

The Chronicle

of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues



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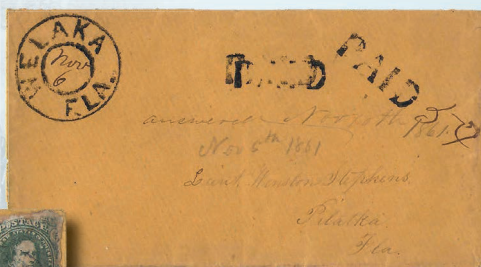
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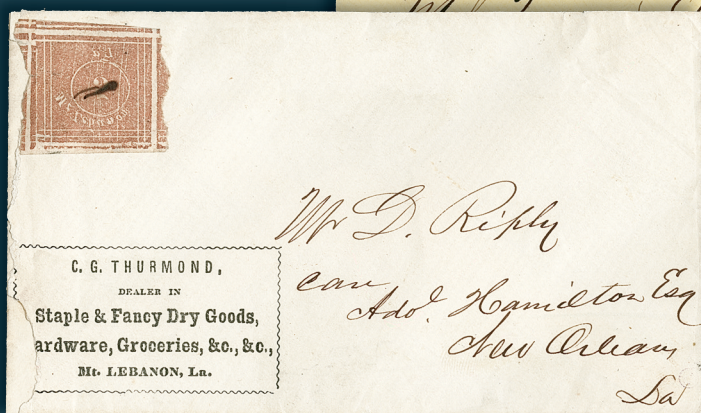
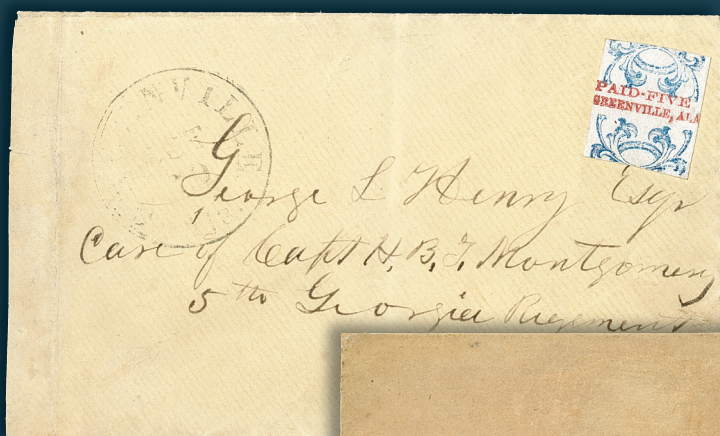
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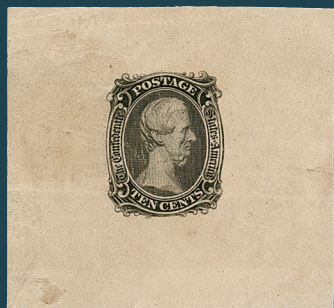
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C.G.

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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

MICHAEL LAURENCE

A NEW SECTION FOR THE 1890s

Following the recent announcement that our Society would expand its scope, I am pleased to announce a new Section Editor, Labron Harris, who commencing this issue launches a new *Chronicle* section devoted to the stamps and postal history of the last decade of the 19th century.

A veteran postal history dealer, Harris is well known to any collector who has ever attended a major stamp show. His knowledge of the postal history of the 1890s is broad and deep, and we are delighted he will be sharing some of it in our pages. He introduces himself on page 187 and begins his new section with a short and colorful article on uses of the Trans-Mississippi stamps on registered mail to foreign destinations. Please join me in wishing Labron every success in this new responsibility. If you collect in this area and have an article idea that might work in his new section, by all means speak up.

This issue contains a great wealth of material, 14 different articles, almost all of them describing new discoveries or new insights. There's no hard data to back this up, but I cannot recall a previous *Chronicle* with so many different contributions on such a variety of subjects. This is unarguable evidence of the popularity of classic U.S. philately—and the active engagement of our member-contributors.

Featured on our cover this issue is a newly discovered foreign entry variety: the numeral from a 90¢ Justice Department stamp mistakenly entered into the plate of the 24¢ Department of State stamp. Foreign entries are the most striking of all the plate varieties that occur on line-engraved postage stamps. The discovery of a new one deserves fanfare, or at least a drumroll. How this remarkable error came about—and how it subsequently came to be recognized—is the subject of an article by Route Agent Charles H. Buck in our Officials section, page 180. The remarkable illustrations that support this discovery show how desktop digitization has boosted stamp research to a higher level. This is Buck's first contribution to the *Chronicle*. We certainly hope to see more.

The Classics Society and its *Chronicle* began life in the late 1940s as a newsletter for students of the 3¢ 1851 stamp. This one stamp remains the cornerstone in our foundation and continues to inspire study. In a major article in our 1851 section (page 134), James Allen uses archival information from the Travers papers and modern analytical devices at the National Postal Museum to puzzle out how ink composition contributed to production changes (including the need for recutting) in the 3¢ 1851 stamps. Allen's article revises many of the earliest known use dates for the 3¢ 1851 plates and colors, the first published update of this information since 1996. An added extra in our 1851 section is a short and poignant article from Labron Harris with a provocative title: "Dead Stamps Can Tell Tales."

In our 1847 section (page 129), John Bowman dissects the routing of a 5¢ 1847 cover that traveled a crow-flight distance of around 30 miles, but required three modes of carriage and several days to complete its journey. In writing this article, Bowman explored some

new on-line and digital research sources. His experience, which he shares freely, may be useful to other collectors contemplating a deeper dive into domestic post routes. One resource that I found intriguing is a colorful and detailed 1849 railroad map of New England and eastern New York state, available free as a high-resolution download. See Bowman's Endnote 4 for specifics.

James Milgram, editor of our Stampless section, is without doubt the most prolific U.S. postal historian now writing, and he continues to add to his bibliography. In our Stampless section this issue (page 117), Milgram presents a survey article on the subject of printed postmarks—postal markings, often associated with mass mailings, that were created not by a handstamper but by a printing press. In a separate stampless article (page 125), Milgram explores a highly distinctive numeral “1” that found its way into at least four different postmarks of Natchez, Mississippi. And in our 1851 section, Milgram contributes a very interesting short article on varieties of a scarce and much-appreciated Lincoln campaign cover that were created by a temperance newspaper publisher in Ohio.

In a special feature on page 160, Steven Walske continues his exploration of the exploits of the vessels that ran the federal blockade of Confederate ports during the Civil War. Walske's subject this time is the blockade-runner *Advance*, owned (at least in part) by the state of North Carolina. *Advance* successfully ran the federal blockade of Wilmington, N.C. 15 times in 1863-64. Walske's article includes exemplary covers, full sailing data and an attractive painting of *Advance* herself, loading cotton at Wilmington.

Our 2019 Susan McDonald award (named after one of the great editors of this publication and recognizing the year's best *Chronicle* article) was awarded to Chip Gliedman, our 1861 editor, for his colorful and well-sourced article, “U.S. Stamps Used at Red River, British North America: a History and a Cover Census,” published in the May 2019 *Chronicle*. Gliedman knew at the time that his cover census would soon require an update, which he presents on page 156.

We have a fine variety of foreign-mail coverage this issue. David D'Allesandris, newly elected president of our Society (he assumes command July 1) contributes two articles to our Foreign Mails section: one on a scarce early California circular rate to foreign destinations (there aren't many of these) and another on mail carried between the United States and Nova Scotia by the Boston and Colonial Steamship Co. He shows two covers that revise previous assumptions that this line carried no mail. The Foreign Mails section leads off (page 192) with an article from overseas member Julian H. Jones, showing a cover that updates by several months the earliest known sailing of the Black X Line back in 1824.

And in our Bank Note section, page 168, Michael J. Brown provides new information on U.S.-Bermuda mail between 1869 and 1877. Not many covers survive and Brown tells why: they were scarce to begin with. The article includes complete sailing data, laboriously extracted from contemporary newspaper sources and presented in the familiar Hubbard-Winter format.

Explore, learn, enjoy! ■

PRESTAMP & STAMPLESS PERIOD

JAMES W. MILGRAM, EDITOR

PRINTED POSTMARKS ON STAMPLESS COVERS (AND BEYOND)

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

From the classic era, only a very small number of covers bear printed postal markings. Some of the best known are the Cumberland, Maine postmarks created by Horace Gray, a printer and mass mailer, for use on circulars advertising his wares. These were discussed in *Chronicles* 206, 249 and 261. Another town with a printed postmark was Kelley's Island, Ohio, in Lake Erie, whose markings were discussed most recently in *Chronicle* 255. A third grouping of printed corner advertisements used for postmarks was created by E.S. Zevely, a manufacturer of postmark handstamps. These were discussed in *Chronicles* 210 and 222.

This article is an overview of the types of printed postmarks found on covers from the stampless beginning up to the era of the Civil War.

When I assembled the covers for review, it was obvious that most such markings were produced to facilitate the mailing of printed circulars. These fall into two groups: covers bearing the name of a town, and covers bearing only rates and/or other text.

Circulars with printed town name

Circulars bearing printed postmarks that include the town name are very rare. I have only seen two covers that fit this category. The first is the folded circular from Creelsboro, Kentucky shown in Figure 1. This was free franked by the postmaster, G.A. Wheat, and sent to generic court clerks in "Joniston" in Washington County, Tennessee (presumably today's Johnson City). The contents, dated November 16, 1851, reveal that postmaster Wheat, who was evidently also in the printing business, offers to sell printed blanks and forms suitable for court use.

Figure 1.
Printed "FREE
_____P.M
CREELSBORO"
in fancy oval
frame with the
postmaster's
name added in
manuscript, on
a folded circular
addressed to
a court clerk
in Washington
County, Tenn.





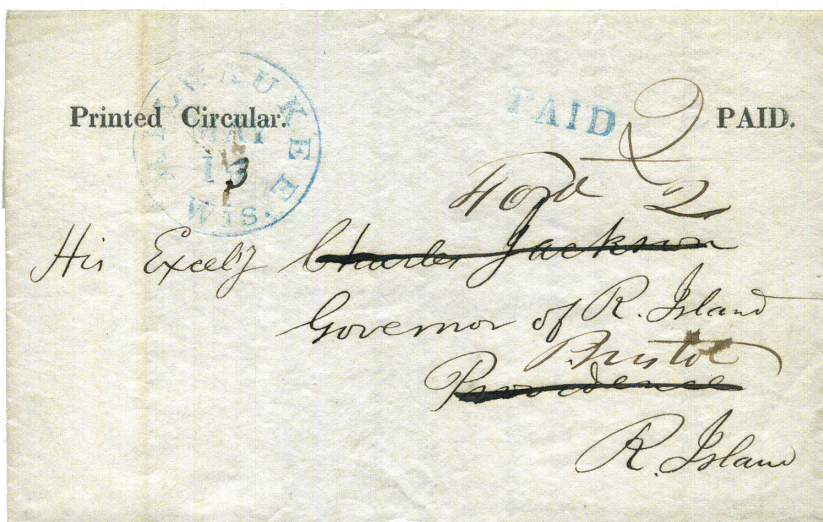
Figure 2. "P.O. Shelburn Vt." in ornate rectangular frame, "PAID" in shaded block lettering and a bold "3," all preprinted on a cover addressed to Woodstock, Ohio.

The other cover, shown in Figure 2, is an envelope lacking content. It bears a printed "P.O. Shelburn, Vt." in an ornate rectangular frame with additional fancy printed "PAID" and "3" to show the rate. The cover also bears a handstamped postmark "SHELBURNE VT. APR 3" (with the town name spelled with an "e"). The printed "PAID, 3" indicates that this envelope carried a circular during the four years (between mid-1847 and mid-1851) when the circular rate was 3¢ and prepayment was compulsory.

Circulars with printed text and postal rating

Many circular envelopes and wrappers, both domestic and incoming from abroad, bear printed text indicating the contents qualify for circular rating, which from the beginning of circular rates in 1845 was always cheaper than the letter rate. Figure 3 shows a folded circular with printed "PAID" at right and "PRINTED CIRCULAR" at left, handstamped at "MILWAUKEE Wis. May 13" and showing prepayment at a 2¢ rate. No year date is indicated, but the cover is addressed to Charles Jackson, who was governor of Rhode Island

Figure 3. "PRINTED CIRCULAR" and separate "PAID" printed in black, with blue handstamped "MILWAUKEE Wis MAY 13" and "PAID" with manuscript "2" and "Ford 2," a 2¢ due charge for forwarding from Providence to Bristol, R.I.



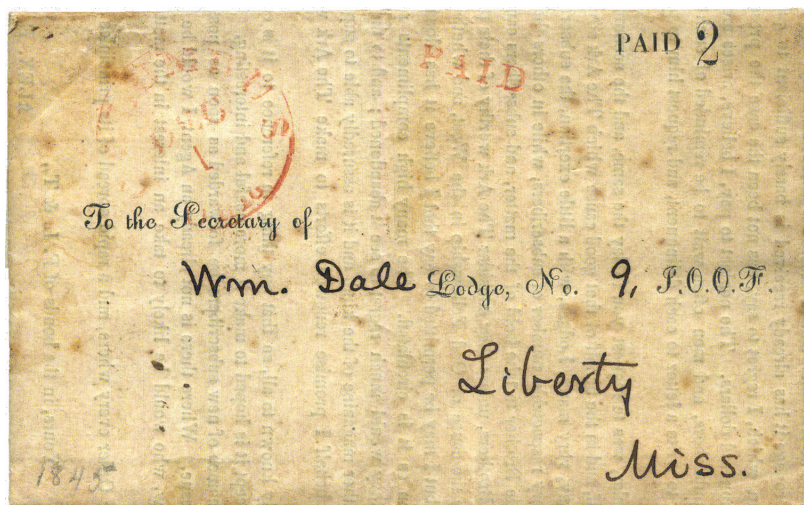


Figure 4.
1845 circular
with printed
“PAID 2” and
red postmark
“COLUMBUS
Ohio DEC 1”
with partially
preprinted ad-
dress, send to
an Odd Fellows
lodge in Liber-
ty, Mississippi.

only in 1845-46. Wisconsin was then a territory, not a state. This is an example of the first U.S. circular rate, 2¢ per sheet regardless of distance, prepaid or collect, effective between mid-1845 and mid-1847. Prior to 1 July 1845, circulars were rated as ordinary letter mail. The Figure 3 cover was forwarded from Providence to Bristol, Rhode Island, with forwarding postage noted (another 2¢) and collected from the recipient.

On more unusual covers the postage rate is also printed. The earliest example I am aware of is shown in Figure 4. This is a folded circular, sent from Columbus, Ohio with “PAID 2” printed at upper right. Additionally it bears a red handstamped circular datestamp “COLUMBUS Ohio DEC 1” and a matching “PAID.” The contents, with a typeset date of “DEC 1, 1845,” relate to an Odd Fellows magazine.

Figure 5 shows a folded circular addressed to Seneca Castle, New York, posted in 1846, just a few months after the Figure 4 cover, with red handstamped “WASHINGTON CITY D.C. FEB 23,” a printed “PRINTED CIRCULAR, UNSEALED” and a large bold printed “2” indicating the rate. This cover is doubly unusual in that it bears a very early



Figure 5. “PRINTED CIRCULAR, UNSEALED” and “2” with printed cornercard, red handstamped “WASHINGTON CITY D.C. FEB 23” (1846) to Seneca Castle, New York.

example of a printed return address: “From E.F. Brown’s United States Agency and Notarial Office, Washington City.” The sender was a land-claim agent, and the contents when opened fully constitute a broadside with framed text describing Brown’s services. In the absence of any indication of prepayment, the “2” indicated an amount to be collected from the recipient, though in this case the addressee was a postmaster who had the franking privilege, so no charge was assessed. Sending unsolicited advertising mail to postmasters was a fairly common practice during this era. Brown hoped the postmaster would post his ad where prospects might see it.

Quite similar in appearance is the folded circular shown in Figure 6 with typeset “PRINTED CIRCULAR, UNSEALED” and a large printed “2” along with a red hand-stamped “NEW-YORK FEB 10 2 cts” integral rate circular datestamp. Contents date the cover to 1847. This is early junk mail, sent unpaid, promoting Sears Pictorial Publications, a series of handbooks created by publisher Robert Sears. The addressee had to pay 2¢ to receive this missive and many of course refused. The first revision of the circular rate structure, in the Act of 3 March, 1847, made prepayment a requirement on circular mail.

Figure 6. Junk mail sent collect: “PRINTED CIRCULAR, UNSEALED” and bold “2” on a circular hand-stamped “NEW-YORK FEB 10 2 cts.” This is an unpaid publisher’s solicitation sent in 1847 to Bedford, Ohio.



The last example of this type is illustrated in Figure 7. This cover bears “PRINTED CIRCULAR” and “3” in black printing with “U.S. EXPRESS MAIL APR 4” and “PAID” handstamped in blue. This particular circular datestamp is known to have been used on trains between Albany and Buffalo between 1843 and 1847. The contents, dated March 27, 1847, are a printed advertisement for “a celebrated compound for Consumption.” The circular is addressed generically to “Pastor of Church” (printed), with the town and state (Cambridge, Vermont) added in manuscript. Very efficient for mass mailing.

The circular rate was increased to 3¢ by the Act of March 3, 1847, but it is not certain when the terms of this act actually went into effect. If (as was the case with most other postal laws) the law did not take effect until July 1, then Figure 7 is a very unusual (and improbably costly) overpayment. If the law went into effect immediately, then this is a very early showing of the 3¢ circular rate, a candidate for the earliest known. Note that postage was prepaid, as the new law required.

Note also the printed inscription at lower left: “Will the Post Master please place this Circular in the hands of some Clergyman, and much oblige Fountain & Son.” Route Agent Joe Crosby has put together an entire exhibit of items like this, which he calls “Postmaster Please” covers. They represent an early form of targeted direct mail, which relied on the goodwill and customer knowledge of local postmasters to direct sales circulars into the hands of qualified prospects. At least when sent to small-town postmasters, this technique worked effectively for more than half a century—until the Post Office finally prohibited it.

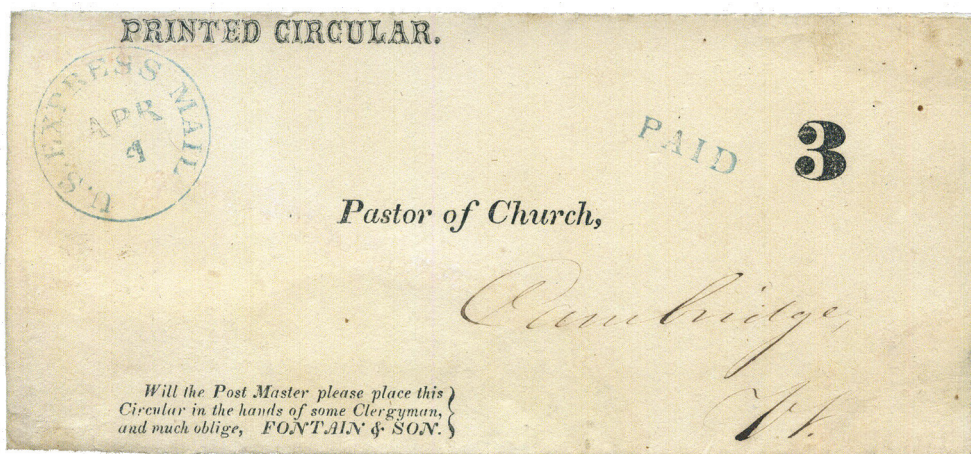


Figure 7. As unpaid unsolicited circular mail cluttered up the postal system, the law was quickly revised to require prepayment. This 1847 flyer shows “PRINTED CIRCULAR” and “3” with a “Postmaster please” endorsement and the first line of the address preprinted. Depending on when the Postal Act of March 3, 1847 went into effect, this may be a very early showing of the new, higher compulsory prepaid rate.

Printed cornercards with town name used as postmarks.

A much smaller number of printed postmarks was used on letter mail. A few printed corner advertisements, probably originally created just as cornercards, were subsequently repurposed by postmasters to serve as postmarks. The famous eagle postmark of the Kentucky Military Institute (see *Chronicle* 220, pages 270-272) is a handstamped version.

The cover in Figure 8 has for many years been listed in the stampless cover catalog as a printed postmark from Lodge, Kentucky. The origin information at upper right (“LODGE P.O., Fulton Co., KY.”) seems to have been printed in conjunction with the illustration at the upper left, a mason’s trowel over a laurel wreath with the name “Rob. Morris K.T.” printed on the trowel.



Figure 8. Printed corner illustration of a mason's trowel over a laurel wreath, with separate printed “LODGE P.O., Fulton Co., KY.” and 3¢ 1857 with manuscript cancel.

A search of relevant U.S. Postal Guides and other resources finds no such town as Lodge, Kentucky. It seems more likely that this envelope carried a mailing originating from a masonic lodge somewhere in Fulton County, Kentucky. Wherever the cover actually entered the mails, it certainly appears that the postmaster allowed the origin information to serve as a postmark.

The fancy printed advertising cornercard of E.S. Zevely exists in red on covers with a variety of handstamped rating marks, so this too was a cornercard used as a postmark. Figure 9 shows a much scarcer variety in black type with the additional text “CIRCULAR” and “PAID.” But of course this cover was not paid. Like Figure 5, it was sent free, in this case to the postmaster of Cassville, in Oneida County, New York. The original enclosure survives: a one-page circular offering handstamps for postmasters. Covers that bear this fancy imprint in red were used for ordinary letter mail.

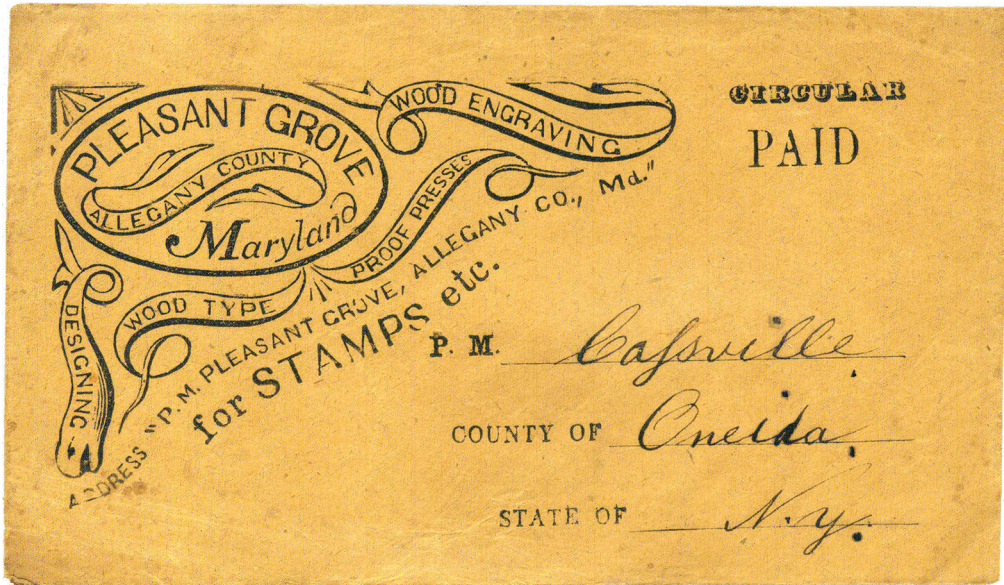


Figure 9. Ornate printed cornercard from Pleasant Grove, Maryland, advertising the production of wooden handstamps—with additional printed “CIRCULAR” and “PAID,” on an envelope that carried an advertising circular to the postmaster at Cassville, N.Y.

The cover in Figure 10 shows a printed cornercard with town and county name (Shiremanstown, Cumberland County, Pa.) which was used as a postmark with the addition of a manuscript rating mark (“Paid 3” at upper right). This rating dates the usage as 1852-55. A few other examples are shown in the stampless catalog.

Printed town-name postmarks

The postmark from Proctorsville, Vermont shown on the cover in Figure 11, is probably the best-known printed town postmark. The example in Figure 11 shows the date part printed and part written. This date (April 30, 1851) is still within the 1845 rate period. The cover was sent unpaid and 5¢ postage was due. The letter is partially printed listing of Plymouth stockholders in the Bank of Black River, with the names and amounts of their interest handwritten. Copies of this letter must have been sent to multiple town clerks but they were not sent as circulars.

Envelopes bearing the printed map-shaped Kelley’s Island postmarks were used to carry many letters sent from that Ohio location. The cover in Figure 12 depicts the earliest of the three marking types, one that was used during the 1851 stamp period.

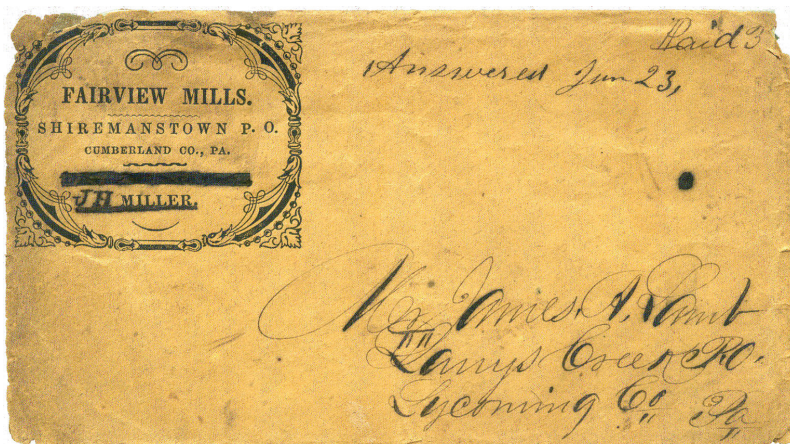


Figure 10. Printed business cornercard for Fairview Mills with wording for "SHIREMANSTOWN P.O. CUMBERLAND CO., PA." The manuscript "Paid 3" indicates this envelope was postally used.

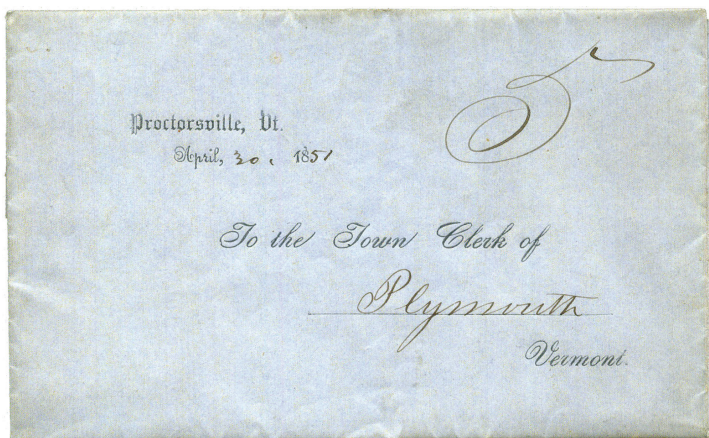


Figure 11. Pre-printed "PROC-TORSVILLE Vt." on a form letter (listing a bank's stockholders) with portions of the address and date (April 30, 1851) added in manuscript.



Figure 12. Map postmark showing hard-to-read "KELLEY'S ISLAND" with "Feby 11" date added, printed on a cover with a manuscript-canceled 3¢ 1851 stamp.

The cover in Figure 13 does not contain the original letter so the reason for a printed postmark is unknown. The “RISING SUN PA. Oct. 26th 1860” is very unusual in its design and in its specificity. Since the envelope was franked with a 3¢ 1857 stamp, it appears not to have been a circular mailing.

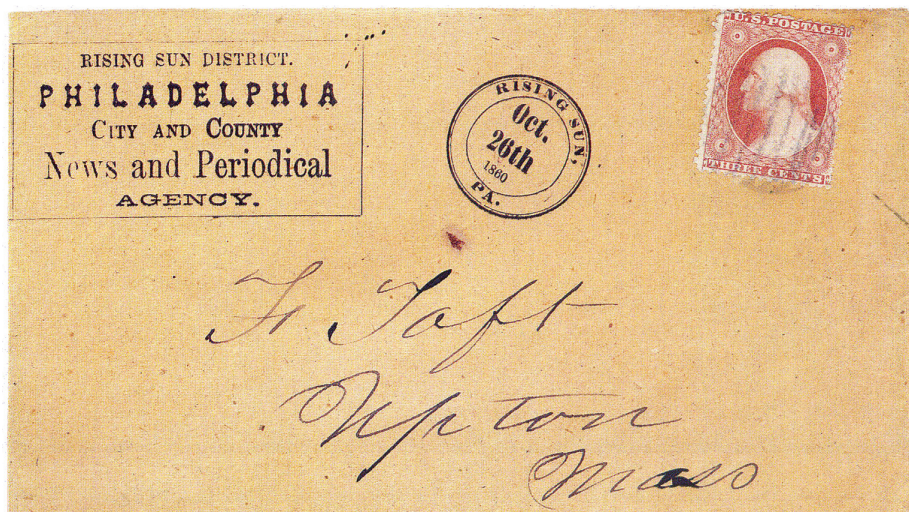


Figure 13. “RISING SUN PA. Oct, 26th 1860” postmark, printed along with a news agent’s cornercard on an envelope franked with a 3¢ 1857 stamp.

Printed postmarks from dates beyond the 1850s are seldom seen. I conclude with a most unusual item from late in the Bank Note era. Figure 14 shows a cover sent by E.S. Miller, a Newark, Ohio entrepreneur who sold handstamping devices for postal clerks. Franked with a 1¢ American Bank Note stamp (Scott 212), this cover no doubt carried an advertising circular that is unfortunately no longer present. The envelope bears an illustration of a route agent’s handstamping device and a sample imprint showing an example of a

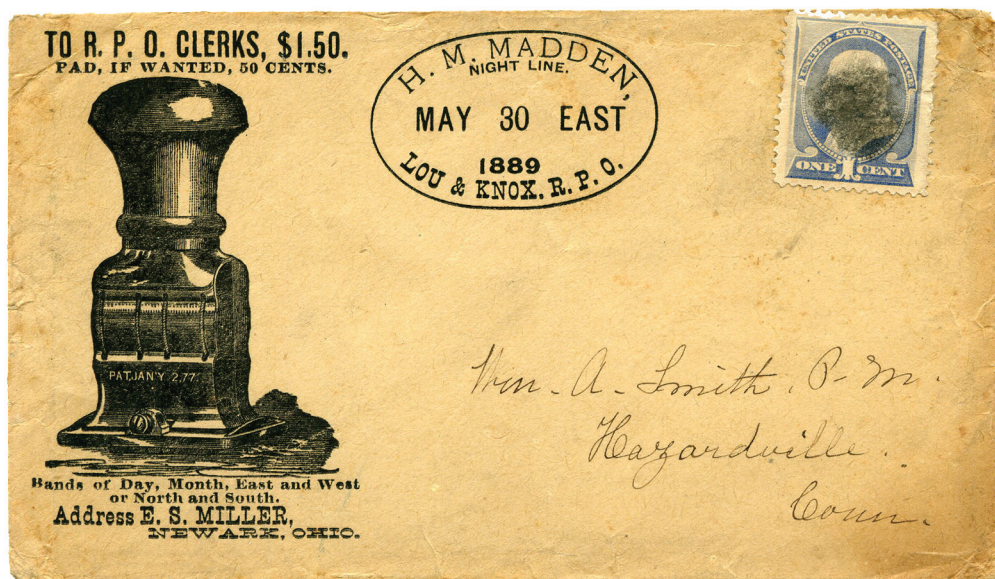


Figure 14. This printed postal marking is actually part of the ad showing the output of the depicted handstamper. Posted at the 1¢ circular rate in 1889-90.

marking struck by the device—a route agent’s postmark dated May 30, 1889.

