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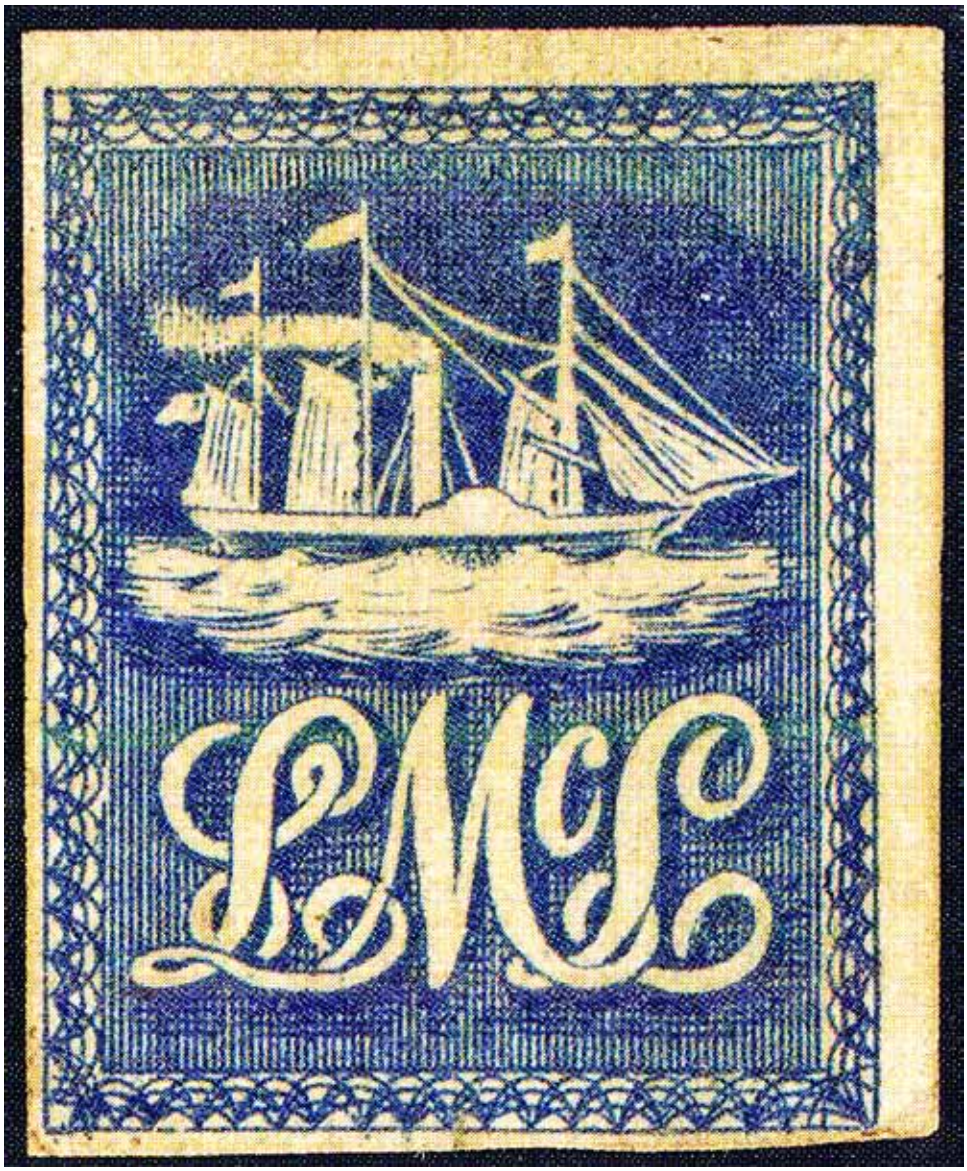
New Research on the Lady McLeod *of Trinidad*



The "Lady McLeod" History and Research

By Gregory Frantz

The *Lady McLeod* was a paddle steamer which sailed regularly from late 1845 to 1852 between the Trinidad cities of Port of Spain and San Fernando. The blue stamp that depicts the "Lady" and the mysteries of this first stamp issued in a British colony is the focus of this article. There will be two parts: Part I will cover the historical and political facts surrounding the stamp issue. Part 2 will cover the stamp itself: pre-production, die make-up, sheet format and use; why they were issued and why were they taken out of service. We will also examine who printed the stamps and the likely size and make up of the sheet. Part II will be printed in the July 2016 *Journal*.

Part I

"For several years before this stamp was issued, the people of Trinidad had been agitating for a postal service. Long verbose reports passed between the Governor of Trinidad and the Postmaster-General in London, but to no avail. As late as 1844 the island was without mail service."[1] Mail was often carried by an old ship named the *Paria*. The governor complained about the inefficient and costly service. Lord George Harris, a British peer, was appointed governor for the years 1846-54 and then governor of Madras. Historically, he is considered the most progressive and best administrator of the colony. He set up the present system of education, established seven primary schools and a school for teachers.

