

The Grinnell Missionaries



Genuine or Forgeries?

Grinnell Missionaries

Table of Contents

	Page
The Maynard Sundman Lecture Series.....	2
The Hawaiian Missionary Stamps	3
The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionaries	4
Articles on Both Sides of the Controversy.....	7
“Hawaiian Missionaries,” by George H. Grinnell.....	7
“Res Adjudicata,” by John A. Klemann	21
“In Re Grinnell,” by Calvet M. Hahn.....	28
“The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps,” by Vincent and Carol Arrigo	39
The National Postal Museum.....	62
David Beech.....	63
The Royal Philatelic Society London	64
Mystic Stamp Company.....	65



Cover: 13-cent Grinnell Missionary
Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

Maynard Sundman Lecture Series



Maynard Sundman's love of stamp collecting began in 1927. As a child, Maynard was fascinated by these tiny bits of paper and all the history and culture they held.

At 19, Maynard started a mail-order stamp business with \$400 he had saved, operating out of his parents' home in Connecticut. After serving in World War II, he founded his second firm, Littleton Stamp Company, with his wife Fannie Kasper Sundman.

The company branched into coins for collectors in the 1950s. In 1974, the Sundman family purchased Mystic Stamp Company of Camden, New York, operated by Maynard's son, Donald Sundman. Maynard continues to work with his son David, president of Littleton Coin Company in Littleton, New Hampshire.

In 2002, the National Postal Museum began a lecture series named in honor of Maynard Sundman, which is funded through a donation to the Museum by his sons David and Donald Sundman. The lectures further philatelic scholarship and explore and interpret new philatelic research.



Maynard Sundman with sons David (left) and Donald (right)

The Hawaiian Missionary Stamps

In 1819, Hawaiian King Hamehameha II established freedom of religion and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions began sending teachers and missionaries to the islands. By the 1840s, many American missionaries had settled there.

To send a letter from Honolulu to America at that time, a person first had to find a ship ready to sail to the U.S. Then, he took his letter to the ship's captain and asked him to mail it on the mainland. He did not pay the captain; the recipient would pay the postage.



Honolulu

When he docked at a U.S. port, the captain took the letters to a post office, turned them in, and received two cents per letter for his service.



King Kamehameha III

As the volume of mail from missionaries, teachers, and traders increased, King Kamehameha III was asked to establish a more systematic arrangement for the mail. On June 18, 1851, the Legislature of the Kingdom of Hawaii authorized the printing of stamps of useful denominations.

Postmaster Henry M. Whitney designed three denominations of postage stamps, using the same basic design. They were printed with loose, hand-set type on an old, manual printing press brought over and assembled by early missionaries.

The first Hawaiian stamps, called "Missionaries," were produced at the government printing office in Honolulu. Printed with blue ink on very thin paper, the stamps went on sale October 1, 1851.

The 2-cent stamp paid the postage to the U.S. for newspapers and printed circulars. Since most newspaper wrappers were thrown away, few examples of the 2-cent stamp have survived.

A 5-cent stamp was required to transport a letter from the Honolulu post office to a ship in the harbor. The 13-cent stamp paid the 5-cent Hawaiian postage to the ship, a 2-cent fee for the ship's captain, plus the 6-cent U.S. postage from San Francisco to points east.



*Hawaiian Missionary
accepted as genuine*

*Ex the Christian H. Aall Collection
Courtesy Siegel Auction Galleries*

The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionaries

The story of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionaries reads like a mystery, but it is a true story, full of real-life drama.

It all started one day in 1918, when George H. Grinnell (1875-1949), a Los Angeles high school teacher and stamp collector went to see Charles Shattuck, who also lived in that city. Mr. Shattuck showed Grinnell a number of early Hawaiian stamps that had been placed inside an old family psalm book. Recognizing their rarity, Grinnell immediately offered to buy the stamps. Although Shattuck didn't want any money for them, Grinnell did leave a five-dollar bill on the table. Thus, George H. Grinnell became the owner of what became a major philatelic controversy, one that has lasted for most of a century.

The next act in the drama came when Los Angeles stamp dealer Bertram W.H. Poole contacted the prominent New York dealer John A. Klemann. On November 22, 1919, Poole sent Klemann an exciting telegram saying that a "virgin find of Hawaiian Missionaries" was available and that he should "come out at once."



George H. Grinnell

Courtesy of Vincent and Carol Arrigo

Alfred H. Caspary, owner of one of the greatest stamp collections in the world at that time, happened to be in John Klemann's office when Poole's message arrived. Caspary himself owned seven Hawaiian Missionary stamps. He agreed to put up \$50,000 toward the purchase of the Los Angeles lot, as long as he was given the first choice among them.

Klemann rode the train out to Los Angeles and met with Grinnell and Grinnell's agent, S.L. Wood, on December 1. After some negotiating, Grinnell agreed to a price of \$65,000. Klemann went to the vault of the Los Angeles Trust Company later that day to view the stamps. Having seen the

Grinnell Missionaries

merchandise, Klemann agreed to buy the stamps.

With final payment tendered, an elated John Klemann took possession of 43 stamps and headed home to show them to Caspary. The collector chose 16 out of the lot, for a price of \$75,000. All appeared to be going well for all parties involved.

And then, everything changed. On December 15, Caspary called Klemann, declaring that the stamps he had just purchased were fake! He had compared them to other Missionaries in his collection and was convinced that the new acquisition was counterfeit.

Klemann immediately returned Caspary's money, received the 16 stamps back from him, and hurried to California to file a lawsuit against George Grinnell for the recovery of his money. The lawsuit went to trial in June 1922.

Unfortunately, Charles Shattuck died more than a year before the trial began. Grinnell later wrote, "My own greatest mistake was in not getting a lengthy written statement from Mr. Shattuck. I thought that a statement from him could be had at any time but I delayed getting it too long and when I wanted it he was dead."

Shattuck's widow was too frail to go to the trial, but the judge briefly held court at her home in order to hear her testimony. She remembered that Grinnell had come to visit her husband and that her husband had removed something that she did not see from an old sea-chest. Mrs. Shattuck ventured that there couldn't have been any stamps in the chest – and that was damaging testimony, indeed.

Klemann's lawyer called upon several printing and stamp experts, Caspary among them, who testified that the typeface, ink, and cancellations all indicated that the stamps were forged.

On June 29, 1922, Judge John Perry Wood rendered his decision: "It is clear to my mind that they are not [genuine], that they are forgeries, constructed by a process of photo-engraving....I am convinced that those stamps, that is the Grinnell stamps, were never made with type....I am of the opinion that these stamps had no appreciable value (I think they probably will have a good deal more value as curiosities after this lawsuit than they possessed at any other time....)"

Thus ended the trial – but certainly not the controversy.

George Grinnell and his descendants spent years after the trial locating

The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionaries

evidence that his stamps were indeed genuine. Some stamp authorities supported Grinnell's contention. John Klemann, joined by still other authorities, argued that Judge Wood's decision was correct. Many articles were published in philatelic literature in the decades after the trial, declarations both of fact and opinion, and both for and against accepting the Grinnell Missionaries as genuine stamps.

In November 1951, a group of the Grinnell Missionaries were submitted to the Royal Philatelic Society's expert committee. After two months, the Royal announced that they found the stamps to be forgeries. However, no reasons were given at that time to support the decision.

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Hawaiian Missionaries

by George H. Grinnell

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I have been asked for my side of the story of the Hawaiian Missionary Stamps, forty-three of which I sold to John A. Klemann for a cash consideration of \$65,000.00. In hopes of being able to find the missing links which would prove to the whole world that which I believe to be true, namely, that the stamps in question are genuine, I have waited and waited.

I have not been able to find undisputed evidence that they are or are not genuine, but my patience has been very greatly rewarded by recent new discoveries which corroborates all that I have ever positively stated in regard to them. I am unwilling to over-estimate the value of this newly discovered evidence, but I believe if it had been available at the time the suit was first begun it would have entirely changed the whole aspect of the controversy, and instead of going on into court I believe we would have accepted this evidence as sufficient to establish the stamps as genuine. My only positive statements regarding the stamps were as to their source. I know nothing more than that, but I have been able to prove that all the things that were told me by the man who gave them to me were true, and so I know the stamps must be genuine. All I ask is that you who read will be fair-minded and not prejudiced. To the thoughtful reader conclusions will shape themselves, and I am willing to leave the matter as to whether these stamps are genuine or not to the intelligence and common sense of the serious minded philatelist.

Much has been said about the source of the stamps and the circumstances under which I acquired them. These are the facts: On February 20, 1918 I visited Valle de France Lodge of Masons in Los Angeles to see the work of the First Degree as exemplified in France. Mr. Harry Glick, Druggist, went with me. When I called at his store that evening he handed me an envelope containing a lot of precanceled stamps which he had saved from the incoming mail of the previous few days. I put them in my pocket and did not look at them until I was seated in the Lodge Room. As I looked them over, a gentleman sitting beside me saw me looking at them and we began to talk. I told him I had collected stamps ever since I was a boy and asked him if he had any old letters with stamps on the envelopes. He said he did not think so, but even if he did have that they were back home in New Hampshire. I said, "Why, I belong to Lodge of the Temple Number

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

88 at Keene, N.H.” We then talked quite a bit and during the conversation I said that I was born in Massachusetts. He then asked me if I knew Mr. Charles Shattuck who was also from Massachusetts. I had never heard of him, but as he said he was an elderly gentleman. I said I would call and get acquainted with him. I made a note of Mr. Shattuck’s address upon the back of an envelope and also the name of the gentleman who gave it to me, Mr. Lewis Perkins. He has given me the following sworn statement: ...

LEWIS PERKINS, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: It has been a matter of considerable interest to me for many years to keep a diary of my visits to Masonic Lodges in whatever part of the world I happen to be. Referring to this diary I find I have recorded the fact of my visit to Valle de France Lodge, Pico and Figueroa Sts., Los Angeles, California, February 20, 1918.

I distinctly remember on that occasion a conversation I had with Mr. George H. Grinnell who sat beside me that evening. He had a few postage stamps that a friend had given to him and he was looking at them. He asked me if I had any old stamps or old letters in my possession. I told him I did not believe I had, but that even if I had they were back home in New Hampshire. Mr. Grinnell then said that he belonged to the Masonic Lodge at Keene, N.H. We talked about Keene, and Mr. Grinnell said he was born in Massachusetts. I then asked him if he knew Mr. Charles Shattuck, a gentleman of my acquaintance who also was from Massachusetts. Mr. Grinnell did not know him but said he would call and get acquainted, and I gave him Mr. Shattuck’s address.

The facts of the above conversation are very clear in my memory.

The Official Town Records of the Town of Pepperell, Mass., which are in custody of the Town Clerk, and which can be verified by any person who cares to do so, show the following entries:

1. Charles Boynton Shattuck, born April 8, 1839, son of Jesse Shattuck and Hanna Shattuck.
2. Hanna Shattuck, wife of Jesse Shattuck, died Aug. 17, 1856. Age 50 years 7 months 12 days, born Nelson, N.H., daughter of Amos and Naomi Child. Died Pepperell, Mass., interment Pepperell, cause of death Consumption.

In the spring of 1923 I visited Mr. Grinnell at his home in Los Angeles, and he told me about the controversy over the genuineness of the Hawaiian Missionary Stamps, some of which I examined. The case inter-

Grinnell Missionaries

ested me very much, especially since it was I who first gave Mr. Grinnell the name and address of Mr. Shattuck.

From what I know and have since been told concerning the history of those stamps, I do not hesitate to say that regardless of what others may say or think about them, I believe they are genuine Hawaiian Missionary Stamps. (Signed) Lewis Perkins. State of New Hampshire, County of Rockingham, ss....

When I called upon Mr. Shattuck he was very cordial and seemed glad to have someone to talk to. I had no acquaintance with his home town of Pepperell, Mass., and he knew nothing about So. Braintree, Mass., where I was born, but we talked about various things. When I asked him if he had any old stamps or old letters, he seemed to have little regard for such things and his reply impressed me with the thought that he considered stamp collecting as boys' play. Rather apologetically I explained that I had been collecting stamps since boyhood and thought perhaps he might have among his things some old stamps or letters that were his father's or mother's. He exclaimed, "By George, I have!" He told me to wait a minute and he would get them. He went up stairs and in a short time returned with the stamps he gave me. He also gave me the book in which the unused stamps were stuck here and there promiscuously on different pages in the book, which was an old book of sermons. I had never seen any stamps like them before and told him that I would like to have them very much: that I thought they were of considerable value, but as I had never seen any like them before, I didn't make any guesses as to how much they might be worth. He laughed at the idea that they might be of value and said that I was welcome to them; adding that they would probably be burned up after he was gone anyway, as no one in his family cared for such things. He said there were two letters with stamps on the envelopes which he had saved, but that he had destroyed the other letters after cutting the stamps off the envelopes because there were matters of a personal nature that he thought just as well to destroy. He said some of the stamps had been cut from letters by his mother or someone else, and that he cut some from some of his mother's letters and put with them. There was a letter with them which he gave me. It was addressed to "Capt. Wm. Cole, Ship Courser, Care of Messrs Russell and Co., Canton, China." I asked Mr. Shattuck who Capt. Cole was, but he said he did not know. He said the letter was in the book and he had left it there. He seemed puzzled as to where the two letters were which he had saved, and said that they were with the Capt. Cole letter. He said "they had stamps on the envelopes like these," and pointed to the

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy



Four 2-cent Grinnell Missionaries and one 5-cent Grinnell are seen here on the reverse of a cover. Four circular cancellations, indicating "U.S. Postage Paid," mark the stamps.

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

Grinnell Missionaries

piece of cover having four two cent stamps and one five cent stamp covering the flap of the envelope. He said the other one had a "Sandwich Island Stamp" on the front in one corner and a United States Stamp in the opposite corner.

I asked him where he got these stamps and he said, "They were among my mother's things in a little old trunk when she died and I have always kept them." I asked when she died and he said she died when he was a boy in 1856. I was not sure whether he told me that he had kept the trunk with its other contents or not, but I thought he said he did have it there in the house together with other things of his mother's, and I told my attorney and other people interested that I believed that was what he said but could not swear to it.

