THE CHRONICLE August 2019 (No. 263)

The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues

A rate rarity: Pair of Black Jacks prepaying the 3½¢ printed matter rate to Italy via Bremen mails in late 1867. The bold red "3," heretofore unreported, is a New York exchange office credit marking apparently used only on such correspondence. In our Foreign Mails section, German postal historian Heinrich Conzelmann deciphers printed matter sent prepaid via the Bremen-Hamburg mails in the late 1860s.

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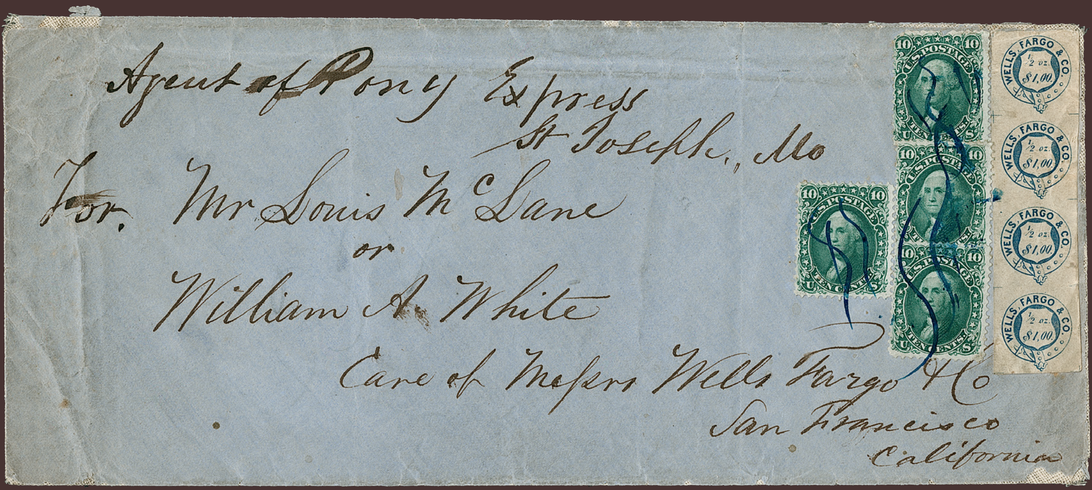
Outstanding Pony Express Covers
from the George J. Kramer Collection

Auction in September 2019
Special Exhibition at APS Stampshow Omaha – August 1-4

The Celebrated "Patriotic Pony" Cover

The Finer of Two Known "Black Pony" Covers



THE ONLY KNOWN "GARTER" MULTIPLE ON COVER

FIRST WESTBOUND MAIL STOPPED BY PAIUTE INDIAN WAR

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of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues

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ERIVAN

COLLECTION

The Famous Alexandria "Blue Boy"

Provenance:
George H. Worthington (1907), Henry C. Gibson (1916),
Warren H. Colson (1922), Alfred Caspary (1955), Josiah K. Lilly (1967),
John R. Boker, Jr. (1971)

Hammer price: $ 1,000,000

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THE EDITOR'S PAGE
MICHAEL LAURENCE

IN THIS ISSUE

Digital photography and desktop publishing have transformed stamp scholarship, evident this issue in both our 1847 and 1851 sections. In the 1851 section (page 230), Don Getzin and Wade Saadi explain the four basic 3¢ 1851-57 stamp types underlying the eight major numbers the Scott catalog now attaches to these stamps. The article provides descriptive and visual guidance, including photo enhancements and massive enlargements, all selected to help collectors make sense of the various types. And in our 1847 section (page 224), Scott Trepel disposes of an old canard, proving that the metal dies for the 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 stamps were not destroyed in 1851, as scholars starting with John Luff had previously averred. Trepel's evidence involves a fairly recent essay discovery and detailed examination of minute die flaws made possible by digital scanning and enlargement.

At the beginning of 1867, a treaty modification allowed printed matter to be sent at special rates through the Bremen-Hamburg mails to destinations beyond the German-Austrian Postal Union. This service soon disappeared in the roll-up that created the German empire, and until recently no examples had ever been seen. But behold on our cover this issue: a pair of Black Jack stamps overpaying the 3½¢ printed matter rate to Italy via Bremen mails—so far the only known example of this rate. The icing on this cake is a New York credit marking (a bold red "3") that has so far been recorded only on this cover. In our Foreign Mails section (page 273), esteemed German postal historian Heinrich Conzelmann explains this cover and its complex cousins, which represent a category that had previously been incompletely explored and only dimly understood.

Sending cash through the mails during the 19th century was an iffy business. In the absence of indemnification (a 20th century development) you could mail valuable content unmarked and hope for the best—or you could call out money content on the cover in the expectation that the declaration would help protect your letter. In "Sending Cash Through the Early Mails" in our Stampless section this issue (page 204), James Milgram shows examples of both approaches and in the process presents some interesting insights into the social history of the era. Milgram also makes a guest appearance in our 1861 section this issue (page 249), in collaboration with Civil War military historian Ron Field. The two authors provide a fascinating article on a gadget called the "Soldier's Portable Camp Writing Desk."

In the second in what we hope will become an ongoing series on Civil War blockade runners, Steven Walske describes the successes and the covers of *Fannie*, a Scotland-built iron-hulled sidewheeler that repeatedly ran the federal blockades at Charleston and Wilmington (N.C.) in 1863-64. As with his previous article in this series, Walske includes a map, a complete table of sailing data, and an analysis of surviving covers. This special feature begins on page 242.

Another special feature this issue (page 216) comes to us from Daniel J. Ryterband. Supported by substantial research and a large holding of covers, Ryterband looks at early steamboat mail on Lake Champlain and the Hudson River to reach some conclusions about

(*EDITOR'S PAGE concluded on page 251*)

SENDING CASH THROUGH THE EARLY MAILS

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Introduction

Sending cash or negotiable paper through the mails has always been a risky business. Only with indemnification for an insured registered letter was there a guarantee of compensation for contents lost or stolen. This did not happen until the 20th century. Throughout the 19th century, either you took a chance and did not identify valuable content, or you identified money content and trusted the postal system to protect your letter.

Covers indicating valuable content

Figure 1 shows an early stampless cover that clearly contained valuable contents. The notation "inclosed $15" is definitive, and the "75" collect rating (three times the 25¢ rate for a distance over 400 miles) indicates enclosures—perhaps bank notes. Despite the "1827" notation at bottom right, this cover was posted at Cincinnati in 1828, per the internal dateline "Cincinnati 24 Sept 1828" at the top of a letter (in German) confirming $15 was enclosed.

Addressed to York, Pennsylvania, the letter was misdirected to New York City, where on October 2 it was marked missent and (presumably) forwarded to York. While the letter is not docketed, there are no indications it did not reach its addressee.

Canada by this time had instituted a Money Letter system for handling valuable mail. Receipts were given to the senders and special care was provided by the posts. Such features would not come to the United States mails for decades.

Figure 1. Early cash letter with the value of the contents clearly designated: "inclosed $15." Sent from Cincinnati to York, Pennsylvania, 25 September 1828. The "75" rating is a triple rate, reflecting the contents. The cover was initially missent to New York City and forwarded to York from there.

Another early notation of a money letter can be seen on the cover in Figure 2. This is a stampless cover postmarked at Philadelphia and sent free to the postmaster at Warrensville, Illinois, in 1842. The blue Philadelphia circular datestamp reads "MAR 11" and the cover is marked "money" on its front. The letter within, from a magazine called the *Messenger*, returns two $5 banknotes which Warrensville Postmaster J.M. Warren had previously sent to the publisher's office in Philadelphia. The explanation for the return is that the notes, drawn on the State Bank of Illinois, would be processed in Philadelphia at a 50 percent discount, so an 11-month subscription would result in just four issues—"which would not meet the views of the Subscribers." The two $5 notes are specifically recorded as numbers 354 and 48,559.

Beyond the "Money" notation on the address panel, this letter is interesting for two other reasons. First, it shows the very steep exchange costs that prevailed in the era when paper currency consisted of notes drawn on local banks. Currency from distant banks could be cleared only at a deep discount—due to the transactional costs of converting them and the risk of fraud or bank failure.

Figure 2. Clearly marked "Money," this 1842 cover from Philadelphia was sent FREE to the postmaster at Warrensville, Illinois. The envelope contained two bank notes.

In addition, this letter shows how deeply postmasters were involved in transactions between periodical publishers and their subscribers. Unthinkable today, such involvement was commonplace in the mid 19th century because of the highly favorable treatment periodicals received from the Post Office.

The problem posed by the bank notes in the Figure 2 correspondence (and a specific solution) is well presented in a contemporary sales circular from *Godey's Lady's Book*, an important monthly magazine (also published at Philadelphia) which in the years before the Civil War had the largest circulation of any publication in the United States. The following message was sent (with letter-rate postage due) to a prospective subscriber in 1845 over the signature of publisher Louis Antoine Godey:

> **The great expense attending the publishing of the LADY'S BOOK, induces me to make this personal appeal to my subscribers….**
>
> **As an inducement, any person remitting money, need not pay the postage on their letters, if sent addressed to the [publisher]. Or they can avail themselves of the following regulation of the Post-Master General, which perhaps is better:**

Money for newspaper subscriptions, not exceeding $10 in each case, may be paid to a postmaster for the purpose of being paid to the publisher of a newspaper at any other office. The Postmaster is, in such case, to give to the person paying the money a receipt thereof, and to advise forthwith the Postmaster who is to pay said amount of such deposit [to the publisher]. Upon presentation of this receipt, the amount is to be paid over. The Postmaster receiving the amount is to debit himself therewith in his account, and the Postmaster paying that amount is to credit himself therewith in his account of contingent expenses.

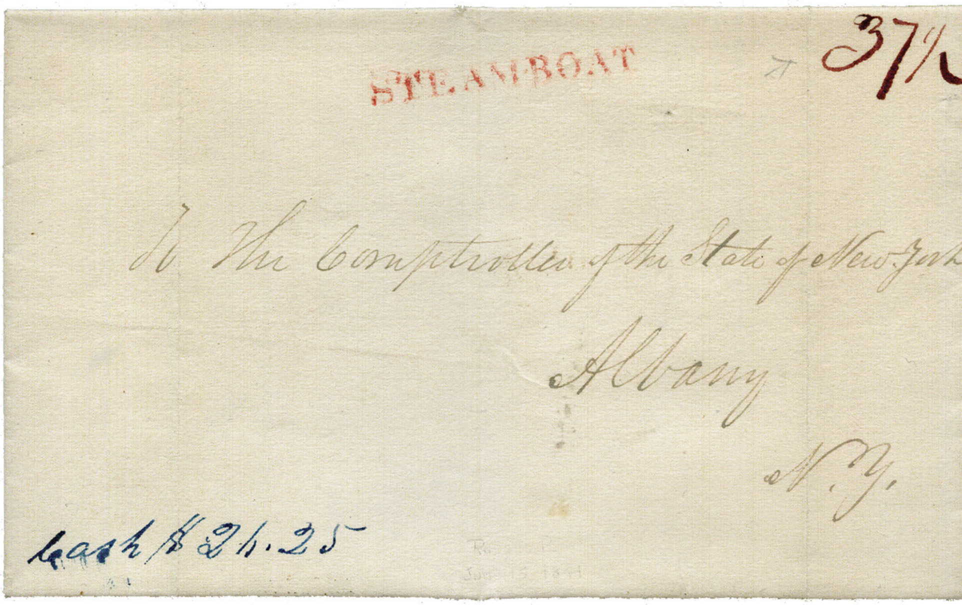


Figure 3. Marked "Cash $26.25," this cover was sent 15 June 1841 from Rouse's Point, New York, to the State Comptroller at Albany. The money came from land sold for unpaid state taxes, as is fully described in the enclosed letter. The "37½" rating represents two times 18¾¢ postage for a distance of 151-400 miles.

A third example of a value notation on a letter sent through the mails appears on the cover in Figure 3. The enclosed letter, sent June 15, 1841 from Rouse's Point, New York (on Lake Champlain), describes in detail lots that were sold for unpaid taxes and remits $26.35 in cash to the state comptroller. The cover was sent by steamboat to an unidentified port where "STEAM-BOAT" and "37½" were marked. Regular mail then carried the letter to Albany. The "37½" rating represents two times 18¾¢ for a distance of 151-400 miles. The cover is clearly marked at lower left with a blue pen notation: "Cash $26.25."

Covers not indicating valuable content

Many money letters, probably the majority, were not marked. When their content is examined, letters occasionally indicate that some type of valuable had been enclosed. Such unidentified letters were sent through the mails at the senders' risk. Presumably they thought that theft was less likely if the letter was posted with its valuable content not indicated.

Figure 4 shows a cover with Hancock, Maryland postmarks, sent to Eli Beatty, cashier of the Hagerstown Bank. This was a huge business file; Beatty is well known to collectors of stampless covers. Only by reading the letter within, which is dated April 12, 1834, does one learn it contained $275 to be applied to a note that was coming due. The quadruple postage (four times 6¢ for a distance under 30 miles) reflects the enclosures.

Another unmarked cover is shown in Figure 5. This 1840 cover from Sackett's Harbor to Waddington, New York, enclosed $250 in cash—but this can be discerned only from the

Figure 4. "HANCOCK MD. APR 15" (1834), "PAID" and "24" to Hagerstown Bank. The letter enclosed $275 which accounts for the quadruple postage rate (under 30 miles), but there is no marking on the cover indicating valuable content.

Figure 5. Valuable content but again no indication. From Sackett's Harbor, New York, 23 Jan. 1840, sent to the postmaster at Waddington. The cover is marked "Excess" and rated "12½"—an additional rate beyond the first half ounce, which was free.

letter content. The cover is of considerable interest because although addressed to a postmaster and appropriately endorsed "Free," the limit for free postage was one-half ounce. So it was marked "Excess" by the sending postmaster who also rated it "12½" due (one additional rate for a distance of 80-150 miles). I discussed this practice in some detail in a broad survey article on postmaster free franking in *Chronicle* 245.

Proof of mailing

The earliest proof of mailing document that I have seen is a written statement concerning a letter that was sent on August 30, 1821:

I hereby certify that Abraham Toby came to the Post Office on the thirtyeth Day of August last with a letter & Twenty-six Dollars in Bank Bills, which I counted over & see him inclose & dated up the same, and directed it to Pomeroy Toby of Jamesville in the State of New York, & I on the following Day Mailed the same for the West N.Y. Postage 55½ Cents.

Amasa Spinner Jr., P. Master, West Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Jany 3, 1822."

Another handwritten receipt, from 1840, reads "I hereby certify that Messr Gorham & Buren have this day forwarded by mail to the address of Messr Clark Smith of New York one hundred twenty dollars $120. E. T. Wakefield Asst. Postmaster Mansfield June 25 1840." This shows that postmasters would willingly give receipts attesting to the transmission of currency through the mail. Such receipts only certify that the mailing took place; they provide no other protection to the mailer. The state in which this Mansfield is located is not apparent.

Yet another stampless letter from this same era, sent free by the postmaster of Lyndon, Vermont to the postmaster at Rochester, New Hampshire, clearly (if breathlessly) indicates the difficulties of sending money—marked or unmarked—through the mails:

Lyndon, Augt 21 1837

Mr. Dominicus Hanson

Dear Sir:

Some time about the first of March last Mr. Wm. McKoy of this town sent to John McDuffie of your town $50 enclosed in a letter by mail which he has never heard from since although he has since written to McDuff & others concerned—he tells me he has written three times since he sent the money & can get no answer. Will you be so good as to enquire of Mr. McDuffie about the affair and write me by return of Mail. (Mr. McDuffie is Cashr of the Bank).

Respectfully yrs, E. Chamberlin, P.M. Lyndon, Vt."

The circular quoted along with Figure 2, from the publisher of *Godey's Lady's Book*, was created in the last months of 1845, just after the change from sheet-based postal rates to the first weight-based rating system. In that same circular, Godey endeavored to help prospective customers take advantage of the new rules, addressing various ways to send cash through the mails under the new half-ounce limitation:

A nice calculation has been made as to what may be sent under the new law [effective July 1, 1845], as a single letter. The results are:

1. One and a half sheets of letter paper, sealed with wax or wafer.

2. One sheet of letter paper, with a large or small envelope, sealed with wafer.

3. One sheet of fools-cap, with small envelope, sealed with wafers.

4. One sheet of letter paper, with a quarter eagle ($2.50) enclosed, and secured with wax [to the letter paper], and the letter sealed with wax.

5. Half a sheet of letter paper, or light fools-cap, with a half eagle enclosed, secured and sealed with wafers.

6. A sheet of letter paper may contain a dime and a half, or a half sheet may contain a quarter dollar.

7. A sheet of paper may enclose seven bank notes, and be sealed with wax, or three bank notes, and the whole in an envelope.

L.A. GODEY, Publishers' Hall, 101 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia"

Beginning in late 1845, registration of letters was undertaken by individual postmasters on an unofficial basis. I discussed this practice at length in *Chronicles* 221 (2009) and 247 (2015). It was not until July 1, 1855 that official registration (for a 5¢ fee) was instituted. Registration at this time only meant that special care was taken to track designated letters. Probably the reason for unofficial registration was a Post Office Department memorandum that investigations of lost letters would be undertaken when sufficient proof of mailing was presented.

Sent by private individuals, bootlegged

The cover in Figure 6 shows a blue "DROP 1" rating marking applied at Mobile, but the letter within was written at "Wahalak, Kemper Co., Mississippi, 11 Feb. 1852." Wahalak was a town near the Alabama border on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. According to Hugh Feldman's recent book on railroad contracts, the railroad did not extend this far north until July 1, 1856. So the Figure 6 cover, posted several years before the railroad came to town, is a bootlegged cover, hand carried outside of the mails to Mobile. Note that the sender marked the letter "Valuable."

Figure 6. Letter marked "Valuable" and carried privately from Wahalak, Mississippi to Mobile, Alabama, where it was dropped into the mail for local delivery. According to the contents, dated 11 February 1852, a negotiable draft for $1,000 was enclosed. Mobile stamped its "DROP 1" in blue.

This cover is from the Winston correspondence, a Mobile firm whose files yielded many letters carried by steamboats, though there's no suggestion this letter was so carried. I include it here as an example of a valuable letter taken to its destination post office by a private individual. The contents indicate the cover contained a negotiable draft for $1,000.

Sent by steamboat

Valuable letters could also be carried outside the mails via steamboat. Figure 7 shows a 3¢ 1864 entire envelope sent out of the mails on the steamboat "Lotus No. 3." The gov-

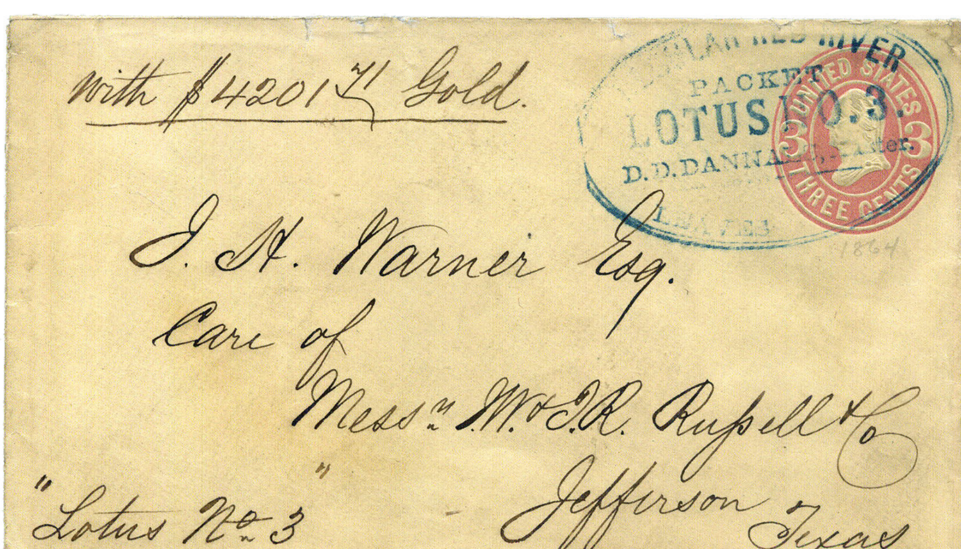


Figure 7. Carried outside the mails on "PACKET LOTUS NO. 3" "with $4201.71 Gold."

ernment envelope was required by law, but this cover never entered the United States mails. The blue oval handstamp (M-809 in my book on vessel-named markings) reads "REGULAR RED RIVER PACKET LOTUS No. 3 D.D. DANNALS, Master." At the upper left is the notation "with $4201.71 Gold" indicating that a shipment of gold accompanied this letter to Jefferson, Texas. The sender also wrote the name of the steamboat in the lower left. Jefferson is not a river town but it is near Shreveport, Louisiana, a major port on the Red River (mentioned in the marking). Presumably a private carrier met the steamboat to pick up the gold.

Figure 8 shows a money letter carried by a steamboat and then put into the mails. The cover originated in Donaldson, Louisiana, a Mississippi River town between New Orleans and Baton Rouge. The name-of-boat marking in a serrated red rectangle ("S.B./F.M. STRECK") is designated M-463 in my book. Boldly marked "Valuable" in pen at top,

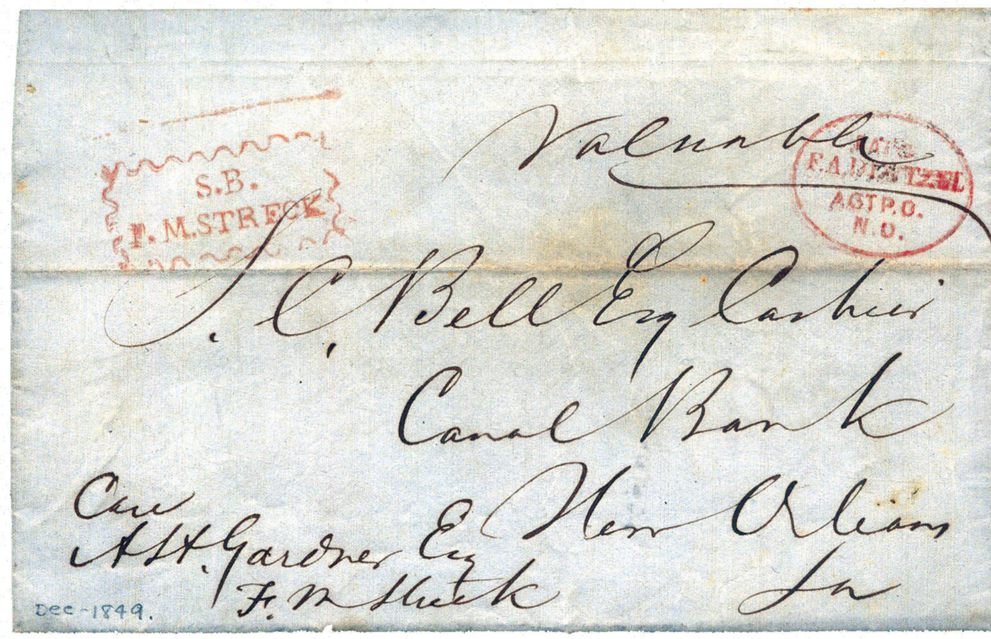


Figure 8. "Valuable" in manuscript on an 1849 money letter carried by steamboat ("S.B./ F. M. STRECK" in red box) and put into the mails at New Orleans.

the cover is addressed to a New Orleans bank and bears a red oval marking ("PAID F.A. DENZEL AGT. P.O. N.O.") obviously applied at New Orleans. The enclosed letter, from a bank in Donaldson dated December 26, 1849, shows the cover contained an $800 note for collection. A very similar cover without the Denzel marking has a black "STEAM 10" in circle; the 10¢ indicates it was overweight.

Sent by express company

Valuable letters were frequently carried by express companies. In the beginning these were just individuals who traveled by stage coach or on the early railroads, charging for their services. Figure 9 shows a letter carried from Boston to New York "Pr Harndens Express." In blue ink and in a different hand the envelope is marked "Cash" and also "paid, get receipt." The letter content indicates the cover contained $50. It also shows a very early origin: June 12, 1840.

Harnden had a contract with the Post Office allowing him to carry letters between Boston and New York, beginning July 1, 1839 and ending June 30, 1841. Harnden made

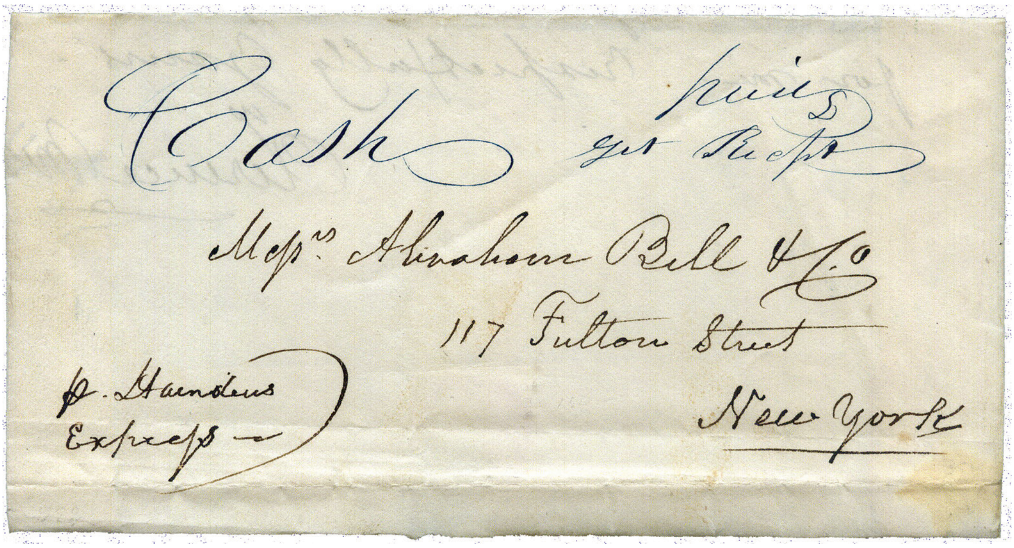


Figure 9. "Cash" sent "pr Harndens Express," an early example of express service, with on a cover from Boston dated June 12, 1840. A $50 bank note was enclosed.

up packets addressed to himself. The letters within the packets bore different addresses. Locked bags were carried between the two cities. At the destination he would open the packets and deliver the letters to whom they were addressed. The persons sending the letters felt they were secure while under his care. In 1841 he forwarded much mail to Europe via the early steamers.

A number of small companies in New England during this era carried money letters from one place to another. Figure 10 shows a folded letter from Boston dated November 19, 1850, addressed to Hartland, Vermont. It is marked "$100 enclosed" and endorsed "Bigelow's Express from J.W. Tuttle." Tuttle also signed the letter within, which discusses in detail the sum of $99.76 "Cash sent by Exp."

Figure 10. Another example of cash carried by an express company: Stampless cover with notations "$100 Enclosed" and "Bigelows Express from J.W. Tuttle," sent from Boston to Hartland, Vermont, in November 1850.

Figure 11. Amerian Express Company "MONEY PACKAGE" label on a folded-down envelope that carried stock certificates worth over $1,000 from Kokomo to Logansport, Indiana in May, 1864. The red "CINCINNATI O. AND NEW CASTLE MAY 1" marking that ties the 3¢ 1851 stamp is probably a route agent's handstamp.

The cover in Figure 11, addressed to Logansport, Indiana bears the only known strikes of a postmark reading "CINCINNATI O. AND NEW CASTLE MAY 1." One strike, less complete, ties the 3¢ 1851 stamp. The cover also bears an orange and black label "MONEY PACKAGE by the AMERICAN EXPRESS CO. FROM KOKOMO, IND." On the left front of the envelope, partly obscured because the cover has been folded back, is a docketing notation dated May 4, 1854 "enclosing certificate of stock $1050, 21 shares in Cinn Log. & Chicago Railway Co."

Feldman discusses the Richmond, Logansport and Chicago Railroad, which was organized in February, 1853. Logansport is in the middle of a route with Richmond (Indiana) to the south and Chicago to the north. Below Logansport on the line is Kokomo as a station and just above Richmond is New Castle, also a station. It was not until 1857 that the line reached Logansport. Therefore, this cover (of unknown origin) appears to have been carried on the railroad up to Kokomo and then carried by express from Kokomo to its recipient in Logansport. C.W. Remele, author of *United States Railroad Postmarks, 1837 to 1861*, had some doubts about whether the express label belongs, but it makes sense since Kokomo is a station on the railroad which was under construction. In fact, Feldman lists one J.W. Keenan as route agent between Cincinnati and New Castle from March 7, 1854. This postmark may have been his route agent marking.

During the period of the Gold Rush in California, expressmen and express companies not only transported letters to and from the miners, but also acted as banks handling their gold. Very little gold was actually transported in letters. Once registration came into being, some letters were sent which contained currency or coins. One example (not illustrated) is an envelope with oval "BERFORD & CO. EXPRESS PAID" with the PAID crossed out and "collect 50" written over. The cover also bears a manuscript "with $400" indicating a cash enclosure.

Express companies continued to carry money letters for many years. Figure 12 shows a cover addressed to the county treasurer in Marion, Indiana. The notation "$11 Enclosed" can be seen at upper left. The red label reads "MONEY PACKAGE FORWARDED BY American Express Co.…from Cincinnati O." Docketing indicates an answer was sent on

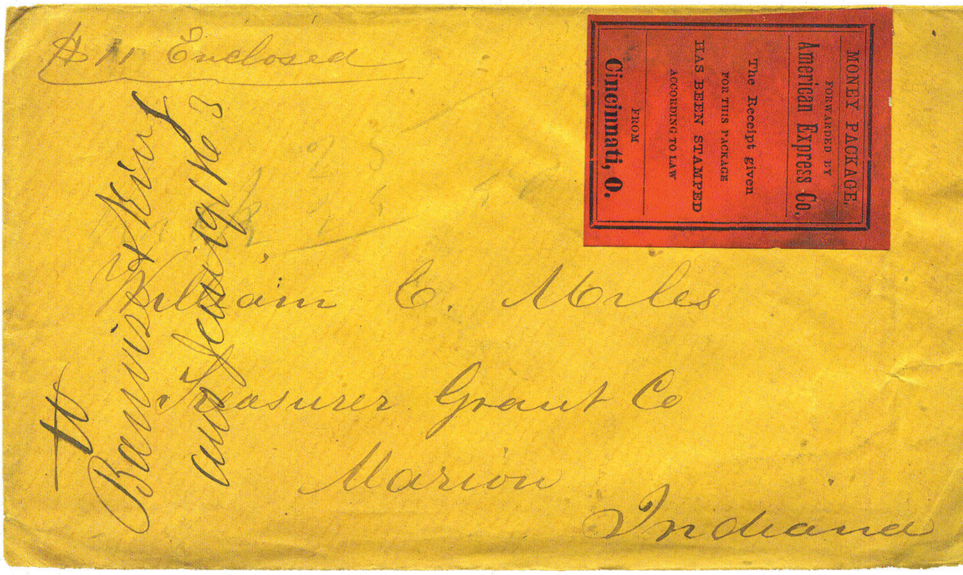


Figure 12. "MONEY PACKAGE FORWARDED BY AMERICAN EXPRESS CO. CINCINNATI O." Red label affixed to a small envelope, well secured, sent to Marion, Indiana with the notation "$11 Enclosed" at upper left.

