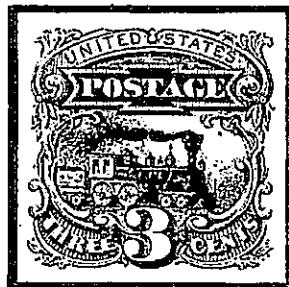


THE 1977 REGISTER



Edited By Benjamin E. Chapman
Associate Editor Jon Rose

**THE UNITED STATES
1869 PICTORIAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATES**

...dedicated to the advancement of knowledge through research and study of the 1869 issue

THE 1977 REGISTER

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TAXES, TAXES, TAXES

BENJAMIN E. CHAPMAN

In the early spring of every year it seems that we are inevitably reminded of an obligation to our U.S. Internal Revenue Service. Adjusted gross income, exclusions, allowable deductions, earned income credit, self-employment tax, schedules, capital gains, income averaging -- these are all familiar terms to each of us.

But what was it like more than 100 years ago during the period of the 1869 Pictorials? Things have changed drastically of course, but after preparation of this article my conclusion is that the taxpayer of that era faced similar situations and responded in much the same way that you or I would today.

The purpose of this article is several-fold. First, it is desired to show several types of tax forms in use over a century ago and how they were used. Second, I shall enlarge upon the article by Margaret L. Wunsch appearing in last year's PRA REGISTER (INTERPHIL PUBLICATION), dealing with the 1869 bisects used from Luray, Va. Herein will be illustrated the only known entire tax notices from Luray utilizing both the 2¢ and 3¢ bisected 1869 stamps. Finally, it is hoped the following will be entertaining to the reader.

The 1¢ Rate

Figure 1 shows the use of a 1¢ 1869 single on a large piece of an IRS Tax Notice. The stamp was used to pay the 1¢ drop rate within a city having no carrier delivery (Frankfort, Ky.). This article passed through the mail and the stamp paid the fee for delivery of the form to the taxpayer.

Notice that the form (No. 24) was designed so that the information at the top could be used as the address and that a place was saved below for an appropriate postage stamp and postal markings. These were the forerunners of today's "peel-and-reuse" address labels and "penalty" indicia. Notice also that the printed form dated 1869 has been written over in pen to indicate 1874 usage (quite a late usage of the 1¢ 1869). My guess is that the Assessor of the 6th Div., 7th District of Kentucky had a number of forms from 1869 left over in 1874 which already had these stamps affixed; so he used them! How many of last year's forms did you use this year due to unavailability at the P.O., Bank or IRS?

Figure 2 shows the reverse side of this form and gives us a clue as to how these documents were actually used. At the bottom may be seen, "Sworn and subscribed, this 19th day of Mar...". Remember this article was mailed to the taxpayer on Feb. 19. More on this later.

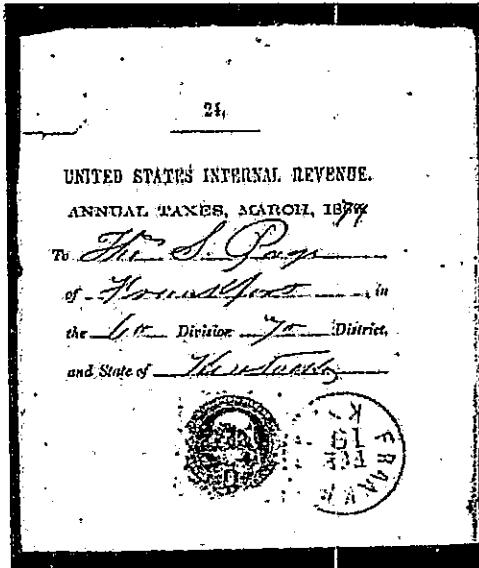


Figure 1. 1¢ 1869 paying drop rate in 1874 for delivery of a tax notice to taxpayer.

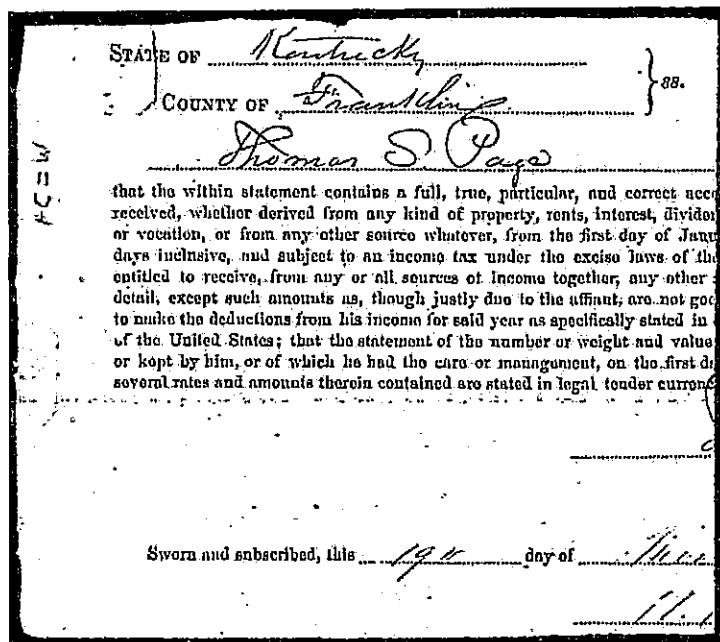


Figure 2. Back side of the piece of tax notice illustrated in Figure 1, showing State and County of place of mailing.

The 2¢ Rate

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate a folded tax notice of a different type. The 2¢ 1869 Horse and Rider paid the postage for this drop letter within a city having carrier service. (This was the so-called "free city delivery service," which was anything but "free" for this class of service.) Buffalo at that time had 30 carriers and more than 21,000 drop letters were mailed in April, 1870.

The gist of this message is that Ms. Caroline Ketchum had been assessed a tax of \$50.78 by the Local Tax Assessor. This had been forwarded to the Receiver of Taxes, E. Ambrose, who in turn was requesting payment. This was no doubt a tax by the city of Buffalo, probably for a piece of property. When was the last time you received one of these? Happily, the tax was paid and is so noted in manuscript by "C.D.M."

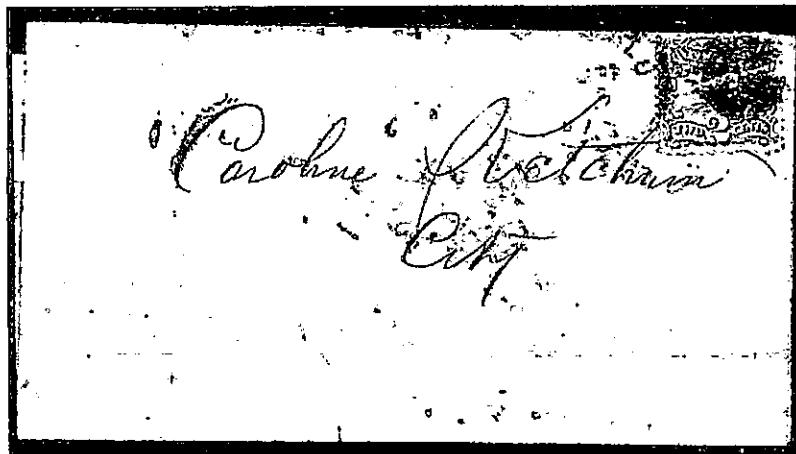


Figure 3. Two cent drop rate in Buffalo, a carrier city, for a folded tax notice.

The 3¢ Rate

There were occasions when the tax officials had to break down and pay for sending a first class letter. Such is the case for the item shown in Figure 5. The Tax Collector at Dubuque, Iowa used a 3¢ Locomotive to send this envelope and enclosure to J. O. Crosby, Esq. (Attorney?) at Garniville, Iowa. The envelope is specially prepared and printed for the official use of the Collector. It is intended to be used with the signature of the Collector in the upper right corner, "franking" the envelope and thus rendering its passage free.

There were, however, very strict rules for the use of the franking privilege by a Collector. In the November, 1869 edition of the United States Mail and Post Office Assistant may be found a complete list of those having this privilege.

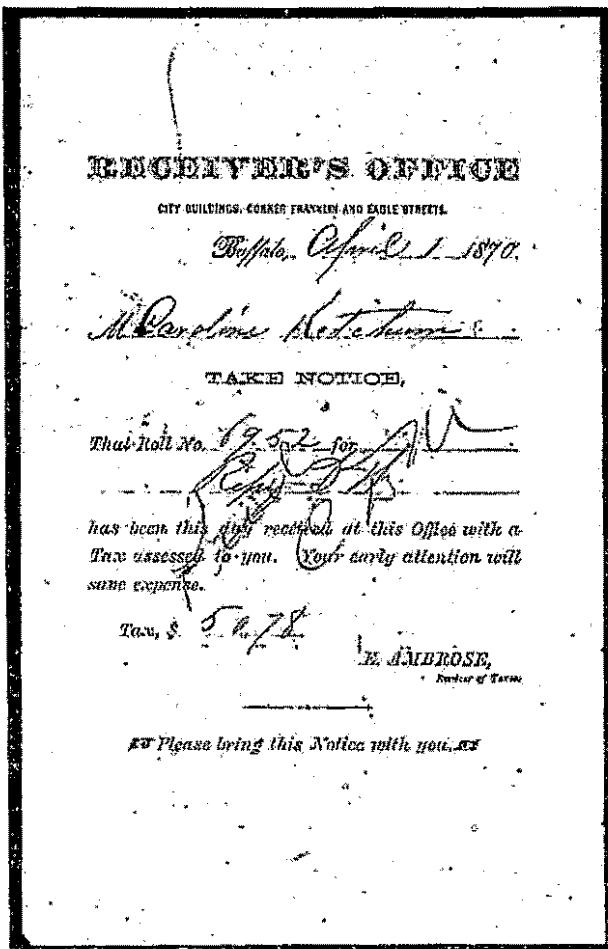


Figure 4. Interior of the folded tax notice sent by the "Receiver of Taxes" at Buffalo to Ms. Caroline Ketchum.

This table indicates that a Collector could send, under the "special" privilege status, communications only to other Collectors, Deputy Collectors or Assessors. The "special" condition was the use of the specially printed envelopes, and of course the original signature of the Collector. Facsimile signatures had been outlawed by the Act of March 1, 1869. Thus, the 3¢ stamp had to be used.

Figure 6 shows the enclosure to this letter, which is extremely interesting. It is a "demand for special tax" (Form No. 81) in the amount of \$1.00 for a Gold Watch. The tax had to be paid within 10 days of mailing and the penalties for non-payment were rather strict. Mr. Crosby must have considered this carefully, as he docketed the outside of his envelope, "Sent tax on watch to Collector Apr. 29/70, \$1."

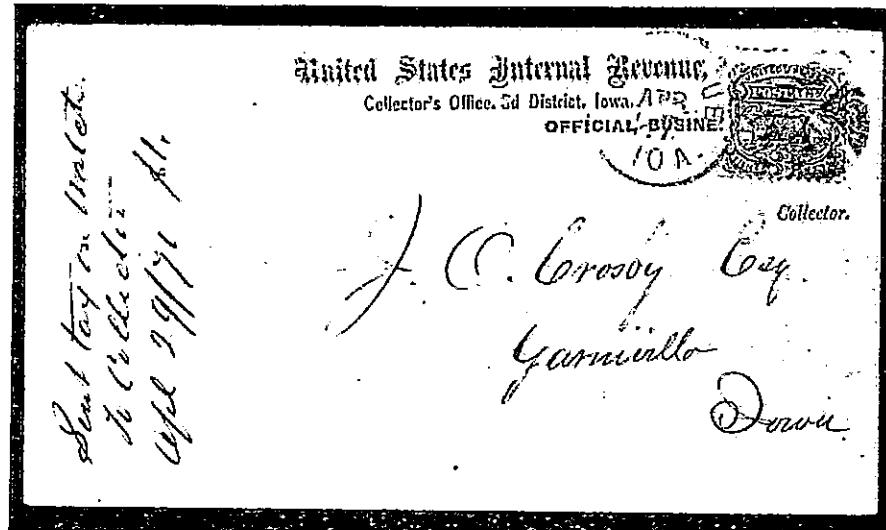


Figure 5. Specially prepared envelopes were designed for Collectors and other tax officials for communications which could be sent under the free franking provisions of the law. Letters sent to taxpayers, however, had to bear proper postage.

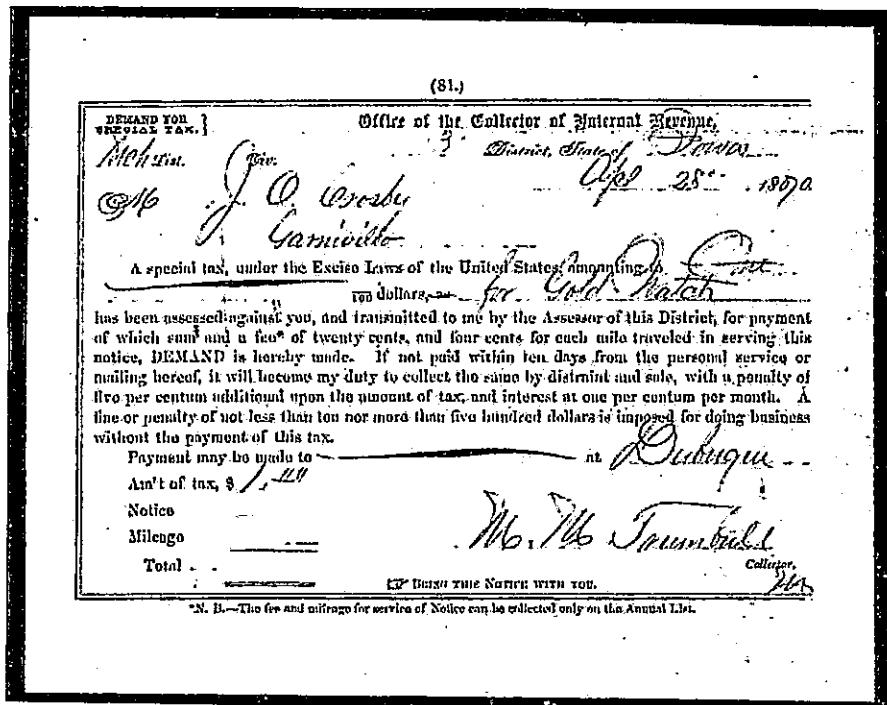


Figure 6. Enclosure found in envelope in Figure 5. This is a demand for a \$1.00 tax on a gold watch. See also Figure 10.

An additional cover shown in Figure 7 shows another instance when a Collector had to pay 3¢ to send a letter to an Assistant Assessor. Remember that the Assistant Assessor is not the same as the Assessor.

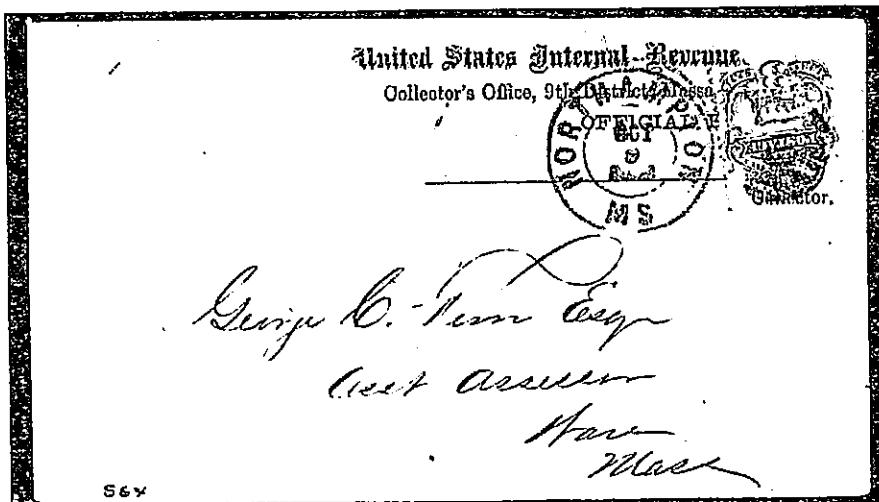


Figure 7. 3¢ Postage was required on this letter from a Collector to an Assistant Assessor. If it had been sent to the Assessor, it could have gone free, using the special franking privilege.

Bisects on Tax Notice

Since the appearance of the excellent article by Margaret L. Wunsch in last year's PRA REGISTER, three new items have come to light which expand her pioneering effort, as well as fit into a general discussion on printed tax forms. These are discussed below:

The 3¢ Bisect on Entire Luray Tax Notice

Items number 5 and 8 on Margaret's list of bisects used from Luray are now known to be the same entire. The current owner, Marc Haas, graciously sent a color slide of this entire tax notice bearing the right 2/3 of a 3¢ 1869 Locomotive, from which the illustration in Figure 8 is taken. This entire is the same one described by Luff in his 1902 book, and additionally is partially illustrated in Volume II of Lester Brookman's book (page 164). We are pleased to be able to show this item in its entirety.

Note that this item has the date April 2, 1870 (as indicated by Luff) and is noted in pencil, "from Worthington collection 7/26/17" and "1943 West." Thus, the owners were Luff/Worthington/Steinmetz/West and now Haas. The 3¢ bisect is well tied by a circular grid and signed by Frank J. Bramhall, Assistant Assessor. The taxpayer, Joel Mauck, lived at Massanutton, a small town a few miles west of Luray. The 2¢ in postage represented payment of the unsealed circular rate (regardless of the

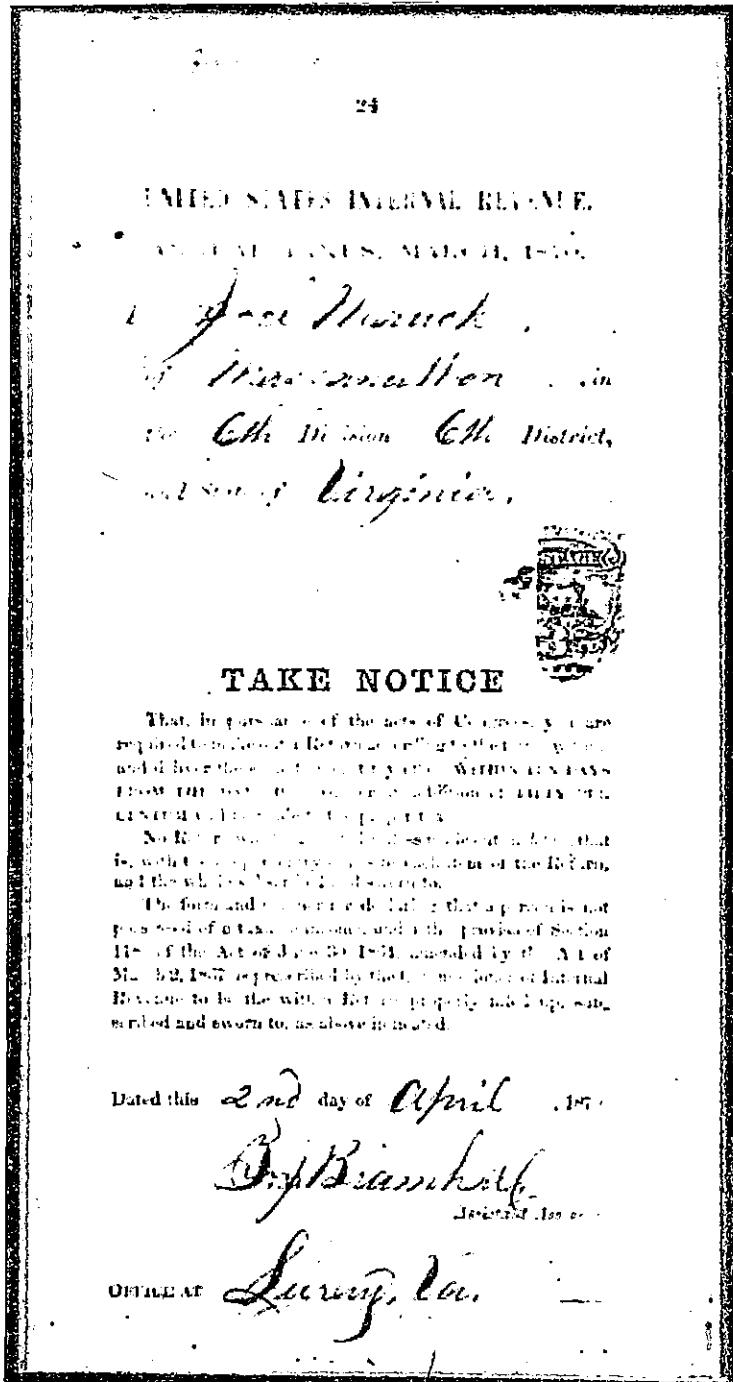


Figure 8. Only known 3¢ 1869 Bisect on entire Luray, Va. tax notice. Pencil notations indicate prior owners were Worthington and West. This is the item noted by Luff in his 1902 book. Photo courtesy of Marc Haas.

fact that the item contained manuscript writing in addition to the address, which technically made it incorrectly rated). Also, note that there are minor differences in this March 1870 form 24 for Annual Taxes and the March 1869 form 24 shown in Figure 1. You can't expect the government to keep these things constant, can you?

A New Find - A 2¢ 1869 on Entire Luray Tax Notice

A striking new find bearing a diagonally bisected 2¢ 1869 stamp on entire tax notice from Luray has just been "rediscovered" by its present owner (and Associate), Lloyd W. Taber. He reports that this item was purchased at a Peter Kenedi auction in 1965 for \$105.00. This item is unique in several respects:

1. It is the only known 2¢ 1869 Bisect on entire Luray tax notice.
2. It is the earliest known use of any bisect from Luray -- March 26, 1870.
3. It is the only known diagonal bisect from Luray.

The subject bisect entire is shown in Figure 9 and bears the proper signature of Frank J. Bramhall. The 2¢ bisect is tied by a black manuscript marking. The 1¢ in postage represents payment of the proper fee for a drop letter to Luray. Two questions immediately arise at this point. Why, if 2¢ stamps were available, were other 3¢ stamps bisected at Luray to make the 2¢ rate? Secondly, why was this bisect (and an additional 2¢ bisect to be discussed later) cancelled with a manuscript marking if a circular grid handstamp existed? I will leave these open, but obviously the theory about the Luray Postmaster stocking only 1¢ and 3¢ stamps is in error.

Figure 10 shows the interior of the 2¢ bisect entire and gives us the key to understanding several points about the operation of the IRS tax system discussed here, as well as an identification key for the Luray bisects on piece. At the top of this illustration is "Schedule A," a listing of taxable articles, which should be viewed as a type of personal property tax. The articles which were taxable included: carriages, gold watches, billiard tables, gold plate and silver plate. (The last line in Schedule A is not visible because of a paper fold, but reads, "0z. plate of silver, kept for use, per ounce, troy, exceeding 40 ounces, used by one family....Rate: 05.")

The center portion of the illustration contains a series of questions which were required to be answered. Although no exact income statement is made on this form, it is possible an additional form was required and filled out for this purpose. Near the bottom of this form may be seen the statement which was sworn to before Frank J. Bramhall, and signed by the taxpayer.

Thus the series of events for the collection of annual taxes must have been something like this: The Assessor (or his assistant) sent out the tax notices in the early spring (in this case, March 26, 1870). The taxpayer then filled out the forms and appeared before the Assessor to swear to the correctness of said document (April 4, 1870). The Assessor then determined the amount of tax owed and communicated this to the Collector through

UNITED STATES INTERNAL REVENUE.

ANNUAL TAXES, MARCH, 1870.

To Samuel Miller
 of Luray, in
 the 6th Division 6th District,
 and State of Virginia



TAKE NOTICE

That, in pursuance of the acts of Congress, you are required to make out a Return according to the forms within, and deliver the same to me, at my office, WITHIN TEN DAYS FROM THE DATE HEREOF, or an addition of FIFTY PER CENTUM will be made to the proper tax.

No Return will be accepted unless made out in detail, that is, with the proper entry opposite each item of the Return, and the whole subscribed and sworn to.

The form and manner for declaring that a person is not possessed of a taxable income, under the proviso of Section 118, of the Act of June 30, 1864, amended by the Act of March 2, 1867, is prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to be the within Return, properly filled up, subscribed and sworn to, as above indicated.

Dated this 26th day of March, 1870.

Frank J. Bramhall
Assistant Inspector.

OFFICE AT Luray, Va.

Figure 9. Only known 2¢ 1869 Bisect on entire Luray, Va. tax notice. This item bears the signature of Frank J. Bramhall and is dated earlier than the 3¢ bisect item known to Luff (Figure 7).

CARRIAGES, GOLD WATCHES, BILLIARD TABLES, GOLD AND SILVER PLATE.

SCHEDULE A—SECTION 1C, ACT JUNE 30, 1864, AS AMENDED JULY 13, 1865.

NO.	TAXABLE ARTICLES.	RATE.	AMOUNT OF TAX.
	Carriages, phaeton, carriage, rockaway, or other like carriage, and any coach, hansom coach, omnibus, or four-wheeled carriage, the body of which rests upon springs of any description, which is kept for use, for hire, or for passengers, and which is not used exclusively in livery or in the transportation of merchandise, valued at exceeding three hundred dollars and not exceeding five hundred dollars, including harness used therewith.....	60 00	
	Carriages of like description valued at above five hundred dollars.....	10 00	
	Gold watches, composed wholly or in part of gold or gilt, kept for use, valued at one hundred dollars or less.....	1 00	
	Gold watches, composed wholly or in part of gold or gilt, kept for use, valued at above one hundred dollars.....	2 00	
	Billiard tables kept for use, and not subject to special tax.....	10 00	
	Ox. plate of gold, kept for use, per ounce troy.....	50	

Assessors should require Answers to be written opposite each of these Questions.

Had your wife any income last year? *Yes.*
 Did any minor child of yours receive any salary last year? *No.*
 Have you included in this return the income of your wife, and salary received by minor children? *Yes.*
 Have you any stocks, and what are they? *1 share in the S. P. Cos.*
 Have you bought or sold stocks or other property? *No.*
 Have you any United States securities? *No.*
 Have you given or transferred to any child or children of yours, or to any other person or persons, the income, gains, or profits, or any part of the income, gains, or profits, arising during the year 1860, from stocks, bonds, or other securities, or from any other source whatever? *No.*
 Is such income included in the foregoing return? *Yes.*
 Have you transferred any stocks, bonds, or other securities, or any other property, or the interest or other gains or profits arising therefrom during the year 1860, for the purpose of diminishing your own taxable income, and if so when and to whom? *No.*
 Have you kept any book account? *No.*
 Is your income estimated, or taken from your books? *Estimated.*
 Have any of the deductions claimed in your return already been taken out of the amount reported as profits? *No.*
 Did you estimate any portion of your profits in making your return for previous years?
 Was any portion treated as worthless, and, if since paid, have you included it in this return?