Early in 1920, after the suit had been filed, I called upon Mrs. Charles Shattuck, widow of the man who gave me the stamps, and she told me that she remembered the day I called at the house very well. She was lying down up stairs and Mr. Shattuck came up and went to his trunk and got something which he afterwards told her was some old stamps that he gave to me. She said, when I told her the conversation I had with Mr. Shattuck, that she did not know anything about the kind of stamps that he had, but that she knew he did have some of the old letters of his mother's years ago. She paid very little attention to the matter when he told her he had given me some stamps, and really could not remember much about it. She seemed in good health, and as we thought the trial would be held in a few weeks we did not take her disposition [sic]. Almost three years went by and as she was eighty years old her mind failed very fast and at the time of trial she could not remember very much about the matter. She testified that she did remember the day I came to the house, and that she remembered his getting something out of the trunk and giving it to me; beyond that she was confused.

At the very beginning of the trial the judge said he would be very much interested in the source of the stamps. Mrs. Shattuck was in such feeble condition at that time that she could not come to court to testify, but the judge was so much concerned about the source of the stamps that he went to her house to get her testimony. What little she could then remember did not help very much to substantiate my story. On the other hand the son and daughter both testified that it would have been impossible for me to have obtained the stamps from their father because all of their personal effects had been destroyed in a fire in about the year 1890.

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

The judge said in rendering his decision that he found it difficult for him to believe the story of the defendant. He said “I say this regretfully because of the position and reputation of the defendant, but the story bears marks of improbability which makes it difficult for me to accept it.”

I do not blame the judge for not believing my statements, as all he had upon which to base his opinion was the testimony before him, but there was one big discrepancy in that testimony which I have pointed out many times, and which I think must have been entirely overlooked by the judge. After testifying that all of their personal effects had been destroyed by fire in about the year 1890, the daughter said in answer to the question, “Were there among your father’s things after he died any old letters?” Answers: “Yes there were three letters of his mother’s among his things after he died.” I have always contended since that testimony was given that they were either purposely concealing something or that they were mistaken in their statements.



An attached pair of 5-cent Grinnell Missionaries

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

As proof that I have been the victim of circumstances in this whole trial I offer the following affidavits which have just been given to me. They corroborate all that I have ever claimed as to the source of the stamps, and, as I said in the beginning of this article, I believe if this had been known at the time of the beginning of the controversy, we might have come to a more satisfactory understanding without going into court....

Grinnell Missionaries

Mrs. Hana Robison, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: In June, 1922, I was called as a witness in the Superior court of the County of Los Angeles in the matter of the Klemann-Grinnell controversy over the genuineness of some Hawaiian Postage Stamps which were given to Mr. Grinnell by my father, Mr. Charles B. Shattuck. At that time I gave testimony which made it appear that it would have been impossible for Mr. Grinnell to have obtained those stamps from my father. Since giving my testimony in that case, I have become convinced that I was mistaken.

No person has ever come to me in behalf of Mr. Grinnell since the time of the above mentioned trial, but since I have come to realize that I was mistaken in the testimony which I gave at that time, and feeling as I do now that an injustice has been done him and that I was partly to blame for his story having been discredited, I voluntarily make this affidavit, feeling that in the interest of justice I have no other course.

My brother, E.S. Shattuck, felt the same way about the matter, and so invited Mr. Grinnell to come to our house and examine certain evidence which he did not know was in existence at the time of trial. Mr. Grinnell came to see us as soon as he was invited to do so, and we have given him all of the evidence which we have here and which corroborates his statements in every detail. I did not realize at the time of trial that the evidence which we have would corroborate Mr. Grinnell's story, but there are certain heirlooms and other things of the same age as the stamps or older, which came to the possession of my father from his mother at the time of her death in the year 1856, and which I have known about ever since I was a small girl. I do remember that my father did have a small bundle of old letters of his mother's in the little old trunk which also belonged to his mother. They were in my father's possession when I was a girl, and I remember them very well. There were only two or three of these letters remaining at the time of my father's death, and I am very sure that we burned them together with many other papers of his which were burned shortly after he died. There were many other things which belonged to my father's parents and grand-parents, and some other things which belonged to my mother's family. We have those things now and I am convinced that Mr. Grinnell did get those stamps from my father and that they were among the things which he got from his mother at the time of her death in the year 1856.

My brother has given Mr. Grinnell an affidavit which mentions a number of the things which we have that belonged to our grandparents and great-grandparents. I have read that affidavit, and the things that are mentioned therein have been to my knowledge in the possession of my parents for a great

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

many years. I remember all of this now very clearly, but at the time of the hearing of the case I did not think of the significance of all that which we have in our possession, and my memory of these things having been in our possession for many years, absolutely convinces me that Mr. Grinnell is right and that those stamps are genuine. (Signed) Hana Robison....

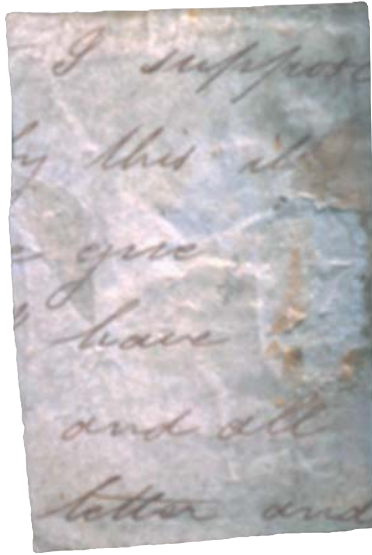
E.S. Shattuck, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: At the time of the hearing of the evidence in the case of Klemann versus Grinnell in the Superior Court of the County of Los Angeles, California, in June, 1922, I gave certain testimony which I believed to be true at that time. I have recently discovered that I was mistaken, and in justice to Mr. Grinnell, and in order that the truth may be known, I voluntarily make this affidavit.

No person has ever come to me since the time of the hearing of the above mentioned case in behalf of Mr. Grinnell, but because of this evidence which I have discovered, I have invited Mr. Grinnell to come to my house and examine same.

When my father gave the stamps to Mr. Grinnell he told him that he found them in a little old trunk of his mother's among her things at the time she died in the year 1856, and that he had always kept them. When Mr. Grinnell told that story I did not believe it because I thought all of our things had been destroyed in a fire in about the year 1890.

In the summer of 1923 my mother showed me a small square piece of embroidery which she said was made by my father's mother in the year 1817. I asked where it came from and she told me it was with the things my father's grandmother had brought to California for him in the year 1866; that she had kept them all these years because they were his mother's. I did not know that anything belonging to my father's mother was still in existence. I began to investigate and soon found enough to convince me that Mr. Grinnell was right. We have besides the pieces of embroidery known as a sampler, the coffin plates from the coffin of grandfather and grandmother Shattuck and great-grandfather and great-grandmother Shattuck dated 1847, 1851, 1856, and 1864; a silk shawl and purse which belonged to my father's mother, a needle case of her mother's containing records of deaths of her grand-parents; some books of poems, etc, which belonged to my father's mother, four daguerreotypes of my father, his mother and his mother's mother; also a number of other things which belonged to my father's and my mother's parents. There was once a small bundle of old letters which were written to my father's mother having a number of stamps on the envelopes, but we cannot find them now. I

Grinnell Missionaries



Reverse of piece of folded letter showing handwriting thought to be that of missionary Ursula Emerson. Obverse bears an attached pair of 2-cent Grinnell Missionaries.

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo



A 2-cent Grinnell Missionary

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

remember these things were in my father's possession when I was a boy, but supposed they had been destroyed long ago.

In going over the things again that my father said to Mr. Grinnell, I am convinced that Mr. Grinnell did get those stamps from my father in whose possession they had been since the year 1856. The things Mr. Grinnell says ring true and are just what my father would have said under the circumstances. Those stamps must be genuine Hawaiian stamps; they could not be otherwise under the circumstances. (Signed) E.S. Shattuck...

Mr. George Hazen was the Agent in charge of the Los Angeles office of the United States Secret Service at the time the stamps were seized in 1919 because Klemann said they were counterfeits. During the trial of the case in June 1922, Mr. Hazen told my attorney in my presence that the investigation by the Department did not reveal a single bit of evidence that the stamps were not genuine, and that he believed the experts consulted during the investigation, which covered more than twenty months, were about equally divided in their opinions for and against the stamps: that those against the stamps, when pressed for the reasons for the opinions, were unable to give any reasons that proved valid when tested.

He said that the principal reasons they advanced were that the paper and the ink were both decidedly different, and that they were of recent manufacture, whereas the fact of the matter was that the paper and ink both appeared to be of the same general character as that used in the production of the stamps known to be genuine which were used for purposes of comparison. He said that another reason given by those who for some reason were very antagonistic to the stamps was that there were too many of them to be genuine. Mr. Hazen said that was absurd and ridiculous in view of the known facts as to the amount of mail leaving the Islands during the time those stamps were actually in use.

In support of this statement I refer you to "The Friend," published in Honolulu, the volume for the year 1852, Page 83, the article headed, "The Largest Mail Yet." The article is in the number dated December 1, 1852, and reads: "The mail dispatched by the Brig Zoe for San Francisco on the 22nd contained 2341 letters some 300 more than were ever dispatched from the Post Office at Honolulu by one mail. These letters were the accumulation of but two weeks since the sailing of the Whiton, and the largest proportion were forward by persons in the whaling fleet now in our harbor." There is a bound volume of the Friend for the year 1852 in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass. I had that book and several others from Salem and

Grinnell Missionaries

from the Boston Library here at the time of trial. There were many important items to which I wanted to call attention, but my attorney did not even mention them.

I want to refer again to the letter which was with the stamps when they came into the possession of Mr. Shattuck at the time of the death of his mother in the year 1856, because some reader may have the information I need for this history. It was addressed to Capt. Wm. Cole, Ship Courser, Care of Messrs Russell & Co., Canton, China. This letter was written by Mr. Lemuel Smith of New York City and mailed at New York in the spring of 1852. ...

I have given a great deal of attention to the matter of trying to trace Capt. Wm. Cole or Mrs. Wm. Cole, hoping to find that there was some relationship to the Shattucks or to the Child family, because of the story that has been known for many years among the older generation of stamp collectors to the effect that an old Sea-captain of Cohasset, Mass., had brought back from the Hawaiian Islands a quantity of Hawaiian Missionary Postage Stamps. The hunt for these stamps began about the year 1880 and several collectors of those days have told me about their efforts expended along these lines since the beginning of this suit. It may be that Capt. Cole was the Sea captain of this story. He died in 1873. He lived in the Town of Scituate near the Scituate-Cohasset town line. He had relatives who lived in Haverhill, Mass., and I have been told that searchers were led to Haverhill in their search. I have not been able to get positive proof of any connection between the Shattucks or Child families and the Coles, beyond the fact that among the effects left by Mrs. Shattuck's mother when she died in 1856 was the letter addressed to Capt. Wm. Cole....

It is not my purpose to try to make any fictitious claims in connection with all of this evidence, but I want it made public because I consider it very significant, and it may be that some of the persons who may read this story will know where the missing links are that will prove beyond all possibility of doubt that these stamps are absolutely genuine.

There is another line that leads into very important possibilities for discoveries which will prove them genuine. Within the last two weeks I have found this very significant record in the Los Angeles Public Library: (This was written December 15, 1923.)

In book Number R929:N542Che. Pages 305 and 306 the following record: "John S. Emerson, son of Capt. John Emerson and Elizabeth French, born Dec. 28, 1800 graduated Dartmouth 1826, graduated Andover 1830. Agent American Board Foreign Missions in 1830-31. Ordained a

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

Missionary in 1831. Sailed November 1831. Arrived Honolulu in May 1832. Visited the United States 1860, when Dartmouth conferred the degree of M.S. upon him. Staid [sic] eleven months and returned... He has published several valuable books in the language of the Sandwich Islands. He died Mar. 26, 1867. He married Ursula Sophia, daughter of Rev. Gad Newell of Nelson, N.H.” Also in book R.266.996:4 Page 618. there is a record of John S. Emerson and also a record of Mrs. Emerson as follows: “Mrs. Emerson (Ursula S. Newell) born Nelson, N.H. Sept. 27, 1806.” Mr. Shattuck’s mother was born in Nelson, N.H. in 1806! At that time Nelson was called Packersfield, and had a population of less than four hundred persons. Mr. Shattuck’s mother was Hannah Child, daughter of Amos Child and Naomi Child...

It is more than likely that Mrs. Emerson, wife of the Hawaiian Missionary, John S. Emerson, wrote many letters to Mrs. Shattuck. They were born in the same town and in the same year and went to the same school and the same church together.

I must bring this story to a close, and will do so by submitting one more affidavit, signed and sworn to before a notary public, which I have in my possession. It is as follows: ...

WILLIAM P. WALSH being first duly sworn, deposes and says: that he has been an officer in the Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department of the United States since the year 1894, during which time he has been engaged especially in running down counterfeiters: that on December 24, 1919, acting in his official capacity, and under orders of George W. Hazen, Agent in charge of the Los Angeles Office of said Division, he seized forty-five Hawaiian Postage Stamps of the type generally known as “Hawaiian Missionary Stamps,” forty-three of which were taken from John A. Klemann and marked with the initials and date “W.P.W. 12-24-19” and two of the Two-cent denominations which were taken from S.L. Wood and marked with name and date “Wm. P. Walsh, 12-24-19,” all of said marks were written upon the backs of the stamps, or upon the pieces of paper with stamps attached, for the purpose of identification:

That said stamps were seized because John A. Klemann said they were counterfeit stamps which he had bought as genuine stamps for the sum of sixty-five thousand dollars, believing them to be genuine at the time of purchase: At that time Wood said the stamps were bad: That an investigation lasting several months was conducted by said Secret Service Division in an effort to determine the character of said stamps, but no evidence

Grinnell Missionaries

could be found that said stamps were or were not genuine, and a report to that effect was made to Chief Moran at Washington, D.C., and that sometime thereafter orders were received from Chief Moran to reopen the investigation and to go into it as thoroughly as would be done if it were a case of counterfeiting of United States money: That these orders were carried out to the full extent of the ability of the investigating officers, but no evidence could be found that the said stamps were or were not genuine: That the experts consulted agreed that the paper and ink used in the production of the questioned stamps was apparently of the same general character as that used in the production of the stamps used for purposes of comparison and which were recognized as being genuine "Hawaiian Missionary Stamps," and that the slight difference between types used in the printing of said stamps could easily be accounted for by the fact that there were several printings of the "Hawaiian Missionary Stamps": That the correspondence on file in the office of the Secret Service Division in Los Angeles shows that the said stamps remained in the custody of the said Division until September 20, 1921, at which time the forty-three stamps which were taken from John A. Klemann were returned to him at his New York Office by Agent M.P. Bolan, Jr. of the United States Secret Service, and the two Two-cent stamps were returned to Mr. S.L. Wood at a later date.

