (and the recipient) why a letter was rated as it was. It's simple enough. Postal historians connect these dots daily without a second thought. This need to inform downstream postmasters bears on the discussion of steamboat and way-marked covers that follows.

Regulation governing mail carried by steamboats evolved over the years, beginning with the publication of the 1818 PL\&R, which compiled language from the Acts of 1814 and 1815. Section 4 of the Act of 27 February 1815 authorized the Postmaster General (PMG) to employ steamboats in the carriage of mail and to impose certain requirements on vessels carrying mail:
....every master or manager of any steam boat, packet or other vessel, which shall pass from one port or place to another port or place, in the United States, where a post-office is established, to deliver within three hours after his arrival, if in the day time, and within two hours after the next sunrise, if the arrival be in the night, all letters and packets addressed to, or destined for such port or place, to the post-master there, for which he shall be entitled to receive of such Postmaster two cents for every letter or packet so delivered, unless the same shall be carried or conveyed under a contract with the Post-master General....
There are some interesting ambiguities in this regulation, but we leave them for another time. What is essential is that the cornerstones for handling steamboat mail well into the late 1800s were laid down. The PMG could contract for steamboats to carry mail and regulate how maritime mail was to be handled. All steamboat captains were to deliver letters in their possession to the first post office. Those who did not have a contract with the department would receive $2 \phi$. Nothing is said about steamboat markings. As before, covers carried into port would be marked "ship" and ship rates would apply.

The 1825 PL\&R first mentions "steamboat" markings, but only briefly: "Letters are
not to be sent by steam-boats, excepting they are marked by steam boat, or there are special instructions on the subject."

However, with the 1825 regulations, the rating of ship and steamboat letters diverges:


#### Abstract

Ship letters received for delivery, are chargeable with six cents postage, and if forwarded by post, with the addition of two cents to the ordinary rates of postage. The letters $S h$ are to be written, or the word Ship, stamped upon each letter.... Letters by steam-boats are to be accounted for the same as ship-letters; but postages are to be rated according to distance as if carried by land.


What we have then is that mail would be marked "ship" or "steamboat" depending on the vessel that carried it. On a "ship" letter to be delivered beyond port of arrival, the $2 \phi$ paid to the ship captain would be added to postage due. On a letter carried in by steamboat, a fee would not be added to land postage, whether or not the master of the vessel was paid anything. The regulation governing this specific point reiterated a General Post Office notice dated March 4, 1823.

Figure 1 is a cover from Mobile to New Orleans dated October 22, 1827 and carried by the steamboat Columbia under the earliest contract for mail service between those two cities. Sent to the Mayor of New Orleans, this folded letter reports on a fire in Mobile.


Figure 1. Letter written by the Mayor of Mobile to the Mayor of New Orleans on October 22, 1827. Carried by the Columbia under the earliest postal contract for service between those two cities. Rated $183 / 4 \phi$ due for the distance of 235 nautical miles.

Columbia was owned by George Buckley, who held a contract with the Post Office Department for thrice-weekly service between the two cities from January 1, 1827 to December 31, 1828. Service did not begin until March 1, 1827, and a twice-a-week schedule was generally followed until December 21, 1827, when the steamboat burned, leading to an annulment of the contract. The cover is rated for a collection of $183 / 4 \phi$ which is correct for the distance of 235 nautical miles between the two cities. Since the letter was carried in by a contract steamboat, a captain's fee would not have been paid. ${ }^{2}$

The 1832 PL\&R finally laid down in detail how steamboat-carried mail was to be handled. The following is a somewhat shortened quote from the relevant sections. ${ }^{3}$ Much of what is said had been foreshadowed by the earlier PL\&Rs which have been discussed. Since the regulations are a key part of this article, I will editorialize before each set of regulation excerpts.

The first two sections (168 and 169) instruct postmasters on how to rate letters that were carried in to them by contract vessels. Section 169 stresses that masters are to see to it that loose letters in their possession are delivered into the next post office at which they stop. ${ }^{4}$ There had been a great deal of abuse in this regard, with captains or their clerks favoring certain addressees by carrying letters directly to them rather than putting them into the mail. Had there been a relationship between steamboat letters and way mail, these two sections would have been an appropriate place also to discuss the matter of way fees. But they do not discuss way fees.

## CHAPTER XXI: STEAM BOAT LETTERS

168. Where the mail is carried on any of the waters of the United States in steam boats or other vessels, under a contract with the Department, Postmasters whose offices are included in such contracts, will charge the same postage on letters or packets, as if they were conveyed over land; except, that more than quadruple postage cannot be charged upon any packet, unless it contain more than four distinct letters. - See act of 1825, Sections 5 and 13.
169. The masters of steam boats, under these contracts, will deliver into the post offices, at the places at which they arrive, all letters received by them, or any person employed in their boats, at any point along the route.

Sections 170 and 171 address the same abuse, but for non-contract vessels:
170. Masters or managers of all other steam boats, are required by law, under a penalty of thirty dollars, to deliver all letters brought by them, or within their care or power, addressed to, or destined for, the places at which they arrive, to the Postmasters at such places.... See act of 1825, Sections 6 and 19.
171. This law is often violated. You will use diligence to correct the evil, and prosecute for the penalty, in every case where you can obtain testimony.
The next section instructs postmasters on accounting for and paying a fee of $2 \phi$ per letter to masters of non-contract steamboats, but not to masters of contract steamboats. Postal historians often missed the fact that $2 \phi$ was not payable to contract vessel captains.
172. For every letter or packet, delivered by the master of a steam boat, you will pay him two cents, unless his boat carries letters and packets under a contract with the Department. You will take the receipt of the master, specifying the number of letters, and the places from which they were brought. - Act of 1825, Sec. 6.

Sections 173 to 175 relate to rating and marking of loose letters carried in by all steamboats, both contract and non-contract.
173. All waters in the United States on which steam boats regularly pass, are declared by law to be post roads. - See Act of 1823, Sec. 3. This law is construed to embrace all waters on which steam boats frequently pass, although they have no regular hours of departure and arrival.
174. Upon letters and packets, therefore, received from the masters of steam boats, on waters deemed post roads, you will charge the persons addressed, when you deliver them, the same postage, as if they had been conveyed in the mail over land, except, that more than quadruple postage is not to be charged on any packet, unless it contain more than four distinct letters.
175. If a letter be received as above, to be sent in the mail to another office, you will charge the proper rate of postage, for the distance at which the letter was placed on board the boat, and the office to which it is addressed; subject to the exception in the preceding section. Letters brought by steam boats should be marked "Steam Boat," at the time of receiving them. [Emphasis added.]
As previously, the "steamboat" marking would inform people downstream why a particular cover was rated as it was. Let's now look at the practical effect of the rules stated in Section 175.

The cover illustrated in Figure 2, internally dated March 8, 1834, was probably written on board William Gibbons, a contract vessel operated by the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Company. The cover arrived at the New York Post office as a "loose letter" that had been received by Gibbons' captain. It was marked with a New York March 14


Figure 2. "Loose" letter dated March 8, 1834, written aboard the William Gibbons of the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Co. and sent to Providence, Rhode Island. The STEAM BOAT marking was applied at New York to indicate the letter did not originate there, thus justifying the $50 \phi$ postage due (double rate for over 400 miles).
circular datestamp and a straightline STEAM BOAT marking in the same red ink. The New York office rated it due $50 \phi$, as a double-weight letter for the over-400-mile distance between Charleston and Providence. If the letter had borne only the New York postmark without the STEAM BOAT marking, the Providence postmaster might have thought that the rating was incorrect, since the distance from New York to Providence qualified for the 81 -to- 150 mile rate. In that case, he might have corrected the rate to two times $12 \frac{1}{2} \not \subset$, or 25申. But the steamboat marking informed him that New York was only a transit office and that the $50 \phi$ postage due rating, applied at New York, was appropriate. The regulations thus helped ensure that the correct postage would be collected.

Further, marking the Figure 2 cover "way" instead of "Steam Boat" and adding a penny to the postage would violate the Section 172 prohibition against paying a fee to the master of a contract vessel. The captain of Gibbons was to receive no fee. On the other hand, had Gibbons been a non-contract vessel, the captain would have been entitled to $2 \phi$, but the letter should still have been marked "Steam Boat" not "Way." As explained in my article concerning the New York and Charleston Steam Packet Company in Chronicle 249, beginning on page 80 , the company's contract with the Post Office Department became effective March 7, 1834. The Figure 2 letter is headed March 8, 1834, the date the Gibbons sailed from Charleston, so it is a nice "first" contract sailing.

My article in Chronicle 249 contained a census of 18 covers carried by the New York and Charleston Steam Packet line. The earliest is the cover in Figure 2 and the latest was carried on November 19, 1836. All of the covers that did not travel city to city in a locked bag were marked "steamboat." How could this be, I wondered? Believing, as I had originally, based on the traditional literature, that a "steamboat" marking indicated carriage by a non-contract vessel, here were 13 "outliers." But their outlier status proved not to be so.

## Steamboat marking practice: a statistical review

The question arises whether U.S. postmasters followed the regulations as they have been explained here, or whether (as the traditional literature suggests) they marked mail carried on non-contract vessels "steamboat," and mail carried on contract vessels "way." In
a perfect world, one could design a statistical survey to test this. But of course we are here dealing with historical documents without being able to control variables-so statistical-ly-valid testing is impossible.

However, I have available a pair of reasonably large databases of 19th century covers, assembled solely for their markings. The first includes 1,161 steamboat covers and the second 1,050 way covers. I have aggregated the data and then examined it for a number of post offices to see what the information tells us about their marking practices on waterway-carried mail. Given the premise that loose letters carried on both contract and non-contract steamboats would have received "steamboat" markings and that "way" markings would have been applied on only rare occasions, the number of "steamboat" marked covers should far exceed the "way" marked covers for any given office.

Procedurally, this is what I did: (1) Covers before 1832 were excluded; 1832 is the year that regulations for steamboat-carried mail were promulgated. (2) Covers after 1860 were arbitrarily excluded. (3) The balance of covers in both classes were sorted by the marking city. (4) To keep the summary list manageable, cities that showed fewer than four steamboat-marked covers were eliminated.

The resulting data is shown in Table 1. By and large, the premise stated above (that all loose letters carried by both contract and non-contract steamboats received a "steamboat"

| TABLE 1. "STEAMBOAT" AND "WAY" COVERS |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| City | Steamboat Covers | Way Covers | City | Steamboat Covers | Way Covers |
| Albany | 19 | 0 | New Bedford | 13 | 1 |
| Alexandria | 7 | 0 | New Haven | 17 | 0 |
| Baltimore | 38 | 20 | New London | 5 | 0 |
| Baton Rouge | 7 | 0 | New Orleans | 120 | 157 |
| Boston | 49 | 0 | New York | 52 | 4 |
| Buffalo | 15 | 0 | Newport | 11 | 0 |
| Burlington | 7 | 0 | Norfolk | 9 | 5 |
| Calais | 6 | 0 | Plattsburgh | 7 | 0 |
| Charleston | 13 | 3 | Portland | 5 | 1 |
| Cincinnati | 17 | 0 | Potomac SB | 12 | 0 |
| Cleveland | 13 | 0 | Providence | 26 | 4 |
| Detroit | 17 | 3 | Quincy | 4 | 0 |
| Eastport | 6 | 0 | Richmond | 10 | 0 |
| Fall River | 30 | 0 | Rouses Point | 8 | 0 |
| Galveston | 4 | 0 | Savannah | 19 | 8 |
| Hartford | 22 | 1 | Springfield | 4 | 0 |
| Keokuk | 5 | 0 | St. Louis | 33 | 0 |
| Lake Champlain | 22 | 0 | Stonington | 8 | 0 |
| L. Island Sound | 15 | 0 | Troy | 11 | 0 |
| Louisville | 24 | 0 | Washington | 6 | 0 |
| Middletown | 4 | 0 | Whitehall | 28 | 0 |
| Mobile | 52 | 181 | Total | 800 | 388 |
| Table 1. "STEAMBOAT" and "WAY" markings from selected cities, extracted from a database of thousands of covers. For virtually all the listed locations, steamboat covers outnumber way covers by huge margins. Exceptional are three cit-ies-Baltimore, Mobile and New Orleans-where the ratios are strikingly different. |  |  |  |  |  |

marking and that "way" markings would have been applied only on rare occasions) is fairly well supported for most cities (and by "agent" marked mail, i.e., Lake Champlain, Long Island Sound and Potomac Steam Boat).

If Baltimore, New Orleans and Mobile were excluded from Table 1, only 30 "way" covers would be listed for all the remaining cities, representing 4.8 percent of the 620 covers listed for these cities. This suggests strongly that the postmasters of 37 of the 40 cities read and understood how the PL\&R instructed them to mark steamboat covers.

That said, there are the three cities that have a very high number of way covers compared to the steamboat marking counts: New Orleans, Mobile and Baltimore. I have no immediate answer for the anomalous data for Baltimore. A study of the Baltimore mail suggests that the high count of "way" covers does not reflect a pattern of neglecting the regulations. Baltimore was a high-traffic post office, funneling large volumes of mail into Washington, D.C., via land as well as waterway routes.

However, the data for New Orleans and Mobile result from a completely different story.

## The strange case of New Orleans way markings

Perhaps it will be helpful to restate a central argument of this article. The presumption that mail-handling practices were based on the contract or non-contract status of the carrying vessel is simply wrong. No such distinction was drawn by Post Office regulations. We have demonstrated that this is so in the case of "steamboat" markings. Now we will look at "way" markings.

As the reader will have no doubt surmised from the previous discussion and the data in Table 1, the New Orleans and Mobile post offices generated an inordinate amount of "way"-marked covers. In fact, they were the cause of the misunderstanding by early postal historians.

The earliest writer on the subject of whom I am aware was Henry Meyer, a prolific and generally hugely helpful postal history author. ${ }^{5}$ Meyer was an enthusiastic collector of Mississippi River steamboat mail. The "color" added by name-of-boat markings fascinated him. One needs only to spend a few minutes looking at the very unordinary covers illustrated in James Milgram's Vessel-Named Markings of United States Inland and Ocean Waterways to understand why writers were so drawn to these fascinating covers.

In any event, having concluded that "steamboat" markings were carried by non-contract vessels, Meyer surmised that covers with "way" markings must have been carried by contract vessels. From the earliest times, the Post Office Department instructed postmasters to mark "way" on loose letters brought in by post riders who collected them on their way between post offices. The receiving postmasters were to pay the riders $1 \phi$ for each letter and to add the $1 \phi$ to the postage due when they rated it. Post riders were, after all, contractors employed by the post office. And so, too, was a steamboat under contract to the post office. When one thinks about it, there was symmetry: steamboat - non-contract; way-contract. The truth is that both assumptions were wrong.

The explanation of way mail and markings must begin with some history, going way back. Reference to "By and Way" letters is found in British law as early as the Post Office Act of Queen Anne of 1710. In essence, the mails at that time fell into several classes, most important of which was mail carried in packets under royal seal relating to Her Majesty's business-whatever it might be-and "all else" under the category "Bye and Way." That's not very helpful, but presumably men of the day understood it.

Greater enlightenment is to be found in The History of the Post Office from its Establishment Down to 1836 written by Herbert Joyce and published in London in 1893. The book gives greater detail, if not greater clarity, to what was meant by "bye and way" mail, again around 1720:


#### Abstract

Much as we desire to avoid the employment of technical terms, it is necessary here to explain that letters . . .were technically divided into four classes-London letters, country letters, bye or way letters, and cross-post letters. For purposes of illustration we will take Bath . . . A letter between Bath and London would be a London letter, and a letter from one part of the country to another which in course of transit passed through London would be a country letter. A bye or way letter would be a letter passing between any two towns on the Bath road and stopping short of London-as, for instance, between Bath and Hungerford, between Hungerford and Newbury, between Newbury and Reading, and so on; while a cross-post letter would be a letter crossing from the Bath road to some other-as, for instance, a letter between Bath and Oxford.


The British post office of the day was entirely organized around London, which was of course the seat of royal power and of government. As such, the post office exercised reasonably good control over mails carried into and through London ("London letters" and "Country letters"), but it lacked control over letter communications that stopped short of London. In the case of "bye or way" letters, which traveled the post roads but stopped short of London and were never delivered into the postal system, and "cross-post" letters, which might travel across post routes but between out-of-the-way places not served by the post office at all, the authorities were keenly aware that there was a thriving business of "depredations" of potential postal revenues by thieves, the public and businessmen. It was a tough problem to solve.

One early solution was to contract with independent businessmen, in effect selling them whatever postal revenues they could collect between certain centers of population or commerce along a post route but short of London. A contract holder would pay the government a fee for the privilege of collecting postage revenues on letters he delivered into the official mail system. The contractor could also operate a freight and passenger service on the route. There were of course requirements as to how many times a week the contractor's mail men would travel the assigned routes, the speeds of travel, standards for horses and

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

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"convenient furniture" for travelers. This history shows that English "bye and way" mail was the precursor of "way" letters in the United States, which came to be defined as mail that had not yet been delivered into the official mail system.

The loss of postal revenues to private enterprise operating in competition with the government post was no less a problem for American postal authorities than it was for English. Bringing way mail into the postal system (where revenues could be captured) was a principal concern. Examples of this concern are found frequently in the postal regulations, where the problem was repeatedly addressed.

In the case of the U.S. postal system, the problems were exacerbated by the vast distances between population centers and the rapid westward movement of population and commercial interests. It is noteworthy that U.S. authorities approached the problem, as they had to, far differently than did the English. The American postal system was built around an ever-increasing number of distribution offices, assigned the job of facilitating the flow of mail along prescribed routes. Importantly, the Post Office contracted for the carriage of the mails and did not sell the routes themselves. Further, the early post office system was designed to account for operating costs and postal revenues, employing a vast accounting and reporting system that was intended to provide cross-checks on operational and revenue collection problems requiring management attention.

Let's close the loop. Given the overriding objective that the nation's private and commercial communications be carried by the government post office, the explosive development of steamboat commerce, especially on the inland waterways of the vast Mississippi drainage, presented a particularly difficult situation. Initially, dozens, soon hundreds, and ultimately thousands of steamboats plied the waters of the rivers, all of which had been declared post roads. Each steamboat made stops along its river route to pick up and discharge passengers, take on and off-load freight, refuel and engage in all the other actions their operations made necessary. At many stops, people or businesses would have one or more letters that they wanted carried down river-five miles, 50 miles or 500 miles. There might be a post office at a stop (officially known as a "way office") where the captain might receive a sealed bag of mail for another post office down the line; or there might not be another post office for miles, and some of the letters might be delivered at ports with no post office. The problem was very real. Far more often than not, the fact a letter traveled outside the postal system was the result of social or commercial need, rather than nefarious intention.

The twofold response of the Post Office Department was written into the regulations. First, Congress made it illegal to carry and deliver mail outside the postal system. Second, and most important to this discussion, the regulation provided an economic incentive by compensating "post riders" for depositing into the system letters picked up between post offices. The $1 \phi$ way fee was added to the normal inland postage. The "way" marking was a notice that $1 \phi$ additional postage was added to a letter's rating because it had been deposited into the system in that manner. If that sounds a lot like "steamboat" markings also serving notice, it is not a coincidence.

Here are two way-letter regulations from 1832, which are chosen because of their similarly to the same regulation previously quoted concerning the marking and rating of steamboat letters. ${ }^{6}$

## Chapter XII. Way Letters

Sec. 116. Way-letters are such letters as a mail carrier receives on his way between two post offices. He will deliver them to the first Post Office at which he arrives. You will inquire of the carrier at what places he received them, and rate them with postage from those places to the offices to which they are directed, writing against the rate the word "way." Act of 1825. Sec 20.

Sec. 119. You will pay the mail carrier one cent for each way-letter which he delivers to you, and add that cent to the ordinary postage on the letter.

Interestingly, the Post Office Act of 1792, which established early rates effective until 1799, does not mention the addition of a way fee. The first legislation establishing a $1 \phi$ way fee was enacted by the Continental Congress and is found in an Act of the Third Session of the First Congress of 1774. Many early way covers do not show the fee to have been added. This is true for some post offices in later years as well. Some postmasters simply chose not to add the fee to the postage due. Whether the local office paid the carrier and absorbed the fee cannot be known.


Figure 3. Early "way"-marked letter not showing a way fee assessed, written from New Orleans September 30, 1809 and addressed to Bayou Sarah, Spanish West Florida. The Republic of West Florida was annexed by the U.S. on December 10, 1810.

Figure 3 shows an early "way" letter, postmarked at New Orleans on September 30, 1809 and addressed to Bayou Sarah in Spanish West Florida. The cover date-line reads "New Orleans, September 27, 1809." Regulations of the day required prepayment of letters into Spanish West Florida. The Figure 3 cover was likely picked up by a mail carrier somewhere outside New Orleans proper, with the carrier given cash to pay the postage. ${ }^{7}$ The letter was rated $12 \frac{1}{2} \not \subset$ in the New Orleans post office for a distance $90-150$ miles. Bayou Sarah was across the Mississippi River. The $12 \frac{1}{2} \not \subset$ rating indicates that no way fee was added and the "PAID" handstamp shows that the regulations had been followed. The New Orleans postmaster at the time consistently chose to not collect way fees.

In fact, among the covers in the database summarized in Table 1, none of the nine "way" marked covers with New Orleans postmarks from before the rate changes of July 1, 1845 show the $1 \notin$ fee added. The first New Orleans way cover showing an added way fee is dated December 31, 1845.

Figure 4 is a particularly interesting cover, rated "WAY 6" that seems to have a little bit of everything. The letter within is dated June 30, 1851, sent from St. James, Louisiana, to New Orleans. As should be visible in Figure 4, the red-barred circular killer cancel obliterates the faint oval handstamp of F.A. Dentzel, agent of the New Orleans post office who often handled loose mail on the docks needing to be forwarded up-river or down as it came off the steamboats. This cover was addressed to New Orleans, which is probably why it was processed by the post office. Another feature of the cover is that the WAY 6 marking over-


Figure 4. Folded letter showing the Way 6 marking (5 $\$$ unpaid rate plus $1 ¢$ way fee) sent from St. James, Louisiana, on June 30, 1851 to New Orleans. The cover was processed twice, once on the docks by the post office agent and a second time in the post office, accounting for the over-strikes.
strikes a "STEAMBOAT/GYPSY" name-of-boat marking. Finally, the letter is postmarked July 1, the first day of the new rates, which for under 3,000 miles became $3 \phi$ if prepaid and $5 \phi$ if unpaid. In this case, WAY 6 designated the sum of the $1 \phi$ way fee plus the $5 \phi$ unpaid letter rate.

To be clear, all of the covers in the "way" database have a "way" marking. The question is whether a $1 \phi$ fee was added. Our data indicates that New Orleans stopped adding the fee some time in January 1853. Figure 5 shows a cover sent from Hollywood, Louisiana, on January 22, 1853 that was postmarked in New Orleans on January 27, 1853. Although it is marked "WAY" no $1 \notin$ way fee was added to the $5 \notin$ unpaid letter rate. But between 1845 and 1853 the New Orleans post office paid, and (very importantly) collected, a $1 \notin$ fee on covers that it marked "way."


Figure 5. Cover from Hollywood, Louisiana, January 22, 1853, to New Orleans showing the $5 \phi$ unpaid rate. At this time, the New Orleans post office had ceased processing loose covers brought in by vessels under contract as "way" mail. AIthough this cover is marked "way," no $1 \phi$ way fee was added to the $5 \phi$ assessment.

So what happened? The postmaster of New Orleans, Alexander Penn, began marking "way" on mail delivered by contract steamboats and adding a $1 \phi$ fee to the postage due for carriage to destination. In subsequent correspondence, Penn claimed to have "mis-read" Section 13 of the Congressional Act of 1845 . No great purpose would be served by quoting this section. The bottom line is that nothing in the Act can be construed in any way to support Penn's practice. There is no language whatever that draws a distinction between contract and non-contract steamboats; there is no discussion of way mail; and there is no mention of a $1 \phi$ fee. In short, Penn's explanation defies credulity.