STATE OF Virginia }
 COUNTY OF Luray }
Samuel Miller

being sworn according to law, deposes and says
 that the foregoing statement contains a full, true, particular, and correct account of his income for the year A. D. 1860, which he has received, whether derived from any kind of property, rents, interest, dividends, or salary, or from any profession, trade, employment, or vocation, or from any other source whatever, from the first day of January to the thirty-first day of December, A. D. 1860, both days inclusive, and subject to an income tax under the excise laws of the United States; and that he has not received, and is not entitled to receive, from any or all sources of income together, any other sum for the said year besides what is herein set forth in detail, except such amounts as, though justly due to the aforesaid, are not good and collectible; and that he is honestly and truly entitled to make the deductions from his income for said year as specifically stated in detail, in accordance with the true intent of the excise laws of the United States; that the statement of the number or weight and value of the articles enumerated in schedule A, owned, possessed, or kept by him, or of which he had the care or management, on the first day of March, A. D. 1870, is also just and true; that the several rates and amounts therein contained are stated in legal tender currency, and that the written answers to the above questions are true.

Samuel Miller

Sworn and subscribed, this fourth day of April, A. D. 1870, before me,

Frank J. Bramhall
 Assistant Auditor 6th Division 6th District, State of Virginia.

Figure 10. Interior of the 2¢ bisect on entire tax notice. This schedule shows the listing of personal property which was taxable, a detailed questionnaire and the sworn statement of the taxpayer. The existence of this item certifies the genuineness of all other known bisects used from Luray, Va. (see text).

the use of his franking privilege. The Collector in turn communicated this back to the taxpayer, who finally paid the tax. An excellent example of this is the \$1.00 tax on the gold watch previously discussed and the relationship of this to the top of Schedule A in Figure 9.

The most significant thing this 2¢ bisect tax notice from Luray does for us is certify that all of the other bisects illustrated in the Wunsch article are genuine! How is this, you say? The answer, quite simply, is in the handwriting of Frank J. Bramhall. Notice the distinctiveness of Mr. Bramhall's small 'e's' and 'a's,' as seen on both the front and back of the 2¢ bisect item and as corroborated on the 3¢ bisect entire. Then look at the manuscript heading before the sworn statement. There will be found,

"State of....."

"County of.....,"
with "Virginia" and "Page" written in by Mr. Bramhall. Luray was in Page County, Va.

Turning to the Wunsch article, it will be seen that each of the four illustrated 3¢ bisects on piece show the manuscript endings of the words "Virginia" and "Page" on the back sides in the same handwriting! It is incredible to this writer that such a fortuitous positioning of these bisects and alignment of the manuscript area on the back, coupled with Mr. Bramhall's distinctive handwriting and the carelessness with which these items were torn/salvaged could occur. But it all happened.

Recent Offerings -- Other 3¢ and 2¢ Bisects

In the Robert A. Siegel auction #497 of September 11, 1976, two 1869 bisects on piece of tax notice were offered (lots 187 and 191). Both realized \$160.00. As reported in the November 1976 edition of "1869 Times" (Vol 2, No. 2, Whole No. 5), this author examined both lots, which came with a letter from Eugene Klein noting the authenticity of both. The letter is as follows:

Mr. H. Fitzsimmons
E1028 DeSmet
Spokane, Washington

March 9, 1936

Dear Mr. Fitzsimmons:

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 9. I have again examined lots (sic) Nos. 100 and 102 vertical bisects of U.S. 1869 issue 2¢ and 3¢ stamps. I believe these to be genuine.

They were used on Tax Notices in Washington, D.C. and bought as original find by Mr. Huston, an old Washington dealer. He in turn sold these to various collectors, in the present instance to Mr. Gerard Ten Eyck Beeckman whose property they are and who gave them to me to sell at auction.

I return the two pieces to you herewith.
You may, of course, send them to Mr. Sloane if
you wish it but in any case I hope you will let
me have a prompt decision to enable me to settle
with the owner.

Sincerely yours,
Eugene Klein (Sig.)

EK:FB
Enc.

I will have to immediately disagree with Mr. Klein's statement that these bisects were used in Washington, D.C. They are both obviously from Luray, Va., as they both show Frank Bramhall's distinctive handwriting on their respective obverse sides. Figures 11 and 12 illustrate this quite definitely for the 2¢ bisect. The 3¢ bisect is similar. Could Klein (or the original finder) have intended to say they were located in Washington, Va.? Washington is only a few miles east of Luray in Rappahan County.

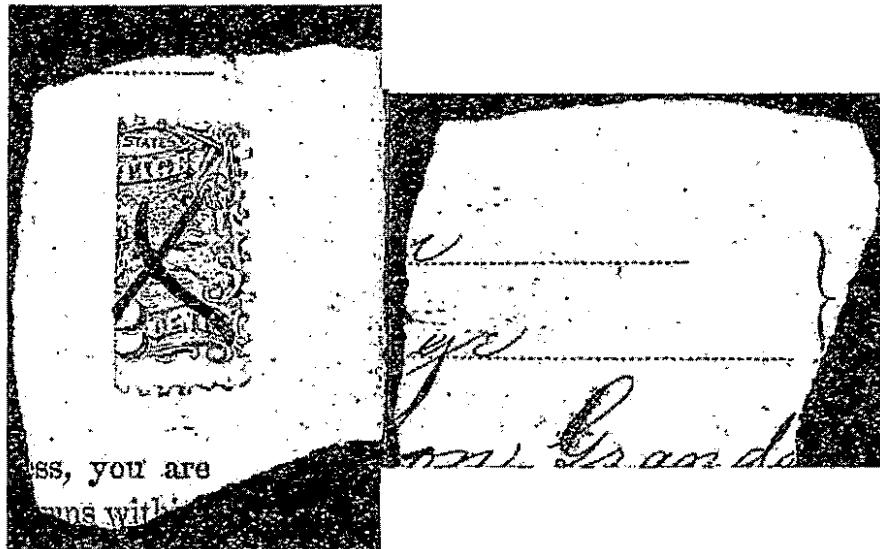


Figure 11. 2¢ bisect on piece of tax notice, tied by manuscript cancel.

Figure 12. Reverse of 2¢ bisect shown in Figure 10. The distinctive handwriting of Frank J. Bramhall is evident in the "a" and "e" of "Virginia" and "Page," proving this item to have originated at Luray, Va. also.

What is interesting about Klein's letter is that the string of previous owners for these pieces (Huston/Beeckman/Fitzsimmons) was not mentioned by Wunsch. These items are now split and on to two new owners. The 2¢ bisect is pen-cancelled (barely, but definitely tied), as is the 2¢ bisect entire.

The 3¢ bisect (not illustrated) is of average overall quality, being much poorer than any photographed in the Wunsch article, although tied by a circular grid. This piece is small and contains the following printed letters on the front, "CE / Congress." The stamp is a 2/3 vertical bisect, with the placement such that the cut is in the horizontal position, with the perfs down. This piece was apparently recently offered by Miner Stamp Co. In the January 31, 1977 edition of Linn's (page 18), I have found:

"8934. #114c, 3¢ 1869 Pictorial. Vertical 2/3rds used as 2¢. Tied by grid on small portion of tax notice. With photostat of Eugene Klein letter of authenticity. A very rare item. ONLY \$260.00."

Conclusion

The various tax forms in use during the period of the 1869 Pictorial Issue are quite interesting, quaint and often quite valuable today. The author would be interested in corresponding with other Associates possessing similar memorabilia.**

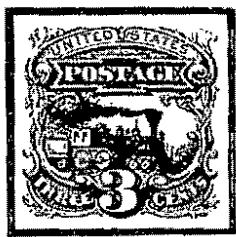
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THREE 2¢ 1869's USED FROM CHOCTAW CORNER, ALABAMA

MICHAEL C. O'REILLY

The area between the Alabama River and the Tombigbee River could justly be called the heart of Alabama, for it is in this area that much of the early settlement of Alabama took place. These two rivers intersect about fifty miles above Mobile and flow together to the port of Mobile and the Gulf of Mexico. During this long era of development (prompted, among other things, by the ease of water transportation), many small towns came and went, their only claim to fame now residing in a highway historical marker and a listing in government records as a discontinued post office.

Choctaw Corner, Alabama was just such a place. It was located in Clarke County about one hundred miles north of Mobile, or about fifty miles (as the crow flies) from the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. See Figure 1.

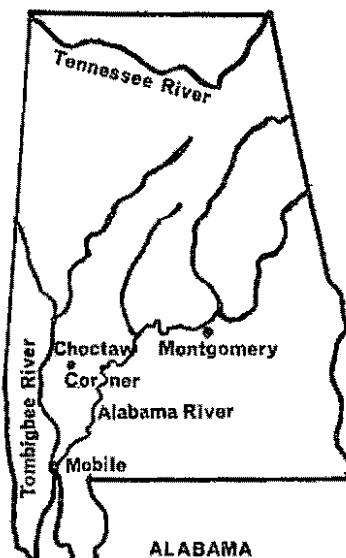


Figure 1. Map showing the location of Choctaw Corner, Alabama.

As my own slowly developing postal history records did not contain any data on Choctaw Corner, contact with the National Archives and Records Service and other postal history students was necessary; all of which yielded a good bit of information. Though the name of Choctaw Corner was adopted in 1848, the Post Office began as Motts, being established January 2, 1833, being named after one of the first settlers, Robert Motts. Fifteen years later, on May 9, 1848, the

name was changed to Choctaw Corner. This title derives from the Indian heritage of the region. The community was situated in what is known as the "Choctaw Corrers," or the line between the lands of the Choctaw and Creek Nations.¹ During 1867, the post office was shut down for three months, being closed on July 8 and re-opened on October 7. This Post Office at Choctaw Corner was finally closed on April 30, 1907.

It is interesting to note that in the several years this writer has been studying Alabama Postal History, we have not seen any other covers bearing a postmark from Choctaw Corner. The 1971 edition of the American Stampless Cover Catalog lists neither a handstamp nor a manuscript town marking from Choctaw Corner or its predecessor, Motts.

As shown in Figure 2, the cover is a legal size envelope bearing a horizontal strip of three of the 2¢ 1869, each stamp cancelled by two black manuscript lines. The town name is likewise a manuscript marking in two lines reading, "Choctaw Corner Ala / Feb 26 / 70." The envelope contained depositions, accounting for the double first class postage rate of six cents. The envelope

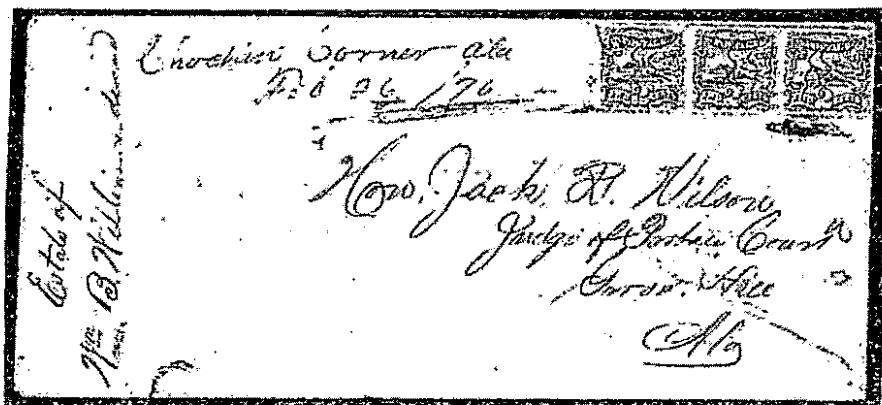


Figure 2. Double weight letter bearing a strip of 3 of the 2¢ Horse and Rider. Manuscript markings: "Choctaw Corner, Ala. / Feb. 26 / 70", "Estate of / Wm. B. Williams deced." and "Depositions / W. H. Slade Com." on back.

is addressed to Grove Hill, the county seat of Clarke County and the birthplace of one of the handsomest and rarest of the Alabama Confederate Postmasters' Provisional issues.

Although a U.S. Official Register was not published in 1870, one can infer a comparable amount of compensation to the

¹ Owen, Marie B., The Story of Alabama, A History of the State, Lewis Historical Publishing Co. Inc., New York, 1949, p. 393.

postmaster at Choctaw Corner by examining the Registers for 1869 and 1871. The U.S. Official Register for fiscal (year) ending June 30, 1869 shows that Postmaster Elizabeth Allen of Choctaw Corner, Clark County received \$32.00 in compensation. In fiscal 1871, Roswell Poole of Choctaw Corner received \$32.² Given this information, it is logical to assume that the compensation for fiscal 1870 was in the neighborhood of \$32. As postmasters were compensated at the rate of 60% of the first \$100 of the gross receipts per annum (though the rate decreased as gross receipts increased)³, this post office did about \$53 worth of business for the entire year. By way of comparison, the Postmasters at both Mobile and Montgomery received \$4000 in compensation for fiscal 1871.

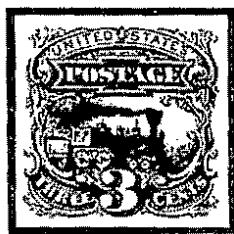
Though the postage of six cents on this envelope represents only a small portion of postal business at Choctaw Corner for 1870, it may very well be the only surviving evidence that the post office was there.

The author wishes to express his thanks for the assistance rendered by David L. Jarrett of New York.**



² Letter from David L. Jarrett dated 2 October 1976.

³ Baker, J. D., The Postal History of Indiana, Leonard H. Hartmann, Louisville, Kentucky, 1976, Volume I, p. 363.



A COMBINED REVENUE-POSTAGE USAGE

JOHN BIRKINBINE II

Would you believe a cover exists showing a three-cent 1869 stamp paying postage used together with a revenue stamp paying tax on the contents?

The cover pictured here introduces a new field of philately, a phase that is just as fascinating as it is rare! This discovery involves the combined usage of a postage stamp for mail conveyance and a revenue stamp for tax receipt, both on the same vehicle.

The envelope was sent by Dr. A. R. Ball of Marshall, Michigan, who was promoting and selling "Dr. Ball's Medicated Paper." This wonder patent medicine had its own trademark, and was "for the cure of asthma, bronchitis, consumption, colds, coughs, catarrh, croup, hooping-cough, hoarseness and all diseases of the breathing organs."

During this period all types of financial transactions were taxed, and it is probable this envelope contained a billing for payment. According to the law a revenue stamp or stamps of appropriate denomination were to be placed on all financial transaction documents and initialed for cancellation. In the case of mailing out monthly billings, such procedure was both tedious and time consuming--particularly for an intellectually sharp and busy promoter of patent medicines. Thus it should not take long to develop a methodology to minimize this unpleasant task.

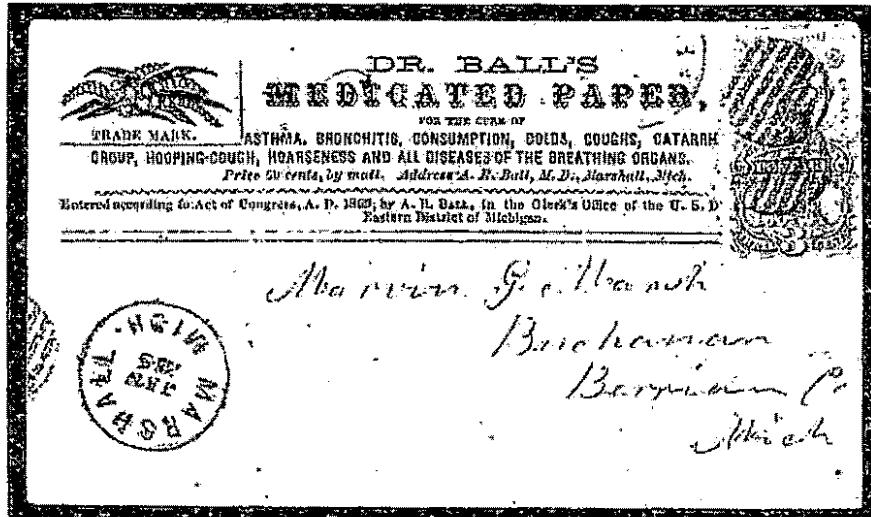


Figure 1. "Dr. Ball's Medicated Paper" illustrated advertising cover bearing a 2¢ revenue stamp and a 3¢ 1869 Locomotive. The revenue stamp has a manuscript "B" on the face.

The first step would be to apply only your last initial to a sheet of revenue stamps. Simple and fast. Next, paste a revenue stamp on the envelopes you will use to mail billings, and at the same time place a postage stamp on these envelopes. Now the envelopes are all prepared, waiting for use in billing at the appropriate moment. Such efficiency would save quite a bit of preparation time, and is a more than reasonable assumption.

Examining the cover in Illustration No. 1, we find a United States two-cent Internal Revenue stamp placed at the upper right and initialed in manuscript, "B." A three-cent 1869 regular postage stamp is placed over the lower portion of the revenue stamp. Both stamps are tied together by two strikes of a bordered grid cancellation, with a matching cancel on the envelope. This was used from Marshall, Michigan, January 25th, probably in 1870 or possibly in 1871, and addressed to Buchanan, Michigan.

The combination of the orange revenue stamp with the blue postage stamp on an orange-buff envelope having patent medicine advertising is most beautiful, and this added to the extremely rare usage aspect probably serves to make the cover one of the most interesting and unusual in United States classical philately.

For corroboration, Illustration No. 2 shows what may be a similar usage. A one-cent revenue express stamp is used with an 1861 three-cent postage stamp from Crawford Springs, Mississippi, to a firm in New Orleans, Louisiana. Of interest is that this envelope is also of buff color. While the author has not made any statistical analysis of envelopes of that period relative to contents, memory serves to indicate that most buff envelopes to or from firms served to enclose billings. The color and texture of these envelopes served to add privacy to the contents, and this feature along with a lower cost due to cheaper grade paper may well account for many firms using this type of envelope.

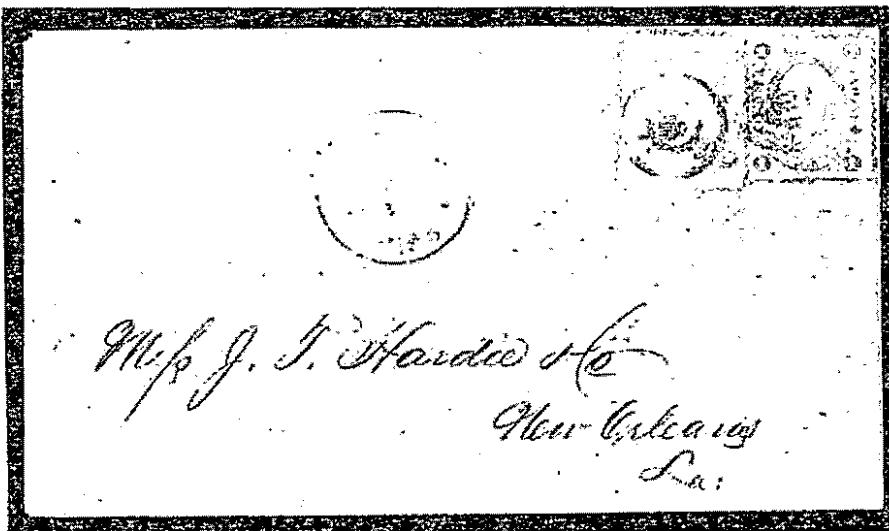


Figure 2. A 1¢ revenue stamp used with a 3¢ 1861 regular postage stamp from Crawford Springs, Mississippi.

Many covers of the period show usage of revenue stamps to pay postage--either successfully or unsuccessfully--and these are not to be confused with those described and illustrated here. Combined revenue-postage usage on cover must have the full postage paid by a postage stamp plus a revenue stamp of appropriate denomination for normally encountered contents.

It is exciting to 1869 students that the analysis and corresponding discovery of combined revenue-postage usage should occur as a result of an envelope sporting the 1869 three-cent stamp! More than a century after use, this issue is still producing surprises for philatelists, and introducing new philatelic fields such as that premiered in this research paper.**





SITKA, ALASKA TERRITORIAL USE OF THE 3¢ 1869 LOCOMOTIVE

MARGARET L. WUNSCH

Sitka, Alaska in 1868 was a buzzing small town of less than 500 residents, with more bar rooms than private homes. Located on Baranof Island on the outer edge of the archipelago that is part of the Alaskan Panhandle, Sitka had been the old Russian capital, known as New Archangel (See Figure 1).

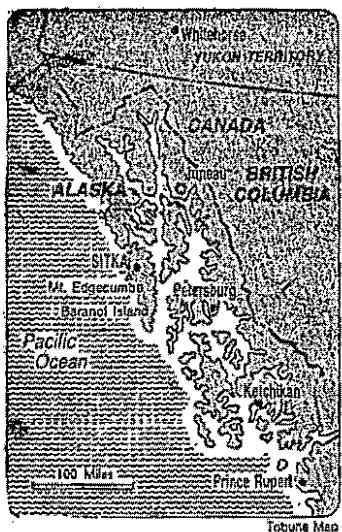


Figure 1. Southeast Alaska, showing location of Sitka.

Figure 2. The "Sitka, Alaska T." circular date stamp. This is the only Alaskan postmark to use the "T." for "Territory."

In the middle of the 18th century the Russians discovered Sitka, inhabited by the Tlingit Indians, and blessed with valuable fur, fish and wood. But they did not establish a settlement there until 1800. The battle between the Russians and the Indians established Russian dominance in the area. The entire Alaska Territory was purchased by the United States on May 26, 1867, but was not formally transferred until October 18, 1867.

Naturally, the postal history of Alaska began at Sitka. According to the Post Office Guide for 1868, on October 20, 1867

this post office was known as "Sitka, Russian America." The records later reveal "Russian America" was changed by written notation:

"Changed to Alaska by Act of Congress Jy 27, 1868." Thus, the cancelling device for Sitka contained a "T," indicating "Territory" after this date (See Figure 2).

Henry Kinkead was appointed postmaster on May 26, 1867, and the Sitka Post Office was authorized on July 23, 1867. Postmaster Kinkead went on to become the first governor of the territory in 1884.

The San Francisco postmaster authorized the U.S.S. JOHN L. STEPHENS to carry the mail from San Francisco to Sitka, and one trip was made prior to December 28, 1867. Also, H. M. Hutchinson negotiated a contract on October 6, 1869 for a monthly service to Sitka from Port Townsend, Washington Territory, a distance of 897 miles. Financially this was not profitable.

From October 18, 1867 to June 14, 1877, the Military District of Alaska was at Sitka. Information received from the Kettleson Memorial Library at Sitka recently indicates that the location of the post office in 1868 was in the lower left side of Jeff Davis' (Military) Headquarters.

The following news item was taken from the "Alaska Herald" and "The Free Press," a Russian-English newspaper, established in San Francisco, March 1, 1868:

"October 15, 1868 -- We were walking with a Russian friend, just arrived from Sitka. On entering the Post Office he expressed surprise at the arrangement, which was he said, quite similar to that at Sitka. Postmaster Kinkead, at Sitka, has lock-boxes similar to ours; but in these boxes a whiskey bottle is deposited and not letters. The box holder unlocks his box, takes a drink, relocks and returns his key to his pocket. Our friend says it is surprising how many mails arrive during the day, judging by the frequent visits to the Post Office."

One can readily understand that due to the remoteness of this Alaskan outpost (in a newly-formed U.S. Territory), covers cancelled during the period of use of the 3¢ 1869 stamp are extremely scarce. U.S. naval vessels such as the "Resaca," "Ossipee" and "Jamestown" carried men who wrote a few letters home -- generally from on board ship. In the early days, the paymaster or an officer of these steamers may have performed the duties of a postmaster for the crew, as well as for the people ashore.

Examples of covers which were apparently not routed through the Sitka Post Office, but carried by the "Resaca" are mentioned in Dr. Matejka's 1959 Congress Book article. The covers are marked in manuscript, "U.S. Steamer 'Resaca' / Sitka, Alaska Ter'y." In the upper left and "Via Steamer" or "Via Panama" in the same script at lower left. These covers entered the mails at San Francisco.

A similar cover is shown in Figure 3, bearing a pair of the 3¢ 1869 stamps, entering the mails at San Francisco. We know the origin of this letter was Sitka because it is part of a correspondence, all addressed to "Hon. David Lyle" in the same handwriting. Figure 4 shows another cover from this same series, postmarked Sitka, Alaska T., October 29, (1870).

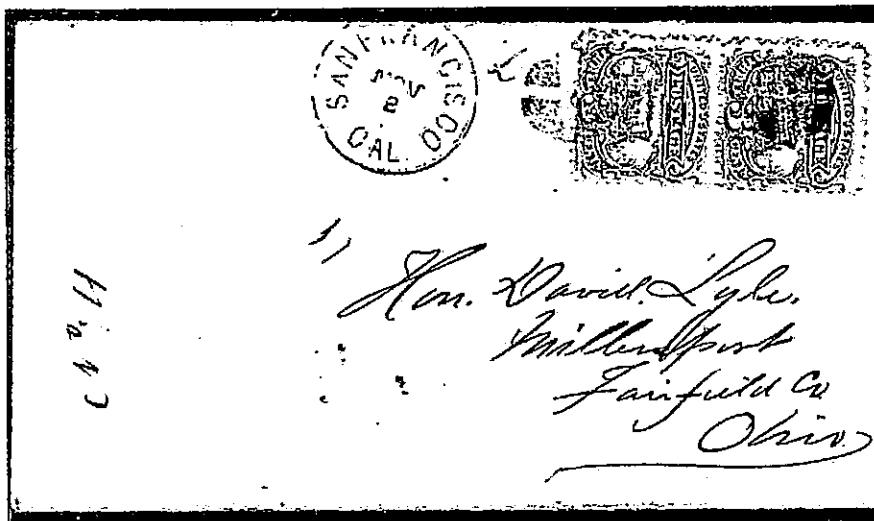


Figure 3. Pair of the 3¢ 1869 Locomotive on cover, obviously originating in Alaska. Carried by steamer to San Francisco, where it entered the mail. Courtesy Elliott H. Coulter.