The 1¢ circular rate under which this cover was carried specified that the stamps be canceled with a mute, undated killer. The smudge cancel on this stamp complies with the law. The preprinted postmark on this cover is simply part of the ad. It is not a postal marking designating the date and place where this cover entered the mails. ■

UNUSUAL NATCHEZ 1 HANDSTAMPS

JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.

Two covers postmarked at Natchez, Mississippi as drop letters show the same unusual “1”. A stampless cover from 1859, shown in Figure 1, bears “STEAM” and a bold, fat “1”—both handstamped in black. The STEAM postmark indicates that a steamboat carried the letter, and the 1¢ drop rating indicates it was dropped at the post office for local delivery. This is a puzzling combination, because in theory those two markings should not appear on the same cover.

The mystery was resolved by the appearance of another cover, from the same correspondence, posted a year earlier, with the drop rate prepaid by a perforated 1¢ Franklin stamp. This second cover lacks a STEAM marking. Docketing on both covers indicates they originated at Washington, Mississippi, an inland town about eight miles east of Nat-



Figure 1. Fat bold handstamped “1” on a drop letter addressed to Natchez. The docketing indicates this cover originated in nearby Washington, Mississippi, in 1859. The STEAM marking is inappropriate and was probably applied in error.

chez. Since there was never a waterway connection between Washington and Natchez, these covers must have been carried into Natchez by land and dropped at the local post office, presumably by a traveler. The STEAM marking on the Figure 1 cover was presumably applied in error. As noted, it does not appear on the other drop cover that traveled the same route in the same correspondence.

The docketing on the Figure 1 cover is dated May 1859, and the docketing on the 1¢ Franklin cover (which cannot be illustrated here because it is a low-resolution internet image) is June, 1858.



Figure 2. “NATCHEZ MISS 1” handstamp on bootlegged drop letter datelined Liverpool, England, March 16, 1861. At this time, Mississippi was a Confederate state.

A more interesting cover, illustrated in Figure 2, shows what seems to be the same fat numeral “1” incorporated into a circular postmark that reads “NATCHEZ MISS 1”. The contents of this letter reveal it originated in Liverpool on March 16, 1861. Thus it was bootlegged all the way from England into Natchez. Mississippi seceded from the Union on January 9, 1861 and was admitted to the Confederacy on February 4, so this is a Confederate use, said to be the only known example of this very unusual postmark.

I had a memory of seeing this numeral “1” somewhere else. Sure enough, Figure 3 shows a “D1” in circle handstamp, on a scan I obtained from Route Agent Don Garrett some years ago. This seems to be the same fat “1”, here incorporated into a drop letter



Figure 3. “D1” in a circle, indicating a 1¢ drop letter charge on a cover addressed to Natchez and postmarked “NATCHEZ MISS JUN 12.” The year date is not known.

postmark, on a cover that also shows a red “NATCHEZ MISS JUN 12” circular datestamp, confirming local use. No year date is evident, but is probably earlier than the cover shown in Figure 1. Around this time Natchez used a smaller “D1” handstamp too.

That’s is not all. Figure 4 shows another Natchez cover with the same “1” incorporated into a handstamp indicating an advertised letter—“1A” in a large circular frame.

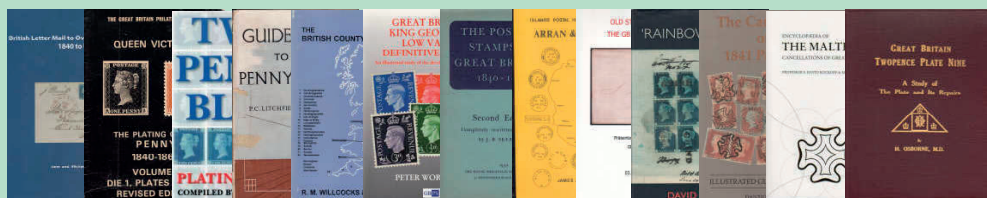


Figure 4. The same bold, fat numeral "1" here in a "1A" marking applied at Natchez, presumably to designate the collection of an advertising fee. The imperforate 3¢ 1851 stamp is tied by a large Boston "PAID" marking and the red Boston circular datestamp shows "APR 22," with no year date evident.

Addressed to Natchez, this cover is franked with a 3¢ 1851 stamp with a red BOSTON APR 22 circular datestamp and a black Boston PAID. The cover must have been advertised at Natchez with the “1A” handstamp, struck quite clearly, indicating the fee. A year date is not present but the imperforate stamp provides a rough suggestion of the era.

So in summary we have four very unusual markings from Natchez, all containing the same distinctive numeral “1” handstamp. ■

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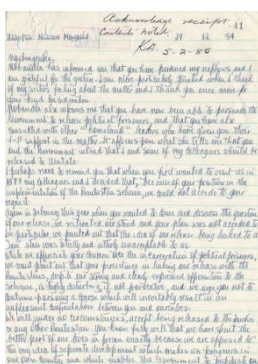
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You know that we have spent our lives in prison exactly because we are opposed to
the very idea of separate development...”*

A ROAD LESS TRAVELED:
1850 COVER CARRIED BY EXPRESS, TWO RAILROADS
AND A ONE-HORSE WAGON

JOHN D. BOWMAN

As railroads began to connect major cities in the northeastern states, stagecoaches and steamers continued to fill in the gaps for mail, freight, and passenger carriage. Readers are familiar with the private companies such as Hale & Co. and the American Letter Mail Company which competed directly with the government post by carrying mail on the post roads between cities. In addition to the stagecoach roads, their agents traveled as passengers on steamboats and railroads, and the firms briefly succeeded because they charged less than the government post. Their heyday was in 1844 and 1845 but Congress put them out of business as of June 30, 1845.

Improvements in federal postal service have been attributed to the innovations and entrepreneurship of private posts, but it must be noted that government post offices operated in many more towns than the relatively few cities that were served by private posts. Especially after the establishment of uniform postal rates, carrying mail into smaller towns and villages would not have been possible without financial support from the highly profitable big-city operations.

The folded letter in Figure 1 is an example of a cover that traveled a relatively short distance between rural villages via a very complex route. Working out how it traveled from origin to destination was an interesting exercise, as I am not an expert in stagecoach or railroad mail. In the research process, I became familiar with some very useful resources.



Figure 1. Letter from Greenland N.H. to Gilmanton N.H.—less than 50 miles as the crow flies—datelined April 20, 1850, prepaid with a 5¢ 1847 stamp and very specifically routed "Via Farmington" and "By S.B. Marden's Express."

I bought this cover because of its endorsement. The dealer who sold me the cover believed it was carried by Harnden's Express on a steamboat, or perhaps "south-bound."¹ I knew this wasn't the case, because closer inspection revealed that the manuscript endorsement actually reads "By S.B. Marden's Express." The letter within is datelined "Greenland." After a modest amount of internet searching, I recognized that all the places named—Greenland, Farmington and Gilmanton—were towns in southeastern New Hampshire.

The cover is a folded letter franked with a brown example of the 5¢ Franklin 1847 stamp, canceled with a manuscript "X." (Since it was not listed in the ongoing census of 1847 covers on our Society's website, I duly reported it.) The cover is handstamped with a blue "BOSTON & MAINE RR APR 20" circular datestamp and a matching straightline "PAID." According to the Towle book, this railroad handstamp was used in blue from 1851 to 1857, and in "blue, black, green" for 1847-51.² The handstamp is reported in green for 1850 according to the *American Stampless Cover Catalog*, but the strike on the Figure 1 cover appears to me to be rather more blue than green. The interior dateline establishes the year date as 1850.

Because of the railroad route agent's marking, I knew the cover traveled at least part of its way on the Boston & Maine railroad (B&M). After consulting Hugh Feldman's excellent *U.S. Contract Mail by Railroad*³ and locating a high-resolution 1849 railroad map of New England in an online archive,⁴ I recognized that the cover must have entered the mails along the B&M line in New Hampshire. This railroad went from Boston to South Berwick,

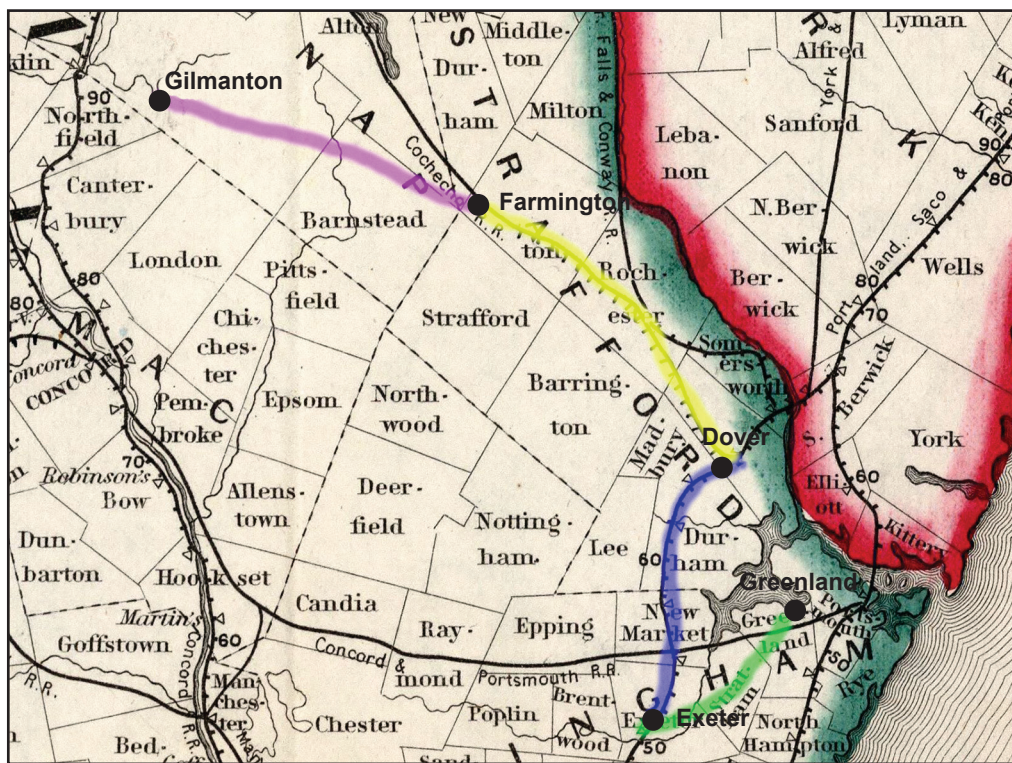


Figure 2. The southeastern New Hampshire portion of a much larger 1849 railroad map, with the four legs of this cover's journey highlighted in different colors. Marden's Express carried the cover south (green line) from Greenland to Exeter where it was put on board the northbound Boston & Maine Railroad and carried to Dover (blue line). At Dover it was transferred onto the newly-built Cochecho Railroad and taken to Farmington (yellow line). It reached Farmington just in time for a weekly one-horse mail wagon (violet line) that carried it the final 21 miles west to Gilmanton.

Maine, via Dover, which was a four-hour transit.⁵ From Dover the cover took another rail line to Farmington, and then was carried by road to Gilmanton. Figure 2 shows a portion of the map with various stages of the cover's route designated in green, violet, yellow, and purple. This takes us to the end of the story, but it will be useful to walk through the specific steps that led to this conclusion.

At the initial point in my analysis, it seemed that Marden's Express took the letter either from its origin at Greenland or from Farmington to Gilmanton. I then searched the internet for S.B. Marden without much luck, other than finding he was a life member from Concord of the New Hampshire Missionary Society (per that society's *1870 Minutes*). But I have a subscription to GenealogyBank, which has digitized many 19th century newspapers. Through GenealogyBank I found the advertisement in Figure 3, in issues of the *New Hampshire Gazette* for April 16 and May 7, 1850, bracketing the date of the cover.⁶ This advertisement revealed that Marden serviced Greenland, where the letter originated. The Old Whip in the headline refers to Marden's speedy horse-driven stage as well as his years of service from Portland, N.H. In fact, a similar ad titled "New Line of Stages Daily from Portsmouth" appeared in the *New Hampshire Gazette* as early as September 1, 1843.

THE OLD "WHIP" STILL GOES ON.
S. B. MARDEN & CO'S. DAILY EXPRESS.

THE subscribers would respectfully inform their friends and the public that they have made such arrangements with the P. & C. Railroad that they will run an Express direct from Portsmouth and Rpping to Boston daily, (Sundays excepted) for the safe and speedy conveyance of Packages, Bundles, Specie, Bank Notes &c., to any and all towns on the lines of the P. & C., Boston and Maine Railroad All business such as collecting bills carrying Deeds entrusted to their care will meet with personal, prompt and particular attention.

Leaves Portsmouth for Greenland, Stratham, Newmarket, and Epping for Boston and Lowell. And for Exeter, East Kingston, Plaistow, Haverhill, Andover, Ballardvale, South Andover, Malden and all the way stations intersecting at 6-50 A. M.

Leaves Boston for Newmarket, Epping, Exeter and Boston at 5-15 P. M.

N. B. All Packages to insure being carried by the morning trains which leave early should be sent in the night previous.

OFFICES AND AGENTS.—S. B. Marden, No. 9 Middle Street, Franklin House, Portsmouth.

Order Box, at the P. & C. Railroad Depot, Portsmouth; H. H. Smith's Washington House, Newmarket.

H. G. O. Rundlett's Rockingham House, and Depot, Epping; 8 Court Street, Boston; Swamscot House, Exeter.

S. B. Marden not Acting Superintendant but hold themselves accountable to all business entrusted to their care to the above named places. Also Acting Agent for all Stages intersecting with the P. & C. Railroad. For further particulars apply to S. B. Marden & Co' Express.

Figure 3. Advertisement in the (Portsmouth) *New Hampshire Gazette* for May 7, 1850, detailing S.D. Marden's six-days-a-week express between Portsmouth and Boston, with stops at Greenland and Exeter.

I continued to search the internet for information about stage lines or early post roads in New Hampshire. I even purchased a book online, which was unfortunately not helpful for this study. Finally I found a reference in a book which was available in “full-text” as a Google e-book.⁷ The author stated “Harrison B. Marden of Plymouth, himself a stageman for fifty years, has kindly furnished from memory, which may not be infallible, the following table of coaches out of Concord in 1839.” This table included a listing for S.B. Marden running a stage triweekly to Portsmouth via Allentown and Deerfield. The author goes on to list stages operating in 1844, including S.B. Marden from Concord to Portsmouth via Epping (Columbian Hotel), Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

The P. & C. Railroad noted in the Figure 3 ad is the east-west Portsmouth & Concord Railroad which crossed the north-south B&M line at New Market Junction (also called Newmarket from days before the railroad.) Greenland is between Portsmouth and Newmarket,⁸ and New Market Junction is just north of Exeter on the B&M rail route.

Feldman’s book states that the Portsmouth & Concord Railroad did not have the contract to carry mail until 1853,⁹ so coaches or wagons must have been awarded the mail contracts before that date. But did Greenland have a post office in 1850? I Googled “history of Greenland NH” and found that its post office was established back in 1820.¹⁰

This raised the question of why there was no Greenland datestamp, but instead only the B&M RR route agent marking. Did Marden have a mail contract from Greenland to points west? If so, the cover should have been datestamped and marked “PAID” in Greenland.

To find out if Marden had a mail contract would in the past have required searching in the National Archives. Feldman has provided a great service by scanning and making the mail contracts available on the DVD that accompanies his book. After searching for a route that included Greenland in the “PMGs Letter and Other Reports” section of the DVD, I found that the listing for 1849¹¹ was for route 202, though it did not include Marden’s name. The contract for this route was awarded to the low bidder, W. Walker, at \$343 for a two-horse coach.

I now knew that the letter did not enter the mails at Greenland but was carried by Marden to the B&M railroad. Posting on the train would explain the B&M route agent marking. The ad in Figure 3 indicates that Marden’s coach left Portsmouth at 6:50 AM going to Greenland and other points west for items destined for Boston and Lowell. Marden also took items to all the “way stations intersecting” including Exeter. Because his schedule was to reach Boston and return the same day at 5:25 PM, this letter could have been left at either Newmarket or Exeter, New Hampshire. Both were on the B&M north-south rail line.

The letter most likely entered the mail at Exeter, stop six on the B&M line from Boston to Dover (route 402). Exeter is about nine miles southwest of Greenland and had a post office (Newmarket did not). The letter was brought to Exeter well before the last Saturday train arrived. It must have been left at the station for the next train pick-up, since no Exeter datestamp was applied.

Why didn’t the sender take the letter to the Greenland post office so that a contract mail carrier could take it to the train in Exeter? It is possible that the sender lived closer to Marden’s stop than the post office in Greenland. From the detailed routing of the address—“By S.B. Marden’s Express” and “(Via Farmington) [to] Gilmanton”—it’s clear the sender was highly familiar with the route all the way to the Gilmanton destination. It seems likely the sender had relied on Marden’s Express in the past.

Whatever the explanation, after leaving Marden’s hands the cover boarded the B&M train at Exeter and was postmarked by the route agent on the train. It traveled on the B&M about 25 miles north to Dover and was there transferred onto the Cocheco Railroad (Route 237a) which had been running from Dover to Farmington only since September 1849.

A notice in the *New Hampshire Gazette* for November 21, 1849 indicated that the depot in Dover was to be enlarged to accommodate the increased business resulting from opening of the Cocheco Railroad. Another notice from the April 9, 1850 *Gazette* provided the schedule for the three daily train runs between Dover and Farmington.

At Farmington the railroad portion of this letter's trip ended. The next question was how the letter got to Gilmanton from Farmington. The notice just cited indicated that west-bound stages left after arrival of the first train on a route that stopped at Gilmanton Iron Works.

The mail contract between Farmington and Gilmanton was number 234, and Feldman's DVD indicates the contract was awarded to J.C. Bean and a one-horse wagon for weekly service (out Monday and back Tuesday) between Farmington and Gilmanton, via South Alton and Gilmanton Iron Works, a distance of 21 miles. Bean's wagon was an unlikely way for passengers to travel, and his low bid versus those for a gig and coaches illustrates that the post office was solely concerned with managing the cost of carrying mail.

Finally, I wondered whether the April 20 postmark date could provide more information about this cover. The answer was a resounding Yes. I looked up the day of the week by entering the date into a perpetual calendar.¹² The Figure 1 cover entered the mail on a Saturday. The Cocheco train ran every day except Sunday, so the cover reached Farmington that same day, as confirmed by train schedules for the two railroads involved. The stage to Gilmanton left Farmington early Monday morning and arrived at Gilmanton later that day—Monday, April 22, 1850.

The sender must have been aware that mail traveled between Farmington and Gilmanton only once a week. I feel certain that this is why the sender designated Marden's Express, the reliable "Old Whip" and added the specific routing "via Farmington"—to assure the quickest possible delivery over this short but very complex route.

For myself, the process of analyzing the postal history of this letter was interesting, challenging and educational. Domestic letter rates have always been based on distance and weight, and this study made clear to me that from the post office point of view, some routes are more cost-effective than others. As a collector of private independent mails, I can easily see why the government did not want competition. Private companies carried mail on routes that generated large volumes, cream-skimming the most profitable business and thus reducing the revenue available to support more complex and less well traveled routes like the one discussed here.

Endnotes

1. Harnden's Express is the original express business in the United States, handling small packages, money, and orders for goods. For more see <https://www.rfrajola.com/collections/harnden/harndens.htm> (last viewed 21 March 2020).
2. Charles W. Towle, *United States Railroad Postmarks 1837 to 1861* (1958), pp. 24-25.
3. Hugh V. Feldman, *U.S. Contract Mail Routes by Railroad (1832-1875)*, 2017, Collectors Club of Chicago.
4. The map is J.H. Goldthwaite's highly detailed *Railroad Map of New England and Eastern New York*, dated 1849, downloadable from Wikimedia at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1849_Railroad_Map_of_New_England_%26_Eastern_New_York.jpg (last viewed 21 March 2020).
5. Feldman, *op. cit.*, p. 379.
6. www.genealogybank.com. According to Wikipedia: "GenealogyBank.com is an online subscription genealogical service that offers resources to help users trace their family history. GenealogyBank is one of the largest collections of digitized U.S. newspapers from all 50 states, dating back to 1690."
7. Henry McFarland in *History of Concord, New Hampshire From the Original Grant in 1725 to the Opening of the Twentieth Century*, James O. Lyford, Ed., Concord Public Library, 1903, p. 848. Available as Google e-book.
8. Feldman, *op. cit.*, p. 494.
9. *Ibid.*
10. URL <https://weekslibrary.org/greenland-history/> (last viewed 21 March 2020).
11. Each session of Congress included a letter from the Postmaster General that included a list of contracts awarded for mail routes. The 1849 letter is listed for the 31st Congress in Feldman's file folder.
12. I used the calendar available on the Robert A. Siegel website. ■

**THE 3¢ 1851 STAMP PLATES:
COLOR CHANGES AND EARLIEST DOCUMENTED USES**

JAMES ALLEN

Introduction

Recent *Chronicle* articles have addressed the identification of the 3¢ 1851 stamp based on plating characteristics, primarily through the arrangements of recuts on parts of the design or the entry of additional frame lines. Color has also been important in the history of study of the 3¢ stamp, especially for specialists seeking to unravel the changes of production techniques.

Close examination of color changes and modern chemical analysis allow us to draw powerful insights about how the 3¢ stamps were made and how the production challenges faced by the printer, Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Co. (TCC), influenced the appearance of the stamp. We can now better understand how the ink composition of the stamps led to production changes, including the need for recutting.

Unlike past efforts, this article presents the chronology of development via philatelic artifacts. The specific colors of the stamps, a subject of much specialization, can often be associated with the plate used, the year of production, or both. The year of production is deduced from dates found on postal usages, and agreed upon over the years by specialists studying these stamps and their colors.¹ The primary purpose of this article is to explore and begin to understand the rapid development and changes in colors for the stamp, including why the orange brown color was suspended within the first six months of production, and to highlight other problems faced by the printer in the first few months of production.

In doing that, I will also update the earliest documented or earliest known uses (EDU or ECU) of the first 3¢ 1851 plates (up to the introduction of stamp uses from Plate 4), and the primary color variations developing at the time. This is the period of the greatest challenges to TCC and of the greatest color changes to the stamps. All of these EDUs and EKUs are seen together here for the first time. The color discussion will start with the initial orange browns of Scott 10 and 10A and continue up to the use of the first resemblance of the color assigned to Scott 11 and 11A, that is, the dull red stamps.² Also included are the major intermediate color varieties, with several new discoveries revealed along the way.³

For this period, I am unaware of any information having surfaced regarding the specific pigment or ink formulations for the 3¢ 1851 stamps. Therefore, it was necessary to analyze the stamps for colorants using tools hosted by the National Postal Museum. What this revealed was totally unexpected, especially in light of all the prior writing about the 3¢ stamp.⁴

Background

Between plating information and color changes, we can tell much more of the story than Carroll Chase could 90 years ago, and those changes are illustrated through the pre-

sensation of the EDU's for the early plates, including several new dates.⁵ The most recent comprehensive listing of EDU's was published in these pages during 1996, and this study revises those dates for the 3¢ stamp.

Chase's work was groundbreaking, and began the difficult project, still ongoing, of deciphering patterns and trends in the production and use of a billion 3¢ stamps, and understanding how they were produced. Many of his suggestions have been confirmed, but some conclusions need to be updated. In particular, regarding color, Chase supposed that a mercury-based pigment, vermilion (mercuric sulfide), played a significant role in the major shades of the first few years of production. He implied that in addition to the primary colorant, Venetian red (iron oxide), vermilion served to adjust the color and shades of the finished stamp. But we now know that no vermilion (through its telltale mercury element) appears in any of the 3¢ stamps, even though vermilion was being used by TC&C for bank note production at the same time. Rather, as will be discussed, another important pigment, red lead, was used with Venetian red. In fact, for significant periods the only red-like pigment used was red lead.

Tracing the components of printing ink used, along with dated covers, explains how TCC's production challenges were reflected in the creation of new plates and new colors for the 3¢ stamps.

Chase's color scheme

Chase developed the original color nomenclature describing the shades, hues and tones seen in the varieties of the 3¢ stamps. That nomenclature has continued to be used by subsequent students, who have added greater specificity and more refined timelines. Significant collections of these stamps, starting with those of Chase, have been extended by subsequent specialists. Through the years, additional stamps were sent to the experts for identification. The colors were then agreed on by the experts, thus becoming a de facto standard. Standard color charts could then be prepared using actual stamps. These charts can be used to perform color-matching on color-unknown samples.

Chase's landmark book described in some detail the various colors of the stamps by year. The sequence discussed by Chase, the one we will follow covering the first few years of use, begins with the orange brown stamps, then the experimental orange browns, then the brownish carmine stamps, followed by the dull red stamps.

The first stamps appear—and the first problems

The first examples from Plate One Early, which is typically abbreviated "1E," appeared July 1, 1851. An example on cover, today recognized as an orange brown, Scott 10A, is shown in Figure 1 (next page). This cover is partly illustrated in the Wilson Hulme census.⁶ The stamp is from Position 56R1E and is in a medium shade of yellowish orange brown, typical of the earliest weeks of production and duller than the later orange browns. Note that Plate 1E, produced in June, 1851, was the only plate used for stamps in the first week of use. Over 40 first-day covers are recorded with the July 1 (1851) date. More are likely to be discovered; additions and deletions to the census have occurred over the years.

The Travers Papers of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, now accessible on our Society's website (USPCS.org), play an important role in understanding what transpired during the first years of the production of these stamps. The Travers Papers document the problems, real or imagined, that concerned the Post Office Department (POD) and therefore TCC. Hulme produced excellent summaries of the problems encountered and key dates. He also transcribed the details of the communications by date.⁷ All references in this article to TCC communications with the POD are from these sources.

Based on complaints by postmasters and the public, the number one problem was lack of adhesion between the stamps and their covers. This basic stamp manufacturing problem

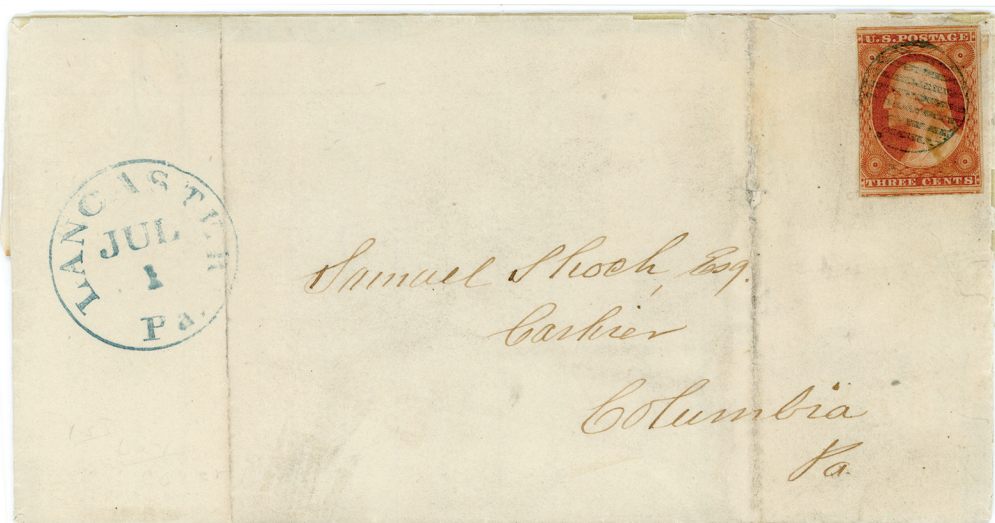


Figure 1. First day of use of the 3¢ 1851 stamp, July 1, 1851, here on a cover from Lancaster to Columbia, Pennsylvania. The stamp is Position 56R1E.

was known and reported by TCC to John Marron on June 21, 1851, when an 80,000-stamp shipment was held back due to poor gum. By June 24, 1851, TCC contacted security printers in England to help with gum formulation. Shortage of stamps for shipments was already noted. The reports of supply problems hit the newspapers the first week of use. Eventually, the poorly gummed stamps were encountered by the public, and complaints to postmasters began. This was a serious problem at a time when demand far exceeded supply.

There is a frantic quality to the official communications during this period. The problem was so severe that Carpenter informed the PMG that he was going to Europe to investigate stamp gum use, sources of gum, and customer results and feedback. He wrote that he would secure numerous samples of gum, and TCC finally settled on two major sources. TCC often admitted to the POD that they were new to the gumming process but endeavored to achieve success as quickly as possible.

The cover in Figure 2 presents the earliest complaint example I have recorded, from the first week of the stamps' use. It clearly illustrates the public's frustration with the situation. The manuscript narrative at top says: "P.S. I have paid this letter by stamp—have tried these on four and they are so shabbily made that they won't stick. I have been obliged to put this on with a wafer." It may not be visible in Figure 2, but close inspection of the stamp shows a staining on the printed surface from gum bleeding up through the paper. Proper sizing would prevent this. It did not in this case, suggesting that the paper was improperly sized. In addition, the disturbed appearance of the ink on the Figure 2 stamp tends to support the observation that the sizing was at fault. This single-rate letter was sent from Baltimore to New York on July 5, 1851. The position of the stamp is 16L1E.