That the said stamps probably would have been held permanently in the possession of the Secret Service Division or destroyed by maceration if any evidence could have been found that the said stamps were not genuine "Hawaiian Missionary Stamps": That deponent consented to make this affidavit because it is his desire to place on record with the stamps a true statement of the facts pertaining to the activities and findings of the United States Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department in connection with their investigation of the said stamps so far as the same is known to him.

(Signed) William P. Walsh....

In closing I will say that there is very much more in the way of references that I have which are of interest but of rather small importance. They will all be included in a book that I have under way, and which I hope to publish within the next year.

With all of these facts before you, I will leave the matter of opinion as to their genuineness to your own good common sense. I believe the evidence I have already should be sufficient. The fact that Klemann was afraid to go to court on the appeal, is very significant of what he expected would be the result if I got all of the evidence before a jury that he knew I had but was not allowed to use. I make this statement because of the terms

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

of the settlement, for I have no other logical conclusion. Judge if I am right in my deductions.

By the terms of the judgment Klemann has a court order on me for \$60,000.00 with interest at seven per cent for thirty-seven and one half months, (from Dec. 1, 1919 to Jan 20, 1923) said interest figuring some \$13,125.00, or a total of \$73,125.00. On condition that I agree not to move for a new trial and not to appeal the case I was offered the following settlement, which I accepted as soon as offered: If we would release without further contest the money which he already had under attachment in the bank amounting to \$41,216.00 plus accrued interest on part of that sum, he offered to return all of the stamps to me, pay all costs of court for both sides, pay us \$3000.00 more in cash, and enter full satisfaction of judgment on the court record. Upon my acceptance the settlement was complete in accordance with the terms as above stated, on the 20th day of January, 1923.

I have been told that Klemann figured that the above settlement was the cheapest way out for him. If he should have lost the next time, I believe he had the right idea; but doesn't that thought suggest some other reason for his action than a mere belief that the stamps were not genuine. In my book soon to be published, I will show that he did have a very different reason.

* * * * *



An attached pair of 2-cent Grinnell Missionaries bear a circular cancellation of "MAR 1 HONOLULU HAWAIIAN ISLANDS."

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

“Res Adjudicata”

by John A. Klemann

(Reprinted courtesy of *The American Philatelist*, the monthly magazine of The American Philatelic Society. This article first appeared in November 1924.)

Just before leaving New York in August to attend the A.P.S. Convention at Detroit, I had sent me by various friends a number of newspaper clippings that all, in the same general way, detailed a pretty story of the efforts of George H. Grinnell of Los Angeles, Cal., to establish the genuineness of the “Hawaiian Missionaries” he sold me in 1919, which were proved to be counterfeits in the extensive litigation between us in 1922.

The newspaper stories, which were reproduced in a number of the philatelic journals, were to the effect that Mr. Grinnell had found an important witness in the Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, of Boston, Mass. This old clergyman has made an affidavit...to the effect “that the writing on the back of the piece of paper bearing the pair of two-cent Hawaiian stamps in Mr. Grinnell’s possession, which he has numbered 1 and 2, very closely resembles my mother’s handwriting and may be hers; that the writing on the piece of paper bearing the five-cent Hawaiian stamp in Mr. Grinnell’s possession, which he has numbered 65, very closely resembles my father’s handwriting: that my father died at his station in Honolulu in the year 1867 and my mother died at the same place in the year 1888.”

On the basis of this affidavit the conclusion is drawn that Mr. Grinnell’s Hawaiian Missionary stamps have been proved genuine.

I was rather interested in this press propaganda because it is obvious and readily apparent to anyone that historical and genealogical research, connecting up old families with the pieces of cover and letters in the possession of Mr. Grinnell, is no proof of the genuineness of the stamps in question. To my mind and to the mind of the Court the matter, whether or not the stamps are counterfeits, is a settled fact. It is not an uncommon practice to affix counterfeit stamps to genuine letters and envelopes as many a collector can testify.

As the transcript of the testimony in “Klemann vs. Grinnell” consists of about 422 legal size pages of single space typewritten matter, it is obviously impossible to present the entire record in any magazine. The Editor of the *American Philatelist*, agreeing with me that a philatelic record is

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

essential in this matter, and having allowed me a generous space, I shall try, briefly and fairly to place before you the essential points in the technical and philatelic testimony on which the judge of the court, the Honorable Perry Wood, based his decision, together with the Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law.

The circumstances under which I went from New York to Los Angeles to buy the “find” of “Hawaiian Missionaries” have been published in many philatelic journals. Suffice it to say that, December 1, 1919, I bought of George H. Grinnell, a resident of Los Angeles, a lot of forty-three supposedly genuine Hawaiian Missionary stamps for the sum of \$65,000.00. These have been known and designated during the trial as the Grinnell stamps. On my return to New York, where they were compared with genuine originals, they were discovered to be counterfeit and, returning to Los Angeles, I filed suit to recover the money paid for them.

The trial of this suit, before the Honorable Perry Wood of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, Cal., lasted approximately two weeks of court days and over thirty witnesses were heard. Of the many experts who testified there were such noted men as Charles J. Phillips, Manuel Galvez, Henry C. Marcus and B.W.H. Poole.

The opinion of the experts generally was that the stamps were counterfeit, made by a photo-engraving process. In support of this view, enlarged photographs were made of known genuine stamps and the Grinnell stamps and a minute comparison made of the various parts of the design....

To appreciate the illustrations given herewith, the same as were presented to the court, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the photo-engraving process. In reproducing a stamp this is briefly as follows: The stamp, genuine, of course, is placed before a camera and photographed, and if any attempt at retouching is contemplated, this photograph is much enlarged. The enlarged photo is then retouched or entirely redrawn by an expert who strengthens all the “weak” places on the picture or entirely redraws it in order to produce a clear sharp black replica of the original stamp. This photograph is then turned over to the photo-engraver who rephotos it, reducing it to the exact size of the genuine stamp, and the negative is then printed on a copper or zinc plate which has been previously coated with a sensitive emulsion in the same manner as is ordinarily done on paper.

The copper or zinc plate is then covered with ink, which attaches itself only to the outlines of the stamp, the white background receiving no ink. The plate then is “etched” or eaten out in a bath of nitric acid, in case a

Grinnell Missionaries

zinc plate is used, or in chloride of iron in case a copper plate is used. This etching process is repeated a number of times until the entire white background has been eaten out to a sufficient depth to produce a printing plate which is in relief just the same as type. From this plate stamps can be printed which will very closely resemble the original and genuine stamp.

There are many difficulties in making the reproduction absolutely like the original, these being due to the fact that the photograph loses some of the fine details; if any retouching be done, it is not always perfectly accurate; and, lastly, when the zinc or copper plate is immersed in the acid, great care must be taken lest the acid eat out more than is desired....

Another interesting feature developed was the careful measurement made to show that in the Grinnell stamps the edges of the various ornaments at different places overlapped the ornament adjoining. This would be impossible on a typeset stamp as every piece of type would necessarily be separate from the others....

In addition to this testimony by experts as to the method of reproduction, there was considerable testimony given which proved that all the various cancellations on the Grinnell stamps were absolutely counterfeit.

After hearing all this testimony the court rendered an oral decision without leaving the bench, which has already appeared in the philatelic press....



Courtesy Siegel Auction Galleries



Courtesy National Postal Museum

5-cent and 13-cent Hawaiian Missionary stamps accepted as genuine.

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

Findings of Fact

(1) On December 1, 1919, defendant was the owner and in possession of 43 certain pieces of paper purporting to be genuine postage stamps of the variety and issue known as "Hawaiian Missionaries"; eleven thereof purporting to be stamps of the issue and variety aforesaid of the denomination of two cents, nine thereof purporting to be stamps of the issue and variety aforesaid of the denomination of 5-cents, fifteen thereof purporting to be stamps of the issue and variety aforesaid of the denomination of 13 cents, and the remaining eight thereof purporting to be genuine postage stamps of the issue and variety aforesaid in a damaged condition. No one of said 43 pieces of paper was and no one of said 43 pieces of paper is a genuine Hawaiian Missionary postage stamp or a genuine postage stamp of any kind or nature whatsoever but on the contrary each of said 43 pieces of paper was and is a forgery or imitation and said 43 pieces of paper were and are and each of them was and is absolutely worthless and of no value whatsoever....

Plaintiff would not have agreed to purchase nor would plaintiff have purchased nor would plaintiff have paid for said 43 pieces of paper as hereinafter found had it not been for the belief of plaintiff as hereinbefore found that said 43 pieces of paper were genuine postage stamps of the issue and variety, aforesaid, and had it not been for the belief of plaintiff in and reliance upon each of the statements and representation aforesaid of defendant; and at all times defendant knew that plaintiff would not agree to purchase and would not purchase or pay for said 43 pieces of paper except for the belief of plaintiff in the reliance upon each of the said representation and statements of defendant. Plaintiff was induced by his mistaken belief that said pieces of paper were genuine stamps as aforesaid to enter into said agreement hereinafter found and to pay as hereinafter found the sum of Sixty-five Thousand Dollars (\$65,000.00) and each and every part thereof, and if plaintiff had known that said pieces of paper were not genuine Hawaiian Missionary stamps or that any of the statements and representation of defendant was not true he would not have entered into said agreement and would not have paid said sum or any part thereof to defendant....

(7) Plaintiff did not discover that said pieces of paper were forgeries or imitations until on or about December 15, 1919, and at all times during the negotiations which preceded the entering into of the agreement hereinbefore referred to by the plaintiff and defendant and until on or about December 15, 1919, plaintiff believed as hereinbefore found that the pieces of paper sold and delivered to him by defendant as hereinbefore found were genuine Hawaiian Missionary postage stamps of the issue and variety afore-

Grinnell Missionaries

said. Plaintiff did not ascertain until subsequent to December 15, 1919, that defendant's representation and statement that said 43 pieces of paper had been given to him by a man from Massachusetts whose father had been a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands sometime during the years 1850 to 1860 was untrue. Defendant did not in selling said pieces of paper to plaintiff or during all negotiations with plaintiff for said sale refrain from affirming or warranting that said pieces of paper were genuine postage stamps nor did defendant expressly or otherwise or at all refuse to so affirm or warrant but on the contrary during such negotiations at the time of and as apart of the agreement for such sale defendant expressly warranted and affirmed to plaintiff that said pieces of paper were genuine postage stamps of the variety and issue aforesaid and in agreeing to sell and in selling said 43 pieces of paper as hereinbefore found plaintiff and defendant did warrant to plaintiff that said 43 pieces of paper were genuine postage stamps of the variety and issue aforesaid and plaintiff and defendant intended that the words in said written agreement of December 1, 1919, to-wit, the words "43 postage stamps known as 'Hawaiian Missionaries'" should and said words did and do constitute a warranty that said 43 pieces of paper were genuine postage stamps of the issue and variety known as Hawaiian Missionaries and plaintiff and defendant intended that said warranties should and said warranties did operate as a condition of said sale of said 43 pieces of paper....

Conclusions of Law

As conclusions of law from the foregoing findings of fact, the court finds:

(1) That plaintiff is entitled to recover of and from defendant the sum of Sixty-five Thousand Dollars (\$65,000.00) together with interest at the rate of 7% per annum on One Thousand Dollars (\$1000.00) thereof from December 1, 1919, and on Twenty-five Thousand Dollars (\$25,000.00) thereof from December 3, 1919, and on Thirty-nine Thousand Dollars (\$39,000.00) thereof from December 5, 1919, less the sum of Five Thousand Dollars (\$5000.00) and interest thereon at the rate of seven percent (7%) per annum from December 26, 1919.

(2) That upon payment of the judgment hereby ordered defendant is entitled to the delivery to him of the forty-three pieces of paper referred to in the Findings of Fact herein.

(3) That plaintiff is entitled to recover of and from said defendant plaintiff's costs and disbursements herein.

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

Let judgment and decree be entered in accordance herewith.

Dated this 27th day of November, 1922.

(Signed) J.P. Wood

Judge of the Superior Court

On June 30, 1922, the day after the decision was handed down, Mr. Grinnell came to the office of Mr. Charles J. Goodman in Los Angeles and asked him to see me as he wanted to settle with me and would make every restitution possible. He said he would turn over to me all the funds he had and give notes for the balance due on the judgment which he was unable to pay. This statement was made in the presence of a witness.

On December 22, 1922 my attorney wired me as follows:

“**** Attorney for Grinnell is making overtures for settlement and if they become definite I believe they will be satisfactory.”

Again on December 26th—

“It is possible Grinnell will offer settlement on basis of turning over funds at Los Angeles Trust Co. and give notes for balance of judgment *** We would earnestly recommend such a settlement.”

And later on December 30th—

“The property covered by the trust created by Grinnell consists of *** Grinnell willing to turn over everything for full release ***.”

I believe this refutes in toto Mr. Grinnell’s statement that I offered him an advantageous settlement which to his mind would indicate that I was not very confident of what the result might be if the case were taken to a higher court. At this point it may be timely to state that Mr. Lawler, the trial attorney, withdrew from the case and final settlement was effected by a new attorney.

The record shows that Mr. Grinnell sold me 43 stamps and at the time of the sale agreed to sell me all that he had; this was one of the conditions precedent, but on my first return to Los Angeles late in December 1919 I learned that Grinnell had given to S.L. Wood two single copies of the 2¢ value on one piece of paper to sell or trade after he heard I had disposed of mine. These were taken over by the Secret Service and produced in court by Mr. Lawler, Grinnell’s attorney, but of the twenty-six additional copies

Grinnell Missionaries

nothing was known till recently, when Mr. Grinnell announced that he now has seventy-one copies!

In conclusion I wish to say that there is absolutely no doubt regarding the falsity of these Grinnell stamps as the paper on which they were printed was made by a process not known or invented prior to 1870, many years after the Hawaiian Missionaries had been printed and used, and become obsolete.



*Hawaiian Missionary Stamp
accepted as genuine*

Courtesy National Postal Museum

In Re Grinnell

by Calvet M. Hahn

(Copyrighted article printed courtesy of The United States Stamp Society. This article appeared in *The United States Specialist*, June 2002, pages 245-55.)

The subject of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionaries has been simmering for years and began to boil about a decade ago. It recently spilled over into print with the *Linn's* report of March 11, 2002 that a selection of the Grinnell find was going to the Royal Philatelic Society for expertization. *Linn's* also reproduced a report by forgery expert Varro Tyler on the subject and illustrated several of the Grinnells.

The burst of publicity presents an excellent opportunity to illustrate the differences among stamp collectors, philatelists and postal historians and why the difference is important. The discussion of this subject in no way prejudices the evaluation of the material or the arguments on both sides of the question of the genuineness of the Grinnell find. First, some undisputed facts.

