

Dr. Wei-Liang Chow  
周煒良  
(1911-1995)

Dr. Wei-Liang Chow, former Chairman of the Mathematics Department of The Johns Hopkins University, was born in Shanghai in 1911, and tutored at home until he moved to the United States at the age of 16. He attended Asbury College and the University of Kentucky, and received his B.A. and M.A. at the University of Chicago. He received his Ph.D. in Mathematics at the University of Leipzig in 1936.

He returned to Nanking where he was a professor at Central University until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, at that time moving to Shanghai until after the war. He returned to the United States in 1947. After a year as a member at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, he became a Professor at The Johns Hopkins University where he remained until his retirement in 1977.

Dr. Chow was considered an eminent scholar in the field of algebraic geometry, as well as a serious student of all aspects of Chinese philately, especially in the studies of the Shanghai Local Post.

## Foreword

Dr. WEI-LIANG CHOW was a profound student of Chinese philately and had a special interest in the stamps and postal history of the Shanghai Local Post going back to his days as a youth living in Shanghai. His interest was no doubt sparked by his father, a noted China collector.

Dr. Chow worked closely with the late Lyons Livingston in identifying the various printings of the "Large Dragons" of the Shanghai Local Post and helped in the production of the Livingston Catalog. He recently produced a revised edition of that catalog.

The writer feels very close to this book as Dr. Chow provided him with rough drafts and revisions of the manuscript for his suggestions. I can highly recommend it to all collectors of the Shanghai Local Post. Indeed, it should be in the library of all serious collectors of Chinese postal history.

CHARLES W. DOUGAN, FRPSL

## Editor's Preface

What follows must be the most exhaustive personal study of the Shanghai Large Dragon stamps ever produced. When this manuscript was given to me to prepare for publication, I felt honored to have been chosen by the Chow family for such an endeavor. I had only met Dr. Chow on a couple of occasions, yet over the years, had maintained contact with him both through Lyons Livingston, and through his dear friend Chuck Dougan. I would from time to time send a question to Chuck, and often my reply would come from Dr. Chow. He was always generous with his information and eager to share his knowledge. Although I no longer collect the stamps of Shanghai, Dr. Chow and I shared an interest in Formosa, as well as a keen interest in the local issues of the lesser treaty ports.

In all likelihood, Dr. Chow's introduction to the Shanghai Large Dragon stamps can be traced back to the purchase of the famous Luff collection, sometime during the 1920's, by his father, M.D. Chow, (the "China Philately King"). Dr. Chow expanded his father's collection, and eventually collaborated with Lyons F. Livingston on his Catalog of the Shanghai Postal System published in 1971.

Upon his retirement in 1977, Dr. Chow began to prepare his own handbook and catalogue for the Shanghai Local Post stamps, which he intended to be comprehensive, to include not only the Large Dragons, but all subsequent issues including the postal stationery. Some of his discoveries led him to produce a revised edition of the Livingston catalogue in 1990, and in the meantime he continued his work on the Shanghai Handbook. He kept on building his collection, but after suffering a stroke he began to concentrate his writing efforts on the Large Dragons.

Unfortunately, as Dr. Chow's health declined, it became impossible for him to complete the final preparations for his publication and it was in this "unpolished" state that I received his manuscript. Dr. Chow seems to have completed the last draft of this Large Dragon monograph shortly after his acquisition of the stamp he designates as Printing #37A, in 1992. The following year, S. E. & A. L. Beckeman published a 4-part article on the Shanghai Large Dragons in the *Journal of Chinese Philately*, published by the China Philatelic Society of London, and we know that his friend, Chuck Dougan sent copies of all these articles to Dr. Chow, yet, there is no mention of this in his writings.

Insofar as this book is being published posthumously, we had no way of knowing what, if any, comments Dr. Chow would have added or amended on the basis of information in the Beckeman article. However, the existence of that article, whose

## THE SHANGHAI LARGE DRAGONS

principal focus is printing identification, prompted the question of how best to illustrate the printings in the publication at hand. Although it is impossible to know exactly what Dr. Chow envisioned, it was decided to show the various printings of each denomination in sequence, side-by-side. The goal here was to make the book easy to use for as many readers as possible. The sequence of the *Stamp Index* (following the Table of Contents) is intentionally out of order, but this arrangement allowed the illustration of each set of values in a single view. Although some of the details of a design may not be clear due to blurry printing on the actual stamp, the salient points of identification, as described in the text, should allow correct identification for the user.

We have taken the liberty of adding Chinese characters to the text, since the lack of this information has caused so much aggravation and resulting misidentification in the past for those collectors with no knowledge of the Chinese language. Again, we have no idea if Dr. Chow intended to insert these, but the idea of our doing so seems consistent with his level of scholarship.

His approach to the study of Large Dragon stamps, as described in this book, was somewhat evolutionary and revolutionary at the same time. It will be obvious to the reader that Dr. Chow seriously considered all the information in writings of early Large Dragon scholars, particularly Thornhill and Luff. Dr. Chow acknowledges Luff's work as the foundation of Large Dragon classification, and retained Luff's system of the "24 Groups." Additionally, Dr. Chow proceeded to clarify the very important differences between what constitutes a major "Printing" as opposed to a sub-variety of that printing. In this manner, he provides a means of identifying any stamp as to its Printing Number. This should finally, nearly 100 years after the appearance of Luff's article, enable even a beginning Shanghai collector to correctly identify any Large Dragon stamp.

The various papers used for the Large Dragon stamps have long been a problem for Shanghai collectors. Dr. Chow identifies and describes no less than 13 paper types, making this the most advanced classification of these ever done. His discussion of the postmarks is the most thorough to date, particularly with regard to the period of usage of each type, as well as his discussion of the background of the "Ningpo Garter."

The relationship between the Large Dragons and subsequent Small Dragon issues is described to a far greater degree than in previous works, and Dr. Chow argues convincingly against those who, in the past, have condemned the Large Dragons as being unnecessary or philatelically inspired. He methodically deflates the long-standing "controversy" that has hung over the last group of Modern Numeral issues (Printings #69-78) and the Official Reissues of 1871-72, and presents a convincing defense of these much-maligned stamps.

In Dr. Chow's final draft, he listed under his descriptions of the various Printings, any used examples he had recorded, along with the type and color of the postmark seen.

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

We have naturally retained this, and have added a few listings based on stamps offered in recent auctions, and then only when the Printing number could be definitively verified. It is unlikely that this listing is complete, and surely additional examples, including some where we have designated "None recorded," will turn up in the future, once printing identification becomes standardized. It is our hope, and surely must have been Dr. Chow's, that this will happen following the publication of his work.

Finally, a Catalogue Cross Reference has been included as an Appendix. Although we have no reason to believe that Dr. Chow intended to include such a list, it has been provided to assist collectors who feel the need to reconcile a stamp from a particular printing with the numbering system of any one of the standard stamp catalogues and this seemed like an appropriate time to include such a reference list. The number of copies of each printing in Dr. Chow's collection allowed us to determine which printings were apt to be the most common example of each catalogue's major number. We have designated these most common examples as such by using an enlarged and bold face type.

Great care was taken to make this text easy to use, even in the choice of the paper on which it is printed, for it was recognized that each collector may wish to add his own notes. Every possible effort has been made to verify the information presented herein and of course, in this we have been greatly aided by the kindness of Dr. Chow's family in allowing us access to his unique collection.

Along the way, I have been assisted by some who have asked to remain anonymous. Nevertheless I am especially grateful to Susan Dixon at the American Philatelic Research Library for her assistance, and to Elling O. Eide, for all his helpful suggestions on presentation, his proofreading, and expertise with the Chinese characters.

This work has been an exceptional opportunity and a most pleasurable undertaking for me. I love stamps, and have enjoyed pouring over Dr. Chow's work. I am privileged to present what follows as an extremely interesting and valuable reference work, setting a new standard for Shanghai studies, both for the benefit of the craft and for your enjoyment.

William L. Kullman  
Union, Oregon  
January 23, 1996

*Bill Lantz Kullman  
Culver, OR*

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1 CANDAREEN



Printing #22  
Blue, dark blue, p. 57.



Printing #23  
Blue, p. 57.



Printing #29  
Blue (shades), p. 59.



Printing #30  
Pale blue, p. 59.



Printings #38, 39  
(Illustration is variety #38a)  
Bright blue, p. 62.



Printing #48  
Deep blue, pale blue, p. 63.

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Stamp Index  
3 CANDAREENS



Printing #34  
Terra-cotta brown, p. 60.



Printings #37, 37A  
Terra-cotta, p. 61.



Printing #45  
(Illustration is variety #45a)  
Terra-cotta brown, p. 63.



Printing #50  
Red-brown, p. 63.



Printing #53  
Red-brown, p. 64.



Printing #55  
Red-brown, p. 64.



Printing #66  
Red-brown, p. 65.



Printing #67  
Red-brown, p. 66.



Printing #71  
Red-brown, p. 66.



STAMP INDEX

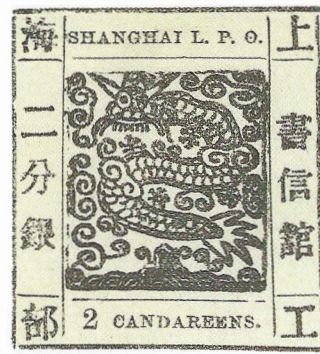
2 CANDAREENS



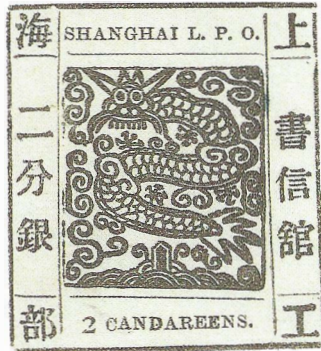
Printing #40  
Black, p. 62.



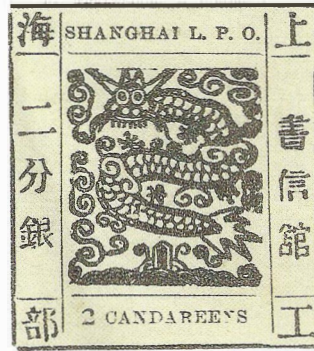
Printing #41  
Black, p. 62.



Printing #51  
Gray-black, p. 64.



Printing #54  
Black, p. 64.



Printing #65  
Black, p. 65.



Printing #70  
Black, p. 66.



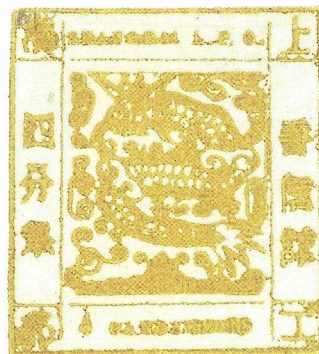
Printing #78  
Black, p. 67.

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4 CANDAREENS



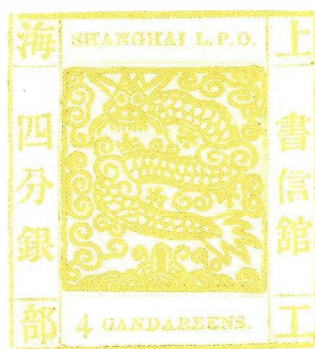
Printing #2  
(Illustration is variety #2b)  
Yellow, orange-yellow, p. 52.



Printing #2d  
Yellow-ochre, p. 52.



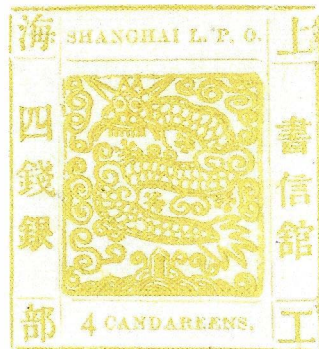
Printing #8  
Yellow, yellow-orange, p. 53.



Printing #9  
Yellow, p. 54.



Printing #15  
Orange-yellow, p. 55.



Printing #20  
Ochre-yellow, p. 56.

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4 CANDAREENS



Printing #24  
(Illustration is variety #24a)  
Yellow, p. 58.



Printings #27, 28  
Yellow, p. 59.



Printing #42  
Yellow, p. 62.



Printing #44  
Ochre-yellow, p. 62.



Printing #56  
Yellow-orange, p. 64.



Printing #57  
Orange-yellow, p. 64.



Printing #68  
Yellow, p. 66.



Printing #72  
Yellow, p. 66.

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6 CANDAREENS



Printing #33  
(Illustration is variety #33b)  
Terra-cotta brown, p. 60.



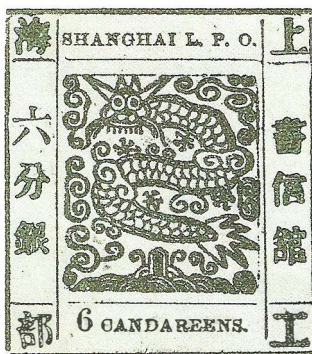
Printing #36  
Terra-cotta, p. 60.



Printing #46  
Vermilion, p. 63.



Printing #58  
Reddish-brown, p. 64.



Printing #73  
Olive-green, p. 66.

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8 CANDAREENS



Printing #3  
(Illustration is variety #3a)  
Green, p. 52.



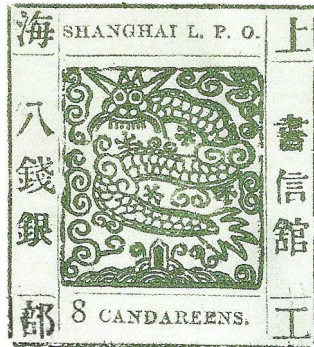
Printing #7  
Yellow-green, p. 53.



Printing #11  
Green, p. 54.



Printing #16  
Grass-green, p. 55.



Printing #19  
Green, p. 56.



Printing #32  
(Illustration is variety #32a)  
Olive-green, p. 59.



Printing #43  
Grass-green, p. 62.



Printing #59  
Olive-green, p. 64.



Printing #74  
Green, p. 66.

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12 CANDAREENS



Printing #35  
Terra-cotta, p. 60.



Printing #47  
Chocolate, p. 63.



Printing #60  
Orange-brown, p. 65.



Printing #61  
Vermilion brown, p. 65.



Printing #75  
Orange-red, p. 66.

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16 CANDAREENS



Printing #4  
Scarlet, p. 53.



Printing #5  
Scarlet, p. 53.



Printing #12  
Scarlet-red, p. 54.



Printing #17  
Terra-cotta red, p. 55.



Printing #18  
Carmine-red, p. 55.



Printing #31  
Scarlet (Orange-vermilion), p. 59.



Printing #62  
Scarlet, p. 65.



Printing #76  
Scarlet, p. 66.



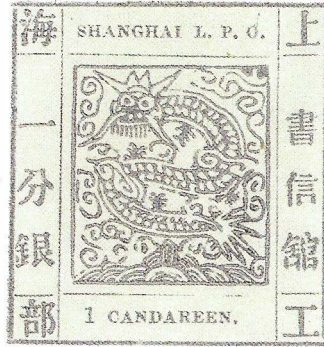
Printing #77  
Brownish-red, p. 66.

THE SHANGHAI LARGE DRAGONS

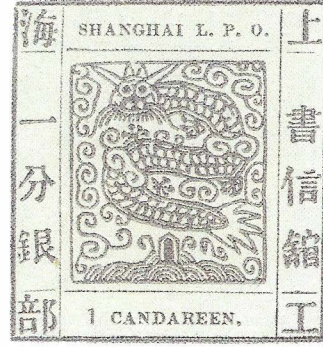
Official Reissues



L-1  
Blue (Die II), p. 67.



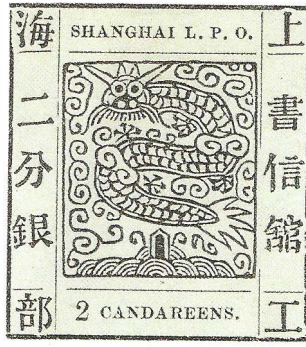
S-1  
Blue (Die II), p. 67.



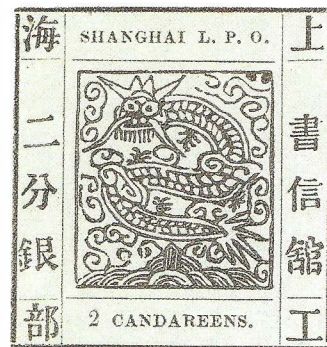
S-2  
Blue (Die III), p. 67.



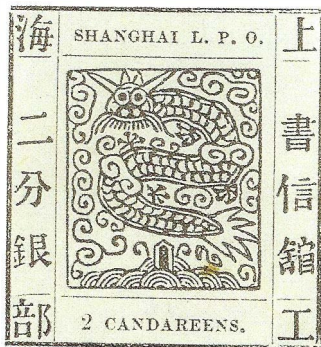
L-3  
Black (Die II), p. 67.



L-4  
Black (Die III), p. 67.



S-3  
Black (Die II), p. 67.



S-4  
Black (Die III), p. 67.



L-5  
Red-brown (Die II), p. 67.



L-6  
Red-brown (Die III), p. 67.

Ed.-As noted in the text, L-2 is theorized to exist, but as of this writing, remains undiscovered.



# CHAPTER 1

## An Introduction to

### The Shanghai Local Postal System

**T**he Shanghai Local Post Office was established July 13, 1863. About two years later, at the beginning of August 1865, it issued its first postage stamps. This was thirteen years before the first issue of the Chinese Maritime Customs Post Office, six years before the first issue of the Imperial Japanese Post Office, and less than three years after the first appearance of the Hong Kong postage stamps. Thus the Shanghai Local Post Office can almost share with Hong Kong the honor as the earliest stamp issuing authority in the entire Far East.

In spite of its name, the Shanghai Local Post was not a local post office in the usual sense of the word, meaning an organization delivering mails within a city or a locality. It was local only in the sense that it was operated by a local authority, in this case the Shanghai Municipal Council. In fact, the main purpose for the establishment of the Shanghai Local Post was to facilitate the handling of mails between Shanghai and the other "Treaty Ports," the de-

livery of the local letters within the city Shanghai itself (the "town letters," as they were called in those days) being merely an afterthought. Right from the beginning the operations of the Shanghai Local Post covered a territory larger than most of the countries in the world, and records show that by 1866, the Shanghai Local Post either had established or was contemplating establishing agencies in many ports, including cities as far away as Hankow, some six hundred miles up the Yangtze River. Furthermore, in the course of its 34 years of existence, the Shanghai Local Post handled a far greater volume of mail in China than the combined total of the mails handled by all the other Post Offices then operating in China, including the Chinese Customs Post Office, the Hong Kong agencies at the Treaty Ports, and all the other foreign Post Offices in China. Thus it could be said to be the single most important Post Office in China during the period of its existence.

One could say, that the Shanghai Local Post was not really a Chinese post office in that it served mainly the needs of the foreigners in

China. This was indeed true, but it was true also of all the other post offices mentioned above. In particular, the Chinese Customs Post was in this sense no more Chinese than the Shanghai Local Post. On the contrary, while the Shanghai Local Post was used to a substantial degree at least by those Chinese associated with the foreign business establishments, the Chinese Customs Post was used almost exclusively by the foreigners, and right from the beginning it was designed to handle only their mails.

It is significant to note that the issuing of postage stamps in 1865 by the Shanghai Local Post was at least partially motivated by the desire to encourage the use of its facilities by the Chinese public. The Shanghai municipal records (as reported on Sept. 9, 1865 in the *North China Herald*) show that a branch was "established in the Eastern suburb of the native city for the sale of postage stamps and collection of native correspondence," which was actually a contract "with Paon Shun by which, for the sum of \$600 per annum, he is allowed to collect and forward a portion of the Chinese postal matter."<sup>1</sup> This sum of \$600 dollars per annum alone indicates that a substantial amount of mails must have been involved, or at least was expected to be involved.

In contrast to this, it is well known to the experts in Chinese postal history that the exclusive nature of the Chinese Customs Post (i.e., its exclusive handling of the mails addressed in the European languages, or mainly in the western European languages) led to the establishment of the *Hua-yang* Post Office by the Chi-

nese authorities as the Chinese counterpart of the Customs Post Office.

In fact, until the establishment of the Chinese Imperial Post in 1897, the Chinese public almost exclusively used the *Min Chu*, and even after that the Imperial Post Office had to make some serious efforts to induce the Chinese public to use its services, such as the introduction of the express delivery service in 1905. For a real Chinese Post Office, in those early days, operated by and for the Chinese, one must look to Formosa, where the governor instituted a postal system in 1888 on the model of the old *I-chan* system. As the first really Chinese Post Office, this Formosan postal system certainly deserves special attention. It is one of the most fascinating fields in Chinese philately, and until recently very little was known about its postal history. Some of its stamps are still shrouded in mystery. However, this Formosan postal system operated only within the one province of Formosa and was in this sense rather local in character, and it only lasted a little over seven years. It therefore cannot compare in importance with the Shanghai postal system, whose operations extended over most of the important trade and population centers in China.

Thus one can truly say that China's first postage stamps were the Large Dragons of the Shanghai Local Post, not the Large Dragons of the Chinese Customs Post. Moreover, the extremely close similarity between the designs of these two Large Dragons issues shows that when the time came to design the first stamps for the Customs Post Office, the designer was very probably inspired by the Large Dragons of Shanghai. It is, therefore, both surprising and regrettable, that until recently almost no further research has been done on the Shanghai Large

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. C.S. Morton, M.A., "Shanghai, An Account of the Working of the Shanghai Post Office, and the Introduction of Stamps, compiled from Official Documents," *Philatelic Journal of Great Britain*, Nov. 1925, p. 151.

Dragons since the pioneer works of W.B. Thornhill and John N. Luff.

This was the situation facing us when the late Lyons F. Livingston and the author took up the study of the Shanghai Large Dragons more than twenty years ago. The state of Shanghai philately at that time can best be described as what the state of Chinese philately would be today if there had been no further research at all after the pioneering work of Harte-Lovelace. We are of course speaking here mainly about the Large Dragons, but the situation is even worse regarding the later issues of Shanghai, as we shall see in due course. For example, the 1893 Barclay & Fry issue, which was basically the last issue of Shanghai, is a most fascinating subject, with its various combinations of different methods of printing and its extensive varieties of postal stationery, yet practically no attention was paid to it until we undertook its study.

This situation is even more surprising when one considers that the works of Thornhill and Luff preceded the work of Harte-Lovelace by more than a dozen of years and that the work of Thornhill was published in a handsomely printed handbook, with many photographic illustrations, by the famous philatelic firm of Stanley Gibbons. In fact, this last point seems to indicate that at the turn of the last century the stamps of Shanghai received at least as much attention among the philatelists as the stamps of the Chinese Customs Post.

This situation apparently changed in the later years, when the stamps of the Chinese Customs Post attracted increasingly more attention. During the past few decades there has been a great surge of interest in Chinese philately, but until very recently, just a little of this resurgence of interest has spilled over to the Shanghai Local Post. With this handbook we

hope to show that the Shanghai Local Post has a philatelic history which is as rich as any in the Far East during the period of its existence.

Finally, we should like to add that until the establishment of the Imperial Post Office in 1897, the Shanghai Local Post was the only "full service" postal establishment in Shanghai, in the sense that it not only received the mails but also delivered each piece of mail to the addressee individually, while the Customs Post Office, as well as all the foreign post offices would only receive the incoming mails and announce or otherwise let it be known that the mails had arrived. Thereafter each individual recipient had to go to the customs office or the respective foreign post office agent (usually the consulate of that country in Shanghai) to get his mail.

Furthermore, right from the time of its establishment, the Customs Post Office, seems to have arranged with the Shanghai Local Post to have its mails delivered in Shanghai to the individual recipients. From the Customs Large Dragon period to the transition (to Imperial Post) period in 1897, nearly all Customs mail covers, when they were sent to Shanghai, have imprinted on them the receiving postmarks of the Shanghai Local Post, often also with Chinese characters (usually in pencil) indicating the addresses in Chinese. Most of the postal clerks were Chinese, who though literate, could not always be presumed to know English or other western European languages. Therefore, it appears that some sorting clerks in the Shanghai Local Post Office, must have acted as translators, and wrote on the letters the addresses in Chinese, so that the delivering clerks would know where to deliver them.