In a letter from a subsequent New Orleans postmaster, said to have been written to the Post Office Department on April 6, 1855, ${ }^{8}$ the details of the practice are confirmed:

> The unpaid letters brought here by steamboats are called "Way" when the steamboat is a mail carrier under contract, and when brought by other steamboats they are called "STEAMM" and thus stamped. We pay the carriers who bring "Way" letters 1¢ and "STEAM" 2\& each. These are not "Drop Letters" because they are taken from the boats the moment they land by the local mail agent, Mr. Dentzel, and brought to this office and thereupon are stamped and charged as above described.

Why, in the letter, the postmaster wrote in the present tense, if the date of the letter is attributed correctly, is beyond me. However, the fact that the practice ceased in January, 1853 is confirmed by database information.

Readers will note that postal historians' misunderstanding of the practice is easily understood by what is said here, knowing that Meyer and others were collectors of Mississippi River steamboat-carried letters. Although the New Orleans post office was following a practice well outside of Post Office Department regulations, these early students took the mistaken procedure of this single post office to be a universal practice.

What is truly remarkable is that the practice went on for six years. Private citizens and businessmen were overcharged $1 \phi$ in postage on unpaid letters carried by contract steamers, and as far as we know they were silent about it. What led to the cessation of the practice, in a remarkable twist of fate, was the change in postal rates that Congress enacted on March 3, 1851, for the first time instituting different rates on prepaid and unpaid letters:

> Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Unites States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the thirtieth day of June, eighteen hundred and fifty-one, in lieu of the rates of postage now established by law, there shall be charged the following rates, to wit: - For every single letter . . . conveyed in the mail for any distance within places within the U.S., not exceeding three thousand miles, when the postage upon such letter shall have been prepaid, three cents, and five cents when the postage thereon shall not have been prepaid; and for any distance exceeding three thousand miles, double those rates. . .

Before considering what the new rates had to do with the change in procedure at the New Orleans post office, I want to show some covers that demonstrate the various things just discussed. The covers show different amounts of postage collected when they entered the mails in New Orleans.

The first two covers were carried into New Orleans before 1845 when the "fractional rates for distance carried" were changed to the simpler $5 \phi$ under 300 miles and $10 \notin$ over. Figure 6 was sent from Point Coupee, Louisiana, October 4, 1842, to New Orleans. Boldly marked "Way 10," it shows the $10 \phi$ rate for 30 to 80 miles that was made effective May 1, 1816. Figure 7 was sent January 22, 1844 from Mobile, Alabama, to New Orleans. It reflects the $183 / 4 \phi$ rate instituted in 1825 . Neither cover shows the addition of a $1 \phi$ way fee. Note that postal regulations did not require the postmaster to pay his post rider 1 $\phi$-but if he did, the fee had to be added into the rating. Readers have encountered mention of this "postmaster's option" before. No reason has been offered because to the best of my knowledge no clue is offered in the various PL\&R's. But adding the $1 \phi$ way fee, collecting it and accounting for it must have been a real pain for postmasters. So the regulation left it for postmasters to negotiate with their carriers about whether or not they would be paid the $1 \phi$.


Figure 6. Folded letter from Point Coupee, Louisiana dated October 4, 1842 and sent to New Orleans. Due $10 \phi$ for 31 to 80 miles under the 1816 rates. No way fee was added.


Figure 7. Folded letter from Mobile to New Orleans dated January 22, 1844 and rated "Way $183 / 4$." Despite this marking, no way fee was added since the New Orleans post office did not begin adding a 1申 way fee until the rate change of July 1, 1845.

To repeat, on July 1, 1845, the rate became $5 \phi$ for a letter traveling not more than 300 miles and $10 \notin$ if the distance was greater. It was noted earlier that the New Orleans postmaster started his "way" assessments after this rate change. Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the New Orleans "way" charges. Unlike Figure 4, these letters probably were not picked up by a mail carrier between two post offices. In the case of Figure 8, dated January 3, 1851 and


Figure 8．Mobile to New Orleans dated internally January 3，1851．The stamp paid the under－300－mile rate and the New Orleans postmaster assessed an additional 1申 way fee．


Figure 9．Folded letter from Mobile to New Orleans dated January 7，1851．A pair of 1847 stamps paid the double rate for under 300 miles．New Orleans assessed a $1 \phi$ way fee．Same addressee as Figure 8．The two covers were sent only a few days apart．
sent from Mobile to New Orleans，the sender prepaid the postage with a $5 ¢ 1847$ stamp and the New Orleans postmaster added an additional $1 申$ way fee．The second cover，Figure 9， from the same correspondence，was sent from Mobile to New Orleans on January 7， 1851 with a nice fat pair of $5 ¢ 1847$ stamps．This was a double－weight letter．Again，New Orleans assessed a $1 申$ way fee．


Figure 10. Folded letter of unknown origin to Mobile. Postmarked May 28, 1852 in New Orleans. A late showing of the added 1申 way fee. A letter from the First Assistant Postmaster General dated December 23, 1852 finally put a stop to this practice.


Figure 11. Folded letter from Mobile January 14, 1852, to New Orleans. A $1 申 1851$ stamp prepaid the way fee the New Orleans post office incorrectly assessed.
On July 1, 1851 postage rates were reduced to $3 \phi$ if the postage was prepaid and $5 \phi$ if the postage was unpaid, in either case for a distance up to 3,000 miles. The origin of the Figure 10 cover is not known. It was postmarked in New Orleans May 28, 1852 and sent on to Mobile with a prepayment of $3 \phi$. New Orleans applied "WAY 1 " to assess a $1 \phi$ way fee. Figure 11 shows a January 14, 1852 cover from Mobile to New Orleans. Here the sender was aware of the New Orleans practice and elected to prepay the spurious way fee.

Finally, we come to Figure 12, a cover that was sent from New Orleans to Bertie County, North Carolina. The letter shows no year date, but bears a New Orleans circular datestamp showing May 24. This cover shows an extremely rare usage. It is rated as a tri-ple-weight cover. The first two half-ounce rates were paid by the sender with a vertical pair of $3 \notin 1851$ stamps. The third half-ounce rate was left unpaid by the sender, and accordingly the postmaster assessed $5 \phi$ postage to be paid by the recipient to satisfy the additional half ounce unpaid rate. While he marked the cover "Way," the New Orleans postmaster did not add a way fee to the rate-otherwise $6 \phi$ would have been due, rather than the $5 \phi$ that was assessed. Our discussion above, regarding the New Orleans post office having discontinued a charge of $1 申$ on way mail, suggests that this cover was posted after January, 1853.


Figure 12. Folded letter from New Orleans May 24 to Bertie County, North Carolina. The date line does not show a year date. The pair of $3 \phi 1851$ stamps paid the double $3 \phi$ per half ounce rate for prepaid mail. The New Orleans post office rated the cover as a triple weight and charged the $5 \phi$ unpaid rate for the additional half ounce. No way fee was assessed, suggesting the letter was sent sometime after January 1853.

I want now to return to the story of the New Orleans postmasters' "way" fee malpractice and the "how and why" of the rather abrupt change in January of 1853. I would like to take full credit for this, but in fact I was led to it by discussion of the matter in The Great Mail (cited at Endnote 8). Several rather lengthy letters were published in the New Orleans Times Picayune in January, 1853. It turns out that a prominent businessman, a "cotton factor" in New Orleans named S.W. Oakey, went to rather extraordinary lengths to put a stop to the practice. For those who don't know, cotton factors were essential commission agents who acted between cotton growers and buyers in the marketplace. They bought cotton for buyers and sold it for plantation owners, but the services they provided sellers were really what set them apart. They would lend money to a plantation owner in the off-season, store his cotton and distribute it into the marketplace when prices met the seller's demands, and buy and ship goods to a seller-client. They were indispensible in a time when banking as we know it and the back-and-forth flow of fungible assets (especially currency) were in a primitive state.

Like many in his profession in New Orleans, Oakey depended on river steamboats for communicating by letter mail with clients. As a very successful businessman, he found the practice of the New Orleans post office getting into his pocket most troublesome. So he determined to do something about it. As he told the editor of the newspaper in his letter dated January 4, 1853: "Until the railroads now being constructed are completed, the country and the city are compelled to depend for intercourse exclusively upon steamboat navigation for the transmission of letters as well as the conveyance of freight and passengers. The planters of the interior, corresponding with the traders and merchants in the city, have no other means of communication than the steamboats offer them. The advices of downward cargoes and orders for upward shipments thus passing between town and country, being contained in the letters on board those steamboats, require not only prompt delivery, but frequently immediate reply."

The post office agents who worked the docks, he said, had a way of interrupting communications, sending his messengers into the post office to buy stamps and pay "way" fees when the need was to get on with the real business at hand. The practice cost him (most important) time as well as money. "The law allowing prepaid stamps was hailed with pleasure as a deliverance, [requiring the]. . . post office agent to . . .only deface the stamps on his visit on board the steamboats . . . [thus allowing] the free passage of such letters. But, oh! the disappointment." The post office continued to assess way fees, sending his messengers back into the post office.
"The commencing section of the act of 3d March 1851, to reduce the rates of postage," he wrote, "appeared to me conclusive to render such way charges illegal. The reading seemed so plain as to surprise me how it could be misunderstood. Thus, 'in lieu of the present rates of postage established by law, there shall be established the following rate.' And no mention in the act of way one cent or way six cents. In order to have a prompt decision on the law, I instituted an amicable suit. I considered the law plain and positive."

In order to not extend this, I will pick it up here. The court hearing Oakey's complaint and argument found in favor of the post office, although it is not made clear if a representative of Post Office Department was a party to the hearing. Not giving up, Oakey appealed to Colonel A.G. Penn, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Louisiana who, with much effort, finally managed to bring the practice to an end.

On December 23, 1852, the First Assistant Postmaster General wrote to the New Orleans postmaster:

Sir - In August last a letter was addressed to you from this office, in relation to a complaint made to the Department by Mr. S. W. Oakey... of your charge of "one cent way" on steamboat letters. . . [I find that this practice] will not only continue to be complained of, but is obviously in opposition to the law.... Therefore, the Postmaster General fully concludes with me in the opinion that the charge of one cent additional on letters brought by steamboats on the Mississippi river to New Orleans, is not authorized by a proper construction of the law and regulations of the Department, and the practice should be discontinued; and where the one cent is demanded by steamboats, or their agents, for the delivery into your office of such letters, it should be paid out of the regular rates, and not added to the legal postage of the letter received.

## S.D. JACOBS, First Ass't Postmaster General

This exchange should put the matter to rest for all concerned-including present-day postal historians.

There is an irony that in good humor I must note. The postmaster to whom I referred much earlier in the discussion as having misconstrued the meaning of the Congressional Act of 1845 was none other than the Hon. A.G. Penn, who was postmaster of New Orleans before becoming a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. The postmaster addressed in the letter must have been embarrassed - and probably made angry - by having the error, seemingly his error, so publicly aired. In fact, he had inherited the erroneous practice from Penn who had actually begun it years before.

## Mobile way covers

Table 2 contains a breakdown of the Mobile way covers by the rate periods in which they were marked. For comparison, data for New Orleans is also included. Note that there are even more way covers in the census from Mobile (181) than from New Orleans (157). That is remarkable and suggests investigation. After all, the importance of Mobile's post office in terms of letter traffic originating there would not have compared with that of New Orleans in the period studied. Unfortunately, the Mobile mails are difficult to study. GenealogyBank.com, a wonderful source of digitized 19th century newspaper archives, has a holding of approximately 10,000 pages from the Mobile Register for the years 1833 to 2003, but I have not found that publication to be helpful. Unlike many states today, there is no on-line Alabama historical newspaper resource. For this reason, most of the information presented in this article has come from Louisiana newspapers.

## TABLE 2. NEW ORLEANS AND MOBILE "WAY" COVERS, TO 1860

| Rate era | New Orleans | Mobile |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{1 8 1 6}$ and $\mathbf{1 8 2 5}$ Rates | 7 | 26 |
| $\mathbf{1 8 4 5}$ and $\mathbf{1 8 4 7}$ Rates | 54 | 155 |
| $\mathbf{1 8 5 1}$ rates to January $\mathbf{1 8 5 3}$ | 39 |  |
| January $\mathbf{1 8 5 3}$ to $\mathbf{1 8 6 0}$ | 57 |  |
| Totals | 157 | 181 |

Table 2. "WAY"-marked covers from New Orleans and Mobile, sorted according to rate era. Beginning with the rate change in mid 1851, covers marked "WAY" at Mobile are no longer found.

A big piece of the puzzle that is missing is whether the Post Office Department focused only on New Orleans' way-marking practices and overlooked similar practices at Mobile. It seems to me pretty likely that this is the case for a couple of reasons. One is that the First Assistant Postmaster General described the problem as one rooted in "letters brought by steamboats on the Mississippi river to New Orleans." This would follow, since the Oakey complaint was about New Orleans' practice. Another reason is that although the Mobile post office commenced marking incoming covers "way" at roughly the same time as at New Orleans, the practice ceased in Mobile with the 1851 rate-change. So when the First Assistant Post Master General studied the matter, Mobile would have escaped his notice.

Nonetheless, the Mobile story is very interesting. With only two exceptions, all the Mobile way covers in the database (as summarized in Table 2) show New Orleans datelines. So what was going on? For one thing, Mobile was the "next stop" northward on the Great Mail Route from New Orleans. So it was natural enough for a lot of mail handled by the Mobile post office to have originated in New Orleans. But why such a preponderance of way mail?

An apparent answer is that private citizens and businessmen in New Orleans were actively urged to deposit letters for delivery to or through Mobile in what were called "way bags" placed around the city. A businessman, particularly, would find it convenient not to have to go to the post office to put his correspondence into the mail. But beyond the convenience, his principal motive would have been to avoid whatever delay might occur in
sorting and canceling the mail in the busy post office. Instead, his would be carried in the "way" bag directly to the steamboat for transport with the least possible delay.

Before discussing the question of whether what was done was outside Post Office regulations, I want to provide in some detail how the practice was promoted.

As early as January 30, 1847, J.\&R. Geddes, agents of the steamboat company running daily trips between New Orleans and Mobile, placed an advertisement in the Times Picayune (an example is shown Figure 13) advising the public that "The Way Letter Bag leaves our office at one quarter before 2 o'clock." Several aspects of this announcement are noteworthy. First, the U.S. Daily Mail Line held the post office contract for mail carriage between New Orleans and Mobile, so its steamboats were contract vessels and subject to the erroneous practice involving way fees and contract vessels discussed above. Second, Geddes were agents of the steamboat company, not of the New Orleans post office.


Figure 13. Advertisement from January 30, 1847 New Orleans Times Picayune, which shows the railroad agent promoting a "The Way Letter Bag" on his premises to collect mail.

Similar ads were still running in January 1855. A search on the genealogybank.com website for the character string "R. Geddes, agent" returned 270 hits, all advertisements placed in the Times Picayune between May 1848 and early January 1855.

Note that the data in Table 2, imperfect as it may be, shows no way-marked mail from Mobile after the rate changes of July 1, 1851, but the ads indicate that the practice of offering the public the convenience of way letter bag service continued for several years-well after the fees assessed to recipients had been discontinued.

It seems probable that the practice described violated Post Office Department regulations, just like the marking and assessing of way fees on mail arriving at the New Orleans office. As best as I can tell, promoting the way bag service was not instituted by or on behalf of the postmasters of either city. However, in a communication from the Mobile postmaster to the postmaster of New Orleans published in the March 10, 1852 issue of the Times Picayune, it was said that while every effort was made to process mail brought to his office in way bags with expedition, the volumes of such mail (300-400 pieces daily) were exceeding their ability to do so. Thus the postmaster of New Orleans had best inform his public that mail put in the way bags destined for places beyond Mobile would probably be delayed a day.

The Mobile postmaster's complaint was made after his office had ceased improperly marking way mail. Nevertheless, the matter was acknowledged; and the mail still had to be processed in the Mobile office.

I close this discussion with an intriguing question. As repeated often enough, "way"marked covers during the period under examination cost their recipients a penny apiece. Who got the money that was paid in? Post Office Department regulations were clear about not paying the captains of contract steamboats $2 \phi$. Paying them anything would be a violation of the regulations. But the pennies were being collected from mail recipients, and the postmasters would have to account for where they went (or at least that they went) in order to balance their accounts. Who do you suppose kept all those pennies? The usual suspects would include the postmasters and the steamboat agents. My choice would be the Geddes
brothers. I doubt that the postmasters would jeopardize their jobs. But it is probably worth pointing out that we're talking about $\$ 3.00$ to $\$ 4.00$ a day. That would add up.

## Conclusion

As postal historians, we study bits of old paper, prying information out of covers in the hope of better understanding the world as it was $150-200$ years ago. When we have found enough of the pieces of the puzzle, we bring them together into a sort of mosaic which we hope provides a small picture of the way things were at some historical point in time. The larger picture, the entire history of the time, was in fact a chaos of events which, even when we get it right, we glimpse through the mist.

In the case of our understanding of steamboat markings, as postal historians we got it a little bit wrong. This is not a big deal. Something or someone comes along, sees things differently, and we adjust our view and move on.

So this article is really about more than markings on those little bits of paper. It's about various agents of change occurring in the mid-19th century. On the one hand, it concerns the socio-economic changes occurring in our nation, as over time we advanced in so many ways. On the other, this article illustrates efforts to bring order to this chaos, in this case by the Post Office Department, to effect its objective of ensuring the "celerity, certainty and security" of the mails, then virtually our sole means of communicating with each other over distance.

The steamboat brought many changes, aiding the development and growth of our nation. The postal system at once worked to bring steamboats into the service of the post and to codify how the postal organization, the human chain of postal workers, would be organized to harness the technological innovation the steamboat represented. Regulations by which the system was organized had to be written to reflect the progress in the larger world the system served. In this way, a regulation that worked well enough in 1798 became completely inadequate through time, and so changes were made in 1825,1832 and so on.

## Acknowledgement

In 50 years of active participation in our hobby, if there is anything I have learned, it is that philatelists are generous in showing friendship and sharing knowledge. I am a relatively new guy on the postal history block, and have had a lot of help from many generous collectors, but I want to single out one a very special person, Van Koppersmith. Van has been of enormous help to me over the years. In the case of this article he supplied most of the covers shown as well as the database cited. I really cannot thank him enough.

## Endnotes

1. Wierenga, Theron J., United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1875, Second Edition (Austin, Texas: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, 2000).
2. Act of March 3, 1825, Section 6.
3. Laws, Instructions and Forms for the Regulation of the Post-Office Department, Printed by Order of the Postmaster General (City of Washington: Printed at the Globe Office, by F.P. Blair, 1832).
4. The term "loose letters" is an unfortunate one which has come into common usage. A better description would be "not in locked post office bags."
5. See, particularly Henry A. Meyer, "The Significance of the Markings on Steamboat Mail," The Congress Book 1945, Eleventh American Philatelic Congress (Cleveland, Ohio: The American Philatelic Congress, 1945), pp. 106-129. There are also a series of articles in the S. P. A. Journal published between November, 1949 and June, 1950.
6. Laws, Instructions and Forms for the Regulation of the Post-Office Department, Printed by Order of the Postmaster General 1832, op. cit.
7. The Post-Office Law, with Instructions and Form Published for the Regulation of the Post Offices 1808, Instructions to the Post-Masters in the United States Relative to the Duty, Instruction XIV, Section 15 (Washington City, November 1, 1808).
8. Leonard V. Huber and Clarence A. Wagner, The Great Mail: A Postal History of New Orleans (State College, Penn.: American Philatelic Society, 1949), pg. 56.

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## ANNALS OF THE WAR OF 1812: AN ARDUOUS TRIP STEVEN WALSKE

This is the fifth in a series of vignettes on mail that crossed the British blockade of the United States during the War of $1812 .{ }^{1}$ This article illustrates how the on-line availability of contemporary newspaper accounts can infuse a dramatic postal history narrative into an otherwise nondescript stampless cover.

The United States declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812 for a number of maritime commerce complaints, most notably the British practice of impressing American seamen onto British warships. Ironically, Great Britain had suspended most of the offensive commercial practices on June 16, but the two-month communication delay across the Atlantic meant that the United States was unaware of this. Accordingly, the British government did not initially take the declaration of war seriously.

After President James Madison persisted in his declaration of war, the British became increasingly angry over what they saw as a betrayal by an ally while they were fully engaged with Napoleon in Europe. They finally ordered a blockade of the United States on November 27 and authorized the capture of American shipping in the open sea. The North American admiral received this order in January 1813, and implemented the blockade in stages, starting with the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays on February 6. This was followed by the New York area and Long Island Sound on May 26 and the southern coastline on September 1. Since New England did not support the war, the British delayed implementing a blockade from Rhode Island to Maine until April 25, 1814. From that date until March 6,1815 , the entire Atlantic coast was blockaded. A blockade of the Gulf coast was also ordered, but never formally implemented.

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

The fourth method was to send a letter on a cartel ship. Cartels were unarmed sailing ships which carried returning prisoners of war or official correspondence under a flag of truce, which made them exempt from capture by the British Navy or by privateers. They are called "cartels" because their exemptions were set out in the Uniake-Miller-Mitchell Provisional Cartel (or agreement) signed at Halifax, Nova Scotia on November 28, 1812. Since they could not be captured in the open sea, cartel ships were the preferred choice for private correspondence.


Figure 1. A much-delayed letter from Birmingham, Great Britain, dated January 6, 1813 and addressed to Philadelphia. It was endorsed to the cartel ship Pennsylvania, but it actually crossed the Atlantic on the licensed American ship Henry.

Figure 1 shows a letter endorsed to be carried by the cartel ship Pennsylvania from Liverpool, England, to the United States. This triple-weight letter was datelined in Birmingham, England, on January 6, 1813 and endorsed (at lower left) to the "Penna cartel." It was sent in a package to a forwarder in Liverpool (per the "W \& R R" docketing at the upper right), who was to place the package on the Pennsylvania. Unfortunately for the forwarder, British hostility towards the United States was increasing. Poulson's American Daily Advertiser (Philadelphia) reported on March 3, 1813 that

A letter from Liverpool, dated Jan. 10, says "An order was yesterday received from the Transport board to prohibit the conveyance of letters by the two Cartels Minerva and Pennsylvania."
The British Transport Board was principally responsible for the censorship of prison-er-of-war correspondence. The March 2 Baltimore Patriot further reported:

Extract of a letter from Liverpool, dated January 11, 1813: "This day orders are received from London not to permit even a letter to be sent to the United States, by Cartels, unless examined by the Transport Board."
Accordingly, the Pennsylvania left Liverpool on January 17 without any mail for the United States, so the Liverpool forwarder had to find another option in an increasingly hostile environment. He turned to the licensed American ship Henry, which was then awaiting departure from Liverpool.

The outlook for licensed ships, however, was turning even bleaker than for cartel ships. The May 21, 1813 New Bedford Mercury reported as follows:

[^2]

Figure 2. Also carried by the beleagured Henry was this letter from St. Petersburg, datelined November 30, 1812 and sent to Philadelphia via England. Unusually, this cover bears three different types of ship marking.

The same newspaper reported that the Henry had sailed from Liverpool on March 18. News of the HMS Hogue's actions had not reached Liverpool before the Henry's departure with a license for the United States, so she had no idea of the peril into which she was sailing.