An "oily, transparent look or appearance" was noted by TCC to the Third Assistant PMG on July 2, 1851. Rationally, it was pointed out that the sizing of the paper was insufficient or "cured" inappropriately, leading to poor inking appearance and poor gum holdout. The latter would give rise to a stained appearance (from gum bleeding through to the stamp surface) and the poor adhesion results experienced generally. This explanation is certainly reasonable in today's understanding of papermaking of the time. It could also be a good explanation of the loss of color "brilliancy, fastness, or standing" mentioned in the communications. Poor sizing could easily lead to undesired absorption of certain ink components affecting the final appearance of the stamps after drying.

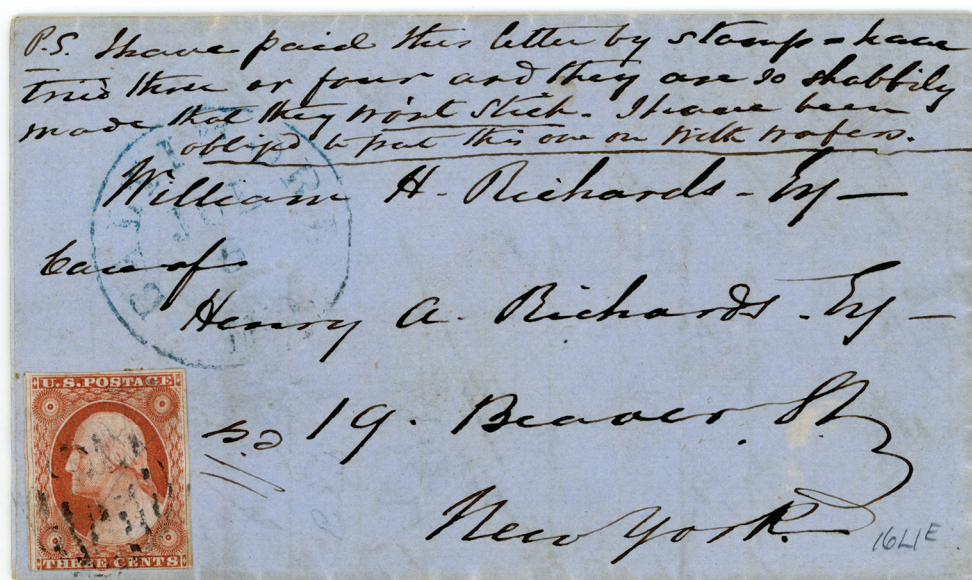


Figure 2. Baltimore to New York City, July 5, 1851, with a very early and highly detailed complaint about faulty adhesion of the new stamps. Position 16L1E.



Figure 3. One solution to faulty adhesion: red sealing wax. New Haven to Guilford, Connecticut, October 13, 1851. From a later plate, this stamp is Position 63L0.

Figure 3 illustrates another user solution: red sealing wax on the stamp corners. This is from another plate produced later, Plate 0 (zero), Position 63L0. The cover is a single-rate letter sent from New Haven to Guilford, Connecticut on October 13, 1851.

By year-end, the problem was better managed, but complaints came out again in spring 1852, starting April 2, and even a few in 1853. They received significant push-back by TCC, and the record of them ends May 24, 1853. This was after TCC requested the individual complainers' names so they could "speak with them." (The POD apparently did not respond to TCC's request.)

The gum itself was likely an issue; the formulation and amount of the additive “sugar” used was an issue; the application of the gum to the paper and the brush to do it with was an issue; and the drying of the gummed sheets was an issue that was observed and improved, noted by TCC on June 24, 1851. No doubt the effective and consistent sizing of the paper was an issue as well. Figure 4 illustrates a brownish carmine stamp with an apparent adhesion problem. The applicant of the stamp writes, “Paid if this thing sticks.”

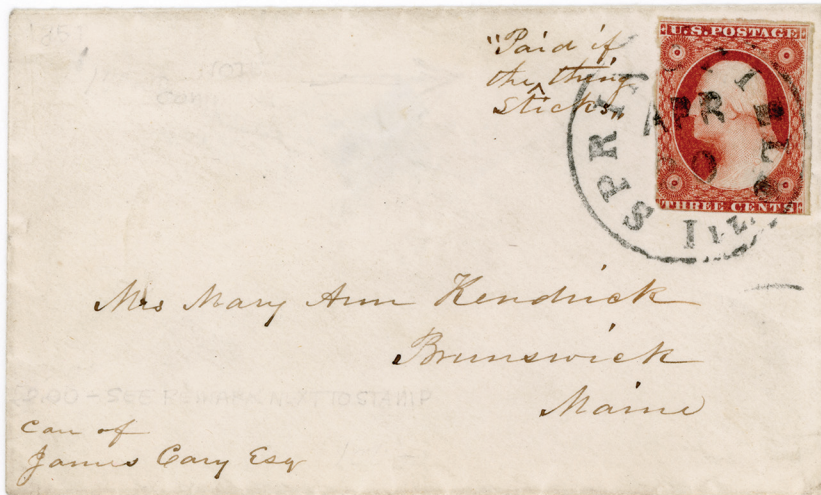


Figure 4. Late complaint about adhesion, April 1852: "Paid if this thing sticks." Brownish carmine stamp on cover from Springfield, Illinois.

This is another single rate, used from Springfield, Illinois, to Brunswick, Maine, April 20, 1852 (year inferred from the color of the stamp). By mid-1853, adhesion was apparently no longer a problem for TCC.

On June 24, 1851, during the first shipment period, TCC reported that the color (brilliance) was “now corrected.” The nature of this color/ink problem is not well understood even in light of today’s confirmation of the primary pigments used. It was noted on June 25, 1851 to the Third Assistant PMG that some of the delivered items had a color that “will not stand,” meaning that the color has some fugitive (unstable) characteristics. Perhaps the sizing explanation above also applies in this situation. Attempting to understand this bears on the understanding of exactly what pigments or inks were used at what time.

New plates are made, quickly

The stamp shortages mentioned above caught TCC off guard. Quickly, they set about making new 3¢ plates. Besides not having sufficient plates and lines for production acceleration, another problem reared its head. Plate 1, in its early state, had begun to show signs of wear. This issue was most recently discussed by Granzow in his articles on early 3¢ stamp production.⁸ It is not known if this plate’s softness was due to the plate not being hardened, made of poorer steel or both, but the wear was sufficient to require re-entering and strengthening of many lines and positions, one by one.

The options for TCC were to produce lower quality stamps, or take the plate out of production altogether, falling even further behind in production. This revised plate is called Plate 1 Intermediate (abbreviated “1i”), and the ECU is shown in Figure 5: a cover from New York to Boston with a red New York circular datestamp (CDS) indicating July 12 (1851). The stamp is Position 82Li. This cover was discovered by Chase and is listed in the Hulme census. The re-entries are very strong on this example, and consistent with the



Figure 5. Earliest documented use of Plate 1 Intermediate. Cover from New York to Boston, posted July 12, 1851. The stamp is Position 82L1i. The re-entry lines on the stamp are very strong. This cover was discovered by Carroll Chase.

earliest production of the newly modified plate. An estimated 480,000 stamps were produced from this intermediate state of Plate 1.

Figure 6 shows the EDU, July 19, 1851, of the stamp from the next plate made to meet the increased demand, Plate 5 Early. For those familiar with the Scott 10 and 10A stamps, this example has an unmistakable freshness of impression and color that is typical of the earliest impressions. The cover was sent from Mansfield to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and the stamp is Position 81R5E. An estimated 600,000 stamps were made from Plate 5 Early.



Figure 6. Earliest documented use of Plate 5 Early, on a cover from Mansfield, Ohio to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, posted July 19, 1851. The stamp is Position 81R5E. The color and freshness of this stamp are typical of the earliest impressions from Plate 5.



Figure 7. Earliest documented use of Plate 2 Early, on a cover from New York City to Lynchburg, Virginia, posted July 19, 1851. The stamp is Position 51R2E.

The stamp on the cover in Figure 7 shows the EDU of the next evidence of a new plate, the early state of Plate 2. This example is dated July 23 (1851) tied by a red NEW-YORK CDS and a black grid of the period. The cover is a single rate to Lynchburg, Virginia and the stamp is another sharp color of the early period. It has a very clear double centerline captured in the left margin and comes from Position 51R2E. An estimated 500,000 stamps were produced from the early state of Plate 2.

Figure 8 shows the EDU of the next plate in evidence, Plate “0” (zero). This single stamp as well as a cover bearing the same date were reported by David Watt and Bob Hegland in 2003 and were confirmed as EDU’s.⁹ The single stamp in Figure 8 is Position 31L0 and the one on cover is Position 81L0. Both stamp and cover have APS certificates for the Sept. 6, 1851 EDU.¹⁰ Plate “0”, while producing an estimated 520,000 stamps, was taken out of service by the end of 1851 and not used again. It is assumed that the plate became damaged. It is known to have produced only orange brown stamps, but I have seen colors that are very red, easily confused with brownish carmine. Orange brown colors of Plate “0” are often saturated, or sharp in appearance, more orange and red than brown.

Imagine for a moment that you just launched your first foray into the stamp-making business with a new contract with the U.S. government; that you have never previously made stamps; that you have gumming problems, both process and product, and you have never gummed paper commercially before; that the new issue you are producing is supposed to satisfy the stamp demand following one of the most dramatic decreases in postage rates ever, and the demand far exceeds your ability to supply; that some transitory color problems rear their heads; that your supplied paper is not consistently



Figure 8. EDU of Plate 0, Sept. 6, 1851, Position 31L0.

sized; that you have noticed your first printing plate is beginning to wear (quickly) and must be fixed; that you are already working everyone double time; that you have been quickly engraving new plates to solve some of these problems; and that complaints are beginning to pour in. This is all happening by the end of your first two weeks into the introduction of your new stamps.

TCC had a contract to produce 3¢ stamps with a certain engraved portrait of Washington that would adhere to paper. There was nothing in the contract that said how they should do this or what materials they would use, including colors (which were approved on sight), pigments or ink formulations, or even paper types. Apparent printed quality was the only thing required once the engraving and color was visually approved by the PMG. This was typical of printing contracts of the day: approval by sample. Rarely was any technical information shared by the printer. If such technical detail existed within the TCC archives, then it was lost in fires that occurred to the TCC storage warehouse in Philadelphia in March and May of 1873.

Plate 1 Intermediate also showed wear early in its use, and by early October evidence of a recut of Plate 1 Intermediate began showing up. This Plate 1 had now been re-entered for the second time due to wear. And it had other distinctions: it used a new ink formulation that had not been seen before and was to generate more color variations than any other plate to date. Some differences in color over the first six months were noticed by postmasters or the PMG: TCC had observed by the spring of 1852 in a letter to the Third Assistant PMG how uniform the color of the 3¢ stamps had become. The color is unmistakably the color we know as experimental orange brown (EOB) today, albeit on the paler end. It is classed as 11A by the Scott catalog because it comes from Plate 1 Late and not one of the orange brown plates (0, 1E, 1i, 2E, or 5E).

Figure 9 shows the EDU of Plate 1 Late. The “blurriness” of this ink was noted by students in the 20th century, and the paleness seems to have been altered quickly by TCC. It is also possible that this ink has faded. The three-bar grid tying this stamp is known to have been used in 1851 (Simpson #243). The date of October 6 (1851) is confirmed by the internal dateline. This cover has an APS certificate (79,919) and was certified by 3¢ expert William Amonette as Position 91R1 Late. The previously listed EDU for Plate 1L, October



Figure 9. This cover represents the earliest documented use of Plate 1 Late and of the experimental orange brown (EOB) color. October 6, 1851, Position 91R1L.

4, 1851, was challenged by Hulme and Amonette because no year data was present, nor a contemporaneous cancel, docketing, or enclosure to confirm 1851 usage—and the color could not be confirmed by inspection.

Therefore, the most recently confirmed EDU for Plate One Late and the Experimental Orange Brown color is October 6, 1851. I also have an Oct. 7, 1851, Plate 1L, with an EOB stamp that is more orange in color than the October 6 example in Figure 9. It is Amonette certified from Position 76R1L, on a letter from Brookfield to South Woodstock, Vermont.

New ink addresses plate wear

All true 1851 orange brown colors of the early plates contained a significant portion of iron oxide pigment (in the form of mined hematite). The orange brown ink also contained “red lead” as a secondary colorant component (as well as white barium sulfate or white calcium carbonate as diluents). The ratios of lead to iron are significantly variable at times, which suggests experimentation. This EOB pigment, however, contained only a negligible trace of iron, probably pot contamination. The primary colorant was red lead or “minium” as it was usually known in the pigment world (Pb_3O_4 in its simplest form). Red lead as a pigment has been around for centuries and can remain a stable colorant if is compounded with certain oils and varnishes and not overly exposed to sulfur compounds (typically air pollution) that can darken the lead-based pigment. Oxidizers, such as air, peroxides, or hydroperoxides, as well as light, visible and UV, will eventually bleach the ink, converting it to a white lead form. Under normal and prudent conditions for collecting, this chemical process may take hundreds of years. (Collectors using hydrogen peroxide solutions to restore the color of these stamps for identification purposes should proceed with caution in all cases.)

The cover in Figure 10 shows the current EDU for the brownish carmine color. It is dated October 22, 1851, with a red Express Mail CDS and red grid cancelling the stamp, here on a cover from New York to Salem, Massachusetts. The stamp is Position 64L1 Late. The specific color is “brownish carmine (brownish hue).” Pigment chemical analysis confirmed that it, too, contained no traces of iron compounds, just the red lead like the EOB.



Figure 10. Earliest documented use of the brownish carmine color, on an Express Mail cover from New York to Salem, Mass., October 22, 1851, Position 64L1L.

Figure 11 shows an example of an EOB stamp on a cover from Philadelphia with the characteristic blue Oct 18 CDS, sent to New York and internally datelined 1851. The stamp is Position 2R1 Late. Chase's notes from circa 1940 accompany this cover and explicitly observe that the color is "Experimental O.B." The color is between the normal orange brown and brownish carmine, a very unusual color for this period. Close examination reveals the ink is very "gummy," presumably due to the varnish type or amount in the formulation. Analysis reveals a small amount of iron oxide present, but so low a level as to likely be a contaminant rather than an intentional modifier.



Figure 11. Early example of the experimental orange brown color, on a cover from Philadelphia to New York, October 18, 1851. The stamp plates to Position 2R1L.



Figure 12. Earliest documented use of the claret color, on a cover from Philadelphia to Hagerstown, Maryland, November 11, 1851. The stamp is Position 51R1L.

The cover in Figure 12 shows the EDU of the early claret color, a browner hue, but still distinctive. Originally discovered by David Watt, this cover was corroborated by Amonette and Hulme. The stamp is Position 51R1 Late, here used from Philadelphia to Hagerstown, Maryland, on November 11, 1851. This ink too contains no iron compounds,

only the red lead. It is obvious that Plate 1 Late was used for experimenting, and that a lot of color variations were possible in a very short period.

Figure 13 shows an early use of a brownish carmine stamp, with much more red, on a cover from Providence to New Orleans, posted November 15, 1851. Close examination reveals that the stamp is very similar in color to what would be the most commonly used 3¢ color in 1852. This shows that TCC was making a lot of progress quickly to move to a stable color platform. Again, red lead is the primary colorant with no hint of iron compounds. The stamp is Position 10L1 Late, Amonette certified.



Figure 13. An early example of the brownish carmine color, here on a cover from Providence to New Orleans, November 15, 1851. The stamp plates to Position 10L1L. Red lead is the primary colorant, with no hint of iron compounds.

Plate 2 Early had also shown wear and had to be re-entered. Figure 14 shows the EDU of Plate 2 Late. Dated January 7, 1852, this is a new EDU, updating the 1996 *Chronicle* census. The stamp is Position 10R2 Late, in a deep brownish carmine color. The cover bears a green CDS of Haverhill, N.H. and was sent to nearby Littleton, N.H.

Figure 15, a cover from Albany to New York City, shows a new EDU for Plate 3. The date is January 15, 1852, and the stamp, in a more common 1852 brownish carmine color, plates to Position 44L3.

The cover in Figure 16, from Philadelphia to New York, repeats and confirms the Plate 3 EDU of January 15, 1852. The EOB stamp on this cover was plated by Chase as Position 49R3. The Scott catalog does not list EOB stamps from Plate 3, though this cover has been known for decades, having been owned by Tracy Simpson, Amonette and Hulme (and listed in *Chronicle* 12, page 3). A Chase note dated Dec. 5, 1952 accompanies the Figure 16 cover, stating it was the Plate 3 EDU and the EOB color. EOB or other orange brown equivalents (red lead-based) are very rare on any plates other than Plate 1 Late.

In early 1852 several other colors emerged that were sufficiently distinctive to be classified (per Amonette) as 1852 orange browns, or 1 Late or 2 Late orange browns. The color is the closest to the true orange browns of all the attempts by TCC, though clearly not as rich or saturated as the original iron oxide-based orange brown stamps.



Figure 14. Earliest documented use of Plate 2 Late with brownish carmine color, on a cover dated January 7, 1852. The stamp is Position 10R2 Late.

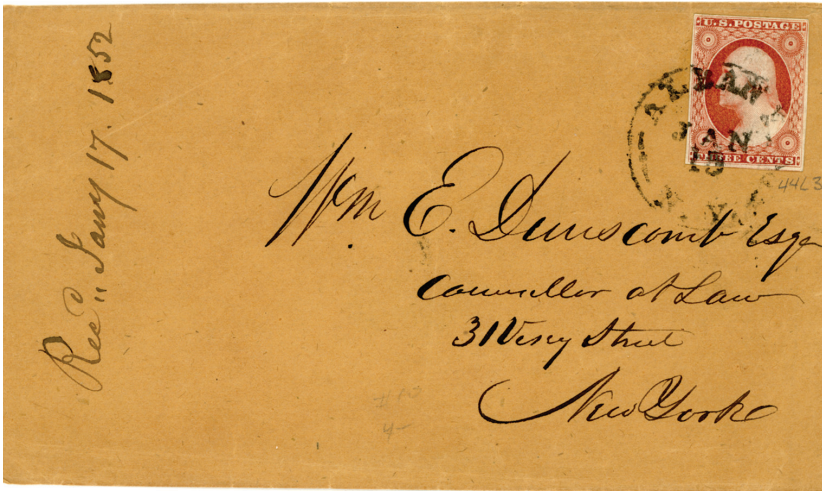


Figure 15. Earliest documented use of Plate 3 with brownish carmine color, on a cover dated January 15, 1852. The stamp is Position 44L3.



Figure 16. Earliest documented use of Plate 3 with experimental orange brown color, on a cover dated January 15, 1852. The stamp is Position 49R3.

Figures 17 and 18 may well represent the last serious attempts in this era to duplicate an orange brown lookalike with the red lead pigment mix. Ex David Watt, the cover in Figure 17 was sent from Philadelphia to Columbia, Pennsylvania on February 7, 1852. (In addition to the blue CDS, a partial strike of the postmaster's thumbprint is evident.) The stamp plates to Position 49L2 Late.

Figure 17. The color on this stamp represents the printer's last attempt to create the orange brown color using red lead pigment only. Philadelphia to Columbia, Pennsylvania, February 7, 1852. Position 49L2 Late.



The cover in Figure 18, from Fulton, New York to Jackson, Mississippi, also dates from February 1852 and plates to Position 42L1 Late. Variations in varnishes, fillers, pigment particle size and agglomeration, ball mill size and texture, and mixing can all affect color. We do not know the variables TCC attempted to control to produce these colors, but it is interesting and remarkable how close they came to their goal. All of these experimental varieties are unlisted in the Scott catalog. They are rare and always worth looking for.

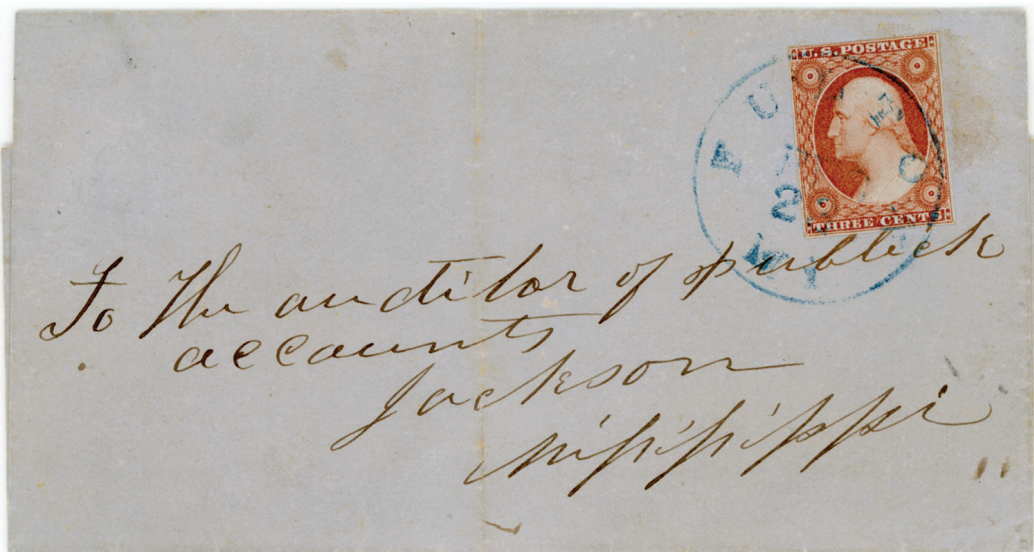


Figure 18. Another example of the last attempt at orange brown with red lead only. Fulton, New York to Jackson, Mississippi, February 22, 1852. Position 42L1 Late.

The last of the true orange brown colored stamps from the early plates, produced from Plate 2 Early, appeared in early 1852, mainly January through March. Analysis shows this last group was based on the original iron oxide/red lead mixture in various ratios. It is from Plate 2 Early during this period that the “copperish” and “intense” orange brown colors appear. They are distinctive in this period and eye-catching compared to the humbler examples. In addition to the varying lead/iron ratios, variations in particle size likely gave rise to this distinct group. After this, as a color family, the orange browns disappear—except for a very brief period circa 1856 when a few imperforates appeared (and perforate OB’s in 1859). These are considered rare. This was the end of the iron oxide-based pigment system that began the production of the 3¢ 1851.

There was good reason to suspect that the original pigments accounted for the significant plate wear with which TCC struggled. Fine metal workers and steel plate makers all knew about jeweler’s rouge—an abrasive polish still widely used today to buff precious metals. Jeweler’s rouge is typically Venetian red in color and of the same iron oxide composition as the pigment TCC used, just more finely ground. The unhardened steel of that time was softer than the iron oxide pigment, and so the ink wore down the metal as it was rubbed into the engraved grooves of the plate. While TCC might have tried different mixtures of iron oxide with different particle sizes, their pigment was always abrasive to the plates. Red lead, on the other hand, is much softer than steel, even unhardened steel, and so presented no abrasion problems to TCC. In actual practice, iron oxide is about 30 times more abrasive than red lead.¹¹ The difference is so great that the men inking and polishing the plates would have noted different amounts of resistance as they rubbed the ink onto the plates. Abrasiveness was likely a major reason for jettisoning the orange brown pigment.

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

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Hessel, Moody, Waterhouse—and the Harmers**

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The major break in ink formulation started in October 1851 and the decline in iron-oxide-based orange brown pigment usage was completed by the end of 1851. What ensued was fairly stable production of stamps in the brownish carmine color. They dominated in 1852. Somewhat exceptionally, small runs of distinctive clarets appeared in early 1852 and again in late 1852. Analysis reveals these were also produced from a red lead pigment.

Finally, a stable color and stable plates

The next really distinctive color change appears in late 1852. This color or variations of it ran for several years. Plates 2 and 3 were hardened and saw long lifetimes, along with the re-entered Plate 5 which became Plate 5 Late. (Plate 4 would not be produced until 1855.) The color of the stamp on the cover shown in Figure 19 is “dull red”—the color that the Scott catalog used for years to identify Scott 11 and 11A.



Figure 19. Earliest documented use of the dull red color, on cover from Lancaster to Columbia, Pa., Sept. 27, 1852, Position 93L2 Late. This color was used for several years.

The Figure 19 cover, from Lancaster to Columbia, Pennsylvania and from the same correspondence as Figure 1, posits the EDU of dull red as September 27, 1852. This is open to challenge, as are all EDU's for any philatelic item. The earliest dull red sample noted by Amonette in his writings was early October, 1852—until he saw this example, which plates to Position 93L2 Late. This is the shade described as “yellowish dull red” and known to be the earlier dull red color. For many years, Chase considered dull red to be an 1853 color only, because of its dominant presence in that year.

The two accompanying tables summarize the current state of our knowledge of the earliest documented uses for the 3¢ imperforate stamps. Table 1 shows EDUs by plate for Plate 0 through Plate 5 Early. For each plate, the tabular data provides the EDU date, reference information and the town of origin. This information updates the previous definitive listing, which was published in *Chronicle* 171 in 1996.

Table 2 presents EDU information for the four major color categories: orange brown, experimental orange brown, brownish carmine and claret. The data is arrayed by plate, date, color and place of origin.

A caution: this presentation has not explored several variables that may have affect-

TABLE 1. IMPERFORATE 3¢ 1851 STAMP
Earliest documented uses by plate

Plate	Date	Reference	Origin
0 (cover)	Sept 6, 1851	<i>Chronicle</i> 197, pg. 57	Burlington, Vt.
0 (single)	Sept 6, 1851	Figure 8	New York, N.Y.
1 Early	July 1, 1851	Over 40 recorded	various cities
1 Intermediate	July 12, 1851	<i>Chronicle</i> 2, pg. 6	New York, N.Y.
1 Late	Oct 6, 1851	Figure 9	New York, N.Y.
2 Early	July 23, 1851	<i>Chronicle</i> 65, pg. 19	New York, N.Y.
2 Late	Jan 7, 1852	Figure 14	Haverhill, N.H.
3 (carmine)	Jan 15, 1852	Figure 15	Philadelphia, Pa.
3 (EOB)	Jan 15, 1852	Figure 16	Albany, N.Y.
4	Mar 28, 1855	<i>Chronicle</i> 116, pg. 255	Foxcroft, Maine
5 Early	July 19, 1851	<i>Chronicle</i> 55, pg. 50	Mansfield, Ohio

ed the stamp colors. First, TCC likely used a variety of differently sized pigment particles. Such differences can be achieved by milling the dry pigment for different times or blending it in different proportions in vehicles such as linseed oil. Second, like most bank note printers, TCC blended their own inks and would have adjusted the extenders used to dilute the pigments and modify the color. Traces of such compounds were detected in the elemental chemical analysis mentioned earlier. Third, while iron oxide initially provided TCC the color they sought (at the expense of plate wear), when they blended it with red lead they may have found that the components interacted in unexpected ways, creating undesired changes. That would have accelerated the move to red lead as the sole colorant for the 3¢ stamp. Fourth, although TCC was contracted only to produce a “red” stamp, and the pigments could have produced various shades of orange, brown and red, we cannot be completely sure what the printed stamps looked like immediately upon removal from the printing press. The components of the ink could have interacted with one another, and then with the sulphur in the air (due to coal-burning pollution), and then with light over the

TABLE 2. IMPERFORATE 3¢ 1851 PLATES
Earliest documented uses by color

Plate	Date	Color	Origin
1 Early	July 1, 1851	Orange brown, various hues	various cities
1 Late	Oct. 6, 1851	Experimental orange brown	New York, N.Y.
1 Late	Oct. 22, 1851	Brownish carmine	New York, N.Y.
1 Late	Nov. 11, 1851	Claret	Philadelphia, Pa.

decades, to lighten or otherwise alter what came off the press. That complex story awaits further research and reporting; it may never be fully told.

What is known is that, despite Chase's reports and those of subsequent students, vermilion was never used during the decade of production of the 3¢ stamp. The mercury component of vermilion pigment would have easily been revealed through modern chemical analysis. It is simply not present. Rather, iron oxide was the primary colorant initially, but soon had to be eliminated due to the excessive plate wear it caused. Red lead was a secondary coloring component initially, and very quickly become the sole colorant. The EDUs for the different early plates, and states of plates, reveals this progress clearly in the steady evolution of colors and shades. Students can use these dates to find desired shades of 3¢ stamps, and the shades, in turn, may be used to infer the plates that made them. Updated EDU's for these early plates provide a good fit to the color data, and may serve to help those searching for early shades and plate uses.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my work partner, Tom Lera, who was at the Smithsonian Institution's National Postal Museum, for all his help in the data acquisition years, 2012-2016. That appreciation will continue as more discoveries are made on the other data that was gathered. Thanks to Dick Celler for plating or plating confirmations along the way.

Endnotes

1. Writers in these pages on colors of the 3¢ stamp include: D.A. Card, "Some Thoughts About the Colors of the 3¢ 1851 (S1 and S2) Stamp," *Chronicle* 48, pp. 6-10 (1964); W.F. Amonette, "Color Study of the Three-Cent Stamp of the United States 1851-57 Issue," *Chronicle* 78, pp. 85-91 (1973); D. Beals III, "Colors of the Three Cent 1867-61 Perforated Type II Stamps (S4 and S5)," *Chronicle* 81, pp. 14-17 (1974); and Amonette and W. Hulme, "Color Study of the 3¢ Stamp of the United States 1851-57 Issue: An Update," *Chronicle* 206, pp. 103-109 (2005).
2. *Specialized Catalogue of United States Stamps & Covers*, Scott Publishing Co., Sidney, Ohio, 2012.
3. Specifically, the findings here update the information on the early 3¢ stamp from 1996 included in: Hulme, Taira, Celler, Omiya and Rogers, "Earliest Known Uses in the 1851-1857 Era," *Chronicle* 171, pp. 160-165 (1996).
4. J. Allen, "The U.S. 1851 3¢ Stamp: Color, Chemistry and Changes," Smithsonian Contributions to History and Technology #17, Smithsonian Scholarly Press, Washington, DC. pp. 71-81. 2012. <https://repository.si.edu/handle/10088/21398> (last viewed: 21 March 2020). Seventy-five stamps over the decade of printing were examined, including their fronts, backs and selvages, yielding 3,400 data points from which the conclusions were derived.
5. C. Chase, *The 3¢ Stamp of the United States 1851-1857 Issue, Revised*, "Quarterman Publications, Lawrence, Mass. (1942).
6. W. Hulme, "Census of July 1 1851 Usages: The U.S. 1851 Issue," in *The 1851 Issue of United States Stamps: A Sesquicentennial Retrospective*, USPS: New Orleans (2006), pp. 94-132.
7. The W. Wilson Hulme Research Documents, United States Philatelic Classics Society website: www.uspcs.org (see PDFs: "Hulme Transcript of Travers Papers, 1851-1869" and "Key Dates and Correspondence Regarding Problems Experienced by Toppan, Carpenter [1851-61 Era]).
8. G. Granzow, "The Plates of the 1851-57 3¢ Stamps of the United States, Part II: Meeting Initial Demand: The First Four 3¢ Plates," *Chronicle* 203, pp. 194-209 (2004); and "The Plates of the 1851-57 3¢ Stamps of the United States," *Chronicle* 202, pp. 122-133.
9. D. Watt, and R. Hegland, "A Revised, Earliest Documented Use of the 3¢ 1851 Issue from Plate 0," *Chronicle* 197, pp. 56-58 (2003).
10. The stamp has APS certificate 143967, based on the NYC cancel's known dates and the early printing. The cover has APS certificate 143966.
11. G. Nathan, and W. Jones, "Paper 24: Influence of the Hardness of Abrasives on the Abrasive Wear of Metals," Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, Conference Proceedings, June 1, 1966. https://doi.org/10.1243/PIME_CONF_1966_181_317_02 (last viewed 21 March 2020). ■

**LINCOLN CAMPAIGN COVERS
CREATED BY A TEMPERANCE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER
JAMES W. MILGRAM, M.D.**

In April 2019, Rumsey Auctions (sale 85, lot 1321) featured an unusual Lincoln cover, shown here as Figure 1. On this busy design, elements of the address (“Post Office... County of... State of...”) are preprinted on the envelope and the youthful face of Lincoln is overprinted with advertising promoting “Lincoln and Hamlin, the cold water candidates” and *The Analyst*, a weekly Cleveland newspaper “dedicated to temperance and freedom.”