Also as a feature of this "full service" office, the Shanghai Local Post provided from a

very early time pillar boxes for the convenience of its customers. Already as early as 1866 there was talk about the establishment of pillar boxes. In fact, according to a regulation of the Shanghai Local Post published in 1888 there were at that time 11 pillar boxes scattered all over the international settlement, including one at the Shanghai Club, where the pillar box was

cleared six times a day on weekdays. The existence of these pillar boxes serves as a possible explanation of some of the strange double or even triple frankings sometimes found during the transition period before the amalgamation of the Shanghai Local Post into the Imperial Post Office.

# CHAPTER 2

## EARLY POSTAL HISTORY

### 1. Brief History of the Port.

Although some authorities set the date of the first settlement of Shanghai as early as A.D. 960, very little is known about its early history. In any case, it seemed to be a place of no particular significance until 1842. In that year the Treaty of Nanking was signed, terminating the first war between Great Britain and China (known in history as the Opium War). One of the terms of this treaty was the opening to foreign trade of the "treaty ports" of Amoy, Canton, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. Later, in 1846, France, Great Britain, and the United States received sections of land, called "concessions," which were outside the native city of Shanghai, for business places and residence. In 1863, the American and British concessions were combined into a single large area named the "International Settlement," but the French concession remained separate.

The geographical location of Shanghai gave it some unusual advantages over the other treaty ports. It is situated at the mouth of the Yangtze River, China's greatest river, which

provides water transportation to many of the most prosperous regions in the interior of China; it is centrally located for trade to the coastal ports in both north and south China, as well as the ports of Japan. It had direct access to the local population, which was then lacking, say, at Hong Kong. These factors, plus a year round climate far superior to the four other original treaty ports or Hong Kong, made Shanghai the focal point of foreign trade in China.

More and more foreigners and foreign firms came to settle in Shanghai, until by 1854 it had become the largest single trade center in China. Also in that year, on July 17<sup>th</sup>, the Shanghai Municipal Council was established.

This Council was elected by the taxpayers of the foreign concessions, and it was for all practical purposes the ruling authority of the International Settlement in Shanghai. It levied taxes, built and maintained roads and docks, established a police force and a volunteer army, and performed all the other functions necessary in an organized society. Also in that year of

1854, the Chinese Maritime Customs Service opened its first office in Shanghai.

## 2. Origin of Shanghai Local Post.

So far as we know, Rev. C. S. Morton was the first one who made a serious effort to find information about the early history of the Shanghai Local Post. In his 1925 article about Shanghai in *The Philatelic Journal of Great Britain*, he said that he had "hunted up and down and explored every corner of the Council Chamber, to discover any vagrant scraps of paper bearing on the subject . . . but the cupboards are as bare as Mother Hubbard's." In particular, Rev. Morton was unable to find in the minutes of the Shanghai Municipal Council anything relating to the establishment of the Shanghai Local Post. However, he did succeed in finding a record of a Council meeting shortly before the issuing of postage stamps, and it appeared from this document that the issuing of stamps in August 1865 was at least partly motivated by a desire to prevent the abuse of the subscription system and to improve the revenue of the Post Office. It also confirmed the conjecture of John L. Luff that the first stamps were issued at the beginning of August 1865, so that one may very well set August 1<sup>st</sup> as the first date of issue.

Prompted by the observation that many of the postal notices of the Shanghai Local Post were published in the *North China Daily News* (called *North China Herald* in early years), which was already the leading English language newspaper in Shanghai (and remained so for many years to come), we then undertook a systematic search for anything concerning the Shanghai Local Post in the issues of this paper from 1860 to 1867.

In this we were helped by the fact that the early issues of the *North China Daily News* were available on microfilm. It turned out to be the right thing to do, for our effort was rewarded with great success. In fact, we have discovered not only the official notice for the inauguration of the Shanghai Local Post, but also the entire sequence of events which led to its creation.

Most writers on this subject, apparently following Morton, were under the impression that the Hong Kong Packet Agency in Shanghai and the Shanghai Local Post worked closely together in those early days, although not without some friction here and there. They seemed to consider the Shanghai Local Post some sort of an offspring of the Hong Kong Agency in Shanghai, although they were not sure how this might have come about. Indeed, Morton spoke metaphorically of the Shanghai Local Post as the adopted son, which Father Hong Kong would tempt to cut off without the "proverbial shilling."

Nothing could have been further from the truth. The truth of the matter was, that the Local Post was established by the Shanghai Municipal Council as a result of a bitter dispute between it and the Hong Kong Post Office. It was Shanghai's final answer to what they considered to be a breach of contract on the part of Hong Kong.

As a result, Shanghai and Hong Kong were bitter rivals in those days, so much so that the matter came to the attention of even the Colonial Secretary in London, and early in 1867, a Mr. Edward H. Rea was dispatched to Hong Kong to resolve the problem. Actually, the Hong Kong Postmaster Mr. Mitchell, was instructed to proceed with Mr. Rea to Shanghai to seek a resolution of the problem. However,

let us not run ahead of our story, and instead let us start right from the beginning.

Most of the foreign residents in Shanghai were merchants whose livelihood depended on trade, and it was important for them to have efficient and dependable communication with their suppliers, customers, and branch offices not only in Europe, America, and India, but also in other Treaty Ports as well as Hong Kong and Japan. Since their merchandise and some of the necessities of life came by ships, it was natural that these ships also carried mails, so that in the early days the offices and agents of the shipping companies functioned as private post offices of a sort.

As early as June, 1843, the Hong Kong Post Office began a very limited postal service to the Treaty Ports and sometime later, it established branches or agencies in the various ports, including Shanghai. As time went on, Shanghai became by far the most important trading center among the Treaty Ports, so that in the early 1860's, the Hong Kong Post Office had a full time Packet Agent and an Assistant in Shanghai.

However, it seems that the Hong Kong Post Offices in the Treaty Ports were both inefficient and expensive, so that much of the mail between the Treaty Ports was conveyed privately by ships without going through the Hong Kong postal system. These privately conveyed mails, colloquially called the "loose letters" at the time (as distinct from those handled by the Packet Agency), turned out to be the root cause of the trouble between the Shanghai Municipal Council and the Hong Kong Post Office.

The problem was not actually a new one. Already in the early 1840's, when the Hong Kong Post Office was first established, the post-

master discovered to his dismay that the bulk of the correspondence between Hong Kong and the Treaty Ports was conveyed privately by merchant vessels without the benefit of the Post Office. The reason was quite clear. Most merchants could have their correspondence handled by these private vessels much more promptly and with far less cost than by the Post Office.

In one instance in 1847, a group of some sixty merchants in Hong Kong, irked by the lack of regular communication with Canton, made an arrangement with a Captain Larkins of the SS *Corsair* to carry their mail to Canton for a monthly subsidy of 150 pounds sterling. Since this was against the postal regulations of the Postmaster General, legal proceedings were instituted against Captain Larkins. When Captain Larkins refused to break his contract with the merchants, a fine was imposed on him.

Thereafter, the British community in Hong Kong addressed a petition to the Postmaster-General in London, and although "the petition was most courteously worded," it was noticed that the merchants had no intention of abandoning the service, and indeed, "the Imperial Treasury reported it would be difficult to hinder them." The upshot of the dispute was that the merchants tacitly won their case, and they later even expanded this presumably illegal service by establishing a joint stock company named the "Hong Kong and Canton Steamboat Co." It took at least ten more years for the Hong Kong Post Office to regain the control of the situation in Hong Kong, but the situation at the Treaty Ports remained the same as before.

The problem was particularly acute at the port of Shanghai, where with the opening of the river ports in 1860 the volume of trade and

shipping grew by leaps and bounds. As the businesses prospered, the volume of mails coming into Shanghai also increased tremendously. However, of this huge volume of mail only a small fraction came through the Packet Agency of the Hong Kong Post Office, while the bulk came as "loose letters," which were then left for distribution by private hands.

It was probably with the purpose of coping with this "illegal" conveyance of mails that in 1862 the postmaster of Hong Kong, Mr. F. W. Mitchell, went to Shanghai. What negotiations took place there are not known, but somehow the Shanghai Municipal Council and the Hong Kong Post Office entered into an agreement, which later was to be the object of a bitter dispute. We do not know exactly what was in that agreement, except that the Shanghai Municipal Council was to pay the Hong Kong Post Office a subsidy of \$2,500 in return for certain services from the Hong Kong Packet Agent at Shanghai.

For Shanghai the main problem was the so-called "loose letters," that is the mails brought in daily by private vessels. It was expected that the Hong Kong Packet Agent would undertake to collect all such incoming mails and deliver them to the residents; a fee of one penny per letter to be collected for this service. This was to be credited to the account of the Council, in reduction of the annual contribution.

As to the "town letters," (i.e., the letters within the city itself), there was at that time no need for such a service; in any case, such a service was never contemplated by the Council. The Hong Kong Post Office, on the other hand, contended that the "town letter" service was precisely what it agreed to offer in exchange for the annual contribution from the Council,

and that if it were to handle the incoming mails from the private vessels, then it would have to charge a fee of four pence per letter (not exceeding half ounce) on its own account, this being the regular rate for mails coming to the Packet Agent.

We reproduce here the report of the Shanghai Municipal Council on this subject, together with the exchange of letters between the Council and the Hong Kong Postmaster, as published in the *North China Herald*, April 11, 1863. (Report No. 633)

Post Office: -- At the special meeting of Land Renters held on the 8<sup>th</sup> September last, a proposal from the Post Master General of Hong Kong was submitted by the Council, and with some reluctance adopted provisionally by the meeting. It was to the effect that the community should contribute the sum of \$2,500 for one year towards the support of the Shanghai Branch of the Post Office; in return for which the Council were to have the power to exercise a local control over the management of the Post Office, by which arrangement they hoped to have been able to increase the usefulness of the establishment and render it an aid instead of hindrance to business.

It was further agreed that the revenue to be derived from the local mails which would be brought to the Post Office, so as soon as the establishment was placed on such a footing as to assure prompt delivery of the letters, [that revenue], should pass to the credit of the Municipal Council in reduction of their annual contribution of \$2,500. With an efficient staff, and penny postage on all mails sent into the office for delivery, the Council felt confident that consignees of vessels bringing mails would gladly have availed themselves of the use of the Post Office, and a large revenue would accrue from a source heretofore entirely



unproductive,—for it is notorious that, of the aggregate correspondence arriving in Shanghai from the coast and river, at present only a small fraction goes through the Post Office.

Your Council regrets to have to report that the instructions issued by the Post Master General of Hong Kong to the packet agent here have utterly defeated their plans, the Post Office refusing to carry out the view of the Council excepting as regards "Town Letters," a branch of Post Office work never contemplated when the arrangement was made last August. The result is that the great mass of correspondence continues to be managed without the intervention of the Post Office, and the community of Shanghai are burdened with the payment of \$2,500 for the year to support an institution which is useless to them, and are deprived of the large revenue which would inevitably accrue were the Post Office placed at the disposal of the public on the terms stipulated.

The correspondence on this subject is on the table; and the Council have only further to add that they have been compelled to notify the Post Master General that his portion of the agreement, having fallen through, the Council consider themselves absolved from any further obligation in the matter, and claim the refund of the majority of the yearly contribution which has been already paid.

This report set forth the history of the dispute as seen from the side of the Shanghai Municipal Council; this report may not quite do justice to the Hong Kong Post Office, but from it at least we can see the nature of the dispute. The report continues with the correspondence between the parties:

Council Room  
January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1863

To the Post Master General,

I am directed by the Municipal Council in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 10th Nov. last to bring under your consideration the highly unsatisfactory working of the Post Office here which in the opinion of the Board, is traceable to the defective arrangements made by the Hongkong Government for its maintenance.

I am directed to observe, that you appear from your letter of the 10th Nov. altogether to have been under a misapprehension of the wishes of the Council in regard to their determination to affix a penny stamp on a certain class of letters arising in Shanghai for distribution. Consignees, or "loose" letters daily arrive by private vessels, which are now regularly advertised and left for distribution by private hands, the control of which the Council could command where their plan of a penny postage supplied to them. These letters can only be recognized by the Packet Agent here by accident or by common report, as sea or river letters, and consequently need not of necessity be liable to the established rate of 4d each as laid down by yourself.

The Council are utterly at loss to conceive how the realization of one penny upon letters, which never have been and never will be given over to the Post Office, can either interfere with the regulations or revenues.

Be that as it may; it only remains for me, now in obedience to the commands I have received from the Municipal Council to notify to you the determination of the Board to withhold any further payments on behalf of a department from which they derived no additional benefits, as well as to demand the repayment of the sum of \$1,250 already advanced on the faith of an

engagement which the Council contend has not been kept on the part of the Hongkong Government - I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant.

(Signed)

EDWIN PICKWOAD  
Secretary Municipal Council

To the  
Post Master General,  
Hong Kong.

(No.28)

Packet Agency  
Shanghai, 7<sup>th</sup> March, 1863

SIR, Having just observed your Advertisement in the North-China Herald, I take the earliest opportunity of informing you that your notice does not coincide with the instructions I am prepared to obey, as thus.

Town letters — I have been made distinctly to understand are such as may be sent by you; for instance to Messrs. Dent & Co here, and upon Letters of this description only does the rate one penny per half ounce hold good.

Letters from the River, Northern, Japanese and other ports are not included in the above, and will as before be charged at the rate of four pence per half ounce.

These are what I understood to be the charges as conveyed in the Letter to Mr. Backer, and as pointed out to me by Mr. Mitchell personally.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant.

J. P. MARTIN  
Packet Agent

E. PICKWOAD, Esq.  
Secretary Municipal Council

(Copy)

Council Room  
March 24th 1863

SIR. Under direction of the Municipal Council I do myself the honor to enclose

copy of a letter I have received from Mr. Martin from which it would appear that the Council are as distant as ever from the prospect of securing the advantages that the Board conceives to be legitimately within their control.

A system of "Town Letters" as understood by you, the Council never contemplated, for such a want has no existence.

After a careful consideration at your views, gathered from your correspondence with this office, the Council is led to believe that, in objecting to their system of a penny postage upon letters arriving at this port by private vessels, you are hampering yourself with British postal regulations, which were never contemplated to apply to this portion of the dominions of the Emperor of China, where Foreign residents, under sufferance, are permitted by the native authorities to make such rules and regulations for the delivery of letters arriving here from outports, having no Post Office Agents, as seem most adapted to their local requirements.

In the first place, the Council beg to call your attention to the fact that very few letters from the North of China or from Japan find their way to the Post Office at all, and that it was with no intention of interfering either with revenue or expenditure of the General Post Office, that they proposed to collect an impost on all letters (hitherto delivered by private hands) arriving here in private vessels. The Council have been called upon to subsidize the Postal Revenues of this place with a view of increasing its staff and enabling the Packet Agent, with as little delay as possible, to distribute all letters sent to his office by private hands for the foreign Residents. This impost of one penny must not [be] considered, to include letters arriving here from your Agents at other ports.

2-Individuals or firms not subscribing as above will be charged after the following rate:-

Every newspaper will be charged 1c.		
For every letter	1 oz. or under	2c.
or package weighing	1 oz. & not excdg 2 oz.	4c.
	2 oz. & not excdg 4 oz.	8c.
	4 oz. & not excdg 8 oz.	12c.
	8 oz. & not excdg 16 oz.	25c.

3. Private Boxes will be provided in the Post Office for every individual or firm becoming an annual subscriber.

4. The Post Office will be opened for the receipt and delivery of letters every lawful day during the hours of 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. On Sunday, letters can be had on application at the office during the hours of 9 to 10 a.m. and 4 to 5 p.m.

5. The settlement will be divided into sections and all letters or packages will be sent out for distribution as soon after receipt as practicable. Subscribers can however by especial arrangement with the Superintendent have their letters retained at the office and delivered to duly authorized coolies.

6. Letters sent to this office for delivery in the Settlement will be distributed at the first available opportunity after receipt; from subscribers free of charge, and from non-subscribers according to tariff.

7. Letters sent to this office will be received up to the hour which will be advertised in the Daily Shipping List, and will be forwarded to care of the consignee of the vessel at the port, to which she may be bound.

8. This Office will be under the entire control and supervision of the Municipal Council.

Shanghai, 11<sup>th</sup> July, 1863

By order  
R. F. GOULD,  
Secretary.

Before proceeding further, we insert here a few remarks about two distinctive features of the Shanghai Local Post. First, was the extensive scope of its operations. It handled the mails not only to (and from) the Treaty Ports, but also to the ports in Japan; in fact, a little later it even handled the mails to San Francisco. In this connection one should bear in mind that at that time there was no national post office in Japan, and that the U. S. consular Post Office was established only in 1867. Although these international operations of the Shanghai Local Post were short-lived, they were nevertheless remarkable.

The second distinctive feature was the subscription system, which was to remain with the Shanghai Local Post during most of its period of existence. We shall dwell on that at length in the next section.

In view of the events leading to the establishment of the Local Post, it is not surprising that Shanghai and the Hong Kong Post Office were to become bitter rivals. This was indeed the case during the next three years. Thus wrote Rev. Morton:

Mr. Mitchell returned to Hong Kong and the tug-of-war commenced. At his end, at Hong Kong, Mr. Mitchell took the pre-

With this the Council does not wish to interfere in anyway. All that they claim to do is to make use of the Post Office staff for this delivery on the spot letters sent to them from the spot, for that purpose. Letters of this description are in the opinion of the Council entirely beyond your control.

The Council, therefore, desires me distinctly to give you to understand that they contemplate an undivided action over all such letters, and that any opposition on the part of the Hongkong Government to this reasonable demand, will be looked upon as a breach, on their part, of the engagement recently concluded between the Hongkong government and themselves. As it is, they have paid, in advance, in addition to the heavy postal revenues of the place, \$1,250, for which no equivalent whatever has been afforded.

The Post Office, after a lapse of some months, is a bad, if not worse, than ever.

This state of things, the Council feel, is to be attributed in a great measure to the want of local knowledge of the Hongkong Government, in sanctioning an outlay of £250 only for an assistant; an amount not simply inadequate to the duties required,

but equally out of keeping with the requirements for the obtaining the ordinary necessities of life here. Hasty abandonment of the office by your first nominal, was the inevitable result.

The Council have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the assiduity and attention of Mr. Baker, but single handed, it cannot be expected that he will be enabled to inaugurate the reform so loudly called for on all sides, and without wishing to interfere with the expenditure of your department; the Board cannot but point out the more liberal salaries given to others here, as likely at no distant period, to deprive the department of an efficient and painstaking officer.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant  
EDWIN PICKWOOD

We do not know whether the Council ever got its money back. In any case, the Shanghai Municipal Council swiftly proceeded to organize its own Post Office, and on July 11, 1863, a notice was issued announcing the establishment of the Shanghai Local Post Office. We reproduce here this notice, as published in the *North China Herald*.

### LOCAL POST OFFICE CIRCULAR

The Municipal Council of Shanghae with a view to facilitate the delivery and dispatch of River, Coast, and Japan Letters, having secured the co-operation of the Owners and Consignees of steamers and sailing vessels at this port, have resolved on establishing a Local Post Office and the undersigned is hereby instructed to inform the community that this office will be ready for receipt and delivery of letters on and after Monday next the 13th July and will be subject to the following rules and regulations:-

1-Individuals or firms having branch establishments at either of the outposts or Japan and subscribing the sum of 75 Taels per Annum and others having no outposts beyond Shanghae and subscribing Fifty Taels per Annum will be entitled to have all letters and packages not exceeding 1 lb. in weight which may arrive to their address from the River, Coast, or Japan delivered free of any extra charge; and all similar letters or packages for outward dispatch from such individuals or firms will likewise be forwarded free of charge.

caution of placing a postal officer on board all mail vessels leaving Hong Kong for the Chinese and Japanese ports up to the time of their departure. At their end, Shanghai induced all the masters of vessels, including even the captains of the mail contract-Peninsula and Oriental-ships (*vide* Hong Kong Annual Postal Report for 1865) to deliver all their Shanghai letters at the Local Post Office, with the result that the revenue collected at the Packet Agency, Shanghai, on loose letters (i.e., carried outside the mails) amounted to \$3,466.18c. in 1864, but next year, Mr. Mitchell stated, it had sunk to \$1,672, owing to the masters of vessels, on their arrival at Shanghai, delivering all their loose letters at the local Post Office.<sup>2</sup>

This situation lasted for about three years until the matter came to the attention of the Colonial Secretary in London, and as we have mentioned before, Mr. Rea and Mr. Mitchell were sent to Shanghai in 1867 to seek a resolution of the dispute. Although Rev. Morton wrote optimistically that "Messrs. Rea and Mitchell went, saw, and conquered," what emerged was at best really only a truce.

As these gentlemen wrote in their report, dated July 19, 1867, ". . . we placed ourselves in communication with the Municipal Council of Shanghai, with the view of ascertaining whether they would be willing on any terms to hand over to us the Post Office. . . we found, however, that the council considered themselves under an obligation to their subscribers to maintain their separate office."<sup>3</sup>

This was obviously an excuse, for Shanghai was at that time trying itself to get rid of

the subscription system, as we shall see in the next section. It became apparent that the Shanghai Municipal Council had no intention at all of giving up its post office under any terms. All it was willing to agree to, perhaps, as a gesture of courtesy to London, was the physical housing of the two post offices under one roof and the rendering of mutual assistance in postal functions.

As to the more substantive problem of the "division of spoils," the following agreement was reached:

Hitherto, letters for Ningpo, for the ports on the Yangtze River, and for the ports in the north, have been forwarded indiscriminately through both the British and Local Post Offices, although principally through the latter, thus involving the necessity of each office making up a mail for the same place and for conveyance by the same steamer. To avoid this in future, we have agreed that all correspondence directed from these ports to Shanghai, shall be dealt with exclusively by the Local Post Office. In return, the Municipal Council have undertaken to hand over to us all correspondence addressed to or received from Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, Hong Kong, and Japan, which may find its way into the local Post Office.<sup>4</sup>

Thus we see that the agreement essentially stipulated that each side was to retain its main source of revenue and to refrain from encroaching on the other side.

As is often the case with such a truce, the terms were not always strictly observed by either side, particularly as time went by. In spite of the terms of the agreement, Hong Kong apparently

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153. This report was sent by the Governor (No. 334) on 25 July 1867, to the Colonial Office.

continued to maintain its agency at Ningpo, and a few years later, in 1872, it established an agency at Hankow. We do not know whether Shanghai kept its side of the bargain in the earlier years, but eventually it set up agencies in Foochow, Amoy, and Swatow.

The legacy of the bitter dispute between Shanghai and Hong Kong apparently persisted even decades later, as shown by a letter in our possession. This letter was from the British Post Office in Shanghai to Mr. Gregson of the Chinkiang Municipal Council, dated October 9, 1894. It was apparently in reply to an inquiry from Mr. Gregson concerning the possible cooperation between Hong Kong Post Office and Chinkiang Local Post Office. The letter was very brief and curt, and it ended pointedly with the following sentence: "This Office does not make use of any of the local Post Offices, Shanghai or other posts, and no fee is paid."

### 3. The Subscription System.

The subscription system was a special feature of the Shanghai Local Post. For an annual subscription fee an individual or a firm could have all its mails up to 1 lb. in weight handled free of any additional charge. This service applied to the delivery of the incoming letters and packages from the coast, river, and Japanese ports, together with the dispatch of the outward bound letters and packages to these ports, and to the delivery of any "town letters" within the city of Shanghai itself.