Figure 13. Reverse of the envelope in Figure 12 showing lavish use of sealing wax.

January 19, 1863. Figure 13 shows the abundant wax seals applied at Cincinnati on the reverse of this envelope.

During the Civil War federal soldiers were unable to get to post offices. Many entrusted their pay to agents of various express companies who forwarded the money safely for a fee. Some used patriotic envelopes for this purpose.

Private money orders

The last method to be discussed here for sending money through the mails—not literally cash in this instance—is also one of the rarest. Figure 14 shows an envelope with the cornercard of Abraham Bell & Sons, New York, which is headed “MONEY ORDER.” Abraham Bell was a New York shipping firm which as it prospered established agents in England and possibly elsewhere. A money order issued in New York could be paid out to the designated recipient by the firm’s overseas agent. No cash was actually transmitted; these were international bookkeeping transactions. Private money order systems like this were precursors to the government postal money order systems that were to follow.

The Figure 14 cover was sent unpaid to a Thomas Barnstable in Grantham, Lincolnshire, with 5¢ debited at New York and a 1/- due marking applied in England. Grantham applied its circular datestamp on March 27, 1854 and subsequently the manuscript notation “Cannot be found” at upper right. Probably because of the content, this undeliverable cover was sent back across the Atlantic to the Dead Letter Office in Washington, D.C., where it received the double-oval DLO marking dated June 27, 1854.

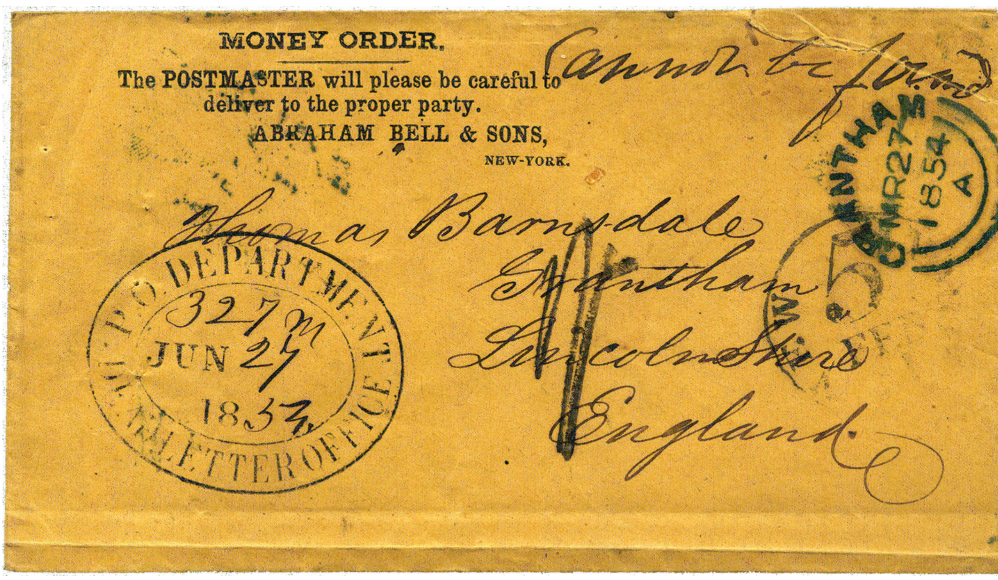


Figure 14. Private international money orders prefigured government postal money order systems. This 1854 cover to England, designated "MONEY ORDER," was sent from New York to England by the firm of Abraham Bell. It would have contained a draft the recipient could redeem for cash from Bell's British agent. But the addressee could not be found and the cover wound up in the Dead Letter Office in Washington.

Another private money order envelope is shown in Figure 15. Addressed to Yorkshire, England, this cover bears printing on the front “PER STEAMER” and “MONEY ORDER” along with a green cameo cornercard on the backflap (shown inset in Figure 15), designating the Detroit firm of R.R Elliott, specializing in “remittance of money to Great Britain, Ireland, France and Germany.” This is no doubt a similar operation to that shown on the previous cover. Since the cover bears no Detroit markings, this cover either originated in New York or was carried there privately. The reverse shows a receiving postmark from Liverpool dated Nov. 7, 1857 with destination postmark (Bedale, an old Yorkshire market town) dated the next day. The cover crossed on the Collins Line steamer *Atlantic.* Because this was an American packet, the debit to England was 21¢ cents of the total 24¢ (1/-) due. Whether the “11,000” refers to the amount involved is impossible to say, but such a large sum is unlikely.

These last two covers carried private money orders. The U.S. government postal money order system, which more or less put an end to the transmission of all but trivial

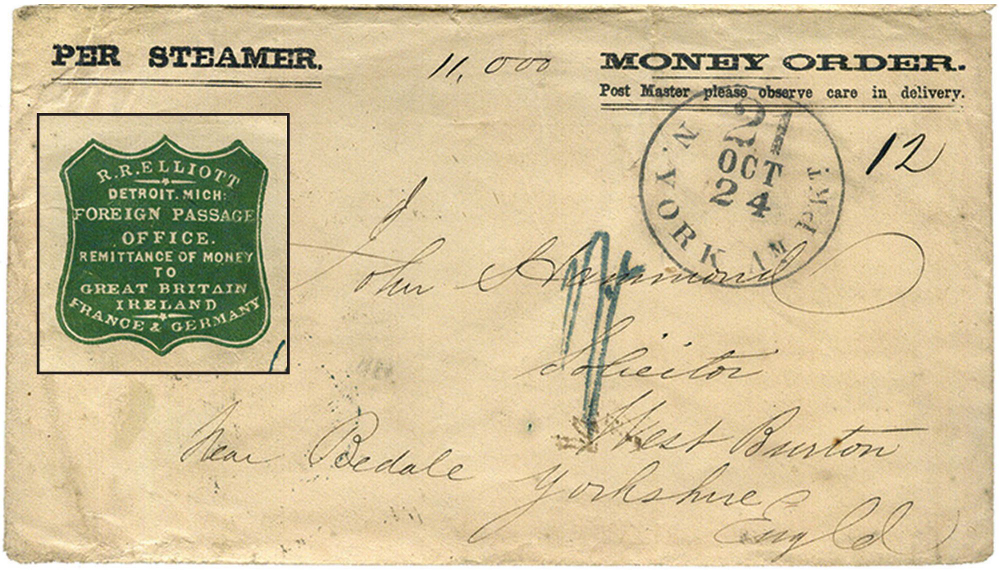


Figure 15. Boldly headed "PER STEAMER" and "MONEY ORDER," this envelope sent to England in 1857 shows the green cameo cornercard (shown inset) of the Detroit firm of R.R. Elliott, "specializing in the remittance of money" to European destinations. "N. YORK AM. PKT. 21 OCT 24" in black and "1/" due postmarks with two U.K. backstamps.

sums of cash through the ordinary mails, did not begin until the last months of the Civil War. For more information on this, see my "Philatelic History Of Postal Money Orders" in *The American Philatelist* for October, 2011. The October 1864 issue of *United States Mail & Post Office Assistant* gives a detailed account of the U.S. money order system as it was being launched. ■

SPECIAL FEATURE: 1

EARLY STEAMBOAT MAIL ON NEW YORK WATERWAYS: SHIP LETTER VERSUS STEAMBOAT RATINGS

DANIEL J. RYTERBAND

In *Chronicle* 261 (February 2019), I presented a summary of the postal practices used in the handling of mail carried on New York's Hudson River during the period 1808 to 1824. The February article presented information not previously known to collectors about the laws and instructions underlying postal practices applicable to early non-contract mail carried by steamboats. This article, the second in a planned series addressing mail carried on inland and coastal waterways in New York State, continues discussion of the evolution of non-contract steamboat mail treatment through approximately 1850. It focuses primarily on the Post Office Act of 3 March 1825 and its influence on the "origin to destination" rate structure set forth in the Post Office Act of 30 April 1810, which was further clarified in 1815 and 1823. During this period, the rating of mail as ship versus steamboat letters increasingly aligned with the articulated law and known postmaster instructions, but not all ports employed consistent practices. This article focuses on these inconsistencies.

Recap of early postal practices

Here is a short summary of the laws and instructions underlying early postal practices regarding non-contract mail carried by domestic steamboats, per my February article:

> **The earliest letters carried by steamboat were generally treated as ship letters under the Postal Act of 2 March 1799. Such letters were to be assessed postage at the rate of 6¢ for local delivery at the port of entry or, if addressed beyond the port, the regular postage from the port of entry to the destination plus a 2¢ ship fee. However, some of these letters, if delivered in the port of entry, were assessed postage at the drop fee of 1¢.**
>
> **Because rating as a ship letter or as a drop letter resulted in reduced post office revenue relative to the alternative (and less efficient) land carriage, as steamboat mail volume increased the need for special postal provisions became clear. The Post Office Act of 30 April 1810 formally established the overall scheme for handling loose letters (mail not received in closed bags under Post Office contract) received from steamboats. It specified that postmasters were to pay the ship master 2¢ for each letter or packet delivered, and it distinguished between letters of domestic and non-domestic origin by specifying that the "commanders of foreign packets" (which were covered under laws applicable to ship mail incoming from other countries) were not to be paid the 2¢ ship fee.**
>
> **Further, instructions issued by the Postmaster General on 12 July 1810 specified that letters carried on steamboats were "to be rated in the same manner as if conveyed by land." As a result, unlike incoming ship letters originating outside the United States, postal charges on steamboat letters were not to reflect the ship fee but rather were to be based on the distance between the point the letter was picked up by the steamboat and the destination.**
>
> **Nevertheless, steamboat letters continued to be treated as ship letters in most ports of entry until 1815, when the Post Office Act of 27 February reiterated the requirements of the 1810 act and clarified that the law applied to steamboats without a mail-carrying contract as well as to loose letters carried by contract carriers outside locked mail bags. This set the stage for awarding post office contracts to steamboat operators, and the post office awarded the first contract to carry mail by steamboat on 15 April 1815. From this point on, most but not all loose letters carried by steamboat were rated under the "origin to destination" standard based on distance by land.**

The Post Office Act of 3 March 1823 formally established that all waters on which steamboats regularly travel from port to port, including coastal waterways, were to be considered post roads. Immediately thereafter, the Postmaster General issued instructions to reaffirm the proper rating, stating that "you will therefore charge all letters which you receive or send by steamboats with postage according to the distance they are conveyed, at the same rate as if sent through the mail by land."

The Post Office Act of 3 March 1825

Extensive cover study leads me to conclude that postmasters in all Hudson River ports appear to have followed the "origin to destination" rate structure commencing after the 1815 act. However, notwithstanding the clarity of the 1810, 1815 and 1823 acts and the accompanying instructions issued by the Postmasters General, port-of-entry postmasters on other New York waterways did not always conform. Some steamboat letters continued to be rated as ship letters.

The Post Office Act of 3 March 1825 reiterated that the 2¢ fee to be paid to steamboat masters did not apply to "commanders of foreign packets," thereby providing additional clarity that mail from other nations received from such vessels should be treated as ship letters and that domestic mail should be treated under the steamboat laws. Perhaps more importantly, and likely due to the continued loss of revenue attributable to mishandling and poor accounting for steamboat mail, the 1825 act clarified the way steamboat letters were to be handled by both the steamboat master and the postmaster in the port of entry. It specified penalties to be levied against steamboat masters for failure to follow specific rules regarding delivery, including a requirement to provide to the receiving postmaster a certificate indicating the number of letters delivered and the name of the vessel and place from which she last sailed. The 1825 act also specified penalties to be assessed against the local postmaster for failure to properly account for receipt of incoming steamboat letters.

Examination of steamboat covers that travelled on Lake Champlain shows that the clarity of the 1825 act and the penalties it specified appear to have had positive effect in bringing postal practices into conformance with the steamboat rating laws and instructions. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate steamboat letters that passed through Rouse's Point, New York, before and after the 1825 act. Maps 1 and 2 (page 221) show Lake Champlain, the Hudson River, and ports and other destinations mentioned in this article.

The cover in Figure 1 originated (per contents) on 24 August 1823 in Burlington, Vermont, where it was placed on board a steamboat for carriage across Lake Champlain to Rouse's Point. At Rouse's Point the cover was incorrectly rated as an incoming ship letter.

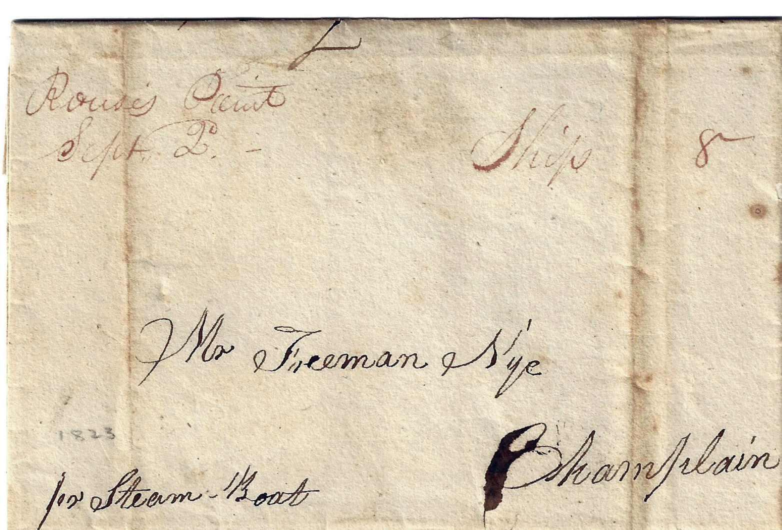


Figure 1. Dated 24 August, 1823, this letter from Burlington, Vermont, was carried by steamboat across Lake Champlain to Rouse's Point, where it entered the mails and was incorrectly rated as a ship letter. This manuscript "Ship 8" is the earliest recorded ship postmark on Lake Champlain.

Figure 2. Letter dated 5 November 1834, at Charlotte, Vt., taken by steamboat to Rouse's Point, N.Y., where it entered the mails for land carriage to Chazy, N.Y. The manuscript "10" rate was correctly applied at Rouse's Point for land distance of 30 to 80 miles from origin to destination.

It received a manuscript postmark dated September 2 and was rated "Ship 8" due, reflecting the 6¢ postage rate for a distance under 30 miles (from Rouse's Point to Champlain, about five miles west) plus a 2¢ ship fee. The proper rating should have been calculated as the land distance between its origin in Burlington and its destination in Champlain, though it is not clear what this rating should have been or what land route this cover might have taken. The cover in Figure 1 is the earliest recorded ship postmark on Lake Champlain and the only reported ship postmark applied at Rouse's Point.

Figure 2 shows a cover that originated (per contents) on 5 November 1834 in Charlotte, Vermont, a Lake Champlain town about 10 miles south of Burlington. The cover is addressed to Chazy, New York, an inland village a few miles southwest of Rouse's Point. The cover was placed on a steamboat in Charlotte (note the "St. Bt. Winooski" endorsement at lower left) and entered the mails at Rouse's Point on November 7, where it received the Rouse's Point manuscript postmark and was correctly rated 10¢ for the land distance (between 30 and 80 miles) from Charlotte to Chazy. No additional 2¢ ship letter fee was applied.

Non-conforming practices at Plattsburgh, New York

Even after the 1825 act, some non-conforming post offices continued to rate incoming domestic steamboat letters as ship letters. For example, steamboat covers entering the mails at the Lake Champlain port of Plattsburgh, New York, were treated by the local postmaster as ship letters well after the 1825 act, irrespective of whether the origin was domestic or foreign.

Figure 3 shows a circular that originated in Montreal, Canada, 7 May 1827. It was placed on board a Lake Champlain steamboat and taken into Plattsburgh, New York, where it entered the mails for carriage by land to Champlain, New York. It was marked with a straightline "SHIP" handstamp and correctly rated "8" (6¢ for distance under 30 miles plus 2¢ ship fee) as an incoming ship letter of foreign origin. As noted, the 1815 act specified that rates applicable to steamboat mail applied only to letters of domestic origin and the 1825 act reiterated this provision, meaning that incoming steamboat letters from Canada should be treated as ship letters.

Conversely, Figure 4 illustrates a steamboat letter of domestic origin, from the Lake Champlain island of Grande Isle, Vermont, 10 June 1834. As with Figure 3, this entered the mails at Plattsburgh and then was carried by land to its destination in Champlain, New York. The proper "origin to destination" rate by land for this letter was 10¢ for 30 to 80 miles from Grand Isle to Champlain. However, it was incorrectly rated just like the Canada

Figure 3. 1827 circular from Montreal, carried by steamboat to Plattsburgh, N.Y., where it entered the mails properly rated "SHIP 8" as an incoming ship letter from a foreign port. One of two reported circulars from Canada that entered as ship letters.

Figure 4. Domestic letter from Grande Isle, Vt., dated 10 June 1834 and sent by steamboat to Plattsburgh, where it entered the mails for onward land carriage to Champlain, N.Y. At Plattsburgh it was incorrectly marked "Ship" and due "8." The correct rating should have been 10¢.

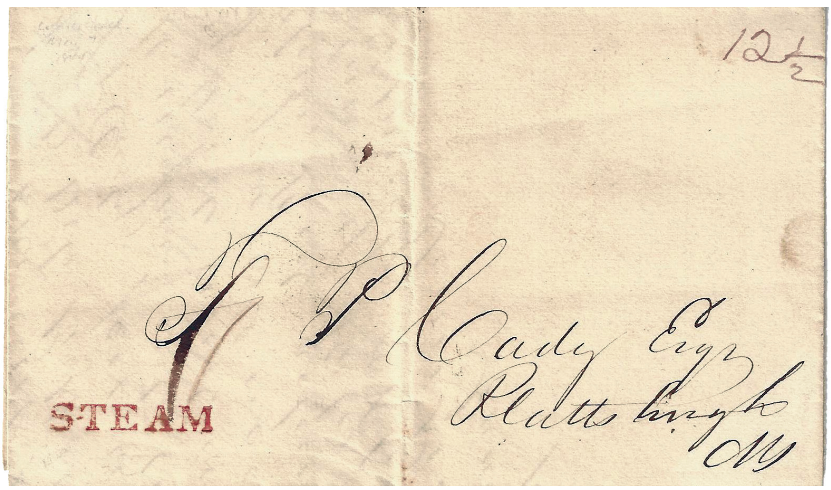
Figure 5. 27 June 1834 letter originating in Whitehall, N.Y., sent by steamboat to Plattsburgh for onward carriage to Grand Isle, Vt. It was correctly handstamped "STEAM-BOAT" but incorrectly rated with manuscript "12," incorporating a 2¢ ship fee that did not apply.

cover in Figure 3: "Ship" and due "8" —as if it were an incoming ship letter of foreign origin (i.e., 6¢ for distance under 30 miles from Plattsburgh to Champlain plus 2¢ ship fee).

Similarly, Figure 5 illustrates a letter originating a few weeks later in Whitehall, New York, internally dated 27 June 1834 and addressed to Grand Isle, Vermont. It was carried by steamboat from Whitehall to Plattsburgh, where it received the "JUL 1" circular datestamp and the two-line handstamped "STEAM-BOAT" with manuscript "12." While the steamboat handstamp could be interpreted to imply that the postmaster understood that letters of domestic origin carried on inland waterways were to be treated differently than ship letters originating in foreign countries, the incorrect 12¢ rating (which represents the 30-to-80-mile rate for the land distance between Plattsburgh and Grand Isle plus a 2¢ ship fee) suggests he did not understand the rate structure.

Based on analysis of available covers, treatment of domestic steamboat mail as ship letters in Plattsburgh appears to have continued at least through 1842. Figure 6 shows a letter dated 7 May 1844 that originated in Whitehall and was carried up Lake Champlain to Plattsburgh. It entered the mails at Plattsburgh where it was marked "STEAM" and correctly rated 12½¢ for the land distance (80 to 150 miles) between Whitehall and Plattsburgh.

Figure 6. 1844 letter from Whitehall, N.Y., carried up Lake Champlain to Plattsburgh, where it was marked "STEAM" and correctly rated 12½¢ (80 to 150 miles) for the land distance between Whitehall and Plattsburg.



Analysis of steamboat covers from other non-conforming ports of entry indicate that practices varied during this era. In some cases, incoming letters from foreign ports (e.g., Canada) were rated under the steamboat laws and in others domestic letters carried on inland waterways were rated as ship letters. This inconsistent treatment from port to port has caused much misunderstanding among collectors of early steamboat mail.

Non-conforming practices at Troy, New York

As illustrated in Map 2, the City of Troy is located several miles north of Albany on the eastern bank of the Hudson River, near the junction of the Erie and Champlain canals. Due to the confluence of major waterways and a topography that supported water power, Troy was a key city in the American industrial revolution and was reputedly the fourth wealthiest American city at the turn of the 20th century.

Based on my studies, it appears that postal practices in Troy through at least 1842 conformed to the "origin to destination" law explained above. Figure 7 illustrates a steamboat letter dated 31 July 1842. It originated in West Point, New York and was there placed on a Hudson River steamboat. It entered the mails at Troy for onward land carriage to Albany, just a few miles south. It was marked "STEAMBOAT" at Troy and correctly rated 12½¢ for the 80-to-150-mile land distance between West Point and Albany. There are fewer than five reported examples of this straightline handstamp, which was one of two markings used in Troy prior to the introduction of the boxed "TROY & NEW YORK STEAM BOAT" marking in late 1848.

The blue "STEAM" marking on the cover in Figure 8 is the second type of steamboat handstamp used in Troy prior to introduction of the well-known boxed marking. This cover originated in New York City and is internally dated 3 November 1845. It was carried up the Hudson by steamboat and entered the mails at Troy, where it was rated for 7¢ postage due. This represents 5¢ postage due for the under-300-mile rate under the new simplified rating system (effective May 1, 1845)—plus an additional 2¢. The authority for adding a 2¢ “ship fee” to this letter has not been found and presumably does not exist. But this practice persisted in Troy from the mid-1840s through the 1850s and has confounded students of steamboat mail for generations.

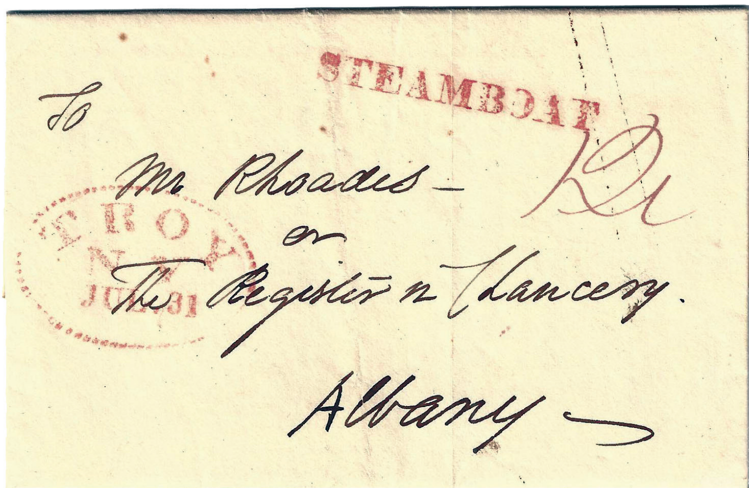
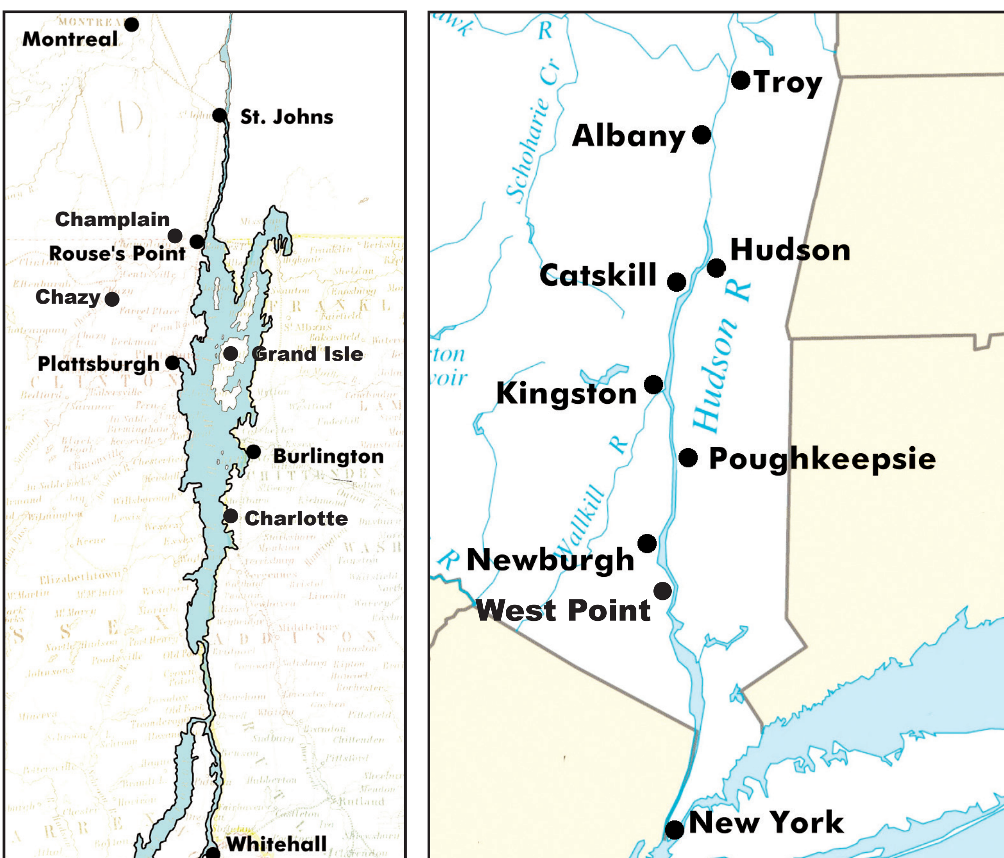


Figure 7. Letter from West Point, N.Y., placed on a steamboat for carriage to Troy, where it entered the mails correctly rated 12½¢ for the land distance (80 to 150 miles) between West Point and Albany. Fewer than five strikes of this red straightline "STEAMBOAT" handstamp are recorded.



Maps 1 and 2. At left, Lake Champlain with towns and locations mentioned in this article. Right, the Hudson River, from New York to Troy, with significant towns indicated.

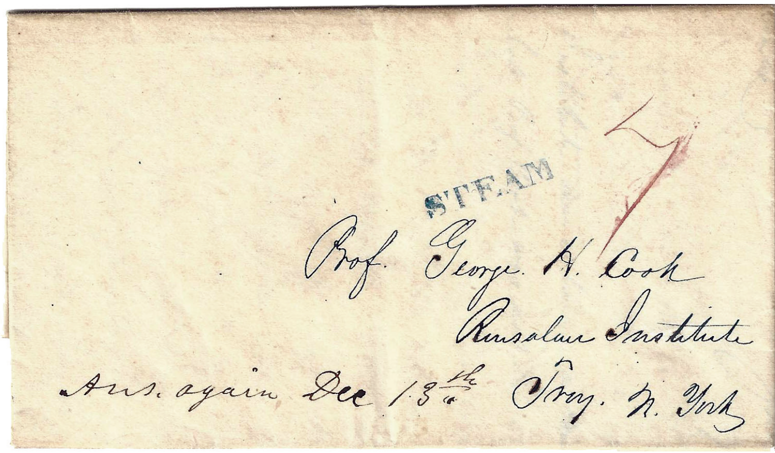


Figure 8. Letter from New York City, 3 November 1845, marked "STEAM" at Troy and rated 7¢ due: 5¢ for the under 300 mile rate and 2¢ for a ship fee that had no known legal basis, but was imposed at Troy from 1845 through the 1850s.

The covers in Figures 9 and 10 bear the boxed "TROY & NEW YORK STEAM BOAT" marking introduced in late 1848. The Figure 9 cover, franked with a 5¢ 1847 stamp to pay the rate for under 300 miles and dated 19 June 1851, is also marked with a matching "2cts." circular handstamp for the additional fee imposed by the Troy postmaster. However, the Figure 10 cover, franked with a 10¢ 1847 stamp and addressed to Quebec, Canada, was not marked for an additional 2¢ due, despite entering the mails at Troy in April 1851,

Figure 9. 19 June 1851 letter to Schenectady, prepaid with a 5¢ 1847 stamp and entering the mails at Troy with "TROY & NEW YORK STEAM BOAT" and "2cts." due handstamps. There is no known statutory basis for the added 2¢ fee.

Figure 10. 7 April 1851 letter from New York City to Quebec, prepaid with a 10¢ 1847 stamp and entering the mails at Troy. In this instance the spurious 2¢ fee was not assessed, perhaps because this was a treaty rate cover to a foreign nation.

Figure 11. 1849 letter originating in New York City and addressed to Ravenna, Ohio, entering the mails at Troy with boxed "TROY & NEW YORK STEAM BOAT" handstamp, and rated 12¢ due—10¢ for over 300 miles plus an additional and likely unjustifiable 2¢ fee.

solidly within the period when the Troy postmaster was assessing the additional 2¢ fees and two months earlier than the 5¢ cover in Figure 9. This is presumably because the Figure 10 cover was rated under the U.S.-Canada postal treaty that became effective just three days prior to the arrival of this cover in Montreal. It is one of just two 10¢ 1847 covers recorded bearing the boxed Troy marking.

The Figure 11 cover bears another example of the boxed "TROY & NEW YORK STEAM BOAT" handstamp, struck on a folded letter that originated in New York City in 1849 and entered the mails at Troy for onward carriage to Ravenna, Ohio. The Troy postmaster rated the cover with a manuscript "12"—10¢ postage due for the over-300 miles rate plus an additional 2¢. Unlike the Figure 10 cover addressed to Canada under the treaty rate, the Troy postmaster here assessed the additional 2¢ fee.