Meanwhile, other mail for the United States had accumulated at Liverpool. Figure 2 illustrates another interesting letter entrusted to the Henry. Datelined at St. Petersburg on November 30, 1812, the Figure 2 cover was carried by ship to Dover, England. It was rated there as a triple-weight ship letter per the oval "SHIP LETTER" postmark, and charged three shillings postage due (three times the sum of the 4 d ship fee and the 8 d inland postage for the 71 miles between Dover and London). Agents for the addressee received the letter in London and re-mailed it as a prepaid ship letter. For one-half of the $2 / 2$ packet rate, the post office would arrange to place a letter on a safe ship to its destination, in this case the Henry. Accordingly, the agent prepaid $6 / 3$ (three times the $1 / 1$ prepaid ship letter fee plus the three shillings already due on the letter), and the post office postmarked it "Prepaid Ship Letter London" on February 3, 1813. Remarkably, this letter has three different types of ship markings on it.

Figures 1 and 2 left Liverpool aboard the Henry on March 18. Her voyage was uneventful until she fell afoul of the HMS Hogue, a 74 -gun ship of the line which had been launched in 1811. During the war, she was under the command of Captain Thomas Bladen Capel. The June 25, 1813 Richmond Enquirer reported on the encounter thus:

Extract [of a letter] from a gentleman in Halifax to his father in Baltimore dated Halifax, N.S., May 11, 1813:

## MY DEAR FATHER,

I wrote you from Liverpool the beginning of last March and a few days after I sailed in the ship Henry, capt. Gardiner, for Boston. Nothing material occurred til the 28th April following, when we were captured by H.B.M. ship La Hogue, and under the ridiculous suspicion of our license being a forgery, or rather with the desire to give as much trouble as possible to persons
sailing under the American flag, we were sent into this port...I shall be considered a prisoner of war, and receive the LARGE sum of eighteen pence a day till my release, which I expect will be in the course of a fortnight, when the Henry will be liberated, as no doubt she will be.
The Henry arrived at Halifax about a month after her capture, according to an account in the June 10 Boston Repertory. After a review of her papers, she was released for Boston on June 18. The June 24 Repertory reported her arrival: "WEDNESDAY, June 23 ship Hen$r y$, Gardner, 5 days from Halifax, where she was carried in on her passage from Liverpool, by the La Hogue 74, and cleared."

Even the short trip from Halifax to Boston was eventful for the Henry. The June 24 Repertory also reported that "On Tuesday, 25 miles E. of Cape Ann, the Henry was boarded from the frigate Tenedos." The HMS Tenedos was a 38 -gun ship of the line launched in 1812 under the command of Captain Hyde Parker.


Figure 3. Censored in Boston: December 10, 1813 letter from Le Havre to Philadelphia. The British marking at lower left reads "Transport Office Prisoners of War." The top right marking is the "Examined Marshal's Office Massachusetts Sep 814" censor marking, applied at Boston. A detailed tracing is shown inset at upper left.

The Henry's June 23 arrival in Boston did not end her travails. The June 30 Boston Daily Advertiser gave a final account:

> We are indebted to the politeness of Mr. Topliff, of the Coffee-house, for a Halifax paper of the 18 th inst. containing further extracts from London papers to the 12th of May. This paper was in the Letter bag of the Henry, which arrived at this port on the 23rd inst. from Halifax, but all packages contained having been entirely delayed, Mr. T. was unable to obtain the papers till yesterday.

The Henry's letter bag was not released until six days after her arrival. Accordingly, both Figures 1 and 2 show Boston arrival postmarks of June 29. Figure 1 was rated for 62 cents postage due ( $2 \phi$ ship fee plus three times the $20 \phi$ inland postage from Boston to Philadelphia). Figure 2 was rated for a double-weight $42 \phi$ postage due.

The Henry's mail was undoubtedly censored during the six-day delay, although there are no censor marks to confirm that. However, Boston did have an established censorship system for mail which had been handled by the British authorities. Figure 3 shows an example of a censored letter (opened to show the marking on the reverse). This letter was docketed as originating from Le Havre on December 10, 1813 and carried on a ship that was captured during its passage from France. The letter was accordingly taken to the British Transport Office, which censored it and added its oval "Transport Office Prisoners of War" marking at lower left. It was then released to a cartel ship sailing for Boston. The letter was examined again in Boston per the oval "Examined Marshal's Office Massachusetts Sep $814 "$ marking and released to the post office, which postmarked it on September 6. It was rated for a quadruple-weight $82 \phi$ ( $4 \times 20 \phi+2 \phi$ ship fee) postage to be collected at Philadelphia. The tracing inset on the unfolded portion of the Figure 3 cover shows the details of this rare and graphic Boston censorship marking, with its dramatic all-seeing eye. ${ }^{2}$

Thus, the unfortunate Henry's mail was initially refused passage on a cartel ship, and then was twice subject to potential destruction by the Royal Navy. The final insult was a delay for censorship in Boston.

## Acknowledgement

Bernard Biales provided the essential period newspaper research for this article.

## Endnotes

1. The previous articles are: "Annals of the War of 1812: Running the Blockade of New London, Connecticut," Chronicle 242 (May 2014), pp. 193-95; "Annals of the War of 1812: Running the Blockade of New York," Chronicle 243 (August 2014), pp. 280-83; "Annals of the War of 1812: Running the Blockade of Boston," Chronicle 244 (November 2014), pp. 353-56; and "Annals of the War of 1812: End of the Blockade," Chronicle 245 (February 2015), pp. 94-98. 2. The tracing is shown through the courtesy of Dr. James W. Milgram, from his article "Censorship of Mail and POW Markings from the War of 1812," American Philatelist, March 2015, pp. 230-239.

## MORE POINTING HAND POSTMARKS ON STAMPLESS COVERS

## JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

I have been interested in pointing hand postmarks for many years. Taken together, pointing hands form one of the most interesting groups of fancy postmarks on stampless covers. I published an early article on this subject (1977) in The Postal History Journal followed by two more recent articles in Chronicles 236 and 238. ${ }^{1}$ In Chronicle 236 I published a long survey article which (among other things) listed all the pointing hand markings then known to me on stampless covers, illustrating 16 covers. A shorter article in Chronicle 238 showed additional covers and corrected previous errors. This article adds new illustrations and presents two previously unlisted markings.

Mark Schwartz has described four types of pointing hands used with PAID markings from Salem, Massachusetts between 1796 and $1811 .^{2}$ These are the earliest examples of pointing hand postmarks. Figure 1 shows an 1801 cover, from Salem to Newburyport, with a clear black pointing hand with PAID and manuscript " 8 ," indicating the rate for under 40 miles. Despite its very small size, this marking shows all five fingers clearly. This is Schwartz Type 3.


Figure 1. "SALEM, MS. MAR 19" (1801), pointing hand "PAID" and manuscript " 8 " rating on cover to Newburyport, Mass., paying the rate for $0-40$ miles.


Figure 2. "SALEM MS. JAN 19" (1808) in red with matching pointing hand "PAID" and " $121 / 2$ " to Providence, R.I. paying the rate for 90 to 150 miles.

The Salem markings are found in both red and black inks. Figure 2 shows a red pointing hand PAID from 1808 with a shorter pointing finger. This is Schwartz Type 4. The circular datestamp reads "SALEM MS. JAN 19." Addressed to Providence, the cover was prepaid $12 \frac{1}{2} \not \subset$ (for a distance between 90 and 150 miles under the 1799 rates).

One of the markings listed in the table in Chronicle 236 was from Manlius, New York. At the time, I could not illustrate a cover with the Manlius marking, which is now shown here on the cover in Figure 3. This 1829 cover bears a blue straightline "MANLIUS N.Y." town postmark used with a blue pointing hand PAID, one of the earlier markings of this type. Addressed to Ellisburgh, N.Y., this cover was originally rated $12 \frac{1}{2} \not \subset(80-150$ miles under the 1816 rate structure) and then downrated to $10 \notin$ ( $30-80$ miles).


Figure 3. "MANLIUS N.Y. APR 16" in two lines (1829) with matching blue pointing hand "PAID," on a cover addressed to Ellisburgh, Jefferson County, N.Y. The cover was initially rated " $121 / 2$, " but this was changed to " 10 ," the rate for $30-80$ miles.


Figure 4. New discovery, two pointing hands: "Dummerston Vt." straightline with pointing hand on the left; and "OCT 26 1845" straightline with pointing hand on the left. The separate " 5 " shows postage due for under 300 miles to Chester, Vermont.

However, the chief reason for this follow-up article is to announce the discovery of a spectacular cover with not one but two previously unlisted pointing hand markings. Shown in Figure 4, this new cover is from Dummerston, Vermont. It bears different pointing hands, one with a black straightline "Dummerston, Vt " and the other with a straightline date ("OCT 26 1845") struck below the town marking. The rating of " 5 " due, for a distance under 300 miles under the reduced rate structure that became effective just a few months earlier, was indicated by a third handstamp, the postage being collected from the addressee in nearby Chester, Vermont.


Figure 5. "WEST-ALBURGH Vt." with pointing hand next to "W", manuscript dated "Jan 5" (1848) with postmaster free frank and "FREE" in matching double circle.

Yet another new pointing hand from Vermont, appears on the 1848 cover from West Alburgh shown in Figure 5. Similar to the Essex, Vermont, marking illustrated in Chronicle 236 , this shows a pointing hand within the confines of the circular datestamp, in this case pointing to the "W" of West Alburgh. In addition, the Figure 5 cover bears a light strike of a double-circle "FREE" with decorations above and below the letters. The cover is franked by the postmaster. The letter within is a personal one, discussing matters of a Grand Lodge.

## Endnotes

1. Milgram, James W., "The Pointing Hand," Postal History Journal 21 (1977), pp. 9-15.
2. Schwartz, Mark, "The Salem 'Pointing Hand PAID’ Handstamps, America’s First Pictorial Postal Markings," American Philatelic Congress Book, 2011, pp. 129-136.

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## THE 1847 PERIOD

GORDON EUBANKS, EDITOR

## 1847 COVERS TO THE GERMAN STATES

 BURKHARD KRUMMCovers with America's first government postage stamps are always a subject of great interest. The 1847 issue, in $5 \phi$ and $10 \phi$ denominations, was current for four years-from July 1, 1847 through June 30, 1851. Domestic covers survive in some abundance but those to foreign destinations are less frequently seen. In a first survey in 1972, Creighton Hart described 1847 covers to Europe. ${ }^{1}$ Of these, 27 were sent to Germany. In his 2001 updating of the initial Hart census, Thomas Alexander described a total of 30 covers to the German States. ${ }^{2}$ With the development of the online cover census now maintained by the U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, this number has increased to 35 covers. ${ }^{3}$

Table 1 shows the distribution of 1847 covers recorded to the German States for each of the five calendar years in which the 1847 stamps were valid. Mail from the U.S. to Ger-

| Year | Covers | TABLE 1 |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| 1847 | 1 | Annual distribution of covers bearing 1847 <br> stamps and addressed to the various Ger- |
| 1848 | 2 | man States. Covers from 1847 and 1848 are <br> scarce or rare. Most of the covers date from |
| 1849 | 5 | 1850 and 1851. Source: online census of |
| 1850 | 11 | 1847 covers, as maintained by the U.S. Phil- <br> atelic Classics Society. |
| 1851 | 14 |  |
| Unknown | 2 | 35 |

many franked with 1847 stamps commenced in the fall of 1847 but was sparse in the first few years. Covers to other European destinations, predominantly Great Britain, are recorded shortly after the stamps first appeared in July 1847. But as Table 1 indicates, the majority of the recorded 1847 covers to Germany (more than 70 percent) were mailed in the last 18 months of the stamps' lifetime, 1850 and 1851.

Table 2 lists all 1847 covers to the German States recorded so far in the USPCS census. The covers are arranged chronologically with stamps indicated by Scott number; "1(2)" designates two $5 \notin 1847$ stamps. Origin and destination are shown, along with the correspondence from which the covers derive. Note that two correspondences, Glenn and Behr, are responsible for 15 of the 35 covers. The Glenn correspondence, covers to Freiwaldau, in Austrian Silesia (today part of the Czech Republic) yielded nine covers. In addition, Table 2 provides the steamer name and departure port where known ${ }^{4}$ and the "Reference" column will lead to an image of the cover. The numbers in the reference column are the ID numbers in the USPCS database. The last two covers in Table 2 cannot be assigned dates because of insufficient information. One is a large piece of a cover front and the other, from the Behr correspondence, shows the Bremen destination but little else.

| Date | Stamps | From/To | Steamer/Port | Corr. | Reference |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 09/28/47 | 1 | Brattleboro, VT/Fürstenau, Hanover | Britannia/Boston | Schneder. | Figure 2 |
| 02/01/48 | 1(2) | Mobile, AL/Bremen, Bremen | Acadia/Boston | Lange | Figure 3 |
| 02/25/48 | 1 | Philadelphia, PA/Elberfeldt, Prussia | Hibernia/NY | ? | Figure 4 |
| 03/19/49 | 1(2) | Philadelphia, PA/Cologne, Prussia | America/Boston | Godel | Chron 221 |
| 06/24/49 | 1 | Mobile, AL/Kippenheim, Baden | insufficient info | Friedrich | 48 |
| 09/24/49 | 2 | Naples, IL/Stuttgart, Württemberg | Hibernia/NY | Reihlen | Figure 5 |
| 11/xx/49 | 2 | New York, NY/Wiesbaden, Nassau | insufficient info | ? | 8301 |
| 12/03/49 | 1(2) | NY US Express RR/Cologne, Prussia | Caledonia/NY | Farina | Chron 246 |
| 03/19/50 | 1 | New York, NY/Bremen, Bremen | insufficient info | ? | 6745 |
| 07/16/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Europa/NY | Glenn | Figure 6 |
| 07/31/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Bremen, Bremen | America/NY | Behr | 2325 |
| 09/10/50 | 1 | Baltimore RR/Bremen, Bremen | America/NY | Behr | Figure 7 |
| 09/23/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Asia/NY | Glenn | 2348 |
| 10/07/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Niagara/NY | Glenn | 2353 |
| 10/09/50 | 1(2) | Baltimore, MD/Bremen, Bremen | Niagara/NY | Behr | Figure 8 |
| 11/11/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Canada/Boston | Glenn | 2373 |
| 12/08/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Europa/Boston | Glenn | 2385 |
| 12/09/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Bremen, Bremen | Europa/Boston | Behr | 2387 |
| 12/30/50 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Africa/NY | Glenn | 2395 |
| 01/02/51 | 1 | Cincinnatti, OH/Bremen, Bremen | Asia/NY | Schwartz | 9708 |
| 01/28/51 | 1 | Boston, MA/Neuwied, Prussia | Asia/NY | Wahl | 3427 |
| 02/24/51 | 1 | Boston, MA/Neuwied, Prussia | Africa/NY | Wahl | 3441 |
| 03/10/51 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Europa/Boston | Glenn | 2406 |
| 03/18/51 | 1 | New York, NY/Bremen, Bremen | Asia/NY | Behr | 7076 |
| 04/04/51 | $1(5)+2$ | Mich Central RR/Heidelberg, Baden | Washington/NY | Norris | Figure 9 |
| 04/14/51 | 2 | Schenectady, NY/Steinenstadt, Baden | Washington/NY | Sartori | Figure 10 |
| 04/29/51 | 1(2) | Trenton, NJ/Ahldorf, Württemberg | insufficient info | Schmidt | 5153 |
| 05/01/51 | 1 | New Orleans, LA/Coblenz, Prussia | Niagara/Boston | Salomon | 1734 |
| 05/13/51 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Niagara/Boston | Glenn | 2415 |
| 05/28/51 | 1 | Baltimore, MD/Freiwaldau, Austria | Cambria/Boston | Glenn | 2420 |
| 06/08/51 | 1 | NO, LA/Rostock, Meck-Schwerin | Asia/NY | Prehn | Figure 11 |
| 06/10/51 | 1 | New York, NY/Berlin, Prussia | Canada/Boston | Bresch | 7157 |
| 09/19/51 | 1 | New Haven, CT/Berlin, Prussia | Franklin/NY | Whitney | Figure 12 |
| $\mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{xx}$ | 1 | Unknown/Bremen | insufficient info | Behr | 14542 |
| xx/xx/xx | 1 | Unknown/Unknown | insufficient info | ? | 21643 |

Table 2. Chronological listing of the 35 covers to the German States recorded so far in the USPCS online census of 1847 covers. Stamps are designated by Scott number; "1(2)" Indicates two $5 \phi 1847$ stamps. Steamer and departure port are provided where known. "Reference" information will lead to an image of the cover.


Figure 1. Modern German map of the Deutscher Bund, the loose confederation of German States created at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This shows in detail the old German States as they existed during the lifetime of the United States 1847 stamps.

Figure 1 is a German map of the Deutscher Bund, the loose confederation of German States (plus Austria) created by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 after the demise of the Holy Roman Empire. While the legends are in German, the map provides a rough overview of the states and places discussed here as they existed during the era of the 1847 stamps.

This article treats the covers chronologically by year of use. Selected and significant covers are displayed and discussed. In these years it was not common to apply arrival stamps within the German States, which can make the proper assignment of a year date difficult. Fortunately, British transit markings present year dates and the great majority of the covers passed through Britain.

## 1847 cover

Figure 2 shows the earliest cover to Germany in the census and the only cover that dates from 1847. This is a cover front, sent to Fürstenau, a small town in the Kingdom of Hanover, northwest of Osnabrück. The only evidence for the year 1847 (apart from the sharp image of the stamp, indicating the first printing), is a handwritten note on the inside


Figure 2. Earliest 1847 cover to Germany, a cover front from Brattleboro, Vermont September 28, 1847, sent via Boston, Liverpool and London to Fürstenau, Hanover.
of the cover front ("Septbr 47"). The 5¢ stamp paid the under-300-mile rate from Brattleboro, Vermont (where the cover was postmarked on September 28) to Boston. There it was presumably put on board the Cunard steamer Britannia, which sailed on October 1, 1847 and arrived in Liverpool on October 16. The cover traveled under the terms of the $1845 \mathrm{An}-$ glo-Hanover Convention. The black manuscript $1 / 6$ indicated Britain's 1 shilling 6 pence debit to Hanover: 1 shilling transatlantic packet and 6 pence British. This was equated to 12 gutegroschen, which the Hanover clerk wrote in red crayon to the left of Hanover's handstamp, "ENGLAND ÜBER BREMEN." An additional 2 gutegroschen, 2 pfennig was added for German internal postage, creating a total due of 14 gutegroschen 2 pfennig, which is written in black at the upper right.

## 1848 covers

The two recorded covers from 1848 were both mailed in February of that year. Figure 3 shows the earlier of these, a folded letter to Bremen, datelined January 31, 1848 in New Orleans but posted from Mobile, Alabama, on February 1, 1848. A horizontal pair of 5¢


Figure 3. Horizontal pair of $5 申 1847$ stamps on a cover to Bremen, written in New Orleans but posted in Mobile on February 1, 1848. Via Cunard Acadia from Boston, departing February 12 and arriving Liverpool on February 26; 1/8 British debit to Prussia, 48 grote due from the recipient in Bremen.
stamps paid the over-300-mile rate to Boston, where the cover was likely put on board the Cunard Acadia, which sailed February 12 and arrived in Liverpool on February 26. There is a London transit marking on the back. This letter was sent under the 1846 Anglo-Prussian convention route via Belgium. A London clerk penned a $1 / 8$ debit to Prussia indicating a letter weighing less than $1 / 4$ ounce. This represented 1 shilling transatlantic packet, 6 pence British, and 2 pence Belgian transit. This added up to 40 Bremen grote, to which 8 grote was added for German internal postage. The total due of 48 grote was written in red crayon at the bottom center. This is the earliest of nine 1847 covers going to Bremen, one of the two dominating destinations of the covers in this article. Along with Hamburg, Bremen at this time was one of the two most important trading ports within the German States.

The second cover from 1848 is shown in Figure 4. Now in the author's collection, this cover represents a new find. It was mailed from Philadelphia on February 25, 1848 to Elberfeldt, Prussia. The 5申 stamp is a crisp, sharp impression with full margins and a deep orange-brown shade. This clearly comes from the first printing, done prior to March 13, $1848 .{ }^{5}$ The stamp paid the under-300-mile rate to New York, where the cover was put on the Cunard Hibernia which sailed February 26 and arrived in Liverpool on March 11. A British backstamp (inset at left in Figure 4) confirms the cover reached London the same day.


Figure 4. A new discovery: Cover from Philadelphia (February 25, 1848) to Elberfeldt, Prussia, via England and Aachen (addressee's name cut out). Inset at upper left is the British transit marking from the reverse of the cover showing the 1848 year date.

Sent under the Anglo-Prussian convention via Belgium, this letter weighed less than $1 / 4$ ounce. London's $1 / 8$ debit to Prussia represented 1 shilling transatlantic packet, 6 pence British, and 2 pence Belgian transit. An Aachen exchange office clerk applied the black boxed handstamp "AMERICA per ENGLAND." The 1 shilling 8 pence debit was restated as $16^{3 / 4}$ silbergroschen in magenta manuscript, to which $3^{1 / 2}$ silbergroschen German internal postage was added, for a total of $201 / 4$ silbergroschen due in Elberfeldt, which is written in red ink at center. ${ }^{6}$ This is the only 1847 cover known to Elberfeldt, a small city, later written as Elberfeld and incidentally the author's city of university graduation. In 1929, Elberfeld became a part of the city of Wuppertal, 30 miles northeast of Cologne in today's state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

## 1849 covers

The earliest 1849 cover, from March, was franked with two 5申 1847 stamps and sent from Philadelphia to Cologne. This cover was illustrated and described extensively by Harvey Mirsky in Chronicle 221.7

Figure 5 shows the earliest of the four covers recorded to Germany bearing a $10 \phi$ 1847 stamp. It was posted on September 24, 1849 from Naples, Illinois (per the manuscript postmark above the stamp) to Stuttgart, Württemberg. The contents indicate the letter was begun in Quincy, Illinois. The $10 \phi$ stamp overpaid the $5 \phi$ open-mail rate under the An-glo-American postal convention that had become effective earlier in 1849. The letter was


Figure 5. Earliest of four covers sent to Germany with $10 \$ 1847$ stamps. Postmarked Naples, Illinois September 24, 1849 and sent to Stuttgart, Württemberg.
sent to New York where it was put on the Cunard Cambria, which sailed October 3 and arrived in Liverpool on October 18. The London office applied the red "COLONIES/\&c. ART.13" marking and sent the cover to Paris under the 1843 Anglo-French convention. The Article 13 marking referred to terms in the accompanying letter bill and served as a debit to France of 30 decimes per 30 grams (bulk weight) for sea postage and British transit. The Paris office struck the double-circle "ANGL. 2 CALAIS 2" on October 19 to indicate the letter entered France at Calais. The large red crayon marking indicates the postage due in Stuttgart was 42 kreuzer.

Another cover from December 1849, franked with a pair of 5¢ stamps, is part of the Hirzel collection in the Swiss postal museum. This was sent from Boston via Liverpool and Ostende to Cologne. It was discussed and illustrated by Gordon Eubanks in Chronicle 246. ${ }^{8}$ Of the five covers recorded in the online census from 1849, two lack images.

## 1850 covers

The year 1850 is dominated by covers originating from Baltimore. The only exception is the earliest 1850 listing, mailed in March from New York to Bremen, franked with


Figure 6. 5¢ 1847 stamp on cover from Baltimore, July 16 1850, sent to Freiwaldau, in Austrian Silesia (today part of the Czech Republic). This cover is from the Glenn correspondence, source of nine of the $\mathbf{3 5}$ covers in the census survey.
a $5 \phi 1847$ stamp. The database lacks an image of this cover too. Of the ten other 1847 covers sent to Germany in 1850, nine were mailed from Baltimore and franked with 5申 1847 stamps. These were sent either to Bremen (Behr correspondence) or Freiwaldau, Austrian Silesia (Glenn correspondence).