In 1849 he divided the island into counties and wards to spur development. He established the first public library, and a railroad for the export of sugar, coffee and cocoa. He promoted the export of asphalt and an island road system and in 1851, instituted a water system for Port of Spain. Lord Harris had been advocating self government and an island post, but the Colonial Office was unsympathetic. This is noted in a petition to Queen Victoria on June 5, 1850 from the Planters & Merchants: "the Queen was informed by a report and we are unfit for self-government." Hawes and the Colonial Office saw some benefit in early concessions to moderate and rationalize demands, but there is no evidence or assurance that Lord Harris had general support.[2]

In September 1845, Turnbull, Stewart & Co. bought the SS *Lady McLeod* from the Napier ship yards. David Bryce is listed as the first captain of the *Lady McLeod*, named after Governor Henry McLeod's wife. He sailed her from Glasgow on September 5, 1845 and arrived 48

The* Lady McLeod *stamp of Trinidad.

days later in Port of Spain. This was a long transatlantic voyage. There were coaling stops and perhaps time in other ports of call in England. This may have given Bryce a chance to observe the postal system in England. The *Lady McLeod* made her first trip out of Port of Spain on November 3, 1845. Turnbull, Stewart & Co. announced: "Letters, money and small parcels will be carried from this date for Subscribers only, at one dollar per month from each Subscriber or estate, payable quarterly in advance. Letters of Non-subscribers will be charged 10 cents each."[3]

One year later, in November 1846, they sold the ship to her captain. Bryce subsequently placed the following notice in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on April 16, 1847: "The Subscriber, experiencing inconvenience in collecting the money from Non-subscribers, has procured

Labels, which may be had of him or the Agents for the Steamer, at five cents each, or four dollars per hundred. No other letters but those of Subscribers who have paid in advance, or such as have these labels attached, will be carried, from and after the 24th instant."[4]

"Inconvenience" was used as a ploy to bring people around to the system of prepayment with stamps, the same pre-payment plan the governor proposed in his report of December 1847. The subscriber is the one paying the $1 a month, who as an agent is having difficulty collecting from people dropping off letters. It is the merchants acting as agents at both ports of call that receive and hand over the letters that need to be paid. David Bryce is not having trouble collecting, but his agents are.

In January 1848, George Baille, agent general for the Crown Colonies, made a request to Perkins Bacon for postage stamps. He suggested three surface printing methods. Perkins Bacon's response was thus: "June 9 1848: that a postage stamp could be prepared in Letter-Press, wood-cut or Lithography at a cheap rate so as to produce 10,000 for a few Pounds. But an Engraved plate etc. + 75 guineas + 9p per 1000 stamps." That would be about £83.[5] Perkins Bacon also noted, in response to the first request for colonial stamps, "... the need for only 10,000 stamps is so small the preparation for a safe stamp would not be feasible."[6] It is claimed that Perkins Bacon only did recess printing and indeed that was their stock in trade. They were familiar with all printing processes of the time and would have used these processes for in-house work such as letterheads and invoices. But, he is saying that for a small production, engraving is too costly, but one of the other methods would suffice.

Governor Harris had been campaigning for an island post and had written to the Colonial Office in January 1847. He outlined a scheme for an island post and provided a list of nine proposed post offices. He also proposed to use the steamer *Paria*. "It is well that the Lady arrived in Nov 1845 ... unlike the Paria, will go once a week to the ends of the island."[7] Both ships had arrangements for private mail. Lord Harris was looking to establish an official island post rather than a private one. The Colonial Office Postmaster-General had no objection to an island post if totally separate from the empire post. The empire post only existed for foreign mail. Governor Harris's committee report of December 1, 1847 recommended all letters be pre-paid and that stamps in the English format be procured from England with a Trinidad overprint. He obviously didn't want the expense of his own stamp production. The Government Post Office would not allow an overprint on Great Britain stamps for Trinidad. Things dragged on until the parties came up with the common design for Trinidad, Mauritius and then Barbados and thus saving each colony the expense of its own stamp production.

Figure 1
George Harris in the 1840s.

We can safely assume some relationship between David Bryce and Governor Harris as the *Lady McLeod* was named after the previous Governor's wife. It is possible -- even likely -- that David Bryce, the major local transporter and the governor knew each other quite well being the two most important men on the island. Perhaps they worked together on the stamp idea. Bryce saw the practicality of postage stamps. Governor Harris perhaps saw this as an opportunity to prod the taciturn Colonial Office to embrace an island post. Perhaps the governor contacted Perkins Bacon to make it happen, and thus to move toward his goal of the island post. It is possible that Bryce saw stamp use as a way to enhance his business and the governor wanted to show the Colonial Office just how practical such a service would be for Trinidad and its development.

When the governor attempted to acquire Perkins Bacon overprinted stamps from the Colonial Office he was rejected. By this time the governor, Perkins Bacon and the Colonial Office were all known to each other. In Lord Harris's assumed contact with Perkins, the governor probably brought up the idea of staging the introduction of stamps for Trinidad; first a private issue followed by (hopefully) a government issue. Perkins Bacon might have responded they could make up some samples without a country designation, and there would not be

Continued on page 6

concerns about security, but if the trial works, Trinidad could order something finely engraved and secure.