Summary, conclusion and a correction

While practices in the ports along most New York State waterways conformed to the law as prescribed in the 1810, 1815, 1823 and 1825 acts and accompanying instructions from Postmasters General, unauthorized postal practices prevailed in certain ports. It is unclear whether these non-conformities reflected misunderstanding, yet-to-be identified instructions, or intentional disregard that may or may not have involved self-interest. Did the Troy postmaster retain the additional 2¢ fee, which due to the volume of mail in his rapidly growing city would have resulted in quite a windfall? A similar scam apparently was running in New Orleans during this same era. The author welcomes thoughts from other students on these matters.

Correction: thanks to fellow steamboat mail collector Steve Roth for correcting an error in my February 2019 article. On page 37, in the caption for Figure 4, I wrote that the application of the 50 percent 1815 war-rate surcharge was an inappropriate charge that did not apply to ship letters. Roth provided a copy of a notice from the Postmaster General dated 23 March 1815, which clarifies that the surcharge did indeed apply and supersedes the earlier notice I relied on that was silent regarding ship letters. ■

THE 1847 DIES WERE NOT DESTROYED IN 1851

SCOTT R. TREPEL

This article will prove that Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson's two original steel dies with the 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 designs were not destroyed in 1851, resolving a longstanding conflict between contemporary documentation and empirical evidence.

An affidavit first published by John Luff states that the "dies of 5 and 10 cent stamps" and "plates of same" were "destroyed" on December 12, 1851. This led Clarence Brazer, an authority on early essays and proofs, to present unsubstantiated theories to explain the existence of the 1847 die proof impressions with cross-hatch lines. These are virtually all the 1847 die proofs, and they are known to have been made in the late 1850s or later.

Brazer speculated that duplicate dies were created in 1858 by using the transfer rolls to reverse-engineer the die blocks. Proofs from Brazer's theoretical duplicate dies show engraved cross-hatch lines surrounding the designs, except for impressions made with a mat that prevented the lines from printing. Brazer explained the cross-hatch lines with his own theory that the transfer rolls were much wider than the stamp engravings, since they had originally been designed for bank notes, and that the lines prevented slippage during the process of recreating the die.

Brazer was wrong about the duplicate dies. Only one set of dies was used to create all 1847 die proof impressions. The cross-hatch lines were added to the original dies in 1858, and it is extremely unlikely that a wide transfer roll was ever used. Cross-hatch lines were added to dies as a regular practice at private bank note printing firms. It seems doubtful they served any utilitarian purpose. In fact, it is far more likely they would have interfered with the transfer process when the printing plates were made in 1847.

Creighton C. Hart, a specialist collector who served as 1847 section editor of the *Chronicle*, published his own doubts about Brazer's theory (along with the text of the affidavit alleging destruction of the dies) in *Chronicle* 117 (February 1983). Hart opined that the original dies "must have been kept by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson and are the ones used in all the late printings. No duplicate dies were ever made." When Hart expressed this opinion, he did not have important pieces of evidence to establish the link between the cross-hatch proofs and the original dies. That evidence only surfaced in recent years and has now been carefully analyzed to prove that Hart was right: only one set of dies was used for the contemporaneous 1847 proofs and for the post-1851 proofs.

Tiny defects in the dies establish the lineage

Two 10¢ die proofs can be used to establish that only one die was used to make all proof impressions of that value, from the pre-issue stage of production, before cross-hatch lines were added, through the later impressions with cross-hatch lines. Brazer and Hart did not have access to these two significant 10¢ die proofs.

The first is the proof shown in Figure 1, which was made from the die before it was completed. This proof was discovered by Ken Gilbart in 2008 and reported by James E. Lee ("The Discovery of a Lifetime: A New 10¢ 1847 Essay," *Chronicle* 221, February 2009). While Lee and others describe proofs from unfinished dies as "essays," they are more accurately called progressive proofs. The proof discovered and acquired by Gilbart is the only recorded progressive proof of the 1847 issue. It is affixed to blue backing paper, adhering to the back of which are cut-out portions of die impressions of a numeral three and a locomotive scene. Security printers kept examples of vignettes of this kind in large books. This 1847 progressive proof was probably cut from a sample book used by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson or its successor, the American Bank Note Company.

The second proof is shown in Figure 2. This is an impression from the finished die, with the frame lines and "RWH&E" initials added to the design, along with many lines of ornamentation and shading added to the design itself. This proof was part of the estate of George W. Brett, one of the leading scholars in United States philately and security printing, who had a special interest in the 1847 stamps. The Siegel firm sold the Brett estate in 2008, and this item was offered in sale 967 (Dec. 16, 2008, lot 4004). There is no information on where Brett might have acquired this proof or its companion 5¢ proof discussed and illustrated below. At the time of the 2008 auction, the significance of this proof—that it was an original die proof from the 1847 production process—was not recognized, and it was offered as a more ordinary Scott 2P1 die proof.

Both the 10¢ progressive die proof and the finished die proof show layout lines and tiny die defects. The layout lines are quite apparent in the progressive proof in Figure 1, and less apparent (but still partly evident) in the finished proof in Figure 2. Die defects in

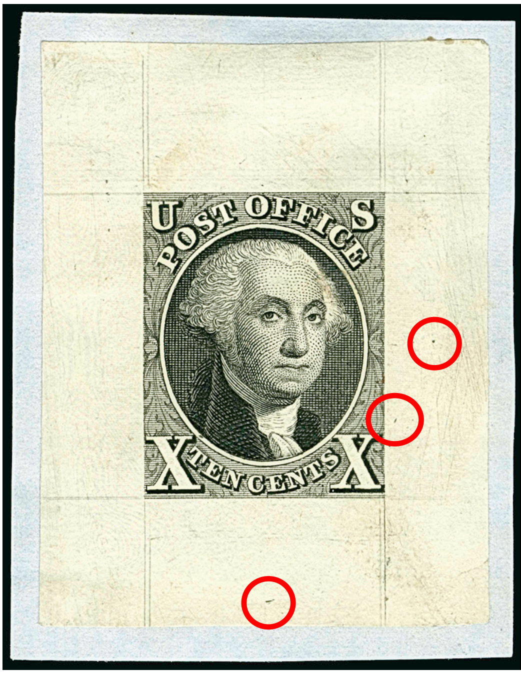


Figure 1. The only progressive die proof known for the 1847 stamps, discovered in 2008. This unfinished design lacks the outer border, the printer initials and other refinements, and the die block shows three distinctive flaws, here encircled in red.

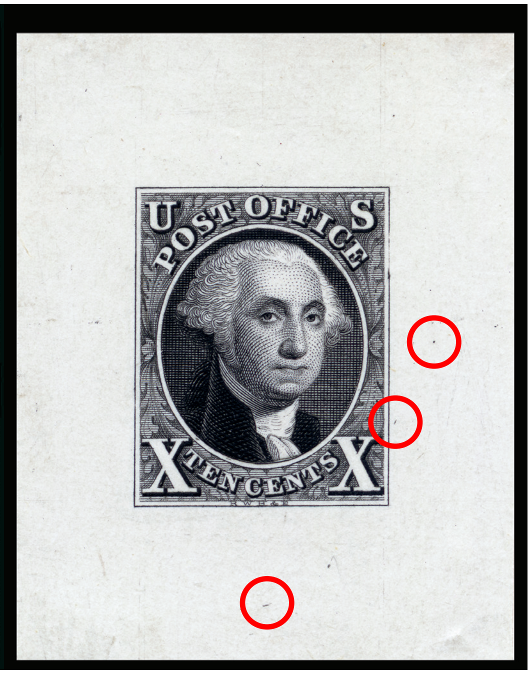


Figure 2. Production die proof showing the completed 10¢ 1847 design, with outer border, printer initials and more detail in the surrounding ornamentation. The border shows the same three flaws, encircled in red, indicating this is the same die.

the margin, seen as dots or short dashes, are consistent on both. Three of these defects are encircled in red on each image. These consistent die elements firmly establish that the same die was used to make the impressions in Figures 1 and 2. The next step is to establish a link between the subsequent cross-hatch proofs and the die that produced the proofs in Figures 1 and 2.

The cross-hatch proof in Figure 3 is printed in a deep blue. The Figure 3 photo and the two accompanying enlargements show the same three identifying elements found on the earlier proofs. Other cross-hatch proofs show these marks faintly or not at all, due to inking and other factors, but this deep blue proof has all of the marks. Since all cross-hatch proofs came from the same die, it's certain that just one die was used to make all 10¢ 1847 die proofs, from the unfinished state (Figure 1) through the finished die without cross-hatch lines (Figure 2) and all later impressions with cross-hatch lines (Figure 3 being just one example). This die was used to make the original transfer roll, which in turn was used to make the 200-subject 10¢ plate that was used to print the stamps.

So the lineage is complete for the 10¢, but what about the 5¢?

To date, no example of a 5¢ proof from an unfinished die has been reported. The proof in Figure 4 is the companion to the 10¢ proof in Figure 2. It was also in the Brett collection and was offered in Siegel sale 967 as lot 4002.

Figure 5 is a 5¢ cross-hatch proof on which the contrast has been enhanced to show detail. The Brett production proof without cross-hatch lines shows fairly prominent layout lines. Faint vestiges of these lines appear on some of the cross-hatch proofs, depending on

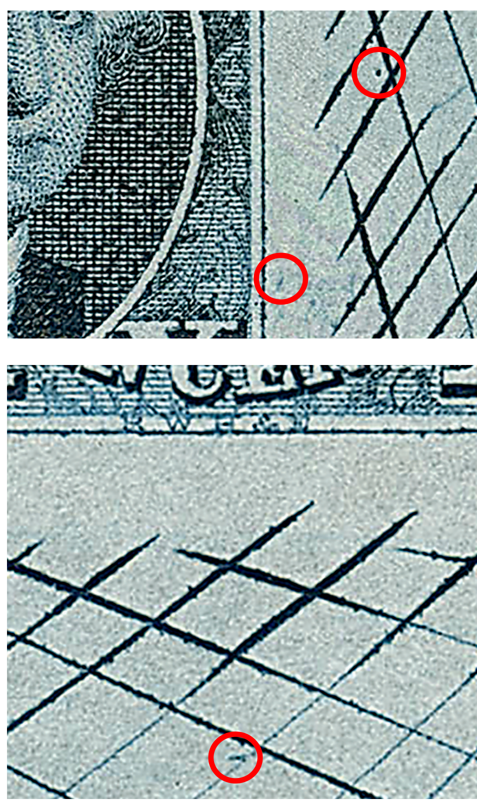
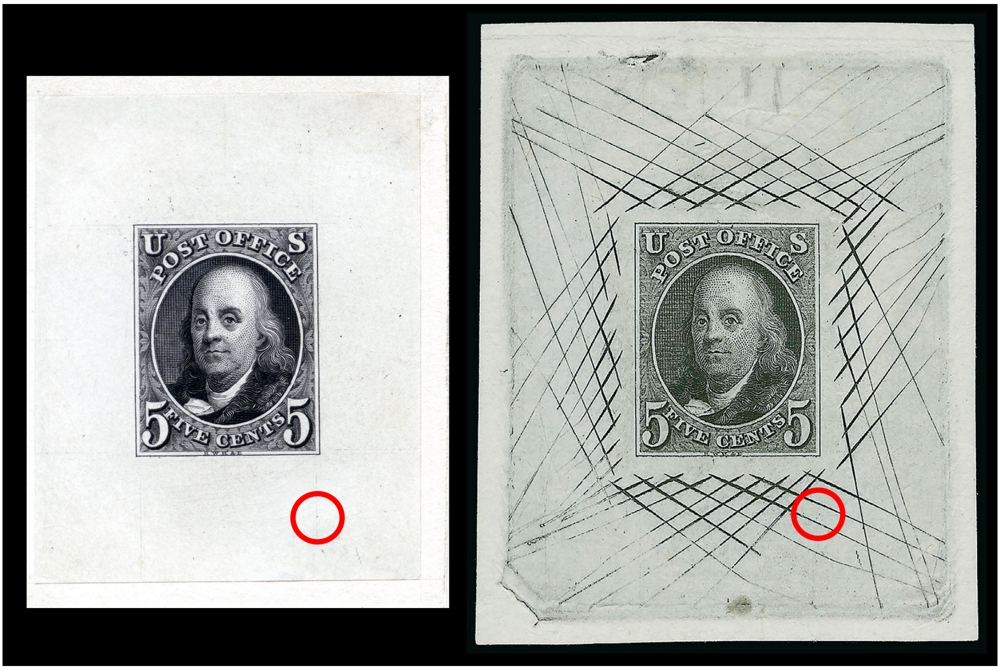


Figure 3. Die proof with cross hatches, known to have been produced after 1858, showing the same distinguishing features highlighted on Figures 1 and 2. This example in blue shows the characteristic flaws quite clearly, as affiirmed in the two enlargements at right. On some cross-hatch die proofs, especially those in lighter colors, the characteristic flaws don't show so clearly, but they are there nonetheless. This proves that all the 1847 proofs were made from just one die.



Figures 4 and 5. The 5¢ production die proof at left (Figure 4) shows a faint guideline extending from the inner frame line, and a flaw (circled) below the right corner. While very faint, the guideline extension and the flaw also appear on the cross-hatch proofs, an example of which is shown in Figure 5 at right. See the enlargement in Figure 6 below.

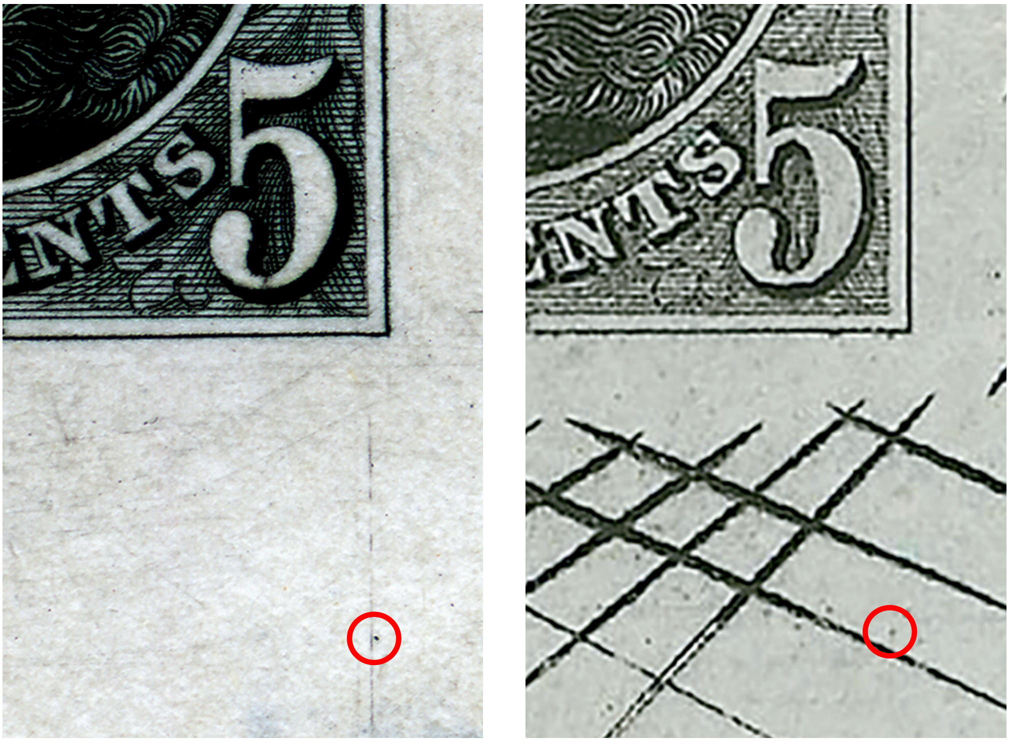


Figure 6. Massive enlargement of the frameline and flaw areas from Figures 4 and 5.

the strength of impression. A dot on the die is found on the Figure 4 proof and is also visible inside the cross-hatch lines in Figure 5. These tiny but definitive identifying features are encircled in red in the Figure 4 and 5 images. They show much more clearly in the enlargements presented in Figure 6. The presence of identical layout lines and the dot on both the 1847 impression and the later cross-hatch die impressions proves that the 5¢ impressions, like the 10¢, were made from the same die.

There are other differences between the 1847 5¢ proof and the later cross-hatch proofs, but they are not relevant to this discussion. The cross-hatch die proofs have a small gash in the frame line at upper left and a dot on Franklin's forehead, which are not present in the proof without cross-hatch lines. These marks were the result of later rust, corrosion or wear.

Cross-hatch lines

Proof impressions from the 1847 dies with cross-hatch lines were first made in 1858. Other printings followed in 1879, the 1890s and early 1900s. For some impressions, a mat was laid down to prevent the lines from printing. Most such impressions show embossed uninked cross-hatch lines in the surrounding paper.

Why were the cross-hatch lines added to the dies? Brazer thought they prevented slippage between the transfer roll and the die block, but this theory has no supporting evidence. Samples of bank note company dies show that the lines were present on many dies, including those produced by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson. The vignette proofs in Figure 7 come from a sample book from the American Bank Note Company archives, which included the work of RWH&E. The engravings were made by RWH&E and show the same style of cross-hatch lines. Perhaps an expert in 19th century security printing can offer a theory or explanation for the cross-hatch lines, but it seems very unlikely they served the purpose described by Brazer.

Conclusion and further investigation

The lineage of both 1847 dies and die proof impressions has been established. However, there are some unanswered questions.

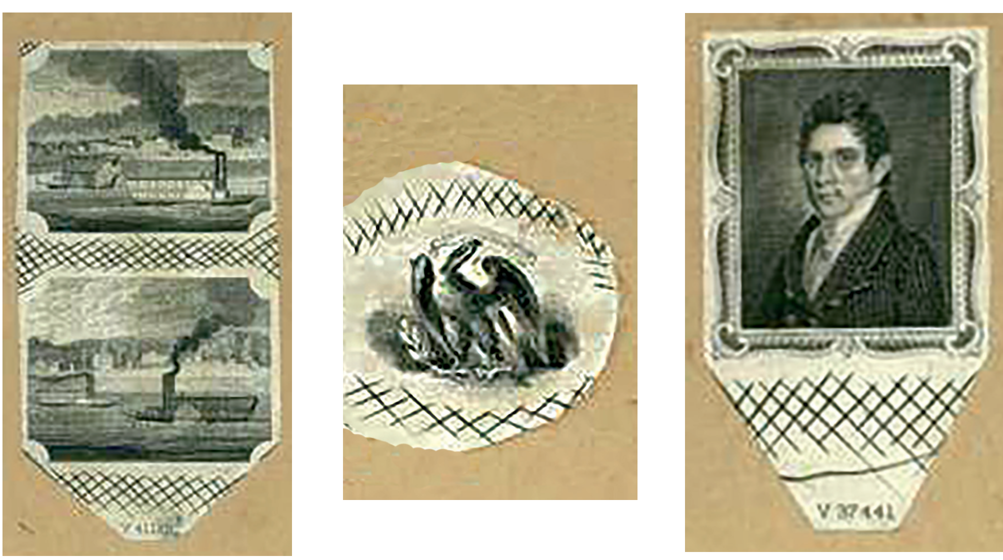


Figure 7. Proof images from a sample book from the archives of the American Bank Note Company, which included these dies created by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch and Edson, printers of the 1847 stamps. The cross hatching on these dies is identical to that on the 5¢ and 10¢ 1847 proofs, as shown in Figures 3 and 5.

If the 1851 affidavit is truthful and accurate, then what dies were “destroyed” and how? Hart thought the 1851 affidavit referred to a second unused set of dies, not the originals used for production of the transfer rolls and plates. Is it possible there was only one set of dies, and the cross-hatch lines were added in 1851 as a means of “destroying” or cancelling them?

Another question is raised by the 10¢ finished die proof in Figure 2. This shows a disfigured frame line at upper right, which should be evident in Figure 2. The frame line is complete on the issued stamps and in the later die impressions with cross-hatch lines. Is there a second example from the die without cross-hatch lines that shows the same broken upper right frame line? A second example would prove that the die engraving itself was flawed, at least in this early state, and was not the result of a flawed impression in this particular die proof.

Finally, are there any other die proofs that can be identified as contemporaneous 1847 impressions? Careful examination of all die proofs without cross-hatch lines might yield additional examples. ■

IDENTIFYING THE EIGHT 3¢ WASHINGTON STAMPS OF 1851-57

DON GETZIN AND WADE SAADI

More than a decade ago, the 2008 edition of the *Scott Specialized Catalog* revised the types and catalog numbers of the 3¢ stamps of 1851-57. There are now four different types, designated I, II, III and IV; and eight major catalog numbers: 10, 10A, 11, 11A, 25, 25A, 26 and 26A. This article examines these four types and eight catalog varieties, with descriptive and visual guidance to help collectors tell them apart.[1]

These are some of the most commonly misidentified United States stamps. Their 2019 catalog values in used condition range from $10 to $850, so there is strong incentive to know these stamps before you buy or sell them. Even after ten years, many collectors (and some dealers) are still unaware of the new Scott types and catalog numbers. This article is aimed at those who may find these stamps difficult to identify.

Figures 1 through 4, on the four full pages that follow, present the design types, one per page. Each page contains an enlarged "mat" representation of the stamp design with the salient features that define the type highlighted in black. In addition, each page presents an enlarged photo of a representative stamp, flanked by massive enlargements (eight times life) of its right and left borders, clearly presenting the design features that characterize the type. This combination of sketches and real-life photography should provide novice collectors with necessary information. The sketches show where to look and what to look for, and the photo enlargements show the type-defining features in real life. Photos of representative examples of the eight Scott numbers then follow (Figures 5-12), showing the most typical colors. Once the types are understood, color is the major obstacle.

Type I

Type I designates stamps with four recut outer frame lines. Recutting is the process in which a master engraver uses a hand engraving tool to strengthen lines directly on the printing plate. Recutting causes lines on the printed stamps to be much darker. The sketch in Figure 1 shows the four recut outer frame lines highlighted in black.

Type II

Type II stamps, in addition to the four recut frame lines, have partially or completely recut inner lines, as suggested in the sketch in Figure 2. One or both inner lines can be recut, and the length of the recut lines can vary. The sketch in Figure 2 shows both inner lines recut, at typical length.

Type I and II stamps are known both imperforate (issue of 1851) and perforated 15½ (issue of 1857). They were printed from the 13 original plates, commonly known as the "imperforate plates." The 13 original plates, in order of earliest known use, are 1E, 1i, 5E, 2E, 0, 1L, 2L, 3, 4, 5L, 7, 6 and 8. These plates, as well as the master die, were produced by Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Co. of Philadelphia. One plate lacked a marginal number; the number 0 was assigned to it by specialist collectors. The various states of each plate—E for early, I (or i) for intermediate and L for late—are counted as separate plates.

Figure 1: TYPE I

Type I. Four frame lines, no inner lines. If imperforate and orange brown, Scott 10; if imperforate and dull red, Scott 11. If perforated, the stamp is Scott 25.

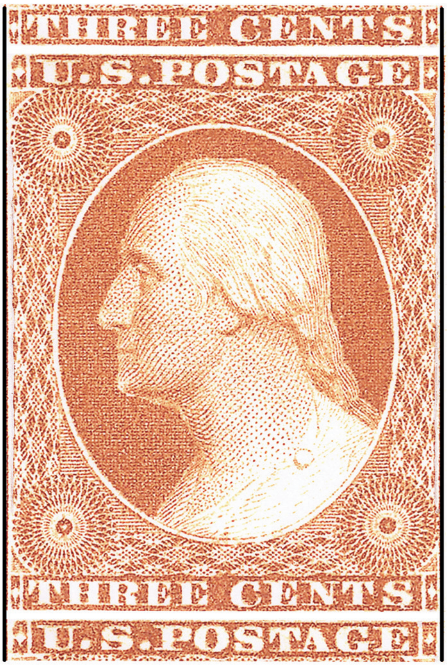
Type I, imperforate, Scott 10. The color of this stamp is orange-brown. Scott 10 comes from 64 positions on Plate 1E and 65 positions on Plate 1i. In dull red, the stamp is Scott 11, which comes from Plates 4, 6, 7 and 8. Perforated examples from these plates, typically in rose, are Scott 25 (see Table 1).

Figure 2: TYPE II

Type II. Four frame lines and one or both inner lines recut. Imperforate and orange brown, Scott 10A; imperf and dull red, Scott 11A. Perforated, Scott 25A.

Type II, imperforate, Scott 10A. The color of this stamp is orange-brown. Scott 10A comes from 136 positions on Plate 1E, 135 positions on Plate 1i, and Plates 0, 2E and 5E. In dull red, the stamp is Scott 11A (Plates 1L, 2L, 3 and 5L). Perforated examples, typically in rose (Plates 2L, 3 and 5L) are Scott 25A.

Figure 3: TYPE III



Type III. The recut outer lines at left and right continue across the plate from the top to the bottom. Perf 15½. Scott 26.

Type III stamps are always perforated 15½ and are always Scott 26. Colors vary but the principal color is dull red. From Plates 9E, 9L and 12-28.

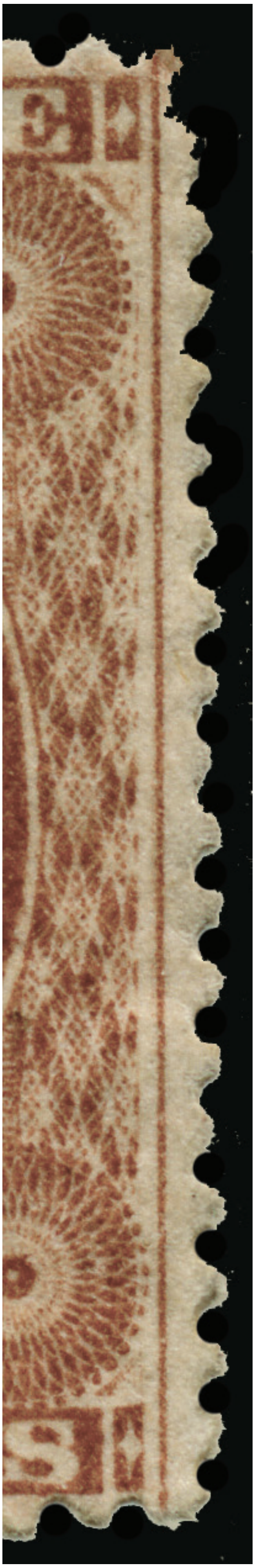
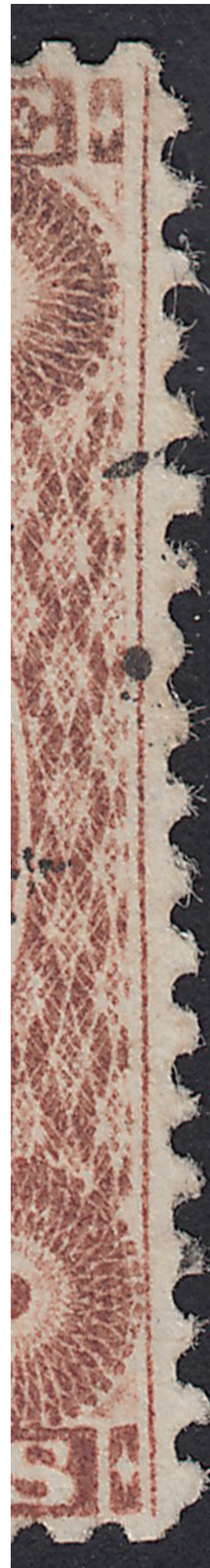


Figure 4. TYPE IV

Type IV. The recut outer lines at left and right are not continuous, with gaps top and bottom. Perforated 15½. Scott 26A.

Type IV stamps are always perforated 15½ and are always Scott 26A. Colors vary but the principal color is dull red. From Plates 10E, 10i, 10L, 11E, 11i, 11L.



Types III and IV are found only on the perforated issue. These stamps were printed from new plates, starting in 1857. On these stamps the top and bottom frame lines were removed, to create more vertical space between stamps to allow for horizontal perforations; and the plate impressions were entered slightly farther apart in each row, to allow more room for vertical perforations.

Type III

All the new plates were produced by the firm then known as Toppan, Carpenter & Co. John William Casilear left the firm around 1854 to pursue a career in painting. This was a good career move for him, because he is now considered an important member of the second generation of *plein air* painters of the Hudson River School. Casilear's paintings are in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the National Gallery in Washington.

Except for Plates 10 and 11, all the perforated plates had the left and right frame lines in every column recut in one stroke down the whole plate, using a straight edge as a guide. There are therefore no gaps in the vertical frame lines between stamps: the left and right recut frame lines run continuously from the top to the bottom of the plate. Stamps with this characteristic are classified as Type III. The sketch illustrating Type III shows portions of the adjacent stamps at top and bottom to emphasize the continuity of the vertical frame lines, the characteristic of this type.

Type IV

Before the straight edge was used, the left and right frame lines of the individual stamp impressions on two of the new plates were recut individually, by hand, directly on top of the faint frame lines already transferred to the plates. As a result, the left and right frame lines on these stamps do not run continuously from the top to the bottom of these plates: there are gaps between the stamps. These stamps are now classified as Type IV. The two new plates were numbered 10 and 11. Both exist in early, intermediate and late states. These are considered to be separate plates; 10E, 10i and 10L; and 11E, 11i and 11L.

Table 1 summarizes the catalog numbers, types, plates and other details about these stamps. Figures 5 through 12 present photographs of representative stamps correctly identified by type and catalog number.

TABLE 1. THE EIGHT 3¢ WASHINGTON STAMPS OF 1851 AND 1857

Scott #	Figure	Perf	Type	Color	Plates
1851 issue					
10	5	Imperf	I	orange brn	1E (64 positions), 1i (65 pos)
10A	6	Imperf	II	orange brn	1E (136 pos), 1i (135 pos), 0, 2E, 5E
11	7	Imperf	I	dull red	4, 6, 7, 8
11A	8	Imperf	II	dull red	1L, 2L, 3, 5L
1857 issue					
25	9	15½	I	rose	4, 6, 7, 8
25A	10	15½	II	rose	2L, 3, 5L
26	11	15½	III	dull red	9E, 9L, 12-28
26A	12	15½	IV	dull red	10E, 10i, 10L, 11E, 11i, 11L

Table 1. Salient characteristics of the eight Scott-listed types of the 3¢ 1851-57 stamps. "Figure" references are to the photographic illustrations on the following two pages.

Figure 5 Scott 10 | Figure 6 Scott 10A | Figure 7 Scott 11 | Figure 8 Scott 11A

The colors on the imperforate stamps can be very deceptive. Only 10 and 10A are the true orange browns, and this is best determined by plating the stamps. Stamps designated 11 and 11A may appear to be orange brown, but they are mostly dull red.