Figure 6 shows the earliest of the nine covers from the Glenn correspondence, the largest find of 1847 covers to the German States. All were sent to Freiwaldau in Austrian Silesia. There is some confusion about the location of Freiwaldau, since there were two towns of that name at that time, separated by only 170 miles. The town to which this correspondence was addressed is now called Jesenik (south of Breslau) and is part of the modern Czech Republic, but was in Austrian Silesia in 1850. The other Freiwaldau town is today called Gozdnica and belongs to Poland (west of Breslau). In summary, the Glenn covers were sent to imperial Austria and not to Prussia, but the destination was still within the German confederation (Deutscher Bund) as shown in the map in Figure 1.

The 5¢ 1847 stamp paid the open mail rate by British packet under the 1848 An-glo-American convention. The letter was endorsed "per steamer of 17th from New York" and was indeed sent on the Cunard Europa, which sailed from New York on July 17 and arrived at Liverpool on July 29. The letter was endorsed "via Berlin." London sent it under the 1846 Anglo-Prussian convention via Belgium. Britain debited Prussia 1 shilling 4 pence, which was indicated by the black $1 / 4$ written under the stamp. This represented 8 pence packet fee, 6 pence British internal fee, and 2 pence Belgian transit fee. The cover was processed in Aachen, which struck "AMERICA per ENGLAND" on the back. German internal postage was added to the Austrian kreuzer equivalent of 1 shilling 4 pence, resulting in a total postage due of 32 Austrian kreuzer, which was written at the bottom center.

Figure 7 shows a cover from the Behr correspondence, written in September 1850 and addressed to Bremen. The 5¢ 1847 stamp is well tied by two strikes of a blue Baltimore Railroad cancel; a third strike at left clearly designates "SEP 10." At top the cover is endorsed "per steamer of 11 Sept from New York." This would be the Cunard America, which sailed on that date and arrived in Liverpool on September 22. Britain sent the letter under


Figure 7. $5 申 1847$ stamp on cover from Baltimore, multiple strikes of a blue Baltimore Railroad marking dated September 10 (1850), sent via England to Bremen. From the Theodor Behr correspondence, source of six of the covers in this survey.
the 1846 Anglo-Prussian convention. The London clerk debited Prussia 1 shilling 6 pence, indicated by the black $1 / 6$ written below the stamp. This represented 8 pence packet fee, 6 pence British internal fee, and 4 pence Belgian transit fee. The Belgian transit fee was twice the usual 2 pence, indicating the letter must have weighed between $1 / 4$ and $1 / 2$ ounce. This 1 shilling 6 pence debit was equated to 36 Bremen grote, to which 8 grote German internal postage was added, for a total due of 44 grote.

Figure 8 shows a cover that was sent a little later in 1850 bearing two $5 \phi$ stamps to pay double the under-300-mile rate. Since it was also part of the Behr correspondence, it likely originated in Baltimore. It was endorsed to be carried on the "Steamer of 9 October from N York." The Cunard Niagara sailed that day in 1850 from New York and arrived in Liverpool on October 20. Britain sent the letter under the 1846 Anglo-Prussian convention. The black manuscript $2 / 10$ indicated a British debit to Prussia of 2 shilling 10 pence. This represented 1 shilling 4 pence double packet fee, 1 shilling double British internal fee, and 6 pence triple Belgian transit fee, indicating the letter weighed between $1 / 2$ and $3 / 4$ ounces. This was equated to 68 Bremen grote to which 16 grote German internal was added for a total due of 84 grote, or 1 thaler 12 grote, which was indicated in red crayon in the center.


Figure 8. Two 5¢ 1847 stamps on a cover front from Baltimore to Bremen, also part of the Behr correspondence. Sent via the Cunard steamer Niagara, departing New York on October 9, 1850, and arriving Liverpool on October 20.

## 1851 covers

As evidenced in Table 1, the number of covers to the German States franked with 1847 stamps reached its peak in 1851, the last year of usage of the 1847 stamps. The 14 covers from 1851 include the outstanding "Heidelberg cover" from April, shown here as Figure 9. This cover was first illustrated in color in an article by Scott Trepel in Chronicle 130 and is one of the most important 1847 covers in existence, outstanding in many aspects. ${ }^{9}$ In addition to bearing a strip of five $5 \phi$ stamps, it is the only cover to Germany with


Figure 9. The highly esteemed Heidelberg cover, with a strip of five $5 \phi$ 1847s along with a $10 \phi$, posted on the Michigan Central Railroad on April 4, 1851. The $35 \phi$ postage overpaid by $1 \phi$ the $34 \phi$ rate to Bremen under the U.S.-Bremen postal convention.
both $5 ¢$ and $10 \phi 1847$ stamps. The cover originated on the Michigan Central Railroad and the $35 \phi$ postage overpaid by $1 \phi$ the $34 \phi$ rate to Bremen under the U.S.-Bremen postal convention. A detailed explanation of the markings and background of this fascinating cover can be found in Eubanks' article in Chronicle 254. ${ }^{10}$

Another April 1851 cover, franked with a single 10¢ 1847 stamp, is shown in Figure 10. Posted at Schenectady, New York on April 14 to Steinenstadt, Baden, this cover is a delight in regard to its many rate markings. The $10 ¢$ stamp paid double the under-300mile rate to New York. The New York clerk struck " 48 " in black to indicate a $48 \not \subset$ debit to Bremen for double the sea rate. The letter was put on the Ocean Line steamer Washington, which sailed on April 19 and arrived in Bremerhaven on May 5. The covers in Figures 9 and 10 were carried on the same sailing of the Washington, under contract to the United States Post Office. When the Figure 10 letter reached Bremen, it was passed on to the Hanover post office in Bremen. That office wrote the red crayon " $11 / 4$ " at the lower left to indicate that the weight was $11 / 4$ loth and thus required a double rate. A Hanover clerk struck "AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN" in red and wrote " 18 " to its left to indicate that 18 gutegroschen (about 48 $\not \subset$ ) was owed to Bremen. Hanover added $22 / 3$ gutegroschen for its transit fee and applied its $20^{2} / 3$ handstamp in red at the upper left to indicate its debit in gutegroschen to Thurn and Taxis. Thurn and Taxis equated $202 / 3$ gutegroschen to 89 kreuzer and added 11 kreuzer for transit to Würtemberg. This totaled 100 kreuzer or 1 gulden 40 kreuzer. Thurn and Taxis added another 24 kreuzer for Baden internal postage, as shown by the black manuscript " $1 \mathrm{f} 40 / 24$ " in the center. This totaled 124 kreuzer or 2 gulden 4 kreuzer. This is


Figure 10. 10¢ 1847 stamp on a cover from Schenectady, posted April 14, 1851 and addressed to Steinenstadt, Baden. As with Figure 9, this was carried on the Ocean Line steamer Washington, which departed from New York City on April 19, 1851.
the due postage that is shown by the black $2 \mathrm{f4} 4 \mathrm{c}$ written below the stamp. The green R at the lower left is probably not a postal marking.

The cover in Figure 11 was posted at New Orleans on June 8, 1851, the last month the 1847 stamps were valid, addressed to an unusual destination, Rostock, in Mecklen-burg-Schwerin. This folded lettersheet was transported by the Cunard steamship Asia, which sailed from New York June 18 and arrived in Liverpool on June 28. It was sent via Cuxhaven under the 1846 Anglo-Prussian convention. Britain debited Prussia 1 shilling 2 pence, which represented 8 pence packet fee and 6 pence British internal fee. The red crayon 20 represents 20 Hamburg shilling, which is the sum of the amount owed Britain plus German transit. Additional Mecklenburg-Schwerin postage brought the total due to 26 shilling 2 pfennig in the Mecklenburg-Schwerin currency. This is written in blue ink to the right of the stamp.


Figure 11. Cover from New Orleans to Rostock, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, posted on June 8, 1851, during the last month in which the 1847 stamps were valid. Transatlantic carriage via the Cunard steamship Asia, which sailed from New York June 18 and arrived Liverpool June 28.


Figure 12. The latest cover in this survey was sent from New Haven to Berlin September 19, 1851, two and a half months after the 1847 stamps had been demonetized. The New Haven postmaster apparently mutilated the $5 \phi 1847$ stamp and the sender prepaid $21 \phi$ in cash, more than enough for the $20 \phi$ rate via U.S.-Bremen convention.

Figure 12, the last cover in this article, sent from New Haven, Connecticut, to Berlin, is a post-demonetization use from September 19, 1851. This cover was franked with a $5 申$ stamp two and a half months after the 1847 stamps were invalidated on July 1, 1851. Very likely, half of this stamp was torn away by the postmaster, who recognized its invalidity. The cover reached its destination nevertheless. The sender paid $21 \phi$ in cash and the New Haven clerk wrote 21 in pencil at upper right. The New Haven office later stamped "PAID" and wrote 21 in magenta ink to confirm the prepayment. While this was probably intended to pay the open mail rate by American packet under the 1848 Anglo-American convention, the cover was sent under the 1847 U.S.-Bremen Convention. The $21 \phi$ prepayment overpaid the $20 \phi$ per $1 / 2$ ounce sea and United States internal rate from anywhere in the United States, which became effective July 1, 1851. The New York office stamped "PAID PART" (indicating the letter was paid to Bremen) and sent it in the Bremen closed mail via England on the Havre Line steamship Franklin, which sailed from New York on September 20 and arrived in Southampton on October 2. The closed mailbag arrived in Bremen on October 6. Since the letter was paid to Bremen, the due postage of 3 silbergroschen represented German internal postage only.

## Conclusion and acknowledgements

In June 2017, as these words are written, there are 35 covers with 1847 stamps recorded to the German States. According to the census, covers to the German States represent the third largest destination among 2801847 covers mailed to Europe (England tops the list with 96 entries and France is second with 93). A significant number of the German States covers (Figures 3, 5, 9, 10 and the January 2, 1851 cover) are part of the William Gross exhibit, which can be viewed on the USPCS website. The USPCS online 1847 cover census and the author (dr.bkrumm@web.de) would welcome any information about 1847 covers to Germany that are not listed in this article. My sincere thanks to Dwayne Littauer for his invaluable help, in particular with the rate interpretations of the covers, to 1847 section editor Gordon Eubanks for his assistance and patience with me during this project, and to the Robert Siegel Auction Galleries for many of the images.

## Endnotes

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## QUANTITIES OF STAMPS DELIVERED BY TOPPAN, CARPENTER, CASILEAR \& CO. 1851-1861 <br> ROBERT S. BOYD

Since its publication in 1902, John Luff's masterwork The Postage Stamps of the United States has been the go-to philatelic reference for quantities of stamps delivered under the Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear \& Co. (TCC) contract with the Post Office Department (POD). The contract took effect June 10, 1851, was extended effective June 10, 1857, and ended June 10, 1861. As his sources, Luff used annual Reports of the Postmaster General (PMG) and information furnished to him by post office employees and other persons he deemed reliable. He was aware of the limitations of his data, noting that TCC records were destroyed in a fire on 4 March 1872, and that the annual reports did not include statistics on stamp deliveries from 1853 to $1859 .{ }^{1}$ Further, his estimates of deliveries by quarter were available only sporadically, diminishing their value to $1 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ specialists hoping to estimate quantities produced from each plate.

In order to preserve valuable information, Arthur Travers and other post office employees made typescripts of a large volume of correspondence between TCC and the Third Assistant PMG, who was responsible for financial operations, stamps and stamped envelopes. That correspondence and other letters from the National Archives and National Postal Museum are now available in the Travers Papers section of the USPCS web site. ${ }^{2}$ This correspondence is useful to fill in the gaps of quarterly deliveries by denomination in the annual PMG reports. There are differences in the quality of data, but the TCC documents permit reliable estimates even for fiscal years (FY) 1856 and 1857, the years for which the least data is available.

## Stamp production and delivery to postmasters

These sources provide a comprehensive and detailed picture of the deliveries made by TCC of their 1851-61 postage stamps. For the first four years of the contract, the Third Assistant PMG sent orders for specific quantities of stamps to TCC. After printing, drying, and gumming the stamps, TCC packed them in mail bags containing 20,000-60,000 stamps. These were usually turned over to the Philadelphia Postmaster for shipment to the Third Assistant PMG in Washington. In early 1852, TCC began packing these bags in wooden chests capable of holding at least 500,000 stamps. ${ }^{3}$ As represented in the schematic diagram in Figure 1, TCC maintained a stock to fill orders from Washington and the Third Assistant PMG maintained a stock to meet postmaster requirements.

Stamp deliveries were relatively steady at $55,000,000-58,000,000$ for FY1852 to FY1854 (which ended June 30, 1854). The Third Assistant PMG found the function of supplying postmasters costly and no doubt onerous. As discussed in more detail below, the Act of Congress passed 3 March 1855 made mandatory the prepayment of postage on domestic letters by stamps or stamped envelopes effective January $1,1856 .{ }^{4}$ Since this would result in greatly increased requirements for stamps, the PMG decided to streamline the process to meet the needs of postmasters. Effective June 1, 1855, the Third Assistant PMG


Figure 1. Schematic diagram showing stamp production and delivery procedures during the first four years of the Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear \& Co. contract. Delivery from Washington, D.C. required extra shipping and two sets of stamp inventories.
functions of maintaining a stock of stamps and supplying postmasters were transferred to TCC and a new official entity, the U.S. Stamp Agency, located on TCC premises. ${ }^{5}$ This put an end to the need for separate stocks of stamps and for Washington's direct involvement in supplying postmasters throughout the country. Figure 2 shows a schematic diagram of this simplified process.

For the price of $\$ 30$ per 1,000 parcels, TCC prepared a parcel to fill each postmaster's order. This included counting the required number of stamps, placing colored papers between denominations, and enclosing them in unsealed official envelopes provided by the Post Office. TCC transferred the parcels to the Stamp Agency, which verified the number of stamps in each one, sealed and recorded the envelopes, and mailed them. In 1857, the


Figure 2. In mid-1855 the delivery process was streamlined. The government Stamp Agency was set up on TCC premises. Shipments were made directly from there.
contract extension raised the price per 1,000 stamps to $18 \varnothing$ to cover perforation and packing ( $14 \frac{1}{2} \phi$ for printing and gumming, $2 \phi$ for perforation, and $1 \frac{1}{2} \phi$ "for furnishing envelopes, paper and tin boxes, and packing all parcels of stamps ready for mailing.") ${ }^{6}$

## Stamp appropriations and expenditures

The increased demand for postage stamps in the TCC era is reflected in the accounts of the POD. While payments for the production of postage stamps were a relatively small portion of the POD expenditures, the increasing use of stamps reflects both the vibrancy of the nation's economy once postal rates were reduced, and the necessity of stamps once prepayment became the law. In the early days of the nation, Congress expected the POD to fund its operations from revenue. Before 1836, Congress authorized the PMG to make expenditures from revenue at his discretion, but required him to provide quarterly reports to the Secretary of the Treasury. The Act of 2 July 1836 required the PMG to pay all revenues into the Treasury. Congress appropriated funds by specific categories, but the act specified that each year the appropriation would be "disbursed by the Treasurer out of the moneys paid into the Treasury for the service" of the POD. ${ }^{7}$ Given the relatively small population ( $3,227,567$ in 1830), a land area about 60 percent of what it would be in 1860 , and high postage rates, self-funding or even turning a profit from postage during that era was an achievable goal.

The Act of 3 March 1845 was the first to make reduction in postage rates a policy. ${ }^{8}$ In his 1846 report, PMG Cave Johnson attributed almost all the $\$ 800,000$ reduction in revenue to the lower letter rates. Expenditures outpaced revenue by $\$ 598,000$, which the Treasury had to make good. For the first time, the 1847 appropriation included provision that if POD revenues were insufficient to meet the amount appropriated, the deficiency would be paid by the Treasury. ${ }^{9}$ The reduction of the domestic letter rate from $5 \phi$ to $3 \phi$ in the Act of 3 March 1851 made the situation worse. ${ }^{10}$ The deficiency of only $\$ 182,500$ in the 1852 PMG Report did not look bad, but that figure was masked by an infusion of $\$ 1,740,000$ for payment for other government mail that had been carried free, mostly in prior years.

Because of the lower postage rates, revenue during the period of the TCC contract was significantly below what was required for operations. The total POD excess of expenditures over receipts in FY1856 was $\$ 2,042,364.67,{ }^{11}$ and it had grown in FY1860 to \$7,068,254.84. ${ }^{12}$

Of the appropriations Congress made to the POD to cover deficiencies, the most important was the annual POD appropriation that provided funds for operations. The major items were transportation of the mails and compensation for postmasters. For example, in FY1858, 68 percent of the basic appropriation of $\$ 11,173,247$ was for inland transportation and 19 percent was for postmaster compensation; less than 1 percent was for printing stamps and stamped envelopes.

Among the smaller items, there was no expenditure category for postage stamps in FY1851 or FY1852, so the new stamps were probably funded as a miscellaneous expense. "Postage stamps" became a separate category for FY1853, but accounting for stamp expenditures that year was inaccurate: the expenditure would have paid for fewer than half the stamps delivered that year and nearly all of it was paid in the second quarter. Production of stamped envelopes began in the fourth quarter of FY1853. Beginning in FY1854, the annual appropriation renamed the "Postage stamps" category to "Postage stamps and stamped envelopes," but annual PMG Reports for the period used separate lines for stamps and stamped envelopes. Figure 3 compares the relative percentages of the expenditures for stamps and stamped envelopes. Initially, because of their higher cost to the government, the envelope percentage was much greater; but as the need for stamps increased through the life of the TCC contract, the percentage evened out.

POD salaries and expenses for the Washington General Post Office were usually con-


Figure 3. Comparative percentages of the expenditures for stamps and stamped envelopes during the lifetime of the TCC contract. Blue represents the percentage expended on stamps, orange the percentage expended on envelopes. The immediate popularity of stamped envelopes (plus their extra cost) is evident.
tained in annual appropriations. Separate deficiency appropriations for specific unanticipated needs were passed as required. The latter were not common, since most annual appropriations beginning in 1854 included authorization for payment of deficiencies of about $\$ 2,000,000$ and later $\$ 5,000,000$.

At the level of individual contractors such as TCC, this system of appropriations was sufficient to avoid problems with unpaid bills, although late payments are noted in the correspondence. For example, TCC submitted a bill for $\$ 4,222.50$ on December 31, 1855 (second quarter FY1856), and it was not paid until January 31, 1856 (third quarter FY1856). ${ }^{13}$

Figure 4 compares annual POD expenditures to appropriations. The largest gap was in FY1856-FY1857. The steadily increasing cost of providing postal services to a growing population after adopting a policy of reduced postage was the impetus for Acts of Congress in 1855 and 1857 to require prepayment of postage, both of which had great impact on the number of stamps produced.


Figure 4. Post office expenditures in millions (red) versus Congressional appropriations for POD activities (blue) during the TCC era. This was a period of great growth both in mail volume and in POD expense.

## Quantities of stamps produced by TCC

The two sources of hard data about quantities of stamps produced by TCC are the Travers Papers and the annual Reports of the PMG. For most years the latter mainly provide financial information. TCC's complete file of reports survived for deliveries from June 21, 1851 to May 17, 1855, so there is no doubt exactly what quantities of stamps TCC sent to the Third Assistant PMG in that period. Each delivery was documented by TCC on a dated, signed and notarized receipt. There were 99 sequentially numbered receipts, all of which are extant and included with the Travers Papers on the USPCS web site. ${ }^{14}$ Some of this data was compiled previously by Wilson Hulme, whose working papers are available on the Society's website.

After TCC assumed responsibility for preparing orders to postmasters in conjunction with the Stamp Agency, the company stopped making this type of receipt. It received receipts from the Stamp Agency upon delivery of parcels for postmasters, ${ }^{15}$ but these were probably destroyed in the 1872 fire. TCC did provide the Third Assistant PMG periodic reports of stamps issued. They apparently did not make such reports in FY1856 and FY1857 (July 1, 1855-June 30, 1857) or the correspondence has been lost. The quarterly information for these two years is fragmentary, but an 1859 TCC document contains the number of stamps delivered from FY1855 to FY1858. ${ }^{16}$ By 1858, TCC correspondence contained quarterly totals by denomination of stamps issued to postmasters. In FY1859 to FY1861, TCC reported to the PMG numbers of stamps issued to postmasters to use as the basis for stamp numbers in the annual reports, so the data are common to both sources.

Figures 5 and 6 show deliveries of stamps to the government by TCC during the life of the 1851-61 contract. For convenience, Figure 5 covers imperforate stamps and Figure 6 perforated stamps, as well as the last imperforates produced in FY1857. No effort has been made to separate imperforate from perforate stamps in that year. TCC delivered the first perforated stamps, all $3 \notin$ values, on February 24, 1857, and the POD made the first distribution to "certain offices" on February 26. ${ }^{17}$

The total numbers of stamps of all denominations by quarter and fiscal year were compared to expenditures (cost) in the PMG reports and to the value of stamps delivered according to a document prepared at the end of the contract. ${ }^{18}$ The contract in effect until June 1857 called for a cost of $15 \phi$ per 1,000 stamps, so multiplying the number of stamps by 0.15 and dividing the product by 1,000 ought to yield the cost to produce that number of stamps. However, cost does not appear to be a usefully accurate measure because of internal accounting issues (e.g., charging stamp payments to other accounts), settlement of accounts in quarters other than when deliveries occurred, and paying other bills (e.g., Stamp Agency expenses) from the stamp account.

Value, on the other hand, seems to be an accurate measure. This is the sum of the sale price of all denominations of stamps delivered in any given period. There is a small problem with quarterly values, probably because payments for deliveries often occurred in later quarters, but the annual values closely track the stamp quantities. In the earliest years with comparable value figures, FY1853 and FY1854, the calculated values of stamps delivered and their recorded values are within 2.5 percent. For FY1856 and FY1857, the two years with only fragmentary quantity data, the deliveries and values are within 2.2 percent and 3.5 percent, respectively. In fiscal years $1855,1858,1859,1860$, and 1861, deliveries are within 0.13 percent of the values, usually less.