The Grinnell missionaries first surfaced circa 1918 when Henry Grinnell, a Los Angeles school-teacher, collector and part-time dealer claimed to have obtained from Henry Shattuck of Pepperell, Mass. a selection of 43 Hawaiian missionary stamps that had been in the possession of an ancestor who died in 1856. Famed New York dealer John Klemann learned of them in November, 1919 through S.L. Wood, who claimed a \$500 finder's fee, and negotiated a 30 day payment contract December 1, 1919 for the 43 Missionaries offered by Grinnell (eleven 2¢, nine 5¢ and fifteen 13¢, plus eight damaged examples, supposedly all there were according to the contract). Klemann contracted to pay \$65,000.00 for them in 30 days time on December 1, 1919, and to finance the purchase immediately offered 17 of them to Alfred Caspary, who had backed the purchase, for \$75,000.

Caspary studied the stamps and compared them with examples in his collection, and concluded the Grinnells were forgeries, based upon differences in the cancellations from the genuine examples in his own holding, and returned them to Klemann. The Caspary sales showed that he had twelve reference copies out of the almost 200 acknowledged Missionary stamps now known to exist (197, of which 16 are 2¢, 63 5¢ and 116 13¢, many of which have surfaced since the Grinnell trial). The total also includes six stamps on piece and 32 on 28 covers according to the census in

Grinnell Missionaries

the *Honolulu Advertiser* sale catalog.¹

Probably at Klemann's instigation, the U.S. Secret Service seized the Grinnells, marked them and held them until the trial in which Klemann sued Grinnell in California for the return of his monies. The trial began in Los Angeles May 21, 1922. The trial involved expert witness testimony from philatelic luminaries such as Charles J. Philips, Manuel Galvez and Bertram W.H. Poole. During the trial Grinnell held he knew nothing about stamps, the material was offered "as is," and that because Klemann was an expert, the contract should fall under the *caveat emptor* rule.² Judge Wood held the Grinnell contract was for genuine stamps and that Grinnell knew the stamps offered were "only pieces of paper," ruled in favor of Klemann and awarded him \$73,125 damages. The disputed stamps were returned to Grinnell, who promptly announced an additional portion of the find.

For the next fifteen months, Grinnell came up with various affidavits alleging that what he offered were genuine Missionaries, and surprisingly, that the total of the find was actually 71 stamps. Subsequently, Varro Tyler in 1996 suggested there may be even 60 more Grinnells.³ Klemann rebutted the stamps' genuineness in a detailed article in the November, 1924 *American Philatelist*, which laid out the reasons why he held the stamps were photographically produced forgeries.⁴ He never charged Grinnell with making them. At the trial and over the subsequent decades, a number of philatelic parties have commented upon the Grinnells and what they might be.

The *Scott Specialized* notes the Missionaries were typeset on unwatermarked pelure paper in 1851-52 under a government decree of June, 1851. The Hawaiian postmaster Henry W. Whitney had the stamps printed in cold metallic blue ink at the offices of the official government newspaper, the *Polynesian*, in Honolulu, and they were first released October 1, 1851. They were the only stamps until the Kamehameha III series of May 1853, which were engraved in Boston. Of the recorded Missionary covers, seven (25%) are late use examples. These include ones of 9/10, 10/12 and 10/21/53 as well as 1/19, 7/12 and an unknown date in 1854, with a very late use of 3/5/56.

There are four philatelic areas which any philatelist needs to understand and about which stamp collectors would be advised to have some familiarity. These are a) ink (both printing and cancellation), b) paper, c) printing methods and 4) gum. Klemann's article held the Grinnells failed to match genuine examples in all four areas. It remains to be seen if the

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

Royal finds the Grinnells meet any or all of these four philatelic tests.

The Ink Argument

While the average collector cannot judge without seeing the actual stamps, it is alleged that the hue of the Grinnell stamps differs from known genuine Missionaries and that difference needs to be explained away by anyone maintaining they are genuine. The average stamp collector is not trained to judge the ink, and no philatelist not seeing the actual Grinnells or having good color photographic reference copies of them available can decide if their shade matches the cold metallic blue hue of the accepted Missionaries. Klemann, Caspary and others who did make a comparison maintain that it doesn't match any of the known printings. A similar problem exists with the Hawaiian cancellation shade found on the Grinnells. The best photos I have seen of a Grinnell do suggest a difference in the blue stamp ink and the red cancellation ink from what is found on genuine examples. While natural indigo was an ink ingredient possibility at the time of the Missionaries (it was expensive), most blue inks of the period used lapis lazuli, a mineral which was crushed and which leaves fine granules in the printing ink observable under magnification. New examination of the Grinnells may show if the blue is a synthetic ink as was alleged, such as nigrosine blue (not invented before 1867), alizarin blue (discovered 1877), artificial indigo (introduced 1879) or methylene blue (not used before 1887). Should tests show any of these components in the Grinnell blue, it would be clear the Grinnells were forgeries of a later date.



*Hawaiian Missionary Stamp
accepted as genuine*

Courtesy National Postal Museum

Grinnell Missionaries

Paper and Gum Argument

The Missionary stamps are known to be on a thin pelure tissue-type paper, prone to tears, that when gummed is quite brittle and easily damaged when attempts are made to remove the stamps from a cover. So, the vast majority (90%) of genuine Missionaries are faulty and 60% are repaired today. This Missionary stamp paper is not the India (actually China) paper used for proofs that was introduced to the West in the 1750s. India or Bible paper on the other hand was an opaque, thin tough paper first introduced to Europe in 1841 from an unknown Eastern source and was first used for the Oxford Bible printing in 1875. The Missionary stamp paper is a transparent fragile tissue type paper, quite a different thing from the late Bible paper.

It was Klemann's contention that the Grinnells were not on the same paper as the accepted Missionaries but on a paper that had not been invented or used prior to 1870. A number of new papers were introduced beginning during the Civil War, and if the Grinnells were on any of them, this would again be evidence for considering them fakes, as these new papers were produced by production processes not available in the 1851-1856 period of the issuance of the Missionaries and the Grinnells.

While there are no unused examples of the Missionaries upon which original gum can be certified to be original (most are repaired or now without gum), it is possible to compare the Grinnell gum with the original gum found on the subsequent Hawaiian 1853 Kamehameha III issue. One of the problems with the Grinnells is that there are a number of supposedly original gum undamaged Grinnell stamps, without adequate explanation of how they arrived in the find. Why would anyone ship the mint stamps to either California or Massachusetts when they cannot be used there, particularly the 2¢ value which was designed for newspaper mails? This particularly applies to the 2¢ Type I and II pair being submitted to the Royal, which have the settings reversed from known genuine items. Also, how were the cancelled Grinnells gotten off cover without damage similar to that on the accepted Missionaries?

Printing Method Argument

The accepted Missionary stamps were typeset one denomination at a time using two slightly different clichés of each value with the numerals and words of value being shifted each time so that there are known to be four settings of each with eight identifiable designs. No Grinnells of the 4th setting (H.I. and U.S. Postage Paid) are reported.... Stock type ornaments are used in all eight designs and they show very little change

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

between the settings. As each letter and ornament was a separate square piece of type there was no overlap in design. Galvez, one of the expert witnesses and a printer himself, pointed out that the Grinnells show overlaps in the square ornament design area that are not possible in typeset printings but which could be present in photo-engraving, a process not available before the 1870s...). George Linn, also a printer, in editorials held the Grinnells were also typographed; I don't know if he detailed his reasoning or gives an explanation for the reversed settings on the Grinnell pairs or the lack of a Type II small "n" in the 5¢ Grinnell pair and singles of Type II.

Galvez also noted that when photoengraving is done great care need be taken to be sure the acid used to produce a relief plate does not remove more than is desired, particularly in the centers of letters, and that an excess removal of surface is characteristic of the Grinnell lettering, indicating that a photoengraving process was used to produce them. Some 26 letter and six block ornament comparisons between the accepted Missionaries and the Grinnells were presented at the trial to document the differences between the two printing processes used. Any conclusion that the Grinnells are genuine needs to explain the difference in printing processes and how a process not available for two decades after the Missionaries was involved. George Linn, the only other printer to have commented upon the genuineness of the Grinnells does not seem to have addressed this point.

Among the cancellation or killer types found on Grinnells (44 illustrated; 13 unused) in either the *Collectors Club Philatelist*⁵ or Linn's, both the "Hawaiian Islands" (9 known on genuine; 6 on Grinnells) and the "U.S. Postage Paid" (18 known on genuine; 11 on Grinnells) are seen, while only the 7-bar small killer (49 known on genuine; 10 on Grinnells) was used. There seem to be at least three types of this grid found on accepted Missionaries. There was a thick center bar version (Caspary lots 2 and 8), which was the most common, a thin center bar version (Advertiser sale Census 4-II-CAN 166), and a more evenly spaced bar grid (Census 2-II-CAN 59 and 4-II-CAN 165). A version where the three center bars seem to join may be an illusion created by too flowing ink. In his testimony, Galvez discussed the "U.S. Postage Paid" cancellation as having been made in at least three if not four steps as compared with a single step strike of the original. The argument is weak as most circular date stamps have insert plugs for the month and the day and these plugs may not always be inserted properly and different inserts can be used with different spacing....

Grinnell Missionaries



*Hawaiian Missionary Stamp
accepted as genuine.*

Ex Burrus, Ostheimer III and Honolulu Advertiser. Courtesy Siegel Auction Galleries

Postal History Argument

Postal historians tend to focus upon rates, routes and contemporary postal practices. There are not rate questions regarding the Grinnells, as the only piece fits a known 13¢ rate that ended April 1, 1855. However, there are no known covers paying this rate with other than a 13¢ stamp. In routes, the ships that carried the accepted Missionary covers are known for almost every date (24 dates), with the *Advertiser* sale yielding eight further dates and the ships recorded for the subsequent issue (1853 up to 9/4/56). Other catalogs yield additional cancellation dates with sailing records during the Missionary period (five in 1852, seven in 1853, four in 1854 and five in 1855). The Grinnells are recorded with cancellations dated 1/7 and 1/17, 2/5 and 2/17, 3/1, 3/5, 3/7 (on piece), 3/14, 3/15 and with the day slug missing. None of these match the reported known sailings. To be considered genuine, the Grinnell cancellation dates need to be matched with ship sailings, which are available.

It is significant to note the March 1 “Hawaiian Islands” CDS on the pair of the 2¢ Grinnells. This piece has to be dated no later than March, 1853, for this CDS has a break by July 3rd of that year. It means the Grinnells cannot be maintained to be an unknown genuine late printing. If they are held to be a particular early printing, why are no examples found on other finds? A second problem with this March dated pair is the trial testimony by a handwriting expert that the stamps were applied to the paper before cancellation, as traces of the cancellation ink was visible on the (bottom) edge of the paper, which would not have happened if the paper had

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

been cut from an envelope after the stamp were cancelled ...).

A critical postal history view is the time frame involved. Neither the accepted Missionaries nor the Grinnells are alleged to date outside the 1851-1856 period, with Mr. Grinnell testifying the Grinnells were reportedly discovered in the possession of Shattuck's mother, who died in 1856. Mr. Shattuck's father was claimed to be a missionary in Hawaii in the 1850s and supposedly sent these home on letters along with an even dollar's worth of unused stamps purchased at the post office. There is a problem, however, with this discovery story.

In the Lindquist July, 1922 account of the trial, Mr. Grinnell clearly stated he obtained the Grinnells from Mr. Shattuck, who obtained them from an old chest of his mother's in which they were stored and who refused payment for them although a small sum (\$5) was left and accepted. Shattuck had died by the time of the trial. In sworn testimony Shattuck's son and daughter stated it was impossible for Mr. Shattuck to give the stamps, as his mother's possessions had been destroyed in a previous fire. Subsequent to the trial they recanted this testimony in an affidavit stating the trunk was subsequently discovered, but this "explanation" does not impeach Mrs. Shattuck's devastating deposition at the trial that she knew the trunk well, went into it two or more times every week as it was where she stored laundry, and where her husband stored cigars, and that there were no stamps in it and no psalm book or prayer book. Mr. Grinnell also accepted a contract to turn over all the Grinnells after the trial! This raises questions about this testimony, while the "payment" to Shattuck seems to fall under the subsequent Bartels case ruling on fraud.



*Hawaiian Missionary Stamp
accepted as genuine.*

Courtesy National Postal Museum

Grinnell Missionaries

Philatelic History

Following the trial, the descendants of the owners attempted to clear their forefathers' names and sought documentation to support the genuineness of the Grinnells. According to Varro Tyler in a 1996 *Linn's* article, the first serious challenge arose in 1942 when Y. Souren examined ten Grinnells and found them to be genuine. Souren was an advocate of scientific methodology in examining stamps and was the man who certified the now proven fake Knapp shift to be genuine as part of his Philatelic Research Laboratories study. Next was *Gossip* editor Harry Weiss who in 1950 examined several Grinnells supplied by Herbert Sterling, an early California stamp collector supporter of the authenticity of the Grinnells, and who supposedly looked at the stamps under UV and infra-red and called them genuine. This report interested George Linn who then obtained all but a few from the family and created a photographic record of all 71. In his 12/8/52 report, Linn stated the Grinnells "are just as genuine as any other of the known Missionary stamps." He held the paper, ink, and cancellations were identical to the genuine and the stamps were "printed from the same type or reproduced by some form of reproduction from the original type forms." On December 24, 1954, Linn reversed his opinion and wrote Kleemann that "I do believe the Grinnells are faked."

About this point in time, stamp expert Stanley Ashbrook, who died in 1958, interjected that the stamps were forgeries because some examples had a Honolulu postmark he believed counterfeit. However, I don't record that he actually examined a Grinnell. Also, Henry A. Meyer, a specialist on steamboat covers among other things, wrote his "Condensed Report on the Grinnell Missionaries" dated July 20, 1954. He stated, in an as yet unanswered argument,

It is sometimes argued that the Grinnells are a different printing. Would any reasonable person believe that all the rest of the world got the other printings, and the Shattucks alone got every known copy of this printing?

Beginning around 1970, two major collectors, Alfred Ostheimer and Thurston Twigg-Smith began accumulating the most impressive holding of Missionaries ever put together. This collection went to auction as the *Honolulu Advertiser* holding 1995. Both men had the chance to examine some 60 Grinnells, supplied by the descendants and concluded that they were,

...all perfect-too perfect, having the crisp printing characteristics of the lot 32 forgery (an item obtained by Twigg-Smith from Justin Bacharach, who claimed to be selling it on the behalf of a descendant)

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

rather than the irregularities and fuzziness depicted in Linn's photos.