Figures 5 and 6 are orange-brown Type I and II imperforate stamps, Scott 10 and 10A. Figures 7 and 8 are imperforate stamps, Type I and II, Scott 11 and 11A, that were printed in the other colors used after the original orange-brown ink was discontinued. These are Scott 11 and 11A.

Color a problem

Distinguishing between the imperforate orange-brown Type I and II stamps and the imperforate Type I and II stamps of later colors has always been a problem for collectors. Specialists can usually distinguish the colors correctly, but others have great difficulty. The original orange-brown ink contained both lead-based and iron-based pigments.[2] Subsequent inks apparently did not contain iron-based pigments. The most common non-orange-brown color is called dull red. The best that can be said is that true orange-brown stamps typically have a deep, rich color with little trace of red, and are basically brown, while the other colors have red tinges to them.

In our experience, many if not most of the stamps being sold on eBay as orange-brown stamps are actually stamps of other colors. This is not a trivial matter because, as used stamps, they differ in catalog value by about a factor of about ten. *Caveat emptor*!

Orange-brown stamps (Figures 5 and 6) were printed only from five of the imperforate plates: 0, 1E, 1i, 2E and 5E. No other color stamps were printed from these five plates. If a stamp was printed from one of these plates, it is an orange-brown Scott 10 or 10A. Color varies with the eye of the beholder, and stamp colors can change over time due to adverse exposure to light, atmospheric pollution and chemically hostile storage materials. Plating these stamps is the only absolutely reliable means of separating orange browns from from their more common cousins.

Cancels can help

In a few cases, cancellations can provide definitive (or close to definitive) evidence identifying orange-brown stamps. Figure 13 shows a cover from Boston to Wiscasset, Maine, franked with a 3¢ imperforate Washington stamp bearing the small black Boston PAID cancel. The period of use of this canceling device (approximately mid-July 1851 to mid-January 1852) closely matches the period of use of the orange-brown stamps (July 1 to approximately December 15, 1851). So if a 3¢ imperforate Washington stamp bears this cancellation, it is highly likely to be orange-brown.

If the small Boston PAID is struck in red or magenta, there can be no doubt at all: the stamp must orange-brown, because the use of the small red Boston cancel was discontinued before any 3¢ stamps of other colors were issued. All known 3¢ imperforate Washington

Figure 9
Scott 25

Figure 10
Scott 25A

Figure 11
Scott 26

Figure 12
Scott 26A

Colors on the perforated stamps range broadly. As a general rule, the Type I and II stamps (Scott 25 and 25A) are found in rose, while Types III and IV (Scott 26 and 26A) are more often found in dull red. The colors shown here are not necessarily accurate.

Figure 13. This small black Boston PAID cancel was used mid-July 1851 to mid-January 1852, roughly matching the period of use of the orange-brown stamps. If a 3¢ Washington stamp has this cancellation, it is quite likely orange-brown.

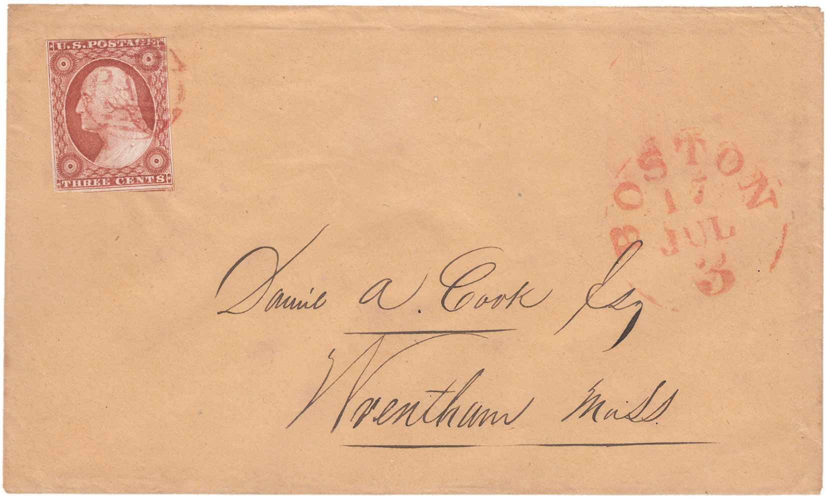


Figure 14. This small red (or magenta) Boston PAID cancel was used approximately July 7- 26, 1851, when orange browns were the only 3¢ stamps in distribution. Any 3¢ stamp with this cancel must be orange brown.

stamps with this cancel in red or magenta are from Plate 1E. Figure 14 shows a nice example, on a cover from Boston to Wrentham, Massachusetts.

During this era, Philadelphia struck its circular datestamp in blue until around January 1, 1854. Thus, there is a possibility (far from a certainty) that imperforate 3¢ stamps with the blue Philadelphia CDS are orange browns. Figure 15 shows a nice example on a cover to Boston. When the Philadelphia post office switched to black ink for their cancel, it was long after orange-brown stamps were in general distribution. Thus it is highly unlikely that a 3¢ imperforate stamp with a black Philadelphia cancel is an orange-brown stamp.

Figure 15. With a blue Philadelphia cancel, an imperforate 3¢ 1851 stamp is possibly orange brown, as is this example, on a cover to Boston. Philadelphia switched to black ink in early 1854, when orange brown stamps were no longer in distribution. So an imperforate 3¢ with a black Philadelphia CDS is almost certainly not orange brown.

But as noted above, to determine without a doubt that an imperforate stamp is an orange-brown Scott 10 or 10A, the stamp must be plated. Again, orange-brown imperforate stamps, and only orange-brown imperforate stamps, were printed from the five plates 0, 1E, 1i, 2E, and 5E. Imperforate Type I stamps of other colors (Scott 11, shown in Figure 7) were printed only from the four plates 4, 6, 7 and 8. And imperforate Type II stamps of other colors (Scott 11A, shown in Figure 8) were printed only from the four plates 1L, 2L, 3 and 5L.

The perforated 15½ Type I stamps, Scott 25 (Figure 9), were printed only from Plates 4, 6, 7 and 8, the same four plates used to print Scott 11. The perforated 15½ Type II stamps, Scott 25A (Figure 10), were printed only from three of the four plates used to print Scott 11A: Plates 2L, 3 and 5L. Plate 1L had been retired before perforations were introduced. These stamps are quite easy to identify: If a genuinely perforated 15½ stamp is Type I, it must be Scott 25; a genuinely perforated 15½ Type II stamp must be Scott 25A. Both these stamps are very difficult to find without the perforations cutting into the design because the impressions on these "imperforate plates" were too close together. That's why new plates, with the impressions farther apart, were produced starting in 1857.

Types III and IV, Scott 26 and Scott 26A (Figures 11 and 12), can readily be distinguished from Scott 25 and Scott 25A because they lack top and bottom frame lines, but this difference is sometimes difficult to discern. To conclude that a stamp is Type IV (Scott 26A) rather than a Type III (Scott 26), it is important to see at least one gap in a frame line at the top of a stamp and at least one gap in a frame line at the bottom of that stamp. Note that top row Type III stamps show both frame lines ending at the top of the stamp, and bottom row Type III stamps show both frame lines ending at the bottom of the stamp. These Type III stamps are often sold as the more expensive Type IV stamps.

Other useful distinguishing features

There are some other features that are useful in distinguishing between Type III and Type IV stamps. Because the left and right frame lines of the Type III impressions were recut from top to bottom of the plate using a single straight edge, adjustments could not be made for each individual impression. Therefore the recut frame lines often come close to the design, graze the design, or even cut into the design. Figure 16 shows a Type III stamp on which the left frame line actually touches the design. For a comparison, note the right frame line on this stamp, which is positioned more normally. Moreover, the recut frame lines often do not fall directly on top of the faint pre-existing frame lines. This makes some frame lines appear doubled for part or all of their length: one line faint (the original frame line) and the other dark (the recut frame line). These features are evident on the left frame

Figure 16. A Type III stamp. Note the continuous left and right frame lines. On this stamp, the left frame line touches the design along the entire edge.

Figure 17. On this Type III stamp, the left frame line is partially doubled. This is best seen on the top corner of the stamp, shown enlarged as an inset.

line of the Type III stamp shown in Figure 17. The upper left corner of the stamp has been enlarged and inset to show the doubling more clearly.

The frame lines on the Type III stamps are "arrow straight" because they were recut using a straight edge. However, the frame lines on the Type IV stamps (Scott 26A) show "wiggles and bows" because they were cut freehand. Sometimes this unevenness is more evident if the stamp is examined from an oblique angle. Figure 18 is an angled photo of a Type IV stamp. The unevenness of both frame lines is quite visible.

Figure 18. The frame lines on Type IV stamps were cut freehand and often show unevenness. This is more evident if the stamp is examined from an oblique angle. In this angled photo of a Type IV stamp the unevenness of both frame lines is visible.

Fraud

There are even cases of Type III stamps being fraudulently altered to make them appear to be the more valuable Type IV stamps. Figure 19 shows a stamp that has two certificates from a reputable expertizing organization stating it to be a Type IV Scott 26A. However, it is a top row Type III Scott 26 stamp, fraudulently altered to make it appear to be the more valuable Type IV Scott 26A stamp. The bottoms of the left and right frame lines were scraped off.

Figure 19. Fraudulent Type IV (Scott 26A). The bottoms of both frame lines of a top row Type III Scott 26 stamp were scraped off (see inset enlargement) to resemble the more valuable Type IV.

Detecting fraud such as this requires a knowledge of plating characteristics that most collectors do not have. That this is a top-row stamp can be determined because it has a guide dot at top right and is an A-relief with the larger flaw repaired. Being a top row stamp, the frame lines naturally end at the top of the stamp. Casual observation shows that the frame lines seem to end at the bottom of the stamp, but more careful examination, under strong magnification, shows that the frame lines at the bottom have been fraudulently scraped off. The inset enlargement in Figure 19 shows the area that was worked on. A second expertizing organization correctly determined that this stamp is a Type III, Scott 26, from Position 6R20.

Figure 20. At left, a scarce "Chicago Perf" stamp, unofficially perforated 12½ by an entrepreneurial Chicago dentist. This example is listed under Scott 11A. At right, a stamp from the Special Printing of 1875, perforated 12. Both images are shown here through the courtesy of the Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries.

Chicago perfs and Special Printings

To conclude this article, we should point out that there are two stamps that might appear to be examples of the perforated stamps discussed here, but are not. They are, in fact, much more valuable.

The left stamp in Figure 20 is a "Chicago Perf." These stamps were unofficially perforated either 11 or 12½ by Elijah W. Hadley, a Chicago dentist. Hadley invented a perforating machine that he unsuccessfully tried to sell to the Post Office Department. The stamp in Figure 20 is catalogued as an unofficially perforated 12½ variety of Type II, Scott 11A. There is also an unofficially perforated 12½ "Chicago Perf" listed as a variety of Type I, Scott 11. Both these varieties are known only in used condition. A perforated 11 "Chicago Perf" is also listed as a variety of Scott 11A. All known copies are unused without gum and come from the right pane of Plate 2L.

The stamp shown at right in Figure 20 is a special printing, Scott 41, perforated 12, no gum as issued. The special printing stamps were produced in 1875 by the Continental Bank Note Company at the request of the USPOD for its display at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Examples were subsequently sold to dealers and collectors by the Third Assistant Postmaster General in Washington, D.C. As should be evident from the image in Figure 20, the color is very distinctive. Scott calls it "scarlet."

Acknowledgement

The authors are grateful for suggestions and corrections by Dick Celler.

Endnotes

1. In addition to the Scott specialized catalog, students are also referred to the magnificent (although somewhat outdated) work by Carroll Chase, *The 3¢ Stamp of the United States, 1851-1857, Revised;* Quarterman Publications, Inc. 1975; Lawrence, Massachusetts.
2. James A. Allen and Thomas Lera. "The U.S. 1851 3¢ Stamp: Color, Chemistry, and Changes," *Smithsonian Contributions to History and Technology,* Number 17. ■

SPECIAL FEATURE: 2

TALES OF THE CIVIL WAR BLOCKADE: THE PROFITABLE *FANNIE*

STEVEN WALSKE

This continues a planned series of articles on blockade runners during the American Civil War. The first article, on the steamship *Antonica*, was published in *Chronicle* 263. This second article describes the successful blockade running career of the steamship *Fannie.* She penetrated the blockade 22 times, running mostly between Wilmington, North Carolina and Nassau, Bahamas. She was never captured. Much of her story is told by the letters that she carried through the blockade.

After President Lincoln ordered the blockade of the southern coasts on April 19, 1861, the United States navy was quick to implement it. The formal process was to send a ship off of the port to be blockaded and to announce the blockade, giving neutral ships a week or two to depart. Accordingly, the USS *Niagara* initiated the blockade of Charleston on May 10, 1861 and the USS *Daylight* appeared off of Wilmington on July 14, 1861. Federal actions at Charleston closed that port to blockade-running from September 1863 to March 1864, but Wilmington was open to blockade-running until its port defenses fell on January 15, 1865. As a result, more blockade-run mail is known through Wilmington than any other port.

By late 1862, special steamships with the characteristics of speed, shallow draft and low profile were needed to carry supplies and mail past the multiple layers of the Federal blockade off Wilmington and Charleston. Figure 1 shows the fully-developed scheme of the Federal blockade at Wilmington.[1]

In this diagram, the Federal ships are represented along the dotted blue lines and the routes to Nassau, Bermuda and Halifax are shown by the labeled black lines. The number of blockading ships shown was not attained until the final year of the war. At that time, one in two blockade runners was captured or destroyed, since leaving Wilmington they had to pass the dense cluster of ships just outside the inlets to the Cape Fear River, and then three additional lines of blockaders. Even after passing through this gauntlet, many blockade runners were captured in the open seas by Federal warships cruising near Bermuda or Nassau.

Iron-hulled side-wheel steamers built as packets in the British Isles possessed many of the characteristics needed to successfully run the Federal blockade. One such steamer, *Orion*, was launched in 1859 at Greenock, Scotland by Caird and Company. She had been in service as a packet boat between Lubeck and Cronstadt until early 1863, when she was purchased for $245,000 by the Importing & Exporting Company of South Carolina ("I&E Co.").

Incorporated on December 18, 1862 by president William C. Bee, the I&E Co. raised $1 million during the war to own and operate a fleet of blockade runners. They accomplished this by issuing 1,000 shares at $1,000 each. Figure 2 shows an example of a stock certificate (for one share) issued in 1864 to Nassau agent Henry Adderley & Company.

Once $700,000 had been raised by January 1863, the company began operations.[2] Among the first three steamships acquired was the 220-foot *Orion*, promptly re-named

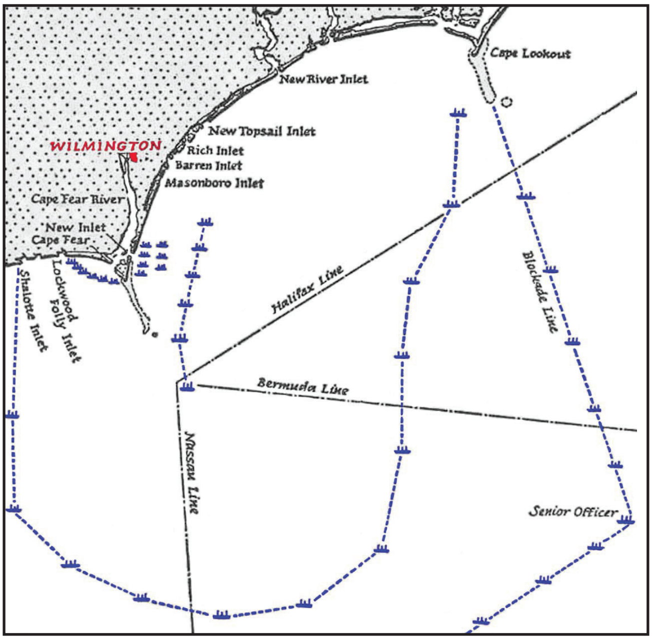
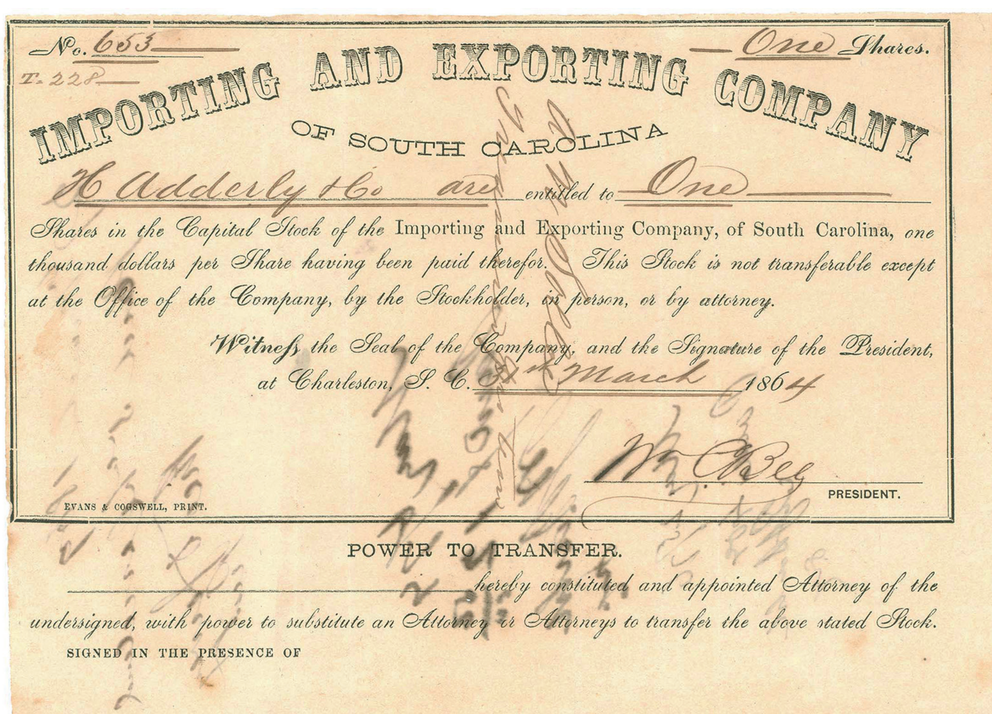


Figure 1. The Federal blockade scheme at Wilmington, North Carolina at its fullest, late in the war. The port of Wilmington was open to blockade runners until January 15, 1865. More blockade-run covers passed through Wilmington than any other Confederate port.

Fannie. The success of these ships in running the blockade made the I&E Co. very profitable. *Fannie* alone averaged 925 bales of cotton carried per outbound trip, and realized a net profit of $100,000 per round trip. As a result, the initial $245,000 investment in *Fannie* returned $1.1 million. I&E's shareholders were also rewarded for their investment; they received dividends per share of $9,000 in Confederate currency plus 120 British pounds.[3]


No. 653 — One Shares.
T. 228
IMPORTING AND EXPORTING COMPANY
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
H Adderly & Co are entitled to One
Shares in the Capital Stock of the Importing and Exporting Company, of South Carolina, one thousand dollars per Share having been paid therefor. This Stock is not transferable except at the Office of the Company, by the Stockholder, in person, or by attorney.

Witness the Seal of the Company, and the Signature of the President, at Charleston, S. C. 1st March 1864

Wm C Bee
PRESIDENT.

EVANS & COGSWELL, PRINT.

POWER TO TRANSFER.

hereby constituted and appointed Attorney of the undersigned, with power to substitute an Attorney or Attorneys to transfer the above stated Stock.

SIGNED IN THE PRESENCE OF

Figure 2. Certificate for one share of Importing & Exporting Company of South Carolina, operators of a fleet of blockade-running sidewheel steamships, including *Fannie.*

Fannie arrived at Nassau on May 8, 1863 and immediately began operations. Figure 3 shows a letter carried by *Fannie* on her second trip into Charleston. Datelined June 3, 1863 at Bremen, this letter was carried on the Cunard steamer *Scotia*, which sailed from Liverpool on June 6 and arrived in New York on June 16. Since the Nassau mails were sent closed through New York, it was transferred in a mail bag to the Cunard branch steamer *Corsica*, which departed from New York on June 20 and reached Nassau four days later. A Nassau agent placed it on *Fannie*, bound for Charleston. The July 11 *New York Times* reported her June 25 departure for "St. John's New Brunswick" with "assorted cargo" from Henry Adderley & Company. This reflects the misleading port clearances filed by blockade runners to facilitate their departures from neutral ports, and to maintain the appearance of a harmless merchant ship to American spies in those ports. On the day after *Fannie*'s arrival at Charleston, this letter was processed by the post office, which added a June 29 postmark and rated it for 12¢ due. The "STEAM-SHIP" marking was added to indicate the reason for the 2¢ ship fee. The 26-day transit was remarkably rapid for blockade-run mail from Europe. Table 1 at conclusion of this article details *Fannie*'s 22 successful trips through the blockade. The sailings have been numbered for convenience in describing them.

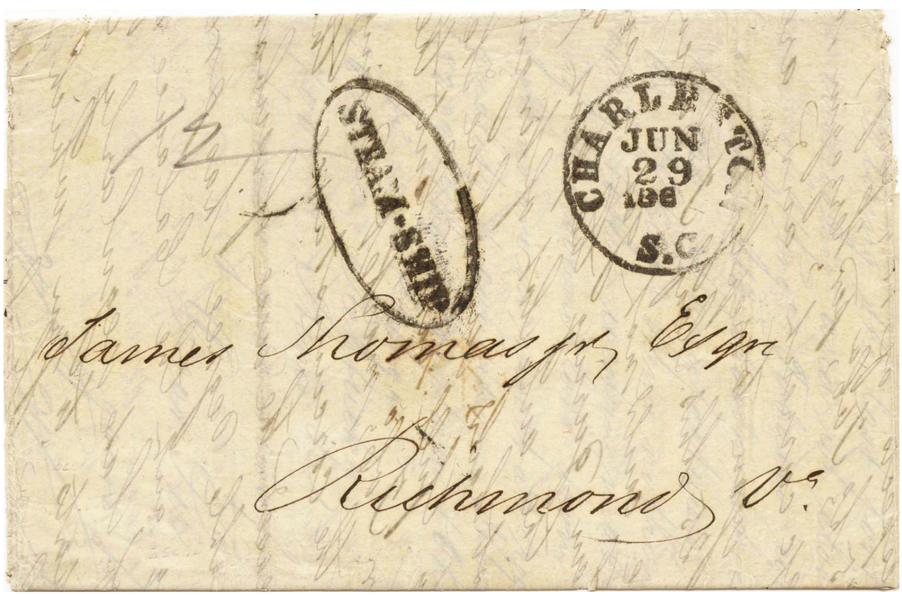


Figure 3. This folded letter originated in Bremen and was carried by *Fannie* on her trip W-3 (see Table 1) from Nassau into Charleston on June 29, 1863.

Confederate Special Orders No. 156, issued on August 11, 1863, required examination of all letters carried by blockade runners: "All masters or other officers and the crews and passengers of vessels outward bound, are forbidden to carry letters not previously approved by these headquarters or by the commanding general of the First Military District." Figure 4 shows an outgoing letter carried on *Fannie*'s 8th trip through the blockade. The cover was examined by the Wilmington provost marshal, as evidenced by the "B. Duncan" signature on the reverse (not shown).

Addressed to a merchant in Philadelphia but sent in care of Thomas Harvey at Nassau, this letter, a printed commercial flyer, left Wilmington October 10 aboard *Fannie* and arrived in Nassau on October 14. It was postmarked at the Nassau post office the next day and rated as an incoming ship letter, per the rare "BAHAMAS SHIP LETTER" marking and the blue "4" for four pence due. It was delivered to Harvey, who forwarded it under cover to Philadelphia.

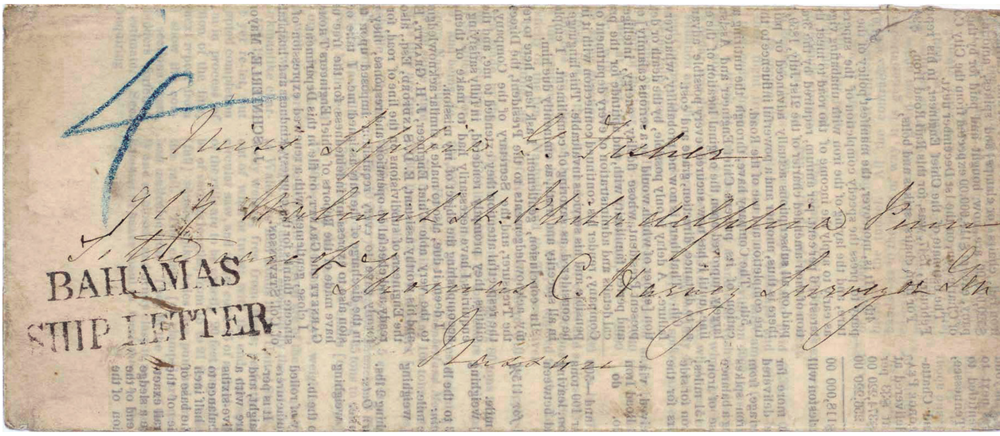


Figure 4. Addressed to a Philadelphia merchant in care of a Nassau agent, this 1863 printed flyer left Wilmington October 10 aboard *Fannie* (trip E-8) and arrived Nassau October 14. From Nassau it was sent in a separate cover via New York to Philadelphia.

Letters to the Confederacy were generally enclosed inside another envelope addressed to an agent at Nassau. Upon receipt, the agent discarded the outer envelope and arranged to have the inner letter placed in a blockade runner's mailbag at Nassau. Figure 5 shows an unusual example of one envelope servicing the entire journey.

This letter was addressed to Augusta, Georgia care of Messrs. Sawyer & Menendez at Nassau. One shilling packet postage to the West Indies was prepaid by a British 1/ green surface-printed stamp of 1862, Scott 42. One penny was credited to Nassau per the red "1d" marking. The letter was carried by the Cunard steamer *Persia*, which sailed from Liverpool on September 26 and arrived in New York on October 7. It was transferred there to the Cunard branch steamer *Corsica*, which departed on October 12 and reached Nassau four days later. Sawyer & Menendez received the letter at Nassau, and placed it on *Fannie*, which left on October 19 for Wilmington. The Wilmington post office postmarked the letter on October 23, one day after her arrival, and rated it for 12¢ due. The Wilmington "SHIP" marking was added to indicate the reason for the 2¢ ship fee.

Figure 5. September 1863 letter from England to Augusta, Georgia, carried from Nassau into Wilmington by *Fannie* on her trip W-9. The Confederate post office at Wilmington rated it as a ship letter and marked it for 12¢ collection.

In unusual cases, Confederate postage could be prepaid at Nassau. Figure 6 shows the only known example of the Confederate "TEN" stamp (Scott 9) used on blockade-run mail. A Nassau agent handled this letter and affixed the 10¢ Confederate postage stamp. He arranged to have the cover carried on *Fannie*'s 9th trip, which arrived Wilmington on October 22. The post office postmarked the letter on October 23, and assessed the 2¢ ship fee per the manuscript "Due 2."

Figure 6. October 1863: Unusual use of a Confederate stamp, applied by an agent in Nassau to a cover carried into Wilmington on *Fannie* trip W-9. Only the 2¢ ship fee was due. (Robert A. Siegel sale 1154, lot 2444.)

Figure 7 shows an outgoing letter endorsed to *Fannie*'s 12th trip through the blockade. This letter was datelined at Charleston on November 17, 1863. It was written by Cornelius Burckmyer, a shareholder in the Importing & Exporting Company of South Carolina, which owned *Fannie*. She left Wilmington on December 3 and arrived in Nassau on

Figure 7. November 1863 letter from Charleston to Liverpool, carried through the blockade on *Fannie* trip E-12 via Wilmington to Nassau on December 7. (Robert A. Siegel sale 1154, lot 2457.)

December 7. The letter was taken by a Nassau agent to the post office which postmarked it on December 7, and rated it for double-weight three shillings postage due at Liverpool, consisting of two shillings packet postage plus a one shilling unpaid letter fine. Of the due amount, eight pence (2d local postage plus one half of the unpaid letter fine) was retained by Nassau, per the blue manuscript "8." The balance of 2 shillings four pence would be retained by Great Britain. The letter was routed to the Cunard branch steamer *Corsica*, which left Nassau December 22 and arrived in New York four days later. The cover was transferred at New York to the Cunard steamer *Australasian*, which departed on December 30 and reached Queenstown on January 8. The letter was received in Liverpool on the following day.

TABLE 1: BLOCKADE RUNNER *FANNIE* CIVIL WAR SAILING DATA: 1863-64

Trip #	Departure Port	Departure Date	Arrival Port	Arrival Date	Notes
		1863			
W-1	Nassau	19-May	Charleston	23-May	
E-2	Charleston	14-Jun	Nassau	18-Jun	
W-3	Nassau	25-Jun	Charleston	28-Jun	Figure 3
E-4	Charleston	8-Jul	Nassau	12-Jul	
W-5	Nassau	19-Jul	Charleston	23-Jul	
E-6	Charleston	22-Aug	Nassau	26-Aug	
Charleston was closed to blockade running on 19 September 1863					
W-7	Nassau	12-Sep	Wilmington	16-Sep	
E-8	Wilmington	10-Oct	Nassau	14-Oct	Figure 4
W-9	Nassau	18-Oct	Wilmington	22-Oct	Figures 5 and 6
E-10	Wilmington	3-Nov	Nassau	7-Nov	
W-11	Nassau	9-Nov	Wilmington	13-Nov	
E-12	Wilmington	3-Dec	Nassau	7-Dec	Figure 7
W-13	Nassau	13-Dec	Wilmington	18-Dec	Figure 8
		1864			
E-14	Wilmington	2-Jan	Nassau	6-Jan	
W-15	Nassau	10-Jan	Wilmington	14-Jan	
E-16	Wilmington	26-Jan	Nassau	30-Jan	
W-17	Nassau	9-Feb	Wilmington	13-Feb	
E-18	Wilmington	27-Feb	Nassau	2-Mar	
W-19	Nassau	13-Mar	Wilmington	17-Mar	
E-20	Wilmington	5-Apr	Nassau	9-Apr	
W-21	Nassau	7-May	Wilmington	11-May	
E-22	Wilmington	25-May	Nassau	29-May	
The *Fannie* left for England from Nassau via Bermuda on June 8, 1864					

SOURCES: These sailing dates, supplemented substantially by the author's personal researches, were drawn from Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy.* See Endnote 3.