In Figures 5 and 6, some numbers appear to have been rounded, others not. Round numbers in FY1851-FY1855 show actual numbers of stamps delivered by TCC to the Third Assistant PMG. For FY1856 and FY1857, there are hard data only for the first quarters; numbers for the other quarters in those years are estimates, not necessarily rounded, in order to add up to the known annual totals. Later numbers are as they appear in the TCC

## DELIVERIES BY QUARTER, 1851-1856: IMPERFORATE STAMPS

| Carrier Stamps |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Quarter Ending | Franklin | Eagle | 1c | 3 C | 5c | 10¢ | 12¢ | Total |
| 6-30-51 |  |  | 400,000 | 1,710,000 |  |  | 200,000 | 2,310,000 |
| FY 1851 |  |  | 400,000 | 1,710,000 |  |  | 200,000 | 2,310,000 |
| 9-30-51 |  |  | 2,500,000 | 17,970,000 |  |  | 280,000 | 20,750,000 |
| 12-31-51 | 310,000 | 300,000 | 1,650,000 | 7,590,000 |  |  | 200,000 | 10,050,000 |
| 3-31-52 | 0 | 200,000 | 650,000 | 10,530,000 |  |  | 0 | 11,380,000 |
| 6-30-52 | 0 | 0 | 1,550,000 | 13,860,000 |  |  | 0 | 15,410,000 |
| FY 1852 | 310,000 | 500,000 | 6,350,000 | 49,950,000 |  |  | 480,000 | 57,590,000 |
| 9-30-52 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11,130,000 |  |  | 0 | 11,130,000 |
| 12-31-52 | 0 | 0 | 1,250,000 | 12,510,000 |  |  | 0 | 13,760,000 |
| 3-31-53 | 0 | 0 | 2,500,000 | 15,270,000 |  |  | 0 | 17,770,000 |
| 6-30-53 | 0 | 0 | 700,000 | 12,300,000 |  |  | 0 | 13,000,000 |
| FY 1853 | 0 | 0 | 4,450,000 | 51,210,000 |  |  | 0 | 55,660,000 |
| 9-30-53 | 0 | 0 | 2,350,000 | 10,170,000 |  |  | 0 | 12,520,000 |
| 12-31-53 | 0 | 0 | 1,050,000 | 13,440,000 |  |  | 60,000 | 14,550,000 |
| 3-31-54 | 0 | 0 | 2,800,000 | 12,000,000 |  |  | 0 | 14,800,000 |
| 6-30-54 | 0 | 0 | 2,250,000 | 12,210,000 |  |  | 0 | 14,460,000 |
| FY 1854 | 0 | 0 | 8,450,000 | 47,820,000 |  |  | 60,000 | 56,330,000 |
| 9-30-54 | 0 | 0 | 1,800,000 | 12,120,000 |  |  | 0 | 13,920,000 |
| 12-31-54 | 0 | 0 | 1,800,000 | 14,400,000 |  |  | 100,000 | 16,300,000 |
| 3-31-55 | 0 | 0 | 3,900,000 | 20,220,000 |  |  | 0 | 24,120,000 |
| 6-30-55 | 0 | 0 | 3,075,000 | 15,435,000 |  | 780,000 | 100,000 | 19,390,000 |
| FY 1855 | 0 | 0 | 10,575,000 | 62,175,000 |  | 780,000 | 200,000 | 73,730,000 |
| 9-30-55 | 0 | 0 | 2,972,800 | 16,527,700 |  | 277,150 | 99,800 | 19,877,450 |
| 12-31-55 | 0 | 0 | 3,981,000 | 21,149,839 |  | 533,500 | 158,000 | 25,822,339 |
| 3-31-56 | 0 | 0 | 7,497,200 | 38,446,900 | 62,453 | 892,200 | 282,200 | 47,180,953 |
| 6-30-56 | 0 | 0 | 5,530,698 | 29,600,000 | 41,200 | 665,486 | 210,653 | 36,048,037 |
| FY 1856 | 0 | 0 | 19,981,698 | 105,724,439 | 103,653 | 2,368,336 | 750,653 | 128,928,779 |

Figure 5. From the Travers Papers and other sources: quarterly stamp deliveries from Toppan, Carpenter \& Co. to the Post Office Department, shown by stamp denomination. Deliveries made during this period consisted largely of imperforate stamps.
correspondence and PMG reports, since they were the actual numbers of stamps issued to postmasters. These deliveries were not always in round numbers because they included replacements for damaged stamps, and deliveries to small offices often included only a few high-value stamps.

As noted earlier, the first of the two Acts of Congress establishing policies with great impact on the demand for stamps was An Act to reduce and modify the Rates of Postage in the United States, and for other Purposes, passed March 3, 1855. Its new rate of $10 \phi$ for single-weight letters mailed to a distance within the U.S. over 3,000 miles required a new stamp. One week after the act was passed, the Third Assistant PMG placed an order with

| DELIVERIES BY QUARTER, 1857-1861: PERFORATED STAMPS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Quarter <br> Ending | 1c | 3 C | 5c | 10¢ | 12¢ | 24¢ | 30¢ | 90¢ | Stamps |
| 9-30-56 | 6,109,900 | 25,316,090 | 65,530 | 669,720 | 167,225 |  |  |  | 32,328,465 |
| 12-31-56 | 6,960,505 | 30,890,000 | 69,000 | 576,700 | 282,410 |  |  |  | 38,778,615 |
| 3-31-57 | 8,602,546 | 37,088,555 | 80,280 | 654,519 | 388,600 |  |  |  | 46,814,500 |
| 6-30-57 | 7,715,943 | 33,215,000 | 76,500 | 677,000 | 352,600 |  |  |  | 42,037,043 |
| FY 1857 | 29,388,894 | 126,509,645 | 291,310 | 2,577,939 | 1,190,835 |  |  |  | 159,958,623 |
| 9-30-57 | 9,359,800 | 34,422,700 | 75,090 | 766,790 | 303,535 |  |  |  | 44,927,915 |
| 12-31-57 | 7,803,900 | 29,428,200 | 64,615 | 617,615 | 269,020 |  |  |  | 38,183,350 |
| 3-31-58 | 10,358,700 | 35,835,400 | 79,080 | 1,410,110 | 359,040 |  |  |  | 48,042,330 |
| 6-30-58 | 8,837,400 | 35,743,800 | 91,300 | 737,610 | 351,420 |  |  |  | 45,761,530 |
| FY 1858 | 36,359,800 | 135,430,100 | 310,085 | 3,532,125 | 1,283,015 |  |  |  | 176,915,125 |
| 9-30-58 | 9,427,700 | 30,445,600 | 127,680 | 737,830 | 331,350 |  |  |  | 41,070,160 |
| 12-31-58 | 9,483,800 | 34,611,900 | 116,380 | 828,820 | 349,950 |  |  |  | 45,390,850 |
| 3-31-59 | 13,461,700 | 40,428,500 | 128,940 | 1,164,210 | 401,825 |  |  |  | 55,585,175 |
| 6-30-59 | 12,059,100 | 36,601,800 | 113,560 | 1,034,700 | 346,575 |  |  |  | 50,155,735 |
| FY 1859 | 44,432,300 | 142,087,800 | 486,560 | 3,765,560 | 1,429,700 |  |  |  | 192,201,920 |
| 9-30-59 | 9,508,500 | 34,044,400 | 97,860 | 657,760 | 287,775 |  |  |  | 44,596,295 |
| 12-31-59 | 12,769,700 | 40,511,100 | 188,880 | 879,000 | 377,475 |  |  |  | 54,726,155 |
| 3-31-60 | 13,909,900 | 40,616,400 | 119,460 | 1,210,760 | 463,750 |  |  |  | 56,320,270 |
| 6-30-60 | 14,535,300 | 44,291,700 | 173,160 | 1,150,930 | 524,500 | 52,350 |  |  | 60,727,940 |
| FY 1860 | 50,723,400 | 159,463,600 | 579,360 | 3,898,450 | 1,653,500 | 52,350 |  |  | 216,370,660 |
| 9-30-60 | 12,756,100 | 36,512,700 | 146,920 | 922,150 | 384,800 | 170,000 | 103,860 | 11,960 | 51,008,490 |
| 12-31-60 | 14,778,085 | 39,171,800 | 178,640 | 1,154,910 | 243,825 | 201,150 | 105,960 | 6,200 | 55,840,570 |
| 3-31-61 | 14,174,768 | 41,922,956 | 223,000 | 852,900 | 232,400 | 147,325 | 65,040 | 4,110 | 57,622,499 |
| 6-30-61 | 12,184,839 | 33,615,600 | 128,640 | 995,730 | 192,875 | 132,125 | 65,140 | 2,010 | 47,316,959 |
| FY 1861 | 53,893,792 | 151,223,056 | 677,200 | 3,925,690 | 1,053,900 | 650,600 | 340,000 | 24,280 | 211,788,518 |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { 6-11-8-15 } \\ 1861 \end{gathered}$ | 1,315,370 | 4,942,550 | 50,920 | 238,595 | 48,088 | 38,750 | 16,955 | 3,115 | 6,654,343 |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { PO Ret- } \\ & \text { urn 8-61 } \end{aligned}$ | 8,320,208 | 29,428,644 | 295,965 | 360,495 | 592,885 | 2,658,875 | 154,550 | 170,290 | 41,981,912 |
| TOTAL | 274,640,462 | 1,067,674,834 | 2,795,053 | 21,447,190 | 8,942,576 | 3,400,575 | 511,505 | 197,685 | 1,380,419,880 |

Figure 6. Quarterly stamp deliveries from Toppan, Carpenter \& Co. to the Post Office Department during 1857-61, the period when perforated stamps were delivered. Totals in the bottom line include data from Table 5, including 810,000 Carrier stamps.

TCC for $1,000,00010 \notin$ stamps. ${ }^{19}$ The plate was completed on April $25,1855^{20}$ and the first delivery of 240,000 stamps was made on May $3 .{ }^{21}$ By the end of the contract, 21,447,190 $10 \&$ stamps had been delivered, making it the third most common stamp in this series.

Another provision of this act required prepayment of all domestic letters, including drop letters, effective April 1, 1855. While the use of stamps was not yet mandatory, most writers found them convenient. This began the cultural shift toward accepting postage stamps as the norm. After three years during which the quantity of stamps delivered had remained stable, the number for FY1855 jumped more than 30 percent.

Demand for $12 \phi$ stamps is an excellent indicator of this cultural shift. Deliveries of $680,00012 \phi$ stamps by the end of December 1851 sufficed to meet postmasters' require-
ments for two years; the next $12 \phi$ delivery was 60,000 in December 1853, then another 100,000 in December 1854. TCC had to replace the latter stamps because they were part of the 1851 printing and the gum no longer adhered securely. ${ }^{22}$ Even though letters to foreign countries did not require prepayment, 200,000 12ф stamps were delivered in FY1855. After that, $12 \phi$ stamps were supplied every quarter, and the entire quantity supplied in the first three years was exceeded between May 1855 and June 1856.

The last major provision of the 1855 Act authorized the PMG to require prepayment by stamps or stamped envelopes beginning January 1, 1856, which he did. This caused FY1856 stamp deliveries to increase by 75 percent over FY1855, a total almost double each of the annual stamp deliveries in FY1852-FY1854. Most of the increase, almost 53,000,000, was in $1 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ stamps as would be expected, but $10 \phi$ deliveries doubled, $12 \phi$ deliveries nearly quadrupled, and a new $5 \phi$ stamp was issued. ${ }^{23}$

The second act increasing the demand for stamps was An Act providing for the compulsory Prepayment of Postage on all transient printed Matter, approved January 2, 1857. This required prepayment of postage on transient printed matter (sent by individuals, not publishers) "by stamps or otherwise, as the Postmaster General may direct." The PMG sent implementing instructions requiring prepayment by stamps to postmasters the next day. This increased the demand for $1 \notin$ stamps by 47 percent and for all stamps by 24 percent. Another result of this act was the extension of TCC's contract, which had been imperiled by the impending change of administration from Franklin Pierce to James Buchanan. In a February 6, 1857 letter to TCC, the Third Assistant PMG noted the act had "greatly increased the demand for stamps and made more pressing the necessity" to perforate them. The POD agreed to indemnify TCC for $\$ 9,500$ for perforating machinery if their contract was not renewed. ${ }^{24}$ On April 6, 1857, six weeks after TCC delivered the first perforated stamps, the PMG renewed their contract, effective June 10, 1857.. ${ }^{25}$

## Conclusion

Annual stamp deliveries increased nearly fourfold from 57,590,000 in FY1852 to $211,788,518$ in FY1861. The number of post offices, each of which needed their own supply of stamps, went from 19,796 in 1851 to 28,586 in 1861, although 30 percent of those were in states that had joined the Confederacy. ${ }^{26}$ Demand for stamps was in part driven by the explosive growth of what was still a new country. The 1850s continued a trend in which the population increased by about one-third every decade, adding over $8,000,000$ people to reach a total of $31,443,321$ in $1860 .{ }^{27}$ But even more than a burgeoning population, demand for stamps was driven by the inability of the POD to pay for its continent-wide operations after two major reductions in postage, leading to the requirement to prepay domestic mail by stamps or stamped envelopes. This in turn led to a cultural change whereby stamps became the norm for prepayment of all mail, even when not required by international postal conventions. For information about specific sources of entries in Figures 5 and 6 or to comment about this topic, readers may contact the author at bobboyd72@aol.com.

## Acknowledgment

The author is indebted to Daniel J. Undersander of the United Postal Stationery Society for providing the number of envelopes produced by George F. Nesbitt and Co., New York, in fiscal years 1853-58. Those were essential to make estimates of $3 \phi$ and $10 \phi$ stamps issued in FY1856 and FY1857, since the only TCC document covering those years grouped stamps and stamped envelopes of those denominations together.

## Endnotes

1. The Postage Stamps of the United States, John N. Luff, Scott Stamp and Coin Co., Ltd., New York, 1902, pg. 56. 2. "Travers Papers" is to some degree a misnomer, as the collection of correspondence related to TCC includes many documents from the National Archives and National Postal Museum. See "The Travers Papers, Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear and Co.-1851-61: Part I," Robert S. Boyd and Wilson Hulme II, Chronicle 245 (February 2015), pp. 60-61. As
used in this article, the terms "Travers Papers" and "TCC documents" refer to those documents included in the 185161 "Searchable Typescripts" on the USPCS website at http://www.uspcs.org/resource-center/government-documents/ travers-papers/1851-1861-searchable-transcripts/ (hereinafter TP:TCD). The document numbers identify specific transcripts. Images of most original documents are also in the "Travers Papers-Postage Stamps" section of the web site and may be accessed there by month and year.
2. Packaging and delivery before 1855 is described in detail in Chronicle 245, pp. 67-68.
3. The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America from December 1, 1851 to March 3, 1855 (hereinafter Statutes), Vol. X, Little, Brown and Company, Boston: 1855, Chap. CLXXIII, pp. 641-642.
4. For details of the establishment of the Stamp Agency, see Chronicle 245, pp. 68-70.
5. TP:TCD Document 481, TCC to PMG Aaron Brown, April 8, 1857, with certification by Third Asst. PMG Marron, June 18, 1857.
6. Statutes, Vol. V, Chap. CCLXX, pp. 80-90.
7. Statutes, Vol. V, Chap. XLIII, pp. 732-39.
8. Statutes, Vol. IX, Chap. XXXI, pg. 19.
9. Statutes, Vol. IX, Chap. XX, pp. 587-91.
10. Report of the Postmaster General (PMGR)—1856, pg. 770. When cited in this article, all PMG Reports are from the reprints by Theron Wierenga, 1977, Holland, Michigan.
11. 1860 PMGR, pg. 558.
12. TP:TCD Document 427, TCC to Third Asst. PMG Marron, January 31, 1856. The correspondence does not normally include bills, but the government paid $63 \phi$ too little, so TCC inquired about the reason.
13. Receipt number 1 is document 175 , and receipt number 99 is document 390 A . The receipts were stapled in a folder labeled "Toppan, Carpenter, \& Co.-Record of postage stamps delivered from June 21, 1851 to May 17, 1855."
14. TP:TCD Document 403, TCC to Third Asst. PMG Marron, July 19, 1855.
15. TP:TCD Document 503, Third Asst. PMG Marron to Sen. David L. Yulee, February 11, 1859.
16. TP:TCD Document 464, S.H. Carpenter, TCC to Third Asst. PMG, February 20, 1857, docketed February 26, 1857.
17. TP:TCD Document 616D, undated, but probably written in Summer 1861. It is unsigned, but its inclusion of stamps issued in the years before 1855 suggests it was prepared in the Office of the Third Asst. PMG.
18. TP:TCD Document 370, Third Asst. PMG to TCC, March 10, 1855.
19. TP:TCD Document 382, TCC to Third Asst. PMG, April 12, 1855.
20. TP:TCD Document 386A, Receipt 97, May 3, 1855.
21. In TP:TCD Document 365, TCC to Third Asst. PMG, January 12, 1855, the company apologized, writing "The demand for these $[12 \phi]$ stamps has been so small, that we have not printed any for some years and the packages sent you having been in our vault for so long a time, the fact of their being imperfectly gummed had naturally escaped our attention." The replacement 100,000 appear not to have been recorded on a receipt. When the next order for 100,000 was filled in May 1855, TCC had to fill it with 20,000 stamps printed "several months" ago and 80,000 from a new printing (TP:TCD Documents 386, TCC to Third Asst. PMG Marron, May 3, 1855; 386A; and 387A, receipt 98, May 7, 1855). 23. The 5\& stamp was mentioned in three letters between TCC and the Third Asst. PMG in October 1855 (TP:TCD Documents 410-412). The plate was ready on October 19, 1855, and the initial order for 600,000 stamps was placed on October 24, 1855, yet the earliest documented use of the $5 \$$ stamp is March 24, 1856. The reason for the delay is unknown. For this reason, Figure 5 does not show any delivery until the 3rd Quarter of FY1856 (ending March 31, 1856), but some stamps could have been delivered in the previous quarter.
22. TP:TCD Document 459, Third Asst. PMG to TCC, February 6, 1857.
23. TP:TCD Document 481.
24. 1851 PMGR, 418, and 1861 PMGR, 551.
25. Population, Housing Units, Area Measurements, and Density: 1790-1990, Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/ population/www/censusdata/files/table-2.pdf, last viewed June 20, 2017.


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## PHILADELPHIA COVER WITH 1¢ AND 3¢ 1857 STAMPS USED LONG AFTER DEMONETIZATION JAY KUNSTREICH

Figure 1 shows a 13 March 1863 cover used from Philadelphia to Baltimore with two 1857-issue stamps-a $1 \notin$ Type V from Position 61L9 showing an imprint at left, and a $3 申$ Type III from Position 1L27. ${ }^{1}$ Presumably, the sender wanted the two adhesives to pay the $1 \phi$ carrier fee (to take the letter to the post office) and the $3 \phi$ letter rate for delivery of the envelope. However, by 1863, these stamps should have been deemed worthless by the post office. The envelope should have been held for proper postage or transmitted with postage due from the recipient. So what happened?

The demonetization of the 1851 postage stamps at the start of the Civil War has been widely covered in the philatelic press. Elliott Perry wrote extensively about the rolling availability of the new 1861 stamps and the published exchange periods in various cities and towns across the country. ${ }^{2}$

Philadelphia was one of the first cities to receive the new stamps and embossed envelopes: 1861 stamps were announced as available on 19 August 1861, with a six-day exchange period ending August $25 .{ }^{3}$


Figure 1. 1申 and $3 \phi 1857$ stamps, paying the carrier and letter-post fees, on an 1863 cover from Philadelphia. The stamps were accepted 19 months after their demonetization. Very few such covers are known.


Figure 2． 26 August 1861 cover from Philadelphia with Bloods stamp and a demonetized $3 申 1857$ ，used on the first day the 1857 stamps were no lon－ ger acceptable at Philadelphia．Properly handstamped＂OLD STAMPS NOT RECOGNIZED＂and＂DUE 3．＂Image courtesy Robert A．Siegel Galleries．

Figure 2 shows a cover from 26 August 1861，the first day following the exchange period．As can be seen，the postal clerk in the Philadelphia post office applied both＂OLD STAMPS NOT RECOGNIZED＂and＂DUE 3＂handstamps．${ }^{4}$ While other cities（most no－ tably New York）were lax in enforcing demonetization，this cover and other examples from Philadelphia show consistent rejection of letters mailed with demonetized stamps．${ }^{5}$

With this brief historical background in place，I direct the reader back to the cover shown in Figure 1．This cover shows a remarkable use，one year and seven months after the stamps were demonetized，and just a few months prior to the cessation of carrier service．

Starting in 1836 letter carriers for a fee were authorized to receive letters to be taken by them to the post office．The service continued until 30 June 1863 at which time the fee system ceased．Starting 1 July 1863，carriers were paid a fixed salary，thus ending prepaid carrier service．Envelopes with both $1 \phi$ and $3 \phi$ adhesives prepaying the carrier fee and post－ age from the late 1850s until the end of the fee period are well known．

The question to be asked is how two demonetized stamps used so far after the date on which they became invalid could pass without penalty．I can only provide conjecture at this time，but two possible scenarios can be presented．

Perhaps，by 1863，the use of the old stamps had become so infrequent that the mark－ ing and collection of postage due was considered trivial and thus permitted．After all，the postal authorities would have had to notify either the sender or addressee and demand a valid stamp．But at least one Philadelphia cover is known with a $3 申 1857$ stamp dated 15 September 1864 and struck with the＂OLD STAMPS NOT RECOGNIZED＂handstamp．${ }^{6}$

Or perhaps the carrier department handling of the letter changed the routing through the post office，bypassing the clerk or clerks responsible for flagging invalid postage？This scenario is supported by another Philadelphia cover．Figure 3 shows a mourning cover with a Philadelphia circular datestamp showing＂MAR 6 1862．＂The cover is franked with four 1申 1857 stamps（a horizontal pair and two singles）paying the same carrier－postage combi－ nation as on the Figure 1 cover．${ }^{7}$ This cover is listed in a survey of post－demonetization uses


Figure 3. Mourning cover from Philadelphia with four $1 申 1857$ stamps paying the carrier and postage fees in March, 1862. Despite being obsolete, the stamps were accepted. Image courtesy Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries.
of 1857 stamps compiled by Henry Meyer and presented in Chronicle $48 .{ }^{8}$ Interestingly, the only other Philadelphia cover with an accepted 1857 stamp in the Meyer listing combines a $1 \phi 1857$ with a $3 \phi 1861$ stamp, also paying the carrier-postage combination. ${ }^{9}$

Unfortunately, while evidence points to the carrier connection, the actual reason may never be known. However, such usage is unquestionably interesting and uncommon as well. Help from Chronicle readers suggesting how this slippage might have occurred, and scans of other Philadelphia covers showing post-demonetization uses of 1857 stamps , would both be welcome.

## Endnotes

1. The cover has a November 2016 Philatelic Foundation certificate confirming the 1863 year date. Richard Celler generously plated the $3 \notin$ stamp.
2. Elliott Perry, Pat Paragraphs, Bureau Issues Association reprint, Takoma Park, Md, 1981, pp. 93-147.
3. Ibid., pp. 140-141.
4. Siegel Auction Galleries, sale 927, 20 December 2006, lot 1170.
5. Earlier uses of this handstamp on entire envelopes demonetized on 13 August 1861 following a five-day exchange period are also recorded.
6. Chronicle 229 (February 2011) pg. 67.
7. Siegel Auction Galleries, sale 1006, 2-3 March 2011, lot 1404.
8. Chronicle 48 (October 1964) pg. 18.
9. Chronicle 46 (December 1963) pg. 23.

## KELLEY'S ISLAND MAP DESIGN USED IN THE 1861 PERIOD CHIP GLIEDMAN

The ornate map postmark of Kelley's Island was back in the Chronicle with James Milgram's announcement, in Chronicle 255, of a third type of this interesting printed postmark. In his article, Milgram hypothesized that the newly discovered variety is the earliest of the three known versions of the postmark. The discovery cover, apparently from 1852 or 1853 , combined with other examples franked with 1851 or 1857 stamps, defines an approximate ten-year range of usage for the island map as an element of the postmark, ending around 1860.


Figure 1. Inbound cover to Kelley's Island, Ohio from Cleveland, Ohio bearing a printed advertising imprint for W.D. Kelley and his grape business. This imprint represents an enlarged version of the Kelley's Island map used in the famous printed postmark.

However, the use of the Kelley's Island map on postal artifacts did not end with the last town postmark. The cover in Figure 1 adds a coda to Milgram's article.

This cover, inbound to Kelley's Island from Cleveland, bears a $3 \notin 1861$ stamp tied by a Cleveland double-circle postmark dated "OCT 21" apparently duplexed with an indistinct grid-like obliterator. The cover is addressed in pencil to Mrs. W.D. Kelly.

Most impoertantly, the imprint on the left side of the cover repurposes the familiar island outline - the central design element of all the Kelley's Island printed postmarks-as the key visual in the advertising imprint for "W.D. Kelley, Grower of Grapes, Grape Roots, Cuttings, Etc., Kelley's Island, Ohio."

Where the latest of the three postmark types removed the outer frame and the engraver's imprint from the mark, this advertising use additionally dispenses with the north arrow from the left of the postmark and all of the text and artifacts within the map area. Additionally, the map in this advertising use measures 60 by 73 millimeters, 50 percent larger than the $40 \times 52 \mathrm{~mm}$ size of the printed postmark.

Though not a postal marking, this 1861-era repurposing of the Kelley's Island map is an interesting additional chapter in the Kelley's Island story. W.D. Kelley appears to have remained in the grape and wine business until at least 1890, so further chapters may appear in later sections of the Chronicle sometime in the future.