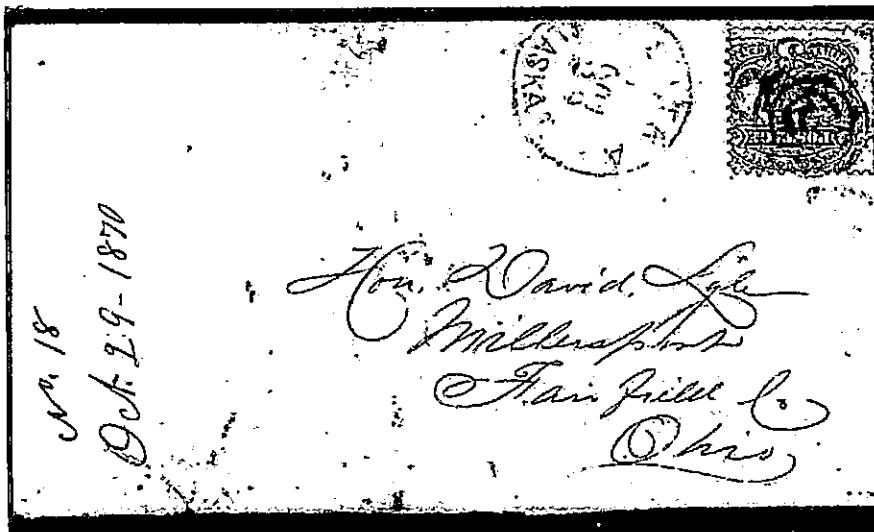


Figure 4. October 29 (1870) cover from the same correspondence as Figure 3, being letter "No. 18." Courtesy Elliott H. Coulter.

A Sitka cover dated Jan. 11 is illustrated in Dr. Matejka's article, and is shown herewith with a single 3¢ 1869 stamp in Figure 5.

An article written by Emery F. Tobin entitled "Ketchikan," published in the 1967 CENPEX Program (Alaska's Centennial Philatelic Exhibition), illustrates another 3¢ 1869 stamp on cover,

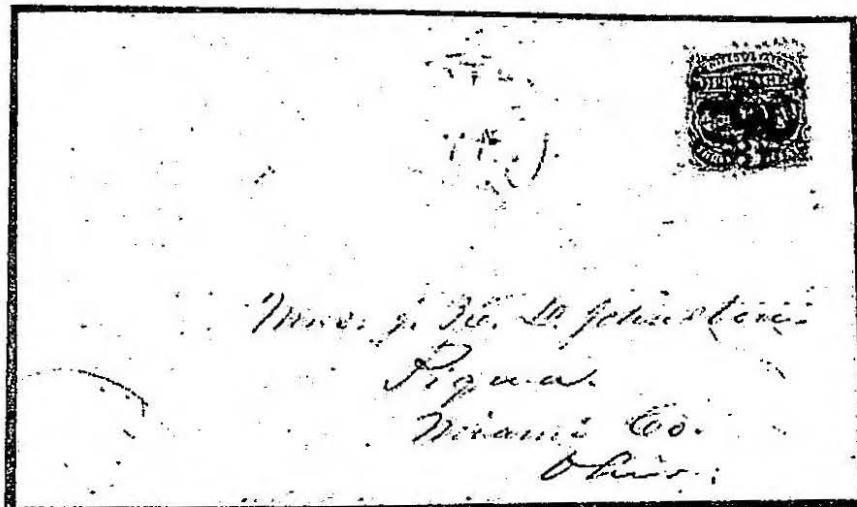


Figure 5. January 11 cover from "Sitka, Alaska T." addressed to Piqua, Ohio. Courtesy Dr. James J. Matejka, Jr.

postmarked "Sitka, Alaska T." on June 16. The cover is quite unusual, in that it is a three-cent Reay envelope imprinted with the Type E rectangular Wells, Fargo frank. It also bears a 3¢ 1869 Locomotive. The cover could either be a double-weight letter or a prepaid ship letter. It is addressed to "C. C. Dennis Esqr., Eureka, California."

In Lester Brookman's, The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century, we read that Dr. Chase had a 3¢ 1869 stamp on cover, used from Sitka and postmarked June 13, 1870. Most likely it was the item sold in the H. R. Harmer, Inc. sale of January 13, 1977, lot 290. This cover is illustrated in "Stamps" magazine for December 11, 1976.

The Sitka cover in my collection was purchased early in 1969, and bears the date, August 26. This item is shown in Figure 6 with a portion of the enclosure. The letter substantiates that it was written at Sitka on 26 August 1870. A transcription of that letter follows:

Sitka, 26 Aug, 1870

Dear Mary:

I cannot allow the Steamer to leave without writing you, even it be but a few lines.

I learned from Hope that she had not seen you when she wrote me on the 15th June, but she tells me your health is good and that Mrs. Newton was with you. I know how lonely you must feel and how much you long for some one to be with you, and I am glad that the Wentworths have returned, so that some one of them can be near you -- I don't know if Mabel has gone to you yet. I wrote her to do so if you wished it, but she is so peculiar in house matters that perhaps she feels a shirking in doing so. Were you to have her for a time, she would prove, I doubt not, a great comfort to you.

Hope had promised to send me the Chronicle, containing an article upon poor Albert, but I have not yet received it -- probably it is in a missing overland mail. I am very anxious to see it and hope it will not be lost. I have looked forward to the time where I should revisit Portsmouth and always connected Albert with it and it seems to me inscrutable that it is so ordered that he with many other loved ones will not be there to welcome me. I always had great faith in him as a warm friend, and I shall never forget the many kindnesses he showed me. Would it had been in my power to have reciprocated therein.

For Mr. W.P. Jones and Mr. Wentworth you will find the best advisors. Your interests will be theirs, and I rejoice that there has been nothing but harmony and good feeling between you.

I shall probably leave here about the first of October, remain in San Francisco but a short time and then proceed to San Diego. After my arrival there, I shall decide what to do. I am now too far away from there and hear too seldom to know how my affairs there have progressed.

I should like to go East the coming fall or winter, but I hardly think I shall be able to do so. Next summer however, if all goes well with me, I shall try to accomplish my desire in this particular.

Abby writes me that Aunt Thompson and Aunt Mary are both very feeble. I trust they will be spared until I can see them again. Give my love to them and all my Aunts.

Write me, my dear Mary, when you feel able to do so, and tell me all you feel and what you are pro-

posing to do and ever be assured of the sympathy
of

Your affectionate brother,

Harry Wren(?)

P.S. Should you write me, address
to the care of Richard H. Suton(?),
San Francisco

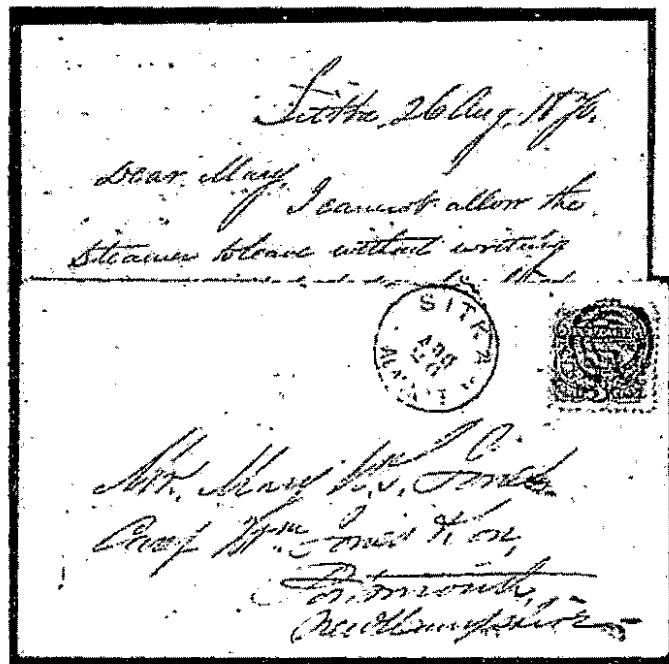


Figure 6. August 26 (1870) cover from "Sitka, Alaska T." addressed to Portsmouth, N.H.
Margaret L. Wunsch collection.

One final item is worthy of note. Within the letter just referred to was found two 3¢ 1869 stamps tied together with the unmistakeable Sitka 4-ring target cancel on a small piece of paper. A portion of the loop in the "J" of "Jones" may be seen at extreme lower left. It is such a pity that a rare and very desirable Sitka Territorial cover was destroyed in this way (see Figure 7).

In summary, we know there are five covers with the 3¢ 1869 stamp postmarked "Sitka, Alaska T":

- (1) Jan. 11 (1870), Figure 5, James J. Matejka, Jr., M.D.
- (2) June 13 (1870), Harmer Sale of Jan. 13, 1977.
- (3) June 16, Emery F. Tobin article.
- (4) August 26 (1870), Figure 6, Margaret L. Wunsch.
- (5) October 29 (1870), Figure 4, Elliott H. Coulter.

The author would appreciate correspondence from other Alaska collectors having 3¢ 1869 Locomotive covers similar to these.**

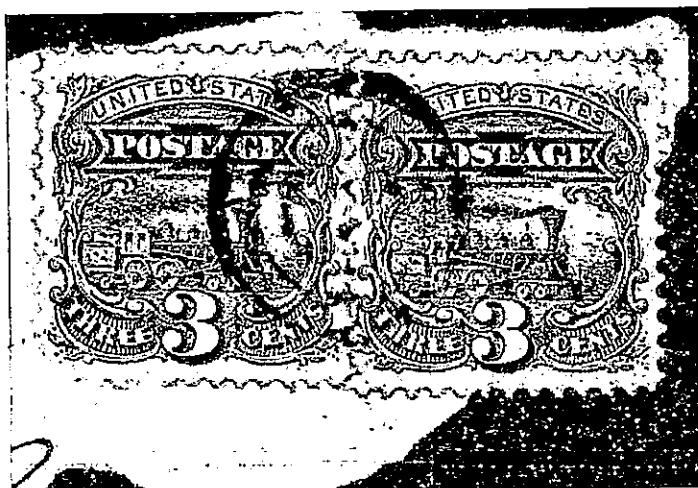


Figure 7. Two 3¢ 1869 Locomotives on piece found within the cover illustrated in Figure 6. What a pity!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

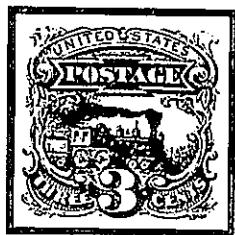
Cavagnol, J. J., Postmarked Alaska, 104 pages, and Sitka, First United States Post Office in Alaska.

CENPEX Program (Alaska's Centennial Philatelic Exhibition), July 1-9, 1967.

Chicago Tribune, March 13, 1977, "Sitka's Russian Era," by Arthur Davenport.

H.R. Harmer, Inc., New York, N.Y., auction catalog, The "Bruce Gimelson" Collection of Alaska, etc.," Jan. 13-14, 1977 (Sales 2377, 2378).

Matejka, James J., Jr. M.D., "Alaska--The Early Years," Twenty-Fifth American Philatelic Congress Book, 1959.



THE 3¢ 1869 LOCOMOTIVE VIGNETTE

BENJAMIN E. CHAPMAN

This article is intended to be a follow-up pictorial presentation of an article written for "Strictly US," Donna von Stein (Dunedin, Florida), editor. In the December 1976 edition of this quite useful publication, this writer expounded upon the position that the completion of the transcontinental railroad on May 9, 1869 and the issuance of the 3¢ 1869 stamp (having as its central theme the Locomotive) were definitely connected. Quite a bit of historical data, as well as speculation, was provided in this, "Origin of the 3¢ 1869 Locomotive."

My purpose here will be to expand on this treatment, adding new information recently obtained and illustrating the type of Locomotive collateral material available.

As I am sure the reader is aware, the several Bank Note companies of the 19th century printed many types of "security" paper. The National Bank Note Co., in addition to printing our 1869 issue, prepared notes for numerous banks, stock certificates, bonds, and other commercial paper of value. So, the origin of the 3¢ 1869 Locomotive appears to be engravings originally conceived for these various products.

An illustration of the 3¢ 1869 stamp is not deemed necessary, since all Associates will be familiar with the Locomotive under discussion. This Locomotive is taken from a much larger National Bank Note Co. engraving, entitled "The Crossing," which has been illustrated in Fred P. Schueren's book, The United States 1869 Issue, An Essay - Proof History, on page 65,



Figure 1. \$500 note of the Confederate States of America, first (Montgomery) issue of 1861. This is the earliest reported use of "The Crossing," from which the 3¢ 1869 Locomotive is taken.



Figure 2. Another very early use of "The Crossing" was on this \$1 note of the Northwestern Bank of Warren, Pa.

as well as Stanley B. Ashbrook's book, The United States Issue of 1869, in Figure 55.

"The Crossing" was used in its entirety on two bank notes in the early 1860's. The first use is one which has recently been brought to my attention. This "earliest use" is on the \$500 note of Confederate States of America (Montgomery Issue). This is a very rare note, selling for about \$3000 currently. The note is illustrated in Figure 1 and is dated June 27, 1861. The much more commonly known \$1 note of the Northwestern Bank of Warren, Pennsylvania, is shown in Figure 2. It also shows "The Crossing" scene (dated August 1, 1861).

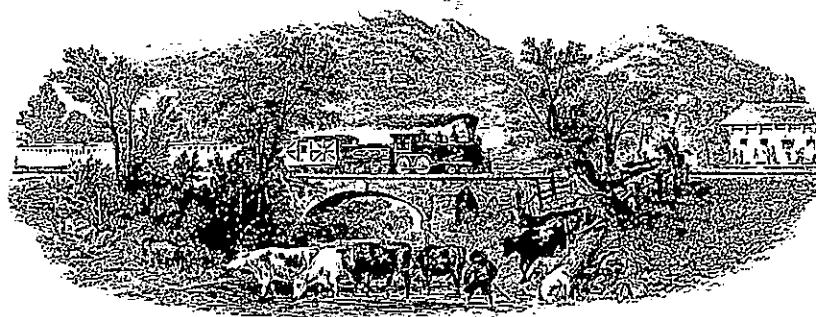
I am pleased to be able to illustrate herewith, in Figure 3, a newly reported National Bank Note Co. engraving, entitled "Mountain Station." This is a die proof currently in the collection of Edward P. Babcock (PRA #103). To our knowledge this item has never been illustrated before in the literature. As will be noted, this engraving is identical to "The Crossing", except:

- a) Mountains have been added to the background,
- b) a railroad station has been added to the right,
- c) additional cars have been added at the left.

The Locomotive remains unchanged. Whether this is a "new" engraving, or simply the product of an alteration to the original die remains to be determined. It's very existence is significant.

A second significant fact about this engraving is the presence of the engraver's signature. It was common practice among engravers to add identifying marks, initials or one's name to the product of one's labor. After searching diligently, I was rewarded with the letters "Smillie," located upside down upon a rock at the lower left. This means to me there is a strong reason to replace the name of Christian W. Rost with that of James Smillie as the engraver of the 3¢ 1869 locomotive!

The most interesting items showing the 3¢ Locomotive design (in my estimation) are the several bond coupons which have



"MOUNTAIN STATION"

Figure 3. The National Bank Note Co. engraving, "Mountain Station," which is identical to "The Crossing" with several additions. This is a die proof on India, sunk on card. The letters "Smillie" are hidden in the engraving, and indicate James Smillie prepared this work.

been found. In the "Origin" article, I was aware of only one such coupon, the 1868 National Bank Note Co. bond of the Southern Minnesota Railroad Co. (shown in Figure 4). Since then three additional coupons have surfaced, all printed by the National Bank Note Co., and all bearing the Locomotive. These coupons are illustrated in Figures 5 through 7. Associate Clifford Leak has been quite active in this area, and I would refer the reader to his recent article in "The Essay - Proof Journal," Issue 133, for more information.

Entire bonds of the State of Tennessee obligations exist with large numbers of coupons still attached. An example is shown in Figure 8, courtesy of Michael Laurence. The Tennessee

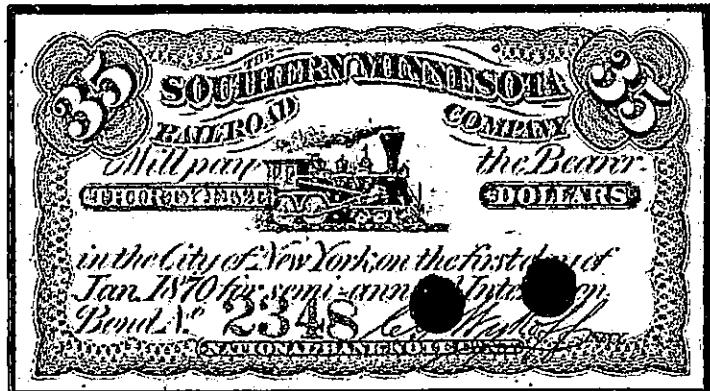


Figure 4. Bond coupon of the Southern Minnesota Railroad Co., issued in 1868 by National and showing our Locomotive. The Southern Minnesota Railroad ran approximately 160 miles from Winnebago, Minnesota, eastward to a village (La Crescent?) across the Mississippi River from La Crosse, Wisconsin.

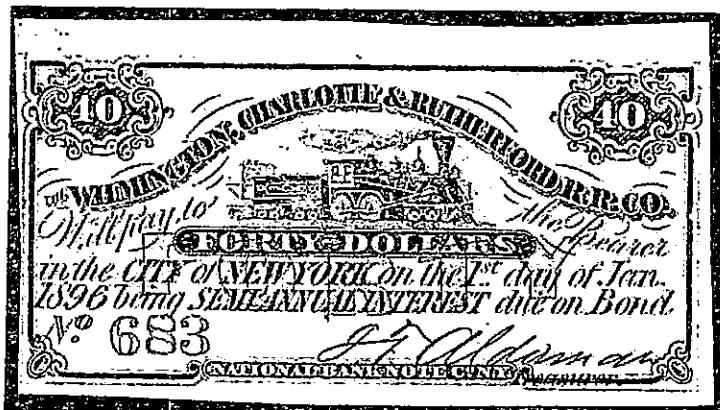


Figure 5. Bond coupon of the Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford R.R. Co., issued in 1867. This line is shown as the Carolina Central R.R. on an 1872 railroad map in the book, Colton's Common School Geography.

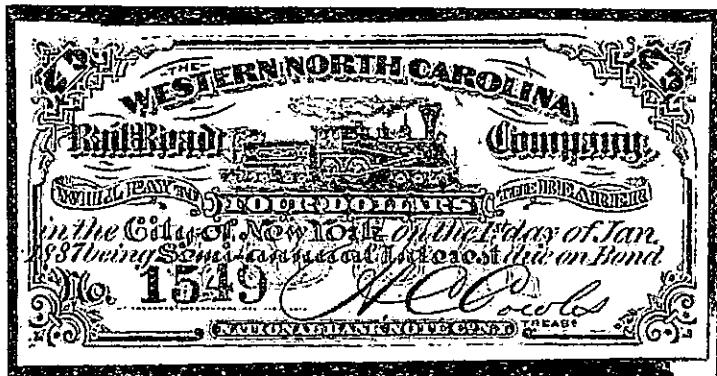


Figure 6. Bond coupon of the Western North Carolina R.R. Co., issued in 1870. This line ran from Morganton to Salisbury, N.C.

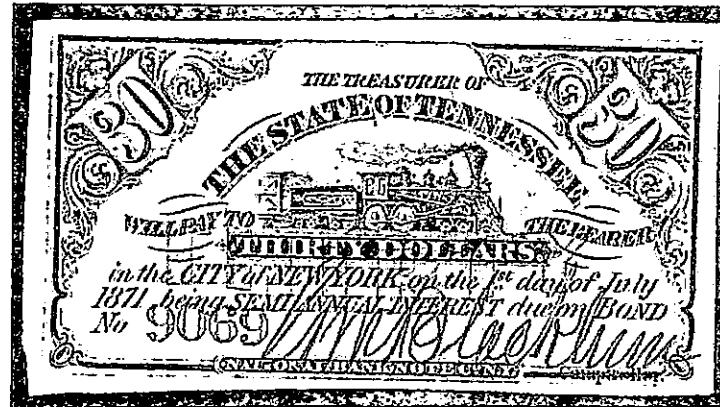


Figure 7. Bond coupon of the State of Tennessee, issued in 1867. Bonds were also issued by the "carpetbagger government" in 1866 and 1868.

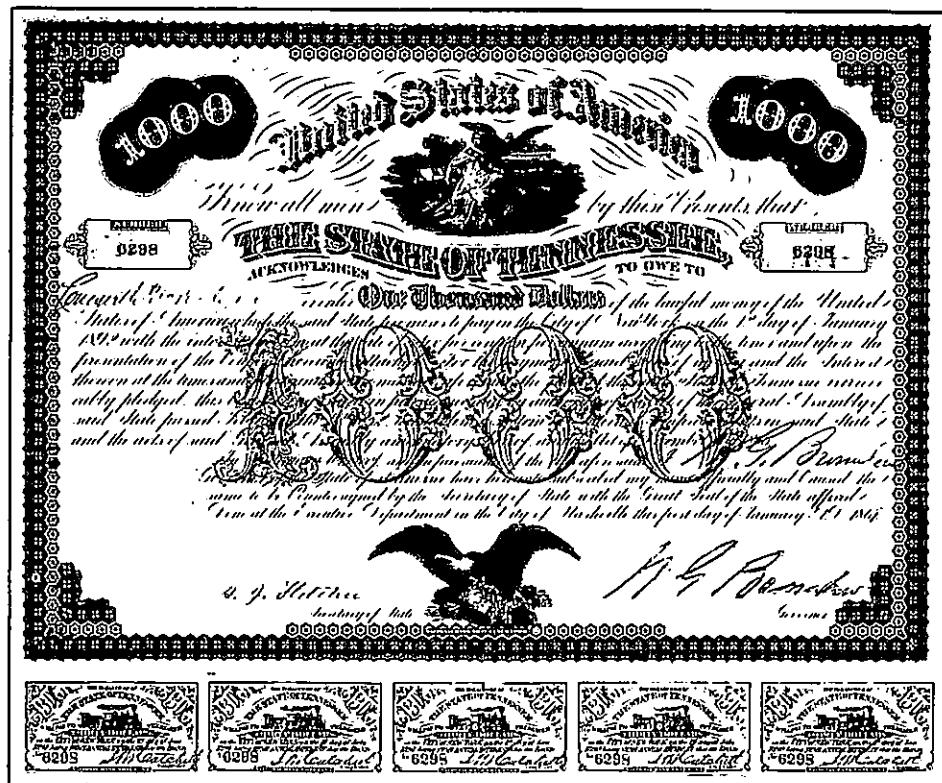


Figure 8. \$1000 Bond of the State of Tennessee, issued in 1867, showing one row of coupons bearing the Locomotive. These bonds presumably were defaulted (see Figure 7).

bonds were issued in three consecutive years: 1866, 1867 and 1868. The bonds matured at various times between 1892 and 1900. Apparently, the Tennessee "carpetbagger government" defaulted on these bonds, as most still have the coupons attached from 1/1/71 forward.

Figure 9 shows an engraving very similar to "The Crossing;" however, the area of most interest to us, the Locomotive, is distinctly different. Most apparent is the rather narrow, vertical smokestack, compared with the obviously flared smokestack of our 3¢ Locomotive. The item is a mint copy of a stock

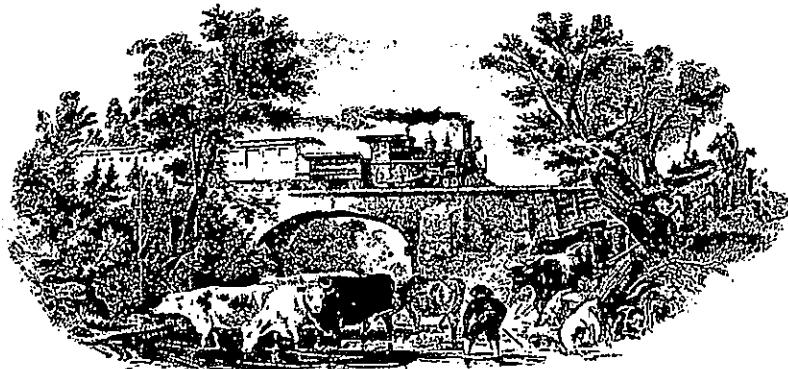
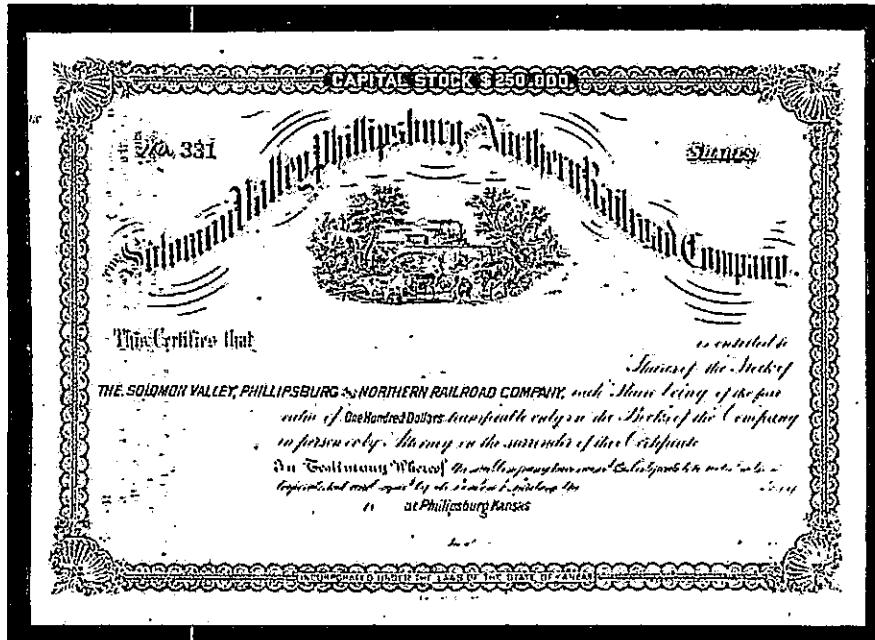


Figure 9. Stock certificate of the Solomon Valley, Phillipsburg and Northern R.R. Co., printed by "A Gast & Co., St. Louis & N.Y." The locomotive is not our 3¢ 1869 variety.

certificate of the Solomon Valley, Phillipsburg and Northern Railroad Co. (of Kansas). The backside of the certificate shows a date of "188-." This certificate was printed by "A. Gast & Co., St. Louis & N.Y."

The National Bank Note Co. itself prepared another engraving reminiscent of "The Crossing," but quite different. A die proof of this engraving (again, courtesy of Edward P. Babcock) is shown in Figure 10. This engraving was used on the Un Sol note of the Bank of Tacna, Peru in 1867, and is illustrated in Figure 11, courtesy of Donald E. Haller, Jr.

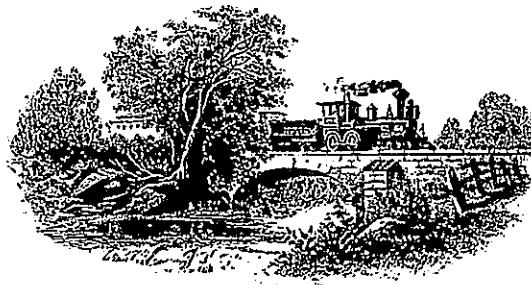


Figure 10. Engraving #2009 by the National Bank Note Co., showing a scene similar to "The Crossing." This is a die proof on India, sunk on card. The locomotive is not our 3¢ 1869 variety.