In the beginning the subscription fee was set at 75 taels for those having branch establishments at the other ports and 50 taels for those without such branches. It seems that these subscription fees were changed later from time to time, presumably in adjustment to the financial situation of the Post Office, although

we do not have the exact records of these changes. It is not clear what prompted the Shanghai Local Post to introduce the subscription system. It could be that the Shanghai Local Post saw it as a means to assure itself of secure financial support; perhaps more likely, the system was introduced to accommodate the wishes of the prominent business establishments in Shanghai.

It is clear that at the stipulated fees a subscription would be advantageous to a firm only if its mail exceeded a certain volume, and that generally the bigger the firm the more advantageous such a subscription fee would be. Whatever its original motivation, the Shanghai Local Post very soon came to regret its decision to introduce the subscription system, for the system was soon being abused by many firms, to the serious detriment of postal revenue. It seems that these firms were using the free service provided by the subscription system not only for their business mail, but also for the personal mail of employees. In other words, these firms were dispensing the free services as a kind of fringe benefit to their employees, at the expense of the Post Office. Thus we find in a report by the Financial Committee on June 7, 1865, the following statement:

Of the local post office as under their control, your Committee can speak. It [the Post Office] barely pays its [own] expenses, but when it is considered, the enormous mass of correspondence that passes through it posted by the foreigners for Chinese, it is worthy of consideration if these latter should enjoy the whole advantage of the post without paying a cash towards its support, while it may be possible by the extension of the Post Office within the settle-

ment, and the levying of a small charge per letter, to raise the municipal revenue.<sup>5</sup>

In speaking about the Chinese, the Committee was of course referring to the employees of the said foreigners. While the vast majority of these employees were Chinese (their salaries were only a small fraction of those of the foreigners performing similar work), there also were very likely a few foreigners, who certainly would also avail themselves of these free services. But the number of these people was probably rather small, and in any case the Committee probably would not have considered it seriously amiss, if the abuse of the system were limited to a few of their fellow Westerners.

Apparently realizing the futility of trying to prevent the abuse of the subscription system, the Municipal Council decided to abolish it. So long as the bulk of the mails came from the subscription system, there was no real need for using postage stamps. Now that the subscription system was going to be abolished, it was natural for the Shanghai Local Post to consider introducing postage stamps, a method of prefranking which was then rapidly being adopted by most of the postal authorities in the world.

Orders for the printing of postage stamps were therefore sent to the agent of the Municipal Council in England, which was presumably the firm of Nissen & Parker in London (later changed to Nissen & Arnold). Pending the arrival of these stamps from England, provisional stamps were printed locally by the Local Post Office itself as a interim measure. Then, on June 26, 1865, a Municipal Notification was issued regarding the Local Post Office, in which it was announced that "postage stamps will be

issued shortly" and that "the present system of subscription will be discontinued as soon as possible and the existing list of subscribers will not be extended."

The next year, by March 1866, the stamps ordered from England arrived, and a notice was issued on March 5<sup>th</sup> announcing that the new stamps were available at the Post Office. Finally, on April 1, 1866, which was the beginning of the fiscal year for the Municipal Council, it was announced that "the system of yearly subscriptions terminated on the 31st of March" and that henceforth all letters would be charged by weight and destinations.

It would seem that this was the end of the story and that the subscription system was finally abolished. However, in spite of the definitive tone of the official announcement of April 1, 1866, the subscription system was far from being dead. For, in the Postal Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1867, we read the following statement: "This establishment still continues to work satisfactorily, the accounts exhibiting a profit of 1,890 taels on the past year. Should the surplus increase during the present year, the rates of subscription will be reduced for the next year." This was in striking contrast to the announcement of barely a year earlier.

There was no mention at all of the termination of the subscription system; on the contrary, in speaking of the possible future reduction of the subscription rates, it tacitly assumed that the subscription system would remain indefinitely as an integral part of the postal service. Just what caused the postal administration to change their mind, we can only guess now. It could be that the leading business firms were reluctant to give up their advantageous posi-

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

tions under the subscription system, and after all, their owners were presumably very influential members of the community.

It could also be that the postal administration had finally persuaded these firms to refrain from abusing the subscription system, or at least to reduce the extent of the abuse. It could be a combination of both, but more likely it could also be that the problem itself had become less acute in the meantime.

It seems that the Post Office had apparently worked so well during that year that it showed the substantial profit of 1,890 taels. Since the financial problem was the original reason for bringing up the question of the subscription system, this happy result probably had the effect of rendering the question moot, and all concerned were willing to leave the things as they were. As it turned out, more than 25 years were to pass before the Shanghai Local Post was able to get rid of the subscription system.

#### 4. The Pre-adhesive Period<sup>Note:</sup>

Perhaps the single most serious difficulty one encounters in the study of the postal history of the Shanghai Local Post is the extreme paucity of covers. Their sparseness is so extreme that any cover, folded letter, or even used post card from the first twenty years of the Shanghai Local Post can be considered a veritable rarity. In fact, as of this writing, there survives not one single cover bearing a Large Dragon stamp.

The situation in the later years (1884-1897) is not much better, the non-philatelic covers in this period only slightly less rare than

the covers of the earlier period, and even the philatelic covers by such well-known collectors as Mencarini and Captain Binns, are few and far between. Just about the only type of cover which one meets with a degree of relative frequency are those obviously philatelic covers made by the ubiquitous Baron Gabriel von Gunzburg, some of which very likely were merely canceled to order and never went through the post.

This scarcity of covers is really amazing when one considers the very substantial volume of mails handled by the Shanghai Local Post during its period of existence. The author knows of no other field of Chinese philately where the supply of bona-fide covers is so meager, except possibly the early (1888-1895) Forosan postal system.

In view of this extreme paucity of covers, the student of postal history of Shanghai must rely more than usual on the used stamps. Alas, in this category the material is also very meager. That the used examples of the Shanghai Large Dragons are rarities is well known, but what is not so well-known is the fact that, with a few exceptions, the used copies of most of the later issues before 1885 (i.e., before the Third Cash Issue) are also very scarce. In particular, used copies of the higher values in these issues are extremely difficult to come by in any condition.

The subscription system was no doubt partly responsible for this state of affairs, since under this system the bulk of the mails passed through the post without any use of postage stamps. Another reason could be the relative absence of canceled-to-order stamps until the last few years of the Local Post (1893-97). One may occasionally encounter copies from the earlier years which look like they are canceled-

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<sup>Note:</sup> That is, the period before the issuance of Shanghai's own stamps. Hong Kong stamps were available for mail out of Shanghai from December 1862.



to-order, but there are not very many of these either.

The above comments are meant to serve as a kind of apology for not having much to report about the pre-adhesive period of the Shanghai Local Post, which lasted from July 1863 to August 1865. A very substantial volume of mail must have gone through the Shanghai Local Post during this period. After all, the Local Post was set up primarily to handle the large number of "loose letters," and the records show that the letters handled by the system ran into tens of thousands per year even in those early years.

In spite of this, only four entires have been recorded from this period, three of which are folded letters. Before describing them, let us first note two of the postmarks newly created for the Shanghai Local Post and used during this period. They are shown here as Type "SLP-1" and Type "SLP-2."



Figure 1. Type "SLP-1" postmark. (Liv. A-1)

Type "SLP-1" [Livingston A-1] is a circular cachet consisting of a circle of 24mm diameter, in which the semi-circular inscription "SHANGHAE" appears at the top and the semi-circular inscription "LOCAL" appears at the bottom. The inscription "POST OFFICE" appears in two lines in the middle. This canceler was probably made locally in Shanghai.

It seems that the cachet Type "SLP-1" postmark was meant to be a provisional one, temporarily put in use until the arrival of the canceler Type "SLP-2" from England, some time between January and July in 1864. In any case, it has not been found on any stamp.



Figure 2. Type "SLP-2" postmark. (Liv. A-2)

Type "SLP-2" [Livingston Type A-2] is a circular dater stamp, consisting of a circle of 24mm. in diameter, in which the semi-circular inscription "SHANGHAE" appears at the top and the semi-circular inscription "LOCAL POST" appears at the bottom, and in the middle there is a three line inscription, with the "control" letter "X" at the top, a two-letter month designation (e.g., "MY" for "May") and a date number in the middle, and a two digit year date (e.g., "64" for 1864) at the bottom. This canceling device was probably made in England.

The first of the four entires from the pre-adhesive period is an 1863 cover from Shanghai to New York. It carries the cachet Type SLP-1 on its back and from the Hong Kong Packet Agency's Shanghai date stamp, also on the back, we may judge that it handed by the Shanghai Local Post to the Hong Kong Agency at Shanghai on November 16<sup>th</sup>. Since the best way to reach New York at that time was through London, the logical thing to do was to send it through Hong Kong to London. On the front of the cover is the red "PAID" postmark of London, dated January 18, 1864 and a black

arrival postmark of New York. This is the earliest known letter from the Shanghai Local Post.

This cover (to the best of our knowledge) first appeared on the market in the auction (Sale No. 42) of George Alevizos in November 1983 (Lot No. 652) and is now in the author's collection. (See Fig. 3)

The second entire is a letter from Shanghai to Nagasaki, dated January 16, 1864, and addressed to the firm Pignatel & Co.; it carries a strike of the Type "SLP-1" postmark, on the line where the two sides of the letter are folded together. This entire is mentioned in F.W. Webb's *The Philatelic & Postal History of Hong Kong and the Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, pp. 321-22.

The third is a printed circular from Shanghai to Foochow, dated July 25, 1864, and addressed to Augustine Heard & Co.; it carries on the front a strike of the Type "SLP-2" postmark with the same date denoted as JY 25, 64. This entire is also in the author's collection.

The fourth is a letter from Shanghai to Yokohama, dated June 13, 1865, and addressed to a Mr. Gildemeister of L. Kniffler & Go.; it carries on the back a strike of the Type "SLP-2" postmark, also on the line where the two sides of the letter folded together.

It is from the markings on these entires that we have concluded that the postmark Type "SLP-2" arrived from England sometime between January and July 1864, and that Type "SLP-1" cachet was probably discarded when the Type "SLP-2" circular dater stamp was put in use.

Besides these four entires, there are a few Hong Kong stamps bearing the Type "SLP-2" postmarks. Three such items have been recorded by Webb, all consisting of the 8¢ unwatermarked stamps, and they bear the following dates: April 22, 1864; May 3, 1864; and September 1, 1864 respectively.

Finally, we remember having seen once at an auction a copy of the 24¢ unwatermarked Hong Kong stamp bearing a partial strike of the Type "SLP-1" postmark; the stamp also carried the Hong Kong postmark B62 in blue, and that is all, I am sorry to say.

Of course it is always possible that in time new material may turn up, particularly in view of the fact that the postal history of the Shanghai Local Post has only relatively recently attracted much attention among the collectors, and the fact that two of the four entires mentioned above actually were discovered (to the best of our knowledge) only during the last ten years.



Figure 3. Pre-adhesive Shanghai cover showing Shanghai Type "SLP-1" postmark on reverse.

THE SHANGHAI LARGE DRAGONS

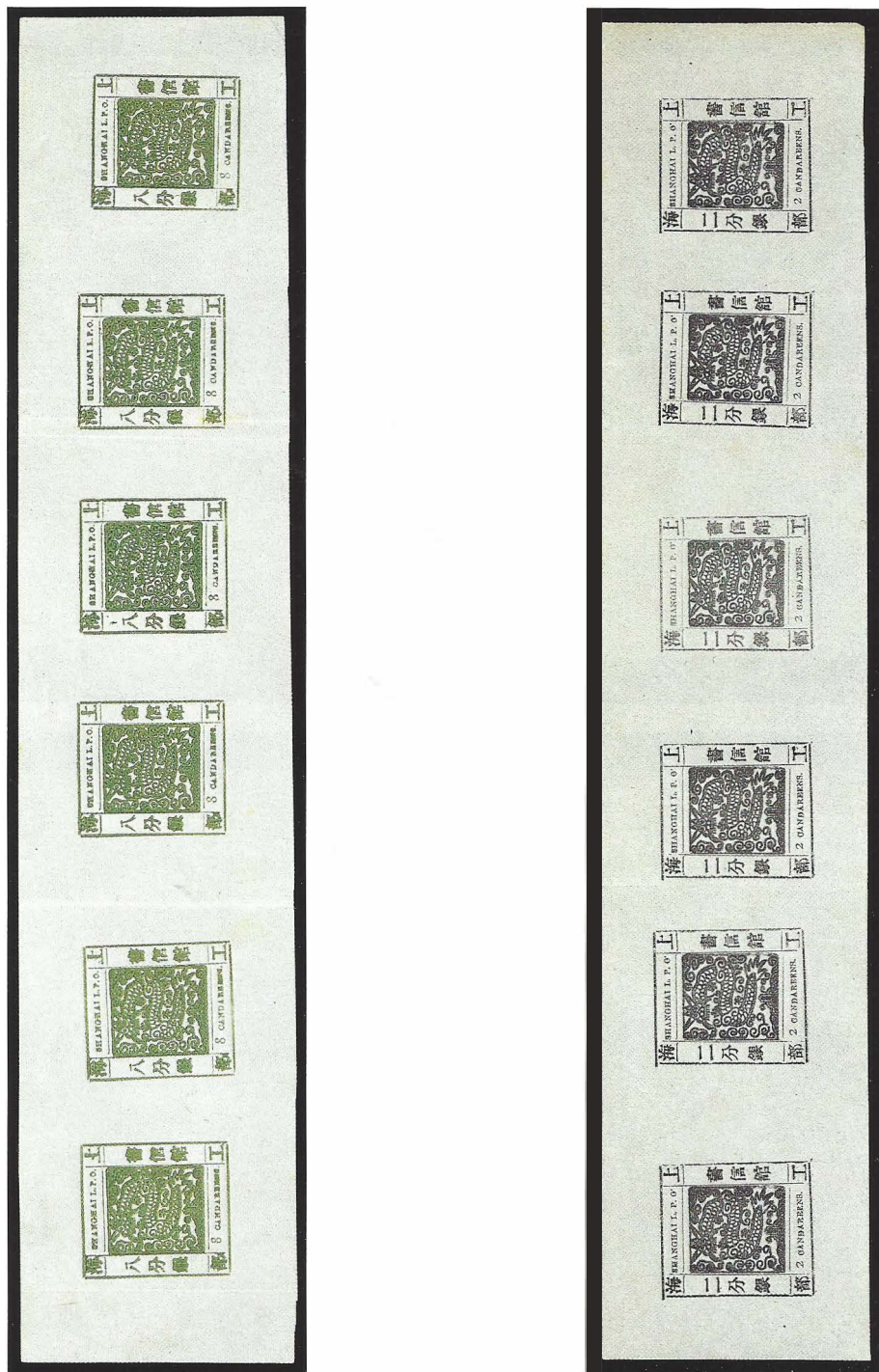


Figure 4. Complete sheets, (Left) 8ca, Printing #16 (Liv. 3d), and (Right) 2ca, Printing #41 (Liv. 19).

# CHAPTER 3

## The First Issue

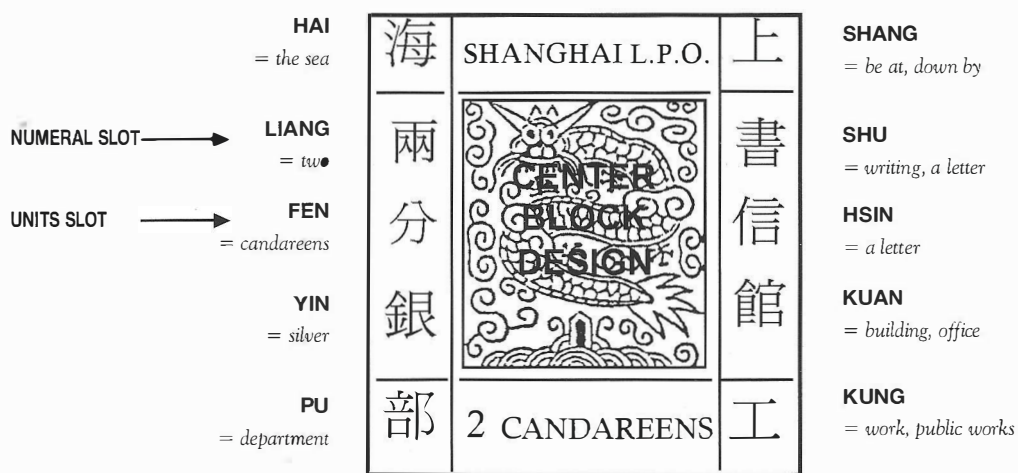


Figure 5. Stylized Model of Shanghai 2ca Large Dragon Stamp

The first issue of Shanghai stamps was a provisional issue, intended for temporary use pending the arrival from England of the definitive issue. The stamps of this issue are rather large, and they have a prominent central design featuring a dragon surrounded by what are purported to be clouds; hence, they are commonly called “the Large Dragons.” As we have mentioned before, August 1, 1865, was very probably the date on which the Large Dragons were first issued.

The Large Dragons were printed locally in Shanghai—in fact, right at the post office. They

were printed one at a time from a single form. This form was made of a center block on which the central dragon design was engraved, and a surrounding framework, set up from printers rules and metal types, which contained the Chinese and English inscriptions.

It is generally believed that the form, consisting of the center block with its typeset surroundings, was locked together and put on a hand press, and that impressions were pulled from it one at a time, much as proof impressions are usually pulled from a die, although not always with the usual care as in taking

proofs. With the "generic" 2ca stamp illustrated, we have given the Chinese characters, and their transcriptions in Wade-Giles romanization. Some of the various value combinations—the possible entries for the numeral and units' slots are illustrated on page 51.

The center block is generally assumed to have been made of wood or ivory. As we shall mention in due course, there are some reasons to believe that the center block was made of a soft metal, such as copper or brass, instead of wood or ivory, but this is a point of no great philatelic significance.

### 1. The Printings.

As a provisional issue, the Large Dragons had a relatively short period of use, although this period was longer than the generally assumed period of seven or eight months, as we shall see later. In spite of their short period of use, these stamps were not printed or issued all at one time, or even at a few specific times.

In fact, the Large Dragons were printed and issued a few stamps at a time, whenever the need for some particular values arose, and each time just enough of the stamps were printed to take care of the need of the moment or perhaps the anticipated need of the next few weeks. It was even reported that a person, "went to the Post Office for some stamps, and that, not having the ones he required already printed, they struck off some while he waited."<sup>6</sup>

Only toward the end of the period of use was there any indication that some stamps were printed in sufficient quantities at one time to

supply the anticipated need for a substantial period.

When a new value was to be printed, which was different from the value of the previous printing, the printing form had to be loosened, the old values (both Chinese and English) replaced by the new values, the letter "S" for plurals removed or added if necessary (or if thought of), and the form re-locked. Furthermore, the old printing ink had to be wiped clean from both the center block and the framework, sometimes with the use of a cleaning fluid, so that the new ink would register properly.

Therefore, we would have a new printing each time a new value was to be printed, and it is almost inevitable that after such a process of disassembling and reassembling of the form, the positions of the lines and types in the new printing would not quite be the same as in the previous printing. It is these characteristics that make it possible to identify the various printings.

It is also to be expected that the setting differences in the printings done at about the same time—that is, before the form had to be completely removed from the press to permit the printing of other things, would generally be fewer than between the printings done much earlier or later. Following Luff's example, we shall denote all the printings done at about one time as a group of printings, or simply a group. We shall use this designation even when the group happens to consist of only a single printing.

Thus the printings in one group can be detected by their general setting similarities. All this has been borne out by the study of the stamps. In fact, by studying the settings of the

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<sup>6</sup> "Stampede," who wrote from Shanghai for *Stamp Collectors' Magazine*, 1 June 1866.

stamps, the wear and tear of the center block, and the contemporary postal and philatelic reports, it has been possible to identify some 24 groups of printings and to place them in their presumed chronological order, all with a high degree of probability.

Of these 24 groups of printings, some 18 groups, containing about 60 printings, were prepared during the first eight months following August 1865. This implies that during this period a new group was printed and issued about every two weeks on the average, demonstrating that the Large Dragons were indeed as Luff described, a "hand-to-mouth issue."

In the next chapter we give a systematic account of this research and a detailed description of all the printings together with their sub-varieties, in so far as they are known to us. This research is based mainly on the earlier works of Thornhill<sup>7</sup> and Luff,<sup>8</sup> who certainly deserve to be remembered as the founders of Shanghai philately.

The original idea for such groupings came from Thornhill, who also determined almost all the different "settings" of the Large Dragons, but it was Luff who first put this idea on the right track and began to develop it toward a satisfactory conclusion.

Our account follows mainly the classifications of Luff, who held that nearly every stamp represented a printing, with a number of significant corrections and additions derived from

<sup>7</sup> W.B. Thornhill, *Shanghai, with Notes and Publishers' Prices*, London, Stanley Gibbons, Ltd., 1895.

<sup>8</sup> John Luff, "The First Issue of Shanghai," *The American Journal of Philately*, Vol. 10, Published by The Scott Stamp and Coin Co., Ltd., New York, January (pp. 17-26), February (pp. 60-70) and April (pp. 158-162), 1897.

our own research. In our opinion, the Thornhill-Luff works on the Shanghai Large Dragons represent a spectacular achievement in philatelic research. We feel very privileged to be able to make some contributions toward their improvement.

Before proceeding any further we should like to point out the difference between our concept of a "printing" and that used by Luff. As used by Luff, every "new setting" of a stamp represents a "new printing," **while in our use of these terms, "different settings" of a stamp can very well belong to the "same printing" if they are considered to be printed during the same time period or on the same occasion.** We observe for example, two stamps of a pair can very well have quite different "settings"<sup>9</sup> and that such a pair of stamps cannot possibly be considered to belong to different printings.

Multiples of most printings of the Large Dragons are extremely rare and it is very unlikely that Luff had the opportunity of handling many of them. What results from using this particular definition of a "printing" is that we now have a total of 78 printings as against several hundred listed by Luff.

Its importance can be demonstrated by considering the 8 CANDAREENS stamp in Group I. There are three copies of this stamp which all have the same setting except for the spacings between the letters in "SHANGHAI" in the inscription "SHANGHAI L.P.O." By using Luff's criteria, these would represent three different printings, namely his Printings Nos. 3, 4 and 5. We feel it is more logical to consider them all belonging to the same printing, which in our system is denoted as the Printing No. 3 in Group I. In other words, we believe these

<sup>9</sup> Ed.-Explained by shifting of parts in the frame.

three stamps were printed at the same time or on the same occasion, and the differences in the spacings were due to the types not being locked together tightly, which resulted in some movement during the actual printing process.

In the example just given, the distinction between a setting and a printing seems insignificant, but the difference becomes clear when we encounter a pair of stamps which are obviously from different settings, such as the pair of 2 CANDAREEN Laid Paper in Group IX. (See Fig. 6.)<sup>10</sup>

The two stamps in this pair, both by definition belong to Printing No. 26, but are representative examples of Variety Nos. 26a and 26b. The fact that the setting of the design components of No. 26b is identical to the variety No. 25d of the 2 CANDAREEN Wove Paper Printing No. 25 stamp, suggests that Printing Nos. 25 and 26 should really be considered as one printing. It seems likely that these stamps were printed on the same occasion, with a few sheets

of Laid Paper having been substituted for the normal Wove Paper perhaps to fill the order.

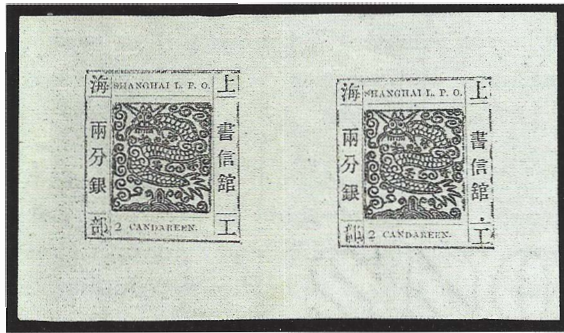


Figure 6. A pair, Printing No.'s 26a and 26b

In another example, we will take the 1 CANDAREEN stamps in Group VIII. In this group, we find at least 10 (or more) different settings, (some of which would be new to Luff), yet he listed them as being all different printings (No. 29 to No. 38). In this case, we find it rather difficult to accept all of them as being printed on separate occasions, for reasons discussed below.