On May 29, 1848, Lord Harris again asks for stamps to be forwarded in such shape as the commissioner of stamps may direct. Perkins Bacon then commissioned Edward Corbould to prepare a sketch for the use of the engraver. The Trinidad stamps were ordered December 21, 1848 and 25,000 of blue and lilac were sent. In July 1848, Great Britain introduced a bill enabling an island post. Lord Harris' idea was island control of the post at a one-pence rate; this was not acceptable. Great Britain wanted control, profit and no loss at a four-pence rate. By April 1850, the local council voted money to establish a penny post with 14 offices. The two main offices served by ship and the others at police stations. The island post was finally opened on August 14, 1851, at a one-pence rate per letter.

Lady McLeod Story Dateline

1913: Fred Melville wrote in his book, *Stamps of the Steamship Companies*, just three short lines about the stamps: "the stamps were recess-plate printed. Deep blue, 5¢ or $4 per 100." (Stamps were not recess-plate / same as engraved printed.)

1949: L. N. & M. Williams in the book *Stamps of Fame* noted that in late 1845: "letter boxes were at Michael Marwell's, San Fernando; and Turnbull, Stewart & Co., Port of Spain ... there is no doubt that the ship ... is supposed to be the Lady McLeod ... it has never been discovered who printed the stamp or how many impressions there were in a sheet. Probably the printing was done at either of the principal towns ... at the local newspaper ... For 2½ years the steamer plied between the two ports and presumably the stamps were used during the whole of this time. Towards the end of 1849 David Bryce decided to sell his ship. The embargo against foreign ships was lifted. And this reduced the mail carried." (Stamps only used one year, ship sold in 1852).

1963: Sir John Marriott in *The Philatelic History of Trinidad to 1862* gave a good account of the *Lady McLeod*, its history, and the companies that owned it, and summaries of newspaper articles concerning the mail service and stamp use.

1983: S. Ringström and H.E. Tester wrote in *The Private Ship Letter Stamps of the World* that "the stamps are on unwatermarked paper, lithographed in sheets of 100." We now know the stamps were not in sheets of 100.

2010: Sir John Marriott, Michael Medlicott and Dr. Reuben A. Ramkissoon authored *Trinidad: A Philatelic History to 1913*. They noted that the quoted price of the *Lady McLeod* stamps does not necessarily mean the sheets were of 100 stamps. Its blue color is similar to, but milkier than the lithographed 1852 Trinidad government issue. Earlier authors suggest that Charles Petit (an artist living in the Caribbean) could have been responsible for both the *Lady McLeod* stamps and the 1852 lithographed stamps. This is unlikely given the disparity in quality of the design and printing of the two issues.

FOOTNOTES

[1] John B. Marriott, *The Philatelic History of Trinidad to 1862*. (London: British West Indies Study Circle, 1963), n.p.

[2] Frederick Madden and David Fieldhouse, *The Dependent Empire and Ireland. Advance and Retreat in Representative Self-Government. Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth Volume 5*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 330-338.

[3] S. Ringström and H.E. Tester, *The Private Ship Letter Stamps of the World, Part I, The Caribbean*. (No place of publication [but Trellborg], 1979), p. 10-11.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] Percy De Worms, *Perkins Bacon Records* [Two volumes, published posthumously]. (London: The Royal Philatelic Society London, 1953), p. 332.

[6] *Ibid*.

[7] Marriott, *op. cit*., n.p.

Nuggets from the past ...

In the September 1989 *Journal*, James F. Stern continued with the second part of his series titled "Cayman Philatelic Holiday" in which he reported on visiting various island post offices. Also, Horst Augustinovic wrote about Elizabethan postage stamps of Bermuda (lots of useful statistics), and the president, Dr. Ben Ramkissoon, reported results of the 1989 annual meeting. A.E. "Buzz" Jehle contributed an informative article on Guyana varieties.

The "Lady McLeod" History and Research

By Gregory Frantz

Part II
The Stamp

In the first part of this two part series (April 2016 *Journal*), we discussed the history of the *Lady McLeod*, a paddle steamer which sailed regularly between the Trinidad cities of Port of Spain and San Fernando between 1845 and 1852. In this second part, we will take a closer look at the stamps which depicted the vessel.

There are several things we know about the "Lady McLeod" stamp (*see example in Figure 1*).

1. It was the first stamp issued in a British colony.
2. Sheets were lithographed, imperforate and issued in small quantities.
3. No multiples are known. Cancellation was by pen or by scraping part of the image.
4. In 1891, Governor Napier Broome ordered all old stock of stamps, cards, etc., destroyed. In the lot was the die for the Lady McLeod stamp.
5. There is no archival material and no information on the printing.