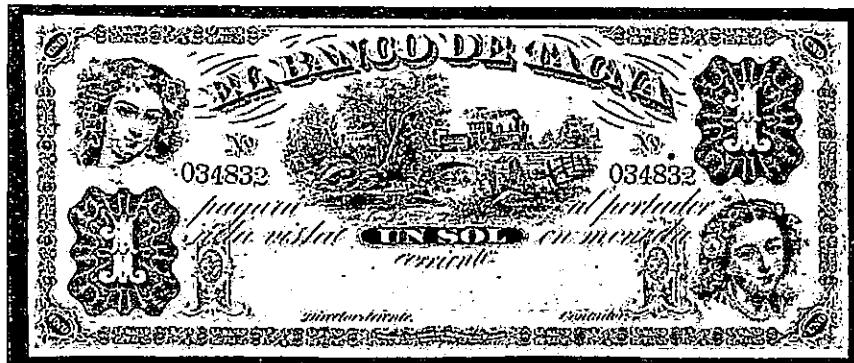


Figure 11. Bank of Tacna (Peru), Un Sol note of 1867, printed by the National Bank Note Co. This note bears the Engraving #2009 of Figure 10.

In conclusion, a number of new uses of the 3¢ 1869 Locomotive (as well as a newly-reported die proof) have been uncovered in a relatively short time. Will additional items be reported in the future? We rather expect so, and hope that they will be shared with Associates in these pages or those of "1869 Times" at appropriate times.

The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge assistance from:

Edward P. Babcock,
Donald E. Haller, Jr.,
Michael Laurence,
Clifford Leak

in the preparation of this article.**



BENJAMIN F. STEVENS -
U. S. DISPATCH AGENT, LONDON

JOSEPH H. CROSBY

PHOTOS BY M. DOUG BREWER III

On June 23, 1866, only a few years before the issuance of the Pictorial Series of 1869 by the United States Post Office, the Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State, appointed Benjamin Franklin Stevens as the United States Despatch Agent at London, England.¹ Stevens remained in this position until his death in London on March 5, 1902.²

Stevens is reported by his biographer, G. Manville Fenn,³ to have been selected as "the most suitable and active representative the American Government could obtain for their Despatch Agent resident in London, enterprising, trusty, and fit to bear what was a very onerous burden."⁴



Figure 1. Benjamin Franklin Stevens.

A reading of the entirety of Fenn's Memoir of Benjamin Franklin Stevens reveals that this is no understatement. To summarize, as early as age 14, B. F. Stevens began copying facsimiles of historically important documents for his father, Henry Stevens, Sr., who later became the founder of the Vermont Historical Society. His education at Middlebury College, Vermont, and his life's work were devoted to American history and bibliography.

In 1860 he went to London to join his brother, Henry, in a highly successful rare book business. B. F., as he was called by his friends, was serving as purchasing agent for many of

America's great libraries at the time of his appointment as Despatch Agent and continued to pursue this line of work while acting in that capacity.

He also devoted a great deal of effort and personal fortune to the research and cataloging of documents relating to American history, which he located in England, France, Holland and Spain. He secured facsimile copies of many important manuscripts. In 1887 he published American Manuscripts in European Archives. Between 1889 and 1898 he published his monumental 25-volume work, Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America. Such a man was well suited indeed to fill the office of Despatch Agent, whose tasks are vividly portrayed by Fenn as follows:

"This office is one of great responsibility, and appertains to both the State and the Navy Departments, while the duties, which are many, consist of receiving and forwarding official correspondence and other official matter to and from the State Department in Government Despatch bags. In addition to this, the Agent receives and forwards the official and private correspondence and other matter for the United States warships on the European and other stations, and to other U.S. warships and training ships when visiting Europe or passing through the Mediterranean to and from the far East."⁵

* * * *

"It would occupy much space to enumerate all the prominent and distinguished gentlemen whom Stevens in the carrying out of the Despatch Agent's duties met and knew; but one might mention at random Admiral Farragut, Admiral George Dewey, General Sheridan, Admiral Franklin, Admiral J. G. Walker, Admiral C. R. P. Rodgers, General Grant, General Sickles, and the Honourables J. C. B. Davis, W. H. Seward, W. M. Evarts, John Hay, George Bancroft, A. D. White, W. Hunter and A. A. Adee. Add to these the names of the various British Statesmen literateurs savants, historians, and what a goodly roll is here!"⁶

Stevens wrote home of the state of confusion in which he found the Despatch Office when he first took up these duties. He had great difficulty establishing a regularity in the flow of correspondence, stating, "I am getting it systematised and some credit for punctuality in the office."⁷ By 1870 he would be receiving an annual salary from the Department of State of \$1,970.79.⁸

B. F. Stevens' training for detail and accuracy of documents and manuscripts together with his penchant for getting things organized, practically dictated his adoption of a postmark for letters which he despatched. The earliest known Stevens marking is September 6, 1866,⁹ and appears on the back of a cover mailed at Toledo, Ohio, on August 22, 1866, addressed to Midshipman C. W. Breed on the U.S.S. Swatara in care of B. F. Stevens, 17 Henrietta Street, London, England. It is the only Stevens

marking on the back of the cover.¹⁰ Richard B. Graham reports this Type I Stevens marking was latest used on January 13, 1868.¹¹

Chronologically, the next reported Stevens marking (Type II) is dated July 28, 1868. This Type II marking is illustrated in Figure 3, which continued in use at least until July 19, 1879.¹²

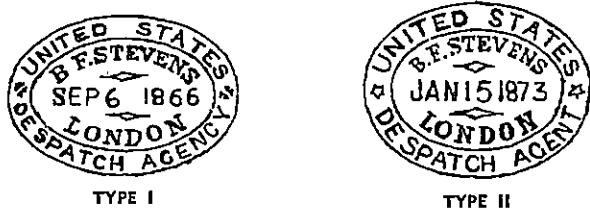


Figure 2. Tracing of Stevens Marking Type I.
Earliest known use is September 6, 1866.
Latest known use is January 13, 1868. Known
only in red.

Figure 3. Tracing of Stevens Marking Type II.
Earliest known use is July 28, 1868. Latest
known use is July 19, 1879. Known only in red.

A new, Type III, Stevens marking appears September 16, 1881.¹³ Therefore, only the Type II Stevens marking is known on covers bearing the Pictorial Issues of 1869.

Five years ago the author began noting all known Stevens covers bearing any stamps of the Pictorial Issue of 1869. The results of these efforts are presented in Table I. This does not purport to be a complete listing of such items, but is only a start which may be enlarged upon by the rest of the philatelic community.¹⁴ Such additions or corrections as can be made will be most welcomed, and will be published in updated form when sufficient new information is forthcoming. Where available, information about the addresses is set forth to provide future positive identification. Current owners of any of this material are requested to furnish Xerox copies of both the front and back of their covers to the author to aid in further detailed reporting regarding the evidence of forwarding of mail by B. F. Stevens to points outside of London. An (*) by the source in the table indicates that the author has seen a full or partial photograph of the cover listed.

I have been able to verify that the Haines cover (Figures 4 and 5) in my collection was forwarded by Stevens to a point outside of London. The addressee, John N. Haines, was a seaman second class who was born in Great Falls, New Hampshire, where the cover was mailed. He enlisted on May 14, 1870, at age 21, for a three-year term at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on board the U.S.S. Vandalia. He was later transferred to the U.S.S. Plymouth.¹⁵ It is obvious from the fact that the envelope with the address in care of B. F. Stevens was formally printed,

that by 1871 Stevens' services were well known and relied upon, at least by men on the U.S.S. Plymouth. The back of the Haines cover illustrated in Figure 5 has the manuscript notation, "Hamburg, July 10th, (No. 14), Horme."

The ship's deck log of the U.S.S. Plymouth discloses that she was anchored off Hamburg, Germany, from July 5 to July 12, 1871.¹⁶ There being no British or German postal forwarding markings, it is apparent that this letter reached Haines by Stevens forwarding it to him at Hamburg outside the mails. The "No. 14" may be a control mechanism introduced by Stevens or by the addressee to indicate the number of items forwarded to him by the Despatch Agent. The "Horme" reference may offer a clue as to how the letter was handled outside the mail. It may be a ship's name, or the name of a Navy man, or State Department employee;

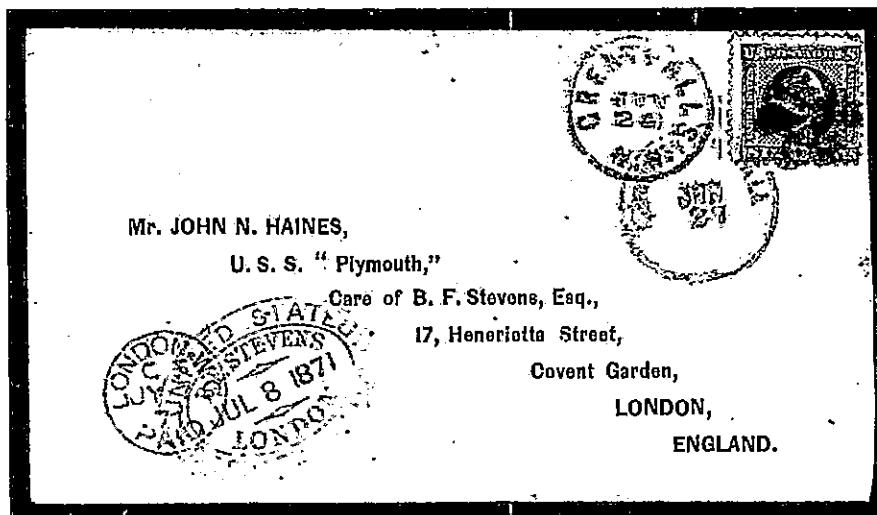


Figure 4. Printed address to John N. Haines, in care of B. F. Stevens. Originated at Great Falls, N. H., June 24, 1871.

but, despite attempts on the part of the author, none of these theories has yet been verified. Additional information may be forthcoming when the back of the next cover from the Haines correspondence, "No. 15," has been examined. This cover bears the Stevens marking dated 7/19/71, and may be found in Table 1.

It is interesting to note that the U.S.S. Plymouth was actually the second "Plymouth" of the United States Navy. It was a wooden-hulled, screw sloop-of-war, which was originally laid down as "Kenosha" at the New York Navy Yard in 1867, completed in 1868, and commissioned January 20, 1869, with Captain William H. McComb in command. The "Kenosha" got under way eastward across the Atlantic February 25, 1869. While on the European Station, she was renamed "Plymouth" on May 15, 1869. Word of the change reached her at Ville Franche, France, on June 26, 1869.¹⁷ The significance of this change in name is shown in the Hemphill correspondence in the Herst Collection. The letters

are addressed to Ensign Hemphill on the U.S.S. Kenosha and bear 1869 Pictorials commencing in June, 1869.¹⁸ Moreover, there is also another letter to Hemphill, now "Lieutenant" on the "Plymouth," which Stevens postmarked on September 13, 1870 (See Table 1). So it now becomes clear that Lieutenant Hemphill was on the same ship with Seaman Second Class Haines, and both received their mail via B. F. Stevens. By this time the Plymouth had been selected by Rear Admiral Bogg as flagship of the European Station.¹⁹

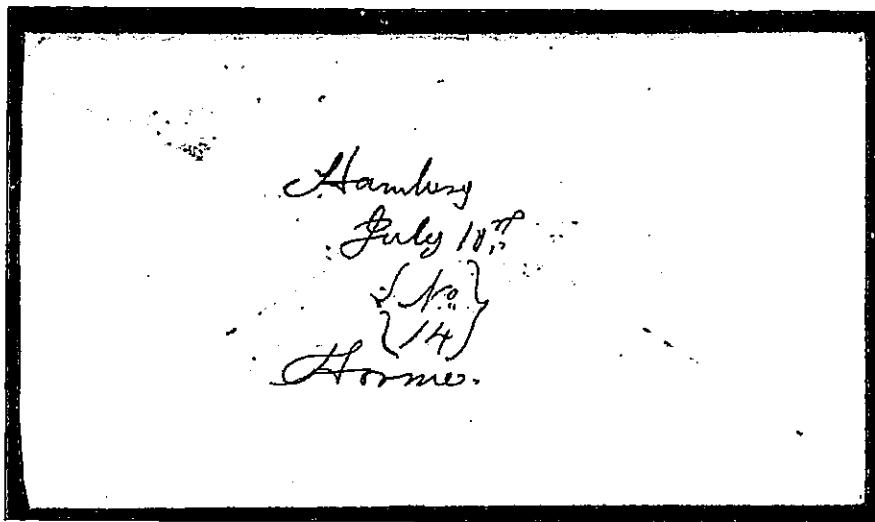


Figure 5. The back of the Haines cover shown in Figure 4. The significance of the "Horme" reference in the docketing is unknown. Note that there was only a two-day transit from London to Hamburg.

Heretofore, researchers on Stevens have made valiant attempts to determine when he moved the Despatch Office from 17 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, to 4 Trafalgar Square. Segnitz shows an address gap for the office from 1872 until 1885.²⁰ Graham narrowed the gap to between March, 1874, and April, 1877.²¹ A full reading of Fenn's book now reveals the following:

"It was in 1875 that the now well-known offices were removed from Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, to the more central and important premises at 4, Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, an address that is probably known and remembered by every United States ambassador, consul and naval officer, as well as by the great book collectors and the librarians of the United States. As the years went by and progress was made, from working almost single-handed, Stevens surrounded himself with a

staff of male and female assistants of his own special training, till the office became a busy bureau where work went steadily on under the guidance of its clear headed chief.¹²²

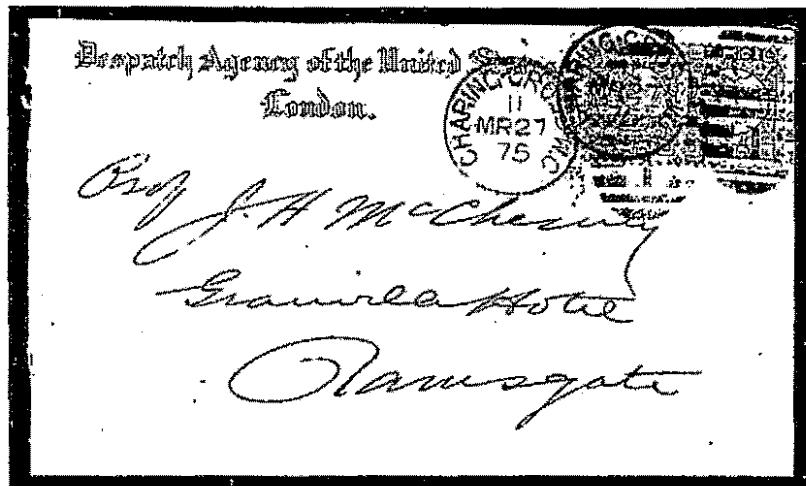


Figure 6. The earliest reported Stevens cover bearing a Charing Cross marking. Although the exact date the Stevens office was moved to Trafalgar Square is not known, Stevens' biographer indicated it was in 1875. This cover is dated March 27, 1875.

The only question left is exactly when in 1875 the move took place. All studies agree that it was moved when the U.S. Embassy moved to Trafalgar Square; however, inquiry of the State Department does not reveal that date. Though it is not conclusive of the question, the London cover to Ramsgate illustrated in Figure 6 may shed some light. This cover, with the corner card of the Despatch Agency of the United States, London, was mailed at Charing Cross Post Office, which was located on the corner of Trafalgar Square. It is the earliest reported Stevens cover bearing a Charing Cross marking, March 27, 1875. Significantly, only those covers addressed in care of Stevens at 4 Trafalgar Square show Charing Cross receiving marks.**

TABLE I

1869 ISSUE USED ON MAIL
IN CARE OF B. F. STEVENS,
UNITED STATES DESPATCH AGENT, LONDON, ENGLAND

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Date	Origin Marking	Stamps Cat. #	Rate	Date of Stevens Marking Ty. II	Addressee	Other Markings	Source
6/??/69	?	114 ^a	12¢ ?	?	Ensign Joseph N. Hemphill, USS "Kenosha"	No forwarding evidence ^b	Segnitz, ^c Gossip, Vol. 46, No. 6 4/10/48
6/??/69	?	115	12¢ ?	?	Ensign Joseph N. Hemphill, USS "Kenosha"	No forwarding evidence ^b	Segnitz, ^c Gossip, Vol. 46, No. 6 4/10/48
9/20/69	Evansville, Ind.	115(2)	12¢	10/2/69 ?	Lt.Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, US Flagship "Franklin"		Hessel III/583
1 or 2/??/70	Cambridge, Mass.	115	6¢	?	Cmdr. J. G. Walker, US Frigate "Sabine"	Naples ? (May be same as following cover)	Siegel 444/815
1/28/70	Cambridge, Mass.	115	6¢	2/11/70	Cmdr. J. G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	Boston 1/29; London 2/11; Manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Naples 2/17"	Koerber Sale/115 9/74
?	Cambridge, Mass.	115	6¢	3/2/70	Cmdr. J. G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	Red Boston 2/15; Red London 3/2/70; manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Naples 3/7/70"	Benjamin Chapman collection
2/18/70	Evansville, Ind.	115	6¢	3/7/70	Lt.Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, U.S.N., US Frigate "Franklin"	New York; Red London, W.C. Paid, 3/7/70	Hessel II/695* Irwin Weinberg private treasury 10/76 verifies no forwarding evidence
3/4/70	Cambridge, Mass.	115	6¢	3/17/70	Cmdr. J. G. Walker, US Frigate "Sabine"	London 3/17, manuscript upper left shows forwarding "Cibralter 3/23"	John A. Fox Sale/383 2/54
3/15/70	Cambridge, Mass.	115	6¢	3/28/70	Cmdr. J. G. Walker, US Frigate "Sabine"	London 3/28; Manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Rio de Janeiro 5/11"	Siegel 210/739

3/18/70	Evansville, Ind.	115	6¢	4/2/70	Lt.Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, US Frigate "Franklin"	New York 3/22; London 4/1	Harmer Sale/01 11/56	
3/??/70	Evansville, Ind.	115	6¢	4/7/70	Lt.Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, US Frigate "Franklin"		Newbury VI/587	
4/22/70	Cambridge, Mass.	115	6¢	5/4/70	Cmdr. J. G. Walker, US Frigate "Sabine"	Red Boston 4/22; Red London, W.C., paid 5/14/70; manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Bolivar Brazil May 31, 1870"	Koerber Sale/114* 9/74 R. B. Graham collection	
6/7/70	Cambridge, Mass.	115	6¢	6/21/70	Cmdr. J. G. Walker, US Frigate "Sabine"	Boston Paid 6/7; London, W.C., Paid 6/20/70	Zimmerman 36/339*	
8/29/70	Ripley, Ohio	115	6¢	9/13/70	Lieut. J.N. Hemphill, USN, US Steamer "Plymouth"	Trace of Red N.Y. exchange office marking 9/1/70; Red London, W.C. 9/13/70; no backstamps, no forwarding evidence	R. B. Graham collection*	
??/??/70	?	115	6¢	?	To a Naval Cdr, US Frigate "Sabine"	Red Boston Paid; Red London Received	Herst 118/834	
OS	??/??/70	St.Louis, Mo.	115	6¢	?	Rear Adm. Radford US Flagship "Franklin"	Siegel 444/816	
	1/2/71	Great Falls, N.H.	115	6¢	1/??/71 Light Strike	John Haines USS "Plymouth"	Knapp II/1702	
	6/24/71	Great Falls, N.H.	115	6¢	7/8/71	In printer's type Mr. John N. Haines, USS "Plymouth"	Red New York Paid All; Red London W.C., Paid 7/7/71; manuscript on back shows forwarding "Hamburg, 7/10/71, No. 14, Horme"	Crosby collection*
	7/5/71	Great Falls, N.H.	115	6¢	7/19/71	In printer's type Mr. John N. Haines USS "Plymouth"	Red New York, Red London, W.C., Paid 7/19/71; manuscript on upper left front "No. 15"	Siegel 410/649*
	7/4/69	New York City	117(2)	2x12¢	7/19/69	Cmdr. J. Master	Manuscript "9/25/69 Received"	Knapp II/1748
??/??/69	Cambridge, Mass.	117	12¢	?	To a Naval Officer	Red Boston Paid; Red London	Siegel 363/1823	

	6/7/69	?	117	12¢	?	Ensign Joseph N. Hemphill, USS "Kenosha"	No forwarding evidence ^b	Segnitz, ^c Gossip, Vol. 46, No. 6, 4/10/48
	7/29/69	New York City	117	12¢	8/9/69	Cmdr. James M. Master, USS "Savannah"	London 8/9	Hessel III/593
	8/6/69	Cambridge, Mass.	117	12¢	8/19/69	Cmdr. John G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	Boston Paid 8/6; London, W.C., Paid 8/18/69; manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Cherbourg August 20, 1869"	Siegel 366/1068*
	9/?/69	Boston, Mass.	117	12¢	9/20/69	Chief Engineer John Johnson, US Navy, US Ship "Richmond" European Squadron	London Paid 9/20/69	Simmy 92/125*
15	9/13/69	Cambridge, Mass.	117	12¢	9/25/69	Cmdr. John G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	New York 9/14; London 9/25; manuscript upper left shows forwarding "Gibraltar 10/1"	John A. Fox Sale/225 11/57
	9/17/69	Cambridge, Mass.	117	12¢	9/29/69	Cmdr. John G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	Red Boston 9/18/69; Red London; manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Oct. 6, 1869 Gibraltar"	Siegel 367/1062*
	9/29/69	Trenton, N.J.	117	12¢	10/11/69	Midn. S.P. Comely, USS "Sabine"	Red New York 9/30; Red London, Paid 10/11; no forwarding evidence	Segnitz, ^c Gossip, Vol. 46,* No. 7, 4/17/48
	10/22/69	Cambridge, Mass.	117	12¢	11/21/69	Cmdr. J. G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	Red Boston, Paid 10/25; backstamped London, W.C./E.M. 11/5/69, manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Ville Franche Nov. 8, 1869"	R. B. Graham collection*
	11/1/69	Evansville, Ind.	117	12¢	11/14/69	Lt. Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, U.S.N. US Frigate "Franklin"	London, W.C. 11/12/69	Hessel II/705*
	11/8/69	Evansville, Ind.	117	12¢	11/23/69	Lt. Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, U.S.N. US Frigate "Franklin"	New York 11/11; London 11/23	Harmer Sale/130 11/56

11/9/69	Cambridge, Mass.	117	12¢	11/21/69	Cmdr. J. G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	Red Boston Paid 11/9; Red London W.C., Paid 11/20/70; manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Ville Franche Nov. 23, 1869"	Koerber Sale/160* 9/74 R. B. Graham collection
12/3/69	Cambridge, Mass.	117	12¢	12/15/69	Cmdr. J. G. Walker US Frigate "Sabine"	Boston 12/4; London 12/15; manuscript upper left shows forwarding "Ville Franche 12/18"	Koerber Sale/115 9/74
12/18/69	Washington, D.C.	117	12¢	1/1/70	Chief Engineer John Johnson, U.S. Navy U.S. Steamer "Richmond" European Squadron	New York 12/21; manuscript upper left front shows forwarding "Received January 20th Lisbon"	Graham, Postal History* Journal, Vol. 7, No. 2, 12/63 illus. p. 57, and Siegel 444/819
12/20/69	Evansville, Ind.	117	12¢	1/3/70	Lt. Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, U.S.N., US Frigate "Franklin"		Hessel III/592
1/3/70	Evansville, Ind.	117	12¢	1/19/70	Lt. Cmdr. S.P. Gillett, U.S.N., US Flagship "Franklin"		Newbury II/633

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- a. Herman Herst, Jr., reports in 1977 that he does not believe there were any 3¢ 1869 issues in this correspondence, contrary to Segnitz article.
- b. Segnitz' analysis.
- c. Segnitz article indicates there were nine covers with 3¢, 6¢, and 12¢ 1869 issues commencing in June, 1869, but does not disclose how many of each. The rate until 1/1/70 was 12¢. Thus it is assumed that the Hemphill covers mailed in 1869 with 3¢ or 6¢ stamps required multiple stamps. Current information on these Hemphill covers should clarify this data.

FOOTNOTES

1. Norona, Delf. "Despatch and Naval Agents, 1843-1915," Volume 2, Cyclopedie of United States Postmark and Postal History, Delf Norona, Editor. 1935, A.P.S.; Page 232, Reprint Edition, 1975 Quarterman Publications, Inc.
2. Fenn, George Manville, Memoir of Benjamin Franklin Stevens, (London, The Chiswick Press, 1903) Kent State University Library.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, Page 76.
5. Ibid, Page 77.
6. Ibid, Pages 78-79.
7. Ibid, Page 81.
8. 41st Cong., 3rd Session, H.R. Ex. Doc. 74, Serial Set Vol. 1454, Clerks and Other Employees of the Department of State, Letter from Secretary of State Hamilton Fish.
9. The earliest known use of March 19, 1869, reported by Norona, is no longer valid.
10. Segnitz, Paul H., B. F. Stevens and Other United States Despatch Agents (The Herman Herst, Jr., Collection). Weekly Philatelic Gossip, Vol. 46, No. 6, Page 177, and Graham, Richard B., "B. F. Stevens, United States Despatch Agent, London," Postal History Journal, Vol. 7, No. 2, Whole No. 11, Dec., 1963, p. 51.
11. Graham, Richard B., "B. F. Stevens, United States Despatch Agent, London (Corrections and Additions)," Postal History Journal, Vol. 8, No. 1, Whole No. 12, June, 1964, p. 6.
12. Ibid.
13. The later types of Stevens markings are adequately covered by the Segnitz and Graham articles and are beyond the scope of this article. Graham reports in the American Philatelist, Vol. 83, No. 7, July, 1969, p. 610, that he has seen an earlier Type III Stevens marking of January 4, 1879, which he notes overlaps the last use of Type II.
14. Fellow Associate Dr. Richard M. Searing has been of great assistance in adding to Table 1, and notes that he has no 24¢, 30¢ or 90¢ 1869 issues reported as handled by B. F. Stevens.
15. Navy and Old Army Branch (N. N. M. O.) National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D. C. 20408.
16. Record Group 24, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, National Archives, Washington, D. C. 20408.