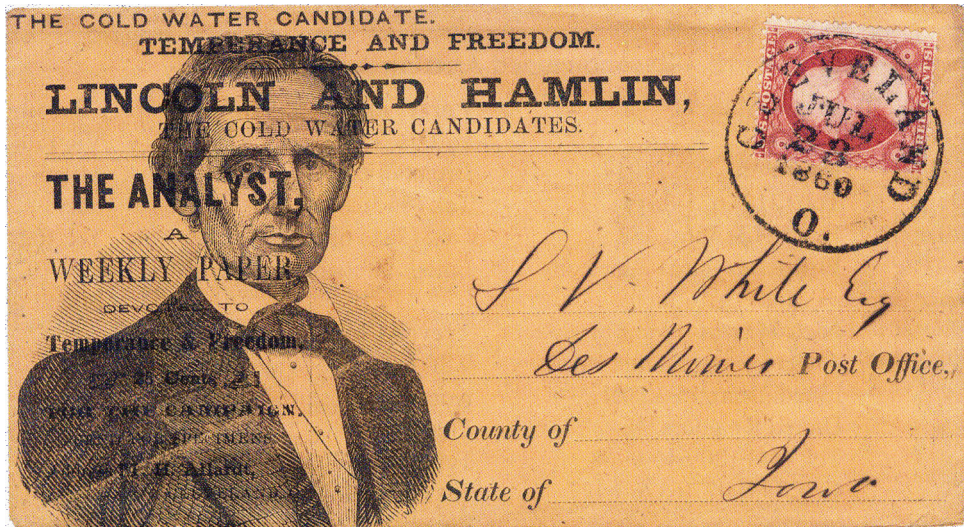


Figure 1. 3¢ 1857 stamp, tied “CLEVELAND O. JUL 23, 1860” on a Lincoln campaign envelope that is actually a combination of two different Lincoln envelope designs created by the publisher of a temperance newspaper. See Figures 2 and 3.

The underlying design, a large beardless portrait of Lincoln, is listed in several varieties in my 1984 book, *Abraham Lincoln Illustrated Envelopes and Letter Paper, 1860-1865*. The simplest version, showing just the Lincoln portrait and no printing at all, is listed as AL-34. This is quite scarce and was prepared and sold as a campaign cover. The example shown in my book bears a Fredericktown, Ohio circular datestamp (October 3, presumably 1860) and was probably printed by *The Analyst* in Cleveland. Fredericktown is in Knox County, about 100 miles south of Cleveland.

The second listing, AL-35, shows the same Lincoln portrait with text added above Lincoln’s head (“HONEST OLD ABE”) and a vertical imprint (“M.H. Allardt, Analyst Office, Cleveland, O.”) to Lincoln’s right. The third listing, AL-36, is closer to the cover featured in the Rumsey sale. It contains a line of type (“THE COLD WATER CANDIDATE”) right over Lincoln’s head, and also the preprinted address lines for post office, county and state. An example with the back flap opened out is shown in Figure 2.

The back flap provides valuable information about this publisher and his method of operation. *The Analyst* was a weekly newspaper opposed to slavery and devoted to temperance. The back flap information provides details of how the publication sold its Lincoln envelopes:

TEMPERANCE AND FREEDOM. *The Analyst*, a weekly paper, published at Cleveland, O. at the rate of six cents per month during the campaign. M.H. Allardt, Publisher. **LINCOLN ENVELOPES**, this style, \$2.50 per thousand. Packages of 25 to be had at the *Analyst* office, 184 Superior St., for 12 cents, and sent to any part of the U.S. for 20 cts.



Figure 2. 3¢ 1857 stamp, tied “ORLEANS, Ind., Dec. 27 [1860]” on a Lincoln campaign envelope. The printing on the back flap, here shown folded out, promotes the weekly *Analyst* and offers to sell examples of this envelope for \$2.50 per 1,000.

The Figure 2 cover bears a 3¢ 1857 stamp postmarked “ORLEANS Ind DEC 27” (after the election). I have seen two varieties of this imprint, one shorter and with different punctuation and word separation. All the *Analyst* Lincoln envelopes I have seen are on orange paper of various shades, except the example with the shorter imprint, which is printed on a white envelope.

Unlisted in my book and never shown before is a different type of envelope from *The Analyst* which as it turns out bears the same text as is overprinted on the cover in Figure 1. The cover is shown in Figure 3 and its contents are shown in Figure 4. This is an advertising cover promoting *The Analyst* and its campaign stationery. Figure 3 suggests the mailing was sent to other newspaper publishers.

The text on the cover is easy to read so it will not be repeated here. It confirms that the publication was devoted to temperance and freedom. The objectives of *The Analyst* are explained in much greater detail in the circular contents of the cover, shown in Figure 4. Dated June 1860, at the beginning of the presidential campaign, the text provides a mission statement for the entire operation: “We propose to make *The Analyst* **THE CHEAPEST CAMPAIGN PAPER!!** in the United States...and with the aid of our Temperance Republican friends, we want to make it an efficient instrument for Sobriety and Freedom. We cannot circulate too many documents during a Campaign which is so vital to the welfare of the country, and which promises to be one of the warmest we have yet experienced.”

The full text is worth reading as an insight into the marketing practices and the political tenor of that fateful year, including the personalized note at the bottom, mentioning a mutual friend and urging the recipient to get on board. The Cleveland postmark that ties a 3¢ 1857 stamp to the Figure 3 envelope that carried this circular is dated June 18, 1860.

Returning to the cover in Figure 1, it seems clear that this is a campaign envelope of the sort shown in Figure 2, overprinted with the advertising text that appears on the cover in Figure 3. We can only speculate about the intentions here. But the result is certainly an interesting cover, as the Rumsey buyer appreciated. The hammer price was \$11,500.

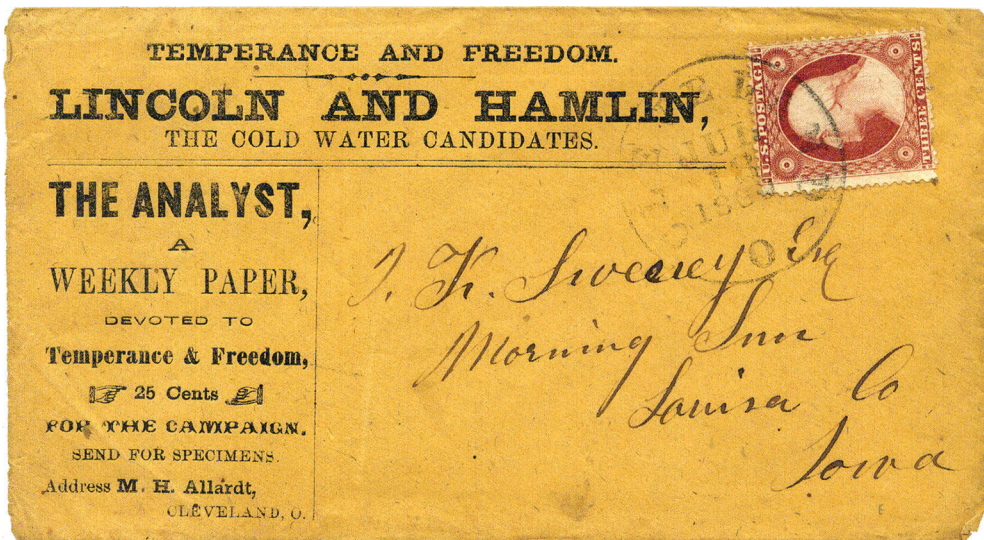


Figure 3 (above). 3¢ 1857 stamp tied “CLEVELAND, O. JUL 18, 1860” to an advertising envelope for *The Analyst*. The type setting in this imprint, overprinted on the style of envelope shown in Figure 2, created the oddly cluttered envelope design shown in Figure 1.

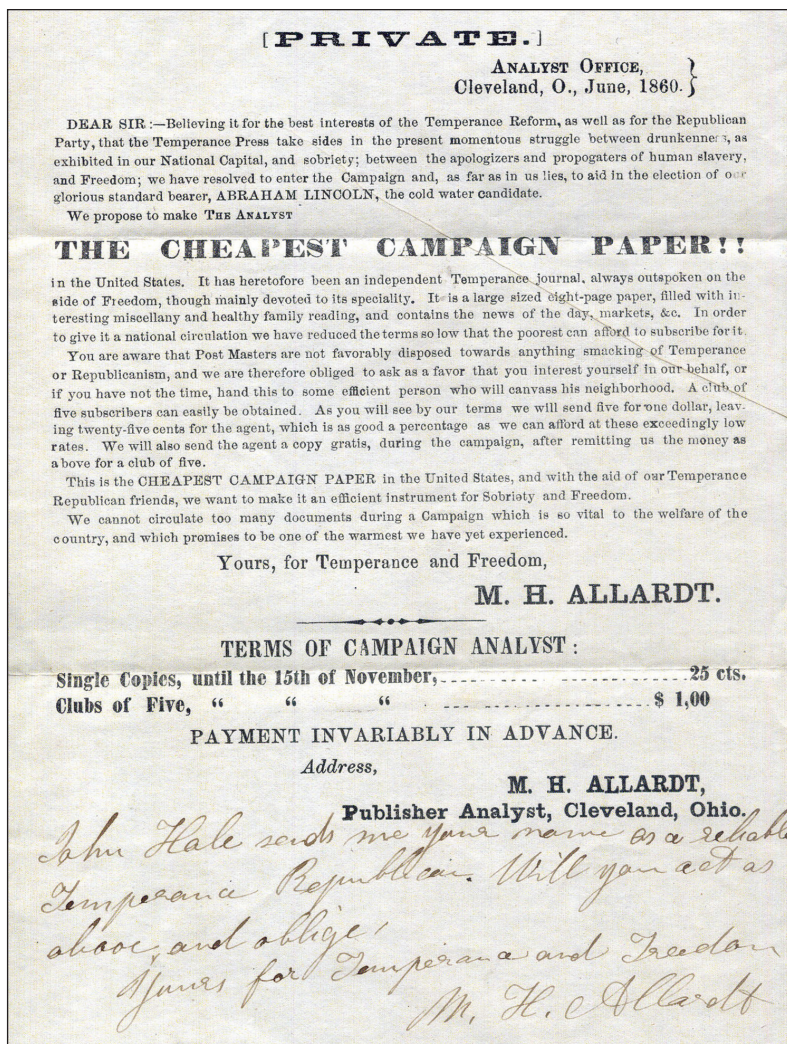


Figure 4 (left). The circular message carried in the Figure 3 envelope, a sort of mission statement, declaring the publication’s aspiration to be the cheapest campaign paper in the United States and embracing the twin goals of sobriety and freedom.

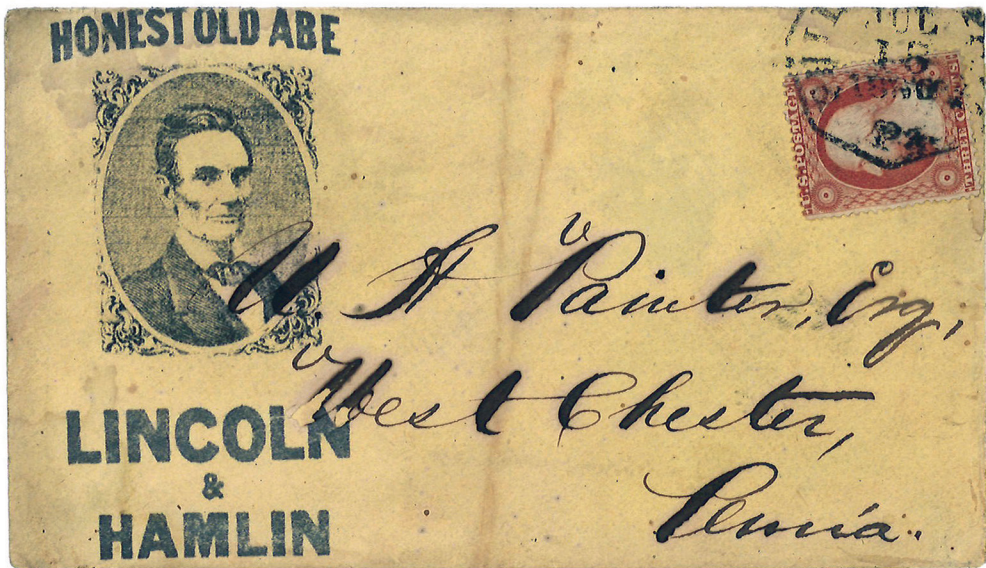


Figure 5. Newly discovered Lincoln campaign envelope design, employing an image of Lincoln that was probably copied from another source. The 3¢ 1857 stamp bears a Philadelphia postmark that appears to be dated July 15, 1860, making this a very early campaign cover.

While we are on the subject of Lincoln covers, another new Lincoln campaign design has recently come to light. Shown as Figure 5 through the courtesy of John R. Schaefer, this is another “HONEST OLD ABE” design, though cruder than those discussed above.

The image of Lincoln is actually rather common. It is known on both on covers and lettersheets, shown as AL-55 in my book. But the addition of the wording (“HONEST OLD ABE” and “LINCOLN & HAMLIN”) is previously unrecorded, and the large mottled letters make a striking presentation. This new discovery appears to bear a “PHILADELPHIA Pa. JUL 15 1860” postmark which makes it a very early campaign cover. The printed oval image of Lincoln is much poorer than on the AL-55 covers, suggesting it might have been a contemporary reproduction, fabricated from another example, perhaps another cover. ■

DEAD STAMPS CAN TELL TALES

LABRON HARRIS

Dead. This word can evoke many feelings. In the pirate saying—“Dead men tell no tales”—the word evokes sadness and pain. In “dead perfect” the word can bring joy. In “deadbeat” it suggests financial loss and anger.

But how about a stamp canceled “Dead”—what meaning does that have? I showed the cover in Figure 1 to a collector friend and he first thought it was a mourning cover. Then he saw what it really was.

To understand this cover one must consider the era it was written in. In 1861 southern states seceded from the United States to form the Confederate States of America. The union states under Abraham Lincoln sought to put down this rebellion. After the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina (April 12-13, 1861) the Civil War began.



Figure 1. 3¢ 1857 stamp with manuscript cancellation “Dead” on an envelope rated “Due 6¢” and postmarked at Peru, Indiana, on December 26, 1864.

The United States Post Office immediately stopped shipping stamps to the southern states unless the local postmaster would sign an oath of loyalty to the union. As hostilities increased and secession grew, large holdings of U.S. stamps remained in the South. Even after the Post Office declared U.S. stamps invalid for postage in the South, there was fear that supplies of southern stamps would make their way back north and serve to undermine the Union cause. In the summer of 1861 the Post Office demonetized all of the 1857 issue, declaring the stamps invalid for use. The 1861 stamps were created to take their place. This process took a few months in the summer and fall of 1861.

People still tried to use the obsolete 1857 stamps on mail. Four towns created hand-stamps to call out this practice. Chicago, Harrisburg (Pa.) and Philadelphia used variations of “OLD STAMPS NOT RECOGNIZED” while New Orleans used “ILLEGAL STAMP” to indicate demonetized stamps. Many other northern towns used manuscript markings to indicate invalid postage. Over the years I have seen many different markings: “No Good,” “Old Stamp” and similar sentiments. But until I came across the cover in Figure 1, I had never seen one marked “Dead.”

The mystery posed in Paragraph 1 is now solved. Someone in Peru, Indiana, found an obsolete 3¢ 1857 stamp and attempted to use it on a letter. The Peru postmaster spotted the illegal use and wrote “Dead” across the stamp. Simultaneously he wrote “Due 6¢” on the cover and postmarked it with his a double-circle datestamp: “PERU IND DEC 26 1864.” The 6¢ due was double the unpaid amount, this according to the postal regulations of the time. The recipient, Nancy Sherwin, had to pay 6¢ to receive the letter.

I would like to thank Wade Saadi for encouraging me to write this article—and for his friendship during a difficult time in my life. ■

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The Chronicle

U.S. POSTAGE STAMPS USED AT RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, B.N.A.:
UPDATE AND THREE ADDITIONS TO THE COVER CENSUS

CHIP GLIEDMAN

A year ago, in *Chronicle* 262, I published an article on United States stamps used north of the border, in the the area around what is now Winnipeg, Manitoba.¹ The article included a cover census, and I knew when I submitted it that additional examples would likely be found, requiring an update.

This census may hold the record for fastest-to-be-obsolete. Within three hours of the appearance of *Chronicle* 262, I received the first update.

Over the past year, I became aware of two additional covers with U.S. postage stamps originating in this area and entering the U.S. mails at Pembina, just south of the Canadian border. I present them here to add to the story.

In the original census, the earliest cover franked with U.S. postage was dated June 6, 1863. The cover in Figure 1 conceivably pushes the earliest use back more than four years. This cover, in James Allen's specialized collection of the 12¢ 1851-57 stamp, was datelined November 1, 1858 at Fort Pelly, a Hudson's Bay Company outpost about 300 miles northwest of Red River Settlement (RRS) that was to become Winnipeg.

The letter made its way slowly by sled, canoe, and/or oxcart probably to the Hudson's Bay Company center at RRS and onward in the monthly courier service 68 miles south to Pembina (then Minnesota Territory, today North Dakota), where it entered the U.S. mail franked with two imperforate 12¢ 1851 stamps (Scott 17) to pay the 24¢ per half ounce



Figure 1. Letter from a Hudson's Bay Company fur trader at Fort Pelly, Saskatchewan, franked with two 12¢ 1851 stamps. Half a year in transit, it traveled through Red River Settlement to Pembina, where it entered the mails in March 1859 on its way through New York, Portland and Liverpool to Scotland. Courtesy James Allen.

treaty rate to Great Britain. At Pembina, the stamps received pen cancellations and the cover was marked with a 33-millimeter “Pembina M.T. Mar (13)?” circular datestamp. A stylized tracing of this marking is shown in Figure 2.

Allen provided the additional information that this cover is one of only six territorial uses of the 12¢ 1851 stamp and the only one known from the Dakotas. While we can’t be sure that the stamps on the cover were applied at the Red River Settlement, we do know a few facts that point to this conclusion. The RRS postmaster received \$205 in Canadian pence stamps in 1858, when Canada attempted to establish an all-Canadian eastbound route through Sault Ste. Marie. This didn’t work out, but the use of stamps to prepay postage in RRS had been well established by the time this cover was mailed.²

Canadian postage stamps were applied at RRS to some letters transiting Pembina at this time. Evidence of this is presented and discussed below at Figure 3. Other RRS covers that entered the mail at Pembina prepaid, but without postage stamps applied by the sender, did not have stamps applied at Pembina. Such covers were just marked “Paid” and sent onward. The *Chronicle* 262 article showed an example. This too implies that the postage stamps were already affixed to the Figure 1 letter when it reached Pembina.

However, as we can’t be sure where the stamps were applied, I’m adding this cover to the census listing with an asterisk until more conclusive information becomes available.

Though there are no transit marks to confirm the routing of the Figure 1 cover, after consultation with Richard Winter, Allen believes that it made its way to New York where the red handstamped “3” exchange office credit marking was applied, then on to Portland, Maine, to catch the April 9, 1859 sailing of the Allan Line *Nova Scotian*, arriving in Liverpool on April 24 and Greenock, Scotland on April 25 (per backstamp) for a total transit time of 175 days, almost half a year.



Figure 2. Tracing of the Pembina, M.T. circular datestamp on the Figure 1 cover.



Figure 3. The “PEM-BINA” twins, a famous pair of 7½d 1857 Canadian stamps. Image courtesy of Eastern Auctions Ltd.

As a side note, this rare Pembina postmark is also known on a pair of Canadian 1857 7½d stamps (Scott 9). Shown in Figure 3, this pair is well known among Canadian philatelists as the PEM-BINA twins. It likely originated on a cover from the Red River Settlement with stamps from the 1858 shipment mentioned above, here canceled in Pembina. Two Canadian philatelists and friends, Dr. Lewis Reford who owned the right stamp, and Colonel John S. O’Meara who owned the left stamp, were comparing their collections when they noted that the two stamps had originally been a pair. Dr. Reford won the right to acquire the second stamp, reuniting the pair. Upon his death, Reford willed the pair to his friend, where it remained until the latter’s death in 1952.³

The second addition to the census is a cover I missed in my initial search of auction catalogs and records. Shown in Figure 4, this is the only recorded cover with a 24¢ 1861 stamp used from Red River Settlement. This envelope is endorsed “A. Rupert’s Land”



Figure 4. Sole recorded cover with a U.S. 24¢ 1861 stamp originating in the Hudson's Bay Territory. The letter is endorsed "A. Rupert's Land" and passed through Pembina, Dakota Territory (May 28, 1866) and New York on its way to Cambridge, England. Image shown through the courtesy of Eastern Auctions Ltd.

(Rupert's Land was the original name for the Hudson's Bay territory) and in the same hand "Prepaid 24 cts." The U.S. 24¢ stamp was likely applied by the postmaster at Red River Settlement, which at this time is known to have had other denominations of the U.S. 1861 issue. It was canceled at Pembina (Dakota Territory by now) on May 28, passing through the New York exchange office on its way to Cambridge, England, where it received a June 24 arrival backstamp. Docketing on the face of the cover provides the likely year of mailing as 1866.

The third cover in this update was provided by Ken Stach. Just a few hours after receiving my copy of *Chronicle* 262 in the mail, an email with the cover pictured in Figure

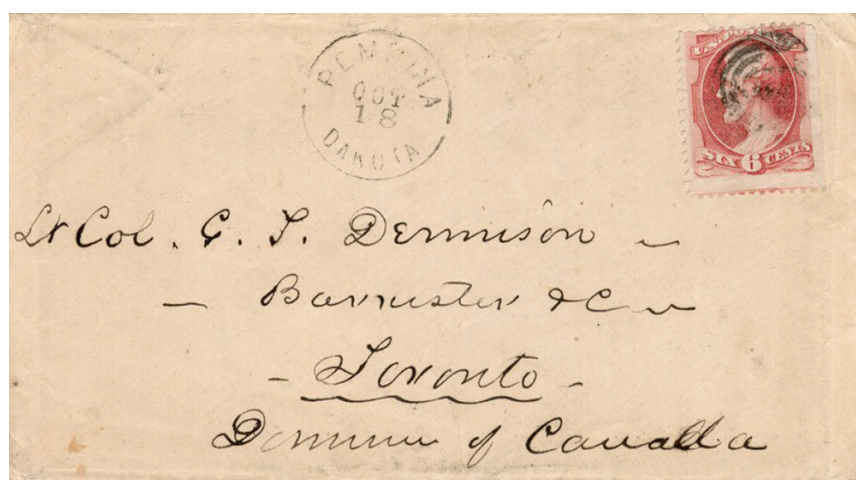


Figure 5. PEMBINA DAKOTA, Oct 18 (1870) datestamp on letter to Toronto with transit postage paid by U.S. a 6¢ Bank Note stamp, just two weeks before the Canadian post office took over service. Image courtesy Ken Stach.

5 arrived. The first cover in this update moved the start of the census back four years. The Figure 5 cover extends the end by two more weeks.

Sent by F.C. Denison, orderly officer to Colonel Garnet Wolseley of the Canadian military expedition to Fort Garry (the same person sending the historically notable letter cited as Figure 8 in the previous article), this cover is also addressed to a brother in Toronto. It was sent about six weeks after the previous letter and about two weeks before the integration of Manitoba into the uniform 3¢ Canadian domestic postage system, after which there was no more Canadian mail sent east via Pembina with U.S. postage.

**TABLE 1: ADDITIONS TO CENSUS OF COVERS SHOWING
U.S. POSTAGE STAMPS USED AT RED RIVER SETTLEMENT**

Date	Franking	Postmark	Destination	Reference
13 Mar(?) 59*	(2)12¢ 1851	PEMBINA M. T.	Argyllshire, Scotland	Figure 1
28 May 66	24¢ 1861	PEMBINA DAKOTA	Cambridge, England	Figure 4
18 Oct 70	6¢ Bank Note	PEMBINA DAKOTA	Toronto	Figure 5

*Stamps conceivably applied at Red River Settlement

The three covers pictured here bring the total number recorded covers posted from Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement area to 25, an increase of about 15 percent from the prior count of 22. Details of the newly listed covers are presented in Table 1. Again, I look forward to publishing additional finds in these pages as I am made aware of them.

Endnotes

1. "U.S. Stamps Used at Red River, British North America, a History and a Cover Census," *Chronicle* 262, pp. 127-136.
2. George P. Arfkin and Arthur W. Leggett, *et al.*: *Canada's Pence Era: The Pence Stamps and the Canadian Mail, 1851-1859* (Vincent G. Greene Philatelic Research Foundation: Toronto, 1997), pg. 167.
3. More on the PEM-BINA twins can be found in the description of this pair in the Eastern Auctions, February 2016 auction catalog for lot 638, and in the three articles cited there. ■

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TALES OF THE CIVIL WAR BLOCKADE: THE NORTH CAROLINA-OWNED *ADVANCE*

STEVEN WALSKE

This is the fourth in a series of articles on blockade runners during the American Civil War. The first, on the steamship *Antonica*, was published in *Chronicle* 262. A second article, in *Chronicle* 263, described the blockade-running career of the steamship *Fannie*. The third, on the *Robert E. Lee*, appeared in *Chronicle* 265.

This article describes the successful blockade-running career of the steamship *Advance*, originally launched under the name *Lord Clyde*. She ran the Federal blockade successfully 15 times, mostly between Wilmington, North Carolina and St. George's, Bermuda. Her story is told by the letters that she carried through the blockade.

The army of the Confederate States of America (CSA) was formed from volunteer regiments raised by the individual states. The states were also responsible for clothing, equipping and arming their regiments, although CSA funds were provided for that purpose. North Carolina, with its large textile industry, used those funds to purchase raw materials to be processed into clothing in the state. By late 1862, about 67,000 North Carolinians were serving, and raw materials were severely lacking, so newly elected Governor Zebulon Vance concluded that the necessary supplies had to be imported from Europe. Accordingly, he sent purchasing agents with \$1.5 million in state-issued cotton bonds to England to procure raw materials and a ship to bring them into Wilmington, N.C.¹

As described in the *Chronicle* 265 article on the *Robert E. Lee*, the CSA Ordnance Department also purchased a fleet of five blockade runners to bring crucial war supplies and equipment into the CSA and to carry cotton out of the CSA to help pay for them. As an essential part of this program, Major Norman S. Walker was given overall responsibility for the transshipment of CSA military supplies at St. George's, Bermuda, from February 14, 1863 until the end of the war. He worked closely with local commission agent John Tory Bourne and Major Smith Stansbury, commander of the Ordnance Bureau depot. Walker's official commission was to "Receive, take care of, and forward to destination all supplies ordered by any of the Departments which may be consigned to St. George's and all cotton or other exports which may be sent there."² He also handled some mail.

Private companies, the CSA government and several individual Confederate states were all engaged separately in the blockade-running business. Thus an active competition arose for steamships that could successfully challenge the federal blockade. Steamships built along the Clyde River near Glasgow had many of the characteristics of speed, shallow draft and low profile that were needed to get past the blockade, so ship buyers began to snap up Clyde-built steamships. The profits from a successful blockade runner were so high that the purchase price for a good steamship rose rapidly.

Lord Clyde was a relatively new Clyde-built steamer, having been launched in April 1862 by Caird & Company for the Glasgow-Dublin packet service. At 231' long and 26' wide, she was described as relatively slow (at 12 knots), but with 10' draft and 800 tons of cargo capacity.³ Her principal fault was that she tended to ride low when fully loaded. She would have trouble getting over the Wilmington bar with a full cargo.

Enticed by the fantastic prices being paid for blockade runners, her owners decided to sell her in late 1862 to North Carolina for \$170,972 (equivalent to £35,000).