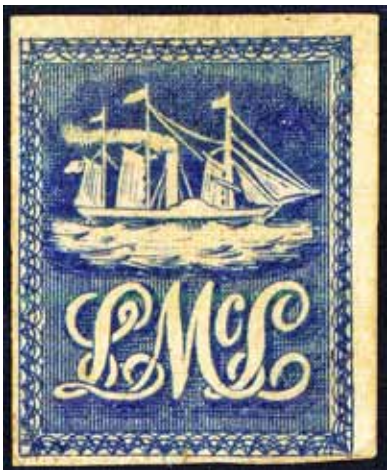


Figure 1
The Lady McLeod stamp.

The Mysteries and What We Would Like to Know

There are numerous questions one might ask about the Lady McLeod stamp.

- Was there political motivation for the introduction of the stamp?
- Who ordered the stamps and what was the cost?
- Where did the design originate?
- Where were the stamps printed and who printed them?
- What was the size and make-up of the sheet?
- How many stamps were printed and was there more than one printing?
- When and why the stamps were withdrawn from service?

Research and Analysis

The process begins with as complete an inventory of the stamps as possible and a cataloging system to keep them individually identified. The inventory, which currently includes 92 stamps (updated by the author), was developed using images from catalogues, certifying services, literature, or scans of actual stamps. Some 60 images of the 92 known "Lady McLeod" stamps were surveyed in this investigation. Three items are from the author's collection. Please keep in mind the majority are poor images from auction catalogs, and only the crudest of information was obtainable. The author's current total recognizes 92 copies based on a review of historic information and recent additions. For example, John Marriott in 1963 estimated 30 copies; Joe Chin Aleong in 1991 estimated 65; and Peter Ford in 2009 reported 89 copies.

Observations

The used stamps are separated rather haphazardly or crudely. This is important because it makes most Lady stamps unique. The lithographic process also provides identification ability by leaving the tell-tale signs of broken frame lines and/or ink spots ("footprints") on a percentage of them. The spacing between stamps is consistent as seen in the seven copies that show part of its neighbor. None of the mint stamps show part of the next stamp. Plate guide dots are in evidence. A line break flaw on the inside left frame is noted in all stamps.

Assumptions

• Except for the sheet margins, the stamps were only cut once and not re-cut, resulting in no loss of paper. This assumption is substantiated by the ability to "rejoin" many of the stamps into pairs or multiples. If the margin is wider than the typical distance between stamps, then that copy is likely to be a sheet margin stamp. The relative ease of rejoining irregular cut stamps in pairs or multiples would indicate a small printing.

• If the 60 stamps in this study of 92 known stamps are a representation of a small production, we can assume enough of the lithographic types are identified to permit printing analysis.

• There should be an equal number of each type unless there was a part block or split transfer used in the plate make up. (Split transfer is when the bottom or side row is made up with only part of a transfer block. It is not known before 1860.)

• The number of stamps with horizontal and vertical sheet margins should give us the ratio of horizontal to vertical rows of the sheet. The number of identifiable margin copies was found to be inconclusive to determine sheet configuration.

Addressing the Mysteries: Design Origination

By early 1847, postage stamps had been issued by Great Britain, Brazil, three Swiss Cantons, and 27 U.S. local posts as well as postmaster's provisionals. Comparing all of these issues, the Lady most closely resembles the two pence blue of Great Britain. The Lady has a central image with a frame of classic looking lathe work. Engine-turning (lace work) is produced by a geometric lathe, an engraving technique by which a very precise, intricate, and repetitive pattern or design is engraved into an underlying material with fine detail. Only Perkins Bacon used the lathe work in its design at this time.

1840-1857 **1848-1857** **1847** **1852-1872** **1854-1862**

Figure 2
Years of the design use.

Looking closely at the stamps in ***Figure 2***, the "Lady McLeod" exhibits similar characteristics with the early issues of Great Britain, Barbados, Mauritius, and Trinidad, all printed by Perkins Bacon. **They are the exact same size, and, furthermore, their picture-framed-image formats with engine-turning borders are similar.** The border loops on British stamps and the Lady face inward and on the colonial issues they face outward. Perkins Bacon perfected the engine-turning process in America and bought the patent for an engine lathe when relocating to Britain in 1822.

A letter from Perkins Bacon to Pacific Steam Navigation Company dated August 24, 1847 in regard to an essay for stamp contract noted this: "and is just the size of our English Labels."[8] The company produced stamps by direct contract (as Nova Scotia and New South Wales), by instructions of the Crown Agents, and for foreign countries.

Stamp Creation and Production

The following sequence is how the printing die for the "Lady McLeod" may have been made:

1. The lettering was selected from a tray of printer's type to fit the predetermined stamp size like those then currently in use, or wood block letters could have been hand cut.

2. The ship and sea designs were cut from a flat block and then shading and waves were incised. The wood block was then wetted with gelatin (gum arabic), but not into the shading. Or the ship and sea were scraped away after the background lines were laid. A few shading lines in the sea or the sails could have been added.

3. The ship and lettering were coated with something which would reject ink (like the gelatin used to coat the printing stone after its press run), and the coating would wash away when the stone is next put to use. The images would then be impressed directly on the master printing stone. The ship and sea were left as negative images.