First, we know from the records that the 1 CANDAREEN stamps were all printed on or about November 15<sup>th</sup>, for there was a need for a 1 CANDAREEN stamp on or around that date to meet the need of the new reduced 1 candareen rate for the town letters. It would be reasonable to assume that the Post Office would print a substantial number of the 1 CANDAREEN stamps to meet an anticipated need, but to assume that it would do it on ten separate occasions, each time knowingly setting the inscription "SHANGHAI L.P.O." at widely varying positions, seems to be too far-fetched.

Instead, we rather assume that nine of these ten settings came from one printing (our Printing No. 23) with a rather loosely locked die. Only one setting (Luff No. 29) of these was ascribed to a separate printing, (Printing No.

<sup>10</sup>Ed. — Although Dr. Chow did not elaborate on this, it is certain that his 2-CANDAREEN pair has provided us with an important clue as to the method of printing for the Large Dragons. The notion of the same printing die repeated six times in a sheet, has led collectors to infer that the stamps were printed one sheet at a time, which would have required an awkward repositioning of the die for each stamp. It should have been much easier to keep the die block stationary and reposition the paper instead. If the printer needed to run several sheets, the easiest way would have been to start at either the left or right end of the sheet, pull an impression in that same first position on all of the sheets. He would then just reposition the paper relative to the die block and pull the second impression, adjacent to the first impression, on all the sheets; and so forth through the sixth impression. The 2-CANDAREEN pair, with its different settings, offers this as an explanation, and may indeed be the result of a method like this, but in the absence of other such multiples, this can, for the moment, only be theorized.



22) mainly because of the similarity of the position of the center block to that of the previous printing, which had already been noted by Luff.

We therefore list below for reference, the printings of the 24 groups, as determined in the next chapter.

## THE EARLY PERIOD

August 1865-March 1866

Group I:	2ca	Printing	#1
	4ca	Printing	#2
	8ca	Printing	#3
	16ca	Printing	#4
Group II:	16ca	Printing	#5
	2ca	Printing	#6
	8ca	Printing	#7
	4ca	Printing	#8
Group III:	4ca	Printing	#9
	2ca	Printing	#10
	8ca	Printing	#11
Group IV:	16ca	Printing	#12
	2ca	Printing	#13
	2ca	Printing	#14
Group V:	4ca	Printing	#15
	8ca	Printing	#16
	16ca	Printing	#17
Group VI:	16ca	Printing	#18
Group VII:	8ca	Printing	#19
	4ca	Printing	#20
	2ca	Printing	#21

## THE MIDDLE PERIOD

March 1866-Middle 1866

Group VIII:	1ca	Printing	#22
	1ca	Printing	#23
Group IX:	4ca	Printing	#24
	2ca	Printing	#25
	2ca	Printing	#26
	4ca	Printing	#27
	4ca	Printing	#28
	1ca	Printing	#29
Group X:	1ca	Printing	#30

16ca Printing #31  
8ca Printing #32

Group XI: 6ca Printing #33  
3ca Printing #34

Group XII: 12ca Printing #35  
6ca Printing #36  
3ca Printing #37  
3ca Printing #37A

Group XIII: 1ca Printing #38  
1ca Printing #39  
2ca Printing #40  
2ca Printing #41  
4ca Printing #42

Group XIV: 8ca Printing #43  
4ca Printing #44

Group XV: 3ca Printing #45  
6ca Printing #46  
12ca Printing #47

## THE LATE PERIOD

Middle 1866- March 1867

Group XVI: 1ca Printing #48  
1ca Printing #49  
3ca Printing #50

Group XVII: 2ca Printing #51  
1ca Printing #52  
3ca Printing #53

Group XVIII: 2ca Printing #54  
3ca Printing #55

Group XIX: 4ca Printing #56  
4ca Printing #57  
6ca Printing #58  
8ca Printing #59

Group XX: 12ca Printing #60  
12ca Printing #61  
16ca Printing #62

Group XXI: 1ca Printing #63

Group XXII: 1ca Printing #64  
2ca Printing #65  
3ca Printing #66  
3ca Printing #67  
4ca Printing #68

Group XXIII:	1ca	Printing	#69
	2ca	Printing	#70
	3ca	Printing	#71
	4ca	Printing	#72
	6ca	Printing	#73
	8ca	Printing	#74
	12ca	Printing	#75
	16ca	Printing	#76
	16ca	Printing	#77

Group XXIV: 2ca Printing #78

## 2. Essays and Proofs.

No proofs of the Large Dragons are known, neither proofs of the complete design nor proofs of some component parts, such as the center block. One would think that certainly some impressions must have been pulled from the center block, if only for the purpose of having a look at it before the center block was incorporated into the complete form, but apparently none of them survived.

According to the report of the Financial Committee at the Council meeting on July 8, 1865, a notice had appeared in the public papers wherein there were remarks regarding the transmission of correspondence, also stating that the design for the stamps had been approved, and that the natives were about to be apprised of the new regulations by a notification which had been drawn up in Chinese. In view of the context of this report, the stamps that were referred to here were the provisional Large Dragons, and not the definitive issue on order from England.

The above implies that proof samples or at least essays in the form of artist's drawings of the Large Dragons must have been presented to the Council for approval, and one wonders what happened to them. Of course, it could very well be that these proofs were just copies

of the 2ca stamp, Printing #1, and that they could very well survive without our being able to distinguish them from the issued stamps.

Although it seems that no distinguishable proofs survive, there are however, some essays for the provisional first issue, or the Large Dragons. They are illustrated here as E-1 to E-9, in their presumed order of appearance. The first five, E-1, E-2, E-3, E-4, and E-5 were discovered in 1972 and obtained by the author. After careful study of these "stamps," we determined then that they must be essays leading eventually to the emergence of the Large Dragons.



Figure 7. Essays - E-1 (blue) & E-2 (pink)

E-1 and E-2 are two impressions, E-1 in blue and E-2 in pink, of what seems to be the first design for the first issue of Shanghai. The design is for a 2ca stamp, and the impressions look as if they were taken from a die cut on a wooden block. It seems that these impressions were produced by handstamping with the wooden die, for they are not as clear as they should be if they were pulled from a hand press.

The paper of both E-1 and E-2 is rather thick and stiff, which probably also contributed to the lack of clarity. The general layout of this essay is clearly quite similar to that of the Large Dragons, except that there are no corner compartments here and the seven Chinese charac-

ters *shang-hai*, *kung-pu* and *shu-hsin kuan* (Shanghai Department of Public Works Letter Office), are incorporated in the side panels. The central design here is also somewhat different, consisting of two dragons instead of one, and it is more rectangular in shape than square, so that the stamp itself is also more rectangular than square.



Figure 8. Essay E-3

Probably because the postal authority was not quite satisfied with the clarity of the inscriptions, and perhaps also in order to avoid having to cut a new die for every value, the inscriptions on all four sides of the die were removed, so that only the center block containing the dragon design remained, and a new form was built from this center block by adding a surrounding framework, set up from printer's rules and metal types, which contained the Chinese and English inscriptions.

This arrangement had the advantage that one could use the same form for stamps of different denominations simply by changing the types for the values, in both Chinese and English. In this new form, the English inscription in the top panel were now spelled out as "SHANGHAI LOCAL POST" in capitals, and the Chinese inscription in the right-hand panel have been shortened by deleting the two characters *kung* 工 and *pu* 部, presumably on account of the lack of space to accommodate seven characters.

The essays E-3, E-4, E-5 are three impressions taken from such a form for the values 4ca, 8ca, and 16ca respectively. There must also have been an impression for the 2ca value, but unfortunately it is not present in our set. These impressions do not look as if they were produced by handstamping; instead, they seem to have been produced by placing the form in a hand press and having impressions pulled from it. As a result, the impressions E-3, E-4, and E-5 are much clearer than they are on E-1 and E-2. Even the center design comes out clearer than before.



Figure 9. Essay E-4

Comparing the essays E-3, E-4, and E5 with the Large Dragon stamps Printings #2, #3, and Printing #4, one discovers that all the Chinese type and most of the English type are exactly the same in both cases. In fact, some of the breaks and knicks in the Chinese characters are the same in both cases, suggesting that the identical Chinese type must have been used in both the essays and the Large Dragon stamps.



Figure 10. Essay E-5

For example, the “box” at the lower right corner of the character *hsin* 信 has a break at the point where its bottom line meets the right side. This is an imperfection in the type for this character, for in its normal form this “box” would be closed at all four corners. That this anomaly appears in both the essays and the Large Dragon stamps is very strong evidence that the identical Chinese type was used in both cases.

Furthermore, the shades of the colors used are also somewhat similar. The scarlet of E-5 is almost identical with that of the Printing #4. E-3 is yellow like Printing #2, though slightly more ochre; and E-4 is green like Printing #3, but slightly more bluish.

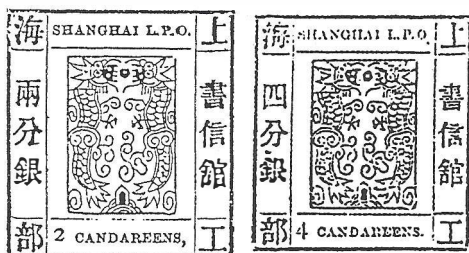


Figure 11. Essays E-6 & E-7.

Finally, even the paper used in the essays is very similar to that used in the Large Dragons of Group I. There is, therefore, no doubt that these essays are the precursors of the Large Dragons, which can be said to have evolved from the essays by having the center design replaced by a larger and better one, with corresponding adjustments of the surrounding frame.

The above lines were written some years back (about 1980), when we first began to write this “Handbook.” Recently, some additional discoveries have been made, which almost complete the picture. In an article entitled

“Two Unreported Shanghai Large Double Dragon Die Types” in *The China Clipper*, Vol. 51, No. 3, pp. 88-91, Hugh B. Leech and Henry M. Sweets III reported the discovery of a copy of E-4 and, more importantly, an unused copy of E-1 on the greater part of an envelope, the flap of which contains two embossed Chinese characters *kung* 工 and *pu* 部. This latter envelope, which was in the collection of Mr. C. W. Dougan [Ed.-Currently in the C. W. Goodwyn collection.], shows that our E-1 and E-2 are really cut squares from envelopes, and this of course, explains why they were on relatively thicker paper, as compared to the paper that is usual for the Large Dragons.

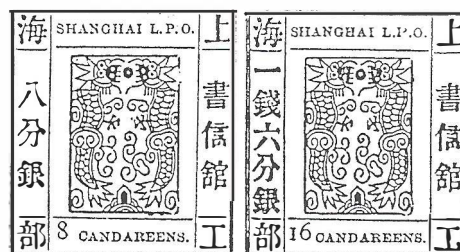


Figure 12. Essays E-8 & E-9

The publication of this article was followed about a year later by the discovery of four additional essays by Mr. Andre Roland in Paris, France. These essays, E-6 to E-9 show that there was an intermediate stage between the essays E3-E5 and the Large Dragon stamps. The essays E6 to E9 were illustrated in *The China Clipper*, Vol. 52, No. 5, July 1988, pp.152-55, in an article entitled “Another Shanghai Large Double Dragon Find” by Henry B. Sweets III, Jean Bourrin, and Hugh B. Leech. One notes that while the center blocks in these essays are still of the Double Dragon type, the surrounding frameworks are now almost exactly the same as those in the Large Dragon stamps, Printings #1 to #4, with only a few minor variations, such as the comma instead of a period after the

"CANDAREENS" in the 2ca essay and the period dropped after "O" in "L.P.O." in the 4ca essay.

It should also be noted, however, as observed by the authors, that the Double Dragon in the center block is a new one, and different in many respects from that in the earlier essays E1 to E5. Thus the center block that eventually appeared in the issued Large Dragons was at least the third attempt by the Shanghai Local Post to find a suitable central design for its first issue stamps. One wonders even more now, why no proof impression of it has ever been found. Of course, there is always the hope that one day such a proof impression may emerge, particularly in view of the fact that all the essays we have described here became known only within the last twenty-five years.

We should like to add the remark that the symbol of two dragons fighting for a (rather gigantic) pearl is a classic motif in China used to denote something precious. One notes that this symbol is also used later in the handstamp of the Hwa Yang Letter Bureau.

### 3. Postmarks.



Figure 13. Type "SLP-3" Small "Belt Buckle" postmark

The first two postmarks of the Shanghai Local Post were discussed above in Chapter 1, on page 17. With the introduction of the postage stamps, a new postmark was introduced, primarily as an oblierator. This is the postmark Type "SLP-3," a cachet called the "small belt buckle." It is a double circle measuring 24mm. in diameter, with a buckle like design across it

at one place (hence the name); between the two circles is the English inscription LOCAL POST OFFICE SHANGHAI, and in the center are the characters *Kung-pu Hsin-kuan* 工部信館 'Department of [Public] Works Letter Office.'

It is presumed that the Type "SLP-3" postmark was normally used to cancel the stamps, while the Type "SLP-2" dater was used as a dispatch or receiving postmark on the cover. Although no cover bearing the Large Dragons exists to substantiate this, it is partially confirmed by the fact that while all used Large Dragons are rare, those bearing the Type "SLP-2" postmarks are much rarer than those bearing the Type "SLP-3" postmarks.

In our experience, the relative frequency of the occurrence of Type "SLP-2" on the Large Dragons as compared to Type "SLP-3" is about one to ten. Type "SLP-2" appears normally in blue ink and Type "SLP-3" appears normally in red ink; however, Type "SLP-3" occurs occasionally in blue, and one example of a Large Dragon is known bearing the Type "SLP-2" postmark in red.



Figure 14. Type "SLP-N" Ningpo postmark

There are two other postmarks that also occur on the Large Dragons. One is the Ningpo postmark Type "SLP-N." The other is the "large belt buckle" Type "SLP-4." Both are extremely rare. According to official records, the Shanghai Local Post opened a branch office at Ningpo on December 4, 1865; but the business at Ningpo turned out to be not very good, and the branch

office was closed on April 1, 1868. Large Dragons with Ningpo postmark Type "SLP-N," apart from their great rarity, are among the most interesting objects in Shanghai philately, as they represent the first use of the Shanghai stamps in another port, and this at such an early date. Almost fourteen years were to pass before we find another such situation, and this time it is the use of Shanghai stamps in Hankow, which we shall describe below in due course.

Altogether only about twenty copies of the Large Dragons bearing the Ningpo postmark Type "SLP-N" are known, and so far as we know all of them except three are the 1ca stamp Printing #48. The three exceptions are the 1ca stamp of Printing #22, the 6ca stamp of Printing #36, and the 3ca stamp of Printing #50 (on pelure paper). One notes that the 3ca stamp of Printing #50 was issued at the same time as the 1ca stamp of Printing #48 (probably in April 1866, as we shall see later), while the other two stamps were issued earlier. The case of the Laid Paper 1ca stamp of Printing #22 is particularly interesting, since according to an official notice in the *North China Herald* the stamps of this printing were issued on November 13, 1865. This was to meet the needs created by the reduced postal rates, and they could very well be among the very first batch of Large Dragons sent to Ningpo to prepare for the opening of the new branch Post Office on December 4, 1865.

As to the postmark Type "SLP-4," the "large belt buckle," there was some doubt about its authenticity when we first met a copy of a Large Dragon (the 3ca stamps Printing #45) bearing it some years ago. Since this postmark was used rather extensively on the Third Cash Issue and its various surcharges (1885-1889), it was suspected that this copy of a Large Dragons

was canceled-to-order sometime in this later date period.

In time, when a few more copies of the Large Dragons bearing this Type "SLP-4" postmark turned up, all of them looking every bit like genuinely used copies (most of them are damaged or repaired), we were forced to concede the possibility that the postmark Type "SLP-4" had actually been introduced sometime in early 1866, but was for some reason, withdrawn after a short period of use. What really settled this argument for us, was the discovery that all (about five) known used copies of the very rare 3ca stamp on laid paper of Printing #37, (including the copy illustrated in the Thornhill's Handbook) all bore this Type "SLP-4" postmark. It has been found on other Large Dragons, namely: the 1ca stamp of Printing #38, the 2ca stamp of Printing #25, and the 3ca stamp of Printing #45 mentioned before.



Figure 15. Type "SLP-4" Large "Belt-buckle" postmark.

In any case, once one has accepted the proposition that the Type "SLP-4" postmark existed and was first introduced in early 1866, the issue of its authenticity does not seem quite so important. After all, it would seem natural that they might introduce a large postmark as an obliterater for a large stamp like the Large Dragons. The postmark Type "SLP-4" was probably withdrawn with the arrival of the first

definitive issue from England in March 1866, or shortly thereafter, and in keeping with the frugal habit of the Shanghai Local Post Office, then reintroduced for widespread use in 1885-1889 when the stamps were smaller, or to save wear and tear on the later type date stamp in use at the time.

We should like to mention that we have a copy of the 3ca stamp of Printing #55, with the date May 18, 1885. Although it was theoretically possible for the Large Dragons to be used for postage even at that late date, we believe this copy was canceled-to-order, being hence a mere curiosity. In addition, we have a copy of the 2ca stamp Printing #54 bearing the postmark F1 of the Hong Kong Agency at Foochow.



Figure 16. Printing #54, Hong Kong Agency Type F1  
(Foochow)

Mr. Richard Canman mentioned in the *China Clipper*, Vol. 21, p. 80, that he was shown a copy of 2ca Large Dragon with F1 postmark, but it was not clear whether his copy was Printing #54. Mr. Canman was doubtful about the authenticity of the postmark on his copy, because, he said, the bars and the lines in the "F" were not as sharp and clear as those in a genuine F1 postmark should be. The postmark on our copy is quite authentic, its bars and lines showing precisely the expected sharpness. We are inclined to think that it is a receiving cancellation, applied when a letter intended for the Shanghai Local Post Office was inadvertently

put into the mail bag for the Hong Kong Packet Agency.

#### 4. Period of Use.

Since the Large Dragons were intended as a provisional issue pending the arrival of the definitive issue from England, one might presume that their use would be suspended with the arrival of the latter from England in March 1866. Accordingly the following circular was published:<sup>11</sup>

Letter 22-New postage stamps having been received from England will be in use on, and from this date; persons holding old stamps can have them exchanged for new on application to the manager of the Local Post Office, No. 25 Szechuen Road.

工部書信館

By Order of the Council  
Alex. Johnston

Council Room  
Shanghai,  
5<sup>th</sup> March, 1866

Although this notice did not prohibit the use of the old stamps, it did imply that the Post Office itself "at least" would henceforth use only the new stamps. However, the following consideration shows that this actually was not feasible. When the orders for the definitive issue were sent to England in July 1865, the prevailing postal rates were as follows: For letters or packages under 1 ounce, 4 candareens; above 1 ounce and under 2 ounces, 8 candareens; above 2 ounces and under 4 ounces, 16 candareens; for every additional or fractional part of an ounce, 4 candareens; newspapers, 2 candareens each. Accordingly, the denominations of this first definitive issue were the same as those of the first group of Large Dragons, namely 2, 4, 8, and 16 candareens; except that,

<sup>11</sup>*North China Herald*, March 5, 1866.

for some inexplicable reason, these were in cents instead of candareens. (Let us for the moment disregard this discrepancy; after all, the Chinese expressions for the denominations are the same in both cases, and there are reasons to believe that in this instance the word "cents" stands for the "tael cents" or "candareens.") By March 1866, the postage rates had been changed from 2, 4, 8, and 16 candareens to 1, 3, 6, and 12 candareens respectively, and the Large Dragons of these latter denominations were in use. It would therefore be impossible for the post office to use the new stamps exclusively in every instance, and the problem must have become apparent very soon to the postal authorities. Very probably, it was shortly thereafter that orders were sent to England for a new set of stamps, with the denominations of 1, 3, 6, and 12 candareens. Under the circumstances, it may be surprising that the Local Post Office issued a notice saying that the old stamps (in values which were still needed) could be exchanged for new stamps in values that had been rendered obsolete, but in the annals of bureaucratic bungling, such a notice is not inconceivable.

The replacements with values of 1, 3, 6, and 12 candareens, constituted the second definitive issue, and they arrived in Shanghai about a year later in March 1867. In the meantime, the Shanghai Local Post Office had really no choice but to continue the use of at least some of the Large Dragons.

In theory, the post office could have used the new "cents" issue almost exclusively by merely supplementing it with the 1ca Large Dragon or, more conveniently, with the 1ca and 3ca Large Dragon stamps assuming, of course, that the difference between "cents" and "candareens" could have been ignored. There is, however, evidence that this was not done, at

least not done for very long, except perhaps at the Ningpo Agency. It is extremely difficult to find any used stamps of the "cents" issue, and of the few that do turn up, most bear the Type "SLP-N" postmark of the Ningpo Agency. Perhaps because of the great difference in the sizes of the stamps and the difference in their modes of separation, it seemed rather inconvenient to use the old Large Dragons and the new "cents" issue at the same time. The "cents" stamps were small and perforated, but the Large Dragons were very large and had to be cut apart and trimmed to fit suitably on letters of ordinary size. Perhaps this inconvenience was less objectionable in the small office of the Ningpo Agency, where, as we know, business was slow anyway.

There is, however another reason for the "cents" issue to be particularly suitable for use at the Ningpo Agency. Beginning April 1, 1866, the postal rates of Shanghai Local Post became differentiated by destinations, and the rates for letters and packages to and from Ningpo (and Chinkiang) were 2 candareens per half ounce, while the rates for all other ports (except Newchwang) were 3 candareens per half ounce. Thus, in order to make the best use of the "cents" issue, it would seem logical to send them to an office where the postage rates for most of the mails were in the multiples of 2 candareens.

As seen above, we have good reason to believe that the Large Dragons were in use from August 1865 to about March 1867, when this second definitive issue arrived from England, a period of about 19 months. This in no way implies that the twenty four groups of Large Dragons were issued in anything like a series of equal installments during this period. On the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence that almost two-thirds of the groups were issued



during the first seven months, when the practice was to have the stamps printed when needed, so that a new group was issued almost every couple of weeks.

We know, for example, from the official announcements that the 1ca stamps of Group VIII were issued on November 13, 1865, and that the 3ca, 6ca, and 12ca stamps in Groups XI and XII were issued at the latest by the end of 1865. We have in our collection a copy of the 3ca stamp, Printing #45, with a postmark dated March 6, 1866, which indicates that the stamps of Group XV were probably not issued much later than the end of February 1866.

Furthermore, as we shall see later from the study of the condition of the Chinese type and center block, there is a strong presumption that a rather substantial period of time had elapsed between the printing of Group XX and the printing of Group XXI. All these factors lead us to the following theory of what took place during the period from April 1866 to March 1867. It is strange that Luff, who first propounded the theory that the Large Dragons were in use until March 1867, never conjectured on what took place during the last part of the period. Instead, he launched a vehement tirade against the stamps of the last four groups, the so-called "Pemberton Reprints," but this tirade was largely unjustified, as we shall see in due course. Our theory is admittedly highly speculative, and we welcome other opinions on this subject.

By April 1866, when the postal authorities realized that the new stamps from England could not fully replace the Large Dragons, they were faced with the problem of providing an adequate supply of stamps for the interim period pending the arrival from England of the second definitive issue, which could not possibly arrive before the end of the year. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the stamps in

Group XVI and Group XVII (Printings #48-53) were issued sometime in March 1866, to meet the need for stamps of low denominations, particularly the 1ca and 3ca denominations which were lacking among the new stamps from England.

The inconvenience of using the old and the new stamps simultaneously probably led the postal administration to decide to return to the Large Dragons. It must have occurred to the postal administration then, that instead of the hand-to-mouth way of printing a small quantity of stamps whenever the need arose, it would be much more convenient to print a substantial quantity of all the needed denominations at one time—enough, in fact, to last through the entire interim period.