North Carolina used Alexander Collie & Company as their agent in Europe. Collie took bonds as collateral and arranged all purchases, including *Lord Clyde*, against a line of credit extended to North Carolina. After undergoing modifications essential to the blockade-running trade, *Lord Clyde* left Cardiff, England on May 30, 1863, under the command of Joannes Wyllie. Her June 14, 1863 arrival in St. George's, Bermuda was noted by the U.S. consul at Bermuda, Charles Allen, "I have the honor to report the arrival here on the 14th instant of the British side wheel steamer *Lord Clyde* of Dublin reported 15 days from

**TABLE 1:
LORD CLYDE/ADVANCE, CIVIL WAR SAILING DATA: 1863-64**

Trip #	Departure Port	Departure Date	Arrival Port	Arrival Date	Notes
		1863			
Left Cardiff as <i>Lord Clyde</i> on May 30, 1863 and arrived at Bermuda on June 14					
W-1	St. George's	22 Jun	Wilmington	28 Jun	Renamed <i>Advance</i>
E-2	Wilmington	24 Jul	St. George's	27 Jul	
W-3	St. George's	16 Aug	Wilmington	19 Aug	
E-4	Wilmington	22 Sep	St. George's	26 Sep	
W-5	St. George's	7 Oct	Wilmington	11 Oct	Brought Major Burton to CSA
E-6	Wilmington	23 Oct	St. George's	26 Oct	Figure 2
W-7	St. George's	4 Nov	Wilmington	8 Nov	
E-8	Wilmington	19 Nov	Nassau	23 Nov	Sailed to Bermuda January 9
		1864			
W-9	St. George's	13 Jan	Wilmington	20 Jan	
E-10	Wilmington	6 Feb	St. George's	11 Feb	
W-11	St. George's	13 Feb	Wilmington	18 Feb	Figure 3
E-12	Wilmington	14 Mar	Nassau	17 Mar	Sailed to Bermuda March 19
W-13	St. George's	26 Mar	Wilmington	30 Mar	
E-14	Wilmington	12 Apr	Nassau	16 Apr	Figure 5
Sailed from Nassau to Halifax for repairs, returned July 14 to Bermuda					
W-15	St. George's	23 Jul	Wilmington	2 Aug	Figure 6
E-16	Wilmington	9 Sep			
Captured September 10 at sea, bound for Bermuda					

SOURCES: These sailing dates, supplemented substantially by the author's personal research, were drawn from Stephen Wise's *Lifeline of the Confederacy* (University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 1988); and Maurice Ludington's *Postal History of Blockade Running Through Bermuda 1861-1865* (British Caribbean Philatelic Study Group, Monograph No. 14, Edward F. Addiss Philatelic Research Collection, 1996). Trips are numbered consecutively; "E" indicates eastbound, "W" westbound.

Cardiff with a full cargo. She has been painted a light color since she came in here and will probably leave tomorrow for Charleston. It is their intention to return here.”⁴ On June 22, Allen wrote again that “*Lord Clyde* is now leaving port, having been detained for the want of a pilot.” Table 1 details the vessel's 15 successful trips through the blockade.

Upon her June 28, 1863 arrival in Wilmington, *Lord Clyde* was re-named *Advance*. It has been suggested that this name was chosen to honor Governor Vance, who rushed to Wilmington to celebrate her first successful run. *Advance* had been granted a waiver of the yellow fever quarantine period, and proceeded directly to Wilmington. Once there, Vance came on board to make a celebratory speech. Before he could start, a military officer arrived to inform all on board that they were in violation of the quarantine regulations, and that they were subject to a two-week waiting period on the ship. After a few high-level communications, the officer was removed from his post, and the celebrations continued.⁵

Figure 1 shows an oil painting of *Advance*, splendid in her new white paint job, loading cotton at Wilmington in September, 1863. The painting was created by maritime historical artist William G. Muller.

Figure 1. The Confederate blockade-runner *Advance* loading cotton at Wilmington, North Carolina in September 1863. Oil painting on canvas created by maritime historical artist William G. Muller.



After eight successful trips through the blockade under the sole ownership of North Carolina, Governor Vance sold a half-share in *Advance* to Wilmington-based Power, Low & Company in December 1863.⁶ In executing this sale, Vance was diversifying the state's risk, but also reacting to a major disagreement with the CSA War Department. In July 1863, Secretary James Seddon decreed that that one third of the outbound cargo space on non-government blockade runners had to be reserved for government-owned cotton or supplies. Much to Vance's displeasure, this decree applied equally to state-owned blockade runners. Further outrage was provided in Bermuda by Major Smith Stansbury, who wrote on August 11, 1863 to *Advance's* commercial agent, John Bourne, asking him to load her with 500 pigs of lead (25 tons) and light freight of 25 tons for the benefit of the Ordnance Department. On August 12 he wrote again, “Understanding that the *Advance* belonging to the State of N. Car. is about to leave this Port for Wilmington, N. Car. and that her Cargo is incomplete and further that she is under obligations to carry over for the Confederate States a certain Amount of freight, I beg to know what portion of the enclosed list she can carry.”⁷ Vance used the proceeds from the sale of the half-interest in *Advance* to purchase quarter interests (about 100 tons of cargo capacity per ship) in three of Collie's blockade runners: *Don*, *Hansa* and *Annie*.

Figure 2 shows a letter carried by *Advance* while she was still fully owned by North Carolina. Dated October 1, 1863 at Columbia, S.C., this letter was sent under cover to an agent in Bermuda. *Advance* departed from Wilmington with this letter on October 23 and arrived in Bermuda three days later. Her arrival was reported by John Bourne on October 26, "I have the pleasure to inform you of the safe arrival this day of the str. 'Advance' from Wilmington. The cargo consists of Five Hundred Bales of Cotton which I would suggest to you to insure against fire while now in the course of reshipment."⁸ The St. George's post office postmarked the letter on the day of *Advance*'s arrival (on reverse, shown inset) and rated it for one-shilling packet postage due, per the blue crayon "1/-" marking.



Figure 2. October 1, 1863 letter from Columbia, S.C. to Liverpool, carried on *Advance*'s trip E-6 via St. George's, Bermuda (backstamp shown inset). Two shillings collected in London. Robert A. Siegel sale 988 (May 27, 2010), lot 356.

The cover left St. George's on October 27 aboard the Cunard branch steamer *Osprey*, which arrived in Halifax, Nova Scotia on November 1. There it connected with the transatlantic Cunard steamer *Canada*, which departed on November 13 and reached Liverpool ten days later. The cover was postmarked in Liverpool on the day of arrival, and the due amount was uprated to two shillings to reflect the addition of the one-shilling unpaid letter fee. A postscript to the lengthy personal letter within reports that two boxes that had been shipped to the writer had been lost on July 19 aboard the wrecked blockade-runner *Racoon*.

As described above, the Ordnance Department was responsible for importing vast quantities of war munitions for the CSA war effort. The department soon realized it would be more secure to establish local manufacturing facilities. Accordingly, Colonel James Burton was tasked with constructing a rifle factory at the Macon, Georgia armory. His biggest problem was obtaining the necessary machinery, so he decided to procure it in England and ship it to the CSA. In May 1863, he travelled through the blockade to Leeds, England to make the necessary arrangements with machinery manufacturer Greenwood & Batley. Before returning to the CSA on *Advance*'s trip W-5 in October 1863, Burton also made arrangements with Fraser Trenholm & Co. to ship the machinery to the care of Major Walker, who would arrange for its transportation from Bermuda to the CSA by blockade runner.⁹

The Fraser Trenholm letter shown in Figure 3 was the first report on this contract. Dated in Liverpool on January 23, 1864 and addressed to Burton in Macon, this letter left Liverpool that same day aboard the Cunard steamer *Arabia*, arriving Halifax on February 4. It was transferred there to the Cunard branch steamer *Alpha*, which departed February 5 and reached St. George's on February 10.

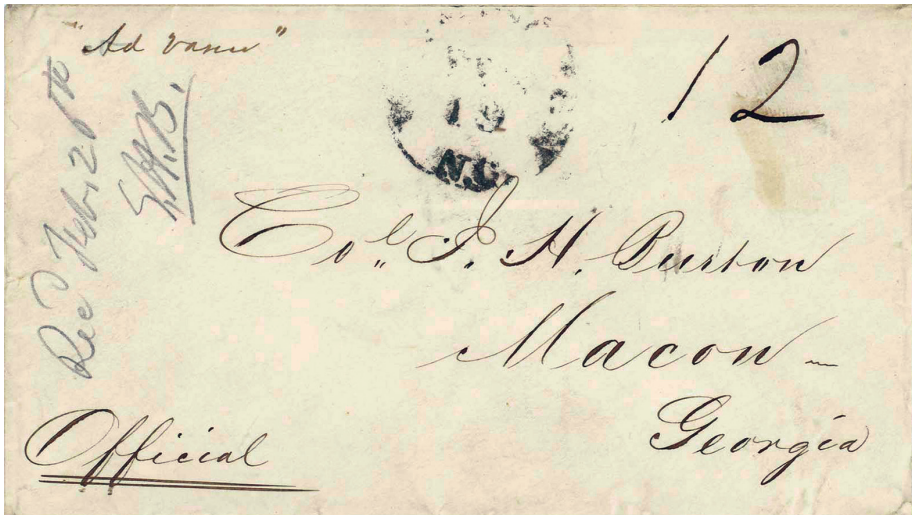


Figure 3. January 23, 1864 letter from Liverpool to Macon, carried on trip W-11 from Bermuda via Wilmington. Siegel sale 1154 (May 10, 2017), lot 2464.

A CSA agent in Bermuda endorsed the letter to the “Ad Vance,” which departed on February 13 and arrived in Wilmington five days later. The Wilmington post office postmarked the letter on February 19 and rated it for 12¢ due: 10¢ Confederate postage plus a 2¢ ship fee. Internally endorsed “Via Bermuda” by Fraser Trenholm, this letter reports that “The first portion of your contract with Messrs. Greenwood & Batley has now been shipped and two Bills Lading go forward by this mail to our agent at Bermuda who will hold this machinery at the orders of Major Walker on its arrival.” Colonel Burton received this letter in Macon on February 26.

A duplicate of this letter, shown in Figure 4, was sent by a different route. After following the same route to Bermuda as Figure 3, this letter was endorsed to the “Will O’ the Wisp,” a new blockade runner that had just arrived from Halifax. On February 13, she left for Nassau, where the duplicate letter was transferred to the blockade runner *Annie*, which

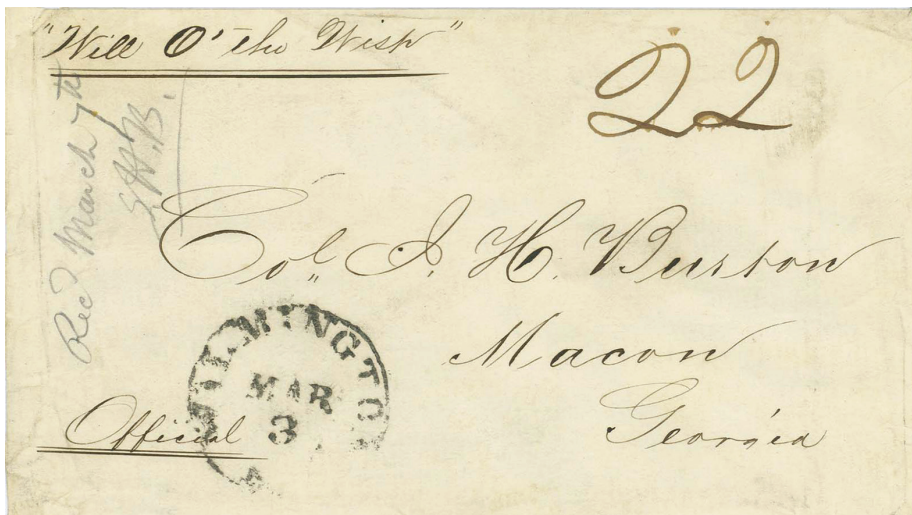


Figure 4. January 23, 1864, duplicate letter from the same correspondence as Figure 3, carried on the blockade-runner *Annie* from Bermuda via Wilmington, N.C. Confederate postage due at Macon of 22¢. Siegel sale 1154, lot 2465.

left on February 28, and arrived in Wilmington on March 3. At Wilmington it was marked as a double-rate cover, presumably because of extra weight, and Burton received it in Macon four days later.

Both the letters in Figures 3 and 4 show the absence of the Wilmington “SHIP” marking. This postmark was used on nearly all incoming mail until February 12, 1864, when it was apparently broken or lost. It does not appear on any subsequent blockade-run mail. This often helps in the year-dating of blockade-run mail, since Wilmington circular date-stamps do not contain a year date.

Table 1 shows that *Advance* ran regularly between Wilmington and Bermuda, with occasional stops at Nassau. Figure 5 shows an outbound letter carried on one of her three trips to Nassau. Datelined April 4, 1864 in Summerville, S.C., this letter was sent under cover to an agent in Nassau. It left Wilmington on April 12 aboard *Advance* and arrived in Nassau four days later. The letter was postmarked at Nassau on April 16, four days after the

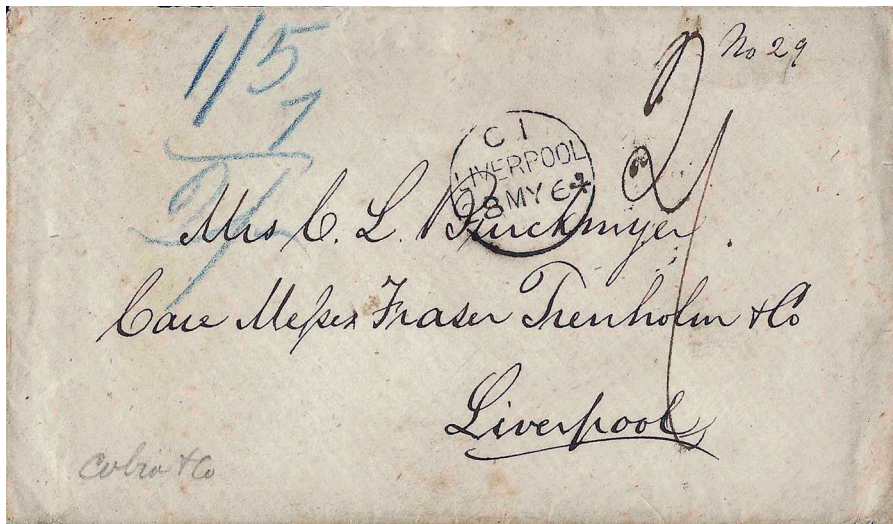


Figure 5. April 4, 1864 letter from Summerville, S.C., carried from Wilmington on *Advance*’s trip E-14 to Nassau and thence via New York to Liverpool. Siegel sale 1016 (November 15, 2011), lot 825.

departure of the monthly Cunard steamer for New York. It had to wait until the next sailing of *Corsica*, which left Nassau on May 9 and arrived in New York four days later. The transatlantic Cunard steamer *Scotia* then carried it to Liverpool, arriving May 27. There it was rated on May 28 for two shillings unpaid packet postage due. The blue markings show the division of the postage due between Nassau and London: 7 pence (one penny inland postage plus one-half of the unpaid letter fine) for the Bahamas, and one shilling five pence to the British post office.

Shortly after her April 16, 1864 arrival at Nassau, a worn-out *Advance* was sent to Halifax for repairs and re-fitting. She returned to Bermuda on July 14, but was not the same ship of a year earlier. All that she had left was one very long successful trip, followed by her capture in the open sea by a faster Federal ship.

The letter in Figure 6 was carried on her last successful trip. Originating in Europe, this letter was sent under cover to the care of Major Walker in Bermuda. It left Liverpool on July 9 aboard the Cunard steamer *Europa*, which arrived in Halifax on July 19. It was transferred there to the Cunard branch steamer *Alpha*, which departed on July 21 and reached St. George’s, Bermuda five days later. Walker endorsed it “pr *Advance*” and franked it with 20¢ CSA postage (a pair of 10¢ blue Jefferson Davis stamps, Scott 12). *Advance* left on July



Figure 6. July 1864 letter originating in Liverpool, sent under separate cover to Bermuda, where the two Confederate stamps were applied. Carried into the Confederacy via Wilmington on *Advance*'s last successful trip (W-15).

23 and arrived in Wilmington on August 2, whereupon the letter was postmarked and sent on to Richmond. It was assessed no postage due since the required 12¢ postage had been overpaid by the stamps.

Advance, under Captain Wyllie, attempted a quick turnaround in Wilmington on August 5, but was delayed by a problem with the ship's papers. This presaged a long series of mishaps; she prepared to leave again on the 7th, but ran aground in the Cape Fear River. The next high tide was August 9, but *Advance* ran aground after crossing the bar and returned to Wilmington to wait for the next dark night. On August 22 another try was made, but *Advance* ran aground for the third time. The fourth attempt, on the evening of September 2, successfully crossed the bar but encountered a blockader which forced *Advance* to return. On September 5, *Advance* tried again to leave but collided with *Old Dominion*, which was also departing. After quick repairs, she tried again on September 8, but had to return after once again encountering blockaders across the bar.¹⁰

On the night of September 9, Captain Wyllie finally took *Advance* out of Wilmington. Chief Engineer James Maglenn described her last voyage:¹¹

Although the night was not altogether favorable, we started out as soon as the tide would permit. Of course, smoke, sparks and flames from the stack had to be kept down. This was very difficult to do, as our last shovelful of good coal was used shortly after crossing the bar and in plain sight of some of the fleet. Those that could see us would throw rockets, indicating the direction we were going. Then the dodging on our part and the frequent change of the ship's course to keep from running into them. The excitement at this time was very great. Yet all was quiet as the grave on board and every man was at his post and doing his duty faithfully. The rocket firing and the shooting were very heavy, and nothing but good management on the part of our officers could have pulled us through the fleet that night.

At sunrise there was nothing in sight, yet our black smoke was giving us away. Some of the fleet were following it, and about 8 o'clock a vessel was discovered chasing us and appeared to be gaining. Everything possible was done to increase the speed of the *Ad-Vance*, but the steaming qualities of the coal were against us...Our good coal at Wilmington was given to the Confederate cruisers, which accounts for our capture.

After a long chase, she was captured by the USS *Santiago de Cuba* that evening. With 410 bales of cotton on board, *Advance* was a rich prize for her captors, who took her to New

Bern and then to the New York prize court. She was quickly condemned and purchased by the U.S. Navy, which commissioned her as the USS *Advance* on October 28, 1864. She was assigned to the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron and de-commissioned in March 1865. In June 1865, she was re-commissioned as the USS *Frolic* to continue a long career in the U.S. Navy. She was finally decommissioned and sold in 1883.

Acknowledgements

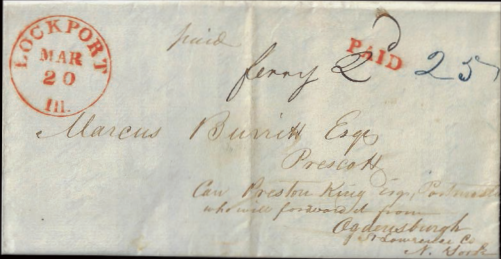
John Barwis and Scott Trepel reviewed this article and provided valuable insights.

Endnotes

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THE NEW YORK DIRECT MAILS TO BERMUDA, 1869-1877

MICHAEL J. BROWN

In the immediate post Civil War period, the New York post office routed its contract foreign mails for Bermuda using the British mails to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where the Cunard Line had a branch route that sailed southward to the Caribbean. Begun in July 1854, this branch line was routed via Bermuda to St. Thomas, and remained in service until 1886.¹

The rate for this routing was first noted in the semi-official monthly *United States Mail & Post-Office Assistant* for October 1867:²

To Bermuda, from New York and Boston, via Halifax, N.S.: 10 cents per single rate of half an ounce or under on letters; and 2 cents each on newspapers; being the United States postage only; to be prepaid on letters, etc. sent and collected on letters, etc., received.

Essentially, this rate was the so-called blanket steamship rate, which paid for carriage only to the frontier of the receiving nation. On such mail from the U.S. to Bermuda, a 2 pence local delivery charge was collected from the addressee.

Establishing direct mails between New York and Bermuda

It was obvious that a direct mail route to Bermuda would significantly shorten the transit time, versus the more circuitous route from New York to Bermuda via Halifax. The sketch map in Figure 1 shows the three locations and the distances involved. The direct route from New York to Bermuda was less than 800 miles. The British mail route via Halifax involved a two-leg trip over a distance of 1,450 miles.

After the end of the American Civil War, the colonial government of Bermuda applied to the British Crown seeking authority to contract for a subsidized direct steamship service to New York. The rationale for a subsidized packet line was actually three-fold. Most importantly, reliable steamship service was needed to haul Bermuda's food crop (especially vegetables) to New York. To a lesser extent, such a service was also needed to service expanding tourism and to provide more efficient and timely direct mail service between Bermuda and the United States.

Approval was received in 1868. Bermuda contracted with New York firm of Harvey and Gardner, under a subsidy of \$15,000 per year, for regular steamship service with sailings every three weeks. Harvey and Gardner purchased the iron-hulled screw steamship *Fah Kee* to provide the contracted service beginning in late 1868, carrying passengers and cargo on the 774-mile route between Hamilton, Bermuda and New York City.³ Pictured in Figure 2, *Fah Kee* had been built in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, in 1862, and was purchased by the Navy as a collier and supply ship to serve federal blockade vessels along the Confederate coast. She was decommissioned and sold after the war.

In 1869, the New York post office contracted with Harvey and Gardner's local agent,



Figure 1. Sketch map showing the relative distances between Bermuda, New York and Halifax. In the years immediately after the Civil War, U.S. mail to Bermuda was routed via Halifax. Direct service began in 1869.

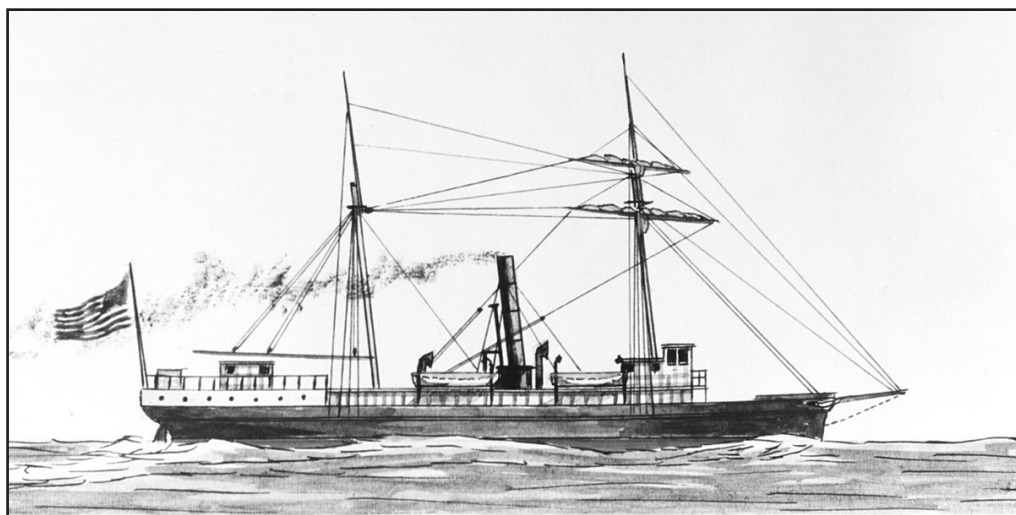


Figure 2. The iron-hulled screw steamer *Fah Kee*, which had been a Navy collier, outfitting federal blockaders during the Civil War, was the first vessel employed on the direct mail service between New York City and Bermuda.

J. Norman Harvey, to carry U.S. mails on the return voyage direct to Bermuda. Service began in mid-1869, thus initiating the first U.S.-contracted direct mail service to Bermuda in the post-Civil War era. It is significant that no subsidy was included in the contract, which was for one year. Agent Harvey sometimes informally advertised and referred to the steamship *Fah Kee* service from New York to Bermuda as the Bermuda Mail Line.



Figure 3. 10¢ 1869 cover from Holmes Hole, Mass. to St. George's, Bermuda. The 10¢ stamp paid for direct carriage via *Fah Kee*, departing New York 19 May 1870. Two pence (blue crayon marking) was charged for Bermuda internal postage.

An example of a cover carried on that packet service is shown in Figure 3. Franked with a single 10¢ 1869 stamp, this cover is addressed to “Capt. Jethro Cottle, Brig Eschol, St. George, Bermuda.” It was posted at Holmes Hole on Martha’s Vineyard Island, Massachusetts, on 16 May 1870 and sent by ferry and rail to New York City. The New York post office dispatched it in the Bermuda direct mails aboard the steamship *Fah Kee* on 19 May. It arrived in Hamilton, Bermuda around 23 May. Since there was no postal convention with Bermuda, the U.S. postal rate for this packet mail was 10¢ per half ounce, the blanket steamship rate, which prepaid for carriage of the letter to Bermuda, but not for delivery within the colony.⁴ The blue crayon “2” applied by the Bermuda post office denotes the 2 pence charge for internal postage within Bermuda.

In mid-1870 the Bermuda government changed its New York agent to William H. Webb who bought the larger 276-foot paddlewheel steamship *San Francisco* for the route, as well as occasionally using other vessels, continuing the service of a so-called Bermuda Mail Line.⁵ The following advertisement was published on the front page of the *New York Herald* on 28 December 1870:

BERMUDA MAIL

The steamship *PERIT*, Captain Gardner, will be dispatched to Hamilton taking freight for St. George’s from Pier 21 North River, on Saturday, December 31 at 4 o’clock P.M. For freight or passage apply to

WM. H. WEBB, 54 Exchange Place

The New York Post Office immediately changed its contract to the new agent, and the direct mail service to Bermuda continued through the Webb agency through the end of 1872.

The volume of United States direct mails to Bermuda was quite small compared to the huge amount of transatlantic mail, as well as correspondence to other major commercial destinations in the world. For example, the total New York to Bermuda postal revenues in fiscal year 1871 (1 July 1870 to 30 June 1871) was only \$3,240.53, suggesting not many more than 2,000 letters per month on average plus an unknown number of newspapers and circulars. During this same period, 1,176,125 letters were sent to Europe on a monthly basis.⁶

With the start of 1873, Bermuda’s New York agent was changed to the Lunt Brothers with references then being made in the newspapers and trade tabloids to the New York and Bermuda Mail Steamship Line. This service primarily used the iron-hulled steamships *Metropolis*, *Albemarle*, and *Perit*, although others were occasionally used.⁷ Here is a sample

of a Lunt Brothers advertisement, from page 12 of the 24 March 1873 *New York Herald*:

NEW YORK AND BERMUDA MAIL STEAMSHIP LINE

For Hamilton, Bermuda carrying the United States Mail

The A1 sidewheel steamship ALBERMARLE, H.A. Bourne, Commander, is now receiving cargo at pier 37 North River, and will sail on Thursday, March 25 at 3 o'clock P.M. for the above port.

For freight or passage, having elegant accommodations, apply to

LUNT BROTHERS, 28 South Street

An interesting cover from this period is shown as Figure 4. Franked with a 10¢ brown National Bank Note stamp (Scott 150) and addressed to Hamilton, Bermuda, this cover was posted at Kalamazoo, Michigan, on March 12, 1873. It was carried in the direct mails to Bermuda on the steamer *Perit* of the New York and West Indian Steamship Line which departed on 19 March 1873 and arrived at Hamilton, Bermuda on or about 22 March. *Perit's* was an unadvertised departure (duly noted in the *New York Herald's* "Shipping News" column on page 10 of the 20 March 1873 edition) and was apparently a one-time voyage

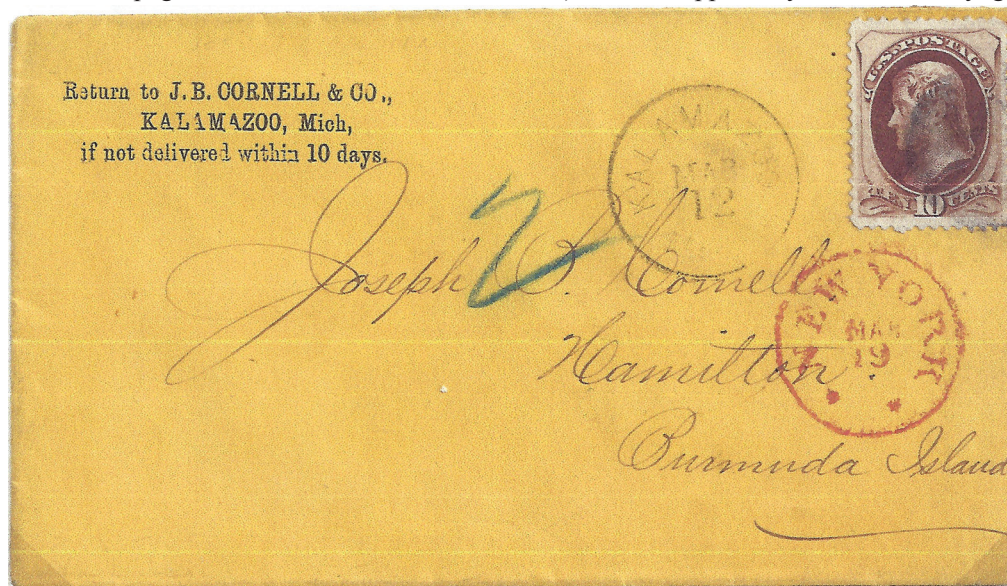
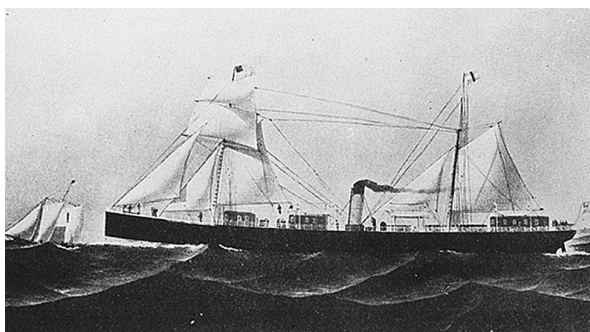


Figure 4. 10¢ National Bank Note stamp on a cover to "Hamilton, Bermuda Island" from Kalamazoo, Michigan, posted March 12, 1873. Carried from New York on steamer *Perit* of the New York and West Indian Steamship Line, departing New York March 19.

carrying the mails. Perhaps *Perit* was engaged by the Bermuda government to support shipment of spring vegetables from Bermuda to New York. As evidenced by the sailing data that accompanies this article, *Perit* was not unknown to the Bermuda trade, having made earlier voyages to Bermuda for the Bermuda Mail Line. She would make later voyages for the New York and Bermuda Mail Steamship Line and the American Weekly Line.

At the beginning of 1874, a major new player made its appearance, the Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Company of Canada (the name later changed to Quebec Steamship Company). This line won the Bermuda government subsidy for carriage between Bermuda and New York, using the iron-hulled screw steamship *Canima*, illustrated in Figure 5.⁸ *Canima* operated under the name of a wholly owned subsidiary, the Bermuda and West Indies Line, usually advertised in New York newspapers as the Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Line. The New York post office contracted with that line's New York agent, A.E. Outerbridge, to carry the U.S. direct mails to Bermuda, a service that was to continue until

Figure 5. The screw steamship *Canima* operated on the Bermuda run from 1874 onward for the Bermuda and West Indies Line.



well after Bermuda joined the General Postal Union (later the Universal Postal Union) on 1 April 1877.