Bacharach has been involved in a number of controversial philatelic items and I discussed one of his misrepresentations on page 343 of the November, 1994 *Collectors Club Philatelist*. Tyler quoted Twigg-Smith as stating,

Every large numeral (of the Grinnells) is of a different font from those used to print the real ones and there are numerous other differences. They were good forgeries. But the paper is clearly not identical, the ink is not identical and the cancels are not identical.

Tyler bought the lot 32 forgery in the *Advertiser* sale.... He illustrated five differences from the Linn photograph of a 13¢ Grinnell; however, the *Linn's* photograph also differs in substantial ways from those photographs of the Type I Grinnells illustrated in the 1922 Lindquist article. For example, the lot 12 Type I forgery has a wide space between the ampersands at bottom and the "C" of "Cents," which is not found on the Linn-photographed Type I 13¢ Grinnell. However, both narrow and wide spacing are found on the genuine Missionaries, with Type I having wide spacing and Type II having narrow spacing (lots 22-23 and the Dawson cover, lot 29, in *Advertiser* sale). It would appear that the *Advertiser* sale lot 32 is a new forgery made based upon the genuine Missionary Type I spacing. If its provenance as a Grinnell is accepted, then Tyler is right; there are even more Grinnells than believed and new ones may have been created.

In his posthumous article in the March 18, 2002 *Linn's*, Tyler stated that a forger would have had to possess genuine examples to fake the Grinnells prior to 1918. I would question his conclusions based upon this argument. On June 2, 1896, the London firm of Stanley Gibbons sent a damaged 13¢ Missionary to forger Samuel Singer for "repair." he had earlier satisfactorily repaired two Missionaries sent him July 17, 1895 as noted by a Gibbons letter of July 24, 1895 as well as a 5¢ and 13¢ sent him December 28, 1894. How many other repair artists were also involved in repairing Missionary stamps is unknown, but there must have been some for the number of restored genuine stamps known today. Further, at least three photographs of Missionaries had been published by the 1918 date: one in *Mekeel's*, and the others in the 1898 *Kohl Handbook* series and the 1901 *Catalog for Advanced Collectors*.

As to forgery suspects, there is a well-known forger of Hawaiian material, Brewster Cox Kenyon, president of the Kenyon Land Company of Long Beach, California, who began producing forgeries by 1892 and who lived until the 1940s at least. Mr. Kenyon is known for his forgeries

Grinnell Missionaries

of the overprints of the 1893 Hawaiian provisionals, according to Sell-schopp's *Filatelic Facts and Fallacies*. Kenyon is also known to have attempted to buy the peculiar kind of paper used in printing Hawaiian stamps, a critical point. However, he is perhaps best known to U.S. collectors for his forgery of the 90¢ 1869 inverts. He claimed to have found Chinese essays in Hawaii that are known to be fake and operated as a forger in a number of other philatelic fields such as U.S. Departments, state revenues, franks and Confederates.

In the year 2000, the Grinnell/Shattuck heirs proposed a new line of reasoning. Abandoning the discovery story narrated by Grinnell at the time, they now propose that a Shattuck family friend, Mrs. Ursula Emerson, had a son who worked for the Hawaiian postmaster around the time the stamps were printed and this may be how the Grinnells came to America. Supposedly Mrs. Emerson's handwriting or something similar is found on the back of the 13¢ rate piece.

In sum, for the Grinnells to be genuine, a new different printing is required, all 71, 90 (a rumored Grinnell total) or 131 examples (a total suggested by Tyler) of which are Grinnells. The cancelled stamps would have had to be sent on a series of ships not yet recorded in Hawaiian correspondence that I've seen published. This new printing would have had to have different shaped individual type fonts to allow for the "overlapping" documented by Klemann and be made up differently from known originals as to the sheet position of the Type I and Type II examples, the correct relative position of which was not reported until the Dawson find and incorrectly noted in the earlier Tapling write-ups. An explanation of the different papers, gums, and probable inks would also be needed. It will be interesting to see if the Royal experts will buy this argument.

References

1. Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries, Inc. Sale 769, November 7-11, 1995
2. A different philatelic version of this argument was the later 1928 *Troughton vs. Bartels* case, which held that when a knowing buyer deals with an ignorant seller, an offer of less than 10% of value is fraudulent.
3. Varro E. Tyler, "Could there be more Grinnell Missionaries?" *Linn's Stamps News*, April 29, 1996, p. 68.
4. John A. Klemann, "Res Adjudicata," *The American Philatelist*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (November, 1924), pp. 63-74.
5. H.L. Lindquist, *Collectors Club Philatelist*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July, 1922), pp. 88-99.



Accepted genuine 13-cent Hawaiian Missionary stamp on cover

Ex the Christian H. Aull Collection. Courtesy Siegel Auction Galleries

The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps: Addressing the Critics – Results of Scientific Research and Discoveries in Provenance*

Vincent Arrigo and Carol Arrigo

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The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps were found by George H. Grinnell... in Los Angeles in 1918. They were given to him by Charles B. Shattuck, who inherited the stamps from his mother, Hannah Child Shattuck. Hannah had corresponded with Hawaiian missionary Ursula Newell Emerson.¹

Grinnell sold 43 of his stamps in 1920 and a lawsuit regarding their authenticity followed two years later.² At the trial several philatelists testified that the Grinnell stamps were made by photoengraving rather than by letterpress with moveable type, as the certified stamps had been made. Also, there was no known provenance for the Grinnell stamps at that time. The testimony, and the lack of provenance, undoubtedly influenced the judge in making his decision against George Grinnell.

In 1927, George Grinnell gave approximately one-half of his Missionary stamps back to descendants of Charles B. Shattuck.

After the trial in Los Angeles, Grinnell continued to research his stamps. Progress was slow in those days as it was difficult to document a provenance, to prove that the stamps were typeset printed and that the paper and ink were of an early 19th century manufacture. It was also difficult to overcome rigid opposition to Grinnell stamps, as it has continued to be for the descendants of George Grinnell and Charles Shattuck. George Grinnell died in 1949.

As our research continued, opponents of the stamps published in philatelic books, magazines and other professional publications, steadfastly maintaining that the Grinnell stamps were not genuine, basically because they differ slightly, typographically, from the certified stamps. The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps have not been officially certified nor have they been officially declared forgeries.

The most active critic of the Grinnell stamps today devotes a section of his philatelic web site to the Grinnells. His arguments are predominantly

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

an echo of those of 80 years past, in which characteristics of the Grinnell stamps and their accompanying postmarks, which are somewhat different from the officially certified stamps and postmarks, and the claim that the Grinnell Stamps were made by photoengravage, form the basis for his assertion that they are not genuine.³

We will address these characteristics, but first let us emphasize that we are studying stamps of typography, not engraved stamps. Stamps printed from moveable type and made from more than one printing, as the Grinnells were, do have typographical variations. Therefore, one might accurately say that typographical variations in typeset printed stamps are a hallmark of authenticity, not an indication of forgery.

In November 1924, John Klemann wrote an article in *The American Philatelist* asserting that the Grinnells were made by photoengravage, and that the paper of the stamps was not available until well after the Missionary stamps were printed. He wrote, "In conclusion I wish to say that there is absolutely no doubt regarding the falsity of these Grinnell stamps as the paper on which they were printed was made by a process not known or invented prior to 1870, many years after the Hawaiian Missionaries had been printed and used, and become obsolete." Later, Henry Meyer wrote a chapter in *Hawaii, Its Stamps and Postal History*, and Stanley Ashbrook wrote an article in the October 15, 1957 *Stamps Magazine*, both supporting Klemann's contention that the Grinnells were the product of photoengravage. This literature has resided in the philatelic archives for many years.⁴

On July 20, 1954, Henry Meyer wrote to a friend of Grinnell stating that he had examined the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps and had concluded, among other things: "1. The Grinnells are printed from a different typeface than the other (certified) copies. 2. The paper is very different. It is thin and soft, where it should be thin and brittle. 3. The paper responds very differently to ultra-violet light than the paper of the other Missionaries. 4. The ink is a different color entirely. 5. The ink gives an entirely different fluorescence than the other Missionaries."⁵

In recent years, modern laboratory equipment, sophisticated forensic techniques and the efforts of a master printer have enabled us to examine the stamps in ways previously not possible. We also researched the archives of the Bishop Museum and The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, both in Honolulu, and both which provided a wealth of missionary correspondence and records pertinent to the provenance of the Grinnell stamps.

Grinnell Missionaries

Research Results: Paper and Ink

On November 18, 2000, 76 years after John Klemann wrote about the Grinnells, Dr. Gene Hall, Professor of Chemistry at Rutgers University and document examiner, studied seven Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps in his laboratory using two state-of-the-art, non-destructive analytical methods: energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence, and micro Raman spectroscopy. Dr. Hall determined the chemical and elemental composition of the paper and ink of the stamps and the pieces to which some stamps are affixed. In addition, he analyzed two certified genuine Hawaiian postmarks on cover: *HONOLULU * HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, known as Meyer/Harris (M/H) #236.11, and * HONOLULU * U.S. Postage Paid, M/H #236.05.

The results of the analyses are as follows:

“The blue ink on all of the stamps presented was made from the blue pigment, Prussian blue. In addition, the blue ink was mixed with lampblack to darken the color. This was a common practice of printers in the 1800’s.

“The red ink circular postmark on Grinnell stamps and the certified genuine red ink circular postmarks on cover, although of different hues, were (both) made from the red pigment, vermilion (HgS).

“The paper used for the stamps was sized with paper maker’s alum (AIKSO₄). This sizing was typical of paper manufactured and used in 1850. The brown paper envelopes to which (some of the) stamps were affixed, contained lead chromate. This chemical was commonly used in the 1800’s as a coloring agent for brown paper.

“In summary:

1. All of the inks on the stamps, cancellations and papers contained only pigments that were in use in the 1850’s.
2. The ink of the certified genuine postmarks, M/H 236.11 and M/H 236.05 both on cover, has the same chemical composition as the ink in the circular cancels on the Grinnell Stamps.
3. No modern pigments such as aniline and coal tar dyes were detected in any of the stamps, cancellations, postmarks or paper.
4. No modern paper fillers, such as TiO₂ and CaCO₃ were detected in any of the stamps, cancellations, postmarks or paper.”

Dr. Hall wrote,

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

“Based on elemental and chemical analyses I conclude that there is a ‘match’ between the genuine postmark on cover and the postmark on the Grinnell Stamps. I also conclude that, based on elemental and chemical analyses, the stamps and their various cancellations contain no chemical or elemental properties which are inconsistent with the premise of manufacture in 1851.”⁶

On July 3, 2001, the British Library in London, through the courtesy of David Beech, Curator and Head of Philatelic Collections, hosted a chemical analysis of its Hawaiian Missionary stamps of the Tapling Collection and concurrent analyses of Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps. The chemical analyses were performed by Dr. Tracy Chaplin and Dr. Greg Smith, Ingold Laboratories, University College London, to ascertain whether identical inks and paper were used in the manufacture of these stamps. The Tapling Collection stamps have been held by the British Library since 1892 and are known to be genuine Hawaiian Missionary stamps. Dr. Gene Hall attended this meeting and his analysis states,

“Micro Raman Spectroscopy (MRS) was the method used for the analyses of the Grinnells and the Taplings. A Renishaw system 1000 with a He/Ne laser was the excitation source for the Raman spectra. The laser was focused onto the sample with the aid of an Olympus microscope with 50x objective. The laser power at the sample was approximately 7mW.

“Photomicrographs of ultramarine blue particles were found to be embedded in the paper of both the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps. The manufacturer of the paper added these particles in order to brighten the apparent whiteness of the paper. The photomicrographs show marked similarity between the ultramarine blue particles in the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and those in the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps. The particle sizes, as well as the number of particles per unit area, in the paper of the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and in the paper in the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps are consistent, suggesting that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps were printed on paper from the same manufacturer.

“No coal tar (aniline dye) based inks were detected in any of the Tapling Missionaries or Grinnell Missionaries.

“1. All of the chemical compounds identified in the ink, cancellations/postmarks and pigments in the paper are consistent with those used in the 1850’s. 2. Prussian blue, one of the chemical components in the blue

Grinnell Missionaries

ink formulations, was identified and detected in both the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps.

3. Components in each of the red and black inks of the postmarks/cancellations were consistently found in all stamps analyzed, Grinnell Stamps and Tapling Stamps, wherein such postmarks/cancellations were present.
4. The ultramarine blue pigment detected in the paper of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps is the same compound that was detected in the paper of the Tapling Hawaiian Missionary Stamps tested.

“Moreover, the commonality of a rare paper used in the stamps analyzed would not be anticipated if the stamps had been printed at a different time or place. Based on this comparison and the combination of the above similar features, we conclude that it is likely that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and the Hawaiian Missionary Stamps of the Tapling Collection came from a single manufacturing source.”⁷

The use of modern, highly advanced analytical laboratory equipment has proved that some philatelists, during the last 80 years, made serious mistakes in the allegations about the paper and ink of the Grinnells. They published this erroneous information, which remains in philatelic archives today. One must ask how they arrived at such absolute conclusions without benefit of appropriately sophisticated analytical testing facilities.



An attached pair of 13-cent Grinnell Missionaries

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

Research Results: Typography

In 1982 and 1983, the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps were studied by Keith Cordrey, Master Printer and student of 19th century printing technology. Mr Cordrey produced two lengthy reports, comprising 64 pages of technically detailed data, after a full year of research. We believe it is important to quote excerpts from Mr. Cordrey's conclusions here, as we wish to leave no doubt that the Grinnell Stamps were typeset printed.

Mr. Cordrey wrote,

“The quality of print in the 1850's left much to be desired. Available labor often might have been poorly skilled as compositors and pressmen, and sometimes one person served in both capacities. This resulted in lack of uniformity of typeset composition, irregular lockups, the use of damaged and worn type characters, face damaged brass rule and poor form justification. These factors make it possible for the knowledgeable printer to determine, by examining individual stamps, whether the stamps were printed at various times or all at one time. This is true for each denomination for each type.

“All of the stamps of the Grinnell Collection were examined. They were printed by the letterpress process, using a platen type press. All stamps were printed from typeset forms as evidenced by slight impressions on the reverse side of unmounted stamps.

“It is important to note that a small proportion of the type characters in the Grinnell Stamps are damaged, and all are worn. Due to the inaccuracies in hand tooling of the type matrices [manufacturer's type face] in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, there is a variation in size, alignment and typeface character of many letters and numerals. Such variations can be spotted easily by a trained craftsman, much as a broken typewriter character can be identified.