These were the stamps (Printing #54 to Printing #62) of Group XVIII, Group XIX, and Group XX, and we have reasons to believe that they were printed in substantially larger quantities than any one of the previous printings. The stamps in these groups contain all denominations except the 1ca stamps, of which a sufficient quantity was probably already available from the previous two groups. After printing these groups, and apparently on the supposition that no further Large Dragons would be needed, the entire printing outfit—center block and types and all—was probably laid aside somewhere to gather dust, no effort being made to clean and preserve it for any possible future use.

It turned out however, that the second definitive issue did not arrive from England as early as expected, and eventually a shortage of the smaller denomination stamps arose, probably toward the end of 1866. It then became necessary to make some more Large Dragons, which required that the previously discarded printing outfit be cleaned and restored for this

purpose. Thus, the stamps of Group XXI and Group XXII (Printings #63-68) were printed to supply the need for the stamps of smaller denominations from 1ca to 4ca. Because of the long period of disuse, it was probably necessary to clean the Chinese type by mechanical means, with the result that the Chinese characters in these stamps have a rather emaciated look, quite distinctive for these stamps, and some of the Chinese characters (namely the characters *hsin* 信 and *pu* 部) show signs of having been damaged and perhaps also retouched.

It is quite possible that these stamps were in the nature of a trial issue of very limited quantities, because, except for the 3ca of Printing #67, they are all very scarce. It seems that either right after this trial printing or somewhat later the postal administration decided to replace the hodgepodge mixture of Large Dragons printed over an extended period of time with a complete set of new stamps in a systematic color scheme, each denomination having a different color. One should recall in this connection that the 3ca, 6ca, and 12ca values among the old stamps all had essentially the same red brown color. This new set, consisting of the stamps of Group XXIII (Printings #69-77) gave each denomination a distinctive color, so that now the 3ca was red brown, but the 6ca was olive green and the 12ca was orange red. These stamps were the last of the Large Dragons issued, except for a 2ca stamp (Printing #78) issued later, presumably to meet a shortage of this value. The quantities issued of the stamps in this set were probably rather modest, since the second definitive was expected to arrive from England pretty soon.

It would seem that, among the old stamps which were replaced by this new set, there were still left substantial quantities of the higher val-

ues, namely the 6ca, 8ca, 12ca, and 16ca stamps, (Printings #58-62). When, by March 1867, the second definitive issue arrived from England and the Large Dragons were no longer used by the Post Office, there were among the remainders only small quantities of the last set, but substantial quantities of the Printings #58-62.

We realize that the above account is essentially one of pure conjecture, but these are the simplest and the most reasonable conjectures we can think of which fit the known facts and the evidence obtained from careful study of the stamps. Our theory assigns to the last set of Large Dragons, Printings #69-78, the status of a legitimate issue, and we realize that this is in sharp contrast to the prevailing opinion which goes back to such outstanding authorities as Thornhill and Luff.

Both Thornhill and Luff condemned these stamps in very strong terms. In their opinion, these stamps were nothing but reprints, made by the Shanghai Local Post Office after the Large Dragons were superseded or suspended from use, and purely for the purpose of getting money from stamp collectors. Some comments are therefore in order to justify our rejection of their opinion, and these will be set forth in the next sections.

### 5. The So-called "Pemberton Reprints."

Since all the stamps in the last four groups, Groups XXI to XXIV, have retouched Chinese characters, we shall call the entire set of printings in these four groups, Printings #63-78, the "Retouched Series." They are sometimes called the "Pemberton reprints," because Thornhill's main reason for considering them to be reprints was the fact that a few

of them appeared as "admitted reprints" in the Pemberton *Handbook*.<sup>12</sup>

Strictly speaking, Thornhill was referring only to Printings #69-77 in Group XXIII, and it is not quite clear whether he intended to include the other printings in the Retouched Series. Both Thornhill and Luff are rather ambiguous in this respect when they speak about these "Pemberton reprints," but neither hesitated in denouncing all of them in very strong terms.

The arguments they gave in supporting their views fall into three categories. First, the lack of used copies; second, the availability of unused examples in large quantities; and third differences in printing and paper between the "reprints" and the earlier issues. In the following, we shall examine in succession each of these arguments and show that they are in each case either unjustified or not borne out by evidence.

<sup>12</sup>Edward L. Pemberton, *The Stamp Collector's Handbook*, Second Edition (London: Stanley Gibbons & Co., 1878, pp. 197-200.

Ed. — The entire controversy over these so-called reprints apparently stems from the following paragraph on p. 198, in Pemberton's *Handbook* quoted in its entirety:

"Reprints, ordinary numerals, which do not exist in the original set 6 candareens, emerald, 12 candareens, orange 16 candareens, brown. These stamps were issued by order of the General Council of Shanghai but never had much currency, though large quantities were imported for stamp collectors. Reprints, usually on slightly toned paper, exist of all values with ordinary numerals only. Those particularized never existed as originals in the colours quoted. The next sets were engraved and printed by Messrs. Nissen and Parker, and are as weird-looking, so far as the dragon goes, as could be desired."

There are two and one half pages devoted to the whole of Shanghai, and the above paragraph represents roughly one-third of one column page listing of all the issues of Shanghai, which lists 16 Large Dragon stamps in total.

(1) In the first case, it is well known that used copies of Large Dragons are rarities, and there are a number of undoubtedly legitimate stamps of which no canceled copies are known (at least none are known to the author at this moment). For example, Printings #35, #41, and #46, just to name a few. Thus the lack of used copies can hardly be a valid reason for denouncing any Large Dragons as reprints. Actually, canceled copies of the stamps in Group XXIII are not so totally absent as Thornhill and Luff believed. We have seen canceled copies of the 4ca, 6ca, 8ca, and 12ca stamps offered in recent auctions. On the 8ca stamp alone, we have come across three canceled copies in recent years, one of them bearing a postmark that would satisfy even Thornhill's criteria for a genuinely used copy.

In principle it is impossible to determine definitely whether any particular canceled copy of a Large Dragon was really used or merely canceled-to-order. Thornhill's statement that the postmark on a genuinely used copy "is always most 'indistinct' and in a rusty brown-red," may have some partial statistical validity, but, to use this as a basis for collecting used stamps, would be to put oneself in the position of giving preference to stamps in inferior conditions. Our own experience, (and we should like to add that we have probably seen many more used copies of the Large Dragons than either Thornhill or Luff), is that most of the canceled copies of the Large Dragons have every indication of being genuinely used stamps, those suspiciously looking like canceled-to-order being, in fact, a small minority.

(2) Thornhill wrote that the "reprints" could "be had in quantities sufficient to paper a palace" (which Luff later quoted but toned down to a "room"). Luff also quoted the *American Journal of Philately*, June 1872, to the effect,

that the writer of the article had been offered a bundle containing at least 5,000 stamps. Although both Thornhill and Luff included the Printings #63-68 of Group XXI and Group XXII among the reprints, Thornhill, at least, must have been talking here only about Printings #69-77 of Group XXIII, for Thornhill assigned rather high valuations to most of the Printings #63-67 (Thornhill did not have Printing #68) and that certainly indicates that he did not consider them to be available in huge quantities. In fact, except for the 3ca stamp, Printing #67, the stamps of Group XXI are all very elusive, and some of them are downright rare.

Regarding Printings #69-78, if one believes what Thornhill and Luff said, one would expect them to be among the most common of the Large Dragons. However, this is simply not borne out by the facts. While these stamps are not exactly scarce, none of them is common in any sense. Some, are quite difficult to find, such as the 2ca stamp, Printing #70, and the 16ca stamp, Printing #76. The late Lyons Livingston told me that in his more than twenty years as a dealer specializing in Shanghai, he had never been able to obtain these stamps in any quantities. Furthermore, it seems rather strange that while both Thornhill and Luff were talking as if the market were flooded with these reprints, Thornhill admitted he had seen only one complete strip [sheet] of these stamps and Luff confessed that he had never seen even one complete strip [sheet] himself.

One wonders then, what happened to those bundles, presumably of strips of stamps, which the writer in the *American Journal of Philately* was talking about. Could it be that these gentlemen, in their eagerness to denounce these stamps, have mistaken hearsay for facts?

We think the truth is probably somewhere in between. While reports of large quantities of Large Dragons flooding the market were certainly grossly exaggerated, substantial quantities of them were probably being offered for sale at face value around the late 1860's or early 1870's. These would have been the remainders from the Shanghai Local Post after Large Dragons were superseded by the second definitive issue from England in 1867. According to the *Stamp Collectors' Magazine* (1872), they were sent to Nissen and Parker with the instructions to offer them to dealers at face value, but these remainders probably contained very few of the stamps from the Retouched Series; very likely the bulk of these remainders consisted of the higher value stamps 6ca, 8ca, 12ca, and 16ca (Printings #58-62) of Group XIX and XX.

After all, the writer quoted by Luff as having been offered a bundle of 5,000 stamps did not indicate that he was talking about the so-called "Pemberton reprints." Luff assumed that he was; but actually he could very well have been talking about Printings #58-62, particularly since he mentioned that the bundle contained mostly higher values.

A bundle of 5,000 stamps was very probably an exaggeration, but a bundle of about 2,000 stamps would not be an unreasonable figure. This would equal about 350 complete strips, giving on the average about 500 stamps of each value. It is certainly not difficult to imagine that repeated unsuccessful efforts to sell such a bundle of stamps to various dealers in succession could very well create the impression that huge quantities were flooding the market. That this conjecture on our part is plausible, is shown by the fact that stamps of these four higher values in Groups XIX and XX are among the most common of the Large

Dragons today, and far more common than any of the so-called "Pemberton reprints."

(3) One of the main reasons Thornhill gave for considering the Printings #69-78 to be reprints, was their paper, which he said was the same as the paper of the "admitted reprints" in the Pemberton *Handbook*. However, it seems Luff did not attach too much significance to this point, since he did not even mention the Pemberton *Handbook* in this connection, although he certainly must have had access to it.

As we shall see when we come to the question of papers used for the Large Dragons in the next chapter, we tend to agree with Luff that paper is generally not a good basis for the classification of the Large Dragons, and so with this remark we shall leave this matter.

Luff did, on the other hand, contend that the stamps of Group XXI to XXIV were printed in a quite different way from the earlier Large Dragons, and this he considered to be very condemning evidence against them. We quote Luff: "Hitherto the lines and letters have continually moved about; now, except [for] the values in English and Chinese, *every part of the stamp is absolutely fixed, rigid and exactly alike on hundreds of copies* [italics original]. The character fen, for instance, has no top stroke on any of the stamps. This exact duplicating can only be the result of lithography or electrotyping. I think the latter was the process employed. In group 8 [our group XXII] all the bottom labels were type set, but in group 9 [our Group X] only the numerals and the final 's' of 'candareens' were movable, the rest being part of the electro."

Coming from an expert philatelist like Luff, these statements are truly astonishing, for they are almost all demonstrably at variance

with the evidence. One wonders whether Luff had really taken a good look at these stamps not to mention study them with some degree of care. In the first place, the character fen 分 has "no top stroke" (in reality, a defective second stroke), in only the 16ca stamps (Printing #76 and #77) in Group XXIII; in all other stamps of this group and also the stamps of the previous group the character fen 分 has a clear and well defined "top stroke." Secondly, as to every part of the stamp being absolutely fixed in all stamps of Group XXIII (except the numerals), this is patently not true. Although the lines and letters hardly show any variations among the stamps within a printing (which after all, only indicates that the form was locked up very securely, which was generally true for most of the later printings), they do show some variations between the different printings.

For example, just to pick a point at random, the "CANDAREENS" is slightly (a bit more than a half millimeter) nearer to the vertical compartment line to its right in the 12ca stamp (Printing #75) than in the 8ca stamp (Printing #74); also, the top of this vertical compartment line is slightly nearer to the top frame-line in printing #74 than in Printing #75. As another example, take the 12ca stamp (Printing #75) and the 16ca stamp (Printing #76 or Printing #77), which look very much alike in setting; yet, the final "N" in "CANDAREENS" is slightly below the rest of the word in the 16ca stamp, and it is even with the rest in the 12ca stamp. All this utterly demolishes the theory of electrotyping, even if we ignore the fact that it was a relatively modern technique which we would think was very unlikely to be available in Shanghai in those early days.



Figure 17. No top on "fen."

Thus, we hope we have disposed of the traditional arguments for considering the "Retouched Series" or "Pemberton reprints" to be "reprints." There is however, another group of controversial Large Dragons that were issued by the Shanghai Local Post a few years later and which were made with completely new center blocks. These are the so-called "Official Reprints," or "Official Reissues," as we would prefer to call them. Before attending to them, let us first dispel some of the prejudicial allegations against the Shanghai Local Post, which are often unthinkingly accepted in certain quarters without any evidence.

### 6. Prejudices and Fairy Tales.

It seems that right from the beginning there were some suspicions among the collectors and dealers that the Shanghai Local Post was trying to exploit them by issuing too many stamps unnecessarily. From the viewpoint of collectors in Europe or the United States, it was rather difficult to understand why a local authority, in a remote country of the world, should issue a plethora of some thirty or more different stamps in a period of only about seven months. Furthermore, during this short period there were many changes of values, changes of colors, and varieties of errors such as *ch'ien* 錢 for *fen* 分, and CANDAREEN for CANDAREENS. Later, when the controversies over the reprints developed, the suspicions turned into prejudices and denunciations. In the later years, when all sorts of surcharged stamps seemed to come out repeatedly from the Shanghai Local Post Office, suspicions were again aroused that it was really doing, as Thornhill remarked, a "roaring trade" in stamps.

Actually these suspicions were largely unjustified, for there is no evidence that the Shanghai Local Post ever issued any stamps for

the purpose of selling them to collectors, except possibly the 1893 overprinted Jubilee Issue. The profusion of Large Dragons issued during the first year was due to their being "hand-to-mouth" issues, the changes in postal rates, and the unintentional errors arising from a rather crude method of printing.

The matter of reprints has been dealt with at length in the preceding section, and will be considered again in the next section. As to the frequent issuing of surcharged stamps in the later years, they were the consequence of what seems to be a perennial shortage of stamps of low denominations at the Shanghai Local Post Office. This was, of course, partly due to poor planning by the postal authorities, but it was also due to the difficulty of making plans when one had to depend on a source of supply as far away as England.

It must be borne in mind that in those days (the 1870's) it took at least seven weeks for a letter to reach England, if sent "overland" via Marseilles, and longer if via Southampton. If one counts the time for a round trip and allows a minimum of three months for the manufacturing of the stamps, one must count a minimum of seven to eight months between the time of sending the order and the arrival of the stamps.

Sometimes, in addition to the uncertainty about the arrival of the stamps, further complications arose from changing postal situations at home. This is very cogently illustrated by what happened during the preparation of the 1893 Barclay & Fry Issue, for which we have, fortunately, almost complete documentation.

Although by 1893 the transit time of a letter from Shanghai to London was reduced to about four weeks, nevertheless more than a year

had to elapse before the stamps ordered by Shanghai in May 1892 could arrive, in spite of the fact that Shanghai decided to expedite the matter by foregoing the inspection of the proofs of the revised designs. An unexpected complication arose when, sometime early in 1893, the postal rates were drastically reduced owing to public pressure, and Shanghai had to send instructions hurriedly to London to add the ½¢ and 1¢ postage stamps to the original order, in which the lowest denomination had been the 2¢ stamp. In the meantime, Shanghai had to cope with the situation by issuing a number of provisional surcharges to provide ½¢ and 1¢ denominations. Thus, the numerous provisional stamps from Livingston No.'s 153 to 171 came into being, along with a number of provisional postcards and prepaid envelopes.

To those who did not know the real story, it would seem that the Shanghai Local Post Office was again doing a "roaring trade." We shall treat this fascinating story later, in full detail, but we mention it here briefly to prove our point.

Most post offices in the world are run by governmental bureaucracies who are very conscious of their monopolistic privileges and strongly protective of their revenues. In contrast, the Shanghai Local Post was a very modest outfit operating under the almost direct supervision of the Shanghai Municipal Council, on which the leading local business interests had an important voice. As these business interests and other related institutions (e.g., the consulates of foreign nations) were the main users of the postal services-through the subscription system-the Shanghai Local Post was in this sense basically run by its customers.

As a result, there was hardly any attempt by the Shanghai Local Post to increase the revenue for its own sake. It seems that the pol-

icy of the Municipal Council was to keep the Post Office just barely self supporting, with neither too much deficit nor too much profit, by adjusting the rates of subscriptions and also the postal rates. Thus, the Council had to subsidize the Post Office during the first couple of years after its inauguration, but in later years when the operations of the Post Office showed a profit, the rates were reduced accordingly.

The Municipal Council was mainly concerned with the efficient functioning of the postal service, which was very important for the business interests of the leading members of the community, and under normal circumstances it would hardly pay any attention to the small amount of revenue obtained by selling stamps. After all, the total budget of the Post Office was only a tiny fraction of the budget of the Municipal Council; and of the revenue received by the Post Office prior to the end of the subscription system in 1893, only a small fraction came from the sale of postage stamps.

Finally, this is probably an appropriate time to add a few remarks about some of the fairy tales often told by the self-styled "old China hands" to impress other people. An example of such a story is the one told by Baron von Gunzburg to Col. Burkhardt, as related in the *Journal of Chinese Philately*, Vol. 7 (1959). Briefly, the story is that the postmaster of the Shanghai Agency at Ningpo embezzled (or could not account for) \$5,000 and was somehow allowed to make restitution by selling reprints of the Large Dragons; thus the "Pemberton reprints" came into being.

But, the story goes on, before he could make enough of them to raise the needed sum, the center die broke and he had to make some new dies; thus the so-called "Official Reprints" came into being. Finally, the story added, he

resorted to electrotyping in order to expedite the printing. The entire story is so absurd and implausible that it strains our credulity, and there is not the slightest shred of evidence to support it. For one thing, the operations of the branch office at Ningpo was so limited that the total business for the entire period of a little over two years could hardly have amounted to much more than the sum of \$5,000, much less that such a sum could have been embezzled from it. Further, the story would put the issuance of the "Pemberton reprints" at about the same time as the issuance of the "Official Reprints," which is in contradiction to the contemporary records by such dealers as J. B. Moens; and the bit about electrotyping was clearly lifted from Luff, obviously with the idea that the more improbable the story sounded the more interesting it would be.

Baron von Gunzburg was more of a dealer and a speculator in stamps than a philatelist, and there is no evidence that he had ever collected early Shanghai stamps, much less studied them. When Baron von Gunzburg appeared in Shanghai in the late 1880's or early 1890's, it was more than twenty years after the Large Dragons had passed from the scene and, as Mr. Thornhill found out upon inquiry, even the postmaster at that time knew very little about what happened in the earlier days.

In all probability this story was concocted by some "old China hand" just to impress other people, and Baron von Gunzburg told it to entertain his stamp collecting friends, probably with some added embellishments of his own. When, in the 1920's, the author was collecting stamps as a young man in Shanghai, such stories were legion and many tended to grow with every retelling, but hardly any real philatelist took them seriously.

## 7. The Official Reissues.

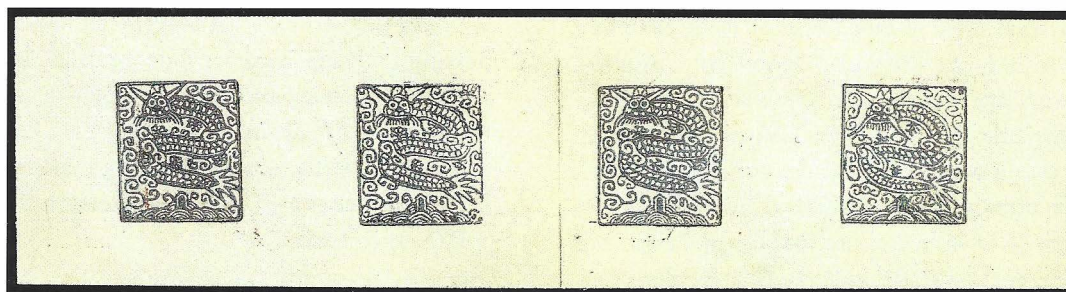
Sometime during the period 1871-2, the Shanghai Local Post issued some Large Dragons with completely new center dies, as well as new lines and types in the surrounding inscriptions. There are two different center dies, both quite different from the center die used in the original Large Dragons. The issue contains three values, the 1ca, 2ca, and 3ca stamps, and each value appears with both dies.

It was a surprise to the philatelic world that a new type of Large Dragons should suddenly appear after the original Large Dragons had been apparently superseded by the definitive issues almost five years earlier, and their appearance naturally caused quite a bit of controversy. For the lack of a suitable designation, we shall call these stamps the "Official Reissues," although they are often called the "Official Reprints." We shall first describe the most commonly known types of these stamps, and then we shall speculate about their status and also mention some additional types that came most recently to our attention.

For the making of the Official Reissues, the Shanghai Local Post made four dies in woodblocks, but used only two of them. These four woodblocks are now in the Royal Philatelic Museum in London; and they must have been there since a rather early time, because in 1893, postmaster Romer of the Shanghai Local Post in a letter to Captain Binns said that, he had only the impressions of these four woodblocks, "which he was loathe to part with."

These impressions were reproduced in Thornhill's Handbook, however, only two of the four dies were used in the making of the Official Reissues. They were designated by Thornhill as Die IV and Die II. For some rea-





Thornhill Die II      Thornhill Die I      Thornhill Die III      Thornhill Die IV  
 Livingston/Chow Die III      Livingston/Chow Die I      Livingston/Chow Die IV      Livingston/Chow Die II

Figure 18. Proof sheet of woodblock dies used for *The Official Reissues*

son, these were called Die II and Die III respectively in the Livingston Catalog.<sup>Ed.</sup>

Rather than add to the confusion, we shall maintain Livingston's convention, and rename the Thornhill Die I and Die III as Die I and Die IV respectively. [Ed. This maintains integrity with the Livingston listing, and Dr. Chow mentions them no further.] After all, the actual ordering of the dies is immaterial. The important thing is to be clear about which die one is referring to.

The Official Reissues were printed essentially in the same way as the original Large Dragons, except that two forms were used instead of one, and the two forms, the first one with center block Die II and the second one with center Die III, were locked together as a unit, and a complete sheet contains eight stamps, consisting of four pairs obtained by impressing the unit of two forms four times on the sheet. The paper is usually rather thin and slightly transparent, somewhat like the hard

pelure paper used in the originals except that it is not quite so thin.

There are two groups of these reissues, which can be most easily distinguished by the size of the numerals. The Large Numerals Group, called the "L Group," for short, contains three values 1ca, 2ca, and 3ca, while the Small Numerals Group, called the "S Group," for short, has only the two values 1ca and 2ca. As we shall see presently, there are reasons to believe that the L Group was printed before the S Group. Although the center dies and the types in the surrounding frames are the same for both groups, the settings are quite different. On the other hand, the settings are almost exactly the same for the different values within a group.

We therefore denote the settings of the two forms in the L Group by L-II and L-III, and the settings of the two forms in the S Group by S-II and S-III respectively. Before describing differences between the settings of the L Group and the S Group, let us first insert here a few remarks about the Chinese type used in these stamps.