## THE 1869 PERIOD

SCOTT R. TREPEL, EDITOR

## 1869 SAFETY PAPER ESSAYS

## SCOTT R. TREPEL AND JOHN ZUCKERMAN

The 1869 Safety Paper essays are a colorful group of 118 mostly different essay die impressions on small pieces of paper of various sizes printed with a secondary abstract or repeating-number engraved pattern. They were made in 1868 or early 1869 by the National Bank Note Company in New York City, presumably as samples of an experimental product for the new 1869 stamp contract.

For the first 110 years of the Safety Papers' existence, most collectors never had an opportunity to see even one of these unusual-looking items. During the last 40 years, as long-hidden caches of Safety Papers have emerged, almost all of them have been photographed in color, so they can now be shown in their full glory and examined comparatively.

The main purpose of this article is to publish a census of the 118 recorded examples, each with a color image. Except for a few black-and-white catalog photos (the only available images), this objective has been achieved. The census data, with accompanying images, is presented as an appendix at the conclusion of this article. Because of the extremely confusing nomenclature that has grown up around these items over the years (discussed in detail below), we have deemed it fitting to give each essay a unique ID number, from 1 to 124. If nothing else, this makes discussing the Safety Paper essays much less confusing.

We will begin by explaining the provenance of the Safety Papers and tracing their ownership history. We will also correct misinformation and lay the groundwork for a revision of the Safety Paper listings in the Scott Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps \& Covers. Finally, we will present some interesting observations derived from studying the Safety Papers themselves and the census data that records them.

For those who are interested, related information can be found in two recent Chronicle articles which explored "safety network overprints" and other patent devices on essays for the $3 \notin 1861$ stamp. These are "Linking 3ф Washington Essays to Their Patents," by Jan Hofmeyr and James E. Lee (Chronicle 251, August 2016); and "Types of Safety Network Overprints Found on 3申 1861 Essays," by Hofmeyr, Lee and Richard Drews (Chronicle 253, February 2017).

## Provenance of the 1869 Safety Paper essays

All of the Safety Paper essays in philatelic hands originate from the collection formed by James Ludovic Lindsay, the 26th Earl of Crawford and one of the great early collectors of stamps, essays, proofs and philatelic literature. Portions of Crawford's United States collection were shown in special exhibitions held in the U.S. in 1905.

It is accepted as fact that Crawford acquired the Safety Paper essays, along with much of his essay and proof material, from the estate of Henry G. Mandel. Mandel was an expert in security printing and counterfeiting techniques who worked for the American Bank Note Company (successor to the National Bank Note Company after the 1879 consolidation).

Mandel died in 1902, and his vast holding of essay and proof material was sold to Crawford for $\$ 30,000$, as reported in Art News (November 20, 1915).

Crawford died on January 31, 1914, and his estate executors eventually agreed to sell the entire U.S. collection for $\$ 60,000$ to John A. Klemann of the Nassau Stamp Company. Klemann reported his acquisition of the Crawford collection in the November 1915 edition of The Philatelic Gazette. The Nassau Stamp Company scored a hat-trick of major stamp purchases that year: C.E. Chapman's U.S. collection in April, the Henry J. Crocker U.S. collection in August, and the Earl of Crawford's U.S. collection in November.

Nassau's announcement of the acquisition noted that the collection had still not reached America. Ocean transportation was the only means available to convey material across the Atlantic, and the German U-boat campaign in 1915 threatened merchant vessels, even those flying neutral flags. But despite the dangers lurking in the North Atlantic waters, the 47 albums and seven portfolios were safely carried back to America, where eager collectors were waiting to be offered gems from the famous Earl of Crawford collection.

The Safety Papers from Crawford's collection can be divided into three major groups based on subsequent ownership: Brazer/Joyce, Juhring and Finkelburg, who all knew each other and collected concurrently. Particulars of how and when the items were acquired are not known. Therefore, we will discuss each group separately.

Based on chronology, the principal buyer of Safety Papers following the dispersal of the Crawford collection was Clarence W. Brazer (1880-1956), the pioneering authority on United States essays and proofs. Brazer became a stamp dealer when his career as an architect faltered during the Depression. Whether the Safety Papers passed from Nassau directly to Brazer or through an intermediary is not known, but Brazer listed them in his 1941 catalog of United States essays.

A large group of Safety Papers was owned by John C. Juhring (1902-1976), who formed important collections of 1869 s and other areas, using wealth from his prosperous merchant family. Whether Juhring acquired his from Brazer or from another source is also not known.

Some of Brazer's Safety Papers were acquired privately by one of Juhring's contemporaries, Falk Finkelburg (1902-1994), a well-known essay-proof collector and dealer. Finkelburg worked for Brazer in the stamp business, and he almost certainly purchased his Safety Papers directly from Brazer.

A major portion of the Brazer collection, including the Safety Papers he acquired and retained, was purchased by Morton Dean Joyce (1900-1989), best known as a reve-nue-stamp collector. After Joyce died, his U.S. stamp essays and proofs were sold as "The Clarence Brazer Collection."

While Brazer (and Joyce), Juhring and Finkelburg owned the Safety Papers-at least 108 of the 118 recorded examples - there were almost no opportunities for other collectors to acquire any of these unusual items. The drought lasted for 60 years.

In 1978, after Juhring's death, the first and largest holding of Safety Papers reached the market when Sotheby Parke Bernet Stamp Auction Company (directed by Andrew Levitt) sold part of Juhring's 1869 collection, including his 65 Safety Papers (June 14, 1978). The Brazer holding of 18 Safety Papers followed in 1990 when Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries sold the postage essays and proofs from the Joyce estate ("The Clarence Brazer Collection," sale 726, June 27-29, 1990). Finally, the Finkelburg collection came to market in 1999, after Finkelburg died, when the previously unavailable third group of 25 Safety Papers, acquired directly from Brazer, was offered in Siegel sale 816 (September 29, 1999).

Tallying the Safety Papers contained in these three major auctions held from 1978 to 1999 , more than 90 percent of the recorded examples can be accounted for, as follows: Juhring (1978)-65 (55.1\%); Brazer/Joyce (1990)-18 (27.7\%); and Finkelburg (1999)-25 $(21.2 \%)$. The pent-up demand and aggressive bidding in these auctions by a legion of 1869
and essay-proof collectors resulted in relatively high prices for the Safety Papers. In particular, the Lincoln essays (a popular thematic subject) and the most visually striking underprint designs brought the highest prices.

From the early 1990s until 2013, one essay-proof collector on the West Coast provided the underlying competition for every Safety Paper essay that came onto the auction market. When this portion of his collection was offered in the Siegel 2013 Rarities of the World sale, the 64 examples - just one shy of the record number previously owned by Juhring -did not arouse the same degree of enthusiastic bidding that had fueled the earlier realizations. Without a collector who "wanted them all" in the market, prices stumbled a bit. At this point, prices are at a level where experienced professionals and veteran collectors who remember the Juhring, Brazer and Finkelburg sales consider them a buying opportunity.

## 1869 Pictorial essay dies

The Safety Paper stamp impressions were made from four dies that were sidelined and replaced by others when the regularly-issued 1869 stamps were produced. It is almost certain that the Safety Paper essays were created in the months preceding the March 1869 release of the regular stamps, not years later when some of the other 1869 proofs and essays were made for the philatelic market. Brazer thought the Safety Papers might have been produced "circa August 1868," but there is no source documentation or other evidence to support Brazer's dating. For now, it is best to classify the Safety Papers as pre-issue production material, circa 1868-1869.

The four essay dies used for the Safety Papers are shown in Figure 1. The 5¢ Washington essay was similar to the design ultimately adopted for the 6申 stamp. A 5¢ 1869 denomination was never created. The three-quarter portrait of Abraham Lincoln on the 10ф essay was replaced with the Eagle and Shield design, and the Lincoln portrait was moved


Figure 1. The four 1869 Pictorial essay designs that appear on the Safety Paper essays.
to the issued $90 \phi$ stamp. The depiction of Columbus landing in the New World was used for the bicolored 15ф 1869 stamp, but the first essay (shown in Figure 1) was a die with the frame and vignette as a single unit. Because this unified die shares frame characteristics with the $15 \phi$ Reissue stamp, it is classified in the Scott catalog as an essay for Scott 129 rather than the issued types (which Scott numbers 118 and 119). But in fact the $15 \phi$ Safety Paper designs have nothing to do with the 1875 Reissues. The depiction of General Burgoyne's surrender during the Revolutionary War, shown on the 30¢ essay in Figure 1, originally intended as the $30 \not \subset 1869$ stamp, was replaced by the bicolor Eagle and Shield design. Impressions of the Burgoyne design exist only as essays pulled from a single unified die.

## Underprint designs

The secondary pattern that gives each Safety Paper essay its distinctive appearance is generally called an underprint; the 19th century term was ground color. Some of the underprints display rows of repeating numerals or numbers expressed as words. Other designs were produced by mechanical devices that etched abstract repeating patterns into steel,
using a method invented in the early part of the century to provide banknotes and securities a measure of protection against counterfeiting.

The 25 different underprints and one unlisted variety (of Design 24, discussed further below) are shown in Figure 2, which presents most of the patterns close to life-sized, though a few of the designs (notably those numbered 18 and 19) are large overall patterns that required substantial reduction.

Some of these mechanically-created abstract underprints are visually quite stunning. The general term for this element of security printing is lathework. Security printing specialists use other terms to describe the basic trajectory of the lines, such as sinusoidal (waves) and epicycloidal (loops) and to identify the configurations. A "rosette," for example, describes the concentric accumulation of waves (or petals) in a circular arrangement, while "straight line ruling" indicates the engraving is laid out in rows. Many of these mechanical abstract designs can be found in books produced during the mid-1800s by banknote engraving firms. Examples abound in the numismatic field.


Figure 2. The 25 different underprint designs that appear on the Safety Paper essays. Underprint images have been cropped to best illustrate distinctive design features, so sizes are not consistent in this presentation. Most of the patterns are shown lifesized or larger than life, but two underprints (18 and 19) are substantial reductions because their designs are large patterns that cannot be cropped.

Based on descriptions of various types of anti-counterfeiting and anti-cleaning methods in patents granted to Abram Gibson (January 4, 1864), William Thorpe (October 5, 1869), George T. Jones (March 22, 1870), and William W. Bierce (July 10, 1877), the underprints on the National Bank Note Company Safety Paper essays were probably intended to be printed in sensitive (or fugitive) inks. However, contrary to statements in the Scott catalog and elsewhere, the underprints are printed in stable ink. In fact, the paper is really not safety paper, which is paper with an embedded pattern that changes if there is an attempt to erase or alter the overlying image (an everyday paper bank check is an example of safety paper). The 1869 essays are printed on India paper (not wove), and the underprints, unlike safety paper, could not provide any real protection against tampering. While the term "Safety Paper essays" is technically incorrect, it has become firmly imbedded in the philatelic lexicon; attempts to change it at this late point would be quixotic.

## Problems with Scott catalog Safety Paper listings

The Safety Papers were first catalogued in Brazer's seminal work, Essays for United States Adhesive Postage Stamps, published in 1941. Brazer's listings were given Scott numbers when essays were added to the Scott specialized catalog in one of the first major expansions of the catalog after it was acquired by Amos Press in the 1980s.

A decade or so later, in 1996, Linn's Stamp News published United States Postage Stamps of 1869. This included a six-page appendix that attempted to make sense of the various Safety Paper essays. The Linn's 1869 book was authored by Jon Rose, but the person responsible for creating the Safety Paper appendix (and thus updating Brazer's work) was none other than Michael Laurence, the current editor-in-chief of the Chronicle. Laurence has a significant holding of the $10 \notin$ Lincoln Safety Papers and is one of the few collectors still around who attended the 1978 Juhring sale. The appendix in Rose's book called attention to the inadequacies of the Scott numbering.

The Safety Papers are arranged in the Scott catalog according to underprint design. Brazer initially numbered the underprints from 1 through 25 and Scott followed this arrangement, with denominations and colors subordinate to each underprint. The black-andwhite swatches presented in Figure 2 follow this underprint numbering, except that design 24A is a new addition, not listed by Brazer or by Scott.

In the writers' opinion, the Scott listings need revision, starting with the introduction, which contains incorrect information. It currently reads:

Safety essays: die essays on thin wove, underprinted with various engraved safety paper designs in another color, probably with fugitive ink.

Found on 5¢ (No. 115-E1), 10¢ (No. 116-E1), 15¢ (No. 129-E1) and 30¢ (No. 121-E1). Stamp color given first.

As noted, the inks used for the underprints are not fugitive. On the contrary, they are stable; they will not fade or run if erased or immersed in fluid. Also, the paper is India, not wove, and shows the characteristic India paper irregularities. The Scott catalog introduction should be corrected to reflect these facts.

There is no logic or consistency in how the Scott catalog lists and numbers the Safety Papers' different stamp designs, underprint designs and colors. (In the ghost-written appendix to the Linn's 1869 book, Laurence called the numbering "a study in confusion.") In many instances, the prefix number Scott uses-115, 116 and 129-does not correspond to the Scott number of the issued stamp. For example, some (but not all) $10 \notin$ and $30 \notin$ designs are given 115 Scott numbers, even though 115 designates the $6 \notin 1869$ stamp.

The $15 \phi$ unified die is numbered 129 (designating the reissued $15 \phi 1869$ stamp) because it resembles the Type III Reissue stamp, but in fact, the unified die is more closely related to Scott 118, the first printed (Type I frame) 15¢ 1869 stamp. Assigning a Reissue
number to the $15 \phi$ Safety Papers misleadingly suggests they are somehow connected to the Reissues and were produced years after 1869.

Finally, while the Scott catalog prioritizes the underprint design in arranging the entries, a designation of the underprint design number is omitted from the actual catalog number, obscuring the single most important piece of information that differentiates the essays.

The upshot of all these problems is, if one looks at $115-\mathrm{E} 3 \mathrm{a}, 115-\mathrm{E} 3 \mathrm{~b}$ and $115-\mathrm{E} 3 \mathrm{c}$ in the catalog, one sees the $5 申$ Washington, $10 \phi$ Lincoln and $30 ¢$ Burgoyne essays, and they all have Design Type 1 underprints, leaving the user to ponder how three different denominations could have the same primary number and why they are "E3" essays when they are the first Safety Papers listed. Complicating matters further, the same catalog number usually has more than one color assigned to it.

Believing that criticism should always be accompanied by suggestion for improvement, the writers recommend changing the listings and catalog numbers according to the following plan:

The catalog number should reflect the corresponding stamp essay (115, 116, 118 or 121 ), and the "E" essay number should be the underprint design (1-25). To avoid duplication between the Safety Paper numbers and other essay numbers, the letters "SP" (Safety Paper) should be inserted between "E" and the underprint design number. Each color combination would then be listed for that stamp/underprint type.

For example: The $5 申$ Washington with Design 1 Underprint would be changed from 115-E3a to $115-\mathrm{ESP} 1$. The $10 \phi$ with the Design 1 Underprint (currently 115-E3b) would become 116-ESP1. The $30 \phi$ with the Design 1 Underprint (115-E3c) would change to 121ESP1. Underprint Design 2, currently listed as "E4," would become "ESP2", and so on.

No one fears the hassles of renumbering the Scott catalog more than the two authors of this article, who over the years have wrestled with database and auction-description problems resulting from other instances of Scott catalog renumbering. However, the current system used for Safety Papers is so confusing that it really must be changed.

## Unrecorded Scott-listed items and corrections

The census of Safety Paper essays presented at the conclusion of this article contains six Scott-listed items for which no examples have been seen. The six are listed under three Scott numbers and appear in the census as entries $72,106,119,120,121$ and 122 . Obviously, photos of these six cannot be shown. Specifically, they are as follows:

ID 72. Underprint 13, 10¢ Lincoln, Scott 115-E11b, blue on brown with horizontal underprinting. One Blue/Brown example is recorded with vertical orientation of the underprinting (ID 73 in the census), but not horizontal.

ID 106. Underprint 20, 30¢ Burgoyne, Scott 116-E7b, carmine on scarlet. No example of the $30 \phi$ with Design 20 underprint has been seen.

IDs 119-122. Underprint 24, 30¢ Burgoyne, Scott 115-E19c, various color combinations (four are listed). No example of the $30 \phi$ with underprint design 24 has been seen.

In support of these statements, the writers searched all past auction catalogs, including the Levi records, and consulted with Jim Lee, the authority on U.S. essays and proofs. The above six items may once have existed (and may exist to this day), but they have never been seen by today's collectors, nor have they reposed in any of the collections in which they would likely have been residents.

In addition to the six unknown listed items above, there is another that might or might not be correctly described in the Scott catalog. This is listed as entry 11 in the accompanying census:

ID 11. Underprint 2, 30¢ Burgoyne, Scott 115-E4c, orange on gray. Two examples of Scott 115-4c, 30¢ orange on violet, are recorded in the census (10 and 11), one of which has only been seen in a black-and-white image in the Juhring catalog, where it was
described as orange on violet. It is possible that the Juhring example actually has a gray underprint, which would prove the Scott listing correct. If both examples are really violet, then there is no known gray underprint to support the Scott listing.

There is one significant correction that should be made to the existing Scott listings. For underprint design 3, the Scott entries for 115-E5a, E5b and E5c describe the color as "orange and red." This is incorrect. The actual color is orange red (or just orange). Whichever it is, it is just one color, not two. Jim Lee and Michael Laurence concur, based on closely examining examples in their possession.

## Orientation of underprints

A few listings in the Scott catalog refer to the orientation of the underprint relative to the stamp design; in fact, every example has a particular orientation, and some examples of the same basic Scott-listed item (in different colors) have different orientations (rotated 90 degrees or even 180 degrees). For this reason, the accompanying census data specifically notes the background orientation of each Safety Paper essay.

To understand how the orientation could vary among examples of the same underprint design, it is essential to know the steps involved in creating the Safety Paper essays. To begin, the underprint paper was printed first, in a size that could accommodate multiple impressions of a stamp design.

The Safety Paper essay shown in Figure 3 (Census ID 104) is an ideal example to illustrate this two-step process. The Figure 3 item is the only Safety Paper essay that shows the National Bank Note Company imprint and also the number from the die that printed the


Figure 3. At left, census ID 104, 10申 Lincoln die imprint in brown, on underprint design 20 in orange, showing two imprints reading "NATIONAL BANK NOTE CO. N.Y." (one orange and one brown) and die number " 3493 " in orange. The fainter brown imprint, just above the orange number, is the imprint from the stamp die. The montage at right is a digital overlay of the safety paper essay (electronically cropped at top) overlaying a more conventional $10 \phi$ Lincoln die essay with imprint, showing the location of the Bank Note Company imprint in relation to the die image. This proves that the Safety Paper essays are from two separate dies.
underprint (in this case, "3493" on Design 20). Both the underprinting and the number are orange. There is also a fainter second National imprint, in brown, just above the number. This belongs to the $10 \notin$ Lincoln die, which is also in brown. The montage at right in Figure 3 shows that imprint aligns perfectly with the location of the imprint, here taken from a more conventional $10 \notin$ Lincoln die essay.

The Safety Paper essay at left in Figure 3 shows unprinted white margins at top and bottom, but the right and left edges are cut through the underprint. This suggests how the underprint paper was cut apart. In some examples with large margins surrounding the stamp design, the corners or edges of the underprint are evident.

The underprint sheets were most likely cut apart first, then used to receive impressions from the different stamp dies in various colors. The direction of the underprint pattern changed if the separate pieces of paper were aligned to the stamp design with different orientations. On some, the vertical or horizontal orientation is very obvious. On others the patterns are more uniform, but it is still possible to see differences in the orientation. On a few that were rotated 180 degrees, the underprint might show "points up" or "points down."

Orientation is a subtle factor and does not really increase or decrease the rarity or desirability of any Safety Paper item. But it does help distinguish between certain otherwise similar examples, and it strengthens the hypothesis that the underprint paper was printed first, then cut apart and then used to receive stamp die impressions.

## Reconstructing the underprint paper

Knowing that the underprint paper was printed first and then cut up leads to the next line of inquiry. Is it possible to reconstruct the original paper sheet? The answer is yes, at least for some of the Safety Paper essays. Three successful reconstructions are shown in Figure 4. Undoubtedly, there are more to be found.

The reconstruction at upper right in Figure 4, involving underprint 18, is the most successful, in that it aligns four different Safety Paper essays in their original positions on the underprint sheet. The alignment at upper left in Figure 4, while it involves just two items, is striking because the elements in underprint pattern (underprint 15) align so cleanly. The lower element in Figure 4 shows the double-imprint essay featured in Figure 3, with an example from the 1978 Juhring sale. When the black-and-white Juhring catalog photo is correctly sized to match the color photo, the left and right edges and the underprint design 20 pattern align perfectly. Both essays show the $10 \notin$ Lincoln; the one with imprint is printed in brown on orange, and the other is described in the Juhring catalog as blue on orange.

Much to our surprise, in the course of researching this article we found a previously unrecognized variety of one of the underprint designs. Underprint design 24, which consists of a repeating pattern with the word "TEN" in a curved frame above the numeral " 10 ," actually exists in two distinctly different types. One type (24) shows a gap between the rows of framed arches; on the other, which we have designated Type 24A, the rows of arches touch. A comparison of the two is shown in Figure 5. This distinction certainly deserves Scott catalog recognition. But it's easy to see how these two very similar underprints were conflated into one in the era when the objects themselves (or even photographic images) were not available for comparison.

## Census summary

The 118 recorded examples of 1869 Safety Paper essays are illustrated and described in the census data presented in the Appendix at the conclusion of this article. The images are grouped according to underprint type and at least the color images are presented as close to lifesized as possible. When make-up considerations have made it necessary for us to reduce an item's size, we have tried to confine the reductions to black and white images, which are not much to look at in any size. The tabular data accompanying the images presents


Figure 4. Partial reconstructions of Safety Paper layouts. At top left, underprint design 15 in orange brown with $5 \phi$ Washington and $30 \phi$ Burgoyne. The top and bottom edges and underprint pattern align perfectly, indicating the two pieces of paper were cut apart from the same underprinted sheet. At top right, underprint design 18 in scarlet, with four different stamp designs or colors, on what clearly originated as one piece of underprinted paper, here reconstructed to show how the paper was cut apart before the die impressions were made. At lower left, 10申 Lincoln, underprint design 20 (see Figure 3), orange underprinting with brown vignette, next to an example (in black and white, from the Juhring holding), with the underprint patterns aligned in their original position on the underprint sheet.