Figure 6 shows an example of a cover carried on the steam packet *Canima*. The pair of 10¢ Continental Bank Note Stamps (Scott 161) pays double the blanket steamship rate. The stamps are cancelled with a black New York Foreign Mail cancellation (Weiss ST-8P5, Kirke 75-01-13-1GEO), which is recorded to have been in use only from January to December 1875. The 28 January (1875) New York postmark confirms that the cover traveled on the *Canima* which sailed on that date. The cover arrived in Hamilton around 2 February. The blue crayon “2” marking might have been applied in New York to indicate the double rate, but more likely was applied in Bermuda indicating 2 pence postage due for local delivery. This cover boasts a storied provenance: ex Emerson, Kaplan and Albert.

An insufficiently prepaid cover traveling over this route is shown in Figure 7. Franked with two 3¢ Continental Bank Note stamps (Scott 158), the cover was sent from New York on 24 June 1875. It is canceled with a black New York Foreign Mail cancel (Weiss ST-8P6, Kirke 72-2-10 SGEO) and postmarked with a red circular datestamp. It was also struck with a red “SHORT PAID” boxed handstamp on the front (Hubbard/Winter 334). The cover has a matching and scarce “N.Y.P.O./ONE RATE/SHORT PAID” three-line hand stamp on the reverse (Hubbard/Winter 348d).⁹ The New York Post Office endorsed the cover with a manuscript “20” in the lower right, charging double the amount of the entire 10¢ steam-



Figure 6. Double-rate cover from New York City to Hamilton, Bermuda, franked with 10¢ Continental stamps and carried by *Canima*, departing January 28, 1875.



Figure 7. Insufficiently prepaid cover from New York City to Hamilton, Bermuda, also carried by *Canima*, departing New York June 24, 1875. The two 3¢ Continental stamps, canceled with a geometric New York Foreign Mail marking, apparently counted for nothing, with 20¢ marked due from the recipient.

ship rate, giving no credit for the 6¢ paid by the two stamps. The cover was dispatched aboard the Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Line packet *Canima*, which departed New York on June 24 and arrived at Hamilton approximately four days later.

Interestingly, it seems likely the vegetable trade from Bermuda to New York justified adding an additional steamer for the three spring months of April, May and June, perhaps beginning as early as 1872 and continuing in future years. The Bermuda government contracted with various New York agents for these additional voyages. For example, Lunt Brothers provided the *Perit* and *Metropolis* in 1874 and advertised operating as the American Weekly Line, apparently for the spring vegetable crop. According to New York newspaper ads for 1875 and thereafter, the Bermuda government seems to have mainly used steamers provided by Quebec and Gulf Ports for these added voyages.

The formation of the General Postal Union (GPU) was a landmark event in the exchange of international mails. The initial effective entrance date for most major countries, including the United States and Great Britain, was 1 July 1875. The GPU reformed the system for the exchange of international mails, inaugurating new uniform rates with a less complex mail revenue exchange and a vastly simplified accounting system. At the same time, the United States Post Office Department reduced the long-standing blanket steamship rate from 10¢ to 5¢ cents, which of course reduced the American packet direct mail rate to Bermuda to 5¢.¹⁰

But like many of the British colonies, Bermuda was not initially a party to the GPU. So, on 1 October 1876 the United States and Bermuda established a formal postal convention calling for a 2 pence packet rate from Bermuda to New York and a 5¢ packet rate from the United States to Bermuda. Bermuda joined the GPU on 1 April 1877. The 2d/5¢ convention rate remained in effect simultaneously with the GPU/UPU rate until April 1880.¹¹

New York to Bermuda sailing data

Compiled one entry at a time from contemporary sources, the sailing data on the five pages that follow covers the entire period of the post-Civil War direct mails between the United States and Bermuda—up to Bermuda's entrance into the GPU. This information facilitates the authentication of covers and the identification of the vessels that carried them. The names of steamship lines presented in the table are those of convenient contemporary usage. For a few voyages originating in New York, the sources refer to the name of the

(text concluded on page 179)

NEW YORK-BERMUDA MAIL SAILINGS, 1869-1877

Depart New York	Arrive Bermuda	Steamship	Line	Depart Bermuda	Arrive New York	Notes
1869						
07 Jul	[12 Jul]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	20 Jul	24 Jul	
26 Aug	[31 Aug]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	04 Sep	08 Sep	
16 Sep	[20 Sep]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	26 Sep	29 Sep	
07 Oct	[12 Oct]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	16 Oct	22 Oct	
28 Oct	[02 Nov]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	06 Nov	12 Nov	
18 Nov	[22 Nov]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	28 Nov	02 Dec	
09 Dec	[14 Dec]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	18 Dec	23 Dec	
30 Dec	[04 Jan]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	08 Jan	13 Jan	
1870						
20 Jan	[25 Jan]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	29 Jan	03 Feb	
10 Feb	[15 Feb]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	19 Feb	24 Feb	
03 Mar	[08 Mar]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	12 Mar	16 Mar	
24 Mar	[28 Mar]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	02 Apr	06 Apr	
14 Apr	[18 Apr]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	22 Apr	26 Apr	
30 Apr	[05 May]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	10 May	14 May	
19 May	[23 May]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	28 May	01 Jun	
07 Jun	[12 Jun]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	17 Jun	21 Jun	
24 Jun	[28 Jun]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	02 Jul	06 Jul	
29 Jul	03 Aug	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	[08 Aug]	[12 Aug]	
18 Aug	[22 Aug]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	27 Aug	30 Aug	
08 Sep	[12 Sep]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	18 Sep	22 Sep	
29 Sep	[03 Oct]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	08 Oct	12 Oct	
20 Oct	[24 Oct]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	02 Nov	06 Nov	
10 Nov	[14 Nov]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	19 Nov	23 Nov	
01 Dec	05 Dec	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	29 Jan	03 Feb	1
31 Dec	[04 Jan]	<i>Perit</i>	BM	11 Jan	16 Jan	
1871						
20 Jan	[23 Jan]	<i>Perit</i>	BM	30 Jan	04 Feb	
11 Feb	[15 Feb]	<i>Perit</i>	BM	18 Feb	23 Feb	
02 Mar	[06 Mar]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	11 Mar	15 Mar	
23 Mar	[27 Mar]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	01 Apr	05 Apr	
13 Apr	[17 Apr]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	23 Apr	27 Apr	
04 May	[08 May]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	[13 May]	18 May	
27 May	[31 May]	<i>Fah Kee</i>	BM	03 Jun	07 Jun	

Steamship lines: BM=Bermuda Mail Line; LB=Lunt Brothers; NY&B=New York and Bermuda Mail Steamship Line; JHA=James Hand, agent; NY&WI=New York and West Indian Steamship Line; Q&GP=Quebec and Gulf Ports Steamship Line; AW=American Weekly Line. **Note 1:** *San Francisco* grounded during passage of the Timlin Narrows entering Hamilton harbor, Bermuda. She beached and after removing some cargo, received temporary repairs, was pulled off into the channel, and docked on 12/14/1870. Most of her cargo was saved.

Depart New York	Arrive Bermuda	Steamship	Line	Depart Bermuda	Arrive New York	Notes
15 Jun 71	[19 Jun]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	24 Jun	27 Jun	
06 Jul	[10 Jul]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	15 Jul	18 Jul	
27 Jul	[31 Jul]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	05 Aug	08 Aug	
17 Aug	[21 Aug]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	26 Aug	29 Aug	
07 Sep	[11 Sep]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	16 Sep	19 Sep	
28 Sep	[01 Oct]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	07 Oct	10 Oct	
19 Oct	[23 Oct]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	28 Oct	31 Oct	
09 Nov	[13 Nov]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	18 Nov	22 Nov	
24 Nov	[28 Nov]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	07 Dec	10 Dec	
1872						
29 Feb	[04 Mar]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	09 Mar	13 Mar	
23 Mar	27 Mar	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	30 Mar	03 Apr	
11 Apr	14 Apr	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	[19 Apr]	23 Apr	
27 Apr	[01 May]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	04 May	09 May	
09 May	[12 May]	<i>Metropolis</i>	LB	15 May	20 May	
11 May	[15 May]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	18 May	22 May	
22 May	[25 May]	<i>Metropolis</i>	LB	29 May	03 Jun	
25 May	[29 May]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	01 Jun	05 Jun	
05 Jun	[09 Jun]	<i>Metropolis</i>	LB	15 Jun	20 Jun	
08 Jun	12 Jun	<i>San Francisco</i>	BN	15 Jun	19 Jun	
19 Jun	[22 Jun]	<i>Metropolis</i>	LB	27 Jun	01 Jul	
22 Jun	26 Jun	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	29 Jun	02 Jul	
18 Jul	[22 Jul]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	26 Jul	29 Jul	
08 Aug	[11 Aug]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	16 Aug	19 Aug	
29 Aug	[01 Sep]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	06 Sep	09 Sep	
17 Sep	[21 Sep]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	27 Sep	30 Sep	
10 Oct	[14 Oct]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	18 Oct	21 Oct	
04 Nov	[08 Nov]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	12 Nov	15 Nov	
23 Nov	[27 Nov]	<i>San Francisco</i>	BM	30 Nov	04 Dec	
14 Dec	[18 Dec]	<i>Magnolia</i>	BM	21 Dec	25 Dec	
1873						
25 Jan	[30 Jan]	<i>Rapidan</i>	BM	04 Feb	09 Feb	
22 Feb	[26 Feb]	<i>Niagara</i>	NY&B	01 Mar	07 Jun	2
02 Mar	[05 Mar]	<i>Florida</i>	JHA	unknown	unknown	
19 Mar	[22 Mar]	<i>Perit</i>	NY&WI	unknown	unknown	
22 Mar	[27 Mar]	<i>Florida</i>	JHA	03 Apr	08 Apr	
25 Mar	[29 Mar]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	unknown	unknown	
10 Apr	[14 Apr]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	17 Apr	21 Apr	
16 Apr	[20 Apr]	<i>Florida</i>	JHA	23 Apr	27 Apr	
16 Apr	[21 Apr]	<i>Hatteras</i>	NY&B	26 Apr	30 Apr	
Note 2: <i>Niagara</i> departed Bermuda 3/1/1873 but was forced to return 3/7 by heavy gales which badly strained the hull and disabled machinery. She was docked for repairs until 6/4/1873 before departing for New York.						

Depart New York	Arrive Bermuda	Steamship	Line	Depart Bermuda	Arrive New York	Notes
24 Apr 73	[28 Apr]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	01 May	06 May	
03 May	[07 May]	<i>Florida</i>	JHA	10 May	14 May	
10 May	[14 May]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	unknown	unknown	
16 May	[20 May]	<i>Hatteras</i>	NY&B	22 May	27 May	
23 May	[27 May]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	31 May	03 Jun	
29 May	05 Jun	<i>Hatteras</i>	NY&B	07 Jun	11 Jun	
04 Jun	[08 Jun]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	13 Jun	16 Jun	
14 Jun	[18 Jun]	<i>Hatteras</i>	NY&B	22 Jun	25 Jun	
21 Jun	[25 Jun]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	27 Jun	01 Jul	
10 Jul	[14 Jul]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	19 Jul	22 Jul	
31 Jul	[03 Aug]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	07 Aug	[12 Aug]	
21 Aug	[25 Aug]	<i>Albemarle</i>	NY&B	29 Aug	01 Sep	
11 Sep	[16 Sep]	<i>Perit</i>	NY&B	19 Sep	24 Sep	
03 Oct	[09 Oct]	<i>Perit</i>	NY&B	12 Oct	16 Oct	3
23 Oct	[27 Oct]	<i>Perit</i>	NY&B	[31 Oct]	[04 Nov]	
11 Nov	[16 Nov]	<i>Perit</i>	NY&B	20 Nov	25 Nov	
29 Nov	[04 Dec]	<i>Perit</i>	NY&B	06 Dec	11 Dec	
17 Dec	[22 Dec]	<i>Perit</i>	NY&B	26 Dec	04 Jan	
1874						
16 Jan	[20 Jan]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	27 Jan	31 Jan	
14 Feb	[18 Feb]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	26 Feb	02 Mar	
06 Mar	11 Mar	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	14 Mar	19 Mar	
21 Mar	[25 Mar]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	27 Mar	30 Mar	
02 Apr	[06 Apr]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	09 Apr	13 Apr	
16 Apr	20 Apr	<i>Perit</i>	AW	23 Apr	04 May	4
16 Apr	[19 Apr]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	23 Apr	26 Apr	
23 Apr	[27 Apr]	<i>Metropolis</i>	AW	01 May	05 May	
30 Apr	[04 May]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	07 May	11 May	
07 May	[11 May]	<i>Metropolis</i>	AW	15 May	18 May	
13 May	[17 May]	<i>Perit</i>	AW	21 May	25 May	
14 May	[18 May]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	21 May	25 May	
21 May	25 May	<i>Metropolis</i>	AW	28 May	16 Jun	5
27 May	[31 May]	<i>Perit</i>	AW	03 Jun	08 Jun	
28 May	[01 Jun]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	04 Jun	08 Jun	
11 Jun	[15 Jun]	<i>Canima</i>	AW	18 Jun	22 Jun	
18 Jun	[22 Jun]	<i>Perit</i>	AW	25 Jun	29 Jun	
25 Jun	[29 Jun]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	02 Jul	06 Jul	
09 Jul	13 Jul	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	16 Jul	19 Jul	
30 Jul	[03 Aug]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	06 Aug	10 Aug	

Note 3: *Perit* was delayed at sea by a hurricane on 10/7/1873 with slight damage and cargo loss. **Note 4:** Enroute to New York, *Perit* broke a piston on 4/26/1874 and continued under sail. She experienced gales followed by dead calms until able to proceed 5/3. **Note 5:** *Metropolis* put back into Bermuda 5/30/1874 with a broken cylinder. After repairs, she sailed 6/12/1874.

Depart New York	Arrive Bermuda	Steamship	Line	Depart Bermuda	Arrive New York	Notes
20 Aug 74	[24 Aug]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	26 Aug	30 Aug	
11 Sep	[14 Sep]	<i>Georgia</i>	Q&GP	17 Sep	20 Sep	
29 Sep	[02 Oct]	<i>Georgia</i>	Q&GP	08 Oct	11 Oct	
20 Oct	[24 Oct]	<i>Georgia</i>	Q&GP	29 Oct	02 Nov	
11 Nov	[15 Nov]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	19 Nov	23 Nov	
01 Dec	[05 Dec]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	10 Dec	13 Dec	
17 Dec	[21 Dec]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	28 Dec	02 Jan	
1875						
07 Jan	[11 Jan]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	14 Jan	18 Jan	
28 Jan	[02 Feb]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	06 Feb	11 Feb	
18 Feb	[22 Feb]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	25 Feb	01 Mar	
04 Mar	[08 Mar]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	11 Mar	16 Mar	
19 Mar	[23 Mar]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	26 Mar	29 Mar	
01 Apr	[05 Apr]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	08 Apr	11 Apr	
06 Apr	10 Apr	<i>Metropolis</i>	LB	15 Apr	14 May	6
08 Apr	[12 Apr]	<i>City of Houston</i>	Q&GP	15 Apr	19 Apr	
15 Apr	[19 Apr]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	22 Apr	26 Apr	
22 Apr	[26 Apr]	<i>City of Houston</i>	Q&GP	29 Apr	02 May	
29 Apr	[03 May]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	[06 May]	[09 May]	
06 May	[10 May]	<i>City of Houston</i>	Q&GP	12 May	16 May	
13 May	[17 May]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	20 May	24 May	
20 May	[23 May]	<i>City of Houston</i>	Q&GP	27 May	30 May	
27 May	[30 May]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	04 Jun	07 Jun	
03 Jun	06 Jun	<i>City of Houston</i>	Q&GP	10 Jun	13 Jun	
10 Jun	[14 Jun]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	17 Jun	21 Jun	
17 Jun	[20 Jun]	<i>City of Houston</i>	Q&GP	24 Jun	27 Jun	
24 Jun	[28 Jun]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	01 Jul	05 Jul	
08 Jul	[12 Jul]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	15 Jul	19 Jul	
29 Jul	[01 Aug]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	05 Aug	08 Aug	
19 Aug	[22 Aug]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	26 Aug	29 Aug	
09 Sep	[13 Sep]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	16 Sep	20 Sep	
30 Sep	[03 Oct]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	07 Oct	10 Oct	
20 Oct	[24 Oct]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	28 Oct	01 Nov	
05 Nov	[08 Nov]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	11 Nov	14 Nov	
18 Nov	[22 Nov]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	24 Nov	28 Nov	
02 Dec	[06 Dec]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	09 Dec	13 Dec	
16 Dec	[20 Dec]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	23 Dec	26 Dec	
30 Dec	[03 Jan]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	07 Jan	10 Jan	
Note 6: <i>Metropolis</i> was discovered 4/26/1875 in mid-Atlantic, helpless with foremast head and maintopmast broken, sails split, boilers leaking badly, and short of provisions and coal. Six of 22 passengers were taken off by Austrian bark <i>Jacob</i> and landed at NY 4/28/1875. <i>Jacob</i> provided some provisions and reported that <i>Metropolis</i> would try to make some port for repairs. Eventually, she was towed by a schooner to Dutch Island Harbor 5/12 and then on to New York, arriving 5/14.						

Depart New York	Arrive Bermuda	Steamship	Line	Depart Bermuda	Arrive New York	Notes
1876						
13 Jan	[17 Jan]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	20 Jan	23 Jan	
27 Jan	[31 Jan]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	03 Feb	07 Feb	
10 Feb	[14 Feb]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	17 Feb	21 Feb	
25 Feb	[29 Feb]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	02 Mar	06 Mar	
09 Mar	[13 Mar]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	16 Mar	21 Mar	
24 Mar	[28 Mar]	<i>Geo Cromwell</i>	Q&GP	31 Mar	04 Apr	7
06 Apr	[10 Apr]	<i>Bermuda</i>	Q&GP	14 Apr	17 Apr	
14 Apr	[17 Apr]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	20 Apr	23 Apr	
20 Apr	[24 Apr]	<i>Bermuda</i>	Q&GP	27 Apr	01 May	
27 Apr	[30 Apr]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	04 May	07 May	
04 May	09 May	<i>Bermuda</i>	Q&GP	11 May	15 May	
11 May	[14 May]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	18 May	21 May	
18 May	[22 May]	<i>Bermuda</i>	Q&GP	25 May	29 May	
25 May	[29 May]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	01 Jun	05 Jun	
01 Jun	[05 Jun]	<i>Bermuda</i>	Q&GP	08 Jun	12 Jun	
08 Jun	[11 Jun]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	15 Jun	18 Jun	
22 Jun	[27 Jun]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	30 Jun	03 Jul	8
07 Jul	[10 Jul]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	13 Jul	16 Jul	
20 Jul	[23 Jul]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	27 Jul	30 Jul	
03 Aug	[06 Aug]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	[10 Aug]	13 Aug	
17 Aug	[20 Aug]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	24 Aug	27 Aug	
31 Aug	[20 Aug]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	7 Sep	10 Sep	
28 Sep	[1 Oct]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	5 Oct	8 Oct	
12 Oct	[15 Oct]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	18 Oct	23 Oct	
26 Oct	[30 Oct]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	2 Nov	5 Nov	
9 Nov	[12 Nov]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	16 Nov	20 Nov	
23 Nov	[26 Nov]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	30 Nov	5 Dec	
7 Dec	[10 Dec]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	15 Dec	19 Dec	
21 Dec	[24 Dec]	<i>Alhambra</i>	Q&GP	30 Dec	6 Jan	
1877						
5 Jan	[8 Jan]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	12 Jan	15 Jan	
18 Jan	[21 Jan]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	25 Jan	28 Jan	
1 Feb	[4 Feb]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	22 Feb	26 Feb	
15 Feb	[16 Feb]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	25 Feb	28 Feb	
1 Mar	[4 Mar]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	8 Mar	11 Mar	
15 Mar	[18 Mar]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	22 Mar	25 Mar	
29 Mar	[1 Apr]	<i>Canima</i>	Q&GP	5 Apr	9 Apr	9

Note 7: The British steamer *George Cromwell* is believed to have been contracted for a one-time charter by A.E. Outerbridge, agent, possibly to cover for *Canima*, which did not sail again until mid-April 1876. **Note 8:** *Canima* put back into New York 6/23/1876 for unknown reasons and sailed again for Bermuda on 6/24. **Note 9:** This was the final voyage to carry U.S.-Bermuda mail under pre-GPU rates. Coincidentally, the Quebec & Gulf Ports Line in April 1877 increased its frequency to weekly by adding *Bermuda* to the line.

(text continued from page 173)

agent, rather than the shipping line. The table lists all steamship voyages from New York to Bermuda that could be identified. Dates enclosed by brackets are estimates based on average sailing times or other related factors. United States mails to Bermuda were carried on the great majority of the voyages listed, but due to the lack of actual mail carriage data, the degree of certainty is unclear and it seems likely that mail was not carried on some voyages.

The *United States Mail & Post Office Assistant* published a monthly “Date of Departure” table, but this represents projected rather than actual dates of departure. Many, but not all, steamship advertisements in the New York newspapers and maritime tabloids indicated “carrying the United States Mail” or something similar as a sort of cachet for their service. But the absence of such an indicator does not necessarily mean mail was not carried.

The principal sources for the sailing data are microfilm records of the *New York Maritime Register* located at the Mariners’ Museum Research Library and Archives in Newport News, Virginia; the microfilm archive of the *New York Herald* newspaper at the College of William and Mary’s Swem Library in Williamsburg, Virginia; and the on-line *New York Herald* newspaper archives jointly sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and Library of Congress.

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Endnotes

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DISCOVERY: FOREIGN ENTRY OF THE 90¢ JUSTICE DESIGN ON THE 24¢ STATE PLATE

CHARLES H. BUCK

Introduction

With line-engraved postage stamps, a “foreign entry” occurs when the remnant of a wrong stamp design, in whole or in part, appears on a printing plate and thus on a printed stamp. Foreign entries are rare and exotic occurrences that, against all odds, continue to be discovered on 1873 Official stamps. This article reveals another.

Foreign entries on Official stamps

For many years, the only known Official foreign entry was the 6¢ Agriculture (O4) on the 2¢ Executive (O11) plate. Then in 1998, Ralph Ebner discovered a group of foreign entries of the 6¢ Executive (O13) in the first column of the 6¢ State (O60) plate,¹ after which George G. Sayers in 2005 found that two of the source stamps in this column were actually the 1¢ Executive (O10).² In 2012, Sayers made yet another discovery—that the supposed double transfer in Position 8 of the 12¢ Agriculture (O6) was in fact a remnant of the 15¢ Post Office (O53) design.³

Now two puzzling plate varieties on the 24¢ Department of State stamp (O65), long listed in the Scott specialized catalog as a “plate scratch” in Position 66 and “plate gashes in the forehead” in Position 76, show themselves to be a single, vertically displaced foreign entry of the 90¢ Justice stamp (O34).

The “plate gashes in the forehead” variety was first noted—without any designation of its position—by George Sloane in his *Stamps* column on September 21, 1935:

Mrs. C.D. Hayden, Minneapolis, Minn., has shown me a variety in the 24¢ green State Department. The stamp submitted shows three marked gashes, evidently plate scratches, of a semi-circular form in the upper part of Winfield Scott’s head, in the hair.

Stamps from Positions 66 and 76 are shown in Figure 1. These two positions make a vertical pair in the plate, but they are shown here side by side. The distinguishing details of the “plate scratch” stamp at left (Position 66) are subtle and hard to discern. But the “plate gashes in the forehead” on the Position 76 stamp at right constitute something of a philatelic Rorschach test: Some people will see a numeral on the top of Winfield Scott’s head. Others will see a letter. Still others will envision the mark of a curved tool that was dropped on the plate. I will explore all this in detail after a bit more introductory information.

Causes of foreign entries on Official stamps

Together, the articles by Ebner and Sayers give a robust explanation of the process by which an incorrect entry remains incompletely erased, thereafter showing traces of a



Figure 1. 24¢ Department of State stamps from Position 66 (at left) and 76. These two positions appear on the plate one above the other. Scott describes the Position 66 plate variety as a “plate scratch” and Position 76 as “plate gashes in the forehead.” The distinguishing features in the left stamp are difficult to discern, but it doesn’t take an overactive imagination to perceive, in the example at right, elements of a numeral “90” lurking at the top of Winfield Scott’s head. (See enlargement in Figure 3.)

foreign image on the plate of a subsequent stamp. While the result is always the same—the creation of what Ebner artfully called a “pentimento”—the process leading to the creation of a foreign entry can reflect very different failures by the siderographer in completing the plate by the repeated impression of the transfer relief.

Table 1 summarizes salient details of all foreign entries now known on Official stamps, including the discovery discussed in this article. The “Stamp” column indicates the stamp on which the variety is found. The “Source” column shows the underlying stamp design that created the foreign entry. The “Cause” column provides the likely reason for the foreign entry.

TABLE 1. FOREIGN ENTRIES ON OFFICIAL STAMPS

Stamp	Plate	Plate Position	Source	Plate	Cause
2¢ Executive (O11)	75	21	6¢ Agriculture (O4)	72	Mistaken entry
6¢ State (O60)	83	21, 31, 41, 51, 61, 71, 81, 91	6¢ Executive (O13)	76	Re-use of discarded plate
6¢ State (O60)	83	1, 11	1¢ Executive (O10)	82	Re-use of discarded plate
12¢ Agriculture (O6)	73	8	15¢ Post Office (O53)	66	Mistaken entry
24¢ State (O65)	117	66/76	90¢ Justice (O34)	113	Transfer roll rock-in error

In the case of the 2¢ Executive and the 12¢ Agriculture, it is clear that in the midst of rocking in the 100 entries on the plate, the siderographer entered an incorrect image from the transfer roll. Ebner speculated persuasively that transfer rolls for normal Officials (not including the larger dollar-value Department of State stamps) contained reliefs bearing images of three different values.⁴ Entering the wrong relief was simply a matter of misreading the position of the transfer roll, a mistake that would have become immediately apparent. Correcting the mistake, a process detailed by Sayers, involved reducing the incorrect entry with an abrasive stone, scraping the engraved lines, hammering the back of the plate to raise the remaining impressed image, and burnishing the plate flat.⁵ As Sayers explained, lines that survived this procedure were those that had been cut the deepest.

The case of the 6¢ State is different because the ten foreign entry positions were the first images to be impressed on the plate, beginning with Position 91 (sheet view, not plate view, which is a mirror image). In this case, owing to the shortage of clean plates at Continental, this plate could well have been intended initially for the 1¢ or 6¢ Executive, discarded, and then refurbished for use on the 6¢ State.⁶

The 24¢ State foreign entry differs from all the others in that the foreign entry of one stamp bridges two vertical positions, 66 and 76. By imagining the physical process of rocking in successive images, we can visualize a possible explanation of the siderographer's error and the odd orientation of the foreign entry that resulted. The transfer roll is a thick metal disk, three or more inches in diameter and at least an inch thick, capable of being rolled onto the printing plate under very high pressure. Reliefs are spaced around the circumference of the disk, which is its working surface. The cause of the faulty entry on the 24¢ State plate seems to be a haphazard error, lowering the wrong transfer relief onto a wrong position on the plate, perhaps when moving the plate forward on the bed of the press to examine a position just entered.

Detailing the remnant lines on the 24¢ State plate

The bi-colored vertical composite image at left in Figure 2 shows muted scans of a vertical pair of 24¢ State designs superimposed on a similarly-sized 90¢ Justice image. Highlighted in red are the remnant lines from the 90¢ Justice design that survive on the two 24¢ State stamps, Positions 66 and 76.

The three plate-damage marks shown in Position 66 are crucial links to the identity of the foreign entry. They appear in the lettering at the bottom of the stamp but, taking the displacement of the transfer roll into account, relate to the central part of the 90¢ relief.

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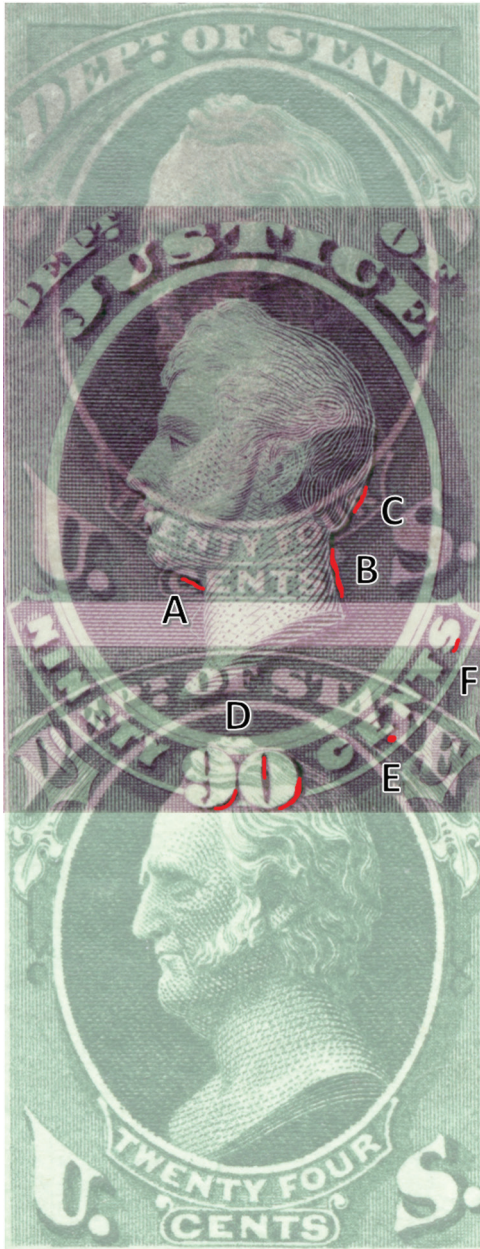
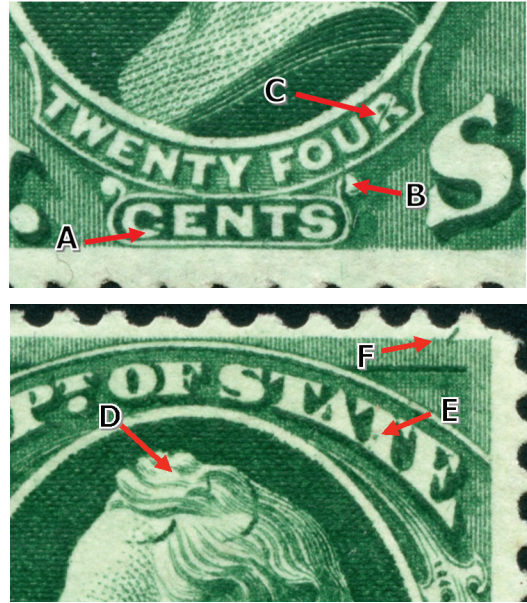


Figure 2. At left: Vertical pair of 24¢ State stamps superimposed over a 90¢ Justice stamp, illustrating how the 90¢ design was mistakenly entered into the 24¢ plate. Design elements from the 90¢ impression that survive on the 24¢ plate are highlighted in red, with individual elements keyed via letter designations to the partial images (below) taken from the two stamps (Positions 66 and 76) shown in Figure 1.