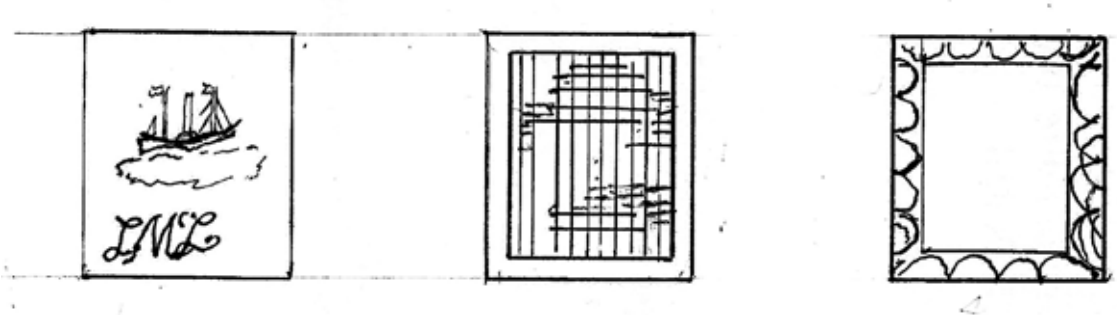


Figure 3
These three images show the makeup of the stamp.

4. The background of crossed lines on transfer paper was laid over the gum arabic images on the stone, and left no ink on the lettering or on the images but the shading would be inked (***see Figure 3***).

5. I believe the lace work frame was drawn up on transfer paper starting within a rectangle (a bit more difficult to do directly on a stone). Then from the bottom left corner in both directions, loops were drawn. A few loops extend through the frame; others are stretched to reach the corners as seen in the right frame. This frame was predetermined to be the size of Perkins Bacon's stamp work and began as the master die on a separate stone.

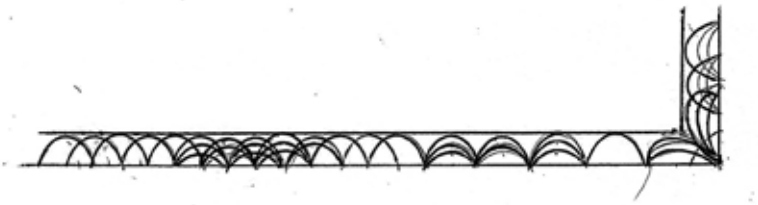


Figure 4
Scrolls drawn with an elliptical template.

6. When transferring the central image to the now master die, it was laid over the frame lining it up on the left, top, and bottom. When fully laid, it came up short and left a white vertical line on the right side. There is no evidence the frame was pieced together. The upper right and left corners have part lines, which are not part of the scrollwork. The designer may have had the thought to remove the corners as Perkins Bacon did in all their work, where they put a square there to enhance the look by blocking off the unequal lengths of engine turned scroll work. But for time or economy, this was not done, leaving sloppy scroll work in three corners (***see Figure 4***).

Pointed out are possible steps in the make-up process supported by observed details. These steps and process could have occurred in a different order or different manner. The construction of the master die suggests it was done by someone experienced in the methods employed in putting together an engraved die.

Figure 5-2
U7 at left, U20 at right.

Figure 5-1
C20 at left, U3 in middle,
U2 at right.

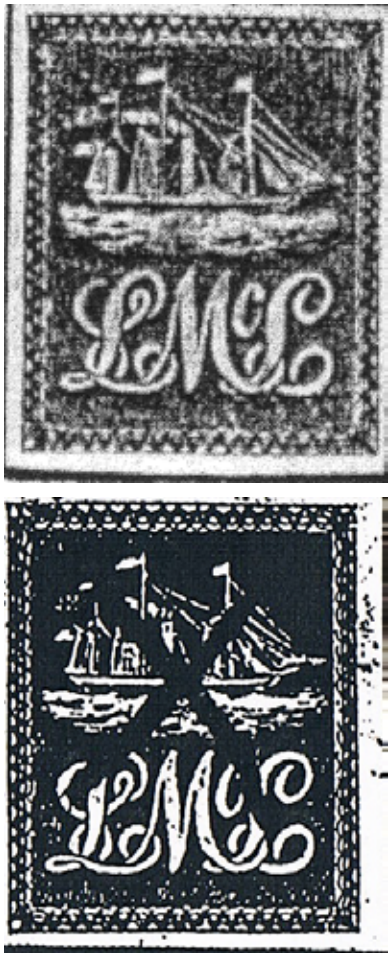


Figure 5-3
Vertical reconstruction
U12 is on top, U8.

Size and the Stamp Arrangement of the Sheet: The Process of Investigation

A survey of all stamps was compiled and classified with a numbering system initiated by Geoff Kellow: "C" for dated covers or on piece, "U" for used, "M" for uncancelled. Then a letter and a number were assigned to each image. This enabled comparison from new auction sales or finds to the existing data. In all, 92 stamps were scanned and examined for ink dots and broken lines -- the usual way to type and plate lithographic stamps. This creates a database for the stamp images. More than 30 images were unusable for detail analysis.