Figure 5. Two different types of underprint 24.
The version at top shows breaks between the frame arches of each row. The arches in the version at bottom extend to touch the row below. The writers identify these as designs 24 (top) and 24A.


| Design | Listed | Not seen | Net count | As \% |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| 5¢ Washington | 29 |  | 29 | $24.6 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1 0 ¢}$ Lincoln | 41 | -1 | 40 | $33.9 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1 5 ¢}$ Columbus | 25 |  | 25 | $21.2 \%$ |
| 30¢ Burgoyne | 29 | -5 | 24 | $20.3 \%$ |
| TOTALS | 124 | -6 | 118 | $100.0 \%$ |

Table 1. Safety paper essays by stamp design. All are scarce, but of the four designs, the Lincoln head is the most common.

| Scott | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{U} / \mathrm{P} \\ \text { type } \end{gathered}$ | Denom | Listed | Not seen | Net | Scott | $\begin{aligned} & \text { U/P } \\ & \text { type } \end{aligned}$ | Denom | Listed | Not seen | Net |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 115-E3a | 1 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 115-E12b | 14 | 10¢ | 4 |  | 4 |
| 115-E3b | 1 | $10 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 115-E12c | 14 | 30¢ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E3c | 1 | $30 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 115-E13a | 15 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E4a | 2 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 115-E13b | 15 | 30¢ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E4b | 2 | $10 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 115-E14a | 16 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E4c | 2 | $30 ¢$ | 4 |  | 4 | 115-E14b | 16 | 10¢ | 5 |  | 5 |
| 115-E5a | 3 | $5 ¢$ | 3 |  | 3 | 115-E15a | 17 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E5b | 3 | $10 ¢$ | 3 |  | 3 | 115-E15b | 17 | 30¢ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E5c | 3 | $30 ¢$ | 3 |  | 3 | 115-E16a | 18 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E6a | 4 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 115-E16b | 18 | 10¢ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E6b | 4 | $10 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 115-E16c | 18 | 30¢ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E6c | 4 | $30 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 115-E17a | 22 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E7a | 5 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 115-E17b | 22 | 10¢ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E7b | 5 | $10 ¢$ | 3 |  | 3 | 115-E18 | 23 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E7c | 5 | $30 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 115-E19a | 24A | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E8a | 6 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 115-E19b | 24/24A | $10 ¢$ | 6 |  | 6 |
| 115-E8b | 6 | $10 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 115-E19c | 24 | 30¢ | 4 | -4 | 0 |
| 115-E8c | 6 | $30 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 115-E20 | 25 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E9a | 7 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 116-E6a | 19 | 10¢ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E9b | 7 | 10¢ | 1 |  | 1 | 116-E6b | 19 | 30¢ | 1 |  | 1 |
| 115-E9c | 7 | $30 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 116-E7a | 20 | 10¢ | 2 |  | 2 |
| 115-E10a | 8 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 116-E7b | 20 | 30¢ | 1 | -1 | 0 |
| 115-E10b | 8 | $10 ¢$ | 3 |  | 3 | 116-E8 | 21 | 10¢ | 1 |  | 8 |
| 115-E11a | 13 | $5 ¢$ | 1 |  | 1 | 129-E3 | 9 | 15¢ | 8 |  | 6 |
| 115-E11b | 13 | 10¢ | 4 | -1 | 3 | 129-E4 | 10 | 15¢ | 6 |  | 6 |
| 115-E11c | 13 | 30¢ | 2 |  | 2 | 129-E5 | 11 | 15¢ | 6 |  | 5 |
| 115-E12a | 14 | $5 ¢$ | 2 |  | 2 | 129-E6 | 12 | 15¢ | 5 |  | 5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | OTAL | 124 | -6 | 118 |

Table 2. Safety paper essays by Scott number. The lack of correlation between the Scott number and the essay denomination has been a source of needless confusion.
information useful to studying or just appreciating these colorful objects. The first column is our unique ID number. The second column indicates the underprint type, keyed to the swatches presented in Figure 2. The third column indicates the stamp value (5ф, 10ф, 15申 or $30 \notin$ ). The fourth column shows the stamp color and the fifth column the underprint color. Column 6 describes the orientation of the underprint, which might be useful in additional reconstruction work. The last two columns provide the Scott number and notes.

Two useful summaries of the census data are provided in Tables 1 and 2 opposite. Table 1 presents a tally of the four different stamp designs among the 118 examples. The "Listed" column is based on the Scott catalog listing, but the "Net count" omits the six for which no examples have been seen. The final column expresses the number of items as a percentage of the whole. Of the four stamp design types, the Lincoln heads are the most common ( $33.9 \%$ ) and the Burgoynes the least common (20.3\%).

Table 2 is a list of each Scott number and the number of census entries for each. These counts do not distinguish color combinations, which are listed by Scott without separate catalog numbers. Again, the unrecorded examples are omitted in the net count.

It is noteworthy to observe that there is no overlap between the $15 \phi$ Columbus and the other values. Underprint designs with the $5 \phi, 10 \phi$ or $30 \phi$ have not been found with the $15 \phi$, and designs $9,10,11$ and 12 are known only with the 15 ¢. We have no idea what to make of this observation.

The writers are grateful to Jim Lee for reviewing this article, providing copies of patent documents and images, and for expending time and energy to locate missing examples of Safety Papers.

## APPENDIX: CENSUS OF 1869 SAFETY PAPER ESSAYS UNDERPRINT 1



2
Underprint Type 1. Four examples are recorded of this wavy-line underprint, which is known only in scarlet. Three different denominations are represented, printed in three different colors. Note the two corner margin copies; both could be from the same underprint sheet, with the die imprinted in a different orientation.


| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp <br> Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 1 | $5 \phi$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 3 a$ |  |
| 2 | 1 | $5 \phi$ | Orange | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 3 a$ |  |
| 3 | 1 | $10 \phi$ | Blue | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 3 b$ | Corner margin |
| 4 | 1 | $30 \phi$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 3 c$ | Corner margin |

## UNDERPRINT 2



UNDERPRINT 3


Underprint Type 3 is the most abundant of all, with nine examples known. ID 12 and 15-19 are incorrectly described in Scott as having bicolored underprinting (orange and red). ID 18 and 19 appear to be duplicates: they share the same underprint, denomination and color combination.


17


19


20

| $\begin{gathered} \text { ID } \\ \# \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { U/P } \\ \text { Type } \end{gathered}$ | Value | Stamp Color | Underprint Color | Underprint Orientation | Scott \# | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 12 | 3 | $5 ¢$ | Carmine | Orange Red | Horizontal | 115-E5a |  |
| 13 | 3 | $5 ¢$ | Carmine | Brown | Horizontal | 115-E5a |  |
| 14 | 3 | 5¢ | Orange | Brown | Horizontal | 115-E5a |  |
| 15 | 3 | 10¢ | Carmine | Orange Red | Horizontal | 115-E5b |  |
| 16 | 3 | 10¢ | Orange Red | Orange Red | Horizontal | 115-E5b |  |
| 17 | 3 | 10¢ | Blue | Orange Red | Horizontal | 115-E5b | 3 margins |
| 18 | 3 | 30¢ | Carmine | Orange Red | Vertical | 115-E5c |  |
| 19 | 3 | 30¢ | Carmine | Orange Red | Vertical | 115-E5c | 3 margins |
| 20 | 3 | $30 ¢$ | Orange | Brown | Vertical | 115-E5c | 3 margins |

## UNDERPRINT 4



21


22


23


24

Underprint Type 4, which is recorded only in scarlet, consists of simple interwoven wavy lines, creating the impression of a chain-link fence. ID 24 is a corner-margin copy. The irregularities in the two margins help show how the engraved wave lines were laid down.

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp <br> Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21 | 4 | $5 \phi$ | Orange | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-$ E6a |  |
| 22 | 4 | $10 \phi$ | Blue | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 6 b$ |  |
| 23 | 4 | $10 \phi$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 6 b$ |  |
| 24 | 4 | $30 \phi$ | Black | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 6 c$ | Corner margin |

## UNDERPRINT 5

Underprint 5 is another wavy line pattern with different amplitude, printed in scarlet or in black. The stamp color for ID 25 was described in the Juhring sale as carmine, but the authors believe the proper designation should be orange. ID 26

25


28


29


30


31

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp <br> Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25 | 5 | $5 \phi$ | Orange | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E7a |  |
| 26 | 5 | $5 \phi$ | Orange | Black | Horizontal | 115-E7a | Top margin |
| 27 | 5 | $10 \phi$ | Dark Brown | Black | Horizontal | 115-E7b |  |
| 28 | 5 | $10 \phi$ | Orange Red | Black | Vertical | 115-E7b | Left margin |
| 29 | 5 | $10 \phi$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E7b |  |
| 30 | 5 | $30 \phi$ | Carmine | Black | Horizontal | $115-E 7 c$ |  |
| 31 | 5 | $30 \phi$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 7 c$ |  |

## UNDERPRINT 6



Underprint type 6 exists only in black, in these four examples, three of which show corner margins. In the horizontal margins of ID 34 and 35 , ruling is evident as well. ID 34 additionally shows a tiny portion of the bank note company imprint (from the carmine die impression) at the bottom edge.


34
35

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp <br> Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 32 | 6 | $5 \phi$ | Orange | Black | Vertical | 115-E8a |  |
| 33 | 6 | $10 \phi$ | Blue | Black | Horizontal | 115-E8b | Corner margin |
| 34 | 6 | $30 \phi$ | Carmine | Black | Horizontal | 115-E8c | Corner margin |
| 35 | 6 | $30 \phi$ | Orange | Black | Horizontal | 115-E8c | Corner margin |

## UNDERPRINT 7



Underprint 7, always in black, exists on four examples, one showing a corner margin.

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp <br> Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36 | 7 | $5 \phi$ | Carmine | Black | Horizontal | 115-E9a |  |
| 37 | 7 | $5 \phi$ | Orange | Black | Horizontal | 115-E9a |  |
| 38 | 7 | $10 \phi$ | Blue | Black | Horizontal | $115-$ E9b | Corner margin |
| 39 | 7 | $30 \phi$ | Orange | Black | Horizontal | $115-E 9 c$ |  |

## UNDERPRINT 8

Underprint 8, found only in scarlet, is a series of wavy lines that seem to form rows of the capital letter M. Close examintion of the irregularities in the corner margin of ID 41 provides some insight into how the lines were inscribed onto the underprint plate.


41


42


43

| ID | U/P <br> \# <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp <br> Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 40 | 8 | $5 \phi$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E10a |  |
| 41 | 8 | $10 \phi$ | Blue | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E10b | Corner margin |
| 42 | 8 | $10 \phi$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 10 b$ |  |
| 43 | 8 | $10 \phi$ | Orange Red | Scarlet | Horizontal | $115-E 10 b$ | Bottom margin |

## UNDERPRINT 9



44


48


45


49


46


50


47


51

Underprint 9, always in orange, is found only on essays of the $15 \phi$ stamp. The lathework is a series of waves that appear in two arrays, points up or points down. The $15 \phi$ essays also introduce a new essay color, blue green, not found on the other denominations.

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 44 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Orange | Points Up | $129-$-3 |  |
| 45 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Orange | Points Up | $129-$-3 |  |
| 46 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Orange | Points Up | $129-E 3$ |  |
| 47 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Orange | Points Left | $129-E 3$ |  |
| 48 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Orange | Points Down | $129-E 3$ |  |
| 49 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Orange | Points Down | $129-E 3$ |  |
| 50 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Dark Blue | Orange | Points Up | $129-E 3$ |  |
| 51 | 9 | $15 \phi$ | Dark Blue | Orange | Points Down | $129-E 3$ |  |

UNDERPRINT 10


Underprint 10, also found only on $15 \phi$ essays, is a simple pattern of continuous loops. The underprint color has been described as various hues of scarlet, but it's likely there was just one original color. The three margin copies (ID 53, 55 and 57) show that a continuous rule ran around the outer edge of the underprinting.

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 52 | 10 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Scarlet | Loop down | 129-E4 |  |
| 53 | 10 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Scarlet | Loop down | 129-E4 | Bottom margin |
| 54 | 10 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Scarlet | Loop up | $129-E 4$ |  |
| 55 | 10 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Deep scarlet | Loop up | 129-E4 | Bottom margin |
| 56 | 10 | $15 \phi$ | Dark Blue | Scarlet | Loop right | 129-E4 |  |
| 57 | 10 | $15 \phi$ | Dark Blue | Scarlet | Loop left | $129-E 4$ | Corner margin |

UNDERPRINT 11
Underprint 11, always in hues of scarlet, is a series of irregularly inscribed lines, parallel but seemingly random, which collectively create the appearance of a topographical map. Two examples, ID 58 and 61, have been trimmed down to the design.


58


59


61


60


62

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 58 | 11 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Scarlet | Horizontal | 129-E5 | Trimmed |
| 59 | 11 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Scarlet | Horizontal | 129-E5 |  |
| 60 | 11 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Scarlet | Vertical | 129 -E5 |  |
| 61 | 11 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Scarlet | Vertical | 129-E5 | Trimmed |
| 62 | 11 | $15 \phi$ | Dark Blue | Scarlet | Vertical | 129-E5 |  |
| 63 | 11 | $15 \phi$ | Dark Blue | Scarlet | Horizontal | $129-E 5$ |  |

## UNDERPRINT 12



64


66


68

Underprint 12 is similar to 11, except the parallel lines are slightly more regular. Collectively, the lines create the appearance of a honeycomb.


| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 64 | 12 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Deep Scarlet | Shading Up | 129-E6 |  |
| 65 | 12 | $15 \phi$ | Orange Brown | Deep Scarlet | Shading Down | 129-E6 |  |
| 66 | 12 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Deep Scarlet | Shading Up | 129-E6 |  |
| 67 | 12 | $15 \phi$ | Blue Green | Deep Scarlet | Shading Up | 129-E6 |  |
| 68 | 12 | $15 \phi$ | Dark Blue | Deep Scarlet | Shading Down | 129-E6 | Left margin |

UNDERPRINT 13


Underprint 13, recorded only in brown, is one of the oddest, giving the impression that the stamp designs are being viewed behind a dark lace curtain. The margins evident in ID 73-75 provide useful insight into the configuration of the underprint plate. Yellow background in the table indicates catalogued items not seen by the authors.

| ID <br> $\#$ | U/P <br> Type | Val- <br> ue | Stamp <br> Color | Underprint <br> Color | Underprint <br> Orientation | Scott <br> $\#$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 69 | 13 | $5 \phi$ | Orange | Brown | Vertical | 115-E11a |  |
| 70 | 13 | $10 \phi$ | Carmine | Brown | Vertical | 115-E11b |  |
| 71 | 13 | $10 \phi$ | Orange Red | Brown | Horizontal | 115-E11b |  |
| 72 | 13 | $10 \phi$ | Blue | Brown | Horizontal | 115-E11b | Not seen |
| 73 | 13 | $10 \phi$ | Blue | Brown | Vertical | 115-E11b | 3 margins |
| 74 | 13 | $30 \phi$ | Carmine | Brown | Horizontal | 115-E11c | 3 margins |
| 75 | 13 | $30 \phi$ | Carmine | Brown | Horizontal | 115-E11c | 2 margins |

UNDERPRINTS 14 AND 15


Underprint 15 is found in two similar colors: orange brown and deep orange. The design is an appealing lacy geometric pattern. Two examples, ID 85 and ID 86, show three margins, suggesting quite clearly the array of the underprint plate.

| ID \# | U/P <br> Type | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Val- } \\ & \text { ue } \end{aligned}$ | Stamp Color | Underprint Color | Underprint Orientation | $\begin{gathered} \text { Scott } \\ \# \end{gathered}$ | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 76 | 14 | $5 ¢$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E12a |  |
| 77 | 14 | $5 ¢$ | Black | Scarlet | Vertical | 115-E12a |  |
| 78 | 14 | 10¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E12b |  |
| 79 | 14 | 10¢ | Orange | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E12b |  |
| 80 | 14 | 10¢ | Sepia | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E12b |  |
| 81 | 14 | 10¢ | Blue | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E12b |  |
| 82 | 14 | 30¢ | Black | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E12c | corner margin |
| 83 | 15 | 5¢ | Carmine | Orange Brown | Vertical | 115-E13a |  |
| 84 | 15 | $5 ¢$ | Carmine | Orange Brown | Vertical | 115-E13a |  |
| 85 | 15 | $30 ¢$ | Carmine | Deep Orange | Vertical | 115-E13b | 3 margins |
| 86 | 15 | 30¢ | Carmine | Deep Orange | Vertical | 115-E13b | 3 margins |

## UNDERPRINTS 16 AND 17



Underprint 16 (above), always in scarlet, is an attractive field of rosettes, oriented either vertically or horizontally. The three-margin example, ID 92, suggests the plate array quite clearly. In underprint 17, below, the rosettes have been lengthened into ellipses, but the same principles apply. ID 95 is especially interesting in that it shows parts of two elliptical rosettes wandering off the field into the left margin.


| $\begin{array}{r} \text { ID } \\ \# \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { U/P } \\ \text { Type } \end{gathered}$ | Value | Stamp Color | Underprint Color | Underprint Orientation | Scott \# | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 87 | 16 | $5 ¢$ | Orange | Scarlet | Vertical | 115-E14a |  |
| 88 | 16 | 10¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E14b |  |
| 89 | 16 | 10¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | Vertical | 115-E14b |  |
| 90 | 16 | 10¢ | Orange Red | Scarlet | Vertical | 115-E14b | 2 margins |
| 91 | 16 | 10¢ | Sepia | Scarlet | Vertical | 115-E14b | 2 margins |
| 92 | 16 | 10¢ | Blue | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E14b | 3 margins |
| 93 | 17 | $5 ¢$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E15a |  |
| 94 | 17 | $30 ¢$ | Carmine | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E15b |  |
| 95 | 17 | 30¢ | Orange | Scarlet | Horizontal | 115-E15b |  |



Underprints 18-20 include striking overall designs. The diagonal background lines in the Type 18 underprints (IDs 96-101) were possibly intended to resemble the grain in a wood engraving. In combination with the syncopated star pattern, this facilitates plate reconstruction; see Figure 4. The blue-green underprint 19 (IDs 102 and 103 are the two examples recorded) is a highly complex pattern of stars and mesh that almost completely obscures the stamp design it was intended to protect. On ID 104, the bottom margin shows two National imprints and a die number (3493) for the underprint plate (see Figure 3).

| $\begin{gathered} \text { ID } \\ \# \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { U/P } \\ \text { Type } \end{gathered}$ | Value | Stamp Color | Underprint Color | Underprint Orientation | Scott <br> \# | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 96 | 18 | 5¢ | Black | Scarlet | BG Lines \} | 115-E16a |  |
| 97 | 18 | $5 ¢$ | Carmine | Scarlet | BG Lines \} | 115-E16a |  |
| 98 | 18 | 10¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | BG Lines \} | 115-E16b |  |
| 99 | 18 | 10¢ | Sepia | Scarlet | BG Lines \} | 115-E16b |  |
| 100 | 18 | 30¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | BG Lines \} | 115-E16c |  |
| 101 | 18 | 30¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | BG Lines \} | 115-E16c |  |
| 102 | 19 | 10¢ | Blue | Blue Green | Star Vertical | 116-E6a |  |
| 103 | 19 | 30¢ | Carmine | Blue Green | Star Vertical | 116-E6b |  |
| 104 | 20 | 10¢ | Brown | Orange | Horizontal | 116-E7a | Die 3493 |
| 105 | 20 | 10¢ | Blue | Orange | Horizontal | 116-E7a | 2 margins |
| 106 | 20 | 30¢ | Carmine | Orange |  | 116-E7b | Not seen |



Underprints 21-25 involve numbers in various forms. ID 107 is the sole example of the striking multiple ONE underprint (Type 21). Also a unique underprint design is ID 110, the numeral 5 within a vertical ellipse. As explained in the text at Figure 5, IDs 111, 112, 117 and 118 show an underprint that differs significantly from the Scott-listed design.

| $\begin{gathered} \text { ID } \\ \# \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { U/P } \\ \text { Type } \end{gathered}$ | Value | Stamp Color | Underprint Color | Underprint Orientation | Scott \# | Notes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 107 | 21 | 10¢ | Blue | Scarlet | "ONE" | 116-E8 | 3 margins |
| 108 | 22 | $5 ¢$ | Orange | Scarlet | Upright "TWO" | 115-E17a |  |
| 109 | 22 | 10¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | Upright "TWO" | 115-E17b |  |
| 110 | 23 | 5¢ | Black | Carmine | Upright "5" | 115-E18 | top margin |
| 111 | 24A | 5¢ | Orange | Scarlet | Connected | 115-E19a | Differs |
| 112 | 24A | 5¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | Connected | 115-E19a | Differs |
| 113 | 24 | 10¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | Not Connected | 115-E19b |  |
| 114 | 24 | $10 ¢$ | Orange Red | Scarlet | Not Connected | 115-E19b |  |
| 115 | 24 | $10 ¢$ | Brown | Scarlet | Not Connected | 115-E19b |  |
| 116 | 24 | $10 ¢$ | Blue | Scarlet | Not Connected | 115-E19b |  |
| 117 | 24A | 10¢ | Blue | Scarlet | Connected | 115-E19b | Differs |
| 118 | 24A | 10¢ | Carmine | Scarlet | Connected | 115-E19b | Differs |
| 119 | 24 | 30¢ | Carmine | Scarlet |  | 115-E19c | Not seen |
| 120 | 24 | 30¢ | Orange Red | Scarlet |  | 115-E19c | Not seen |
| 121 | 24 | 30¢ | Brown | Scarlet |  | 115-E19c | Not seen |
| 122 | 24 | 30¢ | Blue | Scarlet |  | 115-E19c | Not seen |
| 123 | 25 | $5 ¢$ | Black | Black | Upright " 50 " | 115-E20 |  |
| 124 | 25 | $5 ¢$ | Orange | Black | Upright " 50 " | 115-E20 |  |

## Quality

## U.S. Essays \& Proofs and Postal History Bought and Sold

122-E5a<br>90 c Carmine, Washington full size $(152 \times 215 \mathrm{~m})$ die essay, with National imprint, pulled on India paper and die sunk on card blotter. The adopted frame but with Washington's portrait instead of Lincoln. Probably unique full size! Ex-Earl of Crawford \& Dr. Heimburger \$4,750.00



122-E2a
$90 \&$ Blue-green, Washington die essay, with small numerals, National imprint, first state of the design, pulled on India and die sunk on card, blotter, unlisted shade. Ex-Finkelburg $\$ \mathbf{2}, \mathbf{5 0 0} .00$

122-E5a
90 c Black, Washington die essay, pulled on India paper and still affixed to the original card blotter. The adopted frame but with Washington's portrait instead of Lincoln. Small spot at top right. Ex-Finkelburg (EP83-04) \$4,250.00


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Enjoy life while you have the chance, So here's to Music, Wine and Dance When once you're dead, there's no encore To bring you back and try life o'er.

From "Second Death Watch and Feast of the Ghouls"
Five years before the 1897 publication of Dracula, Bram Stoker's novel of horror and blood lust, a group of a hundred or more men gathered in Mazzetti's, one of New York City's most fashionable restaurants, to hold the "Death Watch" and "Feast of the Ghouls." This gathering of respected doctors, theater performers, artists and other Victorian-era gentlemen was hosted by the "Chief Ghoul," a famous banjoist and minstrel performer named John M. Turner (McTurney).


Figure 1. $2 \phi$ small Bank Note stamp on an illustrated cover from the "Order of the Vampires," posted at New York City on 18 October 1892. from "Roost No. 1" at 1307 Broadway (at 34th Street). This is now the location of the Herald Center Mall. "Desmodus" is the genus of bats often referred to as vampire bats. It took the author almost 40 years to puzzle out the story behind this ghoulish and provocative cover.


Figure 2. Announcement for the Vampires' "Second Death Watch and Feast of the Ghouls," oddly honoring Christopher Columbus, to be held at Mazzetti's, an upscale Manhattan restaurant. This image, along with the images shown in Figures 3 and 4, are presented here through the courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.

They called themselves the Order of the Vampires, and their "Roost No. 1" was located at 1307 Broadway in Manhattan. Coincidentally, Mazzetti's restaurant was located at Fifth Avenue and 49th Street, just one block from my current office.

Organized in April 1892, the Order of the Vampires was a society of theatrical performers. They held at least two raucous parties in May and October of that year, which the newspapers reported with great amusement.
"Skeleton Fodder," "Vampires’ Wings, Breaded," and "Headstone Croquettes" were served to the guests. Black-robed waiters stood ready to bring "graveyard cough drops" and "fried souls." John Turner was seated beneath a huge bat, holding in his claws a human skull, the sign of the organization. An "electrocutionist" named Fred Bennett would use electrical current to light up the bat's colored glass eyes.

Behind the bat was a large horn, fitted with an electrical attachment, which made "a frightful groan" when someone rose to speak. In front of Turner was a cup filled with "vampires' blood," in which an "electric light glowed fitfully." The wine bottles were labeled "vampires' blood," and whenever a toast was made the Vampires applauded by moving their arms slowly up and down to their sides like wings.

None of this was known to me when I acquired the Figure 1 cover around 1981. I noticed the unusual "Order of the Vampires"


Figure 3. "Morgue pass" created for a Vampire event.