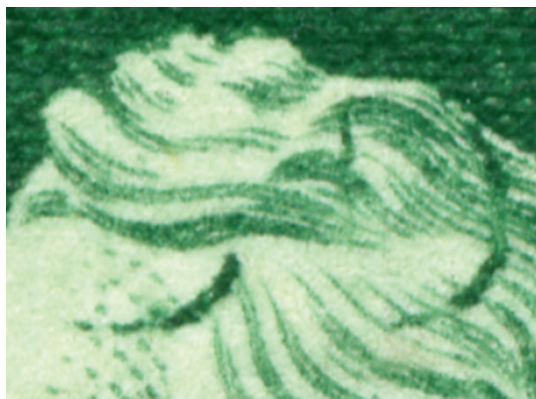
Above: Design elements from the 90¢ Justice stamp that survive on the 24¢ State stamps from Positions 66 and 76. The upper image is from Position 66 and shows three tiny marks (designated A, B and C) picked up from a mistaken impression of the 90¢ relief. The lower image, from Position 76, shows more prominent markings, designated D, E and F, including hints of the numeral “90” in Winfield Scott’s head.

As Figure 2 demonstrates, each feature corresponds to a deeply cut shading line outlining Commodore Perry’s head. These lines confirm the original presence of one of the six 90¢ values with Perry’s image (Post Office having opted for numerals instead of a bust).

To be very specific, in Position 66 (the upper stamp in the montage at left in Figure 2), small marks survive in three locations highlighted by arrows and letters, which are keyed to the enlarged portion of the stamp presented at right in Figure 2. (A) is a line through the tail of the “C” of “CENTS,” an artifact of a deep line under Perry’s chin; (B) is a line to the right of the “S” of “CENTS” extending through the ball ornament above and to its right, an artifact of the line at the back of the Commodore’s neck; and (C) is a diagonal line through the “R” of “FOUR,” a remaining line from the back of the Commodore’s head.

In Position 76, the surviving marks are more clearly evident. (D) points to the most

**Figure 3. Gash on forehead?
A semi-circular form? Letter D?
Or something else entirely?
Detail of the remnants of the numeral “90” in the 24¢ State stamp from Position 76.**

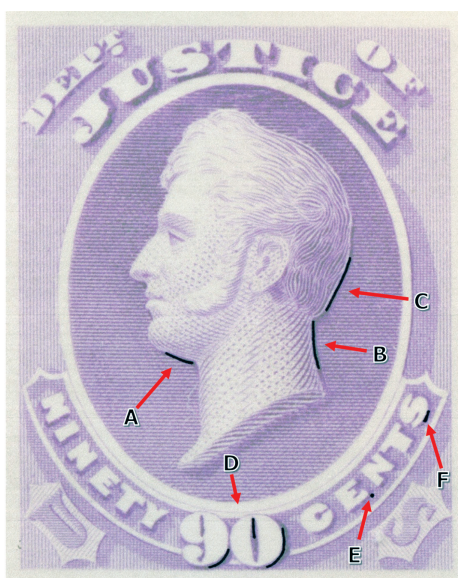


prominent of them all: two curved lines and a dash on Scott’s head, the marks that the catalog calls “plate gashes in the forehead.” This feature is shown greatly enlarged in Figure 3. These lines are legacies of shading lines in the numeral “90” from the mis-entry: (E) points to a dot in the second “T” of “STATE,” an artifact of the shading under the bottom leg of the “E” in “CENTS” from the 90¢ entry; and (F) indicates a short diagonal line in the upper right margin, from below the “S” in the same “CENTS.”

To make the source of the foreign entry markings as clear as possible, Figure 4 shows a muted image of a 90¢ Justice stamp, with black markings (keyed to the letters A through F as described above), showing precisely where the remnant lines originated.

It is easy to see how identifying these marks as a foreign entry did not occur earlier. The strong remnants of the shadows of the numeral “90” might be more easily recognized if they were located in their proper place. However, when they are offset by more than half of the height of the stamp (as they are in Position 76) they lose their context. Moreover, as evidenced in the enlargement in Figure 3, the residual marks from the “0” of “90” look very much like a letter “D,” tricking the brain into reading them as a letter when actually the curved line at the top of the vertical stroke is not plate damage at all but a thickly engraved portion of General Scott’s hair. (There is a name for this urge to interpret random phenomena as having meaningful shapes—pareidolia—without which, clouds would just look like clouds.) But despite the tricks our brain might play on us, these mysterious markings are

Figure 4. A muted image of the 90¢ Justice stamp, showing (in black) those portions of the design that survive on the 24¢ State stamps from positions 66 and 76. The letter designations are keyed to match the detailed illustrations in Figure 2.



really shading lines outlining portions of a numeral “90.”

But which numeral “90”? This numeral appears at the bottom center of the 90¢ values in six different Departmental stamps: Interior, State, Treasury, Justice, Navy and War. (See Figure 5.) These six all show the same bust of Commodore Perry. Their only distinction (other than color, which does not pertain here) is in the department name tablet at top, which left no marks on the foreign entry stamps under examination. I will address this momentarily.

Suggesting the presence of a 90¢ value on the same transfer roll as the 24¢ State requires explanation. It has been postulated that several teams worked on the preparation of plates for the 90 different Official stamps that had to be produced by the Continental Bank Note firm in a hectic three-month period in 1873 (the 24¢ Agriculture and 24¢ Treasury were later additions).⁷ The preparation of transfer rolls, three images to a roll, proceeded in approximately (but not necessarily exactly) the order of the plate numbers assigned to the completed plates. Of the 90¢ values, Justice has the highest plate number, only four below the 24¢ State. It is therefore plausible that a transfer roll that had already received the 90¢ Justice (Plate 113) was available to receive the 24¢ State (Plate 117). The previous 90¢ values were Interior (Plate 108) and Navy (Plate 106), farther removed from the 24¢ State, even if multiple siderographers were working concurrently. In fact, the 24¢ State was one of the last of the original 86 Bank-Note-sized images to be entered. Table 2 shows the sequence of plate numbers for the 90¢ stamps engraved and printed by Continental in early 1873.

TABLE 2. PLATE NUMBERS OF 90¢ VALUES	
Department	Plate #
Treasury	61
State	67
Post Office	88
War	89
Navy	106
Interior	108
Justice	113

Proximity of plate numbers is helpful, but confirming the 90¢ Justice as the best physical fit with the remnant lines on the 24¢ State involves close examination of all the various candidates. The slight tilt of the vertical stroke in the shading between the two lobes of the “0” is a clue to identifying the source image. The illustrations in Figure 5, which are arranged in order of the degree of backward tilt of their zeroes, suggest the quite visible differences in their variation from vertical. For these six numeral images, Table 3 (next page) presents the actual deflection measurements. Of the six stamps, the Justice Department corresponds most closely with the remnant line found in Position 76.

As useful as analysis of the numerals on the 90¢ values may be, the easily overlooked mark in the top right margin of Position 76 is the clincher. It represents a shading line under the “S” of “CENTS” (designated F in the images in Figures 2 and 4) that appears to fly out beyond the border of the Position 76 stamp. Among the six design candidates, the numerals may be nearly the same from stamp to stamp, but the banners containing the value lettering vary significantly. Only the 90¢ Justice value frame is long enough to create the marking designated F. It is also possible to associate the mark in the second “T” of “STATE” with shading at the bottom right of the “E” of “CENTS” on the 90¢ Justice.



Figure 5. Numerals “90” from the six Official stamps (Interior, State, Treasury, Justice, Navy and War) that show the Commodore Perry design. In each case, the deflection of the center line of “0” is a defining characteristic. Table 3 provides specific measurements. The “0” in the Justice Department “90” (violet, fourth from left) aligns perfectly with the “0” remnant in the foreign entry.

Dimensions of the 24¢ State and each of the 90¢ values have been taken from Alan C. Campbell's in-depth *Chronicle* article.⁸ These measurements are relevant because Official stamps vary considerably in height and width. In fact, the 90¢ Interior and State stamps are 0.6 mm (2.4%) taller than the Justice stamp, and the Navy and State Department stamps are 0.38 mm (1.9%) wider than the Justice stamp. The 24¢ State is, by coincidence, quite close in size to the 90¢ Justice, being just 0.17 mm taller and precisely the same width. These variations were important in overlaying the 90¢ values accurately over the 24¢ State. In the case of a foreign entry, however, widening of the image in all directions from the center would be expected when the entry is hammered out, as explained by Sayers.⁹ This does not seem to be the case with the 90¢ Justice, as the fit with the remnants on Positions 66 and 76 of the 24¢ State is nearly exact. Likely, the siderographer saw his mistake after a single pass of the relief, not repeatedly as would be the normal case. This would yield an entry with shallower impressions.

TABLE 3.
DEFLECTION OF NUMERAL "0"
FROM VERTICAL (DEGREES)

Department	Deflection from vertical
Interior	- 0.8°
State	- 1.1°
Treasury	- 2.7°
Justice	- 3.3°
Navy	- 4.0°
War	- 7.5°

Conclusion and acknowledgments

It is difficult to know whether all of the foreign entries in the 1873 Officials have been uncovered. In view of the chaos that reigned at Continental in 1873, any constant set of scratches is worth investigating. The most vexing, and ultimately most rewarding part of the puzzle is identifying the original entry. Recent advances in technology in the form of high-definition scans available online have made the chances for such discoveries more possible and, it is hoped, more likely. I am grateful to Ralph Ebner, Lester C. Lanphear III, and Alan C. Campbell for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article. I would also like to acknowledge George G. Sayers for his suggestion that the damage in these two positions might be related.¹⁰ Finally, substantial credit goes to Dr. Joe Novosel, whose eBay listing of Position 66 correctly predicts the presence of a "foreign relief" in Positions 66 and 76 containing either a "30" or "90" numeral in Position 76.

Endnotes

1. Ralph Ebner, "The 6¢ Foreign Entry Variety," *Chronicle* 178 (May 1998), pp. 138-149.
2. George G. Sayers, "Foreign Entry and Erasure of the 1¢ Executive in the 6¢ State Position 11," *Chronicle* 208 (November 2005), pp. 307-315.
3. George G. Sayers, "Foreign Entry of the 15¢ Post Office Design at Position 8 of the 12¢ Agriculture Plate," *Chronicle* 234 (May 2012), pp. 168-170.
4. Ebner, *op. cit.*, pg. 147.
5. George G. Sayers, "Foreign Entry and Erasure of the 1¢ Executive in the 6¢ State Position 11," *Chronicle* 208 (November 2005), pp. 307-308.
6. This process is the subject of ongoing research by the author.
7. George G. Sayers, "Foreign Entry and Erasure of the 1¢ Executive in the 6¢ State Position 11," *Chronicle* 208 (November 2005), pg. 315.
8. Alan C. Campbell, "The Quest for Perfection: Observations on Grading and on Perforating the Official Stamps," *Chronicle* 216 (November 2007), pg. 310.
9. George G. Sayers, "Foreign Entry and Erasure of the 1¢ Executive in the 6¢ State Position 11," *Chronicle* 208 (November 2005), pg. 308.
10. George G. Sayers, "Constant Plate Varieties of the 1873 Official Stamps, Department of State," *Chronicle* 226 (May 2010), pg. 136. ■

NOTE FROM THE SECTION EDITOR

The Chronicle is expanding its scope to include the entire 19th century. This adds the First Bureau stamps and the Trans-Mississippi to the publication's coverage. A new section has been created—designated “The 1890s”—and I was asked to be the section editor. I was both flattered and honored to receive this offer, and after some thought I accepted. For over 40 years I have collected the postal history of various aspects of the First Bureau stamps, so I feel I have expertise to act effectively as the editor of this new section. I have not comprehensively studied the Trans-Mississippi or the Columbians, but I have always been intrigued by them and the overlap in their usage during the lifetime of the First Bureau issue has given me a general knowledge that should be useful.

The Columbians and the Trans-Mississippi have been studied somewhat, but there is always new information to be learned and shared. Excepting specialized areas such as the Spanish-American War, the First Bureaus, as an issue, have not been examined or written about to any substantial degree. I hope in this section will change that, but to succeed I will need help. We are all in this together. If you have material or ideas for articles appropriate to this new section, please contact me. To get things going, here is a short but colorful article on a subject involving Trans-Mississippi covers.

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI STAMPS ON REGISTERED COVERS TO FOREIGN DESTINATIONS

LABRON HARRIS

The Trans-Mississippi stamps were released for use on June 17, 1898. They remained in general distribution until December 31, 1898, after which they were no longer supplied to post offices. As a result their use was limited, though some stamps were held and used later, as shown by two of the covers discussed below.

Despite its ornate frame design and the appeal of its pictorial images, this was not a popular stamp series in its day. Many collectors were still upset by the perceived price-gouging of the high-value Colombian stamps. The Trans-Mississippi issue, with additional dollar values, created more animosity.

Nowadays of course attitudes have changed and the Trans-Mississippi stamps are very highly regarded. Uses on covers to foreign destination can make attractive and very interesting postal history artifacts. This article discusses four registered covers that went to overseas destinations.



Figure 1. A 2¢ Trans-Mississippi stamp and a 30¢ small Bank Note in combination with First Bureau stamps (including a 2¢ imprint strip from Plate 510) on this seven-times-rate cover from Philadelphia to Haiti. The cover was sent from the well-known turn-of-the-century stamp firm of Bogert & Durbin.

The cover in Figure 1 was sent by Bogert & Durbin, a well-known Philadelphia stamp firm, to A. Batiste in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. It is franked with a 2¢ Trans-Mississippi stamp, four 2¢ First Bureau stamps (including an imprint strip of three from Plate 510), a 3¢ First Bureau and a 30¢ small Bank Note stamp, combining to pay the 8¢ registry fee and seven times the 5¢ international rate. The stamps are canceled with PHILADELPHIA RD (Registry Division) double oval cancels and the cover was registered September 17, 1898 (per backstamps). A serially-numbered label for foreign registration was added at New York on September 19 and the cover was sent on to Haiti. Any cover with a 30¢ small Bank Note stamp is uncommon. Few are as colorful as this one.

Figure 2 is a 1¢ government wrapper (Scott W357) uprated for registration and sent to Germany. The 1¢ wrapper imprint paid international postage on whatever printed matter it contained (no longer present) and the 8¢ registry fee was paid by examples of the only two 4¢ U.S. commemorative stamps then in existence: a 4¢ Colombian and a 4¢ Trans-Mississippi. The stamps were canceled FLORAVILLE, ILL AUG 5 1899 in blue. This mailing was received in New York on August 7. There the numbered New York registry label was added and the cover was dispatched to Leipzig, Germany.

Registered wrappers are rarely seen because the contents were clearly visible, which certainly diminished security. Plus, it's hard to imagine why a sender would want to register a piece of printed matter. In this case, the explanation is evident: the sender desired a return receipt ("A.R." endorsement at upper left) and was willing to pay the registration fee in order to get it. "A.R." abbreviates the French phrase "Avis de reception," indicating return receipt. This abbreviation, established by the Universal Postal Union in 1875, is still used by many postal services today.

The cover in Figure 3 also requests a return receipt. Until the 1920s, such service was free for the asking on registered mail. Sent to the Virgin Islands, the Figure 3 envelope is a 46-star flag patriotic cover, probably left over from the Spanish-American War. It originated in Pittsburgh, franked with an 8¢ Trans-Mississippi stamp to pay the registry fee and a 5¢ First Bureau stamp to pay the international postage. Pittsburgh applied a four line REGISTERED handstamp (East Liberty Station, December 1, 1902). The cover transited New



Figure 2. A most unusual registered wrapper (Scott W357), sent from Floraville, Illinois to Leipzig in 1899. The 1¢ wrapper imprint paid the printed-matter postage and the stamps paid the 8¢ registration fee. Only two 4¢ commemorative stamps had then been issued, and both are represented here. The “A.R.” endorsement at upper left indicates that the sender requested a return receipt.



Figure 3. 8¢ Trans-Mississippi stamp plus a 5¢ First Bureau stamp paying registration and international postage on a 46-star patriotic envelope sent from Pittsburgh to the Virgin Islands in 1902. Here too the sender requested a return receipt.

York December 2 where it received a registry label and was sent on to the Virgin Islands. En route it received a St. Kitts December 11 backstamp.



Figure 4. Penalty envelope from the New York post office endorsed OFFICIAL BUSINESS. Official mail went post-free only within the United States; foreign-mail postage had to be prepaid in stamps. This envelope is franked with 13¢ postage for the 8¢ registry fee and the 5¢ international postage rate, here made by a 10¢ Trans-Mississippi stamp, and 1¢ and 2¢ First Bureau stamps.

The last cover in this grouping, shown in Figure 4, went from New York to Germany. This is a penalty envelope from the New York post office endorsed OFFICIAL BUSINESS by the New York cashier. But official mail traveled post-free only within the United States. On letters to foreign destinations, post office officials had to pay foreign-mail postage just like everyone else. Thus this envelope is franked with 13¢ postage for the 8¢ registry fee and the 5¢ international postage rate, here made by a 10¢ Trans-Mississippi stamp, and 1¢ and 2¢ First Bureau stamps. The cover shows a double oval NEW YORK REG'Y. DIV handstamp dated 11-24 1898 plus other registry handstamps and notations. A numbered New York registry label was also affixed. Backstamp evidence shows the cover was received in Berlin on December 6.

These four registered covers show just one small aspect of the postal history of the Trans-Mississippi stamps, but they suggest what interesting covers one can find with a little searching. Even though this is a fairly scarce issue, a number of significant collections of the Trans-Mississippi stamps have been formed. The beauty of the stamps can be seductive. Many collectors think this is the most attractive stamp series of the 19th century. ■

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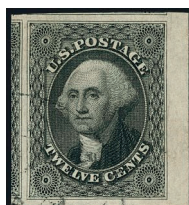
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A NEW FIRST SAILING DATE
FOR THE BLACK X LINE OF SAILING PACKETS

JULIAN H. JONES

The author has identified the first sailing of the Black X packet line from New York to London. This predates by three months the sailing information reported in James Pullin's *North Atlantic Packets*.¹

Figure 1 illustrates a folded letter that was carried on this first voyage. It contains a seven-page handwritten letter datelined New York, June 18, 1824 and sent by John Baring (1801-88) to a client in Amsterdam—a total of eight pages including the address panel.² It



Figure 1. Triple rate folded letter internally dated June 18, 1824, directed to Amsterdam and sent from New York to London via Weymouth, England, in July 1824 via the ship *Brighton* on the first westbound sailing of the Black X line.

is addressed in care of Baring Brothers & Co., London. There is no U.S. postage marked, so the letter may have been given to a shipping agent in New York for the next available sailing packet to England.

The letter was subsequently landed at the port of Weymouth on the south coast of England while the ship was working its way eastward up the English Channel towards London. From Weymouth the letter was sent overland to London, arriving on August 5, 1824. There it was assessed GB postage due of three times the sum of the 8d inbound ship fee plus the 10d inland rate from Weymouth to London, $3 \times (8d + 10d) = 54d = 4s6d$ (1d is one penny sterling with twelve pennies making one shilling).³ The cover bears a two-line **WEYMOUTH SHIP LETTER** (Robertson type S4), a single-ring London Inland Office date stamp **F 5 AU 5 1824**, and a manuscript rate “4/6.”⁴

It was not unusual for sailing vessels negotiating the English Channel to put into port en route to await favourable winds. Accordingly, it is quite common to find letters carried by London-bound ships (as opposed to those bound for Liverpool) that landed at a channel port such as Falmouth, Plymouth, Southampton (Cowes), Portsmouth, or if necessary, a smaller port along that coast. From June 1, 1711, ship’s captains were required by law to hand mail to the post office at the first port of call.⁵ Subsequent overland carriage to London usually was faster than the voyage by sea and yielded the post office additional revenue due to distance-based postage rates.

Working back from the date and port of landing in England, it is possible to determine the ship that carried the letter. An entry in *Lloyd’s List* indicates that the ship *Brighton*, under Captain Sebor, arrived off Weymouth from New York on August 4, 1824. Figure 2 shows the relevant information, taken from *Lloyd’s List* for August 6, 1824.⁶

Arrived, 4th inst.
Off WEYMOUTH arr. from
4 Brighton, Sebor New York
 TUDSHAM

Figure 2. Entry for the ship *Brighton* in *Lloyd’s List* for August 6, 1824.

Searching in U.S. newspapers online yielded an entry in the July 1, 1824 edition of the *New York Evening Post* that reported: “Sailed this forenoon, packet ship ... Brighton, Sebor, London.” Figure 3 shows the best available image of the salient information.⁷ Pullin’s work confirms that the *Brighton* was a packet ship of the Black X line. However, this sailing date is earlier than the first sailing Pullin listed for the newly formed line.

Sailed this forenoon, packet ship William
 Thompson, Crocker, Liverpool; Brighton, Se-
 bor, London; Howard, Holdrege, Havre; Cal.

Figure 3. Entry for the ship *Brighton* in the *New York Evening Post* of July 1, 1824.

The June editions of the *Evening Post* have a number of advertisements for the “London and New York Packets” stating that:

With the view of offering the public greater facility in the intercourse between this port and London; and especially of inviting the attention of passengers destined to either Great Britain or the Continent, to the ships employed in this trade, the subscribers, in conjunction with their friends, have established a line of packet ships ... The line will commence with the departure of the new ship *Brighton*, to sail on the 1st July from this port ...

The ad is signed by John Griswold and the firm of Fish & Grinnell, with addresses in New York City. The advertisements included a list of the ships and their captains to be

employed on this service, with the *Brighton* and Captain Sebor prominently mentioned. The best available image of one of these ads is shown in Figure 4.

LONDON AND NEW-YORK PACKETS.

With the view of offering to the public greater facility in the intercourse between this port and London; and especially of inviting the attention of passengers destined to either Great Britain or the Continent, to the ships employed in this trade, the subscribers, in conjunction with their friends, have established a line of packet ships, consisting of the

SHIPS	MASTERS
BRIGHTON,	Sebor
CRISIS,	M'Manus
ACASTA,	Griswold
HUDSON,	Champlin

NEW SHIP, to be built

One of which they intend shall sail punctually from New York and from London, on the first of every month, throughout the year.

These ships are all of the first class, and are commanded by men of activity and experience. They are about 400 tons burthen, copper fastened and coppered, and in every respect fitted in the best manner. The accommodations will be very spacious, and the furniture, stores, &c. made to suit the comfort and convenience of passengers. The line will commence with the departure of the new ship Brighton, to sail on the 1st July from this port, and from London on the 1st September. The other ships to follow in regular succession. For further particulars, apply to

JOHN GRISWOLD, 68 South st.
or **FISH & GRINNELL, 136 Front st.**

N. B. The ships of the above line will touch at Cowes, each way, for the purpose of receiving and landing passengers.

je 9

Figure 4. Advertising notice for the start-up of the Black X line, as published in the *New York Evening Post* for June 18, 1824. As advertised, the *Brighton* sailed from New York on July 1, 1824, with the Figure 1 cover on board.

Griswold was the ship agent for the Black X line and the line was sometimes known as the Griswold Line.⁸ John Baring's letter in Figure 1 was carried on the *Brighton* on the first eastbound sailing of the Black X line on July 1, 1824.

Endnotes

1. James R. Pullin, *North Atlantic Packets, Departures & Arrivals, 1818-1840* (Winter Park, Florida: published by the author, 2009), pg. 111. Pullin states that the "Black X service commenced with the sailing of the *Acasta* [on] September 1, 1824."
2. The Baring Archive, "Genealogy," <https://www.baringarchive.org.uk/genealogy/> (last viewed November 2, 2019).
3. Colin Tabcart, *United Kingdom Letter Rates Inland and Overseas 1635 to 1900*, 2d ed. (Bradford: HH Sales, 2003), pp. 16, 22.
4. Colin Tabcart, *Robertson Revisited* (Limassol: James Bendon, Ltd., 1997), pg. 298.
5. Tabcart, *United Kingdom Letter Rates*, *op. cit.*, pg. 17.
6. *Lloyd's List* August 6, 1824 (via U.S. Philatelic Classics Society uspcs.org and babel.hathitrust.org).
7. *New York Evening Post*, July 1, 1824 (via Newspapers.com).
8. Pullin, *op. cit.*, pg. 109. ■

CALIFORNIA CIRCULAR RATES PRIOR TO JULY 1, 1851

DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

Figure 1 is a printed prices current datelined September 14, 1850 and sent from San Francisco to London. The letter was paid at a previously unrecorded 5¢ rate for printed matter from California to Great Britain prior to July 1, 1851. While it was easy to speculate that the 5¢ rate was a combination of the 3¢ steamship circular rate to New York plus the 2¢ rate for circulars to Great Britain, figuring out why the cover was correctly prepaid 5¢, rather than simply being a rating error by the Postmaster in San Francisco, was more challenging.

The circular has a black San Francisco, September 15 [1850] circular datestamp, red **PAID** handstamp of San Francisco, and is manuscript rated “5” cents in pencil. There are no transit markings, and the circular was rated “1” penny (2¢) due at Liverpool as an unpaid printed circular to London. At bottom left, the cover is manuscript endorsed “per Tennessee,” the Pacific Mail Steamship Company steamer that departed San Francisco on September 15, 1850 and arrived in Panama City on October 4. After transiting the isthmus to Chagres, the default routing would have sent the circular by the United States Mail Steamship Company *Falcon* that departed Chagres on October 12 and arrived in New York City on October 27.¹ At New York, the circular would be put on the Collins Line *Arctic* which departed New York on October 27 and arrived in Liverpool on November 7. If the circular missed the sailing of the *Arctic*, it would have sailed on the Cunard Line *America* which departed Boston on October 30 and arrived in Liverpool on November 10, 1850.

Alternatively, the circular could have been sent direct from Chagres to Southampton on the Royal Mail Steam Packet (RMSP) *Dee* which departed Chagres on October 10, 1850 (two days before the *Falcon* departed for New York), and arrived at Southampton on No-



Figure 1. September 15, 1850 printed circular from San Francisco to London, prepaid 5¢ (per pencil notation at right) for the 3¢ steamship circular rate to New York plus 2¢ additional for a newspaper under the postal treaty with Great Britain. One British penny was collected from the recipient in London.

vember 10, (three days after the *Arctic* arrived in Liverpool). But without an endorsement specifying the RMSP route, the circular would normally be sent via New York. Moreover, Great Britain did not change the default routing for mail from Great Britain to California to the RMSP packet until a General Post Office instruction issued in October 1850.²

Without any transit markings, it is impossible to identify the routing for certain. However, the circular was most likely sent via New York. This is confirmed by the cover in Figure 2, provided by Route Agent Jeff Bohn. This cover, from Marysville, California to France via Great Britain, was carried on the same sailing of the *Tennessee* from San Francisco. The 56¢ prepayment (noted in manuscript at upper right) was for the 40¢ west coast rate plus 16¢ transatlantic carriage by American packet under the open mail provisions of the British Convention. The London office struck **COLONIES &c. ART.13.** to indicate the letter was accounted under article 13 of the letter bill under the 1843 Anglo-French Convention. The due postage in France was 15 decimes, the sum of 10 decimes due to the United Kingdom plus 5 decimes French internal postage.



Figure 2. September 9, 1850 letter from Marysville, California to France, carried on the same sailing to Panama of the *Tennessee* as the Figure 1 cover, and carried across the Atlantic on the Collins Line *Arctic*. Image courtesy of Jeff Bohn.

Neither the circular in Figure 1 nor the cover in Figure 2 have New York exchange office markings. Because the treaty required that the United States postage be prepaid on printed matter to Great Britain, with Great Britain to assess its share of the postage on arrival, no debit and credit markings were required at the exchange office in New York. Similarly, letters addressed to France or beyond were sent under the convention's open mail provisions. Figure 2 did not require an accounting marking in New York because it was paid to the United Kingdom frontier. Thus, like the circular in Figure 1, the cover in Figure 2 does not have any New York exchange office markings. But the British transit markings on the Figure 2 cover establish that the mail was carried via New York and the Collins Line *Arctic*. It is likely that the circular in Figure 1 would have been sent on the same sequence of ship sailings.

Returning to the rating of the Figure 1 cover, we start with the Act of March 3, 1845, “To provide for the transportation of the mail between the United States and foreign countries, and for other purposes.”³ The Act provided for a 24¢ rate (per half ounce) between the United States and England or France, with the inland postage of the United States added; a 10¢ rate between the United States and any of the West India islands or islands in the Gulf of Mexico; and then provided that:⁴

[U]pon each newspaper, pamphlet, and price current, sent in the mail between the United States and any of ports and places above enumerated, three cents, with inland United States postage added when the same is transported to or from said port of the United States in the United States Mail.

The Post Office applied this March 3, 1845 Act to the California mails in a November 20, 1848 announcement. The notice provided that:⁵

The sea postage for single letters, not exceeding half an ounce in weight, will be 12½ cents to Havana, 30 cents to Panama, and 40 cents to San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San Francisco, or Astoria, without an addition for inland postage in either case. Newspapers and pamphlets, sea postage three cents each, and inland postage to be added.

Thus, according to this announcement, a printed circular from California to the East Coast would be rated 3¢ to port (New York or New Orleans), with “inland postage to be added.” For the printed circular in Figure 1, the “inland postage” would be controlled by the 1848 treaty between the United States and Great Britain. Article XV of the 1848 treaty set the postage on newspapers sent from the United States to Great Britain at 2¢ United States postage with 1 penny due in Great Britain. Article XV additionally provided that “no higher charges than those above stated shall be made by the British or by the United States Post-Office, on newspapers published in the United States, either when despatched from that country, or when delivered in the United Kingdom.”⁶ Printed circulars were treated as newspapers pursuant to the US-GB treaty.⁷ However, the 1848 Treaty did not address the California mails. The United States and Great Britain agreed to additional articles on May 31, 1849. In the “Tables and Instructions” following the additional articles, the Post Office Department announced rates to California as follows:⁸

2. Between the offices of California and Oregon, and those of Great Britain and Ireland, the entire postage is 59 cents the single letter, which may be pre-paid or sent unpaid, and of which the British share is 3, or 19 cents, depending on the circumstance, whether conveyed by the United States or British packet, and the United States share is 56 or 40 cents, depending on the same circumstance....