If there were a large number of types, (more than four) in an early printing (before 1860) then the plate was most likely laid down by individual transfers, a process carried on from the engraved method of plate build-up. In the 1850s you rarely find block transfers. The printers increased their expertise in transferring images in larger blocks as the need for larger stamp sheets developed. By the 1870s you find more variety of larger transfer blocks. Lithography was not the most desired printing method of national governments for fear of counterfeiting, but was most popular with private and local issues because of its simplicity and low cost.

From the master die, 20 or less images were transferred to the printing stone. The process of the transfers is where the various lithographic transfer types occur. The "transfer paper" may pick up extra bits of ink or miss a bit of a line and thus different types result from each transfer unto the printing stone. Some transfers have no individual faults. If a fault is on the master die, it is evident on every stamp.

From 50 stamps, there are 28 that were typed. More could be typed if scans of the actual stamps were available. Not all images will have markers. Examining reconstruction of multiples revealed that there were no repetition of types. This indicates that an intermediate transfer block was not used, and would definitely be the case in printing small sheets.

Eight types were identified with two to seven examples of each. This is the most that can be hoped for with only 50 good and some just satisfactory subjects to examine out of the 92 total known stamps.

• **Type 1:** Bottom of right frame line is broken. M10, C32, C42.

• **Type 2:** Line under left and a white box across right corner. U4, U7, C2.

• **Type 3:** Dot of color mid-way in loop. U3, C1, C3, C7, C16, C19, M14, M19.

• **Type 4:** Break in lower left corner U15- U25- C 15- C21.

• **Type 5:** Break in three lower loops C10, C31.

• **Type 6:** Guide dot left of center U1, U4, U23 right of center C6.

• **Type 7:** White extensions to Rt of loop U22, C5, C23.

• **Type 8:** Two dots in center of left leg of "M" U23, M7, M15.

Figure 6

Then the task was to match up the images into pairs, strips and blocks in an attempt to look for an intermediate transfer unit and to get some clue of sheet size. A type pattern can be established when a stamp of Type II is next to a non type or above or below it. Then one can presuppose juxtaposition and thus facilitate further matches or eliminate false matches. The number of types can be a clue to the plate build-up and transfer process.

There are eight types + guide dots = nine different stamps per sheet.

To Find the Size of a Transfer Block

• If 28 stamps are typed out of the 60 studied, then in a block, 47% are typed and 53% are not. Of the total, 28 = 47% + 32 = 53% = 100%.

• If there are nine different types of the 28 total typed, then 9 types = 47% of the block = 19 (20).

There are nine types in every pane and 11 not typed with a margin of error = a sheet of 20. In this case the block, pane, and sheet are the same. Given sufficient subjects, this formula will yield the transfer block size of any issue and that will often be the sheet size in early issues.

Another important observation relates to guide dots often used in aligning transfers to the printing plate. Guide dots were placed on the stone to the sides of the image area to aid in transferring images onto the printing plate. Guide dots are not normally used as a type indicator, but with every position unique they can be used as such. Five were discovered. On the sheets of stamps where I have seen these guide dots, they are always at mid-point in the sheet and sometimes they are also on the top and bottom. They have been used on both engraved and lithographed printings.

Sheet Size and Number of Stamps Printed

In other issues studied, the dots are centered between the stamps yielding an even number of stamps in a row or column. Here the dot is centered on the stamp in the margin. The implications are significant, indicating the sheet was 3, 5, 7, or 9 stamps high. The sheet of 20 would be 4x5.

The fact that the stamps were offered at a discount if purchased by the 100 led Ringström to conclude that they were printed in sheets of 100. It is more likely the sheets were divisible into 100 such as sheets of 4x5 or 5x5. A vertical rectangle is the norm for sheet configuration.

If no stamp multiples show the same lithographic transfer type, then the probability is that the lithographic type was unique to each sheet and the minimum number of sheets is the largest number of any one type, this being seven. With a good number of stamps matching up in multiples, this would indicate a small number of sheets.

The only company with regular letter communication needs was the real estate company Taylor & Smyth. Only three covers are from outside their archive. Taylor was a stamp collector who corresponded with Sir Edward Bacon. This is why most of the covers were saved. Thus, if we base the number produced on the number of used surviving, not counting the Taylor correspondence, and multiplying the usual survival rate (what's usual, three to five percent?), one could conclude the number produced would be between 250 and 400 or 10 to 20 sheets of 20 stamps.

Color is no indication of a second printing; color in auction catalogues is totally unreliable. The variations in the shade or tone may come from the catalogue sources and their various reproduction processes; it is likely there was only one printing. It is stated that in 1851, the island was using 1,200 stamps per month for 21 offices. One might conclude that in the experimental period in 1847, between two offices, 1,000 would suffice for a year.

Only one stamp on C32 has enormous sheet margins, so it is probable that the stamps were printed on whatever scraps of paper were laying about and not in a press run.