The Chinese characters in the original Large Dragons are all well formed and in a con-

<sup>Ed.</sup> In Dr. Chow's article "Official Reissues of Shanghai Large Dragons," in the *Journal of Chinese Philately*, Vol. 36, No. 3, on page 131 he suggests that "Livingston probably meant to reserve the label "Die I" for the center die used in the original Large Dragons."

sistent style, but in the Official Reissues the situation is quite different. Here the Chinese characters are a curious mixture of shapes and styles immediately obvious to Chinese eyes. The characters *shang* 上, *kung* 工, *shu* 書, *fen* 分, and the numerals are fairly well formed and in the same style as in the original Large Dragons. The character *hai* 海 and *pu* 部 are also reasonably all right, except that in each case the two characters in the two settings are different in size, particularly in the case of *pu*. The character *hsin* 信 in Setting L-III and the character *yin* 銀 in both settings are strangely distorted (the character *hsin* in Setting L-III is all right). To an educated Chinese each of these three characters lacks balance, in the sense that the two parts (right and left) of the character are somewhat out of kilter. Finally, the character *kuan* 館 is in the writing style in both settings, while all others are in the printing style, as are also the Chinese characters in the original Large Dragons. That the Shanghai Local Post had to resort to such an incongruous mixture of Chinese types indicates that it must have been rather difficult to get reasonably good Chinese type on short notice in those early days in Shanghai.

We can now describe the other important difference between the settings of the **L Group** and the **S Group**. Besides the size of the numerals, there are differences in the Chinese characters in the side panels and these are discussed here briefly as follows: In the **L Group**, the Chinese character *pu* 部 in the lower left corner and the Chinese character *kuan* 館, the third one in the right hand panel, are visibly different in Setting L-II from the corresponding characters in the Setting L-III.

In the **S group**, the situation is reversed in that the characters *pu* and *kuan* of Setting L-II

are used for Setting S-III and the *pu* and *kuan* of Setting L-III are used for Setting S-III. In addition, the position of CANDAREEN (S) is near the bottom frame line in Setting L-II and is in the middle of the panel in Setting L-III, while it is just the other way around in Setting S-II and S-III respectively.

Finally, we observe in this connection that the character *kuan* 館 in Setting S-II has a break in the top part of the right half of the character, and that this break is not there when this same character *kuan* appears in the Setting L-III. This and similar observations about the state of the center dies in the two groups are the reasons for our deciding that the L Group was printed before the S Group.

As to the scarcity of these reissues, those in the S Group are relatively more common, and we have seen complete sheets of both the 1ca and the 2ca values. It is from the study of these complete sheets that we determined the method used to print the Official Reissues.

In the **L Group** the most commonly seen are the 3ca stamps, but they are quite a bit scarcer than those in the S Group, and even more scarce than any of the 1ca and 2ca stamps in the L Group. They are actually quite rare, and the few copies of them that occasionally turn up are mostly in rather poor condition. In fact, we have not yet been able to find a copy of the 1ca stamp with Die III center in the L group at all; therefore, the existence of the 1ca stamp in Setting L-III is at the moment only a speculative based on our theory but has not yet been confirmed by actual observation. Hopefully, an example of this stamp will turn up in the future.

We come now to the question about the purpose for which these Official Reissues were

issued. Both Thornhill and Luff condemned them as forgeries, apparently without having given the matter much thought. Luff in particular denounced them almost as passionately as he did the stamps in Group XXIII. Thus Luff wrote: "These things are counterfeits out and out. No such types were ever used for postage or sold for postage. And they are all the worse frauds in that they were sold by the very officials who ought to have protected the public from such impositions." Here again Luff even brought in the nonsense about electrotyping, a notion with which he seemed obsessed. As we have mentioned before, there is no evidence at all that the Shanghai Local Post had ever given any thought to producing revenue by selling stamps to collectors in those early days, and the suspicions and accusations raised by the stamp dealers and collectors at the time were mostly based on misunderstandings and prejudices. In this particular case, the small face values of the stamps as well as the modest quantities of the issue suggest that the money involved could not have amounted to much anyway.

According to Luff, Mr. T. Wickham Jones suggested to him in a letter the idea that these stamps were official reprints "made to meet the request of other Post Offices for sample sets of the first issue, but not intended for postal purposes." Strangely, Luff found this idea "very reasonable and satisfactory," although he had just denounced them as "counterfeits out and out" scarcely a paragraph before. In our opinion, while this idea is in itself quite reasonable, there is no evidence to support it and there are actually some considerations against it. If these stamps were produced for presentation purposes to other Post Offices, then all the values in the L Group would have been printed in the same quantity, and this is contradicted by the fact that the 1ca and 2ca stamps are much more scarce than the 3ca stamps. It seems as if the

1ca and 2ca stamps in the L Group were somehow "used up," for whatever purpose they were meant for, and the stamps of the S Group were then printed to fill the gap. This leads us naturally to the idea that perhaps these stamps were issued for postal purpose after all, in spite of all the abuses heaped at them.

Actually, according to Thornhill, this was apparently the opinion of Mr. J. B. Moens, who was a stamp dealer in Europe during the time when the Large Dragons were in use or at least shortly afterwards. His catalogue provided most of the material for Thornhill's listings of the small dragons and later issues.

According to Thornhill, Moens designated the Official Reissues as a *nouveau-type* of Large Dragon stamp, which was issued in the early 1870's by the Shanghai Local Post Office. Moens presumably based his opinion on the fact that these stamps came directly from the Shanghai Local Post Office.

Thornhill said that he (meaning Thornhill) could not accept this idea of Mr. Moens, but according to our analysis, this idea is just about as plausible as any of the others, and perhaps even more so. After all, Moens was actively dealing in stamps at the time the Large Dragons were issued, whereas Thornhill was writing about them twenty years later. Therefore, we cannot understand why Thornhill should reject the opinion of Mr. Moens without giving any cogent reasons.

As we have mentioned before, the Shanghai Local Post Office in its entire history had repeatedly found itself short of stamps of low denominations, sometimes barely a year or two after the arrival of a new issue, and it had to cope with these situations by issuing various provisional stamps. It is quite possible that sometime during the years after the arrival of

the First Candareen Issue in 1867 a shortage of stamps of low denominations would occasionally develop.

Apparently, orders were often sent to England for an additional supply of stamps to forestall such shortage, and as a result we have such stamps as the 1ca and the 2¢ stamps (Livingston No.'s 56 and 58); but they might not have always arrived in time and the Post Office had to cope with the situation in the meantime.

In later years such a situation would be met by surcharging some of the surplus stamps of higher denominations, as was done in 1874-75, but in the earlier years it would not be at all unusual for the Post Office to resort to printing a few Large Dragons to meet the shortage, particularly since the Large Dragons were used in this way to supplement the 'Cents' Issue during the period from March 1866 to March 1867.

Now, by the early 1870's, the original center die of the Large Dragons must have already long since disintegrated or was at least in an unusable state (it was already in very poor shape in Printing #78) and it was necessary to make new center dies. It seems that four such dies were carved in wood, and two of them were selected for use, and thus the *nouveau-type* stamps came into being as a provisional issue to meet a shortage of the stamps of low denominations.

One can very well object to our theory that not a single one of these *nouveau-type* stamps is known in used condition. This is indeed a serious objection, and for this reason we consider our theory a very tentative one.

On the other hand, these stamps were probably used only for a very short period, and

there are many Shanghai stamps that were undoubtedly legitimate issues and of which hardly any used copies are known. For example, the 1ca on 2¢ stamps (Livingston No. 60) would seem readily available in unused condition, nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to find a used copy. In truth, the author has never seen a used copy, although he has been looking for it for many years.

Let us return to the four woodblock dies that are now in the Royal Philatelic Museum in London. We shall first make a few remarks about the reasons for these woodblocks (and also some of the engraved dies of the later small dragons) being stored in the Royal Museum. Although the Shanghai Municipal Council, being the ruling body of the International Settlement, was supposed to be multinational, with its insignia containing the flags of twelve nations, it was nevertheless dominated by the British.

One should well remember that during the great rush of the European invasion of China in the nineteenth century, there were tacitly understood divisions of China which were the so-called "spheres of influence," and the sphere of influence belonging to Great Britain was the Yangtze River area, in which Shanghai occupies a dominant position. In fact, the colloquial term used by the Chinese public for the International Settlement was the "British concession." (The author was born in Shanghai and lived there during most of his early years until 1947.)

This explains why the dispute between the Hong Kong Post Office and the Shanghai Local Post Office was referred by the Hong Kong Post Office to the Colonial Secretary in London, who felt it was his duty to mediate what he felt was a quarrel between two British institutions.

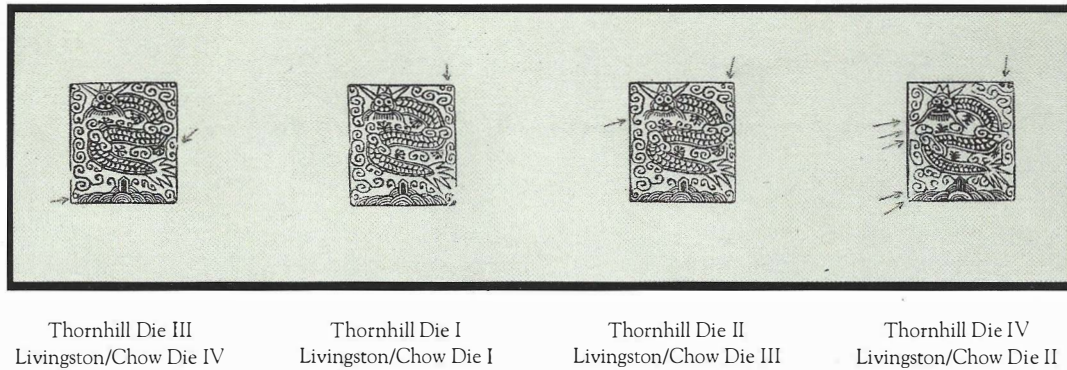


Figure 19. Impressions taken by H.B.R. Clarke; ms. on reverse, "Impressions from wooden blocks. R.P.S.L. 1950. H.B.R.C."

It also perhaps explains the presence of the above mentioned dies at the Royal Philatelic Museum.

At about that same time it came to our attention that there were some stamps with Die II in the center, but with surrounding frames quite different from those in the Reissues as described above. In addition, there are stamps with almost the same surrounding frames, but with Die I and Die IV in the center.

Whether they are part of the Official Reissues or perhaps essays made as trials before the Reissues, we can now only speculate. However, it seems to us that any stamp made with one of these four center blocks cannot be considered a forgery.

These four woodblocks must have been in the custody of the Royal Philatelic Museum since around 1877 or probably not much later or some time that coincided with the appearance of the First Cash Issue, when the engraved

dies of the candareens issues were no longer needed and became obsolete.

One has every reason to assume that the Royal Philatelic Museum takes this matter very seriously and that only persons with undoubtedly proper credentials such as Mr. Clarke, would have had access to these wood-blocks. The very fact that these four dies were kept in the Royal Philatelic Museum makes a strong case that these dies, or least some of them, must have been used to print stamps for use by the Shanghai Local Post. We shall go no further into the details about these new discoveries of the Reissues, as we are waiting for further information from other collectors, and whatever we have been able to find up to now has been described in "Official Reissues of Shanghai Large Dragons," an article by the author published in the August, 1989 issue of the *Journal of Chinese Philately*, Vol. 36 No. 6, pp. 130-134, to which we shall refer the readers for details.

# CHAPTER 4

## THE PRINTINGS

### Their Sequence & Descriptions

So far as we know, the first serious study of the Large Dragons of Shanghai was made by Mr. W. B. Thornhill in his monograph on Shanghai, published in 1895, by Stanley Gibbons.<sup>13</sup> Although this book deals with all the issues of Shanghai (up to that time), the main part is a study of the first issue, in which he introduced a completely new idea in the study of the Large Dragons. In the later stamp issues Thornhill restricted himself mainly to collecting available information and presenting it in an orderly way.

To bring some order into the confusion of what seemed to be an almost infinite number of varieties, Thornhill conceived the idea of arranging the stamps in groups and then in the presumed chronological order of printing. However, while Thornhill succeeded in identifying most of the printings of the Large Dragons, his groups as well as the chronological order he assigned to the groups were mostly incorrect.

It was left to John N. Luff, in a series of articles in the *American Journal of Philately* in 1897, to continue development of Thornhill's basic idea. Nevertheless, giving the main credit to Luff, one must not forget the pioneering effort of Thornhill, without whose work, all subsequent studies very probably would not have been undertaken.

By any standards, Luff's work on the Large Dragons of Shanghai is a magnificent piece of philatelic research. It is indeed very unfortunate that this work received relatively little attention, and there has been almost no additional research in this direction in the more than seven decades since its publication. To the best of our knowledge, the present study (undertaken jointly by the late Lyons F. Livingston and the author more than twenty years ago) constitutes the first major revision of Luff's work.

Two basic principles lie at the foundation of Luff's work:

- (1) The stamps should be arranged in groups according to the similarities in the arrangements of the compart-

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<sup>13</sup> See page 23, footnote 7.

ment lines and the inscriptions around the center block, and;

- (2) the chronological order of the groups should be decided by observing the progressive wear and tear of the center block.

On the basis of these two principles, and with the help of the contemporary postal and philatelic records of the time, Luff was able to arrange the entire First Issue into 24 groups, ranging from the very first stamp to what are sometimes called the "Pemberton reprints."

While our study reveals nothing that in any way impairs the basic validity of these two principles, we have found, nevertheless, that a certain measure of caution is needed in their application.

For one thing, in some groups, the compartment lines and the inscriptions seem to be so loosely set that stamps next to each other on one sheet can have very different arrangements. While this situation seldom affects the groupings of the stamps, it does occasionally cause serious problems in determining whether two stamps are to be regarded as belonging to two different printings or merely variations within one printing.

The awareness of this fact, plus some other observations, has led us to the conclusion that in general there is only one printing of each denomination in any one group; the variations in most cases being due to the shifting of some loosely set parts during the printing process. There are a few exceptions to this rule, but we hold to the principle that the exceptions should be made only when they are supported by rather convincing evidence.

However, it is in the application of Luff's second principle that a lack of due caution can lead to greatly mistaken conclusions, and it was here that we were required to make a major revision of Luff's work.

The crucial step was the discovery of the "broken character," which is a break in the top of the Chinese character *yin* 銀, the last character in the left hand panel, which thereafter appears as 銀. This break first appears in our Group XIX and remains in all subsequent printings. This is because no Chinese characters were ever replaced by new ones, even though this is contrary to what Luff believed.

A check with Luff's classification shows that the three stamps with the broken *yin* are scattered in Luff's Group XVI and Group XVII together with stamps without the "broken character," and furthermore, the stamps in Luff's Group XIX and Group XX are also without the "broken character." Luff's reason for considering the stamps in the last two groups to be very late printings was what he thought to be the very worn state of the center block, but we think that in this instance, he was mistaken.

In our opinion, the blurred and sometimes faint impressions of most of these stamps were caused, not by the center block being excessively worn, but rather by its being inadequately cleaned and perhaps also by poor inking. Our opinion is supported, not only by the absence of the "broken character," but also by a closer study of some copies of these stamps which happened to have been printed somewhat more clearly than usual.

For these reasons we have pushed Luff's Group XX all the way back to our Group XIV, and Luff's Group XIX to our Group XVI, and have also rearranged the stamps in Luff's

Group XVI and Group XVII. When we first started our present study and reappraisal of Luff's work, we were very much impressed by the naturalness and overall consistency of his classification of the earlier groups. We were convinced of its essential correctness, and we have left it basically unchanged, except for a few corrections and additions here and there. However, as we proceeded to the later groups, we began to feel less enthusiastic about his classifications and they appeared to us as often quite arbitrary and rather unconvincing.

The discovery of the broken character proved that there was indeed something seriously lacking in Luff's research. Although we have no wish at all to claim to have written the last word on this subject, we feel we have brought the later groups to the same degree of naturalness and consistency as the earlier ones, and thus carried out the original intent.

### The Papers.

Before we start to describe the printings of the Large Dragons, we shall make some preliminary remarks about the kind of papers used for those printings. Thornhill used the paper as a basis for his grouping of the printings, but as it turned out, this was not a good idea, because it ultimately led him to mistaken conclusions. We tend to agree with Luff that no particular attention was paid to paper in the printing of the Large Dragons and that, as Luff maintained, "whatever was at hand was used." However, this does not mean that the study of the various types of papers used for the Large Dragons is not important.

Philatelists have traditionally attached great importance to the paper on which a stamp is printed, and in fact some of the classical rarities among the Large Dragons owe their rarity

status to their being printed on a particular kind of laid paper.

As stamp paper goes, the paper of the Large Dragons is rather thin. In fact, the paper seems to have been obtained by taking an ordinary writing paper of the standard folio size (9" by 12") and cutting it lengthwise into four strips, so that each strip, when laid horizontally, is twelve inches wide and about two and a quarter inches tall; except in the last four groups, where the paper was cut the other way into six strips, so that each strip is nine inches wide and about 2 inches tall.

Only a few different Printings of Large Dragons are known to exist in large multiples. We agree with the long held assumption that most were printed in sheets of six (see Figure 4, p. 20). The largest known multiple of any stamp from Group XXIII (Printings #69-#78) is a strip of five, and it is very possible that this was the sheet size for that group. Official Reissue stamps exist in a strip of eight format, which may well be a complete sheet. In the absence of official documentation, we cannot know with absolute certainty that any of these truly are complete sheets.

The paper used in printing the Large Dragons would depend on the writing paper that happened to be in use at the time in the Post Office. A variety of papers were used for the first few groups, sometimes even mixed in one group; some of them are very thin and are described by some authors as pelure paper. They are not the real pelure paper as used in the Printings #19 and #20, and also partially in Printing #21; they can more appropriately be described as semi-pelure papers.

**Laid Paper.** There is only one kind of laid paper used for the Large Dragons and it is very distinctive. It is slightly heavier and stronger



than most other papers used, and it is in this sense probably of a superior quality. The laid lines are rather coarse, about eight lines per centimeter, and are generally prominently visible. The paper was made by A. Pirie & Sons, and their papermaker's watermark A PIRIE & SONS sometimes appears on the paper used in printing the Large Dragons. This paper was used only in the seven Printings #22, #23, #26, #27, #37, #39, #40. Copies of Printings #23, #26 #27 #37 are known bearing portions of this papermaker's watermark, but of the last two only one copy each has been recorded.

Although the laid lines are generally very visible in this laid paper, there are on rare occasions some copies on which these lines are hardly discernible. In such cases one can recognize that it is still the same kind of paper by examining the other characteristics, but it is a rather delicate point.

**Wove paper.** The wove papers used can be classified into ten different kinds, as follows:

**W1. Soft opaque paper.** This paper has a fine texture and is relatively unsurfaced; its fine texture makes it look very white. It is used only in Group I and later in Printing #14.

**W2. Thin hard porous paper.** The porosity of this paper lends it a certain degree of transparency, making it look somewhat grayish; the appearance of this paper is rather in contrast to W1. This paper is used only in Group II.

**W3. Thin soft paper.** This paper has a fine texture similar to W1, but is thinner and generally more surfaced. It is rather close to pelure paper and has been occasionally so designated by some writers. This paper is used in Group III and Group V, as well as in Print-

ing #14; where it is often denoted as semi-pelure paper.

**W4. Yellowish wove paper.** This has about the same thickness as W1, but a poorer texture, with a little more surfacing; its yellowish color probably stems from its poor quality. This paper is used only in Printing #'s 12 and 13.

**W5. Ordinary wove paper.** I call this paper ordinary because it constitutes the bulk of wove papers used in the Large Dragons. Its texture is somewhat more porous than W1 or W3, generally white in color (opaque), and has very little surfacing. This paper makes its first appearance in Printing #21 and constitutes almost exclusively the wove paper used in all printings after that until Printing #58.

**W6.** This is a variant of W5, slightly thicker and highly surfaced. It is used only in Printing #52.

**W7. Thinner ordinary wove paper.** This is similar to W5, but thinner and therefore more porous. It is mainly used in Printing #'s 58, 59, 60, and 61.

**W8. Soft toned paper.** This paper is very soft and smooth, and we think it is naturally toned. It is a rather weak paper and tears easily. This paper is used only in Group XXI and Group XXII.

**W9. Mesh paper.** This paper is soft and shows the mesh readily when held against the light; it is what is commonly denoted as "coarse porous paper" in the catalogues. It is used mainly in Group XXIII, but it occurs rarely in Group XIX.

**W10. Grayish coarse paper.** This paper is only used for the last stamp Printing #78. It is a very poor quality paper.



Figure 20. Illustrations to aid in identification

**Pelure Paper.** Pelure paper is a kind of very thin and smooth wove paper. Two kinds of pelure paper were used in the printing of the Large Dragons.

One kind is made from a very finely ground stock which has been spread very thinly over the woven base; such a process will produce a very soft, smooth, and very opaque paper. We shall call it the **soft pelure paper** and denote it by **P1**.

The other kind is a rather crisp and highly glazed paper, which exhibits many tiny transparent spots over a dark background; this latter property shows that it would be rather porous without its rather heavy sizing. We shall call it the **hard pelure paper** and denote it by **P2**. The soft pelure paper generally looks very white, while the hard pelure paper looks almost grayish, particularly against a black background. These two types of pelure paper are generally quite distinctive and rather easy to differentiate, although there are occasional borderline cases where it becomes somewhat difficult to determine the appropriate classification.

**The Printings.**

In the following we shall note by a square bracket the used copies which are either in our collection or have been seen by us, together with the information about the types of cancellations, their colors, and, if applicable, their dates. The reader will note that we have seen far more used copies than either Thornhill or Luff.

**THE EARLY PERIOD.**  
(August 1865-March 1866)

**GROUP I (Printings 1-4)**

The setting of the frame varies somewhat with the printings. In Printing #1 the top and bottom frame lines overlap the ends of the side frame lines. In Printings #2 and #3 the left frame line has moved a bit out and up; finally, in Printing #4 the left frame line is so far up that it now overlaps the end of the top frame line.

The compartment lines [printer's rules] are all moderately thick and quite straight. The

three upper horizontal lines are in a straight line, as are the three lower ones. The line under *hai* 海 curves upward at both ends, and the line above *pu* 浦 curves upward at the left end. The center block is separated by a wide space from the compartment lines above and below it, and is equally distant from them.

The letters in "SHANGHAI" shift horizontally somewhat from printing to printing, sometimes even within a printing. This is the only group that exhibits this trait. "L.P.O." has the narrow setting of 5mm. The "S" of "SHANGHAI" is close to the vertical line at its left; it is in fact closer than in any other printing until Group VI, when, with the introduction of the wide setting of "L.P.O." (6mm.) the position of the entire inscription "SHANGHAI L.P.O." becomes somewhat standardized.

The numerals in Printings #1, #3, and #4 are above the line of "CANDAREENS." The numerals are antique, except that the "1" in "16" is Roman in Printing #4.

Wove paper W1. Very clear impressions, rather light in Printing #1, but generally rather heavy in others.

**#1. 2 CANDAREENS. Gray-black to black.**

Wove paper W1.

Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, 2 Aug 65; SLP-3, red.

The 2ca stamp of Printing #1, being the first stamp of Shanghai, merits special attention on account of the state of the center block. Alone in this printing the center block exhibits the fine lines of what must be its original state. The material of the center block must be such that the fine edges of the design became blunted very quickly from use, for already in the next stamp, Printing #2, the lines became appreciably thicker. It is inter-

esting to note that, apart from the wear and tear of the frame lines, there is less visible difference in the impression of the center block between Printing #2 and Printing #53 than between Printing #1 and Printing #2.

**#2. 4 CANDAREENS. Yellow, orange-yellow, yellow-ochre**

Wove paper W1.

Postmarks: SLP-2, 10 Aug 65, mentioned by Thornhill; SLP-3, red.

- a. Gap between "SHAN" and "GHAI."
- b. Gap between "SHANGH" and "AI."
- c. Double impression.

Only one copy of the double impression variety Printing #2c is known. It was discovered by Luff and was originally in his collection. Although the second impression is light and only slightly shifted from the position of the first impression, it is complete in every detail.

**d. Yellow-ochre.**

The yellow-ochre shade was first listed and illustrated by Thornhill, but Luff did not mention it. We have two examples of this stamp in our collection including the Thornhill copy. One is much more clearly printed than the other, and the impressions of both are rather poor compared to most Printing #2 stamps.