Figure 8. November 1863 letter from London to Staunton, Virginia, carried on *Fannie* trip W-13 from Nassau, arriving Wilmington December 19. (Robert A. Siegel sale 988, lot 323.)

Figure 8 shows an inbound letter endorsed to *Fannie*'s 13th successful trip. Originating in London, this letter was carried on the Cunard steamer *Scotia*, which sailed from Liverpool on November 21 and arrived in New York on December 4. It was transferred there to the Cunard branch steamer *Corsica*, which departed from New York on December 7 and reached Nassau four days later. A Nassau agent endorsed it to *Fannie*, which left on December 13 for Wilmington. On the day after her arrival, the Wilmington post office added a December 19 postmark, rated the letter for 12¢ due, and sent it on to its destination in Staunton, Virginia.

After 22 successful trips through the blockade, the worn-out *Fannie* was sent back to England from Nassau in early June 1864. The re-fitted steamer returned to Nassau on February 20, 1865 but the closures of Wilmington and Charleston had put a stop to blockade running on the Atlantic coast. Accordingly, *Fannie* left again on April 5 for Liverpool, where she was sold for about 40 percent of her original purchase price. She was one of a few blockade runners to survive the war.

Acknowledgement

John Barwis and Scott Trepel reviewed this article and provided valuable insights.

Endnotes

1. Modified from a map on page 69 of Robert Carse, *Blockade: The Civil War at Sea* (Rinehart & Co.: New York, 1958).
2. Colin Carlin, *Captain James Carlin,* (University of South Carolina Press: Columbia, 2017), pg. 120.
3. Stephen R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War* (University of South Carolina Press: Columbia, 1988), pp. 114-15. ■

HATHAWAY'S SOLDIERS' PORTABLE CAMP WRITING CASE

RON FIELD AND JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

During the Civil War soldiers on both sides had to devise methods to keep writing materials dry, clean and ready to use. While officers were required to use postage stamps on their letters, enlisted soldiers were permitted to send their letters postage due, avoiding the necessity of keeping stamps. This article describes an ingenious invention, a portable writing case, that was offered mainly to officers for their mail materials.

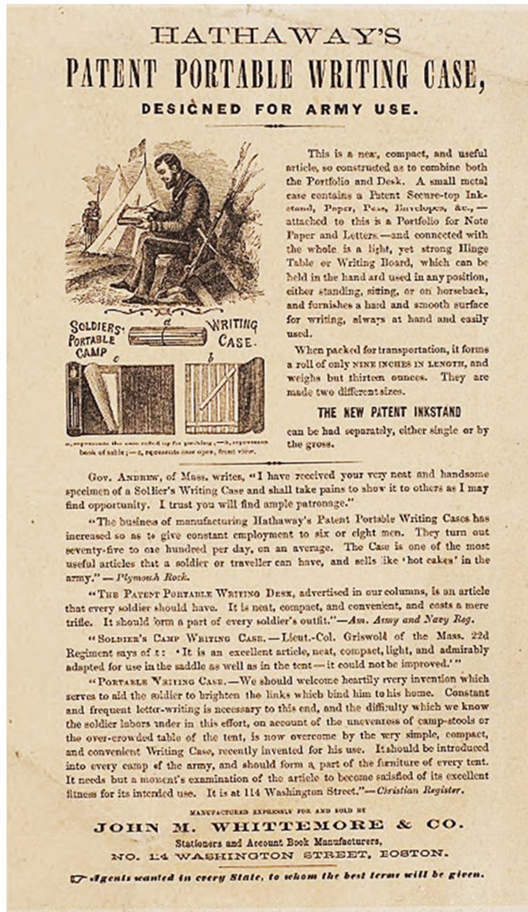
Figure 1 shows an unused envelope depicting a Union soldier using the device. This envelope was illustrated (as Figure 6-56) in Milgram's Federal Civil War book.[1] Beneath the image of the soldier are views of the writing case shown rolled up and open, along with a view of the underside, wooden slats that were encased in canvas. With epaulets and a stripe on his trousers, the soldier shown using the device is obviously an officer. The pre-printed address elements indicate these envelopes were intended for correspondence sent to soldiers, possibly containing an advertisment for the illustrated device.

From the fine print along the left edge, we know that the Figure 1 envelope was printed by J.M. Whittemore, a well-known Boston publisher. One of Whittemore's commercial patriotic envelopes, a shield design showing a "Secesh snake," is illustrated in the Milgram book as Figure 4-97. Whittemore also sold albums for patriotic cover collectors and offered these rollup writing cases too. They were also available in New York City via publisher C.M. Saxton, who advertised them in December 1861 in *The New York Times.*

Figure 1. Civil War advertising envelope, published by J.W. Whittemore of Boston, promoting a roll-up device called Hathaway's soldiers' portable camp writing case.

Figure 2 is a circular from Whittemore, advertising this writing case. No price is mentioned. The circular bears the same illustrations as were used on the envelope. Quoting from the descriptive text:

> **This is a new, compact, and useful article, so constructed as to combine both the Portfolio and Desk. A small metal case contains a Patent Secure-top Inkstand. Paper, Pen, Envelopes &c,— attached to this is a Portfolio for Note Paper and Letters—and connected with the whole is a light, yet strong Hinge Table or Writing Board, which can be held in the hand and used in any position, either standing, sitting, or on horseback, and furnishes a hard and smooth surface for writing, always at hand and easily used.**
>
> **When packed for transportation it forms a roll of only NINE INCHES IN LENGTH and weighs but thirteen ounces. They are made two different sizes.**



HATHAWAY'S
PATENT PORTABLE WRITING CASE,
DESIGNED FOR ARMY USE.

SOLDIERS' PORTABLE CAMP WRITING CASE.

This is a new, compact, and useful article, so constructed as to combine both the Portfolio and Desk. A small metal case contains a Patent Secure-top Inkstand, Paper, Pens, Envelopes, &c., — attached to this is a Portfolio for Note Paper and Letters —and connected with the whole is a light, yet strong Hinge Table or Writing Board, which can be held in the hand and used in any position, either standing, sitting, or on horseback, and furnishes a hard and smooth surface for writing, always at hand and easily used.

When packed for transportation, it forms a roll of only NINE INCHES IN LENGTH, and weighs but thirteen ounces. They are made two different sizes.

THE NEW PATENT INKSTAND
can be had separately, either single or by the gross.

Gov. Andrew, of Mass. writes, "I have received your very neat and handsome specimen of a Soldier's Writing Case and shall take pains to show it to others as I may find opportunity. I trust you will find ample patronage."

"The business of manufacturing Hathaway's Patent Portable Writing Cases has increased so as to give constant employment to six or eight men. They turn out seventy-five to one hundred per day, on an average. The Case is one of the most useful articles that a soldier or traveller can have, and sells like 'hot cakes' in the army." — *Plymouth Rock.*

"The Patent Portable Writing Desk, advertised in our columns, is an article that every soldier should have. It is neat, compact, and convenient, and costs a mere trifle. It should form a part of every soldier's outfit."—*Am. Army and Navy Reg.*

"Soldier's Camp Writing Case.—Lieut.-Col. Griswold of the Mass. 22d Regiment says of it: 'It is an excellent article, neat, compact, light, and admirably adapted for use in the saddle as well as in the tent—it could not be improved.'"

"Portable Writing Case.—We should welcome heartily every invention which serves to aid the soldier to brighten the links which bind him to his home. Constant and frequent letter-writing is necessary to this end, and the difficulty which we know the soldier labors under in this effort, on account of the unevenness of camp-stools or the over-crowded table of the tent, is now overcome by the very simple, compact, and convenient Writing Case, recently invented for his use. It should be introduced into every camp of the army, and should form a part of the furniture of every tent. It needs but a moment's examination of the article to become satisfied of its excellent fitness for its intended use. It is at 114 Washington Street."—*Christian Register.*

MANUFACTURED EXPRESSLY FOR AND SOLD BY
JOHN M. WHITTEMORE & CO.
Stationers and Account Book Manufacturers,
NO. 114 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

☞ *Agents wanted in every State, to whom the best terms will be given.*

Figure 2. Descriptive advertising circular showing the visual elements on the Figure 1 cover, plus endorsements for the device.

Figure 3 shows sketches used by inventor George C. Hathaway in his patent dated December 24, 1861. These basically follow the presentation on the Figure 1 envelope. At left is the open case showing wooden slates encased in canvas, next to the cylindrical repository for paper with canvas in the back, connected to a tin cylinder with two compartments, one for pens and pencils and the smaller one for an ink container. The sketch at right shows another view of the opened writing desk, seen from the bottom. This pictures the wooden slats, which were wrapped in cloth material and could be rolled up. The diagonal object is a six-inch ruler

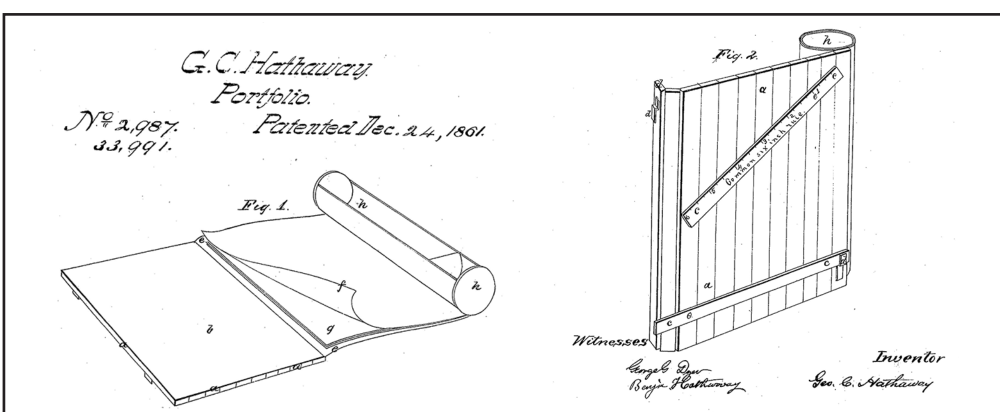


Figure 3. Sketches from George C. Hathaway's patent document, dated December 24, 1861, showing details of the various components of his writing portfolio.

Figure 4. Photograph of a rare surviving example of the Hathaway portable writing case, shown unrolled with all the basic writing elements intact.

to suggest size. A piece of wood could be rucked into the desktop or opened and latched (bottom right) to create a rigid writing surface.

The photo in Figure 4 shows an actual example of a Hathaway case. The ties are to the left, the tin cylinder shown with open compartment is at top and the paper repository is curled up at center. Pen, pencil and the open ink container (top and bottom) are arrayed on the flattened writing surface, atop a reproduction of the patriotic cover shown in Figure 1. The nib end of the pen could be pulled out of the wooden handle and placed with the handle and any pencils into the case. The shortened length of the pen enabled it to fit into the longer of the two chambers in the tin case. The apparatus rests on a copy of the advertising circular shown in Figure 2.

Although this device was advertised in the northern press until at least January 1863, we have no way of knowing how many were sold during the Civil War. The circular in Figure 2 indicates that "six to eight men" were creating roll-up writing cases at an average rate of 75-100 per day, but that's most likely advertising hyperbole. The actual number produced was probably small, since survivors like the one shown here are quite rare.

Endnote

1. James W. Milgram, *Federal Civil War Postal History*, Northbrook Publishing, Lake Forest, Illinois, 2007. ■

(*EDITOR'S PAGE continued from page 203*)

how the rating of early steamboat mail was handled (and mishandled) by port postmasters. In February, Ryterband examined covers up to 1825. The current article takes the discussion up through the mid-1850s.

Rounding out this issue is a short piece from Jeffrey Forster on a newly discovered 10¢ 1869 cover to Montenegro (page 252), an article from Labron Harris showing how a thrifty Colorado postmaster during the Bank Note era repurposed marking devices from one town for use in another (page 255), and an essay from the always-entertaining Alan Campbell on covers that combine Official stamps with regular postage (page 259). Enjoy! ■

NEW FIND: 10¢ 1869 COVER TO MONTENEGRO

JEFFREY M. FORSTER

In September 2018, I received an email from a dealer/auction house in the Czech Republic and took the time to view the lots in the firm's forthcoming sale. This was a mail sale with no floor and no live auction. *Caveat emptor.*

Among the United States lots in the online catalog listing, I was surprised to discover a previously unrecorded 10¢ 1869 cover from a scarce origin to a scarcer destination.

This cover, which I subsequently acquired, is shown as Figure 1. As the illustration should make clear, it is franked with a 10¢ 1869 stamp tied by a square black killer cancel. The matching circular datestamp shows the cover was posted at Virginia City, Nevada on February 7. The red NEW YORK PAID ALL BR. TRANSIT marking is dated February 17. Backstamps (discussed and illustrated below) extablsh the year as 1871.

Nevada joined the union in 1864 and is not a common origin for any 1869 cover. Previous to the appearance of this cover, no 10¢ 1869 covers were known from Nevada. When this cover was posted, Virginia City, home of the famous Comstock Lode, was a mining boom town at its population peak. Immigrant silver-seekers were drawn to Virginia City from all over the world; perhaps one of them mailed this cover.

Figure 1. Newly discovered 10¢ 1869 cover from Virginia City, Nevada to Budua, Montenegro, then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Prior to the appearance of this item, no 10¢ 1869 covers were recorded from Nevada and none to Montenegro.

The cover is addressed to "Budua, Dalmazia, Austria." Dalmazia is Italian for Dalmatia. Budua, or Budva, is an ancient Adriatic port town in what is now Montenegro. At the time this cover was mailed, Budua and Montenegro were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

This cover was sent via closed mail via England in the North German Union mails. The 10¢ U.S.-N.G.U. treaty rate it represents was in effect from July 1, 1870 to September 30, 1871. Through the German-Austrian Postal Union (GAPU) the German mails (and German mail rates) served destinations throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During this era the table of postage to foreign countries in the monthly *U.S. Mail and Post Office Assistant* listed identical rates and routes for mail to Germany and Austria. Commencing with the January, 1868 issue, mail for Hungary was designated "see Austria."

The Figure 1 cover went from Nevada City by rail to New York, where it was bagged up and put on board the Cunard steamer *Samaria*, which departed New York February 17, 1871 and arrived at Queenstown, Ireland on February 28. From Queenstown it traveled by a combination of train and ferry via Ostend and Cologne on to Trieste, at the very top of the Adriatic Sea. Until World War I, Trieste was part of Austro-Hungary, one of the oldest jewels in the Hapsburg crown. At Trieste the closed bag was opened and its contents marked and sent onward in the Austrian mails, under the terms of the GAPU.

The map in Figure 2 shows modern national borders, though Montenegro in 1871 followed the shape shown here. The inset backstamps from the Figure 1 cover suggest its Adriatic journey, which beyond Trieste was almost certainly via steamship down the Dalmatian coast. The Trieste backstamp reads 8-3-71 (March 3, 1871, in the European style). Two subsequent backstamps, both applied in Montenegro, show Cattaro 11-3 and Budua 12-3-71, indicating the cover reached its destination March 12, a total journey of well over a month, quite an extended travel time for a U.S.-Europe cover in the 1870s. Cattaro is a 19th century name for the town now known as Kotor, an Adriatic port first settled in ancient Roman times. A few years ago UNESCO designated it a World Heritage site.

Figure 2. Backstamps trace the journey of the Figure 1 cover (probably by coastal steamer) on its way from Trieste down the Dalmatian coast to Budua, Montenegro.

At page 208 in Michael Laurence's book, *Ten Cent 1869 Covers, a Postal Historical Survey*, one will find a listing of all the 10¢ 1869 known to Laurence addressed to Austro-Hungary. The list includes 14 covers and does not include this one. Five years after publication of his book, Laurence updated his cover census in *Chronicle* 247 (August 2015), adding 60 more covers to the original 1,300. But none of the additional covers was to Austro-Hungary.

Destinations are a subject of keen interest to collectors, and different collectors take different approaches. Elliott Coulter, perhaps the all-time keenest collector of 1869 destination covers, regarded each German state as a separate destination, even though (as the judges kept pointing out) Germany had been unified into one country by the time the 1869 stamps came into use. France considered Corsica and Algeria integral parts of the French mainland, but 1869 collectors regard them as separate (and highly desirable) destinations. Poland had no legal national existence during the 19th century, but that doesn't prevent collectors from exhibiting 1869 covers to Poland. Laurence in his book discusses covers to Austro-Hungary in two broad groupings: covers to Austria and covers to Hungary. But his 10¢ 1869 exhibition collection includes a cover to Czechoslovakia (and one to Poland).

The cover in Figure 1 is now one of 15 recorded 10¢ 1869 covers addressed to the Austro-Hungarian empire. But it's also the only cover in the 10¢ 1869 record that was addressed to Montenegro. I leave it to the reader to guess how I am going to write it up in my exhibition collection. The lesson to be learned from this discovery is to carefully examine any new stamp auction catalogs that come your way—via the internet or other sources—even if they come from firms you've not previously dealt with. There's always the possibility of making a new discovery to fill a hole in your collection. ■

ALTERED CANCELING DEVICES OF GARLAND CITY, COLORADO

LABRON HARRIS

In the late 1860s railroads began extending their routes in the western United States. Their construction sites, called railheads, needed provisions and services. Towns were built to meet these needs. After the railheads moved on, many of these towns ceased to exist. Sometimes they were torn down and their building materials used to create new towns.

Garland City, Colorado, was one of those short-lived towns. It was located in Costilla County in south central Colorado near the La Veta Pass. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad laid track through the pass in 1877-78 and Garland City was constructed to meet the railroad's needs for provisions and other services. A post office opened in Garland City on July 24, 1877 and closed on June 27, 1878. The town was located a few miles northeast of Fort Garland, which was also in Costilla County. Even though the post office at Garland City was open for less than a year, the town had a number of active businesses because of their dealings with the railroad. One of those businesses, Thomas and Company, created an interesting group of covers, two of which are discussed in this article.

The practice of removing part of a town cancel by the town postmaster is not a new one, but it is very unusual when the postmaster alters not his own canceling device but one he got from another town. In fact, this is the only such instance I know of.

Charles D. Hoyt, the postmaster at Garland City, was obviously careful with his money and perhaps sensed that his post office might not have a long lifespan. Rather than buy new canceling devices, he obtained two obsolete markers from the Fort Garland postmaster, Jonathan McKeever, and altered them for his own use by removing the word FORT from the cancelers. These Fort Garland devices had been used since the late 1860s and dated from territorial days. Colorado became a state on August 1, 1876. The images in Figure 1, created from the covers discussed below, show how the markers were altered.

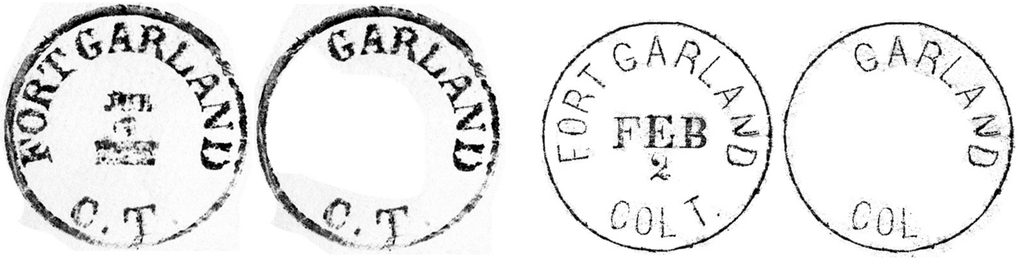


Figure 1. Scanned images of the two Colorado postal markers discussed in this article, before and after they were altered. Contrast has been enhanced to show detail.

Figure 2. At top, "FORT GARLAND, C.T." on a 3¢ 1861 cover sent to Denver in 1866. Below, the same circular datestamp with "FORT" removed, used from the nearby town of Garland City, Colorado, on a 3¢ Bank Note cover sent to Lake City in 1877.

At top in Figure 2 is a cover from 1866 (per content), franked with a 3¢ 1861 stamp, addressed to Denver, and postmarked with a blue-green "FORT GARLAND. C.T." circular datestamp with the legend in serifed capital letters. At bottom in Figure 2 is an October 1877 cover with the printed corner advertisement of Thomas & Co., "storage, forwarding and commission merchants" at Garland City, Colorado, sent to the First National Bank in Lake City, Colorado. The cover is franked with a 3¢ Bank Note stamp, just tied by a black circular datestamp reading "GARLAND. C.T." It should be evident that this is the same circular datestamp as on the upper cover, with the word "FORT" removed. There appears to be a partial star killer on the stamp.

The designation C.T. (Colorado Territory) on the altered marking is well after statehood. It is curious that Postmaster Hoyt removed the "FORT" from this marking but allowed the "T" (for Territory) to remain.

The upper cover in Figure 3, franked with a 3¢ 1861 stamp, is from 1869. It is addressed to Winterset, Iowa, and shows two black strikes of a circular datestamp with "FORT GARLAND COL. T" in sans-serif type. The lower cover in Figure 3 is another Thomas and Co. envelope, franked with a 3¢ Bank Note stamp, just tied by a black circular datestamp that reads "GARLAND COL" in sans-serif capital letters. Comparison reveals that this is the same marking as appears on the upper cover, with "FORT" and "T" removed. Again there is a partial star killer on the stamp.

Figure 3. At top, "FORT GARLAND, COL T." in two strikes, on a cover franked with a 3¢ 1861 stamp and sent to Winterset, Iowa, in 1869. Below, the same marking, with "FORT" and "T" removed, creating a circular datestamp that reads "GARLAND, COL.", here used on a 3¢ Bank Note cover sent to Lake City, Colorado, in 1877.

Although the alteration left just GARLAND instead of GARLAND CITY in both devices, Postmaster Hoyt must have found this acceptable, since even though the town name was Garland City, the United States Post Office listed it in their directories as Garland.

The post office at Fort Garland continued after statehood. The postmaster at the fort probably felt he did enough business to justify new canceling devices. Thus he gave his obsolete territorial markers to the Garland City postmaster for him to alter and recycle.

The "Garland" covers in Figures 2 and 3, unusual as they are, were part of a large correspondence, a sufficient number of which have survived to satisfy collector needs. Sometimes a post office can be very short-lived and still well represented by surviving covers, as is the case with Garland City. But it might prove very difficult to find examples of these altered postmarks on covers that don't come from the "Thomas & Co." correspondence.

Much of the material in this article was made available to me by Robert Hamill, a prominent Colorado collector, and I thank him for it. The Colorado Postal History Society was an invaluable source for information about Garland City. ■

OFFICIAL STAMPS USED IN COMBINATION WITH REGULAR POSTAGE: AN OVERVIEW

ALAN C. CAMPBELL

Introduction

In an article published here in 2005, Lester C. Lanphear III compiled a census of 20 covers forwarded with Official stamps.[1] Four of these were inbound foreign letters bearing a combination of foreign postage stamps and U.S. Official stamps, and these represent mixed frankings as the term has been traditionally used in postal history studies. In this article, I propose to enlarge the scope beyond just forwarded covers and review all examples of mail where both types of U.S. postage stamps—Official and regular issue—were used in combination. In some cases, the explanation is obvious, while others require tenuous speculation. Finally, there exist a few curious legitimate covers, on which both types of stamps originated, that simply defy logic. Advanced students of postal history would generally scorn such covers, where a pilfered Official stamp can be found skulking in a line-up of regular postage stamps on non-official mail. Beyond the scope of this article are Official or regular postage stamps added to penalty envelopes, Official stamps added to official stamped envelopes, or Official stamps used in combination with U.S. or foreign postage due stamps.

I will discuss these combination franking covers department by department in their order of importance, six departments in all, since no examples survive from the Executive Office itself, the Department of Justice, or the Department of Agriculture. Unless otherwise attributed, covers illustrated are from my own collection.

Department of State

In his article, Lanphear recorded two covers with deficient postage made up for by the despatch agent in New York City, using State Department stamps: an 1883 cover to South Africa with a 10¢ State, and an 1884 cover to England with a 3¢ State. Since then, a third such cover has turned up, illustrated in Figure 1. This cover, addressed to Ordinary Seaman Frank Paul, care of the U.S. Consul in Panama, was posted in Gloversville, New York, franked with a 2¢ brown American Bank Note stamp. Panama at this time was part of the United States of Colombia. Private letters like this, addressed to Navy personnel, were typically transmitted to Washington, D.C., where supplemental postage and a correct address were added by the Navy Department. In this case, a 3¢ State was added by the despatch agent at the main New York Post Office (NYPO) to make up the correct 5¢ U.P.U. rate to Colombia, since the address mentioned the U.S. Consul there. The U.S.S. *Iroquois*, a Civil War era sloop of war, had been recommissioned in 1882 to patrol with the Pacific Squadron.

Treasury Department

In these pages back in 1999 we illustrated the famous 1882 registered Treasury Department penalty envelope to Berlin, Germany, franked with a 15¢ Bank Note stamp (pay-

Figure 1. Private letter to a sailor addressed in care of the U.S. Consul at Panama. Mailed with a 2¢ Bank Note at Gloversville, N.Y. in March 1884, with 3¢ State added by the despatch agent at the main NYPO to make up the 5¢ U.P.U. rate to Colombia.

ing a triple U.P.U. rate) and a 12¢ Treasury (overpaying the 10¢ registry fee).[2] At that time the cover was in the collection of Robert L. Markovits, but when his material was dispersed at public auction in 2004, it passed to Lanphear.[3] This cover, ex-Ackerman, ex-Knapp, and ex-Waud, has always been highly regarded: in the 1941 Knapp sale, it fetched $75, much higher than any other Official cover except of course for the $2 State parcel label to Germany, which sold for $425.[4] Since taking over editorship of this *Chronicle* section in August, 1994, it has been my policy to avoid illustrating the same cover more than once. Nevertheless, now that the *Chronicle* is being printed in full color, an exception deserves to be made for this cover, which is shown again in Figure 2. Official stamps were no longer valid on U.P.U. mail after April 1, 1879, so the Treasury Department's Office of the Secretary's mailroom consistently stocked regular postage for its foreign mails. During the transitional

Figure 2. Registered legal-size penalty envelope sent from Washington, D.C. to Berlin, Germany in 1882, franked with a 15¢ Bank Note stamp paying triple the U.P.U. rate, and a 12¢ Treasury stamp overpaying the 10¢ registry fee.

period, 1877-84, domestic penalty mail out of D.C. required only the 10¢ registry fee to be paid in cash, and there appear to have been temporary intermittent shortages of the 10¢ Treasury stamp, hence the use of a leftover 12¢ Treasury stamp here (a value that was no longer being requisitioned). On this cover, the 15¢ Bank Note stamp paid triple the U.P.U. rate to Germany, and the 12¢ Treasury stamp overpaid the 10¢ registry fee.

Equally famous is the cover posted with a 6¢ Treasury stamp at Chicago, forwarded from Santa Fe, New Mexico and then remailed with a 6¢ War stamp from Charleston, South Carolina to Salem, Massachusetts—the unique cover bearing stamps of two departments. This ex-Starnes cover was expertly researched and written up in these pages by Lanphear, its proud new owner.[5]

From these elevated heights, it's a bit of a comedown to the humble cover illustrated in Figure 3. Originally in the Markovits collection, it was purchased by Dan Curtis of Florida, who had a particular affinity for the postal history of his native state. This is a small registered cover from Cedar Keys to Tampa, Florida, with four 3¢ Treasury stamps and a 1¢ Bank Note stamp, paying a single 3¢ domestic rate and the 10¢ registry fee. Somewhat troubling is the lack of an official printed corner card or even an "O.B." notation.

Despite Markovits' efforts to recruit someone, Treasury is the only department that has never attracted the attention of a true specialist collector, a scholar concentrating on a single department in exhaustive depth.

The Treasury Department often took great pains to have imprinted envelopes customized for its many field agents, and among the obscure corner cards I've encountered are "Office of Light-House Engineer, Seventh District, Key West, Fla."; "Office of Superintendent Life-Saving Stations, Tenth District, Grand Haven, Mich."; "Office of U. S. Supervising Inspector of Steam-Vessels, Detroit, Mich."; and "Office of Custodian U. S. Post Office and Sub-Treasury Building, Boston, Mass." Nevertheless, I'm inclined to believe that the Figure 3 cover, sent from an island post office with a busy port, was sent on official business, perhaps containing remittance from a customs collector who had not been furnished all necessary values of Treasury stamps, nor appropriate imprinted envelopes.

Figure 3. Registered letter from Cedar Keys to Tampa, Florida, franked with four 3¢ Treasury stamps and a 1¢ Bank Note stamp. This probably contained a remittance from a customs collector, who at this remote location had not been provided with imprinted envelopes nor all values of Treasury stamps.

The deflating counter-argument is that some scoundrel scored a bootleg supply of Treasury stamps and was happily using them on his private correspondence. Yet it hardly seems plausible that the postmaster in Cedar Keys, inspecting this registered letter and carefully marking it up, wouldn't have blanched upon encountering these unfamiliar dark brown stamps, unless he knew the agent in question.

Some quirky historical facts about Cedar Keys during this era: it was a major supplier of salt to the Confederacy during the early years of the Civil War; the great naturalist John Muir contracted malaria while working in a sawmill there in 1868; and some major pencil manufacturers, including Eberhard-Faber, established factories there, to make use of the abundant local Eastern red cedar.

Figure 4 illustrates another ex-Markovits cover, which I paid dearly for in the auction, blinded by its sheer beauty.[6] I have always been enamored of the crisp, intense New Orleans killers and the great variety of their geometric designs, but after many years collecting countless strikes on off-cover used Official stamps, I have managed to acquire only eight covers, of which this is by far the prettiest. This is a large lettersheet, folded so as to create an improvised envelope, with remnants of a red wax seal on the back. From internal docketing and on the back, an indistinct blue Vera Cruz forwarding agent handstamp, a blue New Orleans merchant handstamp, and a New York "RECEIVED" backstamp, we can piece together a timeline.

Figure 4. Folded lettersheet, carried outside the mails from Vera Cruz, Mexico to New Orleans in 1877, where a merchant added 6¢ Treasury and 3¢ Bank Note stamps to pay the triple domestic rate to New York City. This was private business correspondence, with an illegitimate use of the Treasury stamp.

The enclosure, presumably business correspondence, was dated July 14, 1877 and was carried privately on a steamship from Vera Cruz to New Orleans. It was received there on July 20 by a merchant, who added postage and mailed it out the same day. Finally, it was received and delivered in New York City on July 22. The immaculate condition of this fragile lettersheet belies the fact that the contents must have been heavy enough to require triple domestic rate postage. There is nothing to suggest that the contents related to official business of the U.S. government, nor is there any logical explanation for how the New Orleans merchant came to possess an unused 3¢ Treasury stamp. This seems risky behavior on his part, since as we shall soon see, the New Orleans post office had already been intercepting private letters improperly franked with 3¢ Navy stamps.