17. The Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, Volume 5, Page 331 (1970 Ed.), The Naval History Edition, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.
18. Segnitz, Paul H., "B. F. Stevens and Other United States Despatch Agents," (The Herman Herst, Jr., Collection), Weekly Philatelic Gossip, Vol. 46, No. 6, Page 178; Vol. 46, No. 7, Page 204.
19. Supra, Note 17.
20. Segnitz, Paul H., "B. F. Stevens and Other United States Despatch Agents," (The Herman Herst, Jr., Collection), Weekly Philatelic Gossip, Vol. 46, No. 7, Page 204.
21. Graham, Richard B., "B. F. Stevens, United States Despatch Agent, London," Postal History Journal, Vol. 7, No. 2, Whole No. 11, Dec. 1963, page 62.
22. Supra, Note 2, Page 109.



THE CLASSIC ERRORS - 1869 INVERTED CENTERS

DR. RICHARD M. SEARING

For the U.S. classics student, the most spectacular errors in the 19th century stamps are the three inverted frame errors of the 1869 series. The origin of these errors has been the subject of controversy for more than a century.

In his classic study, History of the Postage Stamps of the United States, John Tiffany states that the invert errors are believed to be plate errors and not printing errors.

"Originally there were 150 stamps to the sheet as for the smaller values, but upon the plate for printing the picture, it is said that one picture was reversed."

The same statement is made for all three errors.

John Luff in his study, Postage Stamps of the United States, quotes Tiffany and states that these statements appear to lack confirmation:

"...and it is far more probable that the (invert) errors are due to misprinting."

Evidence in support of the misprinting theory is the existence at one time of a block of six inverts for the 24¢ value; the surviving block of four from this piece will be shown later. More evidence to support the misprinting theory is that a New York revenue agent possessed a full sheet of the 15¢ invert, removed one stamp, and returned the sheet to the post office for replacement.

There is yet another theory as to the origin of the inverts which Luff discusses. In the American Journal of Philately for December, 1870, the following, attributed to Mr. J. W. Scott appeared:

"After a few hundred sheets of the 15¢ and 24¢ stamps were delivered, it was discovered that a few of the stamps on each sheet had the picture inverted in the frames. The government refused to receive them and only half sheets of these values were issued."

Mr. Scott attempted to purchase full sheets with the error at the time of their first discovery from major post offices, but each time he received the same half sheet without the errors. He therefore concluded that the inverts were plate errors on one half of the sheet only.

Luff had serious doubts about this "half sheet theory" and states his reasons. His primary argument against the theory is that at least two vignette plates were available for each invert value, so that an error in one plate could be replaced with an error-

tree plate. In addition, the quality control procedures in effect at that time in the large bank note companies make it improbable that such a glaring error as a reversed vignette (or six reversed vignettes, according to the invert block) could pass undetected.

The most likely explanation for the errors is a mistake in printing. The vignettes were printed first, then the sheet was run through a second time for printing the frame in another color. By accident, one or possibly two sheets of the 15¢ type II, 24¢, and 30¢ stamps were reversed in the second pass, and the errors resulted. It is probable that several sheets of each variety were actually printed, but only one or two escaped detection and reached the public.

To the author's knowledge, an accurate accounting of the existing inverts has not been made. For the 15¢ error, Brookman¹ estimates 3 or less mint copies exist with perhaps 20 used copies known. Records at the Philatelic Foundation in New York show that certificates have been issued for 49 genuine copies, but many of



Figure 1. Unused example of the 15¢ inverted frame error; less than 4 copies known.

these appear to be duplicates of already existing older certificates. Ashbrook's records² would tend to support a figure of less than two dozen off-cover copies, both mint and used. As late as 1959, one genuine 15¢ invert cover existed. Figure 1 shows a mint copy of the error stamp.

The probability that a 15¢ invert cover could exist is very close to zero, but by chance such a cover came to light in the

¹ Brookman, Lester G., The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century, Volume II, H.L. Lindquist Publications, Inc. New York, 1966, p. 178.

² See stamp records of the late Stanley Ashbrook housed at the Philatelic Foundation in New York City.

early 1920's. The following article appears in the November, 1924 issue of the American Philatelist.

15¢ 1869 Invert on Cover Discovered

Eric Kling

"It no doubt will interest readers of the American Philatelist to know that while in Sweden this summer I ran across an 1869 15¢ with inverted center on original cover. At the time, I was unable to secure it, but upon my making an agreement with the owner, it was sent to me after my return to the States, and is now in my possession.

"The cover is addressed to a merchant in Karlskrona, Sweden, and was mailed to him in April, 1870. From that time until its discovery among his correspondence a couple years ago, it remained hidden. The cover bears a 3¢, 10¢ and a 15¢ 1869, the latter being the inverted center variety. The error is somewhat off center, but the color is fresh and bright. The 10¢ is well 'tied on' by a cancellation consisting of thick rectangular bars arranged in the shape of a square, while the 3¢ and 15¢ are barely tied to the cover. The necessary post-marks showing the cover went through Germany are on both sides of the envelope, which is slightly torn.

"The error on the cover is unique, and this no doubt is the first information to most readers that such a cover exists. Knowing the history and the source of the cover as I do, there can be no doubt in my mind of its genuineness. Its appearance may not be superb, and the stamps not tied by a dated town cancellation, but one cannot expect the ideal on an item of this sort.

"This goes to show that statements of some dealers to the contrary, finds in early U.S. may still be in out-of-the-way corners in Europe."



Figure 2. Only known cover of the 15¢ invert, used to Sweden, April 18, 1870.

No photo was supplied with the article, but in lot 491A of the Laurence and Stryker sale of December 14, 1959, the same cover was offered with photo. Figure 2 reproduces this photo. The Bremen receiving date is April 18, 1870, and the stamps paid 2x14¢ rate per the North German Union treaty. The red "8" indicates a 2x4¢ credit. The author would like to believe that this cover still exists, but the auction description states: "This stamp has been removed from the cover by the owner to place in his stamp album." Some people never learn!!! The Philatelic Foundation has no record of this item ever being submitted for opinion, so it has probably been lost forever.

With regard to the 24¢ invert errors, Brookman (p. 182, Vol. II) estimates that 4 unused copies exist with perhaps 16 used examples. The Philatelic Foundation records show 42 certificates have been issued on genuine inverts, but again many of these are duplicates



Figure 3. Unique 24¢ invert block of four, which originally was a block of six. Ex Crocker collection.

of earlier certificates. Based on a quick look at Ashbrook's records, the author estimates about 20 used copies are known. Among these is the unique block of four which was originally a block of six discovered in the late 1880's. The full story of this unique

item has been recorded elsewhere.³ Figure 3 shows a photo of this marvelous rarity as a block of four. Figure 4 shows an enlarged photo of a mint copy of the 24¢ invert.



Figure 4. Unused example of the 24¢ inverted frame error; five such copies are estimated to exist.

After the previous block, it is almost too much to ask that the 24¢ invert exist on original cover; but such is the case. The origin of this cover is unknown to the author, but it was sold in the same auction sale as the 15¢ invert on cover and has been certified by the Philatelic Foundation. Figure 5 shows this unique cover of the 24¢ invert. This item is a 9x3¢ rate courthouse cover originating most likely in the South. The address is the District Court in Paducah, Ky., and no date is available as either cancellation or pen docket on the envelope. The stamp has been removed for examination and re-hinged on the cover.

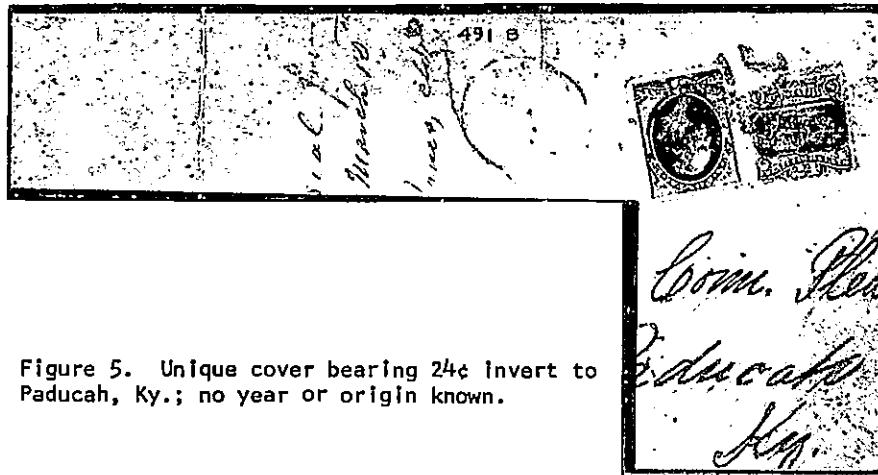


Figure 5. Unique cover bearing 24¢ invert to Paducah, Ky.; no year or origin known.

³ Laurence, Michael M., "The 24¢ 1869 Invert Block," The Chronicle of the U.S. Classic Postal Issues, #85, February, 1975, pp. 36-38.

The final 1869 invert is the 30¢ value. Brookman (p. 185, Vol. II) states that 6 or 7 unused copies exist with at least 15 used copies recorded. Records at the Philatelic Foundation show that only 20 copies have been certified as genuine with some duplication of older certificates. Ashbrook's records are in substantial agreement with both of the above estimates. The author is unaware of any



Figure 6. Unused example of 30¢ inverted frame error; 6 or 7 known to exist.

multiples of the 30¢ error off cover, and unfortunately no record of a 30¢ invert on cover has been uncovered. Figure 6 shows a photo of an unused specimen of the 30¢ invert.

The 90¢ 1869 with inverted frame does not exist on the issued stamp, but does exist in proof form. Figure 7 shows a block of the 90¢ proof error. The author does not know the number of 90¢ invert proofs in existence at the present time.

The author welcomes correspondence on the 1869 invert errors both on and off cover.**



Figure 7. Block of six showing 90¢ inverted frame error as an India proof; unknown on the issued stamp.

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS

- THE THREE TYPES

J. C. M. CRYER

On one of the upper floors of the fireproof building at No. 53 Broadway in lower Manhattan, in New York, D. S. Ronaldson half stood and half sat on the high stool in front of the standup desk near the large window with its fading late afternoon light. He was fingering the small stamp-sized die upon which he had just completed engraving the last few lines of the design (J. C. Kenworthy had already completed his work of engraving the lettering). The gas lights had been lighted, but did not provide satisfactory illumination for his delicate work. The machinery in the adjoining rooms was manually operated, as it would be nearly thirteen years before Edison would provide electric power and electric lighting from his Pearl Street Power Station, the first ever to provide light and power to even a small section of lower Manhattan.

Mr. Ronaldson had been given the assignment by his employer, the National Bank Note Company to engrave the frame die, except for the lettering, to be used for making the frame plate for the 15¢ value of a series of postage stamps for the United States Post Office Department. His company had signed a contract to design and produce this series of postage stamps the previous December. The past several months had been exciting times for all the expert craftsmen and there was good reason for this excitement. Not only was this a radical departure from previous stamps (For the first time pictorial themes were being used), but now they were working on the frame design for the first bi-colored stamp ever to be produced for the United States Post Office Department.

Following E. Pitcher's general design, James Smillie had exceeded all expectations in his engraving of the vignette showing the Landing of Columbus in America. This scene was recognizable by many Americans who had seen the original painting in the Rotunda of the Capitol Building in Washington, or one of the smaller reproductions that had been made and widely distributed. The frame engraver, D. S. Ronaldson, as well as J. C. Kenworthy, had been extremely conscious of the challenge. They felt it necessary to consult often to make certain their frame would be equally as fine a piece of workmanship as was the vignette.

As he made the last impression on the die with his sharp engraving tool, Ronaldson stood back to take a last critical look at his work in the fading light from the large west window. At this moment he was joined by the designer, E. Pitcher, and the letter engraver, J. C. Kenworthy, and it was evident that all three were not only satisfied, but were justifiably proud of the quality of the finished die. They all knew, however, that only the first phase of the stamp's production had been completed. Many more steps would have to be taken and the work of many more artisans would be needed. The production of an engraved postage stamp in 1869 was a much more complicated process than would be required to mass produce postage stamps a hundred years later. The die had to be har-

dened and then impressed on the transfer roll. The transfer roll would then need to be hardened for transfer to the plate. Finally, the plate would need to be touched up, hardened and carefully examined before it would be ready for the press.

Several years ago, a film clip was prepared by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, showing the then new Huck Press printing the "Flag over the White House" coil stamp. The huge coil of stamp paper rolled over the press with its forty plates so fast that the action could not be followed by the human eye. A single run through this complicated masterpiece of printing press technology produced not just a bi-colored, but a multicolored postage stamp. Such a scene could no more be imagined by the craftsmen of the National Bank Note Company in the spring of 1869 than the landing of astronauts on the Moon.

The production of engraved stamps was at best a slow and tedious process. Each sheet of paper had to be carefully and individually hand fed onto the press bed. The plates produced only one impression before the sheet had to be removed and the whole process repeated. This was for a single colored printing. The production of the bi-colored 15¢ value would add many complications. First, the single sheet of stamp paper would have to be inserted and the plate containing the vignette portion would be printed. Then, the sheet would be removed, the plate cleaned, a new sheet of stamp paper inserted by hand and the process repeated -- but this produced only one-half of a stamp. Later, a new plate, the frame plate, would need to be affixed within the press and this time the single sheet of stamp paper that was inserted already contained the vignette impression. This time, extreme care would be required so that the frame impression would exactly fit. With the engraving on this die now complete, the craftsmen were ready to complete the necessary process to print the 15¢ value. It is certain that they did not foresee all of the many difficulties that lay ahead.

IN THE BEGINNING

New Orleans was spared much of the massive damage suffered by many southern cities during the late war. Its damage was indeed slight as compared to that suffered by Vicksburg during the siege, or Atlanta during Sherman's march to the sea. It was also spared the trauma of the reconstruction period, as local lifestyle was much less affected than the almost unbearable frustration suffered by Pulaski, Tennessee and many other localities in the deep South.

Friday, the 2nd of April, 1869, found New Orleans with a clear blue sky and gently refreshing, invigorating breezes. Francis Porche (an intentionally fictitious name) awoke from a refreshing night's sleep, feeling that it was good to be alive. Opening the front door of his home, situated several blocks east of the center of downtown New Orleans, he picked up his morning paper, read the headlines, and enjoyed a leisurely but hardy breakfast, all without realizing that today he was making philatelic history. After breakfast he considered it a good opportunity to answer his friend's recent letter. At his desk, he penned a brief but friendly reply on the thin lightweight blue note paper he customarily used for his foreign correspondence. He addressed an envelope of the same lightweight material to "John Chawure, Bordeaux, France." What confidence Francis had in the postal service of 1869. No box

number, no street address, no zip code and no return address; yet fully, and as it turned out, justifiably, confident that his letter would reach his friend safely and soundly.

Francis, having noticed the excellent weather and thinking how good and probably beneficial a walk in the fresh air might prove, put the letter in his jacket pocket, stepped out of his front door, walked briskly to the corner where he turned left on Royal Street (noticeably slowing his pace) and proceeded westward. In a few minutes he glanced across the street to his right and admired again the beautiful St. Louis Cathedral. He stopped and his thoughts returned to the earlier years of his boyhood when he had often come to this spot to watch the slow and careful construction of this new church building on the same site that had been continuously occupied by other churches since New Orleans had been founded many, many years before. He recalled with pleasure the day in 1851 when this new cathedral building was formally dedicated and how thrilled he was to be there at the dedication with his parents and friends. Looking back over his shoulder to his left, his eyes took in the tranquil setting of Jackson Park before continuing down Royal. His eyes took in many sights along the way and once again his attention was focused across the street where he read the address 407 above the door. It was, of course, impossible for him to know then that this address would many years later become known around the world, partly because of the unstamped letter he was carrying in the pocket of his jacket.

Reaching Canal Street, he was forced to stop, as the human eye is incapable of taking in at a glance the whole beauty of that majestic thoroughfare. Then, as now, it demanded more than a passing glance to absorb the majesty of this, one of the world's greatest boulevards. Feeling very good he decided to take his letter to the post office. He turned to his left on Canal Street and proceeded south in the direction of the crescent of the mighty Mississippi River that has been and will forever be such a vital part of New Orleans.

The post office was located in the Customs House Building and, as he entered the almost deserted lobby, he noticed his friend, Walter M. Smallwood, the postmaster, standing behind the counter talking to a man Francis did not recognize. As his eyes met those of his friend, he called out, "Good Morning, Walter." The postmaster in an equally friendly tone replied, "Good Morning, Francis. Come over here, I have someone I want you to meet." Francis walked to the counter, shook hands with the postmaster and turned to face the stranger as the postmaster said, "Francis, this is Charles Lowell. He has been appointed your new postmaster and will assume his duties on Monday, the 5th.

"Charles, I want you to meet a good friend of mine, Francis Porche. I think he must have lived in New Orleans all of his life. He has been very helpful to me during the past several months that I have been postmaster here." Francis and Charles shook hands, acknowledging the introduction. After a few minutes of idle chatter, the postmaster turned to Francis and asked if there was anything he could do for him. Francis handed him the letter from his breast pocket and asked him what the postage would be. The postmaster took the letter, placed it on the postal scale, checked his current postage rate book and replied, "Your letter weighs just under a quarter of an ounce; the rate to

France, by way of New York via American Packet, is 15¢." Francis reached into his trousers pocket, took out several small coins, selected a nickel and a dime, and said to the postmaster, "I'll need a stamp."

Reaching under the counter, the postmaster pulled out a large manilla envelope and remarked, "You're lucky, I just received some new 15¢ stamps today." He removed a full sheet of one hundred of these new stamps. They were printed an eye-appealing combination of brown and blue. The blue picture that made up the center of stamps caught the attention of all three and they huddled together to examine them more closely. After a few comments by each, the new postmaster-to-be said, "I recognize that picture. It is entitled Landing of Columbus, and the original I have seen hanging in the Rotunda of the Capitol in Washington." Carefully removing a single stamp from the full sheet, the postmaster handed it to Francis, who carefully affixed it to the upper right hand corner of the envelope and handed it back. Goodbyes were said all around and Francis returned to bright, sunlit Canal Street and continued his walk home.

As Francis Porche left the post office lobby, Postmaster Smallwood turned and walked with the letter to a table near the center of the space behind the post office counter. On a table was a 25mm town circle (Type 12 - sans serif) cancelling machine with a simple crossroads killer attachment. This type of cancelling machine had been used in New Orleans since 1867 and would continue to be used until 1875. Francis Porche's letter was run through the cancelling machine, which most fortunately for later generations of stamp collectors struck clearly. The letter was then placed in a dispatch case along with other mail to be sent to New York, but this was the only letter franked with a copy of the new 15¢ stamp. At New York it was segregated from the other mail for early dispatch by American Packet to France and by the French postal service to the addressee in Bordeaux. The confidence placed by Porche in the 1869 postal service seems to have been, at least in this one case, justified. Though lost for many years from public view, the envelope survives today in loving philatelic hands as the earliest known usage of the Type I 15¢ 1869 issue.

NATIONAL BANKNOTE COMPANY PROBLEMS

Meanwhile, back in New York, even before the first 15¢ stamp of the 1869 series was sold in New Orleans, the production department of the National Bank Note Company was having more trouble with the 15¢ stamp than it was able to solve. They had no other choice after only approximately 2,000 satisfactory impressions (200,000 stamps) had been run off the press, but to cease all production of this value until a solution could be found. It was under these conditions that President Shepard called a meeting of his top executive officers, the stamp's designer, the three engravers, and the superintendent of the press department. They met in the nearby executive offices at Number One Wall Street. The meeting was conducted in as serious a tone as the nature of the problem they faced demanded.

The difficulties in obtaining proper alignment of the stamped paper for its second run through the press and the resultant waste of time, effort and material was indeed excessive; and all of their

combined efforts to remedy the situation had proven futile. At the meeting many suggestions for change were made. They were discussed fully, but none survived critical debate. It was noted that the same difficulty, at least in the same degree and frequency, was not encountered in printing the 24¢ value, which was very similar in design. A detailed examination of the proofs and stamps from both denominations revealed that the inner lines of the frame design of the 24¢ value were somewhat heavier and had a tendency to hide many, if not most, of the lesser misalignments that were so noticeable on the 15¢ value. A change similar to this was suggested.



Figure 1. Landing of Columbus, 15¢ Type I as we know it today. The frame for this type has faint horizontal lines all around the inside of the opening in the frame.

The printers did not want to re-engrave completely a die with the possibility that the new die would make so obvious a difference that it would not receive the approval they had already obtained from the Post Office Department on the present design. The engravers huddled and came up with the suggestion that the present die might successfully be altered by strengthening some of the existing lines and adding a few additional lines to make it more like the frame lines of the 24¢ value and hopefully correct, at least to a satisfactory degree, the difficulties they were having. It was agreed by all that this change should be attempted. The technicians returned to the Broadway location and commenced work, while the president and his principal officers remained at Number One Wall Street to tackle other serious problems that needed equally diligent attention.

President Shepard invited his chief executive officers into his private office for a closed meeting to discuss and hopefully to come up with a solution to these other problems. As the meeting was closed and no minutes were kept, we can only surmise what took place there. But it seems logical to conclude, in view of the facts that were already known, that the discussion probably

followed a course that went something like this. All was not going well financially in the production of stamps for the Post Office Department. It was true, and they freely admitted that it was true, that National had wanted the contract very much. It was also true that they may have been too optimistic and now had on their hands a contract that was in no way profitable. They probably wished that they had not fought so hard to get it. A careful reading of the contract would convince most that it was much more favorable to the Post Office Department than it could possibly ever be to the bank note company.

It seemed to the men assembled here that they would have been better off if they had paid more careful attention to the warnings that they had ignored at every turn. As they discussed the terms of the contract, it must have been apparent that all the choices were in the hands of the Government and that there were very few places where the decisions might be made by them. As National prepared its bid, it was very careful to impress upon the government the quality of its work and its desire as well as ability to produce a superior product. The firm had carefully designed the stamps to be different and had prepared dies, transfer rolls and plates so as to be ready to start prompt production. This was the first mistake.

The Post Office Department, which had every right to do so under the terms of the contract, demanded and got a change in every denomination of the stamps to be produced. This required the manufacture of a complete new set of dies, transfer rolls, and plates. Additionally, National apparently had overlooked the difficulty in aligning the sheets for the second run through the presses for the bi-colored stamps, and the extra time and effort that would be needed to produce a finished product of acceptable quality. This group of men, the officers of the company responsible for the profitable operations of the firm (under personal bond to fulfill every detail required by the contract), did indeed have problems.

It is acknowledged that this was all happening in 1869 and that conditions were quite different than those which would be encountered a hundred years later. Wages were lower, there was no organized labor and few if any fringe benefits, rent was lower, and bills for gas lighting were only a fraction of today's electrical cost. There were no telephone bills and first class domestic postage was only 3¢ instead of 13¢. There original bid had been 27½¢ per thousand stamps. In their anxiety to secure the contract at any cost, this was reduced to 25½¢ before the contract was awarded and signed. For this 25½¢ the bank note company was required not only to design the stamps, engrave the dies, manufacture the transfer rolls and produce the plates, but also to:

- a) furnish the special stamp quality paper,
- b) run each of ten sheets (100 stamps per sheet for the bi-colors) through the presses by hand twice,
- c) perforate and gum the stamps,
- d) pay a royalty to the patent owner of the grill (Charles F. Steel),
- e) apply the grill to each sheet,
- f) furnish a shipping container of the design and quality arbitrarily assigned by the Post Office Department,
- g) package the finished stamps,
- h) deliver them to the stamp agent and finally the postmaster's office.

For the 25½¢ the firm received in exchange for each one thousand stamps, National had recruited the best available engravers, capable mechanics, journeyman printers and trustworthy messengers, paid rent on fireproof premises and had invested capital in part of the equipment needed to do all these things. Finally, National had to wait three months to receive payment for its work. Under these circumstances, it is easily understood why there was concern at Number One Wall Street that afternoon.

The officers realized that they had wanted the contract too badly and that to obtain this contract they had conceded too many points. Some alternative had to be found, but the contract placed all of these alternatives with the government. It could order as many or as few stamps as it desired. The government could change the designs and require the engraving of new dies, the manufacture of new transfer rolls, and the production of new plates whenever it desired. The bank note company had no input. The firm had to do what was required and had placed a cash bond with the government to guarantee that the contract would be fulfilled in every particular. A hundred years later, National could have placed cost overrun figures before the Post Office Department and would have been fully justified in expecting prompt payment, but this contract was dated 1868 and no such thought entered anyone's mind.

Something had to be done -- and probably at this unrecorded meeting, something was done. Undoubtedly one of the most costly phases was the production of the bi-colored stamps. If this could be eliminated, then possibly the losses could be cut to the point where the bank note company could survive. This could be done by a design change. However, National had no authority to change the design. That privilege had been reserved for the Post Office Department. The question of how to persuade the Department that it would be to its advantage to change the design was the next item on the agenda. Who could persuade the Post Office Department to change? Only one answer seemed to have any hope for success -- the people could. Now the question arose as to the best method to get the people to persuade the Post Office Department to change the designs and rescue the bank note company. As today, the answer then was the same, the press. If the philatelic press, followed by the regular press, printed enough articles damning the stamps, the hue and cry from the public demanding a change would be heard loud and clear by the Post Office Department, which would immediately and firmly demand that the production of the 1869 issue cease immediately and that a new series of stamps go into production as soon as possible to replace them. The bank note company would then reluctantly accept the demands by the Post Office Department and, making sure that the new set would not include any costly bi-colored stamps, would agree.

(Author's note: This theory has no real factual basis, but it has been rumored for years and could have happened this way. We know that the public, when the stamps were first announced, received them favorably. We know that today the stamps of these series are considered to be among the most desirable by most stamp collectors. Something caused this intermediate period of lost favor. It might have been the bank note company's solution, and if it was, it worked.)

The next few days were busy and exciting ones at the Broad-

way shop. The designer and the engravers all knew they had their work cut out for them and that extreme care should be taken to make sure they did not, through careless haste, make matters worse. First, working with drawings and proofs, they inked in proposed changes to study the probable results. Eventually satisfied, the day arrived when the actual re-engraving should take place. Very carefully, the lines were strengthened and additional lines were engraved into the metal of the die as they had planned. A new transfer roll was made and a new plate of one hundred (100) subjects was carefully laid out, examined critically, and when they were satisfied, the plate was hardened and made ready for the press. Several sheets containing the vignette design had already been prepared, and these sheets were run through the press experimentally to raise the new frame impressions. After each run, all held their breath during the examination to see how well the purpose had been accomplished. It is doubtful that they were completely satisfied, but agreed with each other that a substantial improvement had been made and that they should proceed with



Figure 2. Landing of Columbus, 15¢ Type II as we know it today. The frame of this type has faint diagonal lines on the left, bottom and right sides, inside the opening in the frame. Across the top opening of the frame are heavy lines, which form a "diamond" in the middle.

the actual production to fill the accumulated orders which had been piling up. On that day, Type II had been born and by May 23rd the new stamp had been produced, delivered to the Stamp Agent in New York and distributed to at least one post office, where one was sold and used. In less than two months, the change had been made. (Actually, there is only a seven week differential between the Type I and Type II earliest-known usages.) Under the circumstances, a big change had been made in a very short time.