**#3. 8 CANDAREENS. Green.**

Wove paper W1.

Postmarks: SLP-2, blue 2 Mar 66.

- a. Gap between "SHANGH" and "AI."
- b. "GH" moved slightly to the right so that there are now small gaps between "SHAN" and "GH" and "AI."

**#4. I6 CANDAREENS. Scarlet**

Wove paper W1.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Gap between "SHANGH" and "AI." Copies known with traces of green ink, indicating that Printing #4 was printed after Printing #3.

**GROUP II (Printings 5-8)**

The top and bottom lines generally overlap the ends of the side frame lines, except that in Printing #5 and Printing #6 the left frame line is set a little further out. The setting of the compartment lines is much the same as in Group I, except that in Printings #7 and #8 the line over "CANDAREENS" is set a little higher at the left end, so that here it is now above the line over *pu* 部; furthermore, the center block is now a little closer to the line above it than in Group I.

The "S" of "SHANGHAI" is rather far from the vertical line at its left, and the entire inscription "SHANGHAI L.P.O." is set nearer the line above it than that below it; this last trait being quite characteristic of this group. "L.P.O." has the narrow setting.

The numerals in Printings #5, #6, and #7 are higher than the line of "CANDAREENS" The numerals are antique except that the "I" in "I6" is Roman in Printing #5. Thin hard porous wove paper W2, is a characteristic of this group. The impressions are generally clear except on Printing #5, where the blurred impressions seem to be caused by improper inking.

**#5. I6 CANDAREENS. Scarlet.**

Wove paper W2.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

a. Lighter shade, caused by under-inking.

**#6. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.**

Wove paper W2.

Postmarks: SLP-2 date not legible, SLP-3, red.

Left center frame line of center block not taking ink, probably due to cleaning fluid.

**#7. 8 CANDAREENS. Yellow-green.**

Wove paper W2.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

a. Dark yellowish green (very heavy printing).

**#8. 4 CANDAREENS. Yellow, orange-yellow.**

Wove paper W2.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

**GROUP III (Printings 9-11)**

The two side frame lines now overlap the ends of the top and bottom lines, except that in Printing #11 the bottom line is shifted so far to the right that it overlaps the end of the right frame line at that corner. Several compartment lines have been replaced; this is a rare occurrence, not to occur again except in Group XIII and in the last group XXIII.

The lines above and below the center block have been replaced by two very thin lines, which are now very close to the center block; moreover, the upper line has the left end turned upward and the right end turned downward, in a rather pronounced way.

The two vertical compartment lines have also been replaced; they now taper off slightly to the right at the upper end and slightly to the left at the lower end, while the earlier compartment lines taper off in the opposite directions. The three upper horizontal compartment lines

are still somewhat in a straight line, with the middle line slightly above the other two; but the lower three are not. The left end of the middle one being considerably higher than the line over *pu* 部.

"SHANGHAI L.P.O." occupies about the same position as in Group II, except that it is now set a little bit lower; "L.P.O." has the narrow setting. The numerals are below the line of "CANDAREENS," except in Printing #11a. The papers are mixed in this group and are indicated under each printing. Clear impressions on Printing #9, and Printing #10, but not so clear on Printing #11.

#9. 4 CANDAREENS. Yellow.

Wove paper W1.

Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, 30 Sep 65; SLP-3, red.

a. Pelure paper P1.

b. Pelure paper P2.

#10. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.

Wove paper W3.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

#11. 8 CANDAREENS. Green.

Wove paper W3.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Numeral below CANDAREENS, as in Printing #9 and Printing #10.

a. Numeral on a line with "CANDAREENS."

**GROUP IV (Printings 12-14)**

The setting is very much like Group III. The compartment line above "CANDAREENS" shows a slight depression above the letters "ND." This depression remains on all subse-

quent groups until the line is replaced in Group XIII. In the frame there is a gap between the left frame line and the end of the top line, which becomes progressively wider in Printing #13 and Printing #14.

The numerals are on a line with "CANDAREENS," which is now moved closer to the vertical line at its right. "L.P.O." has the narrow setting. Roman "I" in Printing #12. The papers are also mixed in this group and are indicated under each printing. The impressions are generally rather light and not too clear on Printings #12 and #13, but heavy and very clear on Printing #14.

#12. 16 CANDAREENS. Scarlet-red.

Paper W4.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Known with traces of green ink in center design, indicating that Printing #12 was printed after Printing #11.

#13. 2 CANDAREENS. Gray-black.

Paper W4.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

Rather light and somewhat blurred impression. The distance between "2" and the vertical line at its left is 2mm., slightly shorter than in Printing #14.

One complete sheet of 6 of Printing #13 is known. This is the earliest known multiple of the Shanghai Large Dragons.

#14. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.

Paper W1.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Heavy but clear impression. The distance between 2 and the vertical line at its left is a trifle longer than in Printing #13, about ¼ mm. longer.

a. Semi-pelure paper W3.

**GROUP V (Printings 15-17)**

The two side frame lines overlap the ends of the bottom line, but the position of the top line varies with the printings. In Printings #15 and #17 the top line overlaps the end of the right frame line, but its left end is overlapped by the left frame line; while in Printing #16 the top line is above the ends of the two side frame line, but does not quite overlap them.

The three upper horizontal compartment lines are approximately in a straight line, but the setting of the lower three lines varies with the printings; the line over *kung* 工 is higher than the other two, particularly in Printing #16, and the middle line slants slightly from left to right in Printing #17.

The setting of the English inscriptions is similar to Group IV except on Printing #17, which will be noted below. "L.P.O." has the narrow setting. Antique numerals except for Roman "1" in "I6" in Printing #17. Very thin, fine, semi-pelure paper, W3. The impressions are somewhat blurred by smudges.

**#15. 4 CANDAREENS. Orange-yellow.**

Semi-pelure paper, W3.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

**#16. 8 CANDAREENS. Grass green.**

Semi-pelure paper, W3.

Postmarks: None recorded.

One complete sheet of six of Printing #16 is known.

**#17. I6 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta red.**

Semi-pelure paper, W3.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Copies known with traces of green ink, indicating that Printing #17 was printed after Printing #16. The "S" in "SHANGHAI" is

closer to the line at its left than in Printings #15 and #16.

- a. The inscription "SHANGHAI L.P.O." is moved slightly to the right and "P" is higher than the rest of the inscription.

Only one copy is known of Printing #17a; it came from the Luff collection.

**GROUP VI (Printing 18)**

This group consists of only one stamp, Printing #18. The positions of the frame lines are very similar to those in Printing #17. One characteristic feature is that the bottom part of the left frame line always has a double trace on the outside.

The positions of the compartment lines are also similar to those in Printing #17, except that the upper middle compartment line is now a little farther away from the center block, so that the center block is now approximately equally distant from the compartment lines above and below it.

"L.P.O." has the wide setting (of approximately 6mm.); in fact, with this wide setting the horizontal position of the inscription "SHANGHAI L.P.O." is now standardized for this and all the subsequent printings, as it essentially fills up the entire width of the center compartment. The position of "I6 CANDAREENS" is essentially the same as in Printing #17; the numerals are antique except for Roman "1" in "I6." Pelure paper, (P1 and P2) both soft and hard. Blurred impression, particularly in the center block, with patches here and there of missing colors.

**#18. I6 CANDAREENS. Carmine red.**

Pelure paper.

Postmarks: None recorded.

**GROUP VII (Printings 19-21)**

The positions of the frame lines in Printing #19 are similar to those in Printing #18, except that the bottom line is now a little bit lower; however, in Printings #20 and #21 the top frame line now overlaps both vertical frame lines.

Among the upper horizontal compartment lines, the center line is slightly lower than the line under *hai* 海 and slightly higher than the line under *shang* 上; while the three lower horizontal compartment lines are approximately in a straight line, except that the center line is slightly higher at the left in Printing #19.

The center block is now very close to the line below, but is separated by a rather wide space (particularly in Printings #20 and #21) from the line above. Antique numerals. The numerals in Printings #19 and #21 are on a line with "CANDAREENS," but the numeral in Printing #20 is lower. Pelure paper, both soft and hard (P1 and P2), on all printings, but Printing #21 occurs also on wove paper W5; in fact, the most commonly encountered copies of Printing #21 are on this wove paper, copies of Printing #21 on pelure paper being rather scarce.

As we have mentioned before, this marks the first appearance of the "ordinary wove paper" W5, which is the main paper used in all subsequent printings until Printing #53, except for an occasional appearance of the laid paper or pelure paper.

In Printings #19 and #20, the Chinese character *ch'ien* 錢 (meaning "mace") was used inadvertently instead of the character *fen* 分 (meaning "candareen"), so that in Chinese these stamps read 8 mace and 4 mace respec-

tively. The impressions vary from clear to somewhat blurred in Printings #19 and #20, but are generally clear in Printing #21.

**#19. 8 CANDAREENS. Green.**

Pelure paper.

Postmarks: None recorded.

a. Dark green.

**#20. 4 CANDAREENS. Ochre-yellow.**

Pelure Paper.

Postmarks: SLP-3, blue; SLP-3 red.

a. Wider gap between the center block and the right vertical compartment line.

**#21. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

a. Pelure paper.

b. Right frame line dropped lower about 1mm.

One pair of Printing #21a is recorded, it is on soft pelure paper.

**THE MIDDLE PERIOD**

(March 1866-middle 1866)

DEC 65

**GROUP VIII (Printings 22-23)**

This group was issued on or about November 15, 1865, when the rate for the town letters was reduced from 2 candareens to 1 candareen, and hence a 1 CANDAREEN stamp was needed. Apart from introducing the new value of 1 CANDAREEN, this group marked also the first appearance of the laid paper, which accounts for a number of the rarities among the Large

Dragons. All stamps of this group are on this laid paper. Luff claimed that he had a copy of Printing #23 on wove paper, but we think he was mistaken. We have examined the copy in Luff's collection which he claimed was on wove paper, and we think it is on the same type of paper as the laid paper made by A. Pirie & Sons, only the laid lines on this particular copy happen to be not very visible.

Printing #22 seems to come first, for its setting seems to closely resemble that of Printing #21. In particular, the center block is very close to the compartment line below it, while in Printing #23 this compartment line dropped down so that it is below the two lower side horizontal compartment lines. Printing #22 is quite scarce and comes in two sub-printings, one rather lightly printed in blue and the other very heavily printed in dark blue (a very beautiful stamp).

On other stamps of this group the center block is equally distant from the lines above and below it. The line above "CANDAREEN" is lower than the short lines at the sides except on Printing #22. The final "N" in "CANDAREEN" is far from the vertical line at the right and the numerals (which are antique) are usually much below the line of the word.

Sometime in the course of the printing of the stamps in Printing #23, the top center panel must have loosened with the result that the letters in the inscription "SHANGHAI L.P.O." as well as the top three compartment lines shifted their vertical positions wildly. This seems to be a unique happening, for no other printings of the Large Dragons exhibit anywhere near this kind of shifting.

This shifting created a wide range of varieties. The most commonly known among them is the variety "SH" in "SHANGHAI" much above

the line of the rest of the inscriptions, but there are a number of other equally prominent varieties, most of them involving the positions of the letters "L.P.O." These later varieties were mostly recorded by Luff and the copies in our collection came originally from his collection (Luff's numbers are given below). They seem to be quite scarce, for we have not yet come by any of them elsewhere.

We shall not list as varieties the variations in the vertical positions [levels] of the three upper compartment lines, but they rang from these three lines at about the same level (Luff No. 30) to the line under *hai* 海 being a little or much lower than the center compartment line (Luff No.'s 31 and 32).

#22. 1 CANDAREEN. Blue.

Laid Paper.

Postmarks: SLP-3, SLP-N.

a. Dark blue.

#23. 1 CANDAREEN. Blue.

Laid Paper.

Postmarks: SLP-3, recl.

a. The letters "L.P." of "L. P. O." are above the line. (Luff No. 33)

b. The letters "P. O." of "L. P. O." are above the line. (Luff No. 34)

c. The letters "L. P. O." are below the level of "SHANGHAI." (Luff No. 36)

d. The letters "L. P." are below the level of "SHANGHAI." (Luff No. 37)

e. The letters "SH" of "SHANGHAI" are above the line of the rest of the word. (Luff No. 38)

Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, 27Dec 65.

f. The letter "O." is below the level of "SHANGHAI." (Luff No. 37a)



g. Papermaker's watermark "A. PIRIE & SONS."

h. Line under *hai* 海 diagonal (from upper left to lower right.)

### GROUP IX (Printings 24-29)

Impressions fairly clear, except No. 29 and No. 29a. The center design is widely separated from the lines above and below it, a trifle more from the former than the latter. The short lines between the left-hand value panel and the corner characters have both been reversed. The ends of the upper line now turn downward and the left end of the lower line turns upward. The line over "CANDAREEN" is lower than the short lines at the sides, except on Printings #25a and #26a.

The relative positions of the three horizontal lines at the top change somewhat on the various stamps. The "S" of "SHANGHAI" is close to the line at the left. The final "N" of "CANDAREEN" is about 4mm. from the line at right, which is further than it is in any other group. The numerals are Antique and are close to the left vertical line, usually below the level of "CANDAREEN."

In all stamps in this and the next group the word "CANDAREEN" always appears in the singular, irrespective of the numerals, presumably because the clerk handling the printing neglected to reinsert the letter "S" after the printing of the 1 CANDAREEN stamps in the previous group.

#24. 4 CANDAREEN. Yellow.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

CANDAREEN in a fairly straight line.

a. "CAND" below "AREEN."

#25. 2 CANDAREEN. Gray-black.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

a. Final "N" in "CANDAREEN" slightly raised.

Postmarks: SLP-4, red.

b. Final "N" in "CANDAREEN" slightly lower.

Postmarks: SLP-3, blue.

c. Final "N" in "CANDAREEN" very much lower.

Postmarks: SLP-4, red.

d. *kung* 工 and the line over it dropped lower, so that this line is on the same level as the line over "CANDAREEN."

#26. 2 CANDAREEN. Gray-black.

Laid paper.

Postmarks: None recorded.

a. The line over *kung* 工 is higher than the line over "CANDAREEN." (Luff No. 52)

b. *kung* 工 and the line over it dropped lower. (the same setting as in Printing #25d), (Luff No. 51)

c. With papermaker's watermark "A PIRIE & SONS."

We have in our collection a pair containing both Printing #26a and 26b, proving that they are not from different printings; this pair has also the papermaker's watermark "A PIRIE & SONS" so that it also contains the variety #26c. This pair came from a sheet of six originally in the collection of Sir Percival David.

## #27. 4 CANDAREEN. Yellow.

Laid paper.

Postmarks: None recorded.

- a. With papermaker's watermark "A  
PIRIE & SONS."

So far as we know, only one copy of Printing  
#27a has been recorded.

## #28. 4 CANDAREEN. Yellow.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-2, blue 2 Mar 66; SLP-2,  
blue, 6/Mar 66.

Dot of color under "AR" of "CANDAREEN."  
Setting similar to Printing #27, but on wove  
paper.

## #29. 1 CANDAREEN. Blue (shades).

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, 27Dec 65; SLP-2,  
blue, 4 Jan 66; SLP-4. red.

- a. Minimal inking, giving blurred impres-  
sion.

**GROUP X** (Printings 30-32)

Impressions generally poor, either blurred  
by too much ink or indistinct from too little.  
Position of the central device is about the same  
as in group IX. The three lines at the top are  
nearly in line with one another, except as noted  
in Printing #32c and #32d. The left end of the  
line over "CANDAREEN" is about on a level  
with the short line over  $pu$  卍. The final "N" of  
"CANDAREEN" is still far from the vertical line  
at the right, though not as far as in Group IX.  
Except on Printing #30, the letters "CAND"  
slope slightly downward toward the right. The  
word "CANDAREEN" is still singular. The nu-  
meral "1" in Printing #31, which was Roman in  
all the earlier printings of the 16ca, is now  
changed to Antique type.

## #30. 1 CANDAREEN. Pale Blue

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, 25 Dec 65.

Except for the position of "1 CAN-  
DAREEN," the setting of this stamp is almost  
identical with that of the previous Printing  
#29; only the top frame line is set slightly more  
to the right, and the three lower horizontal  
compartment lines are set slightly lower, partic-  
ularly the left one over  $pu$  卍, which itself is also  
set a little lower. As to the "1 CANDAREEN,"  
the numeral "1" is moved slightly to the left and  
slants a little to the right, while the word "CAN-  
DAREEN" is now appreciably lower, being about  
on a line with the bottom of the "1," and it has  
been moved appreciably to the right being now  
only 3mm. from the right compartment line, in-  
stead of the usual 4mm. for the previous group.

This is the only stamp in our collection  
which in the general scheme of things would fit  
what Luff called his Printing No. 56; we have  
two copies of this stamp, both used, but the  
stamp does not quite fit Luff's description.

#31. 16 CANDAREEN. Scarlet or orange-  
vermilion.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

The "6" of "16" is set much higher than the  
"1," and the period after CANDAREEN has  
dropped below the line.

- a. The Chinese value reads "16 CAN-  
DAREEN," but the "1" of the English  
value has failed to print except for a  
minute speck of color.

## #32. 8 CANDAREEN. Olive-green.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

- a. The line over *kung* 工 is much above that over "CANDAREEN." Known with substantial patch of orange vermilion ink from improper cleaning and proving that Printing #31 was printed before Printing #32.
- b. The line under *shang* 上 is slightly below that under "SHANGHAI L.P.O."
- c. All the lines and characters on the right side have dropped downward and the short horizontal lines are notably lower than on Printing #32b.
- d. The right and left outer frame lines are barely distinguishable and the character *kung* 工 slopes from left to right.

#### GROUP XI (Printings 33-34)

This is the first appearance of the 3 and 6 candareen values and the group consists of only these two values. The impressions are somewhat blurred. The final "S" in "CANDAREENS" is a newly used piece of type, slightly larger than that used up through Printing #21 (Remember that Printings #22-#31 have no final "S" on "CANDAREENS"). Antique numerals.

These have somewhat blurred impressions, and the settings are very similar to the last group. The three lines at the top are in a straight line. The line over "CANDAREENS" is higher than the line at the left and lower than that at the right.

The word "CANDAREENS" is set up very crookedly, being almost in a curve. The final "S" seems set higher and the period following it is lower than the letter itself.

- #33. 6 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta brown, reddish brown.  
Wove paper W5.  
Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, 2 Mar 66.
  - a. The "6 CAN" of the value is about on a line. (Luff No. 64)
  - b. The "6 CAN" of the value slopes downward toward the right. (Luff No. 65)
- #34. 3 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta brown.  
Wove paper W5.  
Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, Feb 66.

#### GROUP XII (Printings 35-37A)

Colors blurred and washed out. Setting almost identical with Group XI, and the central design beginning a trifle further from the line over value. The period after "O" of "L.P.O." is at the top instead of the bottom of the letter. In this group the compartment rules usually cut deeply into or through the paper and the stamps frequently have to be backed to keep them together. Antique numerals except for Roman "1" in "12" on 12ca. value.

- #35. 12 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta.  
Wove paper W5.  
Postmarks: None recorded.
- #36. 6 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta.  
Wove paper W5.
  - a. "CANDAREENS" in a slightly concave arc.  
Postmarks: SLP-N.
  - b. "CANDAREENS" set fairly straight
  - c. "CA" in "CANDAREENS" below the letters "NDAREENS."
 Postmarks: SLP-2, blue, 25 Feb 66.

## #37. 3 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta.

Laid paper.

Postmarks: SLP-4, red.

- a. Papermaker's watermark "A PIRIE & SONS."

## #37A. 3 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-4, red.

The stamp #37A on wove paper has essentially the same setting as the stamp #37 on laid paper, although each copy of #37 or #37A has usually a slightly different setting. This is a very rare stamp, whether on laid or on wove paper. At first only one used copy of No. 37 was discovered by Thornhill and was listed by him in his book. To the best of our knowledge, there are about three to four still existing unused copies of #37 and about five to six extant used copies. As to the wove paper stamp #37A, one used copy seems to have been first discovered by the late Sir Percival David, for it was offered in the "David" China auction of Robson Lowe on November 9, 1965, Lot 575, described as, *apparently on wove paper...and from the same setting as last lot with raised stop after 'O.'*

Since neither Livingston nor I had seen this stamp, we were not sure of its existence (we thought it might have been simply a copy of #37 with rather faint laid lines), and decided not to list it, in accordance with our principle of listing only those stamps which we had seen ourselves. Later, as we began to see more used copies of both the laid paper stamp, No. 37, and also the wove paper stamp, No. 37A, and had the opportunity of comparing them, we were convinced of the existence of both Printing No. 37 and Printing No. 37A.

Ultimately, we had the good fortune of obtaining a very fine mint copy of No. 37A,

and close examination of this stamp showed not only that the paper contained no traces of any laid lines but instead, had also most of the characteristics of the wove paper W5 used in the printing of most stamps of this period. This removed all doubts about the existence of both Printing No. 37 and Printing No. 37A.

All the known used copies of #37 and #37A bear the "the large belt buckle" postmark "SLP-4". This fact, more than any thing else, has convinced us that this "large belt buckle" postmark "SLP-4" was first introduced for the Large Dragons in 1866.

**GROUP XIII** (Printings 38-42)

Impressions are still heavily inked and blurred. Setting very like that of Group XII, but on some of the stamps the center block is a little nearer the line below it. The period after "O" of "L.P.O." is still at the top. The line over "CANDAREENS," which has so long shown a depression over the letter's "ND," has been replaced by a new one, quite straight and slightly thicker. The line over *pu* 卅 has also been changed. It lacks the pronounced hook of its predecessor, though it is by no means a straight line.

The word "CANDAREENS" is somewhat loosely locked, so that it certainly gives a rather crooked appearance on these stamps. This is the first appearance of the 2-CANDAREENS stamp with the Chinese character *erh* 二 instead of the character *liang* 兩. Antique numerals except for Roman "I" for "1" in 1 CANDAREEN stamps.

The 1 CANDAREEN laid paper stamp, Printing #39, is a great rarity. To the best of our knowledge, there are about four extant un-

used copies of this stamp, and no used copies are known.

While the 2 CANDAREENS laid paper stamp, Printing #40, is generally recognized as a secondary rarity, what is not generally appreciated, is the fact that the 4 CANDAREENS stamp (either Printing #42 or #42a), is an extremely elusive stamp, and probably one of the rarest stamps among all of the Shanghai Large Dragons.

**#38. I CANDAREEN. Bright blue.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, SLP-4, red.

- a. "I CA" above the line of "NDAREEN."
- b. "A" above the line of "CANDAREEN."
- c. "C" and "D" below the line of "CANDAREEN."

**#39. I CANDAREEN. Bright blue.**

Laid paper.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Setting same as No. 38a.

**#40. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.**

Laid paper.

Postmarks: None recorded.

**#41. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

**#42. 4 CANDAREENS. Yellow.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Fairly clear impression.

- a. Ochre yellow. Very blurred impression.

**GROUP XIV (Printings 43-44)**

Impressions very much blurred from uneven inking, particularly for the center block. Very wide spaces between the center block and the lines above and below it. Wove paper, W5.

**#43. 8 CANDAREENS. Grass green.**

Wove paper, W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

The period after "O" in "L.P.O." is raised halfway to the middle of the line.

**#44. 4 CANDAREENS. Ochre-yellow.**

Wove paper, W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Period after "O" in "L.P.O." is almost normal, only slightly raised. The color of this stamp is very uneven, sometimes more yellowish ochre rather than ochre yellow. These different shades are known to occur within the same sheet.

**GROUP XV (Printings 45-47)**

The impressions are at first fairly clear but gradually become less distinct and finally excessively blurred. The central design is widely separated from the lines above and below it, particularly the former. The arrangement of the three horizontal lines at the top is the same as in the previous group, but on the 12 CANDAREENS stamps the middle line is lower than the lines at the sides. The period after "O" in "L.P.O." is slightly below the line of the letters. The letter "D" is below the line of "CANDAREEN," as in several preceding groups.