So alas, this beautiful cover must be classified as an illegitimate private use of an Official stamp. I am somewhat ashamed to admit I also own another ex-Markovits cover with a PF certificate—a small yellow envelope posted at Philadelphia franked with a 3¢ Treasury and a 3¢ Bank Note.[7] It is wildly implausible that official business mail from the second largest city in the country would have gone out without an imprinted corner card.

More typical are two covers from remote parts of the country, where stray Treasury stamps were utilized in combination with regular Bank Note stamps.[8] Lanphear also has a small cover from Shrewsbury, Vermont, registered and missent, with a 6¢ Treasury and 7¢ in Bank Note stamps, all pen-canceled. These covers are legitimate, in the sense that all the stamps originated on the cover, but for students of Official postal history, the true purists, they must wait a long time in limbo, for not having clearly been used on government business. Is there any significance to the fact that on four of these five shaky covers, the interloper Treasury stamp is the 6¢ value?

War Department

Figure 5 shows a private letter posted in Vancouver, Washington Territory on January 29 (1880), franked with a 3¢ Bank Note stamp and addressed to a Major White, an army surgeon, care of the Superintendent General in New York City. It was eventually deter-

Figure 5. Private letter posted in 1880 at Vancouver, Washington Territory, with a 3¢ Bank Note stamp, addressed to an Army Surgeon in New York City. Remailed two months later with a 3¢ War stamp to a forwarding address in Connecticut. The only example of a private letter forwarded by the War Department with an Official stamp.

mined that Major White had been transferred. A forwarding address to Cannon's Station, Connecticut was supplied, and the envelope was remailed with a 3¢ War stamp at Branch A of the New York post office on March 24. The delay in remailing the letter must have been caused by some difficulty in ascertaining Major White's whereabouts. This unassuming cover represents the first reported example of a private letter being forwarded by the War Department with Official postage. It was discovered in a large balance lot in the estate sale of Dr. David H. Lobdell's magnificent exhibition collection of the War Department.[9]

Figure 6. Triple-rate drop cover from the Quartermaster General's Office in Boston to a local address, franked with a 6¢ War stamp in 1874. Held for 30 days, then remailed from the Boston post office with a 6¢ Bank Note stamp back to Washington, D.C. Local letters were not entitled to free forwarding outside the originating city.

Figure 6 illustrates another sleeper gleaned from the same balance lot. This is a legal-size envelope with the corner card of the Quartermaster General's Office. The main office was of course in D.C., but generic imprinted envelopes were furnished to field officers. This cover was posted in Boston on February 24 (1874), addressed to a former officer in the same city, with a 6¢ War stamp paying triple the 2¢ local (drop) rate. It was held there for 30 days, then endorsed "Not in Boston," stamped with a straightline "RETURNED TO WRITER," endorsed "Return to Washington. D.C." with a stylized pointing-hand scribble, and remailed with a 6¢ large Bank Note stamp on March 21.

Drop letters were not entitled to free forwarding outside the city in which they originated. Technically, if this was in fact a triple-weight cover, the postage to return it to Washington, D.C. should have been 9¢. But perhaps the Boston mail clerk who affixed the 6¢ Bank Note as a inter-governmental courtesy had a brain cramp and simply applied postage to match the original 6¢ War stamp. Note the close similarity in color between the 6¢ War Continental (Scott O86, "rose") and the regular 6¢ Continental (Scott 148, "carmine"). This, and another ex-Lobdell cover discussed below, are the only two covers recorded bearing both 6¢ War and 6¢ large Bank Note stamps, and would have been prized acquisitions for the great Lincoln collector, William J. Ainsworth, if only poor health hadn't forced him to consign his collection shortly before Lobdell's came to market. They had competed fiercely over choice 6¢ War items for years.

Courtesy of Lanphear, Figure 7 shows another remarkable ex-Lobdell cover. This 3¢ War stamped envelope was posted on October 6, 1875 at St. Louis, bears New York and London red transit markings, and is addressed in the hand of General William Tecumseh Sherman to Mrs. Euphrasie Mackay, care of a London banker. The 3¢ envelope bears additional franking of a horizontal pair of 6¢ War stamps and a 6¢ large Bank Note, for a total of 21¢ in postage, overpaying the 20¢ quadruple U.P.U. rate.

General Sherman had been appointed Commanding General of the U.S. Army in 1869, and at his request, the Headquarters of the Army of the United States was moved to St. Louis in 1874 for political expedience. For this cover, I believe that the combination franking was caused inadvertently, when the mailroom clerk got confused by the similar colors of the stamps and accidentally put on a 6¢ Banknote instead of a third 6¢ War. I know of at least four such Sherman covers addressed by him to friends traveling in Europe: these hardly seem like official business correspondence, but who would dare challenge him? The

Figure 7. Official stamped envelope (3¢) mailed from St. Louis in 1875, with additional postage of to 6¢ War stamps and a 6¢ Bank Note stamp, overpaying by 1¢ the quadruple U.P.U. rate to England. Addressed in the hand of William Tecumseh Sherman.

Figure 8. Registered letter from Fort Rice, Dakota Territory to New York City, franked with a 3¢ War and a 10¢ Banknote. The fort postmaster had probably run out of 10¢ War stamps. This is the only recorded Official cover from this small western fort.

cover I have is an 1876 triple rate cover to Rome, Italy, posted from Washington, D.C. after the headquarters had been moved back to the nation's capital.

Finally, there is an entirely different sort of War combination franking in Lanphear's collection. Shown in Figure 8, this is a registered "official business" cover, franked with a 3¢ War stamp and a 10¢ Bank Note, sent from Fort Rice, Dakota Territory, to the U.S. Novelty Company in New York City. According to Lanphear's records, it is the only War cover from Fort Rice, and I have never even seen the Fort Rice CDS struck on an off-cover War Department stamp. To the best of my recollection, I have seen only two other examples of registered War Department mail from outside of Washington, D.C., both now in Lanphear's collection: a legal-size cover from Portland, Oregon to Virginia City, Montana Territory, and a small ex-Markovits cover from Fort Sill, Indian Territory to Philadelphia.

Higher value War stamps up to the 90¢ were stocked in Western fort post offices for heavy mailings, but maybe the 10¢ War stamp—not being a multiple of the 3¢ domestic rate—was far less useful and not regularly restocked. For off-cover 10¢ War stamps used in the West, my holdings only include uses from Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas; Fort Keogh, Montana Territory; Fort Grant, Arizona Territory and Fort Halleck, Nevada.

On typical surviving 10¢ War covers from Washington, D.C., this value was used to pay either the rate for bound volumes of documents, or the registry fee on penalty envelopes. The purpose of all the foregoing information is to explain why the clerk at the tiny Fort Rice post office did not have a 10¢ War stamp on hand to pay the registry fee and had to substitute a regular 10¢ Bank Note. Focused narrowly as we are on War Departmental official mail, it is important not to get lost in the weeds. Remember, the bulk of the mail handled at the fort post offices was not official business mail, and therefore required that postage be paid with regular Bank Note stamps. As an aside, it boggles the mind to imagine what an officer at Fort Rice would be ordering from a novelty company in New York—whoopee cushions and exploding cigars?

Navy Department

Lanphear's 2005 article recorded two covers forwarded to Brazil with 7¢ Navy stamps: his own, a November 1877 cover to Captain Robert Meade, and an ex-Markovits cover sent in September 1878 to a Midshipman Benson. A third similar use surfaced late in 2017: an ex-Robert Stone June 1878 cover, also to Midshipman Benson.[10] Now it turns out the spigot was left on: in a March auction this year, a fourth such franking turned up: an October 1877 cover to Midshipman Benson again.[11] William S. Benson graduated from the Naval Academy in 1877 and was quickly dispatched to serve on the U.S. Flagship *Hartford.* A steam sloop-of-war commanded by Admiral David Farragut during the Civil War, the recommissioned *Hartford* was then leading the Atlantic Squadron. By the time Benson was serving on the U.S.S. *Yantic* in the Greely Relief Expedition of 1883, he had been promoted to the rank of ensign.[12] He retired in 1919 with the rank of Admiral, and we should all be grateful that his correspondence was preserved, yielding as it has so many important Official covers. This brings to ten the total number of private letters to Navy personnel forwarded by the Navy Department in Washington, D.C. with supplemental Official postage.

Since Navy personnel on ships were moving targets for private correspondents, the department felt compelled to provide whatever additional postage was required to enable the mail to be waiting at the next port of call. Although these covers were all brought to D.C. by some sort of private courier system outside the mails, they were readdressed and essentially remailed there, but only with sufficient supplemental postage to make up the correct foreign rate. This represents a special courtesy arrangement between the Navy and Post Office Departments, since ordinarily, free forwarding applied only to mail when the Post Office itself had been furnished with a correct forwarding address, not when the mail was delivered and a proper new address eventually worked out. That process involved remailing, with the proper postage fully paid again.

In 2014 in these pages, Lanphear wrote up a small private correspondence of five surviving covers where a woman in New Orleans was corresponding with her daughter-in-law in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, using illegally obtained 3¢ Navy stamps.[13] One cover was intercepted in New Orleans and received three strikes of an "INSUFFICIENTLY PAID" handstamp, voiding the stamp. Another cover, now in the possession of Ralph Ebner of Germany, was cancelled by a New Orleans duplex, but also received an "INSUFFICIENTLY PAID" handstamp. Per Lanphear's analysis, it was forwarded to the Dead Letter Office in Washington, D.C., whereupon a blue triangular handstamp was applied. The cover was opened and determined not to be official correspondence, and an "ILLEGAL STAMP" handstamp was applied. An official notice was sent to either the addressee or the sender to furnish 3¢ for proper legitimate postage, and once that 3¢ was collected, a 3¢ Bank Note stamp was added to the cover and it was remailed from Washington, D.C. This is the only reported example of such a tortured combination franking.

In Figure 9, we illustrate (again courtesy of Lanphear) a battered but exceptionally rare legal-size use from Port Royal, South Carolina. This is a double domestic rate registered cover, franked with a 6¢ Navy stamp and a 10¢ regular Bank Note stamp. This port town on Port Royal Island was not incorporated until 1874, yet it had the deepest natural harbor on the Atlantic seaboard south of New York City. It quickly became a coaling station for the new steam-powered warships after the completion of the Port Royal and Augusta Railroad to the harbor in 1873. In 1876, many of the capital ships of the U.S. Navy Atlantic Fleet wintered there to escape ice in the northern ports.

Figure 9. Double-weight registered official letter from Port Royal to Salters Depot, South Carolina, franked with a 6¢ Navy stamp and a 10¢ Bank Note. Paymaster probably never furnished with 10¢ Navy stamps. The only recorded registered Navy cover.

The Figure 9 cover has a manuscript "Official Business" corner notation, a manuscript "Paymaster T. S. Thompson USN" endorsement on the back, and is addressed to a Navy Surgeon at Salters Depot along the Northeastern Railroad in South Carolina. To this day, Salters Depot remains a small unincorporated rural community. This is the only reported Navy Department registered cover, and one presumes that Paymaster Thompson, not having been supplied with 10¢ Navy stamps, simply bought a 10¢ Bank Note stamp at the small Port Royal post office and affixed it, in order for this mailing to be registered.

Department of the Interior

Figure 10, again courtesy of Lanphear, shows a reply envelope to the Bureau of Education in Washington, D.C., prestamped with a 3¢ Interior. It was mailed back from Hartford, Connecticut with an additional 3¢ Bank Note stamp added by the respondent in either 1877 or 1879 (the last numeral in the docketed date is unclear). There are two plausible explanations for why the additional stamp was added: either the sender added some materi-

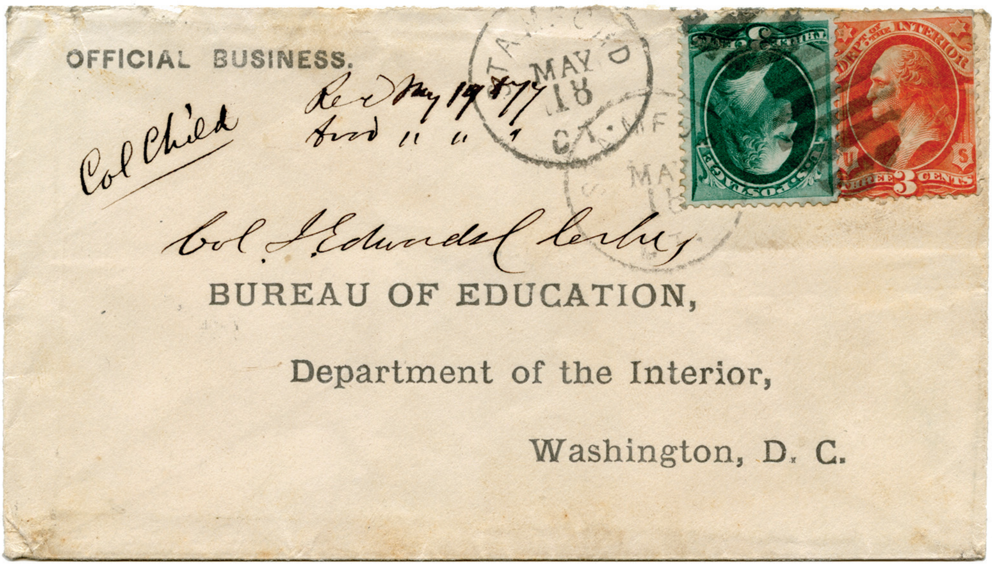


Figure 10. Reply envelope from the Bureau of Education in Washington, D.C., pre-stamped with a 3¢ Interior stamp, with a 3¢ Bank Note stamp added for additional contents or because the sender questioned the postal validity of the 3¢ Interior.

al above and beyond the standard form he had been expected to fill out, thus rendering this a double weight mailing; or else he was unsure about the unfamiliar Interior stamp being valid for postage, and added a regular Bank Note stamp just to play it safe. Lanphear has a second similar cover from the Bureau of Education, and these two constitute the only examples I remember seeing of Interior Official stamps being used in combination with Bank Note regular issues.

Post Office Department

The founding editor for the Officials section of the *Chronicle*, Alfred E. Staubus, first became interested in this as a philatelic specialty when he was a student in San Francisco many years ago. He was especially intrigued by the Official special printings, for the most part very rare stamps that were unappreciated, undervalued, and misunderstood, having been relegated in the Scott specialized catalog to the section on "Specimen" overprints.

The second article Staubus wrote for this section featured brilliant original research on how the "Office of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, Division of Stamps, Stamped Envelopes and Postal Cards" maintained a small room and staff in the great Post Office headquarters, where they sold special printings over the counter and fulfilled mail orders from customers in the U.S. and Europe.[14] Staubus was able to obtain microfilm from the National Archives of the press-copy invoices from May 1879 through July 1882, and by matching these receipts up with a number of surviving Postal Service penalty envelopes (introduced in July, 1877), he was able to figure out how and why additional stamps had been added to these covers. Basically, regular postage stamps were added in the exact amount the customer had remitted for postage, and any shortfall in domestic postage or the 10¢ registry fee was deemed to be covered by the penalty clause. In his introductory paragraph, the author made a plea "with a call for readers to report...particularly covers used during the time period of 1875-1877, prior to the advent of the Postal Services envelopes."

Eventually, one such cover—quite a spectacular one—did come on the market, and Staubus, the first to recognize it for what it was, purchased it from a dealer at a stamp show. I was able to illustrate this cover in a 1999 article here, obtaining input from Dr. Staubus to assure that it was properly explained.[15] As with the cover shown in Figure 2, this cover

Figure 11. This 1876 cover carried an order of special printing stamps sent by registered mail from Washington, D.C. to stamp dealer Paul Lietzow in Berlin. Lietzow had remitted 30¢ for postage, but was short 5¢ for a quintuple UPU registered letter. Postage deficiency covered by the two 3¢ Post Office stamps (overpayment of 1¢).

deserves to be reillustrated in color. It is shown here as Figure 11. This is an 1876 registered cover addressed to the German stamp dealer Paul Lietzow, a heavy buyer of special printings. Lietzow had miscalculated the weight of his order, and remitted only 30¢ in postage, when what was actually due was 35¢ (5 x 5¢ U.P.U. rate + 10¢ registry fee). The clerk duly applied 30¢ in regular Bank Note postage stamps and then added two 3¢ Post Office stamps, overpaying the shortfall by 1¢. The clerk who applied the postage stamps did so neatly with an artistic eye, using ten 3¢ Bank Note stamps in lieu of three 10¢ stamps.

Now surely, during the 1875-1877 period, other collectors must have botched their calculations for how much postage they owed, perhaps not factoring in the weight of a cardboard stiffener in the envelopes. And a few such covers showing mixed frankings similar to the Lietzow cover must have survived. The Markovits collection contained two examples, and when his material was auctioned off in 2004, they were both properly described and bought by Staubus: an 1876 triple weight registered legal-size cover to Plymouth Union, Vermont (13¢ in regular postage, two 3¢ Post Office supplemental), and a small cover (3¢ in regular postage, 10¢ Post Office supplemental for registry) to Akron, Ohio.[16] When the long-slumbering Robert Stone material came to auction in 2017, it contained two more mixed frankings from the 1875-77 period: a small 1875 cover front to New York City sold to Staubus (11¢ in regular postage, covering single rate and the 8¢ registry fee, and 3¢ Post Office supplemental for double weight), and a legal-size cover to New York City (3¢ regular postage, two 6¢ Post Office and a 1¢ Post Office supplemental to account for double weight registered), snagged by me.[17] I was then delighted to privately acquire a second example: a small cover to Lancaster, Pennsylvania (7¢ in regular postage, two 3¢ Post Office supplemental to account for single weight registered). By my reckoning, that makes for a total of six combination frankings of Post Office and Bank Note regular issues, all occasioned by deficient remittances from stamp collectors ordering special printings. I haven't counted Dr. Staubus's tragic 1876 small cover with 8¢ in regular postage, where two Post Office stamps were clearly peeled off by a collector. It is delightful to think how the clerks in this small office, diligently filling orders for special printings, inadvertently created some philatelic masterpieces when they mailed them out.

To complete the story, Lanphear has a small October, 1875 cover from the same office to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, franked only with Post Office stamps: one 10¢ and two

3¢ stamps, paying double domestic rate plus 10¢ registry fee. In this case, the naughty customer had remitted a big fat zero for postage. The original announcement for the sale of the special printings required that customers remit to prepay for the registry fee, even though this service was free to the Post Office Department itself. The extra revenue gained for the program was surely more than enough to offset the cost of supplying unpaid-for Official supplemental postage.

We had long believed that the Post Office Department was never required to pay the registry fee on its own mail, but apparently for a short time this office—expecting as they did for their customers to prepay the registry fee—decided that it should too. This short-lived policy yielded the only two recorded examples of 10¢ Post Office stamps paying the registry fee. Later on, though, when the Postal Service penalty envelopes were used to mail out orders of special printings, if a customer failed to prepay the registry fee, no effort was made to pay the fee with postage stamps, but the cover still went out registered. It is a bit unnerving to see examples of this, when all other penalty mail (except for Treasury replacement of mutilated currency) required that the registry fee be paid with stamps. European stamp dealers ordered a lot of special printings, especially the low values for packet material, and their orders were sent out with the U.P.U. postage usually paid by regular postage stamps, whether or not they had remitted anything. In the collection of Dennis W. Schmidt, there survives one extraordinary legal-size Postal Service envelope to France, where the customer remitted nothing for postage, and the triple U.P.U. rate was paid with a 15¢ Post Office stamp!

In consultation with Staubus, we agreed that neither of us had ever seen an 1875-77 cover from this office where the customer remitted the exact postage necessary to pay both domestic postage and the registry fee, with a proper franking exclusively in regular Bank Note stamps. Surely such covers must have survived, but reside today unappreciated in dealers' stock or in the albums of general Bank Note collectors. Staubus possesses a wonderful piece of collateral material, the original invoice for such a mailing, in which the customer overpaid the postage by 1¢, and was duly issued a refund!

Conclusion

I hesitate to call the results of this research a definitive "census." I'm quite confident there are other unreported combination frankings out there, and would greatly appreciate receiving scans from readers.

In summary, this article identified a total of 32 covers franked with a combination of Official and regular Bank Note stamps: three from State, seven from Treasury, for from War, 12 from Navy, two from Interior, and six from Post Office. As mentioned, on five of the Treasury covers and on one Navy cover, the Official stamps appear to have been illegitimately used on private mail, and hence deserve less exalted status. Recently in these pages I updated the original Lanphear census of Official stamps used on covers to foreign destinations, adding nine previously unreported covers. With the emergence of the fourth 7¢ Navy forwarded cover to Brazil, the total count now stands at 136 (with ten being combination frankings with regular Bank Note stamps, the focus of this article).[18] Lanphear's recent census article on inbound diplomatic pouch mail forwarded to private citizens with State Official stamps recorded a total of 104 such covers.[19] For some time, I have been urging Lanphear to publish his ongoing census data on surviving Official covers posted at the Western forts. Once this is accomplished, we will have completed surveying all the most interesting areas of Official postal history.

Years ago, I started out on an ambitious project to list all the covers recorded from the "tough" departments: I did Navy less the 3¢ value (*Chronicle* 193), Agriculture (194) and Justice less the 3¢ and 6¢ values (199-200), but pooped out before I got to Executive and

State. Articles such as these on Official covers can be produced with relative ease thanks to the covers' scarcity, which yields a scope more manageable than the staggering undertaking of Thomas J. Alexander's *The United States 1847 Issue: A Cover Census*, published by our society in 2001 and now updated as on online database. This generation of Official specialists, all now in our 70s, hope to pass on to our successors a broad base of knowledge that will allow them get off the mark faster than we did. I would like to acknowledge help from Lanphear and Staubus in reviewing an initial draft of this article.

Endnotes

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2. Alan C. Campbell, "Usage of Official Stamps in Washington, D.C., 1877-1884," *Chronicle* 184 (November 1999), pp. 276-87.
3. Matthew Bennett Public Auction 273, February 7, 2004, lot 3201.
4. The Edward S. Knapp Collection, Part 2, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., November, 1941, lots 2731, 2733.
5. Lester C. Lanphear III, "Treasury and War Combination Use," *Chronicle* 238 (May 2013), pp. 181-82.
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7. Matthew Bennett Public Auction 280, October 2, 2004, lot 1931.
8. Matthew Bennett Public Auction 273, February 7, 2004, lots 3188, 3206.
9. Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Sale 1003, December 16, 2010, lot 5530.
10. Schuyler Rumsey Public Auction No. 76, December 13, 2017, lot 259.
11. Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Sale 1196, March 11, 2019, lot 952.
12. See Lester C. Lanphear III, Official Mail and the Arctic: The Latest on the Greely Expedition, *Chronicle* 262, May 2019, pg. 161.
13. Lester C. Lanphear III, "Intercepted Illegitimate Uses of Navy Official Stamps," *Chronicle* 243 (August 2014), pp. 260-62.
14. Alfred E. Staubus, "Covers Used to Mail Shipments of the Special Printings," *Chronicle* 148 (November 1990), pp. 254-64.
15. Campbell, *op. cit*., pg. 288.
16. Bennett Auction 275, lot 3532; Bennett Auction 280, lot 1925.
17. Schuyler Rumsey Auction No. 75, October 14, 2017, lots 1305, 1307.
18. Alan C. Campbell, "Official Covers to Foreign Destinations, 1873-1884," *Chronicle* 260 (November 2018), pp. 356-65.
19. Lester C. Lanphear III, "Department of State: Inbound Consular Mail to Family Members, 1873-1884," *Chronicle* 259 (August 2018), pp. 258-68. ■

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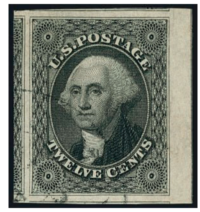

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PRINTED MATTER SENT VIA HAMBURG OR BREMEN MAIL: 1867 RATE CHANGES, INCLUDING PREPAYMENT BEYOND GAPU

HEINRICH CONZELMANN

Introduction

The August 1853 postal convention between the United States and Bremen dealt not only with letter post communication, but also set postal rates and defined the accounting for newspapers and other printed matter. Similar provisions were later incorporated in the July 1, 1857 United States-Hamburg convention. In his book *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*, Richard F. Winter presented an overview of this subject.[1] An interesting change was made in January 1867, allowing newspapers and other printed matter to be prepaid to destinations beyond the German Austrian Postal Union (GAPU). But such items are rarely seen. In fact, a circular sold in a recent Siegel sale (discussed below at Figure 12-14) is so far the only recorded example of a circular prepaid beyond the GAPU during this rate period, and it bears a New York credit marking that had not previously been recorded.

This article is based on notes I published in 2005 in the *Rundbriefe* of the Deutscher Altbriefsammler-Verein, but there are many new additions.[2] Some of the information is contained in *Understanding Transatlantic Mail* but spread between the chapters treating the Bremen and Hamburg mails. The relevant facts are repeated in this article. Since the U.S.-Bremen and U.S.-Hamburg conventions were practically identical, both routings are discussed conjointly. This article quotes the U.S.-Hamburg convention because that reflects an updated version of the original U.S.-Bremen convention.

The two relevant paragraphs in the Hamburg convention are as follows:[3]

> **Art V: Newspapers, not weighing more than three ounces each, mailed in the United States and destined to Hamburg, or mailed in Hamburg and destined for the United States, may be sent by the United States and Hamburg steamers, when the whole postage of two cents is prepaid thereon at the mailing office; and newspapers of like weight, done up singly, may be sent to any part of the German Postal Union, via Hamburg, on prepayment of three cents each at the office of mailing in the United States, which shall be in full of the postage to destination; the German postage beyond Hamburg to be one cent each in addition to the two cents chargeable to Hamburg. The postage on pamphlets and magazines per ounce, or fraction of an ounce, shall be one cent, prepayment of which shall likewise be required in both countries. Said newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines are to be subject to the laws and regulations of each country, respectively, in regard to their liability to be rated with letter postage when containing written matter, or for any other cause specified in said laws and regulations. They must be sent in narrow bands, open at the sides or ends.**
>
> **Art VI: ... Respecting the postage of newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines received in either country, the whole is to be paid to the United States office, when the same are sent by the United States steamers, and one half to the United States, and the other half to the Hamburg office, when sent by Hamburg steamers....**

A major problem in the discussion of printed matter exchanged between the U.S. and Bremen or Hamburg is that the conventions distinguished between newspapers and a grouping called pamphlets or magazines. The convention set different rates for each category.

Newspapers could be prepaid to Bremen or Hamburg by direct steamers at a 2¢ rate, or to destinations within the GAPU at a 3¢ rate. Only 1¢ postage was required to be prepaid for pamphlets or magazines, but this postage covered only the U.S. portion of the postage and the sea-postage.

Until the end of 1866, New York applied its PAID ALL marking on circulars and newspaper wrappers in the Hamburg or Bremen mail to Germany to show they had been fully prepaid to destination. Circulars were not explicitly mentioned in the conventions even though U.S. regulations for domestic printed matter distinguished between newspapers and circulars.[4] Logically, circulars should not be classified as newspapers. However, in practice, it appears that the New York exchange office treated circulars as newspapers.

A substantial number of circulars were sent via Hamburg or Bremen and accepted as prepaid to various German destinations. These circulars were all marked PAID ALL in New York and the Bremen postal clerks did not charge any German postage to the addressee, thus handling them as newspapers. Winter discussed this treatment of circulars in detail in *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*. Significantly, there are no recorded examples of printed matter sent at the 1¢ pamphlet rate to Bremen or Hamburg, although postal records report postage amounts for pamphlets.[5]

Changes in 1867

Beginning in 1867, new "½" and "1" credit markings appear on circulars sent in the Bremen or Hamburg mails to Germany. Their introduction was the result of negotiations between Hamburg and the U.S. with the primary aim of establishing new printed matter rates to destinations beyond the GAPU border or the U.S. border in the other direction.

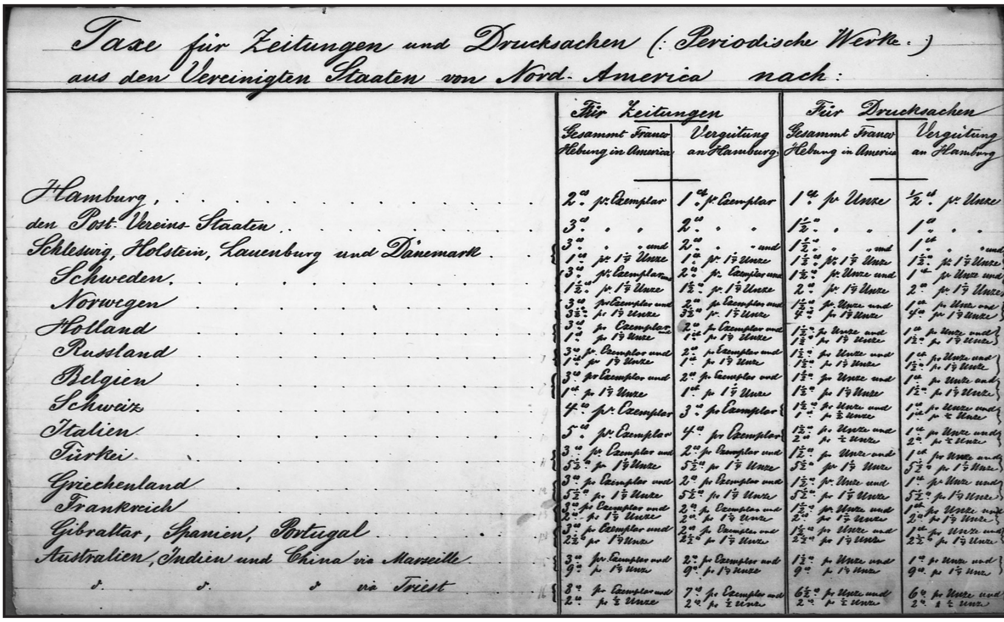
Documents I found in the Hamburg state archive include an exchange of letters between the Hamburg postal authorities and the U.S. Postmaster General concerning this subject, starting in October 1866.[6] In general, before the 1867 amendments, it was not possible to prepay newspapers beyond the GAPU border when posted in the U.S. or beyond the U.S. border when posted in Germany. There were a few exceptions; for example, newspapers could be sent prepaid to destinations in Switzerland when sent in the Bremen mails (4¢ rate).[7] Any prepayment of newspapers to destinations beyond the borders of the two countries meant a specific and more complicated accounting between the two postal administrations, as in the case of letters.