“The philatelist should know that in the type foundry business, since the invention of moveable type, duplication of popular type faces has occurred world-wide, especially during the 19th and 20th centuries, when hundreds of designs of type were in use, manufactured by type foundries on five continents. Many of these designs were close to being like, but not identical to, the original design. When a new type design such as Corvinus by Bauer of Germany was made, the first prints were copyrighted and often trademarked in many countries. If the new type design became a 'best seller' among advertisers, publishers, and printers, as did Corvinus, other type founders would duplicate the design almost immediately, incor-

Grinnell Missionaries

porating sufficient variations to avoid court penalties for infringement of registered trademark law.

“There were few printers who...had not purchased duplication fonts of type when the price was lower than the originally copyrighted type or to replace worn or broken type. If the alignment of the original fonts and the duplicate fonts were similar, printers placed these fonts in the same type case. Thus, one saw a mix of typefaces, made by different manufacturers, in poor to average grade ‘hand set’ [printed material]. It is little wonder, therefore, that there were mixed fonts of type in the type cases of several early Hawaiian print shops. This produced typographical variations in general printed matter of the day and in the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps.”⁸

Examples of similar, but not identical, versions of specific type fonts from different type founders can be seen in the denomination numerals “2” and “5” and in the fancy filigree borders used on the Grinnell and certified stamps. These type impressions on the Grinnells are slightly different than those seen on the certified stamps. Examples of the numerals used on the Grinnell Missionaries can be seen in the 1837 catalog of type founder Thorowgood of London Illustrations of the fancy filigree borders like those used in the Grinnell stamps can be seen in *Specimens of Printing Type Cast by George Bruce and Company*, New York, 1848.

Some of the numeral and fancy filigree print on the Grinnell stamps has slightly different characteristics than those seen on the certified stamps. However, some of the characters on Grinnells and on certified stamps appear to have been printed by the same piece of type.⁹

The letters and numerals which appear to have been made by the same pieces of type on some Grinnells and on some certified stamps are:

Letter “C” in the work “Cents”

Letter “g” in the word “Postage”

Letter “P” in the word “Postage”

Letter “t” in the word “Postage”

Letter “w” in the word “Hawaiian”

Numerals “1” and “3” in denomination number “13.”

It is well known that a number of certified stamps are to a small or larger extent repaired. In some cases this has caused them to be typographically different from Grinnell stamps. None of the Grinnell stamps have

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

been repaired or altered for enhancement.

Because of several printings of Grinnell stamps, in which fonts made by different type founders were used, we see Missionary stamps with slightly different typographical impressions, as well as with some identical impressions.

Over the years, much criticism has been directed toward the fancy filigree border on the Grinnell Missionary stamps because the impressions are slightly different than those on the certified stamps. Mr. Cordrey continues,

“An examination of ornament spacing on all three denominations of stamps indicated that the ornamental type characters were not butted in all cases. Some were letter spaced slightly, others were ‘shaved’ in order to hold tightly the denomination type characters when the form was locked up. This spacing varied with some stamps. The ‘shaving’ to improve the fit or type in the stamp form, and the use of worn type, produced typographical characteristics, which are different than the certified stamps. Further, a type form could require several lockup tries to be certain that the form would lift from the lockup stone, without type and spacing material falling out. These procedures could result in several variations in the fancy filigree border.”

Prominent typographical flaws in the ornamental filigree border, [and on the upper left vertical hairline rule] appear on all denominations of the Type II Grinnell stamps, and similar flaws appear on all Type II certified stamps. We must assume then, that there is a typographical relationship of portions of the basic type forms, and that they were used to print all the stamps, Grinnells and certified, with numerous changes in individual characters.¹⁰

In his conclusion Mr. Cordrey wrote,

“I can state that these Grinnell Stamps were printed, in several lots and at different times, from one basic stamp form [pair of clichés] and that this form had several changes made to it in type characters and rule borders. All stamps [examined] were printed with different lockups. The variations in the stamp spacing of ornaments, type lines and border corner justification, leads me to think that three to five separate press runs were used to print the stamps.”¹¹

There are some interesting correlations between the printing of the Plain Border Numeral Issues of August 1, 1859 and the printing of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionaries. Dr. Herbert Munk wrote in the Meyer/Harris book,

Grinnell Missionaries

“The Numeral Issues were also of a primitive production in locally typeset form. The forms of 2 x 5 subjects were printed five times, side by side, on each sheet of paper, exactly as the early ‘Missionary’ stamps were printed from the small form many times on a sheet. The change of denominations was also accomplished by simply changing the figures and inscription of value in the ten subjects... As a result of the long use of the type set forms, the thin inner frame lines did not hold up... A certain large figure 2 which is easily recognized because of a queer flattening of the arch of its back, recurs in every 2 cent printing from 1859 through 1865.” [Perhaps it was a numeral from a different type founder’s font.]¹²

Theory Based on Documented Evidence

We have long been interested in the fact that the type used to print the Grinnell and certified Hawaiian Missionary stamps in 1851 can be found only in *The Seaman’s Friend*, printed by Reverend Damon, either at the *Polynesian* (location of the Government Printing Office) or at his press across the street from the *Polynesian*.

On page 106 in the Meyer/Harris book Doctor Gill wrote,

“In 1843 a periodical appeared, the TEMPERANCE ADVOCATE AND SEAMAN’S FRIEND. In the second volume of this paper, in 1844, we found two pages of reports that used type of the same size and style as that used in the “Missionary” stamps. This was used as a special heading on two separate pages. During 1845, on the front page in the line that designated the place and date of publication the type was the same as the capital letters, H, P, and C of the stamps. From 1843 through 1845, the paper was produced at the Mission Press, then by the Hitchcock Company during 1846 and 1847, and then for several years by the Polynesian Press from 1848 on although the paper [*The Seaman’s Friend*] was discontinued several months in 1851. Why this style [of type] should have been used by the Government Printing Office in 1851, [to print the Missionaries] and appear nowhere else in its own work, but appear among the publications of a neighbor press, we are at a loss to explain. Mr. Whitney might have borrowed some type of a different style than that used in his shop, for the particular purpose of making a distinctive appearance of the stamp.”¹³

Reverend Damon and Henry Whitney

In correspondence found in the archives at the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library it appears that the Reverend Damon and Henry Whitney (postmaster, and operator of the *Polynesian*) were friends and fel-

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

low printers. Their wives were also friends and co-authored a treatise on women's rights, which was published in the *Polynesian*.¹⁴

Reverend Damon closed down *The Friend* in the summer of 1849 to write "a series of articles on Oregon and California that appeared in later editions and persuasively described the benefits to be found there."¹⁵ Correspondence recently found in the archives of the Bishop Museum and the Mission Children's Library confirms that Rev. Damon again closed his print shop and temporarily discontinued *The Seaman's Friend* in February 1851, to sail with his family to California.¹⁶ Further correspondence also confirms that during Rev. Damon's lengthy absence Henry Whitney resided at Reverend Damon's vacated home, another indication of their friendship.¹⁷ Could Henry Whitney have also used Rev. Damon's print shop, which was idle, during his absence?

During a recent trip to Honolulu, we visited the site of the *Polynesian*, which was the government printing office. We also visited the site where Reverend Damon printed *The Seaman's Friend*. We were surprised to see that the two buildings were across the street from one another, about thirty or forty steps apart....

Because the type used to print the Grinnells and the certified stamps is peculiar only to the *Seaman's Friend*, could the Grinnell and certified Missionary stamps have both been printed by Whitney at Reverend Damon's print shop, which was not being used in 1851, and because the *Polynesian* press was busy with government work?

Or, could both the Grinnell stamps and the certified stamps have been printed by Whitney at the *Polynesian*, at different times with different "pics" of borrowed type and with different lockups of type forms, using paper of the same manufacture and the same ink?

Under any circumstances, the proximity of the two presses made it convenient to print the work of the Government Printing Office and the stamps at the same time and to use the type from Reverend Damon's print shop. Such an arrangement of neighboring presses should also have made it convenient to make several press runs of Missionary stamps as needed. Further, the printing of *The Seaman's Friend*, during the period of 1843 to 1851, would result in the use of worn and broken type when the Missionary stamps were printed in 1851.

Opponents of the Grinnell stamps also made incorrect judgements about the process used to produce the Grinnells. John Klemann put forth

Grinnell Missionaries

great effort in his 1924 *American Philatelist* article in an attempt to prove that the Grinnells were made by photoengravure. Mr. Cordrey has proved beyond a doubt that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps were typeset printed.

Postmarks Used on Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps

In May 1851, Honolulu Postmaster Henry Whitney ordered eight circular postmarking devices from a company in San Francisco, for use on Hawaiian mail. Four of the devices had the words HONOLULU U. S. *Postage Paid*, known now as Meyer/Harris 236.05. The other four devices had the words HONOLULU HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, now known as Meyer/Harris 236.11.¹⁸

Until 1980, it was believed that all HONOLULU U. S. *Postage Paid* postmarks were typographically identical, and that all HONOLULU HAWAIIAN ISLANDS postmarks were also typographically identical. After lengthy research, however, Jim Shaffer reported that every 236.05 and every 236.11 postmark is, in fact, typographically unique. The differences among the postmarks are varied. Some are almost identical and others are significantly different. Letter height and letter spacing vary and some letter fonts are different.¹⁹

When Shaffer completed his study, he reported finding only three of Postmaster Whitney's four 236.05 postmarks on Hawaiian mail, which he cataloged as types I, II and III. He also found only three types of Whitney's 236.11 postmarks, which he cataloged as types I, II and III.²⁰ Therefore, one mark from each of the four postmarking devices purchased by Whitney was unaccounted for.

Among the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps there is one style of M/H 236.05 postmark and one style of M/H 236.11 postmark. There is also one type of seven bar black circular grid similar to Meyer/Harris #7, one type of 4 x 6 black circular grid cancel similar to Meyer/Harris #6 and one unique 5 x 6 black circular grid cancel.²¹

All of the red *U.S. Postage Paid* postmarks are found on 13¢ Grinnell Missionary stamps, as they should be. Some Grinnell 13¢ stamps have the appropriate black seven bar cancels.

The red Grinnell * HAWAIIAN ISLANDS * postmarks appear only on 2¢ and 5¢ stamps. Some 2¢ and 5¢ Grinnell stamps have black seven bar cancels. These postmarks and cancels are also appropriate.

The two 4 x 6 black circular grid cancels appear appropriately only

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

on 2¢ stamps and the single 5 x 6 black circular grid cancel appears on a 5¢ stamp.

The characters and spacing on Grinnell postmarks vary from those on the certified marks, much the same way that characters and spacing on certified marks vary from each other. The Grinnell 236.05 is similar to the certified 236.05, but has some font and spacing differences. The Grinnell 236.11 is almost identical to the certified 236.11 Type I, having only slight letter height differences. Circular dimensions of all postmarks, Grinnell and certified, are identical.

Why are there typographical variations in all eight postmarks, Grinnell and certified? Although it is not known what material was used to make 236.05 and 236.11 postmarking devices, Thomas J. Alexander reported, "Metal die cast and wood cut hand stamps were manufactured in quantity in the United States in the mid 1800's."²² Thomas J. Alexander, *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings, 1851-61*. Second edition. U.S. Philatelic Classic Society, Inc., Columbus, Ohio. 1979.) Whether wood cut or die cast, both methods of manufacture would require that the devices be finished by hand and would have been the product of the craftsman's talent and imagination, producing typographical variations, which we see among all eight Hawaiian postmarking devices. The postmarks vary typographically because they were handmade.

Forensic examiner, James Blanco, studied the postmarks on Grinnell stamps to determine how they were applied to the stamps. He reported: "The typical typographic effect was observed, indicating the postmarks were applied with hand stamps and were not printed by the photoengraving method. No screen patterns were observed microscopically in these printed areas and residual ink was observed in random locations, which is indicative of hand stamps. Voids were observed and are common in stamp impressions made by hand. Such voids are marks of authenticity."²³

Dr. Gene Hall, Professor of Chemistry at Rutgers University, studied the chemical composition of the Grinnell postmark ink, comparing it to certified genuine 236.05 and 236.11 postmark ink on cover, finding that the inks were chemically the same even though there was some variation in hue.²⁴ While observing the comparative study of the Grinnell and Tapling stamps at the British Library London, Dr. Hall reported that the Grinnell postmark ink is the same as the ink of the postmarks on the Tapling stamps, even though there was variation in hue.²⁵

With the documented evidence stated herein, and with the two Grin-

Grinnell Missionaries

nell postmarks, 236.05 and 236.11, bringing the total number of Whitney's postmarking devices to four each, we believe there can be little doubt that the Grinnells are the two missing postmarks from Whitney's original order, which Jim Shaffer did not find. It is believed that the Grinnell postmarks are among the earliest used, beginning in January 1852, as there are no second issue, 13 cent, Scott #4, stamps among the Grinnells. These stamps were issued later in the year.

Sometime after Jim Shaffer completed his study of typographical variations in these postmarks, a previously unknown and unique HAWAIIAN ISLANDS mark was found, the only one of this type which has been seen. Usage was September 26, 1864, about seven years after 236.11 postmarks became obsolete. It was struck in black ink, used on domestic mail, had some different fonts and orientation of letters, and had three different letter heights.²⁶ This postmark is, perhaps, least like the other types of certified and Grinnell 236.11 marks. Another unique 236.05 was found "postmarking" an 1888 reprint of the 5 cent Kamehameha III and is presumed to be a fake.²⁷ Very little is known about these questionable postmarks and only speculation has been made about their use. If the ink of these two postmarks were tested and if the method by which they were applied were tested, as the Grinnells were, perhaps we would no longer need to speculate for the results would tell us when the ink was made, whether the ink is from the period of use and whether or not these two marks were made with a strike of a hand canceling device. If one or both of these marks has acceptable ink and strike characteristics, as the Grinnells do, then we might well assume that Postmaster Henry Whitney did order more than eight hand canceling devices, perhaps to replace two which he sent to Waiialua with William Emerson in November 1851.