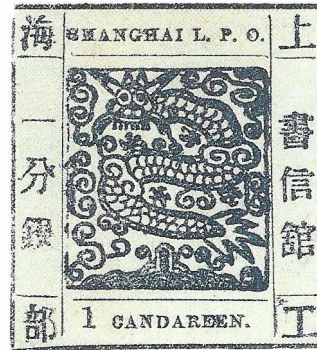
The stamps in this group have an unusually large number of variations in the CANDAREENS line at the bottom, particularly for a relatively late group, indicating that the

STAMP INDEX

1 CANDAREEN



Printing #49  
Dark blue, p. 63.



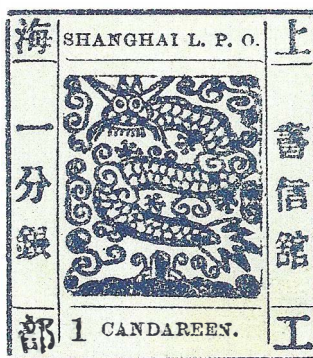
Printing #52  
Blue, p. 64.



Printing #63  
Blue, p. 65.



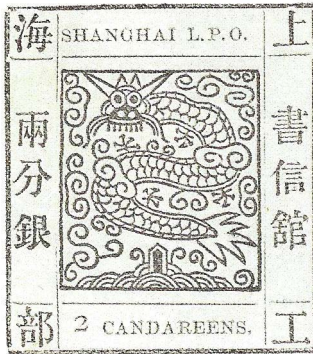
Printing #64  
Blue, p. 65.



Printing #69  
Blue, p. 66.

THE SHANGHAI LARGE DRAGONS

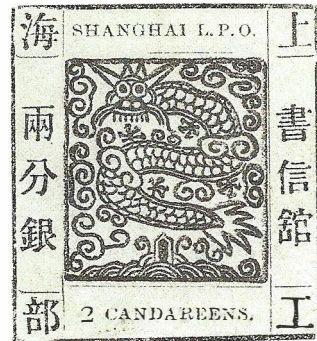
2 CANDAREENS



Printing #1  
Gray-black to black, p. 52.



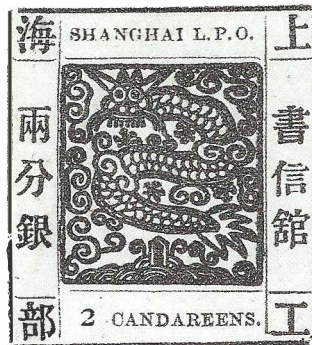
Printing #6  
Black, p. 53.



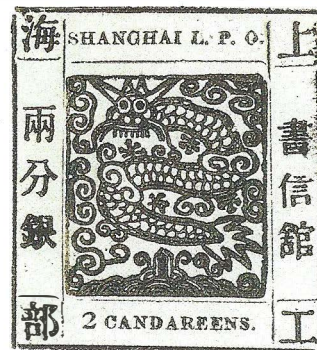
Printing #10  
Black, p. 54.



Printing #13  
Gray black, p. 54.



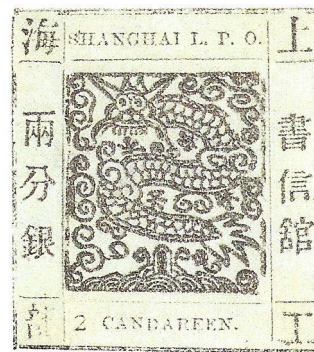
Printing #14  
Black, p. 54.



Printing #21  
Black, p. 56.



Printing #25  
(Illustration is variety #25b)  
Gray-black, p. 58.



Printing #26  
Gray-black, p. 58.

die was very loosely locked. There are very few such variations in settings after this group. Antique numerals, except for Roman "1" in "I2" on 12ca value. Wove paper, W5.

#45. 3 CANDAREENS. Terra-cotta brown.

Wove paper, W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

- a. "CANDAREENS" nearly on one line, top of "3" is higher than "CANDAREENS," which sometimes reads "CANDARFENS."

Postmarks: SLP-2 blue, 6 Mar 66; SLP-3, red; SLP-4, red.

- b. The top of "3" is on level with "CANDAREENS," which often reads "CANDARFENS."

- c. "3" above "CAN" and "CAN" above "DAREENS."

- d. "3 CAN" above "DAREENS."

- e. As b above, but in chocolate brown.

- f. "C" above and "D" below the line of "CANDAREENS."

#46. 6 CANDAREENS. Vermilion.

Wove paper, W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

- a. "CANDAREENS" nearly on one line.

- b. "CAN" and "NS" in "CANDAREENS" raised.

#47. I2 CANDAREENS. Chocolate.

Wove paper, W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

THE LATE PERIOD  
(Middle 1866-March 1867)

GROUP XVI (Printings 48-50)

Once again the numeral "1" is changed back to Antique type.

A large proportion of the Large Dragons known used with Ningpo Type "SLP-N" cancellation occur within this group. We have in our collection examples of all three Printings #48 through 50 with this postmark.

#48. 1 CANDAREEN. Deep blue, pale blue.

Pelure paper P2.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red; SLP-N.

The bottom line is lower than the line over *pu* 部.

#49. 1 CANDAREEN. Dark blue.

Pelure paper P1 and P2.

Postmarks: SLP-N.

The bottom line is higher at left than in #48, nearly level with the line over *pu* 部. Numeral "1" is very thin and missing its serif.

#50. 3 CANDAREENS. Reddish brown.

Wove Paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red; SLP-N.

- a. Pelure paper P1.

- b. Same as "a," but gummed and precut with knife. This appears to have been an primitive attempt to facilitate separation of the stamps.

Some copies of the 3ca show the lower portion of "L" in "L.P.O." completely missing, so that the inscription appears to read "L.P.O."



**GROUP XVII** (Printings 51-53)

Frame line and central design positions are similar to the previous group, but the paper used is once again Wove. This group includes the first appearance of modern numerals for the value.

The word "CANDAREENS" is plural for the 2ca, in Printing #51, and singular for the 1ca, in Printing #52 as is normal. However, the printer neglected to reinsert the "S" for 3ca, in Printing #53, so the value is incorrectly expressed in the singular "CANDAREEN."

**#51. 2 CANDAREENS. Gray-black.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

- a. "S" in "SHANGHAI" quite a bit lower than the rest of the word.

**#52. 1 CANDAREEN. Blue.**

Wove paper W6.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

- a. Slate blue.

**#53. 3 CANDAREEN. Red-brown.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

**GROUP XVIII** (Printings 54-55)

In this group, the printer remembered to replace the "S" for the printing of this group. The bottom line slants downward from left to right. The numeral in 2ca, Printing #54 is again antique, but a modern numeral is used for the 3ca, in Printing #55.

**#54. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

**#55. 3 CANDAREENS. Red-brown.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

**GROUP XIX** (Printings 56-59)

Broken character *yin* 銀 in this and the next group. All numerals in both groups are Antique. Printings #56 and #57 of the 4 CANDAREENS differ in the position of the center die relative to the top and bottom lines. In Printing #56, the center die is much closer to the bottom line, while in Printing #57 it is about equally distant between the lines.

**#56. 4 CANDAREENS. Yellow-orange.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

**#57. 4 CANDAREENS. Orange-yellow.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

**#58. 6 CANDAREENS. Reddish brown.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

- a. On White Mesh paper. W9.

**#59. 8 CANDAREENS. Olive green.**

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

- a. On White Mesh paper. W9.

Printing #59a seems to be the earlier printing, for it is very sharply printed, but it often shows the ink not registering very well due to excessive cleaning fluid. Most of the stamps in Printing #59. are blurred and

sometimes so badly blurred that the dragon head is hardly discernible in the central design.

### GROUP XX (Printings 60-62)

#### #60. 12 CANDAREENS. Orange-brown.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

Top frameline overlaps top end of right frameline, unlike Printing #61.

a. On cardboard.

#### #61. 12 CANDAREENS. Vermilion-brown.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: None recorded.

a. Vermilion.

#### #62. 16 CANDAREENS. Scarlet.

Wove paper W5.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

a. "1" in "16" omitted. (there is usually a tiny dot where the "1" should be, but there are copies of this variety without even a tiny dot.)

### GROUP XXI (Printing 63)

Something must have happened between the last group and this one that necessitated rather drastic cleaning of some of the Chinese characters. Although both the center block and the inscriptions had frequently been cleaned before, this time it was performed differently, inasmuch as mechanical means seem to have been employed. As a result, some characters were damaged and required retouching.

In this group, this happened to the characters *shu* 書 and *yin* 銀, and in the next group, also to the characters *kuan* 館 and *pu* 部. In fact, the damages and retouches were so ex-

tensive that Luff was led to believe that entirely new characters replaced the old ones. However, a closer examination shows that this is not so, for old damage such as the break in the character *yin* 銀 remains, only slightly enlarged by the cleaning process.

One can only conjecture, of course, just why was it necessary to perform such a drastic cleaning. We offered one explanation in the last chapter, but admit that this is only one possibility, and there might be others as plausible.

#### #63. 1 CANDAREEN. Blue.

Wove paper W8.

Postmarks: None recorded.

### GROUP XXII (Printings 64-68)

Both the top Chinese character, *shu* 書, in the right panel and the lower left Chinese character *pu* 部 are retouched. All stamps in this group have **Antique numerals** except the 3 CANDAREENS stamps Printings #66 and #67, which have **Modern numerals**. In Printing #66 the "3" is nearer to the "CANDAREENS" than the vertical line to the left of it, while in Printing #67 it is the other way around. Except for Printing #67, all stamps in this group are very elusive; in fact, the 1 CANDAREEN stamp Printing #64 is actually very rare. Wove paper W8.

#### #64. 1 CANDAREEN. Blue.

Wove paper W8.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#### #65. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.

Wove paper W8.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#### #66. 3 CANDAREENS. Red-brown.

Wove paper W8.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#67. 3 CANDAREENS. Red-brown.

Wove paper W8.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#68. 4 CANDAREENS. Yellow.

Wove paper W8.

Postmarks: None recorded.

**GROUP XXIII** (Printings 69-77)

All stamps in this group have Modern numerals. This is the group of stamps that was rather disparagingly labeled by Thornhill as the "Pemberton reprints." In our opinion however, they represent the last group of the regular issues of Shanghai's Large Dragons (except for No. 78 which is the last single issue). Each denomination has a distinctive color, and in spite of statements made by both Luff and Thornhill, these stamps are simply not as common as they suggest.

It has been suggested that these stamps were printed from entirely new dies. However, close examination shows that this is not so, for old damage such as the break in the character *yin* 銀 remains, only slightly enlarged by the cleaning process. Wove paper W9, showing an even mesh pattern.

#69. 1 CANDAREEN. Blue.

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#70. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#71. 3 CANDAREENS. Red-brown.

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#72. 4 CANDAREENS. Yellow.

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#73. 6 CANDAREENS. Olive green.

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

a. Bronze green.

#74. 8 CANDAREENS. Green.

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

a. Mineral green. (blurred printings).

#75. 12 CANDAREENS. Orange-red.

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: SLP-3, red.

a. Pale reddish orange.

#76. 16 CANDAREENS. Scarlet (shades).

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: None recorded.

#77. 16 CANDAREENS. Brownish-red (shades).

Wove paper W9.

Postmarks: None recorded.

Scarlet must have been the intended color for the 16 CANDAREENS stamp, in order to sufficiently distinguish it from the 3 CANDAREENS stamp; however, as it turned out, the 16 CANDAREENS stamp with a true scarlet color is rather difficult to find.

**GROUP XXIV** (Printing 78)

This is the last Large Dragon stamp issued by the Shanghai Local Post before the reissues in 1871-2. It was printed on very poor paper (W10). The variety Printing #78a is also rather elusive.

#78. 2 CANDAREENS. Black.

Wove paper W10.

Postmarks: None recorded.

a. Damaged numeral "2."

### 1871-72 REISSUES

In making the reissues, Shanghai produced four new central designs, presumably because the original central design became so worn and dirty that it could not be used. Among the four new central designs, it seems only two were used, which are what we called Die II and Die III.



Figure 21. Livingston/Chow Die II (150%)



Figure 22. Livingston/Chow Die III (150%)

Although stamps with other central designs exist, we do not know whether they were

issued, or perhaps were only trial printings or essays. We, therefore, list only those which are generally referred to as the reissues.

These reissues were printed in groups of two stamps at a time, eight stamps in a sheet, with centers Die II and Die III next to each other, on very thin almost transparent paper. Detailed descriptions of these reissues were given in Chapter II.

#### Group L (Large Numerals)

L1. 1 CANDAREEN (Die II) Blue.

L2. 1 CANDAREEN (Die III) Blue.

Stamp #L2 should exist, but we have not yet seen a copy.

L3. 2 CANDAREENS (Die II) Black.

L4. 2 CANDAREENS (Die III) Black.

L5. 3 CANDAREENS (Die II) Red Brown.

L6. 3 CANDAREENS (Die III) Red Brown.

The stamps in the Group L are generally scarcer than those in the Group S.

#### GROUP S (Small Numerals)

S1. 1 CANDAREEN (Die II) Blue.

S2. 1 CANDAREEN (Die III) Blue.

S3. 2 CANDAREENS (Die II) Black.

S4. 2 CANDAREENS (Die III) Black.

## APPENDIX

Collectors of Shanghai Large Dragon stamps face many challenges. Perhaps the main obstacle over the years has been the stamp catalogues that list these issues. The very catalogues that should enable one to collect and classify the stamps actually make it more difficult.

For example, the Scott catalogue has a very clear illustration of a typical Large Dragon. Unfortunately, the stamp is a forgery! One can only speculate as to how many thousands of forgeries have been sold over the years as genuine stamps, based on the pictured Scott illustration.

With the publication of the Livingston catalogue in 1971, eventually followed by the revised 1990 edition, the situation was greatly improved. For the first time, a successful effort was made to list all the Large Dragon printings as well as paper, color, and printing flaw varieties, and assign catalogue numbers to them all. However, the Livingston catalogue was almost impossible for beginning collectors to use correctly. Even advanced collectors had problems with it, since it did not provide sufficient information to distinguish all of the printings.

In spite of its flaws, Livingston has remained the best listing for Shanghai Large Dragons, as one can readily see in comparison with the other catalogues. In the table that follows, we list all the Printing numbers as described by Dr. Chow. Next to each is an abbreviated description of the stamp, and alongside its Livingston' number. This is followed by the catalogue numbers from Scott, Stanley Gibbons, S.H. Chan, J.P.S., Michel and finally

Yvert, that most closely correspond to that printing.

It is well known to Large Dragon specialists and will become apparent to anyone studying this list, that all of these catalogues, except Livingston, are very simplified listings and certainly not intended for a specialist. For example, no fewer than nine Printings are represented by Scott #2. Obviously, some Printings are far scarcer than others, and astute Shanghai collectors have been able to make excellent buys over the years from dealers and collectors who were using these simplified catalogue numbering systems.

In the accompanying table, we have indicated the Printing as represented by numbers from various catalogues. The numbers shown in **bold face type** represent the most common Printing that corresponds to a particular catalogue number. These designations were determined on the basis of examples represented in Dr. Chow's collection.


It is noteworthy that the Gibbons and Chan listings are identical, except that Chan adds the Printings #69-78, which are not listed by Gibbons. Only Livingston lists the Printings #64-68 stamps. It is important to note that these two groups by themselves comprise 20% of the total Printings. It is significant also, that they include several very scarce stamps. In view of this, the shortcomings in the standard catalogues are altogether more apparent and increase the value of this volume for all serious collectors of Shanghai.

## CATALOGUE CROSS-REFERENCE

The Official Reissues (Dr. Chow's #L1-S4) are described and illustrated in the Livingston catalogue, but they are not assigned catalogue numbers. Since none of the other catalogues shown here list them, they are not included in this table.

For the purposes of this list, one should assume wove or pelure paper unless otherwise indicated.

✓	Print- ing #	Description	Liv. #	Scott #	SG #	Chan #	J.P.S. #	Mich- el #	Yvert #
	<b>THE EARLY PERIOD</b> August 1865-March 1866								
	<b>Group I</b>								
<input type="checkbox"/>	1	2ca gray-black to black	1a	1	1	1	1	8I	6
<input type="checkbox"/>	2	4ca yellow, orange yellow	2a	2	3	3	4	10I	8
<input type="checkbox"/>	2d	4ca (var.) yellow ochre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	3	8ca green	3a	3	4a	4a	7	12I	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	4	16ca scarlet	4a	4	5	5	18	14II	15
	<b>Group II</b>								
<input type="checkbox"/>	5	16ca scarlet	4b	4	5	5	18	14II	15
<input type="checkbox"/>	6	2ca black	1b	1	1	1	1	8I	6
<input type="checkbox"/>	7	8ca yellow-green	3b	3	4a	4a	7	12I	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	8	4ca yellow, orange yellow	2c	2	3	3	4	10I	8
	<b>Group III</b>								
<input type="checkbox"/>	9	4ca yellow	2d	2	3	3	4	10I	8
<input type="checkbox"/>	10	2ca Black	1c	1	1	1	1	8I	6
<input type="checkbox"/>	11	8ca green	3c	4	4a	4a	7	12I	10
	<b>Group IV</b>								
<input type="checkbox"/>	12	16ca scarlet	4c	4	5	5	18	14II	15
<input type="checkbox"/>	13	2ca gray-black	1d	1	1	1	1	8I	6
<input type="checkbox"/>	14	2ca black	1e	1	1	1	1	8I	6
	<b>Group V</b>								
<input type="checkbox"/>	15	4ca orange yellow	2f	2	3	3	4	10I	8
<input type="checkbox"/>	16	8ca grass green	3d	3	4a	4a	7	12I	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	17	16ca terra-cotta red	4d	4	5	5	18	14II	15
	<b>Group VI</b>								
<input type="checkbox"/>	18	16ca carmine red	4e	4	5	5	18	14II	15
	<b>Group VII</b>								
<input type="checkbox"/>	19	8ca green	6	6	7	7	8	-	10Aa
<input type="checkbox"/>	20	4ca ochre-yellow	5	7	6	6	5	-	8a
<input type="checkbox"/>	21	2ca black	1f	1	1	1	8I	-	6

✓	Print- ing #	Description <i>MIDDLE</i>	Liv. #	Scott #	SG #	Chan #	J.P.S. #	Mich- el #	Yvert #
		<b>THE EARLY PERIOD</b> March 1866-Middle 1866							
		<b>Group VIII</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	22	1ca blue	7a	8	8	8	11L	1y	1a
<input type="checkbox"/>	23	1ca blue	7c	8	8	8	11L	1y	1a
		<b>Group IX</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	24	4ca yellow	12a	13	13	13	13	4x	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	25	2ca gray-black	11	12	12	12	12	2x	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	26	2ca gray-black, laid paper	8	9	9	9	12L	2y	2a
<input type="checkbox"/>	27	4ca yellow	9	10	10	10	13L	4y	3a
<input type="checkbox"/>	28	4ca yellow	12b	13	13	13	13	4x	3
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	29	1ca blue (shades)	10a	11	11	11	11	1x	1
		<b>Group X</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	30	1ca pale blue	10c	11	11	11	11	1x	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	31	16ca scarlet or orange vermilion	14	15	15	15	15	6	5
<input type="checkbox"/>	32	8ca olive green	13	14	14	14	14	5	4
		<b>Group XI</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	33	6ca terra-cotta brown, reddish brown	22b	22	19	19	6	11I	9
<input type="checkbox"/>	34	3ca terra-cotta brown	20a	20	17	17	3	9I	7
		<b>Group XII</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	35	12ca terra-cotta	25	17	24	24	17	13II	14
<input type="checkbox"/>	36	6ca terra-cotta	22a	22	19	19	6a	11I	9
<input type="checkbox"/>	37	3ca terra-cotta, laid paper	17	28	27	27	3L	-	7a
<input type="checkbox"/>	37A	5ca terra-cotta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		<b>Group XIII</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	38	1ca bright blue	18	16	23	23	16	7II	13
<input type="checkbox"/>	39	1ca bright blue, laid paper	15	26	25	25	16L	-	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	40	2ca black, laid paper	16	27	26	26	2L	-	6a
<input type="checkbox"/>	41	2ca black 	19	5a	2	2	2	8I	6b
<input type="checkbox"/>	42	4ca yellow	21a	2	3	3	4	10I	8
		<b>Group XIV</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	43	8ca grass green	24	3	4	4	7	12I	10
<input type="checkbox"/>	44	4ca ochre yellow	21b	2	3	3	4	10I	8
		<b>Group XV</b>							
<input type="checkbox"/>	45	3ca terra-cotta brown	20b	20	17	17	3	9I	7
<input type="checkbox"/>	46	6ca vermilion	25	23	20	20	6b	11Ic	9a
<input type="checkbox"/>	47	12ca chocolate	26	18	24a	24a	17	13II	14

## THE SHANGHAI LARGE DRAGONS

✓	Print- ing #	Description	Liv. #	Scott #	SG #	Chan #	J.P.S. #	Mich- el #	Yvert #
<b>THE LATE PERIOD</b>									
Middle 1866-March 1867									
<b>Group XVI</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	48	1ca deep blue, pale blue	27a	19	16	16	11	7I	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	49	1ca deep blue, pale blue	27d	19	16b	16b	11	7I	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	50	3ca reddish brown	29	20	17	17	3	9I	7
<b>Group XVII</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	51	2ca gray-black	37	31	30	30	19	8III	17
<input type="checkbox"/>	52	1ca blue	35	29	28	28	21	7III	16
<input type="checkbox"/>	53	3ca red brown	36	30	29	29	22	3	18
<b>Group XVIII</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	54	2ca black	28	5	2	2	2	8I	6b
<input type="checkbox"/>	55	3ca red brown	38	32	31	31	20	9III	19
<b>Group XIX</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	56	4ca yellow orange	30a	2	3	3	4	10I	8
<input type="checkbox"/>	57	4ca orange yellow	30c	2	3	3	4	10I	8
<input type="checkbox"/>	58	6ca reddish brown	31	21	18	18	6	11I	9
<input type="checkbox"/>	59	8ca olive green	32	3	4	4	7	12I	10A
<b>Group XX</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	60	12ca orange brown	33a	24	21	21	9	13I	11
<input type="checkbox"/>	61	12ca vermilion brown	33g	24	21	21	9	13I	11
<input type="checkbox"/>	62	16ca	34	25	22	22	10	14I	12
<b>Group XXI</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	63	1ca blue	39D	11	16a	16a	11	7I	16
<b>Group XXII</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	64	1ca blue	39E	11	16a	16a	11	7I	16
<input type="checkbox"/>	65	2ca black	40D	5a	2	2	2	8I	17
<input type="checkbox"/>	66	3ca red brown	41D	32	31	31	20	9III	19
<input type="checkbox"/>	67	3ca red brown	41E	32	31	31	20	9III	19
<input type="checkbox"/>	68	4ca yellow	42D	2	3	2	4	10I	8
<b>Group XXIII (REPRINTS)</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	69	1ca blue	39	33a	-	32	11b	7III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	70	2ca black	40	34a	-	33a	2a	8III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	71	3ca red brown	41	35a	-	34	3a	9III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	72	4ca yellow	42	36a	-	35	4a	10III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	73	6ca olive green	43	37a	-	36	6a	11III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	74	8ca green	44	38a	-	37	7a	12III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	75	12ca orange red	45	39a	-	38	9a	13III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	76	16ca scarlet (shades)	46	40a	-	38A	10a	14III	-
<input type="checkbox"/>	77	16ca brownish red (shades)	47	41a	-	38Aa	10a	14III	-
<b>Group XXIV</b>									
<input type="checkbox"/>	78	2ca black	40b	34b	-	33	2a	8III	-