The earliest of the archival letters, dated October 11, 1866, was from Postmaster General Alexander Randall to Hamburg, which settled some letter and newspaper rates to countries in North America. For example, a 2¢ credit would be given to the U.S. Post Office Department for newspapers to Newfoundland, Victoria, Mexico and some other countries.

On the other side, the city post office of Hamburg worked out a complete table of rates for newspapers and the resulting credits for a number of destinations, including beyond the GAPU. In addition—and this is the key point to understand the introduction of the "½" and "1" markings—this table contained prepaid rates and the corresponding credits for other printed matter (periodicals) to the same destinations.

Post Director Schulze of Hamburg wrote on December 16, 1866 to Washington (translating from German): "Enclosed I send you in reply to your letter of 30 October postage rates for newspapers and printed matter, when sent via Hamburg and the corresponding credits which should be given for such items." He enclosed the table which is shown in Figure 1.

The table shows rates and credits for newspapers and for other printed matter (*Drucksachen*). For the latter category (pamphlets, periodicals, etc.), it was not possible to pay the postage to destinations in earlier years, even to countries within the GAPU. Since the table is difficult to read in Figure 1, the rates and credits to some destinations have been extracted from Figure 1 and are presented in Table 1.



Taxe für Zeitungen und Drucksachen (: Periodische Werke :)
aus den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America nach:

	Für Zeitungen: Gesammt Franco Hebung in America	Für Zeitungen: Vergütung an Hamburg	Für Drucksachen: Gesammt Franco Hebung in America	Für Drucksachen: Vergütung an Hamburg
Hamburg	2ct pr. Exemplar	1ct pr. Exemplar	1ct pr Unze	½ct pr. Unze
den Post-Vereins-Staaten	3ct " "	2ct " "	1½ct " "	1ct " "
Schleswig, Holstein, Lauenburg und Dänemark	3ct " " und 1ct pr. 1¼ Unze	2ct " " und 1ct pr. 1¼ Unze	1½ct " " und 1½ct pr. 1¼ Unze	1ct " " und 1½ct pr. 1¼ Unze
Schweden	3ct pr. Exemplar und 1½ct pr. 1¼ Unze	2ct pr. Exemplar und 1½ct pr. 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr. Unze und 2ct pr. 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 2ct pr. 1¼ Unze
Norwegen	3ct pr Exemplar und 3½ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 3½ct pr. 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr. Unze und 4ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 4ct pr 1¼ Unze
Holland	3ct pr Exemplar und 1ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 1ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr Unze und 1½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 1½ct pr 1¼ Unze
Russland	3ct pr. Exemplar und 1ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 1ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr Unze und 1½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 1½ct pr 1¼ Unze
Belgien	3ct pr Exemplar und 1ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 1ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr Unze und 1½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 1½ct pr 1¼ Unze
Schweiz	4ct pr. Exemplar	3ct pr Exemplar	1½ct pr Unze und 1ct pr ½ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 1ct pr ½ Unze
Italien	5ct pr. Exemplar	4ct pr Exemplar	1½ct pr Unze und 2ct pr ½ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 2ct pr ½ Unze
Türkei	3ct pr. Exemplar und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr Unze und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze
Griechenland	3ct pr Exemplar und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr. Unze und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 5½ct pr 1¼ Unze
Frankreich	3ct pr Exemplar und 2ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 2ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr. Unze und 2ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 2ct pr 1¼ Unze
Gibraltar, Spanien, Portugal	3ct pr Exemplar und 2½ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 2½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr Unze und 2½ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 2½ct pr 1¼ Unze
Australien, Indien und China via Marseille	3ct pr. Exemplar und 9ct pr 1¼ Unze	2ct pr Exemplar und 9ct pr 1¼ Unze	1½ct pr Unze und 9ct pr 1¼ Unze	1ct pr Unze und 9ct pr 1¼ Unze
do. do. do. via Triest	8ct pr Exemplar und 2ct pr ½ Unze	7ct pr Exemplar und 2ct pr ½ Unze	6½ct pr Unze und 2ct pr ½ Unze	6ct pr Unze und 2ct pr ½ Unze

Figure 1. Rates for newspapers ("Zeitungen") and printed matter ("Drucksachen") in a handwritten table sent in December 1866 by the director of the Hamburg post to PMG Randall in Washington. For both categories, the table shows the rate to be prepaid in the U.S. and the credit to Hamburg ("Vergütung an Hamburg"). For most destinations beyond GAPU, the postage was made up of two parts, which differed in the weight progression. The table shows such rates in two lines, which must be added.

TABLE 1: PRINTED MATTER RATES AND CREDITS VIA BREMEN AND HAMBURG MAIL, JANUARY 1867

Destination	Newspapers		Printed matter (Periodicals)	
	Rate	Credit	Rate	Credit
Bremen, Hamburg	2¢ each	1¢	1¢ per oz.	½¢
GAPU	3¢ each	2¢	1½¢ per oz.	1¢
Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein	3¢ each plus 1¢ per 1¼ oz.	2¢ plus 1¢	1¢ per oz. plus 1½¢ per 1¼ oz.	1¢ plus 1½¢
Switzerland	4¢ each	3¢	1½¢ per oz. plus 1¢ per ½ oz.	1¢ plus 1¢
Italy	5¢ each	4¢	1½¢ per oz. plus 2¢ per ½ oz.	1¢ plus 2¢

Rates and credits to selected destinations, from Figure 1. GAPU consists of Austria, Prussia and other German states. For destinations beyond GAPU, rates and credits can consist of two components that must be added: the rate to the GAPU border (top in cell) and the postage beyond (bottom in cell).

On January 14, 1867, PMG Randall acknowledged that he had received the table and he wrote to Hamburg that he had advised the New York postmaster to route these printed matter items via Hamburg and to credit Hamburg according to the received table:

> **I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 16th ultimo, transmitting a table of rates of postage for newspapers and printed matter, when sent from this country via Hamburg to certain countries of Europe and Asia and to inform you that instructions have been given to the Postmaster of New York to forward such printed matter thereafter in the mail to Hamburg and credit your office with the amount of Hamburg and Foreign postage as given in said table.**

After the new rates went into effect, a table similar to Figure 1 was published in the February 1867 *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* and repeated until December 1867.[8] The complex U.S. Mail rate chart, from the February 1867 edition, is shown as Figure 2. Only the new printed matter rates were published, to inform postal clerks and mailers about the changes. There was no need to publish the credits. The notice distinguished between newspapers and periodicals, but the periodicals category was not further defined.

CHANGES IN FOREIGN POSTAGE.

RATES OF POSTAGE TO BE HEREAFTER CHARGED ON NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS SENT VIA BREMEN OR HAMBURG MAIL, TO COUNTRIES NAMED BELOW.

We are requested to state, that Newspapers and printed matter (periodicals,) may be sent from the United States to the undermentioned Countries of Europe and Asia, *by Bremen or Hamburg Mail*, at the following rates of postage, *prepayment compulsory*, viz:

		Newspapers.	*Periodicals, &c.*
Bremen, by Bremen mail		2 cents each	1 cent per ounoe.
Hamburg, by Hamburg mail		2 " "	1 " " "
Prussia, Austria and German States,	by Bremen or Hamburg	3 " "	1½ " " "
Lauenburg,	by Bremen mail	3 " "	1½ " " "
	by Hamburg mail	3c. ea. & 1c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 1½c. per 1¼ oz.
Schleswig, Holstein and Denmark,	by Bremen or Hamburg	3c. ea. & 1c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 1½c. per 1¼ oz.
Sweden,	by Bremen or Hamburg	3c. ea. & 1½c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 2c. per 1¼ oz.
Norway,	" " " "	3c. ea. & 3½c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 4c. per 1¼ oz.
Holland,	" " " "	3c. ea. & 1c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. &1½c. per 1¼ oz.
Russia,	" " " "	3c. ea. & 1c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 1½c. per 1¼ oz.
Switzerland,	" " " "	4 cents each	1½c. per oz. & 1c. per ½ oz.
Italy,	" " " "	5 " "	1½c. per oz. & 2c. per ½ oz.
Turkey,	" " " "	3c. ea. & 5½c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 5½c. per 1¼ oz.
Greece,	" " " "	3c. ea. & 5½c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 5½c. per 1¼ oz.
Gibralter, Spain and Portugal, by Bremen or Hamburg		3c. ea. & 2½c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 2½c. per 1¼ oz.
Australia, India and China, *by Bremen or Hamburg mail*	via Marseilles	3c. ea. & 9c. per 1¼ oz.	1½c. per oz. & 9c. per 1¼ oz.
	via Trieste	8c. ea. & 2c. per ½ oz.	6½c. per oz. & 2c. per ½ oz.

The above charges are, in each case, in full to destination, combining rates between the United States and Bremen or Hamburg, and the rate beyond Bremen and Hamburg, to points of destination.

Figure 2. How the information from the Figure 1 table was presented to the mailing public in the United States: Complex rate chart from the February 1867 edition of *U.S. Mail and Post Office Assistant*, showing newspaper and periodical rates to various destinations in Europe and Asia "via Bremen or Hamburg mail."

Surviving covers indicate that printed circulars were a very important component of printed mail matter, but these were not specifically named. In the German table, the more general expression *Drucksachen* (meaning all kinds of printed matter except newspapers) was used for this category. Post Director Schulze added the wording *Periodische Werke* in brackets in the heading of the table, which was probably translated as periodicals.

So far I have discussed printed matter only in the Hamburg mails. Since the U.S. convention with Bremen was very similar, it is believed that the same changes were made for the Bremen mails. This is supported by a November 16, 1866 letter from the Commission of the Senate in Bremen to the Hamburg officials, in which Bremen confirmed that the new rate tables from Hamburg arrived on November 14.[9] The letter states that Bremen would apply the rates to correspondence between Bremen and New York and that equivalent tables had been made and would be sent to the Post Office Department in Washington. Unfortunately, this material has not been found in the Bremen state archives. However, the table in the February 1867 *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* confirms Bremen prepared tables that were functionally identical to the one found in the Hamburg archive. The table in the *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* (Figure 2) shows routes via Hamburg and Bremen, and the notation "by Bremen or Hamburg" indicates the rates were identical for most destinations. The only difference was for items to Lauenburg.

Circulars

What does this mean in practice for the treatment of newspapers, circulars and other printed matter? Figure 3 shows a circular addressed to Bremen just before Postmaster General Randall gave the New York postmaster his instructions to apply the new rates. This is a prices current posted at Galveston, Texas on December 24, 1866 franked with a 2¢ Black Jack stamp (Scott 73) to prepay the newspaper rate per direct steamer to Bremen. The circular is endorsed "pr Bremen steamer via New York." However, since the cover does not show the AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO marking, apparently the New York office did not follow this instruction, but sent the circular via Hamburg to Bremen.[10] The North German Lloyd (NGL) steamship *Deutschland* departed on December 29 and the circular presumably arrived too late for this sailing.[11] The HAPAG steamer *Allemannia* sailed on January 5, 1867 to Hamburg and the next NGL steamship was the *Hansa,* departing a week later. The New York office decided to accept the 2¢ prepayment of the 3¢ rate to the GAPU, in this case to Bremen via Hamburg, and struck its **PAID ALL** handstamp in black. No German postage was charged to the addressee. This was the last HAPAG sailing before PMG Randall's instructions put the new rates into effect.

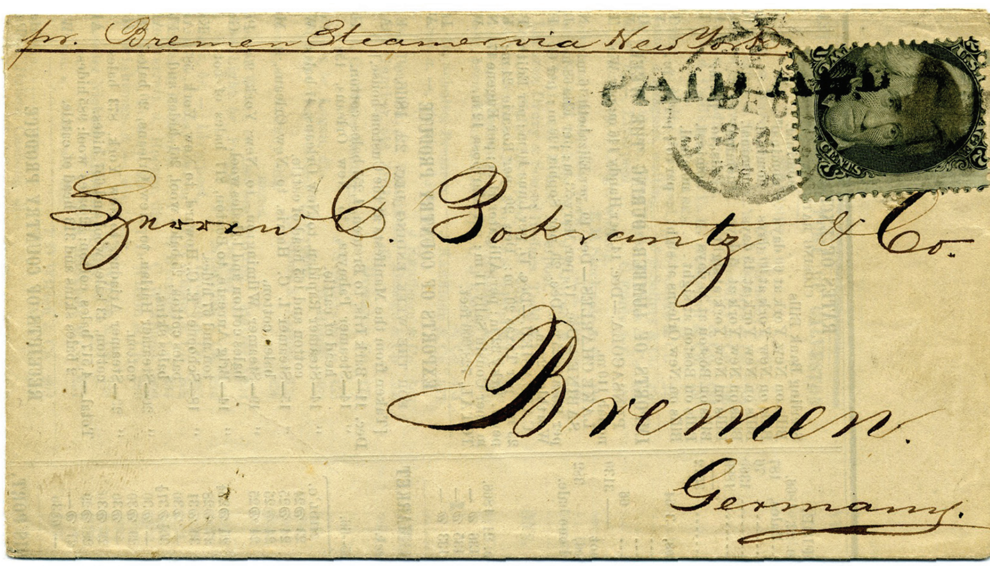


Figure 3. Prices current to Bremen posted in Galveston on December 24, 1866. The New York exchange office did not follow the sender's endorsement "pr Bremen steamer via New York," but sent the circular via Hamburg on the *Allemannia*, which departed on January 5, 1867. This was the last HAPAG sailing before Postmaster General Randall's instruction to put the new rates into effect.

The January 12, 1867 sailing of *Hansa* was probably the last sailing of any German steamship before the rate change went into effect. The cover in Figure 4, from the Littauer collection, may have been carried on this voyage. It is endorsed "By steamer *Hansa*" and franked with a 5¢ brown Jefferson stamp (Scott 76). New York struck **PAID ALL** in red. This is a strange rate for printed matter and not really understood. One possibility would be the franking for a pamphlet with a weight of 4 to 5 ounces, which seems to be very unlikely for this particular item. The problem with this cover is that it is not clear if it belongs to the newspaper category or to the periodicals category. As we will see below, the new credit markings were not applied to newspapers, which were still marked PAID ALL as before. Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that PMG Randall gave his order to the New York postmaster for the Bremen mails a few days before he wrote his letter to Hamburg

Figure 4. Printed matter cover with a 5¢ Franklin stamp, a very unusual franking. The endorsement "By steamer Hansa" and the contents dated at the end of 1866 suggest that the cover was sent by NGL *Hansa* on January 12, 1867. This probably was the last sailing of an NGL steamship before the rate change.

and that the new treatment already was in effect for the sailing of *Hansa*, although this is not very likely.

An early circular showing the new treatment is shown in Figure 5. This is dated New York, January 23, 1867 and addressed to Pokrantz & Co., the same Bremen company to which the Figure 3 cover was addressed. Many circulars sent to Bremen in 1867 are addressed to this firm. In Bremen, **AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO** was struck in blue, confirming that the circular was carried by direct steamer to Bremen. The NGL steamer *Bremen* departed New York on January 26, 1867; it arrived in Bremerhaven on February 8. The New York office omitted the PAID ALL marking and instead wrote a ½ manuscript credit in blue crayon. This is the credit for periodicals sent by direct steamer to Bremen according to Table 1. Only 1¢ postage was required, so the 2¢ Black Jack stamp affixed to the circular represents an overpayment.

Soon afterwards, New York introduced the distinctive "½" and "1" handstamps applied in red and black for the common credits observed on circulars addressed to Bremen, Hamburg or to the GAPU. These markings were not used on letter mail. Unlike letter mail under the postal conventions, the marking color conveyed no meaning. The earliest recorded use of such a New York credit marking is seen on the circular in Figure 6. It is franked with a 2¢ Black Jack and the New York exchange office sent it to Bremen by direct steamer. This is confirmed by the blue **AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO**. In accordance with Table 1, New York used—most probably for the first time—the "½" credit marking.

The sender in Baltimore intended to send the circular on the Cunard steamer from Boston. He endorsed the circular "per Str. Asia from Boston, Jany 30th" for the routing via England or France. While there is no year date on the circular (the content has been removed), this endorsement allows us to determine the year. The only sailing of *Asia* on January 30 from Boston was in 1867.

There are two possibilities why New York decided to send the circular to Bremen by direct steamer. First, the circular could have arrived too late for the departure of *Asia*,

Figure 5. Circular dated New York, January 23, 1867 and sent to Bremen just after the rate change. Instead of the previously used PAID ALL handstamp, New York wrote "½" in blue crayon to indicate the ½¢ credit to Bremen for the printed matter category as listed in Figure 1. Only 1¢ postage was required.

Figure 6. Earliest recorded use of the credit handstamp that replaced the manuscript markings, here on an outer sheet of a circular posted in Baltimore on January 28, 1867 to Bremen. Although endorsed for Cunard *Asia,* New York sent it on the direct route to Bremen and applied the appropriate ½ credit marking in red.

or second, the New York exchange office could have acted in accordance with Postmaster General Randall's instructions "to forward such printed matter thereafter in the mail to Hamburg [or Bremen]." The latter explanation seems more plausible, since there was another Cunard sailing (the steamer *Cuba*) on February 6 before the circular could have been sent on a Bremen steamer. For an unknown reason, the New York office did not send the circular on the next German steamship, the HAPAG steamer *Germania* on February 2, but waited for the next direct sailing to Bremen.

The circular was probably sent by *Atlantic* on the February 7 inaugural voyage of the short-lived American-owned New York & Bremen Steamship Company.[12] In 1866 and 1867, direct sailings to Bremen were made not only by North German Lloyd steamers, but also by American-contract packets (in 1867 by the New York & Bremen Steamship Company and in 1866 by the North American Lloyd).[13] For letters, it is possible to prove American packet service by the sailing date and by the specific accounting amounts, which differed on letters carried by Bremen and American contracted steamers. On printed matter, the New York exchange office did not mark the sailing date, and it is not known if different credit markers were applied for American or Bremen packet service. Therefore, it cannot be definitely established that the Figure 6 circular was carried by *Atlantic.* It is also possible that it was sent by the NGL steamer *Union*, which left New York two days later on February 9.

However, the Annual Report of the Postmaster General for 1867 confirms that newspapers were sent by the American packets. It states the numbers of newspapers sent in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1867: North German Lloyd 282,990; North American Lloyd 30,452.[14] If *Atlantic* carried printed matter on this voyage, it was most likely included in this mail. It is not known if the credits shown in the corresponding Bremen tables were different for U.S. or Bremen steamers. To date, no circulars sent in 1867 have been observed with a credit mark that demonstrates there was a difference in accounting if it was carried by a Bremen or a U.S. steamer, although in the original convention a specific accounting was described (Article VI, quoted above). Perhaps a simplification was made for these rather low mail volumes.

Two circulars with the credit of 1¢ for the periodicals category beyond Bremen or Hamburg to destinations within the GAPU are shown in Figures 7 and 8. The Figure 7 circular is dated New York March 31, 1867 and addressed to Harburg, Prussia, which is about seven miles south of Hamburg. It is prepaid with a 2¢ Black Jack stamp for the 1½¢ periodical rate, and New York applied the appropriate **1** credit marking in black. The cover was sent on April 11 by the NGL steamer *Hansa* to Bremerhaven, arriving April 23. This is confirmed by a Harburg April 24 backstamp. The city post office in Bremen struck its typ-

Figure 7. Circular dated New York March 31, 1867 addressed to Harburg, Prussia and prepaid with a 2¢ stamp for the 1½¢ printed matter rate to destinations within the GAPU. New York's black "1" credited 1¢ to Bremen. Carried on NGL *Hansa* from New York (departed April 11) to Bremerhaven (arrived April 23).

Figure 8. Circular from Galveston, Texas, November 6, 1867 to Bremen. The sender used a 3¢ stamp to prepay the newspaper rate instead of the printed matter rate. The circular does not bear AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO, since it was sent via Hamburg at the 1½¢ rate to the GAPU (analog to the circular in Figure 7). New York credited 1¢ to Hamburg with the red “1” marking.

ical blue Franco marking. The New York credit marking was crossed out to show that this was not an amount to be charged to the addressee. Circulars to German destinations other than Bremen during 1867 are not common.

Figure 8 shows a circular posted in Galveston on November 6, 1867 and again addressed to the Pokrantz company in Bremen. The sender did not specify the routing and used a 3¢ rose 1861 stamp (Scott 65) to pay the newspaper postage. Apparently, the sender had not been informed of the rate changes. Circulars posted in Galveston were often paid 3¢ even though a 2¢ stamp would have covered the 1½¢ rate to any German destination via Bremen or Hamburg. Circulars addressed to Bremen with a 1¢ credit marking, like the cover in Figure 8, do not show the AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO marking and were sent via Hamburg (GAPU rate). New York applied its **1** cent credit marking in red for the routing via Hamburg. There is no dated arrival marking, but the circular most likely was carried by the HAPAG steamer *Germania* on November 16 to Hamburg.

Another circular from Galveston (February 3, 1867) to the same addressee is shown in Figure 9. In contrast to the previous circular the sender endorsed this one “per Bremen Steamer” and used a 2¢ Black Jack stamp for the newspaper rate via direct steamer to Bremen. Unusually, this circular is addressed to Bremen and bears both the 1¢ New York credit marking and the **AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO** marking.

This raises the question of why a 1¢ credit was applied to this circular instead of the ½¢ given in Table 1 for direct service. One possibility would be that its weight was above one ounce and therefore two rates had to be applied. Since the sender intended to pay the newspaper rate, the 2¢ franking still would have been correct since the newspaper rate was per item up to 3 ounces. However, the actual weight of the circular is well below 1 ounce and there is no indication of missing content. The other possibility, which seems more plausible, is that the circular could have just missed the sailing of the NGL steamer *Union* on February 9 (only 6 days after the Galveston posting) and the New York office intended to send it by the next German steamer, the HAPAG *Bavaria*, which was scheduled to sail on

Figure 9. Circular from Galveston (February 3, 1867) to Bremen showing an unusual accounting. The AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO marking establishes the circular was sent by direct service to Bremen, but the credit of "1" instead of "½" is inconsistent with this routing. Explanation: The circular just missed the sailing of NGL *Union* and was rated for the HAPAG *Bavaria*, scheduled for February 16. However, *Bavaria* lost her rudder and the trip was canceled. The circular was sent on the next direct steamer to Bremen.

16 February. A mail was made up for this sailing and the circular was marked with the appropriate 1¢ credit for the route via Hamburg to Bremen. However, *Bavaria* did not arrive in New York since she lost her rudder and had to return to Falmouth.[15] The HAPAG sailing was canceled and the mail was sent either by New York & Bremen Steamship Company steamer *Baltic* on February 21 or by NGL steamer *Hermann* on February 23 to Bremen. Perhaps the letter bill was corrected, but not every piece of mail, leaving the 1¢ credit marking on the circular to Bremen forwarded by the direct route. This is the only recorded circular addressed to Bremen with both the 1¢ credit and the AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO markings.

Newspapers

Most of the known printed matter items sent in the Bremen or Hamburg mails during 1867 are circulars, which were marked with the new credit markings. However, there are some items on which the use of the PAID ALL marking was continued. It appears that these are all newspaper wrappers.

One of these items is shown in Figure 10. This is a wrapper open at both sides and addressed to Horb, Kingdom of Württemberg. The sender wrote "via Bremen or Hamburg" in blue ink on the left vertically and used a 3¢ rose 1861 stamp to pay the newspaper rate to the GAPU. As usual, no date markings were applied in the U.S. or on its transit to the receiving office. Fortunately, Horb used a year-dated arrival mark, which shows that the wrapper reached its destination on August 24, 1867. In contrast to circulars, New York struck **PAID ALL** in red, which ties the stamp, but did not mark any credit. The wrapper was sent on the NGL steamer *Bremen*, which left New York on August 8 and arrived in Bremen on August 21. Bremen applied **AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO** to show the item was prepaid to destination. A blue crayon mark "f" probably was applied by the Prussian office in Bremen to indicate prepayment of the German postage.

Figure 10. Wrapper addressed to Horb, Württemberg properly prepaid 3¢ for the newspaper rate to the GAPU. The Bremen marking shows that it was sent via Bremen and the August 24, 1867 Horb arrival marking proves the wrapper left New York on August 8, 1867 on the NGL *Bremen.* In contrast to circulars, New York did not apply credit markings on newspaper wrappers but continued to use PAID ALL.

The 9¢ rate for three newspapers is illustrated by the Figure 11 wrapper, which has been cut down at left. Franked with a 3¢ rose 1861 stamp and a single and a pair of Black Jack stamps, this was sent from Lowell, Massachusetts on June 18, 1867 to Leipzig, where it arrived on July 5, 1867 (per a year-dated arrival backstamp). This item also was marked **PAID ALL** in red with no credit indicated. Since the Bremen Franco marking is missing, the wrapper was probably sent by the HAPAG steamer *Cimbria*, which left New York on June 22, 1867.

Figure 11. Wrapper prepaid 9¢ for three newspapers sent on June 18, 1867 from Lowell, Massachusetts to Leipzig (July 5, 1867 backstamp). As with Figure 10, New York struck PAID ALL and no credit marking.

Printed matter to destinations beyond the GAPU border

Any printed matter, whether newspaper or circular, sent to destinations beyond the GAPU border via the Bremen or Hamburg mails is very unusual. Items prepaid to destination after the rate change in 1867 are almost unknown. Recently, a circular was sold in the Bernard Faust Black Jack collection, which was sent in the Bremen mails to Genoa, Italy.[16] This is shown in Figure 12. The contents of the circular have been removed, leaving only the outer letter sheet, so the origin cannot definitely be determined, although it is likely the cover was posted in New York. The reverse of the cover, presented in Figure 13, shows various year-dated transit markings, including a Milan marking dated December 8, 1867.

Figure 12. November 1867 circular sent in the Bremen mail to Genoa, Italy. A pair of 2¢ Black Jacks prepay the 3½¢ printed matter rate (Table 1) to Italy. New York credited 3¢ to Bremen, Bremen marked Wf 1 in red crayon to indicate that the postage of 1 sgr. beyond the GAPU border was prepaid. The cover was sent on the NGL *Deutschland*, which departed from New York on November 21, 1867.

This circular is prepaid 4¢ by a pair of Black Jack stamps. According to Table 1, the prepaid rate for the periodicals category to Italy was 1½¢ to the GAPU per 1 ounce and an additional 2¢ per ½ ounce for postage beyond the GAPU border. The weight progression was different for the two parts. The total postage for a circular with a weight below ½ ounce was 3½¢, which had to be rounded to 4¢ since there was no ½¢ stamp. Thus, this franking properly paid the circular to its destination in Italy.

The credit to Bremen is also explained by Table 1: 2¢ was added to the usual 1¢ credit for circulars to GAPU addresses beyond Bremen, yielding a total credit of 3¢. New York used a special red **3** marking to indicate this credit, a marking that had not been recorded on letter mail and before this cover appeared had not previously been noted on any mail. A tracing of this unusual 3 is shown in Figure 14. The prepayment amount and the credit marking indicate this circular was treated as falling into the periodicals category. A newspaper would have required a franking of 5¢. The sender wrote on front of the circular "pr Deutschland via Bremen" and the sailing date of NGL steamer *Deutschland* matches the transit date on reverse. The steamer departed from New York on November 21, 1867 and arrived in Bremerhaven on December 5, 1867.

Figure 13. Reverse of the cover shown in Figure 12. The absence of Swiss markings indicate that this circular was sent to Italy via Austria, the usual routing after the 1867 postal convention between Austria and Italy went into effect. These backstamps show various year-dated transit markings, including a Milan receiving marking clearly dated December 8, 1867.

Figure 14. Tracing of the New York credit marking used on the Figure 12 circular. Prior to the appearance of the Figure 12 cover, this marking was not recorded to have been used at the New York exchange office

The post office in Bremen struck **AMERICA *ÜBER* BREMEN FRANCO** in blue and wrote "Wf 1" in red crayon. At first ½ was written, but this was corrected to 1. "Wf" stands for *Weiterfranco* and "Wf 1" means that 1 silbergroschen (sgr.), approximately 2¢, was credited to the postal administration to which the circular was delivered. A weak inverted **PD** handstamp was struck, just above the Bremen Franco marking, confirming that the circular was prepaid to its destination. On the back (Figure 13) are transit markings of Verona and Milan and the arrival marking of Genoa. Since there are no Swiss transit markings, the circular must have been sent via Austria to Italy; this was the usual routing after the new 1867 postal convention between Austria and Italy went into effect. As noted, the *weiterfranco* notation equals 2¢, which is the additional amount New York credited for postage beyond the GAPU. However, according to a Prussian order applied after October 1, 1867, a credit to Austria of only ½ sgr. would have been required for the Italian part of the postage (this equals the uncorrected red crayon).[17] The blue crayon marking seems to have been corrected as well. For an unknown reason at first the circular was rated 6, but this was corrected by adding an additional horizontal line at top to make a "5". The blue notation across the stamps and at right reads "1 5x" and is probably a restatement of 1 sgr. = 5 Austrian neukreuzer (x was often was used to indicate kreuzer). Then the 5 was crossed out.

One other item sent in the Bremen mails beyond the GAPU border may have been sent under the periodicals category of 1867. Shown as Figure 15, this is an undated wrapper front addressed to Appenzell, Switzerland. It is franked with a 3¢ rose 1861 stamp, which

Figure 15. Front only of a printed matter item sent via Bremen to Appenzell, Switzerland. The absence of the PAID ALL handstamp and the red crayon "1" credit indicate an 1867 use. Since the weight exceeded ½ ounce, the 3¢ stamp paid the postage only to the GAPU border. The "1" credit was subsequently underlined (see Figure 16) so that it also indicated the Swiss postage due.

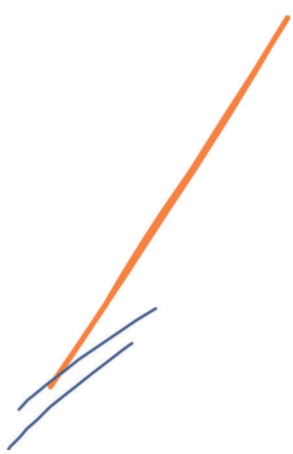


Figure 16. Tracing of the New York red crayon "1" credit marking in the cover in Figure 15. Subsequently, a German postal clerk underlined the marking with two blue pen strokes so it also served to indicate 1 kreuzer postage due.

was sufficient (see Table 1) to prepay printed matter weighing less than ½ ounce to Swiss destinations. However, since a weiterfranco-notation analog to the one applied on the Figure 12 cover is missing, the Figure 15 front was most probably accepted as prepaid only to the GAPU border. Bremen struck **AMERICA ÜBER BREMEN FRANCO**. This indicated that the wrapper was paid at least to the GAPU border, but it does not necessarily prove it was paid to destination. Letters survive which were sent via Bremen to foreign destinations and were prepaid only to the GAPU border, but nevertheless bear this Bremen franco marking.