Figure 4. Musical score for the processional chant that apparently preceeded the Vampire's Feast of the Ghouls. "From the morgue to the grave is a mile and a half...."
design in a small halftone photo in one of Kover King's newsprint-paper auction catalogs and authorized Calvet Hahn to bid on the lot. I won it for $\$ 80$ or so.

A few weeks later I received a call from Wilbur H. Schilling, Jr. of Minneapolis, whose claim to philatelic fame was ownership of the $1 \phi$ " $Z$ " Grill and other great rarities. At this time Schilling was amassing an important collection of advertising covers. He learned about the Vampire cover after the auction and somehow traced its sale to me. Schilling offered me a substantial four-figure profit, but I politely turned him down. I told him that if I ever found another, he could have it for my cost. But in the 35 -plus years since then, I have not found a second example.

For most of the time I owned the cover, I searched in vain to explain what it was. The 1307 Broadway address is near where Macy's Herald Square store is located today. The addressee's name was not connected to anything noteworthy. The "UAF" on the tombstone was a mystery, but the late Bruce Hazelton dryly suggested it might mean Underground Air Force.

Finally, with the internet and the growth of digital archives, I was able over time to assemble the complete story. First, I found John M. Turner's name in old theater-industry newspapers and a city directory listing for the Vampires. Then, the New-York Historical Society posted items from their collection. Their Vampires memorabilia included a notice announcing the Second Death Watch and Feast of the Ghouls (Figure 2), a silk ribbon masking as a pass to the New York morgue (Figure 3), and a humorous musical piece that the Vampires apparently sang (Figure 4) as a processional chant.

Finally, I learned the answer to the question that vexed me for so many years. The "UAF" initials stand for the Vampires' motto: Unity, Affinity, Friendship.

As for the Chief Ghoul, John Turner, his twilight years were spent in near solitude, away from the stage. He died in September 1907 in his late fifties after a failed attempt to remove his appendix. Turner's legacy as a banjo composer and performer is perpetuated on the internet, where a photo of one of his banjos can be found, along with the stories of the Vampires. And the spectacular illustrated cover he had printed in 1892 has given him the philatelic immortality of a true vampire.

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Leonard H. Hartmann

# TWO EARLY POSTAL CARDS TO ENGLAND 

JULIAN H. JONES

Here are two early postal cards to England, one from before and the other from after the General Postal Union (GPU).

## New dates for Boston handstamps

The postal card illustrated in Figure 1 bears Boston markings that update the information presented in Blake-Davis. ${ }^{1}$ This card was sent from Boston on March 30, 1874 to Oxford, England, but was prepaid only $2 \phi$ (the equivalent of one British penny).

When United States introduced postal cards on July 6, 1873, the United States-Great Britain treaty offered no reduced postal card rate. Instead, postal cards were treated as letters for which the single rate was $6 \notin$ or 3 pence. This continued until the treaty was replaced by the GPU on July 1, 1875. The 5d due postage scrawled in the center represented the 2 d ( $4 \not \subset$ ) deficiency ( 3 d letter rate minus 1d prepayment) plus an underpayment fine of $3 \mathrm{~d}(6 \not \subset$ ), which was levied according to an amendment to the treaty that became effective on January 1, 1870. This is one of only eight postal cards from the United States to England that Alex Gundel recorded in his census of postal cards used internationally before postal card rates were established. ${ }^{2}$


Figure 1. March 30, 1874: 1申 brown on buff postal card (Scott UX3) uprated by a 1申 Bank Note stamp and sent from Boston to Oxford, England. Boston marked the card as insufficiently prepaid and the London manuscript marking assessed 5 pence postage due: 2d for the deficiency plus a 3d penalty for underpayment.

The dates of the Boston handstamps are of interest．In Blake－Davis，the earliest date for marking number 951 （the circular＂INSUFFICENTLY PAID＂marking with＂insuffi－ ciently＂misspelled）is listed as August 18，1874．For marking 952 （the Boston circular datestamp on reverse，shown in Figure 2）Blake－Davis listed June 24， 1874 and December 24，1884．So the March 30， 1874 date of this card advances the dates for both markings by several months．

## Early international use from Utah Territory

The postal card shown in Figures 3 and 4 is datelined ＂Mormon Metropolis Salt Lake City Utah America 19／7／75＂ and was sent to Mitcham，England．This postal card had lan－ guished unremarked in my collection for more than 20 years．It came to my attention when I was mounting it alongside the card described above．

In Figure 3，note the red circular＂PAID ALL＂exchange－of－ fice marking tying the $1 申$ Bank Note stamp．The city name in this marking is unclear to the naked eye．However，images generated on Retroreveal．org，a free online service that allows collectors to


Figure 2．From the reverse of Figure 1： ＂BOSTON MAR 30，＂ ＂OXFORD AP 11 74．＂ upload images and separate their colors，showed that the mark－ ing reads＂CHICAGO ILL／PAID ALL．＂A black and white image of the result is shown in Figure 5．In his book，Chicago Postal Markings and Postal History，Leonard Piszkiewicz listed this as marking FN－220．${ }^{3}$

Since the card was datelined July 19， 1875 and $2 \nless$ GPU postal card rate was intro－ duced on July 1，1875，I surmised that this may be an early use of UX3 at GPU rates to an overseas country from a United States territory（Utah remained a territory until January 4， 1896）．This occasioned a brief search for census data or other examples．The Gundel post－ GPU census data deals mainly with postal cards sent via the New York exchange office．The PhilaMercury website provides a fine list of UX3 examples sent to Europe during 1873 to 1875，but all were from New York with the exception of the one illustrated here and an ear－


Figure 3．July 19，1875： $1 申$ brown on buff postal card（Scott UX3）with 1申 Bank Note stamp added to pay the $2 \phi$ GPU postal card rate from Salt Lake City，Utah Territory， to Mitcham，England．The origin of the red＂PAID ALL＂marking seems mute．


Figure 4. Reverse of the postal card in Figure 3, well filled out, showing the dateline "Mormon Metropolis, Salt Lake City, Utah, America ,19/7/75."


Figure 5. The "PAID ALL" marking in Figure 3, digitally filtered using online software, to reveal a Chicago exchange office marking.
lier card from Boston (via New York). While a small number of cards mailed from United States territories appear in Gundel's listing, none are from Utah. Yet, as Richard Frajola of PhilaMercury points out, Salt Lake City was well established and one would assume that its residents might have generated correspondence with Europe. Perhaps Chronicle readers can shed more light on early uses of UX3 postal cards from Utah Territory.

## Endnotes

1. Maurice C. Blake and Wilbur W. Davis, Boston Postmarks to 1890 (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, 1974), pp. 190-91.
2. Alex Gundel, "Census of U.S. Postal Cards Used Internationally Before Their Rates Were Established," Postal Stationery, Vol. 55, pp. 315-16 (2013); and a pending update by Gundel, which the United Postal Stationery Society is expected to publish in 2017.
3. Leonard Piszkiewicz, Chicago Postal Markings and Postal History (Cary, Illinois: James E. Lee Publishing, 2009), pg. 190.
the subject of pointing-hand markings. Here Milgram presents covers that were previously unavailable for illustration, along with two new discoveries, one of them a cover with two different pointing hands.

Our 1847 section features another contribution from one of our hard-working overseas members, Burkhard Krumm, who uses information from our searchable database of 1847 covers to flesh out the story of " 1847 Covers to the German States." Krumm provides a census listing of the 35 known covers, illustrates 12 of the most interesting (including a new discovery), and provides a useful map of the old German states.

Our 1861 section presents two short articles, one by Jay Kunstreich (page 375) examining an 1863 cover from Philadelphia franked with two demonetized 1857 stamps, and the other by section editor Chip Gliedman presenting an advertising corner envelope showing the map of Kelley's Island, Ohio, that originated as a postal marking in the 1850s.

In our Foreign Mails section (page 407), British member Julian H. Jones compares two early United States postal cards, both upgraded with $1 申$ Bank Note stamps and sent to England before and after the establishment of the General Postal Union on July 1, 1875.

The Collectors Club of Chicago continues its long tradition of quality books on important philatelic subjects. In our In Review section, page 414, Diane DeBlois reviews CCC's latest production, Hugh Feldman's massive new research work, U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Railroad, 1832-75.

One of the most enduring features in the Chronicle is our Cover Corner. Inaugurated when this publication was a mimeographed newsletter for platers of the $3 \phi 1851$ stamps, the Cover Corner has been a Chronicle mainstay ever since. Over the years it has boasted some distinguished editors-J. David Baker and George Hargest to name just two.

The feature has taken on new life recently under the energetic leadership of Jerry Palazolo. This month's Cover Corner (page 411) is an excellent example. It includes three cover scans and two tracings, and summarizes multiple responses (to our May problem cover) that came in from readers all over the world. This is not an easy feature to create. Some of the difficulty involves the limited time available for assembling all the elements. When a new Chronicle arrives, readers who want to participate must respond promptly in order for Palazolo to have time to edit the answers for publication in the following issue.

You can help nourish this feature in two ways: Send potential problem cover candidates to Palazolo as you encounter them, and respond to the current Cover Corner as quickly as you can. The Chronicle is timed to reach domestic subscribers by the first day of the month designated on the cover: February, May, August and November. If you intend to respond to the problem cover in that issue (and we hope you do!), try to get your response into Palazolo's hands before the end of the cover month.


## THE COVER CORNER JERRY PALAZOLO, EDITOR

## EXPLANATION OF PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 255

The problem cover from Chronicle 255, shown in Figure 1, was an incoming cover that originated in Melbourne, Victoria. A manuscript "per Harbinger Steamer" at the top was crossed out with "per Europa" written underneath. In the lower left is a double-oval forwarder's handstamp struck over a boxed red Adams \& Co. express marking. Tracings of both these markings are shown in Figure 2. The only marking on the back is a green Liverpool circular datestamp dated AU 19 1853. The questions were: how did this cover get from Melbourne to London? Who affixed the 1 shilling British stamp? And where? Additionally, we probably should have asked how the cover got to New York, though that seems pretty apparent.


Figure 1. Our problem cover last issue originated in Melbourne, Victoria, and found its way to New York City. The question was: How? The overlapping private handstamps at lower left (one an express marking and the other a forwarder) provided clues.

Figure 2. Enlarged tracings of the two private markings overlapped in the lower left corner of the Figure 1 cover.

> ADAMS \& Co's EXPRESS MELBOURNE N.S.W.


Two of our overseas members were quick to respond (more on them below) along with two stateside members: John Barwis, the owner of the subject cover, and Ronald Stauber, who each helped clarify a couple of important points. Each independently verified that the Harbinger departed Melbourne on 22 May 1853 and arrived at Southampton on 18 August. Further, each pointed out that the letter was probably transferred from the port of entry to London to the care of the forwarding agent, Edwards, Sanford \& Co., who in turn transferred the letter to Liverpool which is most likely where one of its agents affixed the 1 shilling British stamp, redirected the letter to be carried aboard the Cunard steamship Europa, and placed it in the mails at Liverpool. The Europa sailed on 20 August and arrived in Boston on 31 August 1853.

In an appropriate twist it was one of our Australian members, Geoffrey Lewis, who managed to answer all of the questions we posed and more, giving a full explanation that even includes a bit of American history:

How did it travel from Melbourne to England? The Harbinger was a steamer of the General Screw Steam Ship Company. It was the first voyage of a ship of this company to go to Australia, and this cover was carried on its return voyage. This was prior to the company winning a mail contract to carry Australian mails. Harbinger left Melbourne on 22 May 1853, and called at Mauritius, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and St Vincent. She arrived at Southampton on the evening of 18 August, carrying a large mail of 220 bags and boxes. (Source: Colin Tabeart's Australia New Zealand UK Mails to 1880, 2004, page 119.) Why was it not put in the mail at Melbourne? This cover has no postal markings from the colony of Victoria, but it was handstamped there by the forwarder, Adams \& Co.

Gold had only recently been discovered in Victoria. A huge number of people made their way to the port city of Melbourne and the surrounding goldfields. Quite a few of these miners had come from the United States, which had recently experienced a gold rush of its own, in California. Consequently, quite a lot of letters would have been written to the USA. I suspect that Adams offered a service to send the letters via London to the States, by packaging a batch of covers including this one into a bundle addressed to a British agent, Edwards, Sanford \& Co. The package was probably addressed by Adams to Edwards, Sanford's London office. The firm then dispatched various letters from this package to its Liverpool office. The Cunard Europa departed Liverpool on 20 August. The one shilling British adhesive paid for the single rate from Britain to the United States, and was applied by Edwards, Sanford, though it is not clear to me whether it was affixed at its London office or its Liverpool office. This letter was posted at Liverpool on 19 August. The adhesive was struck with the Liverpool numeric cancel 466. The red 5 CENTS mark was applied at Liverpool... and this was the British credit to the United States for a single prepaid letter carried by a British contract steamer.
United Kingdom member Julian Jones filled in some additional useful details to round out the story. He was able to locate a notice in the Times of London on 18 August that reported, "The Mails, Southampton, Wednesday August 17 [reports that] Harbinger, daily expected here from the Australian ports, is supposed to have on board gold dust and bars to the value of about 430,000 sterling." There is no further confirmation of the arrival date which may have been either August 17 or 18. Jones further explains the presence of the New York PAID marking (Hubbard-Winter 330) and the lack of any Boston markings. The New York mails were made up in Liverpool and immediately forwarded unopened to New York upon arrival in Boston. Depending upon the time of arrival of the Europa in Boston on 31 August the mail bags could have arrived in New York City the same day.

Thanks to these readers for reconstructing the entire 101-day journey of this cover.

## PROBLEM COVERS FOR THIS ISSUE

Once again we have two related problem covers for this issue. Both were submitted by David Zlowe. The first problem cover is shown as Figure 3. This is a folded letter headed Mobile, June 5, 1852 and addressed to New Orleans. It bears a New Orleans circular date stamp dated June 6 as well as a manuscript "Way" marking.


Figure 3. Folded letter from Mobile to New Orleans internally headed June 5, 1852. Postmarked in New Orleans on June 6 and bearing a manuscript "Way" marking.


Figure 4. Same franking, same handwriting, posted four days later, but here showing manuscript "WAY 5." The challenge is to explain the rating difference.

The second cover (actually a cover front) is shown in Figure 4. The most notable feature of this cover is its franking. The stamp is a $1 申 1851$ Type I from Position 7R1E (Scott 5). This is unquestionably a great philatelic rarity, but our focus in this section is on rates, routes and markings. While the cover's origin is not apparent, it is addressed in handwriting identical to the companion cover in Figure 3. Figure 4 received a New Orleans marking on June 10 and bears a manuscript "Way 5 " marking.

The primary question here is why were these two letters, both from Mobile to New Orleans, rated differently even though they were mailed just four days apart? The secondary question is where were the "way" markings applied? A third question would be: why? Some hints might be found in James Baird's article elsewhere in this issue.

## U.S. CONTRACT MAIL ROUTES BY RAILROAD (1832-1875) BY HUGH V. FELDMAN <br> REVIEWED BY DIANE DEBLOIS

Even before lifting the hefty tome from the post box, I knew that Hugh Feldman's new book would be huge. Following his 2008 magnum opus on water mails (U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Water, Star Routes 1824-1875, also published by the Collectors Club of Chicago), he planned to haunt the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington to investigate railroad mails. This was a much larger task-and aggravating, as anyone who has done research at NARA can attest.

A foreword by Douglas N. Clark, President of the Mobile Post Office Society, puts Feldman's work in the context of his philatelic predecessors who intensely studied railroad postal history. These giants in the field (Chase, Perry, Remele, Meyer, Towle, Kay) stopped short of connecting every railroad mail postal marking with relevant contract information to 1875 . Feldman took up the challenge.

To more fully illustrate railroad contract routes, each route (organized by name within state chapters) is marked on an appropriate vintage map with a listing of offices served, and a list or chart of succeeding contracts over the same route along with their emoluments and curtailments. Sometimes an image of a manuscript notation on the original Bid Register is included, and sometimes an image of a law pertaining to the railroad. Feldman also sourced relevant railroad timetables and other ephemera that add to our understanding.

A comprehensive gazetteer provides each post office served by a railroad, along with the present location name, the original county name, and the first contracted railroad on the route. This is followed by an index by railroad name and a general index, as well as an appendix that reviews the whole contract process and how the contracts were recorded.

All this data about specific routes is introduced by seven excellent chapters on the history of railroads and the U.S. mails. The first, on the introduction of railroads to the country and to the mails, includes two meaningful graphs: one showing the relationship between total railroad miles and contracted mail route miles, and one showing the growth of contracted miles for the carriage of mails by region. Chapter two summarizes the growth of railroad mail contracts state by state; chapter three outlines the contract terms and chapter four the payment terms. Chapter five explains in good detail the roles of route agents and mail messengers, and quotes their expense to the Post Office Department for 1860. Chapter six covers the development of Railway Post Offices. By 1869 a total of 37 RPO routes were in operation, covering 7,201 miles-a network that would explode into the 20th century. Chapter seven was a nice surprise, providing biographical information for the railroad ty-coons-from the infamous, such as Jay Gould, to the more obscure, such as Azariah Boody, who ended up as president of the Wabash, Toledo and Western Railroad.

To test how research within this volume might work, I chose the New York and Harlem Railroad that was extended in the early 20th century to be able to deliver the kit from
which my house was built. The index listing took me to NY31-NY34, which were pages 560 to 563 . Under the heading "New York-Chatham Four Corners" was a listing of the contract route numbers, eight of them covering the period July 1845 to June 1873, service six times a week, growing from $271 / 2$ miles to $1301 / 2$ miles. A chart prepared by the author provided a history of how the route expanded and when specific offices were added. A portion of an 1858 map by Pentingale and Behn was marked in red with the eventual 35 stops between the termini (though, from Chatham Four Corners, there were connections to East Albany, Albany and Troy-shown by an image of a timetable for the New York and Harlem from Appletons' September 1869 Railway \& Steam Navigation Guide).

U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Railroad (1832-1875) by Hugh V. Feldman. Published by the Collectors Club of Chicago, $8 \frac{1}{2}$ by 11 inches, hardbound, Smythe sewn, 1096 pages, color throughout; more than 1,000 images including 242 covers, 582 maps and a DVD. Sent postpaid for $\$ 107.50$ to domestic addresses from CCC Publications Committee, P.O. Box 3996, Oak Park, IL 60303-3996.

Feldman's text for this section reviews the history of the railroad-the first to be built in the state, begun in 1831 (though a contender would be the Mohawk and Hudson, NY9, begun in 1827 though not completed until 1831), and the first to be backed by Cornelius Vanderbilt. An illustration is included of the 1831 law authorizing the construction of the road. Feldman notes that two route agents were appointed for the route in 1849, and he even quotes Bid Register adjustments-July 26, 1852, a modification allowing for a through train arrival; September 16, 1853, payment of $\$ 1,470$ for taking $17 \frac{1}{2}$ loads of mail that the Hudson River Railroad failed to cover because of flood; July 1, 1865, an increase in pay to the railroad with the stipulation that covering interruptions on the Hudson River Railroad would be without additional expense.

Three covers flesh out the postal history of this particular railroad, each with a route agent's handstamp identified by Towle number: a folded letter of 1850 carried on Route 810 the 38 miles between New York and New Castle; a circa-1853 stamped envelope addressed from New York to New Haven that transferred at William's Bridge (to the New York and New Haven Railroad, CT13); a stampless envelope docketed February 18,1855 addressed to Washington Hollow in Duchess County and carried 13 miles from Pawling north to Dover Plains on Route 1003. Depending on the day of the week, the letter might have gone one stop further on the railroad, to Amenia, as the Connecticut postal route by stagecoach from Litchfield to Poughkeepsie was via Dover and Washington to Washington Hollow three days a week, and via Lithgow and Mabbettsville the other three.

The quality of illustration reproduction is spotty, which is a disappointment. Some of the maps are perfectly legible, others fuzzy; ditto the scanned data compilations from the Postmaster General annual reports. Though the covers suffer similarly, all of them are included among the 810 provided in high resolution format on an accompanying disk, organized alphabetically by railroad name, so each can be studied in great detail.

The bonus disk is a boon to postal historical research. It includes the complete scanned texts of the published PMG annual reports 1823 to 1880 (in these, for instance, is information about railroad accidents and delays); and of the annual contract lettings from 1817 to 1874, plus RPOs for 1881 to 1887 . Although these reports might be sourced otherwise from the internet, to have them all in one place (along with the other material) is a gift. Even more of a gift are the scans of the Bid Registers from NARA, organized alphabetically by route name (a caveat warns that some of these scans are less than perfect but, in most cases, they do save a trip to D.C.) A final electronic file records the four pages of manuscript controversy with the Attorney General for the Post Office Department over railroad compensation in 1877. The disk is so useful, it is tempting to imagine the whole volume in an electronic format, rather than a ten-pound behemoth. But as my single foray into one railroad proved, it is gratifying (and easier) to cross-check information in print. So, bravo to a brave British postal historian for supplying his American counterparts with such a valuable resource.
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## STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

United States Postal Service, Form 3526: Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation. 1. Publication Title: The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues. 2. Publication Number: 0560-680. 3. Filing Date: 1 September 2017. 4. Issue Frequency: Quarterly. 5. Number of Issues Published Annually: 4. 6. Annual Subscription Price: \$35. 7. Complete Address of Known Office of Publication: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 100 Match Factory Place, Bellefonte, PA 16823. 8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office: \% Michael Plett, 2855 Willowmere Woods Dr., Vienna, VA 22180. 9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor and Managing Editor. Publisher: None. Editor: Michael Laurence, 101 West 90th St., Apt. 8-H, New York, NY 10024. Managing Editor: None. 10. Owner: The U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., \% Michael Plett, 2855 Willowmere Woods Dr., Vienna, VA 22180. 11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees and Other Security Holders: None. 12. Tax Status: Has not changed during preceding 12 months. 13. Publication Title: The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues. 14. Issue Date for Circulation Data: August, 2017. 15a. AVERAGE NUMBER OF COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS: (a) Total Number of Copies (Net Press Run): 1,250. (15b.) Paid Circulation: (15b.1) Mailed Outside County: 1,061. (15b.2) Mailed In County: 0. (15b.3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails: 0. (15b4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS (e.g. First-Class Mail): 189 (15c) Total Paid Distribution: 1,250. (15f) Total Distribution: 1,250 . ( 15 g ): Copies Not Distributed: 0 . (15h) Total: 1,250. (15i) Percent paid: $100 \%$. 15a. NUMBER OF COPIES OF SINGLE ISSUE PUBLISHED NEAREST TO FILING DATE: (a) Total Number of Copies (Net Press Run): 1,250. 15b. Paid Circulation: (15b.1) Mailed Outside County: 1,040. (15b.2) Mailed In County: 0. (15b.3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails: 0 . (15b.4) Paid distribution by other classes of mail through the USPS (e.g. First-Class Mail): 210 (15c) Total Paid Distribution: 1,250. (15f) Total Distribution: 1,250. (15g): Copies Not Distributed: 0. (15h) Total: 1,250 . (15i) Percent Paid: $100 \%$. (16) This information to be published in the November, 2017 issue of the publication. (17) Signed (x), Michael Plett, Treasurer.


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[^2]:    Boston, May 18. Ship Acteon, Rodgers, of Boston, from Cadiz, with a Prince Regent's license, was captured and BURNT, a few days since, near Georges' Bank, by the La Hogue, 74, Capt. Capel. The captain was robbed of his adventure and all his property, and the crew plundered. No cause whatever was assigned for this flagrant outrage. The brig Charles, of Boston, from Cadiz, with a license, was boarded from La Hogue soon after, the vessel plundered and preparations made to burn her; but wishing to get rid of prisoners, she was finally released. Capt. Capel said he was determined to destroy all licensed vessels he fell in with.