After it was determined that the new plates were acceptable, the old plates (most likely there was only one) were probably destroyed, as no example of Type I ever appeared at a later date.

In the short twenty-two years since the first postage stamp was issued by the United States Post Office Department, this was not the first time that different types of the same stamp had appeared. However, this was the first time that such a change had been made deliberately. The others, most notably the 1¢ blue of the 1851-56 issue, had been accidental. The many varieties, the many types, sub-types, and sub sub-types had all resulted from impressional removal, incomplete impressions, worn or cracked plates, and in some instances, damaged plates. All these types claimed as their ancestor the one die which produced them all.

One afternoon several years ago during an A. P. S. convention at New Haven, a half dozen or so of the best-known authorities who specialized in the collecting and study of this popular 1851-56 1¢ blue, were talking in a hotel suite where only one non-specialist sat and listened. Magnifying glasses were to be found in every hand. Reference books, enlarged designs, as well as examples of the actual stamps were examined, studied, and discussed almost without limit. It suddenly occurred to the only non-specialist present that they were discussing examples printed from the same plates and made from the same dies, and that it was only the natural wear and tear that made the difference. The question was asked but never satisfactorily answered as to how the exact point is determined when a stamp should be classified as one type against another. It should be a pleasure then to note that the difference between Type I and Type II of the 15¢ value of the 1869 issue can be determined by the naked eye and that it is either Type I or Type II. There is no room for doubt. It either is or is not. No maybe one or the other. It is positive.

TYPE III APPEARS

The clock ticks, time passes, pages are torn from the calendar one by one. It is now 1875. It has been ninety-nine years since the Declaration of Independence was signed and the thirteen independent colonies on the East Coast of the United States from Canada to Florida began their struggle for independence from England. In one more year, the greatly expanded now United States of America would have an opportunity to celebrate its Centennial. Planning for this celebration had been underway for some time, principally centered around a World's Fair to be held at Philadelphia, the birthplace of this land of opportunity and home of freedom. Perhaps in the minds of many, it was an occasion also to celebrate survival from a great war that left the United States still united.

It was now time for the United States Post Office, brought into existence through the efforts of one of the country's best known founding fathers, Benjamin Franklin, to plan its participation in the Centennial celebration. The author of the idea is unknown, but the execution was formidable. The Post Office Department would re-print and re-issue a complete set of all the postage stamps that had been issued by the United States from its first issue in 1847 to the issue currently in use. 10,000 copies of each were to be printed and made available for sale at face value to the public through the office of the Postmaster General. None of the re-issued stamps were to be made available at any post office or even at the special postal station of the World's Fair. It would seem that this omission would in a large way defeat its implied purpose of advertising the postal service to the

celebrants of the country's birthday attending the fair. It could not even be considered a well-thought-out source of revenue because, in addition to the high cost of reproducing so few copies of so many varieties, detailed records were required to be kept on each individual sale. The purpose for this requirement is unknown, but logic would indicate that it was to a great extent less than thoughtful.

Trouble started at the very beginning with the contract for the printing of the first (1847) Issue. The Post Office Department discovered that it did not own the plates and dies used to print the stamps. The department made every effort to have them turned over, but was completely unsuccessful. Now, when the department was ready to reproduce these stamps for the Centennial celebration, it had to start from scratch by engraving new dies and making new plates. This effort clearly emphasized that it was almost impossible to engrave two dies of the same design that could not be distinguished by their differences. Since the department had no other choice, it went ahead, and the 5¢ and 10¢ stamps reproduced in 1875 are clearly distinguishable by most philatelists from the stamps printed from the original plates in 1847. As officials proceeded, they ran into difficulties, but in one way or another the task was accomplished and, if not perfect, at least a satisfactory product was produced.

When it came time for the Scott Stamp and Coin Company to prepare a listing of the stamps printed for the re-issue of the 1869 general issue, it seems the company had a perfect opportunity to make a simple declarative note to inform its readers that new plates were prepared for the 1¢ value and the frame of the 15¢ value. Scott tried, but the result simply adds to the confusion in several ways. Scott wrote, "A new plate of 150 subjects was made for the 1¢ and for the frame of the 15¢" Okay, now let's see what really did happen. It would seem that National Bank Note Company looked over the available plates of the 1¢ value and found that none was in a satisfactory condition to reprint the 1¢ stamp in the desired quality. It is doubtful that a transfer roll still existed in the file, but apparently a die of good quality was found. From this die, a new transfer roll was made and from this new transfer roll, a new plate of 150 subjects was made. This was no real change from the original plates, which were 300 subject plates, being cut into panes of 150 before being placed on sale. So, thus far, Scott's note is easily understood. A new plate was made and the stamps were printed from the new plate just like the note says. So, we pass on to the 15¢ value.

In 1869, when the stamps were current, the frame design for the 15¢ value was deliberately and intentionally changed, apparently by adding and strengthening some of the lines. The stamps printed from the frame plates made from this re-engraved die are distinguishable and are known to us as the Type II. Following the reasoning that was applied to the 1¢ value, it is logical to assume that no frame plate for the 15¢ value was to be found in a condition satisfactory for further use. In all probability, it can be assumed that no transfer roll had been kept in the files. So back to the die. A new transfer roll was made, and from it a new frame plate was produced and from it, the re-issued stamps were printed. Wait a minute! Was the new frame plate a 100-subject plate or 150-subject plate? Refer to

Scott's note again, which reads, "A new plate of 150 subjects was made for the 1¢ and for the frame of the 15¢ ..." The note did not say that a new plate of 150 subjects was made for the 1¢ and a new plate of 100 subjects was made for the frame of the 15¢. What it said was that a new plate of 150 subjects was made for the 1¢ and the frame of the 15¢. But, this is nit picking. There is no logical way that a 150-subject frame plate can be used in combination with a 100-subject vignette plate. So, although Scott did not say so, logic makes it clear that the newly-prepared frame plate was a 100-subject plate.

All right, one of the old vignette plates has been used and the new frame plate has been used. One would assume that this combination produced a Type II. Maybe a better expression would be that it should have produced Type II, but it didn't. The new frame plate printed a design described as being the same as Type I except without the fringe of brown shading lines around central vignette. So, Type III is born and Scott's note is more confusing than ever. Nothing was said about the production of a new die or the re-engraving of an old one. It only referred to the preparation of a new plate. It is apparent that more was required than has been explained.

Let's review and see if we can find an answer that can be considered logical. The original design, Type I, was considered to be unsatisfactory because it did not sufficiently hide slight imperfections. A change was made deliberately, intentionally, and on purpose. Lines were strengthened, and other lines added by re-engraving the die, in an effort to have these extra lines and strengthened lines hide the imperfect centering of the frame around the vignette. We can assume that this design (Type III) worked at least satisfactorily, as more than a million stamps were printed and no further changes made.



Figure 3. Landing of Columbus, 15¢ Type III. This type is only known in the re-issue of 1875 and has no shading lines inside the opening in the frame. Otherwise, the frame design is very close to Type I.

Nothing can be found in philatelic literature to suggest that the change to Type III in 1875 was necessary, or even desirable. And, there is another puzzling aspect. The new design (Type III) did not add more lines that theoretically could better hide the misalignments. It contained even fewer lines than the unsatisfactory Type I. Theoretically, this would add to the printing difficulty rather than ease it.

(Author's Note: I do not have an answer. Thus far, I have not been able to devise one. Further research is required and I sincerely hope that someday the question will be answered.)

SPECULATION -- DASHED TO SMITHEREENS

Now that we know the change was made, let us speculate as to how it was made. It is apparent that additional lines can be satisfactorily added to a die. Is it possible that the hardened steel of the die can be softened; and that part of the engraving, such as the additional lines that were added to Type I to produce Type II, can be erased? It might also be possible that some delicate lines from a plate could be worn smooth from excessive and extra-long use. However, in this case, it is not the engraved plate that concerns us but the engraved die from which only a relatively few impressions were made in the production of the necessary transfer rolls. This is a question that must be answered at some future time by an expert on the subject of engraving. In the meantime, it appears necessary to assume that the change was made by erasure for some reasons presently unknown.

Thus, the die of the original Type I frame was deliberately changed by adding engraved lines to produce a better product. These extra lines and some of the original lines, for reasons unknown, were again changed; and Type III was produced for the 1875 re-issue of the 15¢ value.

Again, the clock ticks and time passes. It is now 1904. For the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, to be held at Saint Louis, Missouri, from April 30 to December 1, the Post Office Department felt a need to participate in some special way. A decision was made to produce eighty-five sets of die proofs. Each set was to include an example of every variety of postage stamp that had been issued to date. These eighty-five sets were prepared and mounted in eighty-five (85) albums and distributed to the V.I.P.'s of the time. As these were die proofs, no plates were necessary, only impressions made one by one from the die itself.

Fine, let's examine the finished product of the 1869 series. Here they are -- the 1¢, the 2¢, the 3¢, the 6¢, the 10¢ and the 12¢. Yes, and here is the 15¢. It must be Type III as it is the only die that remained after 1875. The Type I die had been altered to make it Type II and the Type II die had been altered to make it Type III that was used to make the plate that printed the stamps re-issued in 1875. But, it isn't Type III, those extra lines and those heavy lines are distinctly here. These proofs are undoubtedly from the Type II die and here, in addition, we find a second 15¢ value. We examine it. It is undoubtedly the die that produced Type III for the re-issues. Puzzling, isn't it? The Type II die had not been destroyed to make the Type III. Here

is proof -- here is a set of die proofs printed from a die that was thought to have been destroyed almost thirty years before. This discovery adds to the confusion. The change to Type III in 1875 may not have been accidental. It may have been deliberate. A hundred years later and apparently no attempt has been made to provide an answer.

We continue to look through the presentation album and find here beautiful die proofs of the 24¢, the 30¢ and the 90¢ values. In its long history since 1869, all of the values of the 1869 stamps have been produced without change and without difficulty. At every turn, the 15¢ value has raised questions. Many authors over the years have described the 1869 series as a controversial issue. Perhaps it was. If that adjective is used to describe the series as a whole, no word remains to satisfactorily describe the unique troubles of the 15¢ value. One thing, however, can be said in its favor -- its many unanswered questions will provide abundant material for the researcher and serious student to work with for years to come.

THE LUFF SYNDROME

Probably the best-known philatelic authority in the 1890's was John Nicholas Luff, who was born in New York State in 1860. Practically his entire life, until his death seventy-eight years later in 1938, was devoted both as a vocation and avocation to philately and the hobby of stamp collecting. In 1894, while still a comparatively young man, he joined Scott's Stamp and Coin Company, and managed the approval department of that company. Within a year or two, he was named editor of the American Journal of Philately and was also one of the editors of the Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue. He was an avid student of philately and published many articles on the postage stamps of the United States in the journal over the years. In 1902, these articles were updated and refined and were the basis for the material published in book form as Postage Stamps of the United States by Scott's Stamp and Coin Company. It is still considered the authoritative source of material on the 19th Century postage stamps of the United States.

Almost without exception, every author since has paid tribute to Luff's original research. Brookman in his well-known philatelic volumes proudly and freely acknowledges Luff as his material source. So does Chase and, more recently, Schueren, acknowledge the help they received. It is not difficult to understand why Luff's work was so freely accepted. They reasoned that as a student, Luff was, or at least should have been, closer to the events as they happened. They reasoned that he had a greater opportunity to research source materials in his time than they could possibly have so many years later. In many ways, they may have been right, but after thoughtful consideration, they may have also been mistaken. Much of the material available to these later authorities was most likely not available to Luff. Much of this material was too current to have reached philatelic hands. Much of this material was still locked away in business files and trunks stored in the attics of homes. It should also be remembered that stamp collecting in the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's was far different than the stamp collecting style of the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's. Postage stamps in the early days were produced by contract between the Post Office

Department and private companies. Announcements in the public press or even the philatelic press did not send literally thousands of misguided stamp hoarders to thousands of post office windows throughout the entire country to purchase blocks, plate blocks, and sheets of each new issue that appeared. The time had not arrived when philately would produce the Southgates and the Brazers, who were as familiar a sight in the offices and on the printing floor of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing as they were in their own offices. Yes, truly the authors that came afterward may not have been wise in placing so much dependence on the research of the undoubtedly authority of the 1890's, John Nicholas Luff.

Luff's book was later reprinted by the Weekly Philatelic Gossip of Holton, Kansas, and it is to this later edition that all future references to Luff should be applied. When his book was first published in 1902, it was illegal to reproduce illustrations of the United States Postage Stamps in their entirety. As a result, postage stamp illustrations in philatelic literature, as well as in postage stamp catalogues, were limited to partial cuts, such cuts usually emphasizing part of the stamp to which attention was directed. On Page 85 of this reprint there appear two partial illustrations calling attention to the differences in design of the two types of the 15¢ value of the 1869 series. Under the first illustration, there is printed "Type I" and under the second illustration, there is printed "Type II". A careful look at the first illustration, clearly and without hesitation illustrates what all of us now, as well as the catalogues, know as Type II. And, a careful look at the second illustration clearly indicates that it shows what all of us now know as Type I. From the accompanying text, we quote:

"There are three types of the fifteen cents. In Type I the central picture is surrounded by a frame of three parallel lines. Across the top of the picture the middle line of the three is thicker than the other two and at the middle of the top the lines form a diamond-shaped ornament. This type is usually spoken of as 'with diamond' or 'picture framed'. In Type I there is also, within the space for the picture, a band about 3/4 mm. wide, formed of short diagonal lines. This band extends across the bottom and the two ends of the tablet but not across the top. In Type II the frame lines and the diamond are omitted. There is a band of lines, as in Type I, but it is 1 mm. wide, the lines are horizontal and the band extends all around the inside of the tablet. Type III differs from Type II in the absence of the band of shading lines, of which only a solitary line remains, crossing the top of the tablet where the outline curves up to a point under the 'T' of 'POSTAGE'. The object of the bands of lines was to form a background for the picture and make less noticeable any slight misplacing of it. Type I was the first issued. Type III is only known in the re-issue of 1875."

Much of this information first appeared in print in the American Journal of Philately while John Luff was its editor. It appeared in the 1902 edition of his book Postage Stamps of the United States, and it continued to appear when the book was reprinted years later. So far as can be determined, the statement has never been challenged in print to this date. Can this

possibly be the most accurate information so willingly accepted by Brookman and the other students that followed? The answer is "yes", but with reservation. Brookman and the others must have read it, but they also must have assumed that it was a typographical error or a printer's mistake or an oversight. When they read that Type I had the extra lines and the reference to the picture being framed, they must have assumed that Luff really meant Type II. As a result of this line of thought, they could justify continuing confidence in Luff's research. They continued to use Luff's data, with the reservation that when Luff presented data on the Type I that he was ignoring his own description of Type I, and actually talking about the stamps produced from the original frame plate, the plate that produced the stamps now known as the Type I, without the picture framed.

This was their error. Luff actually believed that the stamps with the extra lines that he described as Type I were actually printed first and were Type I. Luff actually believed that the stamp he referred to as Type II without the framed picture was actually produced from the changed frame plate that was produced later. When Luff wrote that 200,000 of the Type I stamps were produced and delivered to the post office, he was referring to his Type I. When he wrote that over a million of the Type II stamp was produced and delivered to the Post Office Department, he was referring to his Type II, the stamps that did not frame the picture. Here is where all the confusion exists. The researchers who came along after Luff just did not or could not believe that the result of his research could possibly have produced this conclusion. It is difficult for even our present day investigators to accept these conclusions. Search as we might to discover a basis for Luff's conclusions, and every avenue reaches a dead end. Because of the number of covers available, Luff might have seen more covers with the unframed picture than he did with the framed picture and from it might have assumed that more of the unframed pictures were used than the framed picture. Thus, he may have reasoned more unframed stamps were available for use than framed stamps, and that the framed stamps were printed first and that the unframed stamps were printed later. That line of reasoning might be accepted if it were not for the dates of usage which Luff must have recognized. More of the unframed covers bear earlier dates than those with stamps having extra engraved lines that appear to frame the picture. This same kind of roadblock seems to appear on every road we travel.

But, we can have no doubt that Luff believed for whatever reason that the framed stamps were Type I and came first and that the unframed were Type II and were issued later. Do you need further evidence? Here it is in Luff's own words. Look at the reference list on Page 85 of the reprint edition of Luff's Postage Stamps of the United States and read:

"15 cents (type I), dark blue and red-brown.
Medallion inverted."

Even though many, if not most, of the stamp collectors of today have never seen a 15¢ 1869 with the inverted frame, is it possible to find more than a scattered few who will answer without hesitation and without the slightest doubt, that this great rarity was produced by the re-engraved frame plate that produced the stamp now known universally as Type II? It is so listed in every postage stamp catalogue that lists United States stamps in the United States or anywhere in the world, and to the best of our knowledge in

every philatelic reference book ever published, except John Luff's. John Luff believed that he was right and everything that he wrote must be read with this in mind. Wherever John Luff in his writings refers to Type I in connection with the 15¢ value of the 1869 issue, he means the stamps with the extra lines and the picture framed. Conversely, when he refers to Type II, he means the stamp with the fewer lines generally known as a stamp with the picture unframed.

This is where Brookman and the others failed. They were never convinced.

Keeping this in mind, we read further from the writings of John Luff that Frame Plates No. 19 and No. 31 were used to print his Type I and Frame Plate No. 23 was used to print his Type II. Let us, at least for the moment, ignore the vignette plates. All of the vignette plates were made from the same die, and all of the plates were identical, whether used to produce Type I, Type II or even Type III. In fact, any one of the plates could have produced any of these stamps, but conceivably actually were used to produce more than one type. Keeping Luff's error in mind, we should correct this error now and understand that Luff meant to convey the fact that the single Frame Plate No. 23 produced all of the Type I (our Type I) stamps and that the two plates, No. 19 and No. 31, were used to produce the picture-framed Type II. This change would at least bring some clarity to the puzzle as to why two plates were needed to print approximately 200,000 stamps, while only one was needed to produce over a million. Over the years, philatelic writers searching for an explanation have repeated over and over again that the brown pigment used in printing the frame was exceedingly corrosive and that the plate wore out more quickly than was expected. Upon further examination, this appears to be a lame excuse, for the ink used to print more than a million of the Type II used the same pigments and therefore must have been equally corrosive.

Brookman, with his absolute faith in Luff's accuracy, which he was apparently unable to doubt, simply adds to the confusion. Although he does not say so, during his research discovered an example of the Type II bearing Plate No. 31. But being unable to question Luff's accuracy, he proceeds to list Plate No. 31 as being used to print both Type I and Type II. He simply added No. 31 to the No. 23 listed by Luff. This would seem to be impossible. It is impossible that both types were printed from the same frame Plate 31. However, we have no proof that the National Bank Note Company did not use the same number 31 on its re-engraved plate as they did on the original frame plate. This seems to be very unlikely though. Brookman's faith in Luff's unquestionable accuracy is probably the most logical explanation.

In 1969, John Birkinbine, writing a series of articles on the 1869 issue for the American Philatelist (September, October and November editions), also gets into the act. Once again, inaccurate data is presented on the 15¢ frame plate numbers. Birkinbine lists Plate Numbers 19 and 31 for Type I and Plate Number 31 for Type II. Birkinbine apparently dropped No. 23 from Brookman's Type II listing.

It has now been more than seventy-five years since Luff did his research and printed his conclusions. Our most recent

TABLE I

PLATE NUMBERS ASSIGNED TO THE 15¢ FRAME PLATES

	<u>LUFF</u>	<u>BROOKMAN</u>	<u>BIRKINBINE</u>	<u>CRYER</u>
TYPE I	19,31	19,31	19,31	23
TYPE II	23	23,31	31	19,31

publication, The United States 1869 Issue, by Fred P. Schueren, did not make the necessary corrections. In fact, Luff's influence consciously or unconsciously, continues to dominate all thoughts, particularly where plate numbers are concerned. On Page 87 of the Schueren book, there is an illustration of four stamps with the imprint of the National Bank Note Company and Plate No. 31 in the attached selvage at the top of the stamps. The illustrated stamps are definitely Type II. They are unmistakably the Type II as described by Scott with the extra lines that are often described as framing the picture. Perhaps unconsciously Schueren was more impressed with the Number 31 that three-quarters of a century ago Luff had indicated was the Type I frame plate than he was by the sight of his own eyes as he looked at the stamps; because underneath, he has described the II-illustration as "Type I Plate Proofs with Imprint." Schueren is not mistaken in his types as was Luff, for on Page 84 there is illustrated an example of each of the three types, which have been correctly identified, but in this illustration he does not have the plate number to confuse him. Again, unlike Luff, he correctly identifies the inverted error as Type II. Thus, it would appear that confusion still exists only where plate numbers are present to supply a stimulant to trigger the confusion.

It is therefore apparent that today's researcher and the researchers of the future seeking to avoid the errors of the past must ignore Luff, Brookman, Chase, Birkinbine, Schueren and the others and start again from the beginning. He must seek the original source, the stamps with plate numbers attached, making absolutely certain that the types follow today's description and studiously avoiding the influence of past research. This is not going to be a simple task. It may never succeed, for the simple reason that sufficient material no longer exists -- but it should be attempted. Any success eventually achieved will be the work of hundreds of interested collectors, who are willing to devote the time and energy required to search out every available bit of evidence that still exists in its original state; and to make known to a central source any discoveries, so that all available information can be brought together for comparative study and so that logical answers may be found to the many unanswered questions. The logical core for this cooperative effort is the membership of the United States 1869 Pictorial Research Associates. The primary purpose of this association is to provide accurate answers to these as yet unanswered questions.

* * *

POSTSCRIPT

After the letter mailed in New Orleans on the 2nd of April, 1869, arrived at its destination, it disappeared from view for quite a number of years. It turned up in British philatelic circles, and later found its way back to the United States and very possibly to the City of New Orleans. It very possibly passed through the doors of 407 Royal Street, an address today well-known throughout the philatelic world.

Even before the ink is dry on the friendly conversation in the New Orleans Post Office on that Friday morning, the 2nd of April, 1869, new information just received invalidates our description of that event. In our mind, all three were courtly gentlemen of the old school. It now appears that the almost empty Post Office lobby should have been crowded with Postal Inspectors, Secret Service men, F.B.I. agents, C.I.A. agents, federal marshalls, and United States attorneys. Perhaps the whole building should have been encircled by troops of the National Guard. As related in The Great Mail, published by the American Philatelic Society in 1949, the retiring postmaster, Walter M. Smallwood, was a crook of the first order and was later found guilty of embezzling \$19,281.25 from the Post Office Department during his comparatively short term as postmaster. Only a short while later, not only his successor, Colonel Charles W. Lowell, (who now appears to be a henchman of Louisiana's carpetbagger governor), but Lowell's assistant postmaster, his chief clerk, and cashier were found guilty of embezzling \$17,000 in post office funds during his term as Postmaster of the New Orleans Post Office. At the same time, the Customs Office, located in the same building, was continually under fire for being unable to tell the difference between public and private funds.

However, the story as originally told is more in keeping with the first-known usage of that first bi-colored stamp depicting the Landing of Columbus, and in our opinion should be left unchanged to remain as the correct setting for that historic philatelic event.**



CANCELLATIONS ON THE 90¢ 1869

JON ROSE

The typical used copy of a 90¢ 1869 is a damaged and/or off-center stamp with a nondescript and/or heavy cancellation. Copies which are sound and well-centered are quite scarce. Such examples with light, neat cancellations are scarcer still. And sound, well-centered copies with clear and unusual cancellations are almost non-existent.

Records show that 47,360 90¢ 1869 stamps were issued to post offices in 1869 and 1870. Of these, some were lost in transit while others were not put into circulation, being returned to the Post Office Department and destroyed as remainders.

Used copies are easier to find than unused copies. Surprisingly, there are enough different cancellations on used 90¢ stamps to form a rather interesting specialized collection.

The varieties of cancellations listed in Scott's United States Stamp Catalogue Specialized and Brookman's The United States Postage Stamps of the 19th Century, Vol. II, are in no way complete; viz., black, blue, red, and black town. In addition, and peripheral to this article, there exist varieties other than those with split grill or without grill.



Figure 1. Illustrated are two unusual examples of the 90-cent 1869 used. Left: A superbly centered, sound copy with neat and light circle of wedges cancellation in black. Right: A somewhat off-center but sound example with the rare New York City dated town cancellation in black, 'SOILED ON THE NOSE'.

A detailed search through hundreds of auction catalogues from 1940 to date and sifting of information supplied by a number of contributing collectors has revealed a rather surprising variety of cancellations.

Of the 506 used copies of the 90¢ in the survey, 448 had black cancellations, 43 had red, 13 blue, one green and one purple (ink pen). Of the black, 11 were town cancellations. Of the red, three were town cancels. Blue cancellations were decidedly scarcer than red, and no blue towns were recorded.

The green variety is a target cancel found on a stamp which also bears a black cork strike. This item was sold at the Robert A. Siegel auction of Jan. 9-11, 1975.

Most of the 90¢ stamps with black or red town cancellations do not show enough of the marking to permit identification of the town. A few are known: New Orleans (black), New York City (both red and black) and Lancaster, Pa. (black).

To sum up, cancellations by color in order of scarcity, from most common to least common, would be: black, red, blue, black town, red town, purple (pen) and green.

Other cancellation types found--all in black--include Registered, New York Foreign Mail, "Paid all," "Paid," and four distinct types of black cancels (among many), which merit special notice: Maltese cross, five-pointed solid star, four-ring target and a type of "bee."

Just one example each of the "Paid all," "Paid," black star, Registered, target and "bee" types were found. Several copies exist with the New York Foreign Mail Waud-Van Vlissingen Type S19 (and possibly S17) struck sharply. This is a spoke type, a circle of eight open wedges. There are a handful or two of copies struck with the distinctive Maltese cross cancellation.

The Registered cancel is the variety "REG" in vertical bars as applied. The target is four-ring and the outside ring is about 24 mm in diameter. The "bee" is from the F.W. Pickard Collection, of which more will follow later.

A collection of black cancellations on the 90¢, outside of those types mentioned above, would include the segmented circle, circle of solid wedges, crossroads, grid (square and circular), "spider grid" of solid and dashed lines in a radiating pattern, donut, rosettes and black leaf (possibly the NYFM Waud-Van Vlissingen Type C1).

The F.W. Pickard Collection, sold on Aug. 14, 1940 by Eugene Klein, contained 35 unused and 207 used copies of the 90¢ 1869. Of the 207 used copies only 35 were sound and not reperforated. There were 195 copies with black cancellations, nine with red, two with blue and one with a red town.