A 5-cent Grinnell Missionary

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

Provenance: Documented Evidence Not Known at the 1922 Lawsuit

A chain of events leading to the find of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps began nearly 200 years ago, when Hannah Child²⁸ and Ursula Newell²⁹ were born in the small New England town of Nelson, New Hampshire, in 1806. The girls grew up together, and attended the same school.³⁰

In their adult years, Hannah and Ursula lost touch when Ursula married John S. Emerson on October 26, 1831. Shortly thereafter, the Emersons volunteered to serve as missionaries in Hawaii, with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Thirty days after their marriage, John and Ursula, along with a company of 19 missionaries, set sail from New Bedford for Hawaii aboard the whaler *Averick*. They arrived in Honolulu nearly six months later, on May 17, 1832.³¹

After the Emerson's arrival in Hawaii, Ursula Emerson's friend, Hannah Child, was married in New England on September 6, 1832. Jesse Shattuck, her husband, was a resident of Pepperell, Massachusetts, which was not far from Nelson, New Hampshire, where Hannah and Ursula had grown up and where Ursula's parents continued to live. The newly married couple settled down and raised a family. Their third child was Charles B. Shattuck.³²

In 1835, about three years after the Emersons were established in their new home in Waialua on the island of Oahu and a few months after their second son, William, was born in October 1834, Ursula received a small gift of children's clothing from New England.³³ Ursula's school friend, Hannah Child Shattuck, had sent the gift to Honolulu. Ursula wrote to her parents on May 21, 1835, telling them about the gift and saying she would write to her friend, in care of her parents, as she did not know exactly where Hannah lived.³⁴ Ursula's parents contacted Hannah in Pepperell and told her about Ursula's letter and her receipt of the clothing.³⁵

The incident of Hannah's gift rekindled the friendship of the two women and they began a direct correspondence. It also established contact between Hannah and Ursula's parents as she visited the Newells in the town of Nelson, where she was invited to read letters which Ursula had sent to her family.³⁶

Letters found in the archives of the Bishop Museum and the archives of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library have provided documented evidence that missionary Ursula Emerson corresponded with Hannah Child Shattuck, with Ursula's parents, and with several other family members: sons Samuel and Nathaniel at their uncle Samuel Emerson's in

Grinnell Missionaries

Moltonborough, New Hampshire, and her brother and sister, Oliver Pomeroy Newell and Sophie Newell, in Nelson, New Hampshire.

We believe that some of Ursula's letters emanating from Waialua and addressed to her family were given to Hannah Shattuck, who saved them, in addition to Ursula's letters sent directly to her, as she was fascinated by her school friend who was highly revered in Nelson because of her missionary work in a distant land. To support the probability of Hannah's fascination, and the likelihood that she would save stamps sent to Nelson as keepsakes, we quote Ursula's son, Oliver, in his book *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, pages 18 and 19: "The girl who left her home to minister to untutored islanders lived as a hero to their (the residents of Nelson) memory for many years and seven of her friends she left behind had each a little daughter named Ursula... During the remaining years of my grandfather's ministry, my mother's letters telling of her experiences (in Waialua) were read aloud by him from his pulpit on Sunday."

Hannah was born and raised in Nelson, a town of about 700 people in those days, and undoubtedly knew Ursula's family as she was growing up.

In George Grinnell's report about the find of the stamps, he quoted Charles B. Shattuck as saying that when he was a young boy, he and his mother cut the stamps from folded letters and from envelopes to save them, discarding the personal letters. This implies that some of the letters were the personal correspondence of other people.

Hannah Child Shattuck died in Pepperell, Massachusetts on August 17, 1856. Her son, Charles B. Shattuck, later moved to Los Angeles, California, taking with him the stamps which he inherited. John and Ursula Emerson continued their missionary work in Waialua until their deaths, John in 1867 and Ursula in 1888.³⁷

Our research in Honolulu in the archives of the Bishop Museum and the archives of the Hawaiian Missions Children's Society Library found numerous letters written between Honolulu and Waialua by missionaries John and Ursula Emerson and their second son, William.

The Emersons lived in the small and remote village of Waialua on the north shore of Oahu, about 38 miles north of Honolulu.³⁸ In his early school years, their second son, William, attended Punahou school in Honolulu. In his teens, William worked for family friend, postmaster and printer, Henry Whitney, in the post office and the print shop as an apprentice printer, while he continued to attend Punahou school. When William was

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

not in school, he spent considerable time working at the post office and the *Polynesian* print shop, as much of his mail was addressed there.³⁹ In a letter (October 11, 1850) to William's brother, Samuel, who was attending school in New England, the Reverend Dole at Punahou School wrote, "Your brother is thinking of becoming a printer. Mr. Whitney wants him in the *Polynesian*."⁴⁰ In correspondence with his brother, Samuel, dated November 15, 1850 William wrote about his work as an apprentice printer, "... I am working at the Government Printing Office ...This is now the fourth week that I have been working (as an apprentice printer). The first work that I did was to set up 'pic'. I distribute and set up type sometimes for the *Polynesian*."⁴¹ William's involvement at the post office and the print shop was in the years of 1850 and 1851, the time that the Hawaiian Missionary Stamps were conceived, printed and, on October 1, 1851, became the first issue of Hawaii.⁴²

On September 27, 1851, four days before the first typeset printed stamps of Hawaii were placed on sale, William wrote a letter to his mother in Waialua. "This is your birthday, I believe. You are 45 are you not? Please accept the 'motto wafers' from me, as a slight token of affection... put some 'motto wafers' on your American letters... there are not more 'motto wafers' to be had. I sent you part of mine, so be careful of them."⁴³ These fascinating excerpts from William's letter sent us scurrying to determine what "motto wafers" might be. One possibility is that William was referring to sealing devices for folded letters and flaps on covers. He was aware that his mother frequently corresponded with friends and family in New England; "Put some motto wafers on your American letters."⁴⁴ In the Honolulu of the 1850s, few people would have had experience with postage stamps and perhaps would be uncertain what to call them or how to use them. Could William have used the phrase "motto wafers," referring to wafer-thin pieces of paper with words printed upon them, as postage stamps have, to be used to seal folded letters and the back flaps of covers? We are reminded of this possibility by a cover among the Grinnells, the back flap of which is sealed by five stamps, combined franking of which is the required rate of 13¢.... Could William have been referring to the use of postage stamps to seal overseas letters? Perhaps we will never know.

Further correspondence proves that sometime in November 1851, a few weeks after William's letter to his mother, and the issue of the first stamps of Hawaii, William returned to Waialua to recuperate at home from a persistent illness. He stayed home until mid March 1852, at which time he traveled to Honolulu to sail aboard the whaler *Arctic*, in the hope that cooler weather at sea would help him recover from his illness. The *Arctic*

Grinnell Missionaries

departed from Honolulu on March 17, 1852. On April 24, 1852, William died at sea.⁴⁵

All of the legible Grinnell postmarks are dated January, February and March, and since there are none of the later-issued 13¢ stamps (Scott #4) among the Grinnells we believe the year date is 1852. It is important to note that William resided in Waialua during this period of January through mid-March 1852.⁴⁶ Having had experience with both the post office and the print shop in Honolulu during the time that the Missionaries were printed, William would have been a good candidate to fulfill the duties of postmaster in his home village of Waialua.

If William took an early printing (perhaps the first printing) of the Missionary stamps from the post office or the print shop to Waialua for sale or for use by his family, along with two or more postmarking devices, it could account for the specific use of the stamps by Ursula Emerson in her correspondence with Hannah Child Shattuck and family members; for the Emerson family appearing to be the only users of this early, perhaps limited printing of stamps; and why only the Emerson mail was postmarked by unique postmarking/canceling devices used in Waialua. This possibility would also account for the reason why the Grinnell postmarks are not seen on any other Hawaiian covers, as the postmarking devices might have been used only by William in Waialua and then set aside by his family after his death.

To demonstrate the possibility of William's involvement while in Waialua with mail and with Hawaiian stamps of the first issue, we quote the following from *Hawaii, Its Stamps and Postal History*:⁴⁷

Laurence G. Williams of Honolulu who drew his knowledge from records contained in the post office ledgers and journals, old newspaper files, Thrum's Annual, etc., wrote:

"In the early days, any person who could be prevailed upon to do so handled the mail, distributed letters, sold stamps and generally fulfilled the duties of postmaster of small towns and villages. Some of these bore the official designation of postmaster, while others did not. Only the postmaster of larger towns received any pay, and then only a very small sum. Just where the line of demarcation should be drawn between those towns having an official postmaster and those where the individual took it upon himself to perform the duties of postmaster, it is impossible to say. Under these conditions, any small village or locality could cancel letters before handing them over to the overland carrier (to Honolulu), if they so desired."

When George Grinnell found the Missionary stamps in Los Angeles in 1918, the used stamps were in an old envelope, and the unused stamps

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

were between the pages of an old book of sermons, which Mr. Shattuck gave to Grinnell.⁴⁸ The fact that unused Missionary stamps were among the lot is not surprising, as Missionary stamps have been found on westbound mail, apparently to prepay Hawaiian postage.⁴⁹ Two such examples are illustrated on page 57 of the Meyer book. Correspondents in the United States would have received their unused Missionary stamps from their correspondents in Hawaii. The book of sermons undoubtedly belonged to Shattuck's mother, Hannah, and seems to be where she kept some of her Hawaiian Missionary stamps, inserted between the pages.

In George Grinnell's report about the find of the stamps, he quoted Charles B. Shattuck as saying that when he was a young boy, he and his mother cut the stamps from folded letters and from envelopes to save them, discarding the personal letters.

Logic and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps

During 2000 and 2001, we had the pleasure of corresponding with Varro Tyler, a leading expert in the field of philatelic forgeries. In our correspondence, we had the opportunity to inform Dr. Tyler about discoveries made with the use of modern laboratory equipment, the research of a master printer and discoveries in Honolulu concerning provenance.⁵⁰

Dr. Tyler wrote an article entitled "Logic, New Evidence and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps" which was published shortly after his death. The following excerpts summarize his opinion about the Grinnell stamps:⁵¹

"As a specialist in forged postage stamps, I have long been concerned about the negative judgement rendered against the Grinnell Missionary Stamps of Hawaii as a result of the trial in 1922. Consider the following facts.

"The few known forgeries of these stamps [Missionaries] are extremely crude in comparison. No forger of the pre-1919 period was technically capable of preparing such excellent letterpress copies of the original, and none was financially able to acquire certified copies from which to prepare such reproductions. Finally, because forgers are in business to make money, the fact that only a few copies of each of the Grinnell types exist defies all logic. If these were forgeries, many thousands of copies, not just a few score, would eventually have been placed on the market.

"My doubts about designating the Grinnell Missionary Stamps as forgeries have now been strengthened by information supplied me in correspondence with their present owners, one of whom is George Grinnell's

Grinnell Missionaries

granddaughter. These persons are currently in the process of documenting all of the details of the stamps' provenance, including the discovery of handwriting of a known contemporary Hawaiian resident on the envelope fragment to which one is attached.

“A master printer has confirmed that the Grinnells were produced by typography [letterpress] from moveable type readily available in Hawaii in the 1850's. Tests at Rutgers University have shown that the ink used for printing the stamps could also be attributed to the 1850's.

“And more recently, tests conducted at the British Library in London using sophisticated electronic instruments have shown the ink (and the paper) of the stamps, and that of the cancels as well, to be identical in all respects to those inks on the genuine Missionary stamps in the famous Tapling Collection. It is my understanding that a detailed report on the methodology used and the results obtained will appear in print in the near future.

“All of this detailed information, and much more, is presently being compiled and submitted to an expert committee, along with the stamps, for certification purposes. Naturally, it will be interesting to see the results of such examinations. But simple logic, supplemented now by a lot of hard evidence, would seem to support strongly the contention that the Grinnell Missionary Stamps of Hawaii are indeed genuine.”

Summary

1. Due to strenuous resistance from opponents of the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps over the past 80 years, it was difficult to make progress with authentication. Few philatelists were willing to invest their time in the Grinnells and few experts seemed to have academic interest. Some of the opponents of the stamps did find time to publish (or re-publish) what turned out to be erroneous allegations. These various articles reside in the philatelic archives today and seem to be considered the authoritative source concerning the Grinnells, by those who remain uninformed of recent findings.

2. We now know that the paper, the ink of the stamps and the ink of the postmarks are identical to that of the Tapling Missionary stamps at the British Library in London. Grinnell postmark ink is also identical to postmark ink on two other certified genuine postmarks on cover. The identical paper characteristics suggest that the Grinnells and the Taplings were made from paper which came from a single manufacturing source.

3. Printing research by Keith Cordrey proves that the Grinnells were

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

typeset printed, “in several lots and at different times, from one basic stamp form (pair of clichés) and that this form had several changes made to it in type characters and rule border; all stamps were printed with different lock-ups.” It is very unlikely that the Grinnells would have been printed with multiple typographical changes, if they had been forged.

4. Research by Jim Shaffer has demonstrated that all certified Hawaiian Missionary postmarks M/H/ 236.05 and 236.11 have typographical variations, and that none are identical. Grinnell postmarks have similar typographical variations. Forensic research by James Blanco suggests that the postmarks on Grinnell Missionary stamps were made by the strike of a hand-canceling device. Logic suggests that a forger would not use bogus canceling devices on only a few Hawaiian Missionary stamps and never use them again.

5. All of this evidence is supported by documented correspondence between missionary Ursula Emerson in Hawaii and Hannah Shattuck and Ursula’s family in New England, and by the key involvement of William Emerson in Honolulu and Waialua at the time the Missionary Stamps were printed and used.

6. None of the above information was known at the time of the Grinnell/Klemann lawsuit in Los Angeles in 1922 and, had it been known, it is our belief that the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary stamps would have been considered genuine for the past 80 years.

In March of 2002, the Grinnell Missionaries, owned by Grinnell descendants and the Shattuck family, were submitted to the expert committee at the Royal Philatelic Society London for certification. A decision about authenticity is forthcoming.

¹ “Grinnell’s Story of His Find of Hawaiian Missionaries and the Famous Court Trial,” Parts I-III, *Linn’s Stamp News*, Vol. XXIV, No. 29, 30 and 31 (Whole No. 1195, 1196 and 1197) (October 1, 8 and 15, 1951). Part I includes reference to Affidavit, Lewis Perkins, September 13, 1923, State of New Hampshire, County of Rockingham.

Supporting documentation includes: Letter, certified by Olivier P. Emerson to be a letter from his mother, Ursula, to her parents, Sophia and the Rev. Gad Newell, datelined Waialua, May 21, 1835. Provides evidence of baby clothes having been sent Ursula from Hannah Child Shattuck and that Hannah was a schoolmate of Ursula. Ursula asks parents to send the letter to Hannah “if you know where she is.” George Grinnell retrieved a certified copy of this letter from Oliver Emerson in New England, July 28, 1924. Also, Letter to “Dear Distant Friend” (Ursula) from Hannah C. Shattuck, April 7, 1836, addressed to Mrs. John Emerson, Hawaii, Island of Oahu, received by Ursula December 1836. Hannah mentions visiting Ursula’s parents and reading some letters from Ursula.