Eliminating the Unlikely: The Americans, Charles Pitit of the 1852 Trinidad issue, De La Rue, and Waterlow & Sons

The 1852 first Colonial issue stamps printed by Waterlow & Sons, Ltd., are taller, and the India 1854 stamps printed by Thomas De La Rue & Company, Ltd., are shorter by more than one millimeter. Neither used the engine lathe engraved process. Why wasn't the Lady printed in America or in Europe? It is possible, but not likely for the following reasons.

In 1847 Perkins Bacon was preparing the essays and dies for the Pacific Steamship Company. The company desired a ship in the stamp design. Perkins Bacon complained that a stamp needed a head in the design for security, and that anything less is too easy to counterfeit. Perkins did not want their name on anything less than top quality. The Lady has a scroll frame simulating Perkins Bacon's other work. Charles Pitit was commissioned to print emergency issues for Trinidad 1852-1860. It appears he was to copy Perkins stamp issue in 1851, but he did not incorporate the scroll work frame. This alone rules him out as printer of the Lady.

Perkins Bacon had family connections to Toppan Carpenter, printer of the 1851 U.S. issue. Charles Toppan was the nephew of Jacob Perkins. Toppan & Co. would have been capable of producing the Lady. They were printers of stamps, but why would Bryce or Governor Harris give the business to an American company when the governor had contact with Perkins? Toppan Carpenter's U.S. stamps were not of the same size as the Lady.

Other security firms would not have been interested in such a small job with no future work coming their way, given this was for "local" use. Perkins, while printing all Great Britain stamps and looking to future colonial work, had an interest in Trinidad issues. No British colonial post that we know of used an American printer. I found no other printers of stamps at the time printing them the same size as Perkins Bacon.

Perkins Bacon was most likely the firm that printed the Lady. The connection to the design elements is a strong factor, but is not the most compelling. The way the master die and plate were executed suggests that the make up was done by someone experienced in the methods employed in engraved stamp production.

What was the cost for printing samples for David Bryce or the governor?
It's likely Perkins commissioned someone like artist Ed Corbould as they did for the first colonial issues. Under Perkins Bacon's guidance, Corbould could have produced the lithograph die and plate in a few days and then a few sheets would be made and sent to Governor Harris with their compliments. This would be in keeping with the company practice of drawing up essays, samples, and printing proofs at no charge. If they didn't charge there wouldn't be a record and no one could accuse them of substandard work. In keeping with this early practice, they sent the die to Trinidad with the stamps so that if the governor needed more they could be printed locally. At this time, the practice of sending the die or printing plate with the first stamp shipment was unique to Perkins Bacon.

The Lady's spacing supports this argument of samples. The spacing is wider than the first colonial issues whose closeness was necessary for the economy of the large sheets and mass production. In samples and essays we find more generous margins. In my opinion, the Lady was never intended for production. All three parties -- the governor, Perkins Bacon and David Bryce -- were hoping the colony would get its own island post. They anticipated the colony would get its own stamp issue and run an island post in concert with the empire's post. You might ask who had the strongest motivation for the stamp use.

Mauritius, Trinidad, and Barbados all ordered a first supply of Britannia stamps without denomination, printed in at least two colors, to denote different duties, but in each case the original intent was not carried out. It may have been the Perkins experience with the Lady that provided guidance. They were the exact same size with an engine-turned frame and non-denominated. The first order for Trinidad was invoiced in December 1848. In a manner of speaking, given the timing of the Lady in early 1847, she became the essay or prototype for the first colonial issues.

Perkins Bacon developed an economy of printing by using the same engraved head for stamps of different colonies. They issued the same designed stamp from a master die for the above named colonies without an indication of value. This idea developed into the "Key Types" used by De La Rue for the next hundred years. The UPU adopted the idea of color being the indicator of service: green for printed matter, red for domestic mail, and blue for foreign mail. As I see it, the Lady became the Grand Dame of philately, "A Steamship Company Stamp."

Use and the End of Use
Any large use of the stamps was curtailed by the estates being subscribers to the monthly fees as in this way their letters and small parcels were carried without hassle. Thus, only occasional users bought the single stamps. No one had reason to front $4 for 100 stamps that would last for years. If the ship sailed weekly and carried five letters, that would add up to 210 letters carried in the year stamped letters were carried. This doesn't include the subscribers' mail which, from all indications, was the greater of the two.

Both covers to Port of Spain

Figure 7
C5 (left), May 12, 1847; C6, May 18, 1847.

Four cases of stamp matches on dated covers that indicate the frequency of mail: C5 dated May 12, 1847 with C6 May 18, 1847; C30 February 3, 1848 with C26 January 4, 1848. These indicate one letter per week. C32 March 2, 1848 with C35 March 5, 1848 indicate one letter per day.

Three covers addressed by same person to Port of Spain.

Figure 8
C15, left (August 18, 1847); C16 (August 28, 1847); C17 (August 30, 1847).

When and why the stamps were withdrawn from service?