No PAID ALL marking is visible, but a "1" in red crayon was written across the address. By analogy to the circulars discussed above, this could be interpreted as a New York credit. If this assumption is correct, then the wrapper is an 1867 use. However, according to Table 1 the credit should have been 2¢. As already pointed out, the postage beyond the GAPU border had a different weight progression. While the single rate for the U.S. and German part of the postage was up to 1 ounce, the Swiss portion was rated per ½ ounce. The exchange office in New York might have found the weight of the printed matter item to be just over ½ ounce. In this case a payment of 4¢ would have been required and the wrapper was short paid. In fact, the New York clerk accepted the prepayment to the GAPU border and credited only 1¢. Perhaps he was prepared

Figure 17. Undated (circa 1863-67) wrapper in the Bremen mail to Switzerland franked with a Black Jack, accepted as prepaid to the GAPU border. Postage due of 1 kr. marked in blue ink, similar to the underlining on Figure 15. Image shown through the courtesy of the Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc.

to apply a 2¢ credit and did not have the "1" handstamp on-hand, so he marked the credit in manuscript form. This credit was also allowed to serve as the 1 kreuzer (kr.) postage due marking. It is underlined by two thin pen strokes in blue ink. Since this may not be clearly evident in Figure 15, a tracing is shown in Figure 16.

The Faust collection also contained a newspaper wrapper to Switzerland via Bremen (undated, 1863-67 period) franked with a Black Jack paying postage only to the GAPU border. This is shown in Figure 17.[18] On this wrapper New York applied PAID ALL and no credit notation. The 1 kr. postage due was written in ink very similar to the underlining of the "1" in Figure 15 (shown separately in Figure 16). Apparently, the postage due was not marked in Swiss currency. According to the Tarif XXII published in Switzerland on August 15, 1858 for correspondence with the United States, the accounting with the GAPU was made in kreuzer.[19] The Swiss part of the postage for printed matter (any kind) was stated as 1 kr. = 5 rappen up to a weight of 1 loth. Probably, the postage due was indicated by the Baden railway office in kreuzer. A newspaper wrapper that was sent in the Prussian closed mail to Switzerland prepaid to the Swiss border and that shows a similar "2" rating in blue ink for 2 kr. (10 rappen) further supports this conclusion.[20]

Printed matter from Germany to the United States

Printed matter from Germany to the U.S. in the Hamburg or Bremen mails is very scarce. According to the Report of the Postmaster General for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1867, via Bremen, 313,442 newspapers were sent from the U.S., but only 68,846 were received; via Hamburg, 187,091 newspapers were sent and only 41,597 received.[21] Thus, about 4.5 newspapers were sent for each newspaper received. In previous years this imbalance was even higher. In 1866 on both routes 577,573 newspapers were sent, but only 42,033 were received, a ratio of nearly 14 to 1.[22]

Figure 18. Newspaper wrapper (front and separated back) sent from Stuttgart on December 20,1867 via Hamburg to Philadelphia. The sender affixed 7 kr. in stamps for the newspaper rate. Stuttgart credited 4 kr. (marked in black ink at right of the green 1 kr. stamp) to Hamburg for sea and U.S. postage and Hamburg credited 1¢ to the U.S. The red PAID ALL possibly was applied in Hamburg. The wrapper was sent on the HAPAG *Hammonia II* on December 22, 1867, the last sailing under the U.S.-Hamburg convention.

Therefore, the Figure 18 wrapper (front and separated back) is very unusual. It was sent on December 20, 1867 from Stuttgart via Hamburg to Philadelphia. The sender prepaid the 7 kreuzer newspaper rate by a 1 kr. green and a 6 kr. blue stamp of the 1865 issue of Württemberg.[23] The 6 kr. stamp extends beyond the wrapper because it was partly affixed to the newspaper. From the 7 kr. postage, Stuttgart credited 4 kr. (4 marked in black ink at the right of the 1 kr. stamp) to Hamburg and Hamburg wrote a 1 in blue crayon just across the 4. Reference to Table 1 will show that this corresponds to the 1¢ which had to be credited to the U.S. out of the 3¢ newspaper rate. On the back is a December 21, 1867 Hamburg transit marking and a blue crayon 4, which may be a restatement of the 4 kr. credit to Hamburg. The wrapper was sent on the HAPAG steamer *Hammonia II* on December 22, 1867, which arrived in New York on January 5, 1868. This was the last HAPAG voyage under the U.S.-Hamburg convention.

The treatment of newspapers sent via Hamburg may be similar to the treatment of newspapers sent in the Prussian closed mail. For Prussian closed mail newspapers, the New York exchange office struck only PAID ALL and did not mark credits (eastward direction), whereas Prussia used a boxed "Paid all" marking, but also indicated credits to the U.S. (westward direction). The **PAID ALL** marking on the wrapper in Figure 18 was likely struck at Hamburg to indicate that the newspaper postage was paid properly. This conclusion is based on another reported wrapper sent via Hamburg to the U.S. one year earlier, showing the identical PAID ALL marking.[24] However, additional examples of newspapers sent in the Hamburg mails to the U.S. would be necessary to prove this theory.

Conclusions

In mid-January 1867, new rates went into effect for newspapers and other printed matter sent in the Bremen or Hamburg mails, allowing prepayment beyond the borders of the GAPU or the United States. The rates to European countries were set forth in a table, which was prepared by Hamburg post director. It lists the rates in detail and shows the appropriate amounts to be credited from New York to Hamburg. Apparently the same rates were used for Bremen mails. The table distinguishes between *Zeitungen* (newspapers) and *Drucksachen* (periodicals). Both classes could be prepaid to destination. This represents a change from the original conventions, which allowed newspapers to be sent to the GAPU at the prepayment of 3¢ each, whereas for other printed matter only the 1¢ per ounce U.S. and sea-postage to Hamburg or Bremen had to be prepaid, but the German part of the postage could not be paid in advance.

The classification of printed matter before 1867, especially circulars, remains uncertain because they were not explicitly referenced in the documents. However, circulars in the Bremen or Hamburg mails before the rate change were typically marked "Paid All" and were accepted as prepaid to destinations within the GAPU. This was also the case for circulars, which were paid only 2¢ and thus the newspaper rate was underpaid by 1¢. To allow prepayment to destination it was assumed that circulars were treated as newspapers in practice. Winter discussed this conclusion in detail in *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*.

Post Director Schulze's table, and the treatment by the New York exchange office, makes it possible to distinguish between the categories of printed matter. It is now obvious that circulars after the 1867 rate change belong to the periodical category, since New York applied the appropriate credits and replaced the Paid All marking with the new numeral credit handstamps. To date only one complete circular (Figure 12) is recorded that is prepaid beyond the GAPU border. This circular is properly paid 4¢ for the periodicals category to Italy, and shows an unusual "3" credit handstamp applied at New York in accordance with the rate table.

It is astonishing in the correspondence at the end of 1866 between Hamburg and the Postmaster General that the classification of circulars was not addressed, but with Postmaster General Randall's January 14, 1867 order to the New York postmaster, circulars were put in the periodicals category. The classification of printed matter on both sides of the Atlantic may have been addressed in prior communications, but if so, the documents unfortunately have not been found.

The purpose of the new markings was not only to show the credit (on newspapers no credit is marked) but to identify categories of printed matter with reduced rates (periodicals). On newspapers the use of the PAID ALL marking was continued. Unfortunately, there are no complete dated newspaper wrappers known prepaid beyond the GAPU border to any European country. Therefore, we do not know if such items were treated in a different manner and bear a credit notation.

Newspapers in the Hamburg or Bremen mails are generally franked correctly. On wrappers for newspapers to the GAPU, senders typically affixed a 3¢ stamp for the single rate or enough stamps to pay multiple rates according to the number of newspapers enclosed.

However, on circulars the prepayment is inconsistent, even in 1867. Some circulars are prepaid 3¢ for the newspaper rate, but no circulars (or other printed matter items) are recorded with a 1¢ prepayment for the direct route to Bremen or Hamburg according to Table 1. Winter concluded that for circulars the newspaper rates were still applied by the U.S. post offices, although the *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* published new rate tables that did not identify circulars explicitly. He argued that "it is inconceivable that U. S. Postmaster General Randall would allow a circular to go to Germany at a 1¢ or 1½¢ rate while the same circular would cost 2¢ to go to a U.S. destination."[25] The circular to Genoa in Figure 12 shows that in this case the correct postage of 4¢ for the periodicals category was applied. Therefore, one may conclude that in theory the senders could have used the "periodical" rates for circulars.

In most cases the sender affixed a 2¢ stamp. This prepayment allowed the New York exchange office the option of sending circulars by different routes. They could have been sent at the 2¢ rate via England or France. In that case the addressee would have had to pay the European part of the postage. For the Bremen or Hamburg mails, 2¢ covered the 1½¢ postage to destinations within the GAPU and circulars to Bremen or Hamburg could be sent alternatively via either city. In addition, the obvious conflict with the internal circular rate was avoided. Thus, there might also have been a practice of prepaying at least 2¢ on circulars to allow all routing options.

In the postal conventions between Hamburg or Bremen and the United States the accounting of printed matter depended on the nationality of the steamship line carrying the mail. In 1867 most of the mails were sent by German steamers. However, in the Bremen mails about 10 percent of the newspapers were carried by American packets. To date there is no indication that the credit applied on circulars varied depending on the steamship line. Perhaps the distinction between steamship lines was abandoned for the periodical category to simplify the record-keeping. It would be interesting to find circulars that were confirmed (e.g. by dated arrival markings) to have been carried by American packets to verify this theory.

Printed matter from the German States in the Bremen or Hamburg mails to the U.S. is not often seen and there are no examples recorded to countries beyond the border of the United States. Perhaps such items lie hidden in collections. It would be interesting and helpful to find new material that would add to the picture that is the subject of this article. Please send reports of new items to the author or editor of this section.

Acknowledgements

Concerning this subject I have conducted an essential exchange of information with Richard F. Winter over a long period of time. His help is very gratefully acknowledged. In addition, I want to thank Rudolf Buschhaus, Martin Camerer and Friedrich Meyer for sharing their knowledge about the postal relations with Italy and Switzerland and for reviewing a draft of this article. Thanks also to Ron Cipolla for background information on U.S. printed matter.

Endnotes

1. Richard F. Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*, Vol 1 (Bellefonte, Pennsylvania: American Philatelic Society, 2006, 2009)), pp. 62-68; Vol 2, pp. 531-35.

2. Heinrich Conzelmann, "Drucksachen in der Hamburg und Bremen Mail–das Rätsel der Stempel ½ und 1 auf Circularen aus den USA im Jahre 1867," *Rundbrief* Nr. 465, pp. 7-21, Deutscher Altbriefsammler-Verein 2005.

3. 16 *U.S. Statutes at Large,* pp. 958-59.

4. *List of Post Offices and Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America*, 1857, reprint edition (Holland, Michigan: Theron Wierenga, 1980), *Postal Laws and Regulations*, pg. 54, §§ 119, 122.

5. *Report of the Postmaster General 1864*, pp. 113-114, Tables 32-33, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000518137 (last viewed July 25, 2018).

6. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Acta 374-2 AII 13.

7. James Holbrook, ed., *United States Mail and Post-Office Assistant*, 1860-1872, reprint (Chicago, Ill.: Collectors Club of Chicago, 1975), vol. 1, pg. 4 (Oct. 1860).

8. *Ibid*., pg. 306 (Feb. 1867).

9. Staatsarchiv Hamburg Acta 374-2 AII 13.

10. Usually covers addressed to the city of Bremen do not show the "America über Bremen Franco" marking, since the different "America über Bremen" markings were not applied by the Bremen City Post Office, but by the Hanover post office in Bremen. The markings were normally struck only on Bremen mails covers in transit through Bremen to Hanover and beyond. But on September 20, 1866 Hanover became a province of Prussia and the Hanover Post was completely integrated into the Prussian Post Department effective January 1, 1867. The Hanover post office in Bremen was taken over by Prussia, but run by the Bremen City Post Office, which also operated the Prussian post office in Bremen using the same personnel. The Bremen City Post Office started to use the "America über Bremen Franco" marking also on printed matter addressed to the city of Bremen sometime before the end of 1866. Nevertheless, before 1867, letters carried beyond Bremen on the Bremen routes to Hamburg and Oldenburg do not show the "America über Bremen Franco" marking.

11. Walter Hubbard and Richard F. Winter, *North Atlantic Mail Sailings 1840-75* (Canton, Ohio: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 1988).

12. *Ibid*., pg. 297.

13. *Ibid*., pg. 291.

14. *Report of the Postmaster General 1867,* pg. 164 Table No. 20, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000518137 (last viewed July 25, 2018). The indication for the North American Lloyd was used synonymously for both American lines. In the report for 1868 only the numbers of letters carried by the different lines was published, and the number of newspapers was not shown.

15. Hubbard and Winter, *op. cit*., pg. 180, n. 33.
16. Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Sale 1181, lot 1569 (April 23, 2018).
17. Amts-Blatt des königlichen Post-Departments No. 51, 1867, pg. 295, C 2, https://books.google.de/books?id=uYN-KAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=de#v=onepage&q&f=false, (last viewed 6 August 2018).
18. Siegel Sale 1181, *op. cit*., lot 1556.
19. Robert Fürbeth: Zusammenstellung aller verfügbaren Briefposttarife der Schweiz mit dem Ausland 1849-1902, Gilching, unpublished, Rudolf Buschhaus, Duisburg, Germany private communication.
20. Robert S. Boyd, "A Wrapper with a Message" *Chronicle* 258, pp. 186-88.
21. *Report of the Postmaster General 1867*, pg. 164, Tables No. 20 and No. 21.
22. *Report of the Postmaster General 1866*, pg. 107, Tables No. 19 and 20.
23. Dr. Karl Zangerle, *Handbuch der Auslandstaxen der süddeutschen Gebiete–Gulden-Währung—1850-1875* (Firma Heinrich Köhler KG, Wiesbaden 1990), pg. 213.
24. The Richard F. Winter Collection of Transatlantic Mails, Schuyler J. Rumsey Auction 50, San Francisco, lot 786 (February 4, 2013).
25. Winter, *op. cit*., pg. 535. ■

THE COVER CORNER
JERRY PALAZOLO, EDITOR

EXPLANATION OF PROBLEM COVERS IN CHRONICLE 262

The problem covers in *Chronicle* 262 were submitted by James Baird, who acquired them at different times over the span of a decade. The cover shown at left in Figure 1 bears the circular postmark of Lynn, Massachusetts, dated February 16, with a matching PAID struck twice and a manuscript rating of 18¾¢. The contents are still present and the year date is 1844. This letter is addressed to Philadelphia and in the sender's handwriting bears the notation, "Steam Boat Mail." The cover at right is addressed to Boston, bears a New York circular marking dated August 19, and is rated for a collection of 18¾¢. This cover also bears the notation "Steam Boat Mail" in the handwriting of the sender. The letter is present and is dated 1841.

For both covers the question relates to the steamboat notations. While Lynn is in the greater Boston area, mail to New York and points south with very few exceptions was not carried by way of ocean-going vessels. From Colonial days onward, mail between Boston and New York traveled overland by stage. During the 19th century, mail service between Boston and New York was constantly being improved by the Post Office Department, culminating in an 1839 contract to carry locked mail pouches on the recently completed New York, Providence & Boston Railroad. So why did the senders apply "Steam Boat Mail" notations to these two letters? Other than

Figure 1. Our problem covers from last issue, from New York City to Boston and from Lynn, Mass. to Philadelphia, both sent in the early 1840s. The question sought an explanation of the significance of the enigmatic "Steam Boat Mail" endorsements.

a fleet of steamers plying Long Island Sound from New York City to Stonington, Connecticut, there was no inland waterway passage from that point on to Boston. And reliable year-round coastal navigation would have been problematic if not impossible.

Andy Burkman was the first to weigh in. Burkman has similar covers in his collection and has some that bear other notations as well such as "per Steamboat" or "SB Mail." He says that once the railroad was complete between Boston and Providence postal patrons became aware that faster service in each direction between the railroad terminus and New York could be had if letters were routed by way of the steamboats operating in Long Island Sound as opposed to the old overland stage route. So, according to Burkman these "Steamboat" notations were added in the hope that the letters would reach their destinations faster.

Mark Schwartz concurs with Burkman, and adds some more details. He says that it is important to note that the two covers were carried in different directions along much the same route. Until 1838 the mail along this route from Boston to New Haven was carried by stage and from there to New York it went by either stage or steamboat. But, on November 17, 1837 a railroad line opened between Stonington, Connecticut and South Providence, Rhode Island connecting with the Boston & Providence Railroad. A steamboat connection between Stonington and New York combined with the completed rail line allowed mail to travel much faster the full distance in each direction between Boston and New York. Schwartz cites research by Hugh Feldman indicating that mail was first carried on this combined railroad and steamboat service in July 1839. Schwartz also concurs with the suggestion that letter writers would add the "Steam Boat Mail" notation to indicate a preference for this faster combined sea-land route.

Also, both Burkman and Schwartz both pointed out that the manuscript rate on the New York/Boston cover in Figure 1 is 18¾¢ and not 12½¢ as stated in the original photo caption. Apparently legible penmanship was not a requirement for clerks in the New York post office.

Internet research and further reading of Feldman's two books on railroad and steamboat contracts yielded more information. The desire for faster travel between New York City and Boston accelerated technological advancement that led to the development of a fledgling railroad network in New England by the second quarter of the nineteenth century. That in turn led to increased collaboration between railroad and steamboat companies with each offering combination routes to save time.

William F. Harnden, founder of Harnden's Express, was advertising a fast express service between Boston and New York as early as July 1839:

> **Boston and New York Express Package Car—Notice to Merchants, Brokers, Booksellers and all Business Men. Wm. F. Harnden, having made arrangements with the New York and Boston Transportation, and Stonington & Providence Railroad Companies, will run a car through from Boston to New York, and vice versa, via Stonington, with the mail train, daily, for the purpose of transporting specie, small packages of goods, and bundles of all kinds. Packages sent by this line will be delivered on the following morning at any part of the city free of charge. A responsible agent will accompany the car who will attend to purchasing goods, collecting drafts, notes, and bills, and will transact any other business that may be entrusted to his charge. Packages for Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New Haven, Hartford, Albany and Troy will be forwarded immediately on arrival in New York [editor's note: presumably by railroad].**

In essence Harnden had created what was probably the first long distance overnight delivery service, well over a century before the dawn of Federal Express. The United States Post Office Department took note of this development and realized that Harnden posed a threat to their lucrative Boston-New York service. According to Feldman's *U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Water* (page 231) the Post Office Department advertised for bids to carry the mails, including those for Liverpool, between New York City and Stonington, Connecticut (see Figure 2 map) six days a week in each direction. The New Jersey Steam Navigation Company (owned primarily by Cornelius Vanderbilt) was awarded the contract with service to commence July 1, 1840. That company, which had its origins in the former Transport Company, was organized with the

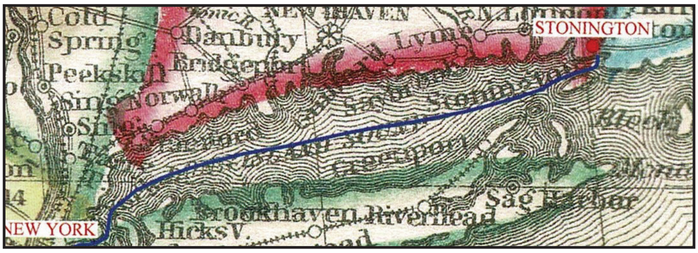


Figure 2. The steamboat route from Stonington, Conn., to New York City that hastened the delivery of mail between Boston and New York at the beginning of the railroad era in the early 1840s.

primary purpose of landing this contract, which amounted to $8,000 in the first year alone.

According to Feldman's *U.S. Mail Routes by Railroad* (pages 761-62) the contract for the route was let jointly to the New Jersey Steamboat Company and the New York, Providence and Boston Railroad Company. That railroad company had its beginning in 1832 as the New York & Stonington, but later merged with the New York, Providence & Boston R.R. with service completed in 1837. The first contract to carry the mails on this line did not commence until July 1 a year later. During that year-long gap between contracts the entrepreneurial William Harnden acted as a contract mail messenger along the route. He was not a route agent, but only a custodian of the locked mail bags and was not allowed to accept loose letters along the way. Both of Baird's covers are dated after the combined contract went into effect in 1840. So, just as Burkman and Schwartz suggested, the "Steam Boat Mail" endorsements were added as directives to assure the letters were carried over this new, speedier route.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

Our problem cover for this issue is an interesting cover from the Civil War era submitted by Daniel Ryterband. As shown in Figure 3, the cover bears the circular duplex postmark of New York city dated June 5, 1861 tying a 3¢ 1857 stamp. In addition the envelope

Figure 3. 3¢ 1857 stamp on cover from New York to Memphis, June 5, 1861. Why was this letter sent to the Dead Letter Office?

bears the double-oval marking "DEAD LETTER OFFICE P.O. DPT." dated July 6, 1861 and a "DUE 3 cts." straightline marking. The cover is addressed to Memphis, Tennessee. The sender's information is in manuscript along the left edge. It reads, "W.W. Morgan, No. 82 Broadway, New York, N.Y."

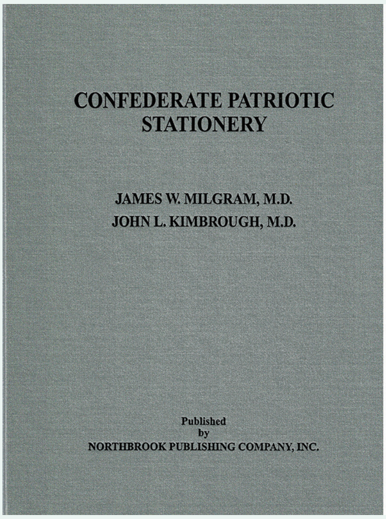
The questions are several: Why was this seemingly properly addressed letter diverted to the Dead Letter Office in Washington, D.C.? What is the significance of the "DUE 3 cts." marking? Was the letter eventually delivered to the addressee or returned to sender? ■

IN REVIEW

CONFEDERATE PATRIOTIC STATIONERY, BY JAMES W. MILGRAM AND JOHN L. KIMBROUGH

REVIEWED BY JERRY PALAZOLO

James W. Milgram has produced another in a line of profusely illustrated books, this time with a co-author, John L. Kimbrough, an author and dealer in Confederate postal history. *Confederate Patriotic Stationery* offers a rich presentation of large and remarkably clear illustrations of every Confederate patriotic envelope design known to the authors, plus a number of previously unrecorded illustrated patriotic lettersheets. These designs for both envelopes and lettersheets are broadly defined as "illustrated stationery" and are classified as either "Southern" printings or "Northern" printings, with a section of the book devoted to each.



Confederate Patriotic Stationery, **by James W. Milgram and John L. Kimbrough, 216 full-color pages, 8½ by 11 inches, Smythe sewn, hardcover. Northbrook Publishing Company, Inc., 2019, $50 postpaid to domestic addresses from Northbrook Publishing Company, 1352 Estate Lane, Lake Forest, IL 60045.**

Section I contains designs deemed by the authors to be Southern printings, a term that the authors do not fully define. Did these designs originate from states that had already seceded, as well as those that flirted with secession? Or were they actually printed in the Confederate States? Regardless of where and when they were printed, they are logically categorized into groups that portray national flags, state flags and seals, cannon and flags, tents and flags, Jefferson Davis medallion and flags, male figures, miscellaneous designs, and finally patriotic stickers or labels.

The authors have accumulated uniformly high-quality images from a number of sources and this work reproduces them handsomely. Some of the image sources are mentioned in the introduction. Notably absent is any reference to the legendary Kilbourne family collection. This was without question the largest and most comprehensive collection of Confederate patriotic covers ever formed, and a number of the covers shown in the book came from that source. Within the text, specific citations or sources of illustrations are largely absent. The authors' unique sequential number assigned to each of the figures would have lent itself perfectly to a listing of photo credits attributing sources. An additional lapse, more egregious in my view, is the authors' use of the copyrighted numbering system of *The Confederate States of America Catalog and Handbook of Stamps* *and Postal History.* That publication (of which I was a co-editor) contains a very liberal fair-use clause to enable collectors and philatelic authors to freely use its content, but use of the catalog's numbering system is restricted. Surely some sort of attribution other than a passing mention is warranted.

Despite the attributional shortcomings, collectors will find that the clear and concise presentation provides useful information for this popular area of Confederate collecting. About 20 previously unlisted designs are interspersed throughout the Southern section, some of them not known in postally used condition. Also included are some previously unknown illustrated lettersheets.

This is a catalog-type presentation, but Milgram and Kimbrough have chosen to omit dollar values from their listings. Instead they have assigned rarity factors to each design as follows: R-1= more than 25 known; R-2 = five to 25 known; and R-3 = fewer than five known. The rationale for this approach is that rarity remains fairly constant, while dollar values fluctuate according to market vagaries.

Section II contains Confederate-themed designs deemed by the authors to be Northern printings. This too is a subjective term, but here there is an attempt to define it. Milgram and Kimbrough cite a number of imprints that clearly indicate that they were manufactured in states that were firmly loyal to the Union. In addition—and this is one of the important contributions of this book—the authors were granted access to the massive McAllister Collection of illustrated Civil War paper held by the Library Company of Philadelphia. Within that collection they located a large number of previously unreported designs (unused of course) attributed to Philadelphia envelope publisher James Magee.

The presence of these lends credence to the authors' theory that there was a burgeoning cadre of collectors of patriotic stationery during the first year or so of the Civil War. That theory is expanded upon in four short chapters detailing patriotic envelopes printed in cities such as New York and Philadelphia.

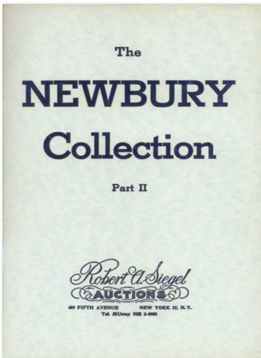
The first of these sub-chapters makes a compelling case that some Confederate flag-design envelopes were produced in northern states for intended sale in the seceded states. The ever-tightening Union blockade no doubt put an early stop to that. The rest of the Confederate-themed designs shown in the next three sub-chapters saw limited postal use or none at all. Their most likely intended purpose was sale to patriotic envelope collectors of that period. The authors categorically reject a previous theory, circulated in earlier journals, that many of these types of designs were created for sale at post-war veterans' gatherings and reunions.

A final sub-chapter in Section II is devoted to captured Federal stationery used within the Confederacy. Only ten items are illustrated and none has any relationship to the stated theme of the book. This space could have been better used for more endnotes and source citations.

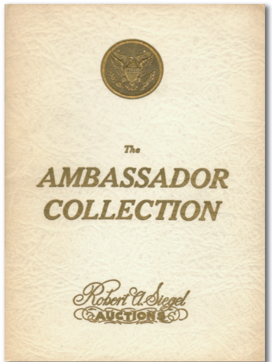
Quibbles about attribution notwithstanding, the authors overall have done an admirable job covering the subject matter, earning this book a place as a standard reference work for years to come. ■

We mourn our former colleague John Wright, long-time editor of our Cover Corner section, who passed away June 18, 2019.

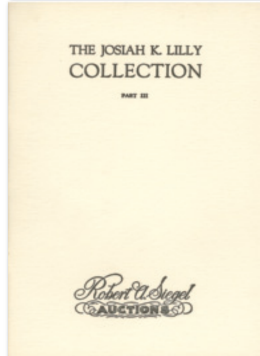
ADVERTISER INDEX



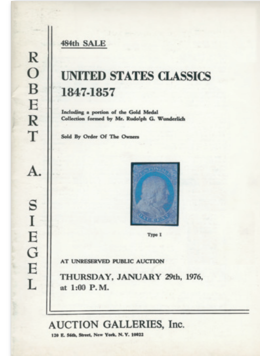
Newbury 1961



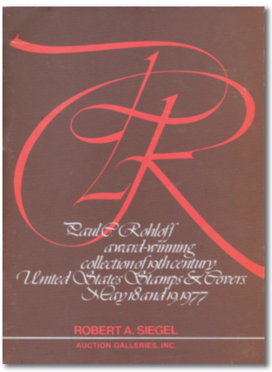
Ambassador 1966



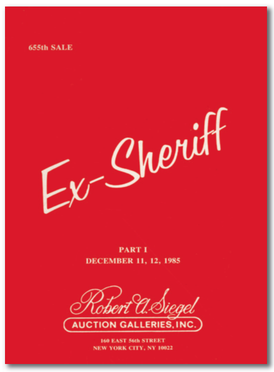
Lilly 1967



Wunderlich 1976



Rohloff 1977

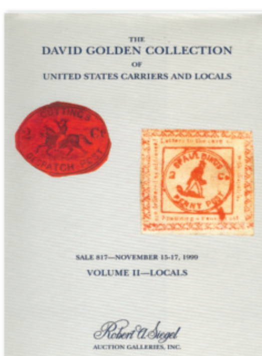


Sheriff 1985

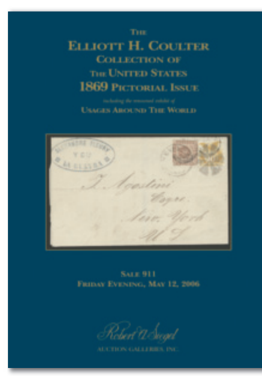
Kapiloff 1992

Honolulu Advertiser 1995

Zoellner 1998



Golden 1999

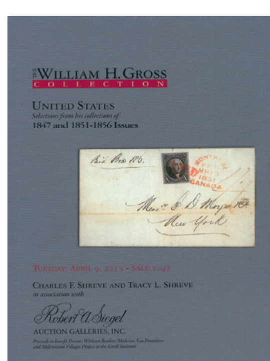


Coulter 2006

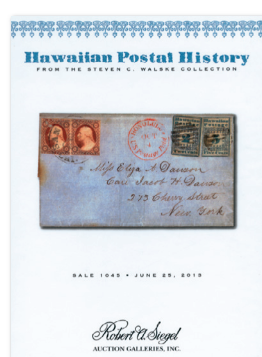
Whitman 2009

Twigg-Smith 2009

Frelinghuysen 2012



Gross 2013



Walske 2013

Great collections have* ONE NAME *in common.