Interestingly, Klein segregated several plate varieties and offered them in a special section. They included:

Short transfer at left, shift in lower left part of design, spot in "0" of postage, dot on collar, dash in "9" and dot in "0" of "90," and cracked plate.

Cancellation research also revealed a bottom margin single with plate number "22" attached plus a small portion of the imprint. This copy was sold by J. and H. Stolow at the firm's auction on March 17-21, 1975 for \$300, despite being heavily damaged, repaired and backed-up. Centering is very fine and the cancel is the typical black segmented cork.

A small number of used multiples exist, all bearing black cancellations. These include a vertical pair, a strip of three (Pickard Collection), two blocks of four (William West and Sidney Hessel collections) and two blocks of six (Oliver Pitcher and H. Deats collections).

The one genuine complete cover with a 90¢ is the J. David Baker specimen (which has been stolen), franked with Scott 122 and a 10¢ and 12¢ Banknote, Scott 150 and 151. The stamps pay the quadruple 28¢ rate to India from Boston via Brindisi. Fittingly, this off-center 90¢ is cancelled and tied to the cover by a heavy black segmented cork cancellation.

Some conclusions which may be derived from this study:

* Black and less often, red and blue, were the colors used to cancel the 90¢ with very rare exception.

* Black was probably used more than 90 per cent of the time. This survey was a special search and probably turned up more red and blue cancels than would normally be found at random.

* Other varieties of cancels exist besides town strikes.

* More work should be done identifying the towns found in the CDS strikes on the 90¢ 1869.

* Used multiples are rare and invariably have black cancellations.

* One genuine complete cover with a 90¢ is known to exist.

* There are plate varieties as well as grill varieties.

* The majority of used 90¢ stamps are not of better than fine quality because of damage, centering, heavy cancellation or tampering (repairing, reperforating, etc).**

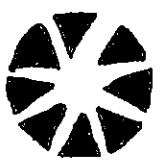
FIGURE II



1



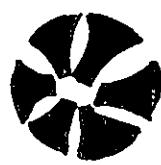
2



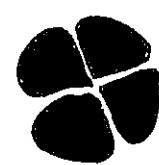
3



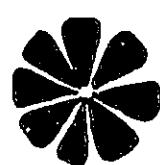
4



5



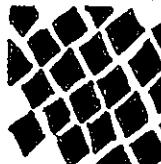
6



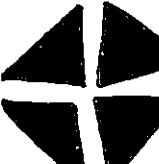
7



8



9



10



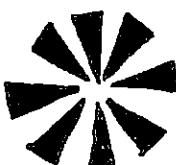
11



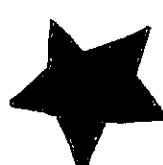
12



13



14



15

PAID
A

16



17



18



19

REG -
REG -

20

CHART II - EXAMPLES OF CANCELLATIONS FOUND ON THE 1869 90¢ STAMP

<u>Illustration Number</u>	<u>Description (Color)</u>
1	Circular dated town, Lancaster, Pa. (Black)
2	New York Foreign Mail Type S19 (Black)
3	Circle of small wedges (Black)
4	Crossroads (Black)
5	Circle of spokes (Black)
6	Four-leaf clover (Blue)
7	Eight-petal rosette (Red)
8	Circular date stamp-grid duplex, New Orleans, La. (Black)
9	Grid of diamonds (Red)
10	Maltese cross (Black)
11	Circular dated town, New York (Red)
12	Four-bladed propeller (Black)
13	Four-ring target (Black)
14	Circle of large wedges (Blue)
15	Large solid star (Black)
16	"PAID ALL" (Black)
17	Segmented cork (Blue)
18	"Spider-type" radiating grid (Black)
19	Combination square and circular grid (Red)
20	"REG" for "Registered" in bars (Black)

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POSTAL USAGE OF THE 1869 RE-ISSUES

ELLIOT H. COULTER

We have been led to believe that the 1869 Re-issues were produced along with the other Special Issues as a Post Office Department gesture to our National Centennial. If in reality this were so, the Government acted very strangely in promoting its philatelic gift. At the 1876 International Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia the Post Office Department maintained an office for the sale of postage stamps, but these Special Issues were not on sale. They were instead on sale at the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster General in Washington, D.C.

Besides the Centennial gesture, an additional reason given for the re-issuance of these stamps is that there was a desire to satisfy the many requests of collectors for specimens or copies of their obsolete items. This concept seems inadequate when we realize that part of this Special Issue was the Special Printing of the Bank Note series which was then the current issue.

Assuming that there is some credence to both of these reasons usually presented for the printing, a review of the genesis of the issue may help to determine why postal usage of the 1869 Re-issues was so limited, the used stamps themselves so elusive and yet their use so patterned.

Sometime in late 1874, or early 1875, apparently with only a minimum of publicity, the Post Office Department printed the various Reprints, Re-issues, Reproductions and Special Printings. There seems to have been little philatelic comment regarding these emissions at the time. The sales of these items were recorded, the first known date being February 23, 1875.

A combination of unanswered questions makes the traditional explanation of how these issues came into being a less than satisfactory one:

1. Why were the original sales almost 18 months prior to July 4, 1876?
2. Why do the Post Office Department circulars never mention the word centennial?
3. Why was the issue not on sale in Philadelphia?

The Post Office Department continued in a limited way to circulate the availability of these stamps for some time after their production, but apparently with marginal success. The stamps were available for sale at face value from at least February 23, 1875 until July 16, 1884, and yet the sales results for 1869 Re-issues were very low and are shown below in Table I.

TABLE I
1869 RE-ISSUE DATA

	<u>Printed</u>	<u>Sold</u>
1¢	10,000	8,252*
2¢	10,000	4,755
3¢	10,000	1,406
6¢	10,000	2,226
10¢	10,000	1,947
12¢	10,000	1,584
15¢	10,000	1,981
24¢	10,000	2,091
30¢	10,000	1,535
90¢	<u>10,000</u>	<u>1,356</u>
	100,000	27,133

*Includes 1880 Re-issue #133, which is not discussed in this article. Brookman estimates that #133 and #133a make up about 5,000 of the 8,252 figure.

After almost 10 years of production and promotion, the Post Office Department sold only about 27% of the 100,000 stamps prepared for sale. A real key to this poor showing may be the choice of words in the original circulars of the Post Office Department offering their stamps, which are headed "Specimen Postage Stamps." Apparently, people objected to paying face value for copies of stamps that were not intended for postage, even though the circular refers to the issue of 1870 as "current series."

A further inconsistency exists, since a subheading on the circular indicates "ordinary stamps for the use of the public." This obviously was incorrect when we consider that the pre-Civil War items were demonetized and no longer legal for use. The circular in fact states that all of the issues would be ungummed and re-states that they are "specimens." That some of the issue was gummed, if indeed they were, seems almost to be a compromise between the statement that calls the material "specimen" and the wording that refers to the issue as "ordinary stamps for use of the public." Pertinent sections of the circular are stated below:

"Specimen Postage Stamps
Post Office Department
Office of Third Assistant Postmaster General
Division of Postage Stamps, Stamped Envelopes
& Postal Cards
Washington, D. C., March 27th, 1875

The Department is prepared to furnish, upon application, at face value, specimens of adhesive postage stamps issued under its auspices, as follows:

Listing 1 - 5 (Various issues by year)

Official Stamps

Listing 1 - 9 (Various issues)

Newspaper and Periodical Stamps

List 1 & 2 - issues

The 1847 and 1851 Stamps are obsolete and no longer receivable for postage. The subsequent issues of ordinary stamps are still valid. The Newspaper and Periodicals of 1865 are also uncurrent; those of the issue of 1874 can be used only by publishers and news agents for matter mailed in bulk, under the Act of June 22, 1874. The Official Stamps cannot be used except for the official business of the particular department for which provided. All the specimens furnished will be ungummed; and the Official Stamps will have printed across the face the word "specimen" in small type. It will be useless to apply for gummed stamps, or for official stamps with the word "specimen" omitted. The stamps will be sold by sets and application must not be made for less than one full set of any issue--"

A. D. Hazen
Third Asst. Postmaster General"

In a framework of the uncertainty as to why they were printed, inconsistencies as to what they really were, and their pitifully poor sales performance, we will try to determine the usage of an issue that may or may not have been intended for use.

In their annual book "Stamp Auction Prices Realized," APR Publishers, Inc. of Fresno, California summarizes the number of stamps sold and prices brought at many of the major auction houses in the country. As an analysis indicative of the scarcity of the 1869 Re-issues, the figures below are most notable. They cover a total of 424 auctions held between February 1973 and August 1976.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF 1869 RE-ISSUES AUCTIONED IN 3½ YEARS

Scott #	Offered at Auction	
	Unused	Used
123	60	22
124	59	7
125	27	1
126	44	6
127	34	13
128	34	4
129	54	15
130	53	7
131	49	11
132	41	7
	<u>455</u>	<u>93</u>

If we use the assumption developed by the figures above, that about 5 unused stamps to every 1 used stamp is a proper ratio, and consider the number still in existence from the original 27,133, we would arrive at a potential of only several hundred used 1869 Re-issues for all 10 values. This certainly makes used copies of each value extremely rare. To put this figure in its true startling perspective, consider that since the inception of the Philatelic Foundation on March 16, 1945, through June 30, 1976, the Expert Committee has considered genuine a total of only 118 used 1869 Re-issues. The following figures show the number submitted to the Philatelic Foundation and the numbers expertized as genuine:

TABLE III
RECAP OF 1869 RE-ISSUES EXPERTIZED BY THE PHILATELIC FOUNDATION

<u>Value</u>	<u>Scott #</u>	<u>Number Submitted</u>	<u>Number Genuine</u>
1¢	123	10	8
2¢	124	28	11
3¢	125	122	6
6¢	126	36	19
10¢	127	42	13
12¢	128	21	7
15¢ imp. horiz.	129a	1	1
15¢ Type III	129	15	14
24¢	130	16	13
30¢	131	17	13
90¢	132	15	13
		323	118

The totals themselves are impressive with almost a 3 to 1 ratio of submitted to those found to be genuine. Indeed, even without the spectacular showing of the 3¢ value (Scott #125), of 122 submissions to 6 expertized as genuine, we have an exceptional ratio for the remaining values as a group. From the records of the Foundation, an appropriate admonition might be to carefully inspect for ironed out grills in search of the elusive used copies.

A value by value review will point out several things:

- 1 - What information is known about the various values.
- 2 - How some of the values lead to a structured pattern of usage.
- 3 - Some suppositions based on this patterned usage.
- 4 - A lack of almost any written information on the used values.

#123 - 1¢ Buff

Of the legible cancellations of expertized values at the Foundation and other sources, the predominant cancellation seems to be of the New York Registry type. There is one stamp canceled with a Washington D.C. mark and one with a Chicago cancellation. Perhaps most surprising is a cover with an illegible circular date stamp forwarded to Grinnell, Iowa. In addition to the #123, the cover

bears a grilled (Scott 2¢ #93). The various other assorted cancellations seem to have a rather diverse origin.

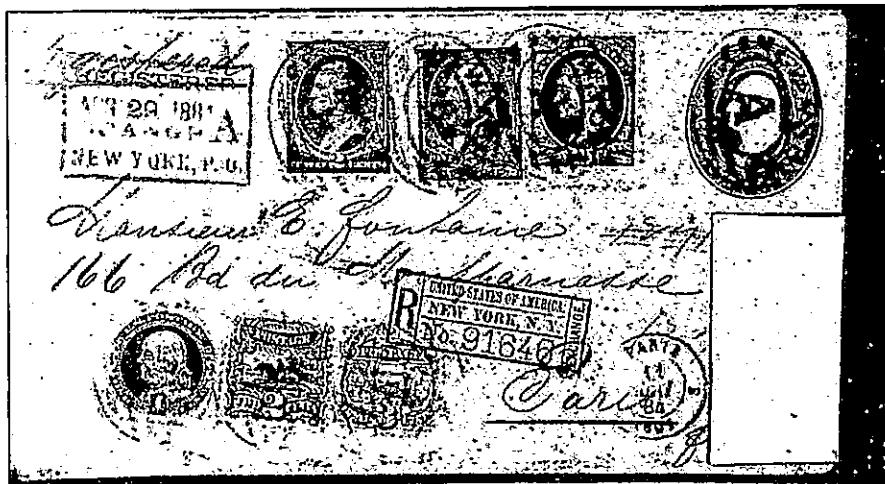
#124 - 2¢ Brown

As with the 1¢ value, we find that most of the used #124 are canceled with New York Registry cancellations. This value is known on cover as well as on a piece with legible markings, but since each is combined with #125, we shall discuss these items with that value.

#125 - 3¢ Blue

(Note that Scott refers to #125 and #126 as "blue", while #114 and #115 are referred to as "ultramarine"). With a record of 122 submitted compared to only 6 genuine certificates issued by the Philatelic Foundation, the three-cent value must be considered more than just elusive. Most of the keys for identifying the unused 1869 Re-issues are impractical when searching for the used values. Paper color and texture either change or become misleading when used and soaked. Gum color and type are gone. Grills become less distinct and more subject to manipulation. Probably the leading positive indicator is the type of cancellation, and particularly the date, when it is legible. Identification of the 3¢ #125 is made more difficult since almost 400,000,000 of the 3¢ regular issue (#114) were distributed for postage, coming from 10 plates with many shade variations known. This, when compared to 1,406 of the #125 Re-issues sold, makes the search a "needle in a haystack" probability.

In November, 1956, H. R. Harmer in Sale 6 of the Alfred H. Caspary Collection, offered Lot #453, which was described as follows:



13 Re-issues 2¢ brown, 3¢ blue and 1880 re-issue 1¢ brown orange (SE at B), used with 3 regular stamps, all tied by oval NEW YORK to neat regist. 2¢ entire envelope April 29, 1884 to Paris. Great cover rarity, the 2¢ and 3¢ being unlisted thus (124, 125, 133)
See illustration

Figure 1. The Caspary cover, bearing three 1869 Re-issues (1¢, 2¢ and 3¢), dated April 29, 1884.

"Re-issues 2¢ brown 3¢ (sic.) blue and 1880 Re-issue 1¢ brown orange (SE at B) used with 3 regular stamps (Bank Notes), all tied by oval New York to neat regist. 2¢ entire envelope April 29, 1884 to Paris, Great Cover rarity, the 2¢ and 3¢ being unlisted thus." This cover brought \$75.00 at the sale and is illustrated in Figure 1.

On December 11, 1975 at the Richard Wolffers Auction in San Francisco, lot number 144 was described as follows: "#124, #125, 1875 2¢ brown, 3¢ blue Re-issue; 2¢ fine, 3¢ Well Cent'd SE, 'hinged and genuinely used on U255. Defective Piece, cancellation dated 1884'; the 2¢ and 3¢ stamps are sound and not damaged, only the Cut Square is faulty." This piece sold for \$2,100.00. It is illustrated in Figure 2.

These two items give us our only major clue in usage consistency. The piece is canceled March 18, 1884, while the Caspary cover is dated April 29, 1884. Both items were mailed at the same New York Post Office, and both were registered. Additionally, the handwriting on the piece appears to be the same as that on the cover.

Most of the genuinely accepted 3¢ used Re-issues do not appear to be in good condition or well-centered copies. As the very limited number of expertized copies indicates, extreme caution must be

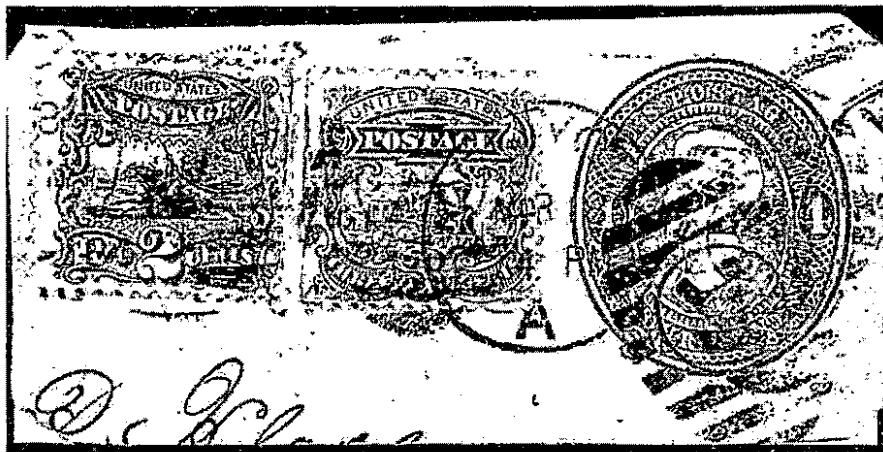


Figure 2. Lot number 144 in the Richard Wolffers auction sale of 12/11/75; 2¢ and 3¢ 1869 Re-issues on piece.

used in purchasing a used #125, and a certificate is essential. At this point we have listed the Caspary cover and the 1¢ #123 on cover. We are not aware of any other values of the 1869 Re-issues on cover.

#126 - 6¢ Blue

Most of the recognizable cancellations on the 6¢ value show a New York Registry mark. Recently, one was sold at the R. A. Siegel #500 Auction showing an 1881 date cancellation.

#127 - 10¢ Yellow

Registered Mail cancellations predominate among those that can be distinguished on the 10¢ value.

#128 - 12¢ Green

The 12¢ value has Registered Mail cancellations as the usual hall-mark of the used stamp. Additionally, this value, which is probably



Figure 3. The only known (expertized) 1869 Re-issue with a manuscript cancellation--a 12¢ "Adriatic."

the second most difficult to find, is known with the only manuscript cancellation on an expertized stamp of this series. This stamp may be seen in Figure 3.

#129 - 15¢ Brown and Blue Type III

This value and the next two have an unusually uniform pattern of use in that almost every marking is a Registered Cancellation with many having an additional legible New York imprint. In August, 1976, Simmy's Stamp Company Inc. of Boston, Mass., auctioned lot #442, which was Scott #129a imperforate horizontally used. This pair, being used and with a Philatelic Foundation certificate, is probably unique. It had a New York Registry Cancellation. Scott's listing for the #129a variety is for an unused pair.

#130 - 24¢ Green and Violet

Used copies of the 24¢ almost exclusively bear Registered Mail cancellations with New York showing on many.

#131 - 30¢ Blue and Carmine

As with the preceding higher values, practically all of the 30¢ show Registered Cancellations with many showing evidence of New York mailings. Figures 4 and 5 show two nice examples.



Figure 4. A beautiful 30¢ Re-issue, having the usual Registered cancellation.

Figure 5. The 30¢ used Re-issue is seldom seen with a "standard" cork killer such as this.

#132 - 90¢ Carmine and Black

The 90¢ value breaks the pattern of Registered Mail usage of the higher values, instead indicating more of a tendency toward usage on larger parcels. Some, however, do show New York Registry marks. The stamp illustrated in Figure 6 seems to show the more common type of cancellation expected to be seen on this value.



Figure 6. A wonderfully well-centered 90¢ Re-issue with a cork killer, which is a relatively common cancellation for this stamp.

In summary, we are left with several questions and suppositions.

1. Why were the 1875 Special Issues actually made?
2. Why were the sales so poor?
3. Why was there such an inconsistency in the number sold of each value, when the Post Office circular said they were to be sold only as sets?
4. Why were the 1869 and 1861 re-issues gummed, when the circular said all would be ungummed?
5. When were they gummed?
6. Why was a new plate made for the 15¢ #129 frame?
7. What led to the existence of pairs of 129a imperforate horizontally?
8. If the values were on sale at the Third Assistant Postmaster's Office in Washington, D.C., how did such a large usage take place from the New York Post Office?
9. Has anyone seen any usage between 1875 and 1880?

Questions are plentiful, but since there apparently has been nothing previously written on the subject of usage, and very little about the Re-issues in general, this report must act more as a light to attract information than as a lantern of learning. As a guess answer to some of the questions posed -- I submit that the Re-issues were originally sold in sets and that they sold extremely poorly. At a date about 1880, the government had the stamps gummed (different type of gum than on the regularly issued stamps). Thereafter sales picked up significantly; and a large quantity was sold to a New York firm (possibly a stamp dealer), who had a foreign office or correspondent with whom he exchanged material.

Thoughts by the readers will be helpful and correspondence is invited.**

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— NOTES —

— NOTES —

THE PANAMA-PACIFIC SMALL DIE PROOFS

J. C. M. CRYER

The date was February 20, 1915. Dawn was beginning to break. The sun's light was creeping down the sides of Oakland's tall commercial buildings. Islands in the bay came out of the dark to interrupt the endless expanse of water. Daylight was rapidly coming to the city of San Francisco itself. On the wooded tree-covered plateau close to the western edge of the city near the presidio (the site of army military headquarters for as long as the oldest inhabitant could remember) and just south of the magnificent Golden Gate connecting the Pacific Ocean with beautiful San Francisco Bay, activity was far greater than usual. Workmen were completing last minute touches, while decorators finalized arrangements of the displays to be exhibited and security guards kept out the curious. All made ready to welcome the eager crowds, not only composed of local citizens, but also the thousands of visitors from all over the world, that would soon wind their way to enjoy and participate in the Panama-Pacific Exposition.

The exposition was designed and constructed to commemorate and to celebrate the discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa and the opening of mankind's greatest engineering accomplishment, the Panama Canal. This day, after months of construction and years of planning, work on the site would be completed and the area would be thrown open to delight the eyes and minds of thousands who would come daily to view the spectacle over the next ten months.

The decision to hold this exposition was not made on the spur of the moment. Before the world's fair at St. Louis closed its doors in 1904, the idea for the Panama-Pacific Exposition was conceived and preliminary planning begun. Many capable people from all walks of life were ready to accept the responsibility and work toward its final success. From the very beginning, the exposition was endorsed by the stamp collecting fraternity and suggestions for the designs for commemorative postage stamps began to appear in the philatelic press. Also from the beginning, the Federal Government joined willingly in the project and agreed to participate fully in the planning, construction and operation. Congress appropriated \$500,600.00 for the construction of a suitable building to house elaborate exhibits from every department of the government. All departments were encouraged to participate and each seemed to have responded willingly and fully. The Post Office Department was no exception. They participated eagerly.

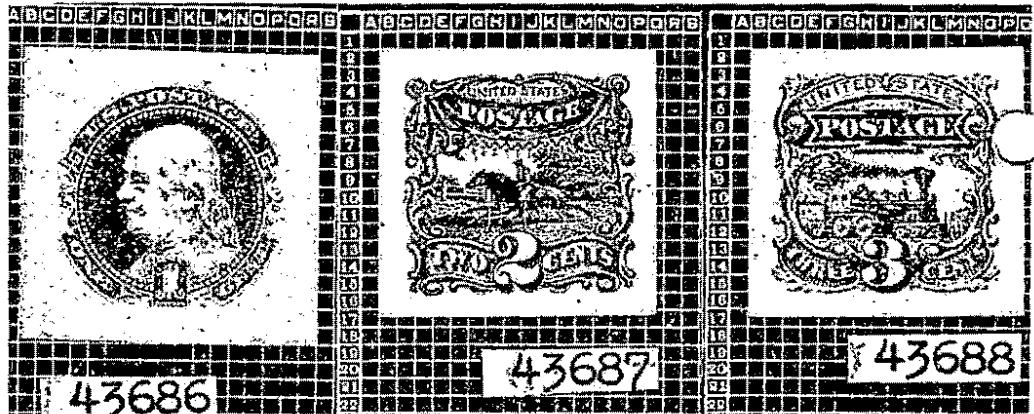


Figure 1. 1¢, 2¢, 3¢ Panama-Pacific Small Die Proofs.

By 1913, two years before the gates were to open, designs had been approved and four denominations of commemorative postage stamps had been issued to call attention to the upcoming event to as many people as possible. Special slogan cancellations were used at many post offices, particularly in the western region of United States. These subtle reminders did their work well. Each purchase of the new stamps and each use of the slogan cancellation wetted the appetite and anticipation for the arrival of the opening date. Again, just prior to the opening, these same four stamps were reissued and again sold to the public and more post offices used the slogan cancellation, calling the public's attention to the ever nearing opening date.

All of this was preliminary and incidental to the real philatelic project undertaken by the Post Office Department. For permanent display at the Federal Exposition Hall, the Post Office Department produced a set of small die proofs of all stamps issued prior to the date of the fair's opening. This set of proofs numbered four hundred and thirteen (413), distributed as follows:

Type	Varieties
<u>United States</u>	
Postage	188
Postage Due	28
Special Delivery	7
Officials	92
Carrier	1
Dispatch	1
Parcel Post	12
Parcel Post Postage Due	5
Postal Savings	7
Registry	1
Newspaper	48
Total United States	<u>390</u>
<u>Phillipine Islands</u>	
Postage	22
Special Delivery	1
Total Phillipine Islands	<u>23</u>
Grand Total	<u>413</u>

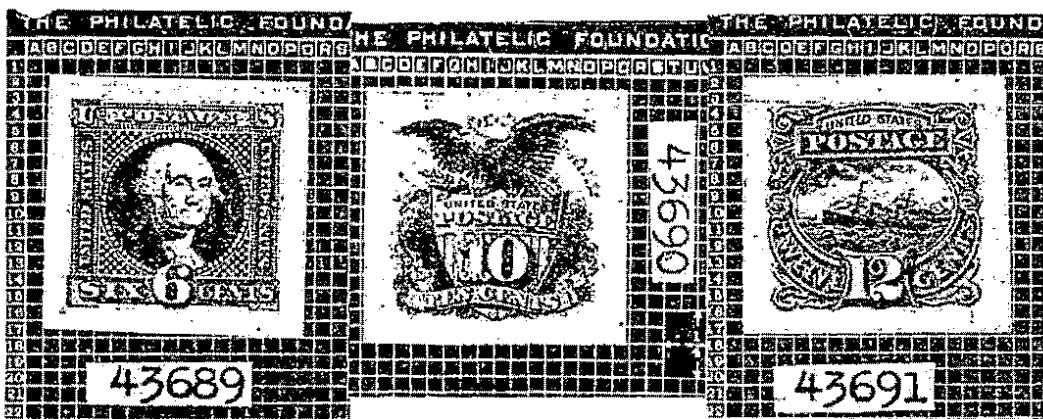


Figure 2. 6¢, 10¢, 12¢ Panama-Pacific Small Die Proofs.

The production of this set of small die proofs for display at the Panama-Pacific Exposition was not entirely unique. In 1875 for use in conjunction with the United States centennial celebration at Philadelphia in 1876, the Post Office Department printed and made available to the public, a special printing of all stamps issued up to that time. Records indicate that ten thousand (10,000) of each were printed in anticipation of an estimated demand. Interest in these stamps never reached its full potential and after being kept available for nearly a year, they were withdrawn and the remainders destroyed. A few thousand of each have reached the albums of the stamp collector.