The governor ordered stamps for Trinidad from the Colonial Office in early 1848 and expected them by mid-year. Bryce, in contact with the governor and knowledgeable about the affairs of state, stopped using the Lady in anticipation of the colony's own stamp issue. Possibly the governor told Bryce the trial worked and he could discontinue stamp use. The survey of covers shows stamp use stopped in March 1848. Two more were used more than a year later. One of the two does not have a good certificate. The other may have paid for a service or was a souvenir. This end of use might imply that the governor got his wish of an island post.

In anticipation of the Colonial issue in 1848, David Bryce probably went back to his original cash and subscriber system.

Both to San Fernando.

Figure 10
C32 (March 2, 1847); C33 (March 5, 1847).

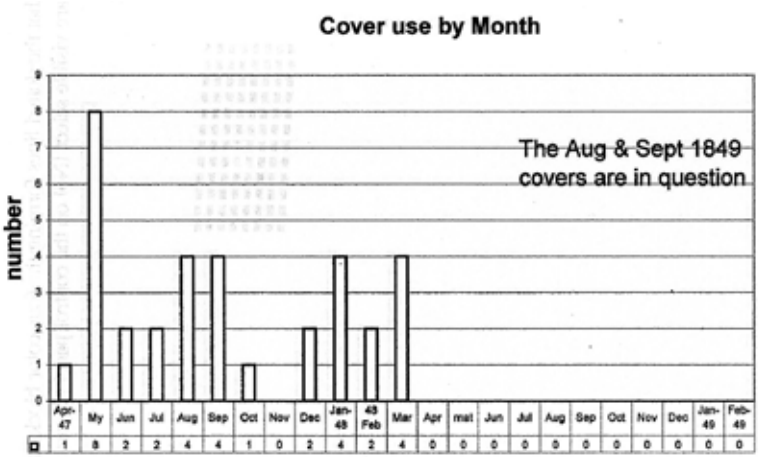


Figure 11
Graph of all covers by month, April 1847 to the end of March 1848.

Both to San Fernando.

Figure 9
C25 (undated), left; C22 (September 14, 1847).

Rejoining unused stamps needs to meet the twin criteria of being in alignment and having the exact spacing as the used stamps that show its neighbor. I only show this strip as other matched pairs would be less convincing to the reader. Mint stamps in general don't match up with on cover or used stamps in the re-construction process. Occasionally they do. Could these have been uncancelled stamps removed from covers? Two uncancelled stamps on cover are in the Royal collections. The large percentage of unused versus used is an indication that they are remainders and supports the theory that they were taken out of service for the reasons given.

(The mint stamps were cut apart rather carefully, none show part of the next stamp. The couple of irregulars were in all likelihood removed from covers. None are torn apart. It's likely they were not separated in a rush to get the letter on board but in a cool and calm manner for stamp souvenirs. One would conclude most mint stamps are remainders.

Mint Reconstruction

Figure 12
M7, Spink, 2001 ***M9, Phillips, 1997*** ***M11, Harmers, 2008***

Figure 13
M8, Plumridge, 1933 ***M10, Hobby Philatelie, 1996*** ***M14, Royal Certificate***

Conclusions

The Lady McLeod served the purpose of encouraging the establishment of a colonial post in Trinidad. It was the first colony to receive government stamps through the Colonial Office. The semi-official nature of the Lady was enough to convince Stanley Gibbons to list it as the first issue of Trinidad.

By all accounts, the governor was more interested in a trial use of stamps for an island post than David Bryce. In the same year, Perkins Bacon produced stamps for the Pacific Steam Navigation Company that were later used by Peru on a trial basis. The generic nature of a stamp with no value or country indicates Governor Harris's political position rather than David Bryce's. If they were inscribed "Trinidad" or "5 cents" when the coin of the realm was £ Sterling, it would be seen as an unwanted move toward independence.

The design with a steamship motif came from the intended use. The ship's image would have been readily available in Great Britain where the ship was built. The frame of the stamp is an imitation of British stamps of the times as no other country's stamps were so framed.

The likely sheet size was 4x5 with plate guide dots on the center stamp and on the left and right side of the sheet. The printing plate was made up of individual transfers from a master die. In all likelihood the master die was sent out with the stamps as was the Perkins Bacon practice. We learned that they didn't spend much time or effort on the Lady's creation or production. Even though the lithographed design is not as exacting as engraved issues, the transfers and plate layout indicated a degree of sophistication and expertise not found from local printers.

For the first colonial issues by Perkins Bacon, the artwork was commissioned and it may have been the same for the Lady, commissioned by and under the tutelage of Perkins Bacon or designed and printed in house. Given there were stamp remainders and the short time of use, it's not likely there was more than one printing even though there are differences in light or heavy impressions. Stamp use ended by April 1848 at about the time the governor received a tentative approval for an island post. David Bryce likely reverted back to his subscription and five center per letter service. Later the non-denomination of the stamp could serve as a model for multiple colonies, their rates and services.

FOOTNOTE

[8] Fredrich Meddent, *The Dependent Empire & Ireland*. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. 330-338.

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