² Henry A. Meyer, *et al.*, *Hawaii, Its Stamps and Postal History* (New York: The Philatelic Foundation: 1948), p. 118.

³ “Post Office in Paradise” web site, <http://www.Hawaiianstamps.com>, 2002 (current as of January 2003).

⁴ John A. Klemann, *The American Philatelist*, “Res Adjudicata”, November 1924. Meyer, *et al.*, Chapter 14, “The Grinnell Missionaries...” Stanley Ashbrook, “The Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps, America’s Most Fantastic Philatelic Story,” *Stamps Magazine*, October 5, 1957. p.37.

Grinnell Missionaries

- ⁵ Henry A. Meyer, personal correspondence from Meyer to a friend of George Grinnell, in authors' files.
- ⁶ Gene S. Hall, Ph.D., "Elemental and Chemical Analyses of Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps" (Department of Chemistry, Wright-Rieman Laboratories, Rutgers University, Piscataway, NJ: January 7, 2001 and February 14, 2001). (From study begun November 2000.)
- ⁷ Gene S. Hall, Ph.D., "The Examination and Comparison of Chemical Components of Hawaiian Missionary Stamps of 1851-52 at the British Library, London, July 3, 2001."
- ⁸ Keith F. Cordrey, "Analysis of the Type Composition, Lockup and Printing of Scott's Hawaii No. 1 (2¢), Type II Stamps of The Grinnell Collection with Code Addendum," Newport Beach, CA, 1982; Keith F. Cordrey, "Typographic and Printing Comparison of Five Scott's Hawaii No. 1 (2¢), Type II Stamps of The Grinnell Collection with Code Addendum," Newport Beach, CA 1982.
- ⁹ Large pictures of Grinnell Missionary stamps were compared, under magnification, to pictures of certified genuine Missionary stamps in the Siegel Catalog Part I for the Honolulu Advertiser Sale, pp.46, 54 and 58.
- ¹⁰ Cordrey, "Typographic and Printing Comparison..."
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Dr. Herbert Munk, in Meyer et al., Chapter 17, "The Numeral Issues," pp. 150, 155-57.
- ¹³ Col. Charles C. Gill, M.C. (Ret'd), in Meyer et al., Chapter 12, "The Type Used in Printing 'Missionaries'," p. 106.
- ¹⁴ Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History, The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), pp. 35-38.
- ¹⁵ Chapin, *Shaping History*, page 38.
- ¹⁶ Letter from William Emerson to mother, Ursula Emerson, February 28, 1851: "(Rev.) Mr. Damon sailed for the coast (yesterday) February 27. Mr. Whitney has moved down to (Rev.) Mr. Damon's and is going to sell his lot, china (and) house together for 1,200 if he can." Archives, Hawaiian Missions Children's Society Library.
- ¹⁷ Letters from William Emerson to father John Emerson, February 15, 1851: "Mr. Whitney is keeping house at Mr. Damon's..." Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.
- ¹⁸ Frederic A. Wheeler, "The Honolulu Straightline and Its Historical Background," *The American Philatelist*, January 1985, p. 28.
- ¹⁹ www.hawaiianstamps.com, "Honolulu Foreign Mail Postmarks to 1886."
- ²⁰ *Ibid*
- ²¹ Henry A. Meyer, et. al., p. 279.
- ²² Thomas J. Alexander, *Simpson's U.S. Postal Markings, 1851-61*. Second edition. U.S. Philatelic Classic Society, Inc., Columbus, Ohio. 1979.
- ²³ James A. Blanco, "Report of Findings Re: Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps, Postmarks: April 9, 2001".
- ²⁴ "Chemical Analysis of Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps and Cancellations, Certified Hawaiian Cover With Circular Postmarks", January 7, 2001.
- ²⁵ "The Examination and Comparison of Chemical Components of Hawaiian Missionary Stamps [Grinnell and Tapling] of 1851-52 at the British Library London, July 3, 2001."
- ²⁶ Correspondence with Jim Shaffer.
- ²⁷ www.hawaiian stamps.com.
- ²⁸ Shattuck Memorials No. II, Section 5, submitted by Beatrix Marie Larson (1977). "Jesse Shattuck and Abigail Boynton." Pepperell Library, History Room, Pepperell, Massachusetts. Hannah Child Shattuck. April 15, 2000.
- ²⁹ D.R. Proper, "Missionaries," *Keene Evening Sentinel*, September 20, 1966.
- ³⁰ Oliver P. Emerson, Ursula's Letter #1-G.
- ³¹ Oliver Pomeroy Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1928), p.44.
- ³² Shattuck Memorials.
- ³³ Oliver P. Emerson, Ursula's Letter #1-G.

Articles from Both Sides of the Controversy

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Letter, Hannah Child Shattuck to “Dear Distant Friend” (Ursula), in archives, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. (Hannah’s letter to Ursula about her visit with Ursula’s parents.)

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Shattuck Memorials. “Grinnell’s Story, Part I...”, Affidavit, Lewis Perkins. Emerson, Pioneer Days, pp.225, 230-231.

³⁸ Oliver P. Emerson, *Pioneer Days*, p.55.

³⁹ Letters from archives: April 6, 1952, to Sam and Nat Emerson, who were in New England, from their father, John Emerson after William’s death. John says, “Wm. left school and went to the Gov’t. Printing Office and then to the Post Office Depository hoping a more active life would help him to recover from his illness.” (Bishop Museum)

December 24, 1850, to William from his mother, Ursula, *addressed c/o “Polynesian.”* Re wages earned from Postmaster Henry Whitney to pay for school. (Bishop Museum).

February 24, 1851, to William from his father, John Emerson. *Addressed to Gov’t Printing Office, Honolulu.* John inquires about William’s life at Punahou and asks him to pay for a notice published in the Polynesian. (Bishop Museum)

April 17, 1851 to parents (John and Ursula Emerson) from William at Punahou School addressed to Waiālua. Wm. mentions going home perhaps in Oct. of 1851 for vacation from Gov’t Printing Office. (Also mentions Whitney’s paying for 3 months of his schooling per year.) (Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society)

November 15, 1850 to “Dear Absent Brother Samuel, I am working at the Government Printing Office as apprentice. Henry M. Whitney is foreman. The first work that I did was to set up ‘pic’. I distribute and set up type, sometimes for the ‘Polynesian’. There are 9 weeks more of this term, and than I will work all day,... and board at the Clark’s. As it is now, I only work 4 hours every day, from 1 1/4 to 5 1/4 and board here. I go to school in the afternoon, and on Saturdays I work 8 hours, there being no school...” (Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society)

⁴⁰ Letter, October 11, 1850, to William Emerson’s brother, Samuel, in New England from Mr. Dole at Punahou School, in Bishop archives.

⁴¹ Letter, November 15, 1850 to “Dear Absent Brother Samuel,” in Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library archives.

⁴² Meyer, *et al.*, page 97.

⁴³ Letter, September 17, 1851, to Ursula Emerson in Waiālua from son, William Schaffler Emerson in Honolulu, re motto wafers. He also mentions the possibility of leaving the Post Office Depository and going home as he is ill. In archives of Hawaiian Missions Children’s Society Library.

⁴⁴ Oliver P. Emerson, *Pioneer Days*. Letters, particularly those of his mother and also his father, quoted throughout most chapters. Evidence of letters written to family and friends in New England by Ursula Emerson. Supports William’s mention of Ursula using “motto wafers” on her “letters to America.” See also evidence of Emerson family letters from archives in Bishop and Mission Children’s Society Library, from Ursula to sons, sisters and brothers and friends in New England.

⁴⁵ Letter, October 18, 1852, to “Our Brother Samuel and ‘Nathe & Our Sisters all with their husbands and Sam, & Emerson Beloved Brothers and Sisters,” from Ursula Emerson about son William Emerson’s death aboard the *Arctic*, April 24, 1852, saying that he left on the voyage on March 17th 1852, in archives of Bishop Museum. Letter, October 18, 1852, to “Br. and Sister B.” (Baldwin) from Ursula in Waiālua, “Having many American letters to write...” (about William’s death), in archives of Hawaiian Mission Children’s Museum.

⁴⁶ Letter, April 6, 1852, to Sam and Nat Emerson from their father, John Emerson: “William left school and went to the Gov’t. Printing Office and then to the Post Office Depository hoping a more active life would help him to recover from his illness... William was advised to go home for four months to recuperate, but became rather worse... Wm. left on March 17, 1852 on whaler, *Arctic*, on a cruise for his health.” (Bishop Museum archives). Letter, November 13, 1852, to “My Dear son Samuel N.” from Rev. John Emerson about William’s stay at home for four months, then his ocean voyage and death. Letter, April 19, 1851, to “My dear sons, Wm. and S. (Samuel) & N. (Nathaniel)” (William’s brothers), written by Ursula at home in Waiālua, about William’s illness and desire to come home. (all from Bishop Museum archives)

⁴⁷ Meyer, *et al.*, p.277

⁴⁸ “Grinnell’s Story,” Part I, *Linn’s Weekly*, October 1, 1951.

Grinnell Missionaries

⁴⁹ Meyer, *et al.*, pp.57-58.

⁵⁰ Correspondence with Dr. Varro Tyler, 2000 and 2001.

⁵¹ Dr. Varro Tyler, "Logic, New Evidence and the Grinnell Hawaiian Missionary Stamps," *Linn's Stamp News*, Vol. 75, Issue 3829 (March 18, 2002), page 38.

** This article contains, in part, excerpts and documented evidence from an earlier article which appeared in the September 2002 issue of the U.S. Specialist. Carol Arrigo is the granddaughter of George H. Grinnell. Some source material for this article was provided by Patrick Culhane, descendent of Charles Shattuck. Portions of this article have been edited by the authors. The authors may be contacted at 685 Spring Street #307, Friday Harbor WA 98250.*

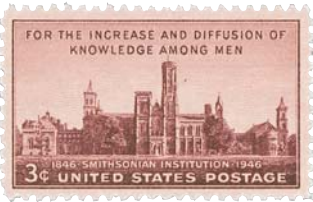
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*A Hawaiian Missionary stamp
accepted as genuine.*

Ex the Christian H. Aall Collection. Courtesy Siegel Auction Galleries

The National Postal Museum



Smithsonian Institution

The National Postal Museum, part of the Smithsonian Institution, houses one of the world's largest, most comprehensive stamp and philatelic materials collections.

In 1886, a sheet of 10-cent confederate postage stamps was donated to the Smithsonian Institution. That was the beginning of the National Philatelic Collection. Gifts from individuals and nations, purchases and other acquisitions have expanded the collection to more than 16 million items.

The National Postal Museum was established in 1990 and moved to its present location in the former Washington City Post Office Building at First and Massachusetts Avenues in 1993. The collection encompasses a wide range of philatelic and postal history material, from rare postage stamps to mail delivery vehicles.



Visitors at the National Postal Museum's Philatelic Rarities Gallery.

Courtesy National Postal Museum

David Beech

"The story of the Grinnell stamps is among the most interesting and complicated of all time. They arouse much passion and debate and continue to be one of the most controversial subjects in philately." David Beech, prior to his 2003 lecture at the National Postal Museum, October 15, 2003.



David R. Beech became interested in philately at the age of nine and had the usual general collection before specialising in British Private Posts. From the age of twelve he was the Secretary of his school Stamp Club and organised its public stamp exhibition at the age of sixteen in 1970.

In 1974 he became a member of the Exhibition Committee of the British Philatelic Exhibition and became a Council member of the British Philatelic Federation in 1980 and subsequently of the Association of British Philatelic Societies. David was a member of the Council of the National Philatelic Society from 1981 to 1996. He has contributed as a member of various of these organisations' Committees. For the International Philatelic Exhibition London 1980 he was the Controller of Exhibits and a member of the Philatelic Committee and Court of Honour Design Group for Stamp World London 90. He is the joint author of *Falkland Islands – The "Travis" Franks and Covers*, 1977, and was the organising secretary of the 69th British Philatelic Federation Congress in 1987.

David joined the British Library Philatelic Collections as a Curator in 1983 and became Head of the Philatelic Collections in 1991. He is a Fellow and the President of The Royal Philatelic Society London and joint founder of the International Philatelic Libraries Association. David is a member of The Royal Philatelic Society of New Zealand, The Royal Philatelic Society of Canada, the Collectors Club New York, the American Philatelic Research Library and the Académie Européenne de Philatélie. He is a Trustee of the Revenue Philately Trust and Trustee and Chairman of the Stuart Rossiter Trust Fund.

(courtesy of the National Postal Museum)

Royal Philatelic Society London

The Royal Philatelic Society London is the oldest philatelic society in the world, established in 1869 as The Philatelic Society, London. King Edward VII gave the Society permission to add “Royal” in 1906.

The Society aims to “promote, encourage and contribute to the advancement of the science and practice of philately.”

The Expert Committee of the Society has been functioning for almost 100 years. The committee examines stamps and covers submitted to it and renders opinions as to the genuineness of the material. To aid in its examinations, the committee maintains a comprehensive collection of forgeries and fakes.



A 2-cent and a 5-cent Grinnell Missionary

Courtesy Vincent and Carol Arrigo

Mystic Stamp Company

Mystic Stamp Company, located in Camden, New York, has been serving the needs of stamp collectors for over 80 years. The company is the largest retail mail order stamp dealer in the United States. With its full-color U.S. catalog and other publications, Mystic offers a full line of U.S. stamps, collecting supplies, supplements, and albums.

In the years since its founding in 1923, Mystic has grown to a staff of over 100 employees, each one working hard to help stamp collectors enjoy the world's greatest hobby. Mystic is proud of its service to stamp collectors and stamp collecting, and of the fact that honest, home-town values are fundamental to the way customers and colleagues are treated.

In addition to sending stamps to thousands of collector friends every day, Mystic also buys millions of dollars worth of stamps each year to satisfy the needs of those valued collectors.

Mystic has supported the preservation of our nation's philatelic heritage through donations to the National Postal Museum. Funding of the Maynard Sundman Lecture Series is Mystic's most recent effort to further enhance that heritage.

How to contact Mystic Stamp Company:

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Online: www.MysticStamp.com

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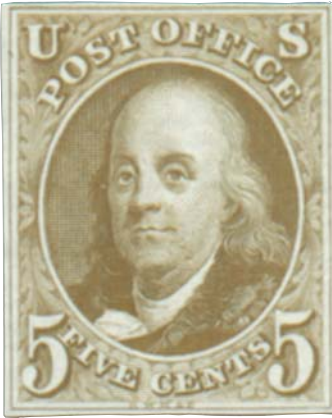
Fax: 1-800-385-4919

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to contact an experienced stamp buyer.



Grinnell Missionaries



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