Again in 1881, the Post Office Department ordered from the American Bank Note Company a set of plate proofs printed in five colors on thin cardboard and one pane of each was displayed at the International Cotton Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. These panes varied in size, according to the number of subjects on the original plates and at the close of the exposition from fifty to one hundred and fifty of each were made available to philatelists.

Finally, in 1904, the Post Office Department prepared eighty-five (85) sets of small die proofs, mounted in albums to be given as mementos to V.I.P.'s in conjunction with the world fair then being held at St. Louis.

The big difference it appears in these printings was in the numbers issued. While there was a thousand or more in 1875, from fifty to one hundred and fifty of each color in 1881, and eighty-five sets distributed in 1904, only two sets were officially prepared in 1915, as indicated by the following extract from the Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing:

No. 11 - Statement of miscellaneous work done and of materials furnished to the various bureaus of the departments during the fiscal year 1915.

Items	No.	Compen- sation	Plate Printing	Materials	Amount
Furnished sets of die proofs, 413 stamps of United States postage, commemorative, parcel post, registry, special delivery, postage due, postal savings deposit, newspaper and periodical and official stamps, from 1847 to date, including Phillipine distinctive stamps printed in original colors on India paper (one mounted and one unmounted)	2	\$580.00	--	\$20.00	\$600.00



Figure 3. 15¢I, 15¢II, 24¢ Panama-Pacific
Small Die Proofs.

When a thousand or more of a philatelic item are available, every serious collector can at least hope that he will be able to eventually obtain those most interesting to his philatelic preference. Copies will appear not infrequently in the auction catalogues and in dealers stocks. Even when the number available is reduced to approximately a hundred, small lots become available frequently enough to maintain the interest of the collector. In the case of the 1904 small dies where only eighty-five complete sets are known to exist and are legitimately described as rare, the most advanced collector can maintain an interest in his search for those he desires most. But how can hope be maintained where only two sets exist officially and one of those sets is withheld from the hands of the collector? Don't get excited, we know that more than two sets do exist. At least three, maybe four, and possibly five, have existed; but even the most optimistic must admit a degree of rarity that will not permit familiarity with these to any but the most advanced student.

On this opening day, the Sun rises steadily and the crowds of visitors continue to fill all paths and by-ways leading toward the Exposition's main gate. The opening hour has arrived. Dignitaries are introduced and make speeches congratulating everyone who has had any part in reaching this climax. Even the great war raging in Europe is pushed off the front pages of the daily press and is almost entirely forgotten in the conscious minds of the throng of visitors who anxiously await the final moment when the speeches will be ended, the ribbons cut and the gates are at last flung open.

The many stamp collectors and philatelists in the crowds who swarm through the main gates for the first time seem to have two main objectives in mind. Stamp collectors, by far the greatest in number, head toward the branch office of the San Francisco

Post Office now open on the sixty acre site of the Exposition. Clutched in the hands of each are the carefully prepared cacheted covers that will be stamped with every variety of the fair's commemoratives and receive the postmark available for the opening day's special cancellation. A smaller number, the serious collector and the student of philately begin a search for the Federal Building where the Post Office Department has promised not only the display of the specially prepared small die proofs, but outstanding exhibits from private collections and working models to demonstrate the design and printing of postage stamps. These visitors, however, are doomed to search in vain, for nowhere can be found the Federal Exhibition Building for which the Congress of the United States had appropriated \$500,000.00 to construct. In these United States, there was at least one person who did not join in giving the enthusiastic support that thousands of others had contributed toward this day's grand opening. The Federal Government's Supervising Architect in Washington proved himself a true bureaucrat by announcing that he did not have time to supervise the preparation of the plans for the construction of an exhibition building. The building was not constructed. The mandate of the Congress was ignored and the appropriated money was not spent and was returned to the treasurer. This was a disappointing blow, but all was not lost. Limited space was found in the many other exhibition buildings and each department of the Federal Government did in fact display abbreviated exhibits. Space was found in the exhibition branch of the San Francisco Post Office to display the set of Small Die Proofs. Before the fair closed its doors, at least one private collection, an excellent display of western franks, was also shown.

As scheduled, on the 4th of December, 1915, the Panama-Pacific Exposition closed its gates and became a part of history. Now, sixty years later, three of the more permanent exhibition buildings have been preserved and house the city's principal museum. Nearby, the presidio continues as a military headquarters with little change. One of the world's largest and most beautiful suspension bridges spans the Golden Gate. Downtown, the world famous cablecars continue their noisy trips up and down the steep hills; commuters ride the rapid transit lines through tunnels underneath San Francisco Bay. Two world wars and several small wars have demanded the public's attention. The Panama Canal has lost much of its usefulness, and continues to operate in never ending controversy. The disposition and even the present existence of the post office department's displayed special printing of small die proofs is not known. Fred P. Schueren, in his recently published and beautifully produced book entitled The United States 1869 Issue -- an Essay-Proof History states "...one set was exhibited at the Panama-Pacific Exhibition at San Francisco and has since been at the Smithsonian Institution". If this is intended to imply that the set now on exhibition at the Smithsonian is the same set that was displayed at the Exposition, it is obviously incorrect.

With negotiations begun in the final days of 1914, the Post Office Department delivered a complete set of these small die proofs to the National Postage Stamp Collections housed and under the control of the Smithsonian Institution on April 23, 1915. The receipt was acknowledged on May 4, 1915, after the gift had been carefully checked by a committee, including the Chief

Engraver of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, George U. Rose, Jr.; an assistant to William C. Fitch, Superintendent of the Division of Stamps, Post Office Department; and Joseph B. Leavy, Government Philatelist, Smithsonian Institution. Official acceptance was confirmed by an inter-office memorandum addressed to Alexander M. Dockery, Third Assistant Postmaster General and signed by Dr. C. D. Walcott, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. It seems obvious that the set of proofs delivered to the Smithsonian could not be the same set that was still on display at the exposition post office branch of the San Francisco Post Office at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco. The set in San Francisco had been on display for several months prior to and several months after the set at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington was being delivered, studied, and officially acknowledged by the Smithsonian.

From the date these small die proofs were printed and exhibited, very few authentic facts have been fully substantiated and even fewer have been preserved in philatelic writings over the past sixty years. As each rumor is investigated and more often than not proven to be in error, additional questions arise requiring further investigation by the researcher. To come up with the true answer, where shall a start be made? Let us try Scott's United States Stamp Catalogue - Specialized. The answer here, limited to one paragraph, is so vague and so inconclusive that it does not even provide a good guide for research to follow. Here, this paragraph is quoted in its entirety:

"A special printing of 387 different small die proofs was made in 1915 for the Panama-Pacific Exposition. These have margins (2 1/2 to 3 mm.) and are on soft yellowish wove paper. They are extremely scarce as only 3 to 5 of each are known and a few, such as the 1861 5¢ buff, exist only in this special printing. They are listed under 'DIE-Small (2a)'."

The set on display at the Smithsonian (and probably the set that was displayed at San Francisco) is definitely established to contain four hundred and thirteen (413) specimens. This number does not agree with the Scott catalogue count of three hundred and eighty-seven (387). This is easily explained because Scott is only counting the specimens listed in its proof section. It would seem, however, that a note to this effect would help prevent the confusion that will naturally arise from the use of these two different totals.

In an attempt to assemble as much additional information as possible and to seek a positive lead to be followed, a letter was written to the catalogue editor posing the following question:

"On Page 505 of the Scott's United States Specialized Catalogue for 1974, the following statement concerning the 1915 Panama-Pacific small die proofs is made: '...They are extremely scarce as only 3 to 5 of each are known...' In your opinion, does this mean that there were three sets, four sets, or five sets printed -- or does it mean that there were three of some

of the stamps, four of some of the stamps, and five of some of the stamps printed?" With a display of excellent cooperation, the editor promptly replied and furnished the following explanation: "These were all printed in sets, 5 of each. However, over the years many were lost, destroyed or placed into collections and improperly identified. In any event far fewer than the '5' issued sets now exist."

While this provides a partial answer, it is difficult to accept without question, as the 1915 small dies are certainly not one of the more difficult United States philatelic items to recognize and identify. The only possible area where confusion could exist is in a comparison with the 1904 small dies. The 1915 Panama-Pacific Small Die Proofs are printed on soft white wove paper of even texture having a yellowish tinge. It is completely different from the hard fibrous paper used for the 1904 small die proofs. The margins on the 1915 set measures from 2 to 2-3/4 mm., slightly smaller than the 1904 issue. This is another identifying possibility. However, the question of size does not provide a sufficient basis for absolute judgement. It would appear that the paper alone is sufficiently distinctive to allow positive identification.

To be entirely fair, blame must not be placed solely on the editor of Scott's catalogue as they freely give credit to the catalogue advisory committee of the Essay-Proof Society for most, if not all, of the information used in the proof section of the catalogue. They have accepted as fact information furnished by what should be considered the most authoritative source available. All of this, however, does not completely answer the many questions. How many sets were actually printed? How many sets actually exist? And to the researcher, where are the sets today?

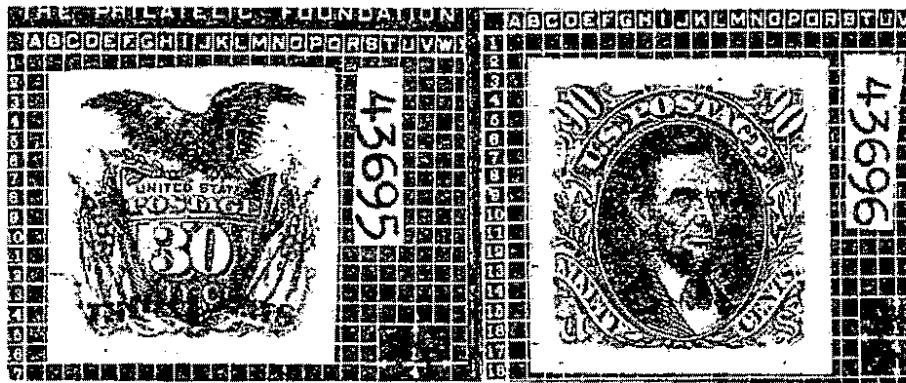


Figure 4. 30¢ and 90¢ Panama-Pacific Small Die Proofs.

Can we all agree that one complete set is still in the possession of, under the control of, and is today available for inspection at the Philatelic Division of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington? (This, by the way, provides a vastly improved depository for these almost unique philatelic rarities, which have been aptly described as "Gems of Proofdom", than was available at the time of acquisition in the old overcrowded building often at the time referred to as "the nation's attic".) If we can, the production and continued existence of set number one can be accepted.

As to set number two, the researcher, the student and all interested stamp collectors are most fortunate, as a second complete set can be positively traced from the day it reached philatelic hands until today. The researcher is most fortunate in that this set at one time in its history passed through and was displayed at a meeting of the Collectors Club of New York and was amply documented in the report of that meeting published in the May, 1965 issue of the Collectors Club Philatelist. Fortunate also, is that this set has been kept intact by responsible collectors and has left easily traceable paths to follow, both backward to the beginning and forward to the present day.

In the early thirties, a distinguished philatelist of Chevy Chase, Maryland, H.M. Southgate, negotiated a most fortunate trade with the post office department for a complete set of the Panama-Pacific Small Die Proofs in exchange for other philatelic items of equal value needed by the National Postage Stamps Collection. This acquisition, the first record that any of the set had passed into philatelic hands and was available for study and a basis for further research, began a new era. It could not have passed into better hands. Southgate was not only a most careful and outstanding student himself, but was surrounded by others of equal capacity. As a tribute to these qualities, these proofs are quite often referred to today as "the Southgate Small Dies".

Among Southgate's philatelic associates during this period were Clarence A. Brazer, the well-known authority and prolific author on essays, and Chester A. Smeltzer, who gave such careful loving care to his philatelic possessions. There is no doubt that Brazer was most helpful to Southgate while the proofs were in his possession and most likely remained helpful when the ownership of this set of small die proofs passed on to Smeltzer. It is fortunate not only that the set remained intact, but was carefully preserved by its new owner. The frontispiece prepared for the album used to house this set is still intact and is a tribute to the new owner's deep appreciation of how valuable a place these items played in the development of serious philatelic lore.

Again, good luck followed when the ownership passed from Smeltzer to Julian Gros, an outstanding New York collector, who still maintains a deep interest in philately and actively participates in stamp collecting at the highest levels. In 1964, Julian Gros, in an unparalleled act of generosity donated this complete set of small dies to the Collectors Club of New York without reserve. This insured not only that the set remained intact, which importance cannot be overestimated, but also that it passed on to appreciative hands. This set was displayed at the

January 20, 1965 meeting of the Collectors Club. The meeting was conducted by the well-known and outstanding authority, Ezra Cole. The donor, Julian Gros, was also at the meeting. This was probably the first public display of these proofs except at the Panama-Pacific Exposition some fifty years before and at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. This gift to the Collectors Club and its display at the meeting certainly did much to revive and strengthen an interest in this almost forgotten portion of philately.

Later on, as had been intended, the set was sold for the benefit of the Collectors Club building fund. The well-known auction firm of Robert A. Siegel was selected for this chore. Unfortunately, it is at this point that a sequence of events and factual information becomes more difficult. Understandably, Siegel continues to refuse to divulge the name of the purchaser on ethical grounds. Even though the ownership thread becomes untied at this point, new leads have now retied the knot and traced through one collector and one dealer to the present ownership, an active New York State collector. It is unfortunate that actual names, though known, cannot be used, as consent to use these names has not been given.

To substantiate that research is unending, let us recite a recent example. During a conversation over a Sunday brunch in Chicago recently, it was brought out that in the Court of Honor at the last Garfield-Perry stamp show, there was exhibited an 1869 collection in which the Panama Pacific Small Dies had been removed. Further investigation confirmed that the exhibitor was the present owner of the complete set formed by Southgate. It was feared the set might have been broken or at least passed on to a new unknown collector. An exchange of correspondence proved this fear to be unnecessary. Ownership has not changed. This set is still complete. A change in the mounting sequence was the cause of the misapprehension. We have now counted for two complete sets. Let us continue from there.

From the earliest days, there has been sufficient documentation to substantiate the two (2) complete sets were officially authorized, prepared and delivered to the Post Office Department by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Two complete sets are known to still exist today, but were other sets unofficially and without authorization prepared at the same time? Is the set traded to Southgate the same set that was exhibited at San Francisco? Is there any evidence to substantiate a theory that it is or that it is not? The only mention we have found in philatelic literature to date is a hint that the San Francisco set and the Smithsonian set is one and the same. There is much evidence, it might be said, that this theory is not true.

What did become of the San Francisco set? In our mind, let us return to the branch office at the Panama-Pacific Exposition the day after it closed. What happened there? The post office employee first made sure that the supply of unsold stamps and the money he had received from the sale of stamps was safe at hand and the amounts balanced. He then probably turned his attention to the other property of the Post Office Department, for which he was accountable. He carefully checked

each item; the cancelling machine with its spare dies, the tables, desks, chairs, even the ink pads and spare pens, probably even the paper clips for which he was responsible. The signs and the posters on the walls had become somewhat dingy from their months of exposure. Even the calendar had only a few more days to go before the year's end would make it obsolete. He had enough to carry, so most of these items would be better off in the waste basket, but the waste basket was probably on the inventory list too.

As he surveyed the scene, he must have thought to himself, "Almost forgot -- what about those several hundred special stamps that have been on display here? They are not charged to me. Should I throw them in with the rest of the trash?... I guess not. Where is that penalty manilla envelope that I saw around here a little while ago? Maybe I better take these back to the Post Office with me". In December, 1915, so little was known of this issue of proofs that it would not have been surprising had they been thrown in the waste basket or left for the wrecking crew to take care of later as the temporary buildings were demolished and removed from the site.

How much was known at that time? The earliest reference we have found from the philatelic press was an article published in MEKEEL'S WEEKLY STAMP NEWS, Boston, Massachusetts, on March 13, 1915 under the by-line of "Don B.". His description of this special exhibit was so rambling and generally confusing that the editor of MEKEEL'S WEEKLY STAMP NEWS felt it necessary to add a comment to the published article to the effect that, "The most important thing in this article is the statement by its author that there have been recent printings of U.S. stamps which will be known as 'special printings of 1914'. It will prove of great interest to the specialist in U.S. stamps and we shall try and secure definite information in relation to this matter." Joseph B. Leavy wrote an article in the PHILATELIC GAZETTE, published in New York, June, 1915. He had served on the committee that examined the set given to the Smithsonian. His article attempts to call attention to the many errors in "Don B.'s" earlier article and while it does make an effort to pass on to the philatelic student some factual information, it is still too sketchy to have brought more than a passing knowledge to the student of philately, much less to the postal clerk cleaning up the no longer active sub-post office in the now closed Panama-Pacific Exposition.

The postal clerk reached the main post office building with his load from the branch office. He carefully unloaded and went in to check it out with the postmaster. After obtaining release from responsibility on all items that had been entrusted to his care, he remembered that special set of stamps and handed the envelope to the postmaster. He probably remembered that he had once thought of throwing them out in the trash, but he changed his mind and brought them along. He hoped the postmaster would take them off his hands. At the same time, the postmaster probably wished that the clerk had thrown them away, but now that he had them, something had to be done. He said to himself "I will send them back to Washington and let them worry" and he asked his secretary to pack them up and mail back to Washington by registered mail and as an afterthought, requested

a return receipt so that if anything came up in the future, he could not be held responsible.

The Assistant Postmaster General that received the registered package was at a loss to know what to do with them. They had been printed he knew for exhibition and that obligation had been fulfilled. The spare set had been beautifully passed on to the stamp collection at the Smithsonian. There was no need for them, at least for the present, so he stored the package safely away deep in the files of the security vault of his department. There, they probably remained all but forgotten for years ... almost, but not entirely.

Several years later, he was discussing various stamp issues with a philatelic friend when either he or his friend remembered the special set of small die proofs that had been prepared for exhibit several years earlier. At another time, the philatelist had probably talked to a representative of the National Stamp Collection about its continued needs. No money was available to purchase any of the many missing items from the National Stamp Collection and from time to time, the collector had suggested a trade of duplicate items held either by the Smithsonian or in the vaults of the post office department for other items that were needed. In all probability, some such trades had from time to time been made. Thus, when the existence of the spare set of small die proofs entered the conversation, one or the other might have suggested that it would make good trading material.

There is no real proof that the set eventually traded to Southgate was the set that was displayed at San Francisco. There are several reasons to suspect they might have been. One reason is that they had been officially produced and that the set was intact. The trade was made openly with no attempt at secrecy. Here was some philatelic items that had served their original purpose and were no longer needed. They were, in fact, surplus property. On the other side of the fence, were many items that could be useful in expanding the stamp collection at the Smithsonian. A fair trade could be made openly and legally that would benefit both. For these reasons, we might theorize that the two original sets have been accounted for.

The rumors and theories have been with us for years that one or two or three additional sets had been unofficially prepared and there is proof positive that at least some of a third set does exist. Here the going really gets tough and it is going to require the combined efforts of a lot of people to dent it.

But dent it, we will try. With one complete set permanently out of the hands of philatelists on display at the Smithsonian Institute beyond the reach of either death or taxes, and the second set still intact as put together by its first philatelic owner reaching the hands of the auctioneer only once and only once passing through the hands of a dealer. With all other transactions made either by private and mostly secretive sale and once by gift, only the unknown, undocumented and unofficial remainders are available for research. Picking up these fragile threads has been most difficult.

Over the past two years, continual correspondence has passed between nearly two hundred collectors and selected auctioneers and dealers on the facts and theories surrounding these illusive philatelic items. A bit of information here and a chance statement there has permitted some little information to be substantiated and made factual. Many leads have been followed and many have produced no fruit. Unsubstantiated rumors have been investigated and proven false. From it all, there has been unquestionably found that at least a portion of a third set does exist, and, that possibly a portion of a fourth set may exist.

One rumor that has been voiced from time to time is that a set was passed on to Franklin D. Roosevelt for his private collection. We can find no evidence that a set was ever in his possession and the sales catalogues of the material auctioned after his death lists none of these items. A similar rumor that the set was exchanged with Southgate and probably others for items needed by FDR has proven equally impossible to verify. Rumors have also surfaced from time to time that several sets were traded to Southgate. No evidence has been found that he ever possessed or handled any set other than the one well-known and well-documented that usually bears his name.

The number of times any example of these small die proofs being sold at auction is unbelievably small. Aside from the well publicized sale of the complete set offered by the Collectors Club through Robert A. Siegel, only one or two others can be easily brought to mind. In February of 1956, the famous collection of Essays and Proofs formed by Robert P. Hackett was sold at auction by H. R. Harmer, Inc. In this outstanding and world famous collection of essays and proofs, only seven of the small die proofs were included. With over a total of 413 varieties, Mr. Hackett had been able to include in his collection only seven. All of these were of the 1898 regular issue. Does this indicate to some extent the rarity of the proofs we have been discussing?

We have been a little more fortunate in obtaining information on the set of the 1869 small die proofs that were sold at auction during October, 1973 by Advanced Philatelics. Even here, it seems lady luck played the major role. A close review of the auction catalogue itself makes it easy to imagine that they could have been and perhaps probably were entirely overlooked except by a mere handful of potentially interested buyers. True, the proofs were illustrated by photos in the auction catalogue. Because of their scarcity and the fact that very few have ever had the opportunity of examining a specimen and perhaps not many more have ever read their listing in Scott's Specialized Catalogue, each item was listed as a separate lot in the catalogue. No mention was made that they were a part of the "1915 Small Die Proofs", or the Panama-Pacific Small Die Proofs", or the "Southgate Small Die Proofs". Nothing was there to catch the eye and demand a second look. Lady luck did indeed smile. Ironically, one of America's most knowledgeable dealers happened to be present and recognized the proofs for what they were. He was able to purchase the entire set and keep it intact. This 1869 set has been traced back to an un-named Ohio collector. We have been unable to penetrate this wall of secrecy but continue to hope that someday the door will be open and we can take a further look backward.

The set was sold to Alex Korn and then was turned over to Advanced Philatelics for sale at auction. They were purchased at this auction by Jack Molesworth. A condition of the bid was a Philatelic Foundation Certificate. After the sale in October, 1973, the set was submitted and received certification by the Philatelic Foundation on February 11, 1974. The receipt by the Philatelic Foundation must have come as a surprise for it may well have been one of the very few, if not the only time, any of this issue had ever been submitted. It is a certainty that the set on display at the Smithsonian was not submitted. It seems most unlikely that the complete set formed by Southgate was either. Actually, there is very little need for such certification as the proofs themselves are easily distinguishable and are not reasonably subject to misclassification.

If a specialist in each of the eleven different items could be interested in the one item he sought, the total returns from the sale of this set might have been higher. This would have a tendency to eliminate those collectors whose primary interest was the whole set and who would probably submit a higher bid on the intact set, rather than a broken incomplete set with almost no hope of ever being able to fill in the blank spaces. Since the sale, it has been verified by both the auctioneer and the successful bidder that all bids submitted were for the complete set even though this was not specifically listed as an option. Molesworth had no trouble in selling the set to a Texas collector where it now has found a most welcome home.

It has been previously mentioned that slight evidence of a portion of a fourth set has been uncovered. In this Texas collector's 1869 set, there is one possible bit of evidence that points in this direction. Ten of the specimens are exactly the same size. While the eleventh, the 30¢ value, is ever so slightly but still noticeably smaller. This might indicate that two sets were prepared and that one set was cut with smaller margins than the second set and that the 30¢ value from the smaller set was accidentally exchanged with the 30¢ value from the set with the larger margins. This is certainly only an outside possibility, but in the continued research these small leads should never be pushed aside and forgotten.

Correspondence with a considerable number of dealers who would most likely be expected to specialize in this type of material almost universally brought negative replies. Not one has claimed to have made purchases or sales of more than random copies. The vast majority regrettably admit that they have never handled any of this material. Even Molesworth writes that this is the only set he has ever seen.

What is the source of the set these few odd specimen belong to? Is it possible that the set displayed at San Francisco was not returned to Washington? Could the set traded to Southgate be one of the unofficially prepared sets? Does the San Francisco set still lie hidden in some forgotten post office vault?

The issue of small die proofs must really give the editors of Scott's Specialized Catalogue a real headache. Not only do they have to contend with listing two different small die proofs in addition to the usual large die proofs and the two plate proofs, but what basis do they have to determine a fair market value? Because they are so rare, sales of any kind are most infrequent and as we have found from the number of sales we have been able to trace, an even smaller number are sold at public auction. At first glance, because an equal number of each variety was printed, it seems that the pricing of each different proof would pose no problem. Why not determine the price for one and the same price could be used for all? It takes very little thought to realize the fallacy of this idea. All of the issues represented by these proofs do not enjoy the same popularity. Unless the collector's interest was in the complete set, a great many more would be interested in the 1847 issue or the 1869 issue than would be interested in the postage due, special delivery, or the Phillipines issue. What basis does the catalogue editor use? This is another interesting line of research that will be pursued.

It is true that in almost every case where a rare stamp is concerned that sale by auction seems to preferable. But, is it true for the sale of this rarity? The number of collectors with even a faint hope of adding specimens of these small die proofs to their collecting interest must certainly be small. This absence of hope is certainly based more upon the availability than upon the cost. When an opportunity does arise and that particular specimen becomes available, cost will in many cases become insignificant and the availability the primary factor.

Here is a new date to remember. It is the 11th of December, 1975. The place is the auction room of Richard Woffers, Inc., on the second floor of 133 Kearny Street in San Francisco, California. The auctioneer reaches Lot No. 44. He reads this description from the auction catalogue:

"#114P2a, 3¢ Ultra, Pan-Pacific Small Die Proof, on Soft Paper, VF & Extremely Rare as only 3-5 were ever made.. (Est.) \$500.00+"

At this moment, some of the theories that have been advanced thus far in this article must be thrown out the window. This is the fourth 3¢ value of the 1869 Panama-Pacific Small Die Proofs known to exist. Until this moment, no evidence of more than three copies of any single denomination had been uncovered. The search is never ending. Back to the drawing board we go! Incidentally, this lot sold for \$750.00 and if we could assume this was an average of what each item in the complete set would bring, it adds great emphasis to the generosity of Julian Gros' gift to the Collectors Club.**

Note from the Author:

At Phoenix last year, I remarked to the group that I might not be able to come up with many answers but there was no doubt I would be able to pose many new questions. In the past year I believe I have proven the truth of this remark. The purpose of this article is to create a wider interest in these "Gems of Proofdom" with the optimistic hope that further bits of information will come forward and that from these can be woven larger pieces indispensable for the eventual completion of the jigsaw puzzle that exists today. (JCMC)