7. On newspapers transmitted between the United Kingdom and the United States there is a separate postage of 2 cents per newspaper, (or stamp duty in lieu of postage,) which is to be paid separately in each country.

8. But newspapers may be sent *in transit* through the United States, and also through Great Britain, to or from foreign countries, &c., at a transit charge of 2 cents per newspaper, to be paid by the post-office of one country to that of the other. The postage to be paid by the party sending a newspaper to or receiving it from a foreign country through Great Britain is 4 cents each.

The additional articles also defined California and Oregon as “United States Possessions and Territories, which by the Laws of the United States are beyond the Limit of their established Post-Routes.”⁹ Thus, we need to look at section 8 of the additional articles providing for a 2¢ transit rate on letters transiting the United States, since California was “beyond the limit” of the established post roads. This 2¢ transit newspaper postage would be added to the 3¢ circular rate postage for a total prepayment of 5¢, as marked on the circular.

The circular in Figure 1 is postmarked September 15, 1850, just six days after California statehood on September 9, 1850. Dick Winter has suggested that, upon statehood, California would no longer be “beyond the limit” of the post routes.¹⁰ If this is correct, arguably, the circular should have been rated pursuant to Article XV of the 1848 treaty, which sets the same 2¢ rate for newspapers, but with the provision that there be no additional charges.

However, California statehood alone would not modify the international mail treaty. Winter's comment likely referred only to the ability to send letters paid only to New York (40¢) rather than entirely paid or unpaid (59¢), as the letter rate to Great Britain remained 59¢ until July 1, 1851, rather than being reduced to the 24¢ treaty rate.

The circular in Figure 1 appears to be the only printed circular, mailed at a printed matter rate, from California or Oregon to a foreign destination prior to the postage rate change on July 1, 1851. Thus, there is no way to determine whether the San Francisco Post Office charged this 5¢ rate consistently. In fact, printed matter of any type from California or Oregon prior to July 1, 1851 is quite scarce. Of the small number of surviving circulars, some contained writing and were treated as letters; some were sent out of the mails by way of forwarding agents; and the San Francisco post office did not mark the rate on some printed circulars. Thus, it is impossible to state whether inland postage was consistently charged on circulars from California and Oregon.

However, fellow Route Agent Dale Forster provided Figure 3, a December 31, 1849 printed circular from Oregon City, Oregon Territory to Oswego, New York. The circular was paid 3¢ and there is no indication of any postage due collected from the recipient. If



Figure 3. December 31, 1849 printed circular from Oregon City, Oregon Territory to Oswego, New York, prepaid at the 3¢ printed circular rate. Image courtesy of Dale Forster.

the Post Office consistently applied the November 20, 1848 instruction, the circular should have been rated 3¢ for steamship postage to New York, plus an additional 3¢ postage from New York City to Oswego.

In preparing this write-up the author received assistance from a large number of fellow collectors including Jeff Bohn, Ron Cipolla, Dale Forster, Richard Frajola, Dwayne Littauer, Rick Mingee, Dick Winter, and others. Any errors are the fault of the author.

Endnotes

1. Steven C. Walske and Richard C. Frajola, *Mails of the Westward Expansion, 1803 to 1861* (Western Cover Society, 2014), pg. 251.
2. Richard F. Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail: Vol. 1* (Bellefonte, Pennsylvania: American Philatelic Society, 2006), pg. 121.
3. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America, 1847* (Holland, Michigan: Theron Wierenga, reprint

ed. 1980), Act of March 3, 1845, pg. 55. Note that there were two Acts of March 3, 1845. The more familiar act “To reduce the rates of postage, to limit the use and correct the abuse of the franking privilege, and for the prevention of frauds on the revenues of the Post Office Department” announced the 5¢ and 10¢ domestic rates for distances under and over 300 miles.

4. *Ibid.*, Section 3, pg. 56.

5. *New York Herald*, Nov. 22, 1848, pg. 1; Theron J. Wierenga, *United States Incoming Steamship Mail, 1847-1875*, Second Edition (Austin: U.S. Philatelic Classics Society, Inc., 2000), pp. 380-81.

6. Convention Between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the Improvement of the Communication by Post between their respective territories, 16 U.S. Statutes at Large, pg. 786.

7. Winter, *Understanding Transatlantic Mail*, *op. cit.*, pg. 150.

8. *The New York Herald*, July 2, 1849, pg. 4; *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, Sept. 1849, pp. 331-34.

9. 16 U.S. Statutes at Large, pg. 795.

10 Richard F. Winter, “Pre-Statehood California Mail to Great Britain,” *Chronicle* 183, pg. 222. ■

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BOSTON AND COLONIAL STEAMSHIP COMPANY

DAVID D'ALESSANDRIS

British transatlantic mail packets used the sea route between Halifax and Boston or New York during the classic philatelic era. The Falmouth packets eventually gave way to the Cunard Line, but these services were never covered by a mail treaty between the United States and the independent Province of Nova Scotia, and it was not possible to send mail on this route between the two countries, prepaid to destination. Nova Scotia attempted to remedy this situation with the Steamer *Sir John Harvey* in 1852—an experiment which lasted only three round-trip sailings.¹ In addition, the British North America (BNA) postal system developed a closed-mail route for mails between Montreal and Halifax sent by Grand Trunk Railway to Portland, Maine, and then via the affiliated Steamship *Carlotta* to Halifax.² The Nova Scotia post office also helped to speed mails to the United States by the use of a closed-bag express service via the steamer *Empress* from Windsor, Nova Scotia to Saint John, New Brunswick, where the mailbags were put on the steamships to Boston.³

Given the use of closed bags and the decline in transit markings on BNA mail in general, I believed that all treaty-rate mail from Nova Scotia to the United States was sent via New Brunswick. I based this conclusion on the United States Postal Laws and Regulations listing the Boston exchange office as corresponding with Saint John, New Brunswick, and no United States office being listed as exchanging mails with Halifax.⁴ In addition, I relied the absence of any mention of an ocean mail route to Halifax other than the Cunard Line in the available literature. However, I have now found evidence that mails were exchanged directly between Boston and Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island via the Boston and Colonial Steamship Company.

In 1864, the Boston and Colonial Steamship Company (B&C), owned by Snow and Company of Boston, initiated a steamship line between Boston and Charlottetown with intermediate stops including Halifax.⁵ (See the map in Figure 4, page 203.) The service started in late May or early June 1864, with the *S.S. Commerce* on a fortnightly schedule departing Boston and Charlottetown on alternate Tuesdays. In August 1864 the *S.S. Franconia* was added to the service, with the steamboats alternating departures from Boston and Charlottetown. The *S.S. Greyhound* replaced *Franconia* in 1865, and the ships *S.S. Alahambra* and *S.S. Oriental* operated the service in 1866.⁶

The *Commerce* led an interesting life, being constructed in 1862 in England by Backhouse and Dixon and launched as the *Pet*. The vessel was likely designed as a blockade runner for the American Civil War. She was initially purchased by Alexander Collie & Co., a British firm extensively involved in blockade running. *Pet* operated out of Nassau, Bahamas, and completed 15 to 20 trips through the federal blockade before being captured by the *U.S.S. Montgomery* near Wilmington, North Carolina. *Pet* was auctioned as a prize of war in Boston in April 1864, where she was purchased by B&C for \$35,500.⁷ Renamed *Commerce*, the steamship was placed on the Boston to Halifax and Charlottetown run not later than June 5, 1864.⁸

The *Greyhound* and the *Oriental* were also captured blockade-runners. The *Greyhound* was built at Port Glasgow in Scotland in late 1863. She made one trip through the blockade into Wilmington, North Carolina, but was captured by the *U.S.S. Connecticut* on May 10, 1864 leaving Wilmington with 800 bales of cotton, 35 tons of tobacco and Confederate spy Belle Boyd. The *Greyhound* wrecked without loss of life off Nova Scotia in late 1865.⁹

The *Oriental* was built in 1856 by the Palmer Brothers on the Tyne in England as *Minna*. The *U.S.S. Circassian* intercepted *Minna* off Charleston, attempting to run the blockade from Nassau. The ship was sold in Boston to B&C for approximately \$70,000.¹⁰

The B&C firm was dissolved by Act of the Massachusetts Congress on June 2, 1873;¹¹ however, this appears to have been a corporate reorganization and the service continued with similar ownership and the same vessels under the name of the Boston, Halifax and Prince Edward Island Steamship Company. Service continued under that name until the firm became insolvent in 1892.¹²

In 1870 and 1871, the *Somerset*, *Carroll*, and *Worcester* were purchased by F. Nickerson and Company, which was involved with both the B&C and the Boston, Halifax and Prince Edward Island Steamship Company. These steamships were former U.S. Navy vessels, known as *Nereus*, *Proteus* and *Glaucus*, respectively, that took part in enforcing the blockade during the Civil War. After the war, the ships were purchased by the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to operate a steamship line between Baltimore and Liverpool. When the vessels proved inadequate for transatlantic service, they were sold to Nickerson.¹³ Thus, interestingly, the route employed both former blockade runners and blockade enforcing ships.

The B&C line was not entirely unknown to postal historians. Jephcott, Greene and Young identified *Commerce* and *Franconia* as operating a fortnightly schedule between Boston, Halifax and Charlottetown “carrying freight, mail and passengers, and calling at intermediate ports along the route.” Jephcott additionally noted that the Nova Scotia Post Office paid \$400 per year for the “conveyance of mail by this line.”¹⁴ However, the language used was ambiguous—was Nova Scotia subsidizing the transportation of mail between ports within the province, between Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, or was mail being carried between Boston and the province?¹⁵

As noted above, the Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States listed exchange offices for mails with the BNA Provinces, and did not list Boston as exchanging with Halifax or Charlottetown during this period. Boston was listed as exchanging with several cities in Canada and Saint John, New Brunswick.¹⁶ The September 1866 *United States Mail & Post Office Assistant* lists Boston as one of the exchange offices that “exchange with some of the largest offices on the other side by through bags”¹⁷ but without identifying Halifax or Charlottetown (or Montreal or Saint John for that matter) as corresponding offices. Without an indication that Boston was an exchange office for mails to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, I assumed that the Nova Scotia mail subsidy was for mails within BNA.

Figure 1 is an August 22, 1864 folded letter from Boston to Pictou, Nova Scotia, paid with a 10¢ yellow-green 1861 stamp, prepaying the single-weight 10¢ treaty rate to Nova Scotia. However, the letter weighed between ½ ounce and 1 ounce, and thus was treated as



Figure 1. August 22, 1864 cover from Boston to Pictou, Nova Scotia, carried by the *Commerce* of the Boston and Colonial Steamship Company. Franked with a single 10¢ 1861 stamp, this double-rate cover was treated as entirely unpaid.

entirely unpaid and rated 20¢ due. The cover is endorsed at lower left “per Str. Commerce.”
I purchased this cover solely as an example of a double rate letter paid one rate but

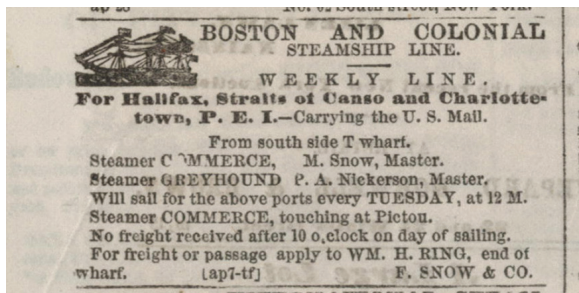


Figure 2. Advertisement for the Boston and Colonial Steamship Company, from the *Boston Daily Journal*, May 18, 1865. Image from the Alfred Whital Stern Collection of Lincolnia, Library of Congress.

treated as entirely unpaid. However, in researching the endorsement, Google turned up an unlikely result: the Alfred Whital Stern Collection of Lincolnia digitized on the web page of the Library of Congress. In the page before an article about the Lincoln funeral train in the April 24, 1865 issue of the *Boston Daily Journal* was an advertisement for the B&C line advertising weekly service “for Halifax, Straits of Canso and Charlottetown, P.E.I. – Carrying the U.S. Mail.”¹⁸ Figure 2 shows this same advertisement from the May 18, 1865 edition. But how could the line carry these mails if Boston was not an exchange office for mails with Halifax or Charlottetown?

The answer was to be found in the Postmaster General’s report for 1864:¹⁹

This department has also concluded an arrangement for the transportation of the mails, fortnightly, between Boston and Halifax, Canso, and Pictou, (Nova Scotia,) and Charlotte Town, (Prince Edward Island,) the proprietors of the steamer to receive, as full compensation for the sea service, a moiety [half] of the United States postages on the mail conveyed.

Thus, mail was in fact sent at the treaty rate between Boston and Halifax and Charlottetown, beginning in 1864, and apparently through at least 1875. The annual reports of the Postmaster General during this period contain a table of mail transportation expenses



Figure 3. August 6, 1865 cover from New York to Halifax, also carried by the *Commerce*. The 10¢ treaty rate is prepaid by two 5¢ brown 1863 stamps and the cover is endorsed (similarly to Figure 1) “pr Steamer Commerce from Boston.”

representing “[t]he amount charged to transportation accrued and placed to the credit of mail contractors and other, for mail transportation during the year” and the reports include a line for “Boston, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia” in each report through 1875. Beginning with the 1876 Report of the Postmaster General, there is a listing for “Boston and Nova Scotia” but whether this represents a different route, a reduction in service only to Halifax or just a change in the wording of the report is not known.

Figure 3 is a cover from New York to Halifax, dated August 6, 1865, on which the 10¢ treaty rate is prepaid by two 5¢ brown 1863 stamps. Similar to Figure 1, the cover is endorsed “pr Steamer Commerce from Boston.” Absent such endorsements, it is difficult to determine whether mail was sent by the B&C line or the more frequent Boston to Saint John, New Brunswick route.

Figure 4 is a map comparing the Boston to Halifax and Charlottetown route (sketched

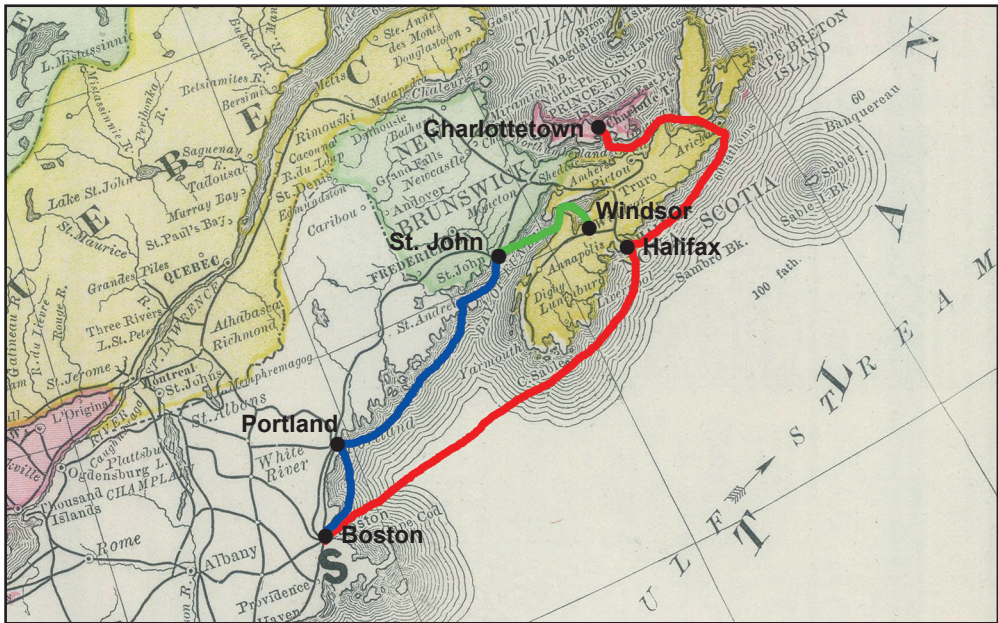


Figure 4. Map illustrating the route of the Boston and Colonial Steamship Company (sketched in red) in comparison to the Boston to Saint John steamship route (blue) with connecting closed-bag service to Windsor, Nova Scotia (green).

in red) to the Boston to Saint John route (blue) with connections to Halifax and Charlottetown (green). Jephcott reports that the Province of Nova Scotia subsidized the Boston and Colonial route, so it seems reasonable to assume that Nova Scotia sent mail to the United States on the route. However, it is unclear whether the Province of Prince Edward Island or (after Confederation) Canada, sent mails on the route.

Few postal records from Prince Edward Island have survived due to a fire that destroyed the Charlottetown Post Office in 1884. The privately published *Harvie's Prince Edward Island Almanac* included postal information, including the closing of the mails to different destinations. Each edition of the almanac from 1864 to 1873, includes essentially the same language, with some minor changes in frequency:²⁰

The mails for Nova Scotia, &c., during the Summer, are made up twice a week, both for Pictou and Brule, and for New Brunswick and United States three times a week, via Shediac, and despatched by the Steamers *Princess of Wales* and *Heather Belle*, under contract with the Government; and by the Ice Boat, from Cape Traverse to Cape Tormentine, thrice a week during the Winter.

The routing described would send mail to the United States via Saint John, not on the direct routing to Boston. This description may be accurate, given the reference to the summer route by steamships of the competing Prince Edward Island Steam Navigation Company as being under contract with the government. During the winter months, the Northumberland Strait was impassible due to ice and the only way off the island was ice boat.²¹

Given these difficulties, it may be that the only way to specifically identify mail carried by the Boston and Colonial Steamship Company would be by way of ship-name endorsements of the sort evident on the covers in Figures 1 and 3. A review of covers mailed during this period revealed no discernable pattern. Letters mailed from one of the ports, Boston, Halifax, or Charlottetown, might be identifiable based on sailing dates; a Tuesday postmark from Boston or Charlottetown might indicate use of this route. However, identification is far from certain, given the existence of the alternative route via Saint John.

Endnotes

1. David D'Alessandris, "The Steamer *Sir John Harvey*" *Chronicle* 207 (2005), pg. 225.
2. —, "Canadian Interprovincial Mail via the United States" *Chronicle* 240 (2013), pp. 393-94.
3. —, "Boston to Saint John Steamboat Mail" *Chronicle* 202 (2004), pg. 111.
4. The mails by the Cunard Line from Boston to Halifax were not covered by the postal treaty and were charged higher rates.
5. C.M. Jephcott, V.G. Greene and John H.M. Young, *The Postal History of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1754-1867* (Toronto: Sissons Publications Ltd., 1964), pg. 197.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Sailstrait, "Commerce and Franconia—The first of the Boston Boats," <https://sailstrait.wordpress.com/tag/boston-and-colonial-steamship-company/> (last viewed October 13, 2019).
8. *Halifax Morning Chronicle*, June 7, 1864, pg. 3.
9. Sailstrait, "Civil War Blockade Runner was one of the first of the 'Boston Boats,'" <https://sailstrait.wordpress.com/2015/01/27/civil-war-blockade-runner-was-the-first-of-the-boston-boats/> (last viewed October 13, 2019).
10. Sailstrait, "Charlottetown—Boston Steamer *Oriental* was Confederate Blockade-runner" <https://sailstrait.wordpress.com/2015/01/18/strait-steamer-oriental-was-confederate-blockade-runner/> (last viewed October 13, 2019).
11. *Supplement to the General Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, Vol. II, 1873, "An Act to Dissolve Certain Corporations" (Boston, Massachusetts: Commonwealth, 1873), pg. 89.
12. Sailstrait, "The Boston, Halifax and Prince Edward Island Steamship Company," <https://sailstrait.wordpress.com/tag/boston-halifax-and-prince-edward-island-steamship-company/> (last viewed October 13, 2019).
13. *Ibid.*
14. Jephcott, *op. cit.*, pg. 197. Jephcott cites the Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, *Journals*, 1865, Appendix 15, pg. 1. That source clarifies that the contract was to "convey a mail once a fortnight, between Boston and Charlotte Town, P.E. Island, calling at Halifax and Strait of Canso, as nearly as possible upon the opposite Wednesday of the British mail packet." *Ibid.* at Appendix 15, pp. 1-2.
15. Nova Scotia also provided subsidies to steamship lines that did not carry mail. Jephcott, *op. cit.*, page 200 (subsidy to the *S.S. Eastern State*).
16. *Postal Laws and Regulations of the United States of America, 1866* (Holland, Michigan: Theron Wierenga, 1981), Regulations, pg. 36.
17. See *United States Mail and Post Office Assistant* (Chicago: Collectors Club of Chicago, 1975), Vol. 1, pg. 287.
18. *Boston Daily Journal*, April 24, 1865, pg. 1, <http://memory.loc.gov/service/rbc/lprbscm/scsm1343/001r.jpg> (last viewed October 13, 2019).
19. *The Annual Report of the Postmaster General of the United States for the Fiscal Year 1864* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pg. 19.
20. James C. Lehr, *The Postage Stamps and Cancellations of Prince Edward Island: 1814-1873* (Unitrade Press, Toronto: 1987), pg. 147.
21. David D'Alessandris, "Winter Mail Between the United States and Prince Edward Island," *American Stamp Dealer and Collector* July/August 2010, pp. 48-50. ■

EXPLANATION OF PROBLEM COVER IN CHRONICLE 265

Our problem from *Chronicle* 265, shown here as Figure 1, was submitted by Labron Harris. This 1¢ Plimpton entire envelope (Scott U35) was mailed from New York and originally addressed to Furstengraben, Germany. From there it was forwarded to Dorpat, Estonia. The questions were several: Is this a printed-matter rate? What is the significance of the handstamped markings on the front? Are the blue crayon markings postal in nature? Did the cover make it to Estonia?

James “Jamie” Gough, who exhibits the postal history of the early years of the Universal Postal Union, provided the outline of a scenario that seems to answer most of the questions surrounding this cover. Jeff Bohn filled in essential details and provided translations of place names. Richard Babcock and Robert Meegan assisted in rounding out Gough’s explanation of the complex journey of this simple piece of printed matter.

The 1¢ envelope paid the UPU rate for printed matter to Germany (or any other part of Europe). Upon arrival in Germany this cover was redirected to Dorpat, Estonia (then in Russia) as the addressee was no longer present in Furstengraben. It was subsequently marked with a typical German manuscript “T” (upper left) in blue pencil indicating postage due. This would seem to contradict UPU rules which called for undeliverable mail to be redirected at no charge unless underpaid at origin. It is possible that the addressee had left temporary forwarding instructions while briefly away in Dorpat, in which case German postal regulations might have been in conflict with UPU regulations. Whatever the explanation, the German exchange office handstamped the boxed “T.” in black indicating postage was due and forwarded the envelope on to Dorpat.

On arrival in Russia the envelope was censored, as indicated by the two box-like manuscript Cyrillic letters in blue pencil at left. Both printed matter and personal correspondence was typically censored at this time due to political instability both internally and externally (the 25 year alliance between Germany and Russia had just collapsed).



Figure 1. Our problem cover from last issue was this 1¢ entire envelope sent in 1890 from New York, addressed to Germany and then forwarded to Dorpat, Estonia. The challenge was to explain the markings on the front of the cover.

Upon entering the Russian postal system the cover was marked with the Russian postage due via the handstamped black oval with manuscript “2” at top left, indicating 2 Kopeks to be collected from the addressee. The pencil “X” across the face of the envelope indicates that it could not ultimately be delivered to the addressee. The underlined “3” in red at the upper left is probably a reference number to a line on the return-to-sender report. If indeed the addressee was just going to be in Dorpat for a relatively short time, then it is probable that this printed matter piece arrived after his departure and was forwarded back to Furstengraben where the addressee retrieved it. Since there is no indication that the cover was returned to New York (or sent to a dead letter office), this seems the most likely result. If so, the addressee paid the equivalent of about 2¢ to take delivery of a piece of mail that had traveled about 6000 miles—which seems like quite a bargain.

PROBLEM COVER FOR THIS ISSUE

The problem cover for this issue is shown in Figure 2. Submitted by John Bowman, this folded letter from New York City to Newport, Rhode Island is datelined September 10, 1848. The circular “NEW YORK 5 cts.” integral rate postmark is dated the following day. There are two additional postal markings in red (though not necessarily the same shade of



Figure 2. Our problem cover for this issue is a folded letter datelined New York, September 10, 1848 and addressed to Newport, Rhode Island. The address panel is postmarked “NEW YORK 11 SEP 5cts” in red. There are two other red markings “SEP” and “2” though possibly not the same shade of red. At lower left is a manuscript notation apparently in the same handwriting as the sender: “The postmaster will please deliver this soon as possible.”

red found in the CDS) on the front. One is “SEP” and the other is “2”. In addition, a manuscript notation at the lower left of the address panel, apparently in the same handwriting as the sender, reads: “The postmaster will please deliver this soon as possible.”

We pose several questions: What is the significance of the “2” and the “SEP” markings and where were they applied? Is the sender’s admonition in the lower left relevant? ■

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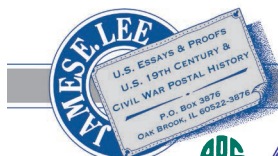
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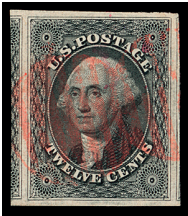
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Gems of Philately

December 2020

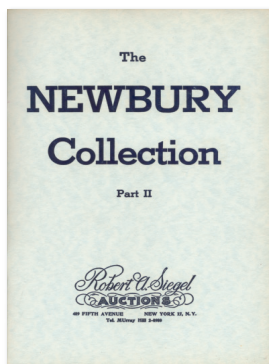
To be sold at Public Auction in our San Francisco auction gallery



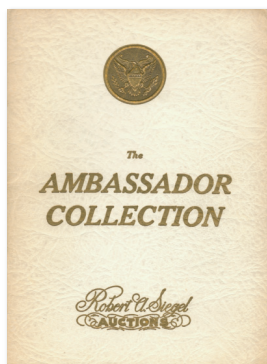
We are pleased to announce our annual Gems of Philately sale. This auction will feature an array of exceptional stamps and covers. We are actively seeking consignments for this important event.

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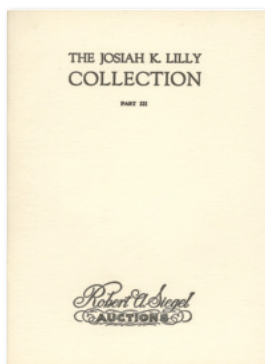
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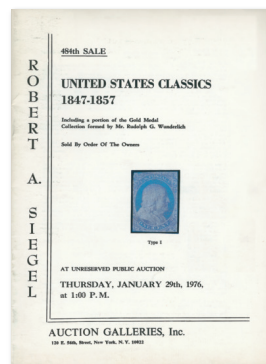
Newbury 1961



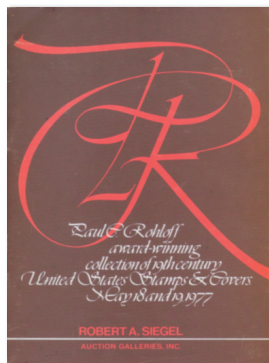
Ambassador 1966



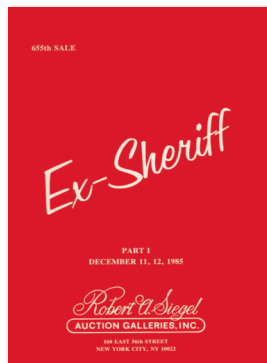
Lilly 1967



Wunderlich 1976



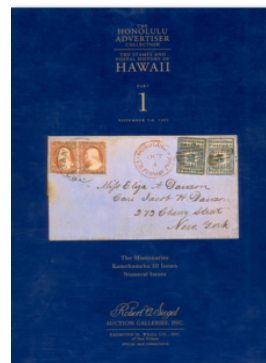
Rohloff 1977



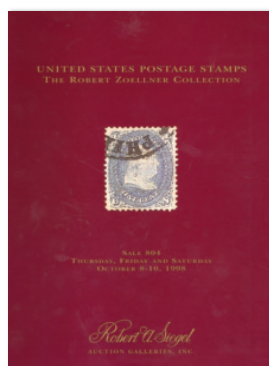
Sheriff 1985



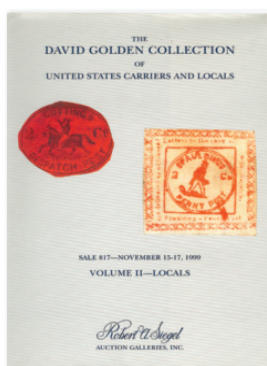
Kapiloff 1992



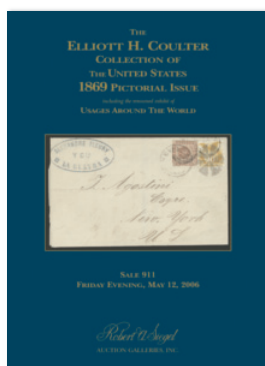
Honolulu Advertiser 1995



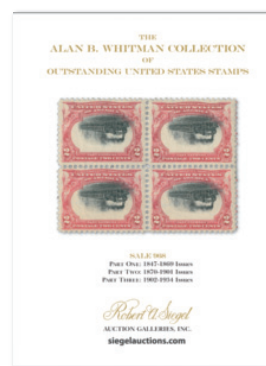
Zoellner 1998



Golden 1999



Coulter 2006



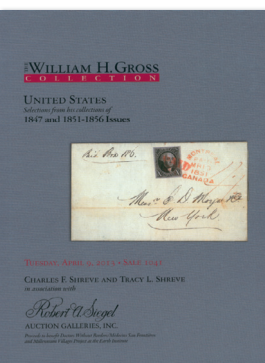
Whitman 2009



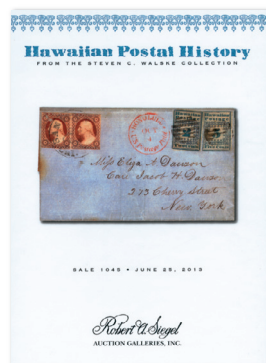
Twigg-Smith 2009



Frelinghuysen 2012



Gross 2013



Walske 2013

Great collections have ONE NAME in common.